

**AN EDITION OF BRITISH LIBRARY, ADDITIONAL MS**

**36529**

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
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## ABSTRACT

This semi-diplomatic edition of BL, Add. MS 36529 presents the first full transcription of, and commentary on, the English poems of that manuscript, which was compiled over the second half of the sixteenth century. Amid the seventy entries in the miscellany are twenty-eight poems by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1516x17-1547) and nine (two doubtful) by Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-1542), most of of which are substantive texts. These are joined by the poems of other important mid-Tudor poets such as Sir John Cheke (1514-1557), Sir Thomas Chaloner (1521-1565), Thomas Phaer (1510?-1560), and the initial prime mover of the manuscript, John Harington of Stepney (1517x1520-1582). Seventeen poems are apparently unique to the manuscript; these include certain of the Harington pieces, and a sequence of twelve sonnet translations from Petrarch's *Rime sparse* which probably also have a Harington provenance. Many poems are therefore glossed here for the first time; for others, particularly the Wyatt and Surrey poems, the collation of texts and stemmatic analysis is more thoroughgoing than is available in twentieth-century editions of these poets. The commentaries supplied have been designed to aid the comprehension of conscientious undergraduate students of English Literature.

In addition to the transcription and commentaries, this edition presents research on the compilers of the manuscript, the Harington family of Stepney and Kelston, who were also responsible for the Arundel Harington Manuscript. In particular, it discusses the elder Harington's instigation of the manuscript, but also considers the role of his son, Sir John Harington (bap. 1561, d. 1612), who used it and probably contributed to it in one instance. The variety and quality of the texts in the manuscript suggest that the elder Harington was able to access important textual networks; several of its poems survive too in the most famous printed miscellany of the period, Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557). The common denominator of the items in Add. MS 36529 is their soberness: literary value appears to have been an important criterion for selection, and the manuscript as a whole evidences the Haringtons' pride in English letters. The edition reveals Add. MS 36529 to be a miscellany which interacts fully with the worlds of manuscript and print, and thus one which merits an important place in accounts of sixteenth-century literary and manuscript culture.

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I am grateful to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk for permission to consult that most famous volume, the Arundel Harington Manuscript, in the Archives at Arundel Castle; he has also graciously allowed me to include images from the manuscript in this thesis. Sara Rodger and Heather Warne aided my studies considerably during my toils with Arundel Harington. Thanks are owing to the Permissions Department at the British Library for their generosity in allowing me to reproduce images from BL, Add. MS 36529. I am indebted to the helpful staff in the manuscripts reading room at the British Library, and the library staff at Cambridge University Library and the Wren Library at Trinity College, Cambridge. Special thanks to Dr Julian Harrison, Zoe Stansell, and Zoe Wilcox at the British Library (as well as Alan Bryson) for going above and beyond the call of duty to assist me with the vexed matter of collating the manuscript. Prof. Eric Johnson and Rebecca Jewett of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at Ohio State University were unfailingly prompt, polite, and helpful in their correspondence with me about the Harington volume in their collections. Jason Powell liberally donated time and expertise in sharing with me his thoughts on the Haringtons and their Wyatt sources. Gerard Kilroy kindly sent me the typescript of his English translation of Edmund Campion's *Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi*, which I have reproduced *litteratim* in my thesis.

I owe thanks to all the scholars and researchers who have read draft commentaries, recommended primary or secondary sources, or have generally led me to contemplate things anew: Sylvia Adamson; Alan Bryson, whose ability to recall the lineages of all noble families in sixteenth-century England at the drop of a hat is a source of wonder; Joshua Eckhardt; Jessica Edmondson; A. S. G. Edwards; Mel Evans; Helen Graham-Matheson; Nicky Hallett; Arthur F. Marotti; Marcus Nevitt; Michelle O'Callaghan; Mike Pincombe; Peter Redford; Emma Rhatigan; Gavin Schwartz-Leeper; Victoria Van Hyning; Claire Bryony Williams; Gillian Woods; and Henry Woudhuysen. Reza Taher and Dr Rebecca Fisher have been

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## SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

### Manuscripts

<i>AH</i>	Harrington MS Temp. Eliz. (Arundel Harrington Manuscript)
<i>B</i>	Trinity College Dublin, MS 160 (Blage Manuscript)
<i>D</i>	British Library, Additional MS 17492 (Devonshire Manuscript)
<i>E</i>	British Library, Egerton MS 2711
<i>Hy78</i>	British Library, Harley MS 78
<i>P</i>	British Library, Additional MS 36529

### Printed Books

<i>A</i>	George Puttenham (1589) <i>The Arte of English Poesie</i> , London.
<i>Bible</i>	Miles Coverdale (1535) <i>Biblia the Bible</i> , Cologne.
<i>BW</i>	Michael Drayton (1603) <i>The Barrons Wars in the raigne of Edward the second. With Englands Heroicall Epistles</i> , London.
<i>Ch1</i>	Raphael Holinshed (1577a) <i>The First volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande</i> , London.
<i>Ch2</i>	Raphael Holinshed (1577b) <i>The First volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande</i> , London.
<i>Ch3</i>	Raphael Holinshed (1587) <i>The First and second volumes of Chronicles</i> , London.
<i>Dr1</i>	Michael Drayton (1598) <i>Englands Heroicall Epistles</i> , London.
<i>Dr2</i>	Michael Drayton (1599) <i>Englands Heroicall Epistles</i> , London.
<i>Dr3</i>	Michael Drayton (1600) <i>Englands Heroicall Epistles</i> , London.
<i>Dr4</i>	Michael Drayton (1602) <i>Englands Heroicall Epistles</i> , London.
<i>Myrrour</i>	William Baldwin, et al. (1559/1563) <i>A Myrrour for Magistrates</i> , London.
<i>NA1</i>	Henry Harrington (ed.) (1769-1775) <i>Nugæ Antiquæ: Being a miscellaneous collection of original papers in prose and verse, wrtitten during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, Elizabeth, and King James: by Sir John Harrington, Knt. And by others who lived in those times</i> , 2 Vols, London.
<i>NA2</i>	Henry Harrington (ed.) (1779) <i>Nugæ Antiquæ</i> , 3 Vols, London.
<i>NA3</i>	Thomas Park (ed.) (1804) <i>Nugæ Antiquæ</i> , 2 Vols, London.

- PO* Johannes Campensis (1534) *Psalmorum omnium*, Paris.
- PD* Johannes Campenis (1539) *A Paraphrasis vpon all the Psalmes of Dauid*, trans. Miles Coverdale, London.
- S* John Hall (?) (1549/50) *Certayne Chapters of the Prouerbes of Salamon*, London.
- T1* Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, *et al.* (1557), *Songes and Sonettes*, Quarto 1, London.
- T2* Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, *et al.* (1557), *Songes and Sonettes*, Quarto 2, London.

### **Editions**

- Chaucer Larry D. Benson *et al.* (eds) (2008) *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Foxwell A. K. Foxwell (ed.) (1913) *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat*, 2 Vols, London: University of London Press.
- H&M Amanda Holton and Tom MacFaul (eds) (2011) *Tottel's Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others*, London: Penguin.
- Harrier Richard Harrier (ed.) (1975) *The Canon of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poetry*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hughey Ruth Hughey (ed.) (1960) *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, 2 Vols, Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- Hughey, 1971 Ruth Hughey (ed.) (1971) *John Harington of Stepney: Tudor Gentleman*, Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.
- McGaw William McGaw (ed.) (2012) *A Critical Edition of the Complete Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- M&T Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson (eds) (1969) *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Nott George Frederick Nott (ed.) (1965; first pub. 1815-1816) *The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder*, 2 Vols, Facsimile Edition, Brooklyn, NY: AMS Press.
- Jones Emrys Jones (ed.) (1964) *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey: Poems*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.



- Padelford Frederick Morgan Padelford (ed.) (1966; first pub. 1920) *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, New York: Haskell House.
- Rebholz R. A. Rebholz (ed.) (1978) *Sir Thomas Wyatt: The Complete Poems*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Rollins Hyder R. Rollins (ed.) (1966; first pub. 1928) *Tottel's Miscellany, 1557-1585*, 2 Vols, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

### General

- APC J. R. Dasent (1890-1907), *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, New Series, 32 Vols, London.
- BCE Before Common Era
- BL British Library
- Bod. Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK
- Corr. Correction
- CT Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*
- CIT Chaucer, *The Clerk's Tale*
- CUL Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, UK
- EEBO Early English Books Online
- EM Early Modern
- eModE Early Modern English
- Folger Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, USA
- Frant Chaucer, *The Franklin's Tale*
- GP Chaucer, *General Prologue*
- Il. Homer, *The Iliad*
- Index Steven W. May and William A. Ringler, Jr (2004) *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-line Index of English Verse, 1559-1603*, 3 Vols, London: Continuum.
- KnT *The Knight's Tale*
- L&P J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, R. H. Brodie (eds) (1862-1932), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 21 Vols, London: Longman.
- ME Middle English
- MS Manuscript

MSS	Manuscripts
<i>N&amp;Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>OCD</i>	M. Cary, <i>et al.</i> (eds) (1970) <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>The Odyssey</i>
<i>ODEP</i>	F. P. Wilson (ed.) (1980) <i>The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press.
<i>ODNB</i>	H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds) (2004) <i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , Oxford: Oxford University Press. Online Edition, ed. Lawrence Goldman (January, 2008).
<i>OED</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , <i>OED Online</i> , March 2011.
PRO	Public Record Office
Ps.	Psalm
Pss	Psalms
Rawl.	Rawlinson
<i>RvT</i>	Chaucer, <i>The Reeve's Tale</i>
STC	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475-1640</i> (1976-86) first compiled by A.W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd ed. begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by K. F. Pantzer, 3 Vols, London: Bibliographical Society.
Subscr.	Subscription
<i>T&amp;C</i>	Chaucer, <i>Troilus and Criseyde</i>
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin
<i>ThT</i>	<i>Sir Thopas' Tale</i>
Tilley	M. P. Tilley (1950) <i>A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries</i> , Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press.
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
TNA	<i>The National Archives</i>
Wing	Donald Wing (1945-51) <i>Short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700</i> , 3 Vols, New York: Columbia University Press.

Unless otherwise stated, all definitions are taken from the *OED*, all biblical quotations from the Coverdale Bible. All Chaucer references are taken from *The Riverside Chaucer*. For references to Petrarch, all Italian quotations and English translations are taken from Durling. For references to Ariosto, all English translations are taken from Guido Waldman (1974), *Orlando Furioso*, London: Oxford University Press; the Italian passages are from Lanfranco Caretti (ed.) (1966) *Orlando Furioso*, Torino: Einaudi.

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## EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

### OVERVIEW

British Library, Additional MS 36529 (hereafter ‘*P*’) is a manuscript miscellany of verse compiled between *c.* 1560 and *c.* 1600. It comprises 105 leaves, 23 of which are blank; these are interspersed throughout the miscellany.<sup>1</sup> This edition provides the first full transcription and commentary on the English contents of the manuscript. *P* was begun and mostly developed under the auspices of the courtier John Harington of Stepney (*c.* 1517-1582), but was added to and used by his son, the Elizabethan courtier and epigrammatist Sir John Harington of Kelston (bap. 1560, d. 1612). Together, the Haringtons stand as a significant manuscript-compiling family in sixteenth-century England. *P* takes its place in the Harington collections alongside the famous Arundel Harington Manuscript, based at Arundel Castle (hereafter ‘*AH*’), and Wyatt’s autograph manuscript BL, Egerton MS 2711 (hereafter ‘*E*’), which came into the elder Harington’s possession at some time around the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Both of these manuscripts were rebound together in *c.* 1810 and designated ‘Harrington Ms Nos 1 and 2’. The collection and copying of *P* was in large part a family enterprise, accomplished with the aid of nine scribes in addition to Sir John, and includes Harington poems among its constituent items. However, the elder Harington also culled poems from several textual networks. The manuscript therefore has a dual identity as both an ‘in-house’ Harington family volume and a courtly one.

Like *AH*, *P* is an important and deliberate, rather than random, accumulation of items; the high merit of the poets it includes was recognised both by near-contemporaries to the Haringtons, such as the Elizabethan man of letters George Puttenham (1528-1590x1), as well as later scholars. In total, the manuscript comprises sixty-nine poems: sixty-eight are written in English and one in Latin. There is also a single prose item, the death-bed speech of the Puritan preacher Edward Dering (d. 1576), which is the final item in the manuscript. *P* has an intriguingly nostalgic character for, despite being anthologised over the second half of the sixteenth century, most of the known poets in the manuscript died before 1565. These include: Sir Thomas Wyatt (d. 1542), Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (d. 1547), Sir John Cheke (d.

<sup>1</sup> Figure 1 on pp. 25-27 below shows the distribution of the blanks in *P*.

<sup>2</sup> The route by which Harington acquired *E* is uncertain. Ruth Hughey believes the manuscript may have come into Harington’s hands through the medium of Wyatt’s son, Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger, with whom Harington was associated and imprisoned in 1554 as a result of both men’s role in the uprising against Mary I’s marriage to Philip II of Spain (Hughey, 1971: 34-35).

1557), Thomas Phaer (d. 1560), and Sir Thomas Chaloner (d. 1565). The two exceptions are the initial prime mover of the manuscript, John Harington of Stepney, and the Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion (d. 1581), whose epic on the early Church, composed while a student at Oxford in *c.* 1567-9, is the single Latin item in the manuscript. As A. S. G. Edwards has noted, *P* is an important Surrey manuscript (Edwards, 2004: 286). Its twenty-eight Surrey poems are for the most part substantive, and together amount to the largest collection of that poet's verse in manuscript. Only seventeen of these survive in the most popular printed miscellany of the period, Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557). The Wyatt poems too are substantive, containing marked variants from other manuscript and print witnesses. As such, these entries contribute to the famously variant state of Wyatt's texts that is one of the preoccupations of Chris Stamatakis' recent work on Wyatt and the environment of fluid social textuality into which his verse was composed, copied, and reworked (Stamatakis, 2012: 1-37).

Formal and generic diversity is a keynote of *P*. It boasts poems in the long lines of the fourteener and poulter's measure, several ambitious experiments with the sonnet form, and variations on the classical hexameter. It also gathers together important genres, including epic, heroic epistle, biblical paraphrase, elegy, epitaph, and love lament.<sup>3</sup> Translations from the classics and Italian are also a major part of the manuscript, represented by Books 1-3 of Phaer's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Chaloner's translation Ovid's *Heroides* 17, and several translations of sonnets from Petrarch's *Rime sparse* by Wyatt, Surrey, and most probably John Harington of Stepney. The bulk of these poems have been overlooked, in part because the lack of a scholarly edition has rendered them unavailable to readers, but also because critics have tended to dismiss mid-Tudor verse as the product of a period which C. S. Lewis influentially labelled the 'drab age' (Lewis, 1954: 140). With the exception of Wyatt and Surrey editors, scholarship on *P* has been scant, despite the fact that the Chaloner and Petrarch translations add to a total of seventeen apparently unique poems in the manuscript, as listed in the Folger Union First Line Index.<sup>4</sup> This is just under a third of the total verse contents.

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<sup>3</sup> Examples of epic include poems [2], [3], [15], and [64]; poem [1] is a heroic epistle; poems [50]-[54] and [56], [58], and [59] are biblical paraphrases; poems [33] and [40] are elegies, poems [44], [45], [45], [65], and [67] are epitaphs; and poems [5], [11], [12], [20], [36], [37], [41], [42], and [43] are examples of love lament.

<sup>4</sup> This is the Folger Shakespeare Library's Union First Line Index of English Verse, 13th-19th Century <<http://firstlines.folger.edu/>>. This combines first-line indexes from Oxford's Bodleian Library, Yale's Beinecke Library (Osborn Collection), W. H. Kelliker's British Library index of verse in manuscripts (1894-2009), the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Houghton Library at Harvard University, the Huntington Library, the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds, the Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia, Steven W. May and William A. Ringler, Jr, (2004) *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English*

In its collection of representative Henrician and mid-Tudor verse, *P* has a different tone and apparent purpose from those later Elizabethan and Jacobean manuscripts produced in the universities or Inns of Court. Chief examples are NAL Dyce MS 44, which Claire Bryony Williams has recently edited as *An Edition of National Art Library (Great Britain) MS. Dyce 44* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2012); and BL, Harley MS 7392(2), which Jessica Edmondson is currently editing. These later miscellanies often contain contextually-specific poems, answer poems, salacious pieces, and poetic libels. The comparative soberness of the contents in *P* suggests that the Haringtons picked poems as much for their literary value as their currency, and perhaps to contribute to a patriotic agenda. In its range of translations and original verse, the manuscript showcases the generic and formal malleability of English verse in the mid-Tudor period, and its fitness to compete with other European vernaculars, as well as the classics. The Haringtons' desire to promote the literary claims of English in their miscellany makes it a valuable document which attests to the worth of verse composed before the Elizabethan 'Golden Age'.

## PROVENANCE

### 1815-

*P* has been housed in the manuscripts collection at the British Library since 1973, when it was created as a separate institution from the British Museum. Prior to that institutional division, the British Museum purchased the codex from Bernard Quaritch in October 1900, as a note written on the flyleaf of the manuscript confirms: 'Purch<sup>d</sup> of Mr. B. Quaritch / 15 Oct. 1900' (British Museum, 1969: 131).<sup>5</sup> The Quaritch identified is probably the son (1871-1913) of the more famous bookseller Bernard Quaritch (1819-1899). For much of the nineteenth century, the manuscript was in the private collections of two of that century's most avid bibliophiles. Quaritch most probably acquired it from the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), which was auctioned in 1896, with *P* as lot 1206. It is possible, however, that it came to Quaritch from a private sale conducted after the auction (British Museum, 1969: 131). Phillipps' ownership of the manuscript dates from 1836, when he purchased it at the auction of the bookseller Thomas Thorpe in 1836 (lot 1244) (British Museum, 1969: 131).

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*Verse, 1559-1603*, 3 Vols, Harold Love (2004), *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702*, and verse from the searchable Wing and STC books from EEBO.

<sup>5</sup> The British Library *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* lists the sales catalogue '1900, pt. vii' and the description 'Do. 5811, 11 in. X 7.5 in'.

Phillipps assigned it the shelfmark ‘Phillipps MS 9474’ in his voluminous collection of manuscripts, as is recorded on fol. 2<sup>r</sup> of *P*, a page mostly given over to pen trials in a range of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hands. *P* apparently remained with him at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, until his death in 1872. Prior to Phillipps, Richard Heber (1774-1833) purchased the manuscript from the printer and seller Longman in c. 1815, and it was from the sale of his library in 1836 that Thorpe obtained it (catalogue XI, lot 1336).

Neither Phillipps nor Heber leave any evidence of consulting or examining *P*. The bulk of the written annotations and glosses within its leaves come from a generation or two earlier, at the turn of the nineteenth century, which witnessed an explosion of scholarly interest in the contents of the manuscript. The aggregate result was a new emphasis on the importance of *P* as the largest extant collection of Surrey poems in manuscript. This is the fact for which it continues to be known.

### 1791-1815

When Longman advertised *P* in their sales catalogue *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica* in 1815, the description read: ‘Surrey (Earl of). – A Collection of Manu- | script Poems in the hand writing of Queen | Elizabeth’s reign, including many by Henry | Howard Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyat. | Folio pp. 210. .... £84’ (Griffith, 1815: 328). The supplementary notes identified one Rev. William Sayle of Stowey, Somerset, as the owner and were based largely on those made by Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore (1729-1811), who edited the famous *Reliques of ancient English poetry* (1765) and borrowed *P* from Sayle in the 1790s. Sayle, however, only kept the manuscript until 1800, and Longman’s description elides the ownership of two important owners between 1800 and 1815: the antiquarian and book collector Thomas Park (1758x9-1834), who owned it between 1800 and 1804, having purchased it from Sayle; and the dry-salter and book collector Thomas Hill (1760-1840), who bought the manuscript from Park and sold it to Longman to ease his debts after a failed speculation in indigo (‘Hill, Thomas’, *ODNB*). These are the two figures whose names most frequently provide the siglum for the manuscript (*P* or *H*), and its most common name: the Park-Hill Manuscript. Frederick Morgan Padelford, the first twentieth-century editor of Surrey, actually confused ‘P’ and ‘H’ as two different manuscripts due to the uncertainties around the early-nineteenth-century ownership of the manuscript (Padelford, 1907: 279). Only Hughey definitively reconciled them as the same codex in 1935 (Hughey, 1935: 408-413).

During his ownership of *P*, Hill lent the manuscript to two scholars. One of these was Wyatt's and Surrey's first modern editor, George Frederick Nott (1767-1841), from whom Hill was forced to recall it. Hughey records the correspondence between the two men over the return of the manuscript (Hughey, 1935: 409). Nott required *P* for collation purposes as he worked on his two-volume edition *The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder* (1815-1816). His hand may feature in the manuscript, though is apparently not found in the Wyatt and Surrey groupings. Rather, it adds corrections to two poems: the first is [24], an anonymous translation of Petrarch's *Rima* 61 on fol. 46<sup>r</sup>, and the second the elder Harington's advice poem, 'If dutie wyf', on fol. 69<sup>r</sup>. In both instances initials 'Gn' ('George Nott?') are placed beneath the correction. Nott's annotations are included in the textual notes to the transcript. While his forced return of the manuscript prevented it from assuming a more prominent role in his edition, Nott (I.233) does mention *P* in his own textual notes, stating he took his text of [47] from the 'Hill MS'.

Before Nott, Hill loaned *P* to Alexander Chalmers (1759-1834), who used the manuscript in the second volume of his immense *The Works of the English Poets* (1810) to supplement the sections on Wyatt's and Surrey's lives and verse. Towards the end of the 'Life of Surrey', Chalmers notes explicitly that he borrowed the manuscript from Hill: 'The translations of the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and the few additional poems were printed, but not published, many years ago, by Dr. Percy, from a MS. now in the possession of Thomas Hill, esq., who, with his usual liberality, has permitted a transcription for the present edition' (Chalmers, II, 1810: 322). In using *P* specifically to push Surrey and his hitherto unpublished biblical paraphrases into print, Chalmers continued a trend which had been developed by both Park and Percy.

Park's ownership of *P* between 1800 and 1804 witnessed the first real foray of several of its poems into print, including Surrey's paraphrases. He documents his acquisition and use of the manuscript in a note he appended to his copy of Percy's and George Steevens' projected two-volume edition, *Songes and sonettes and Poems in Blank Verse (not Dramatique) prior to Milton's Paradise Lost* (1808): 'These versions of chapters from Ecclesiastes and the Psalms were taken from one of the Harington MSS. in the hands of the Rev. Mr. Sayle of Stowey, at whose book sale I purchased it, and inserted most of the contents in *Nugae Antiquae*, vol. II' (Hughey, 1935: 410, 2n.). Park's note refers to his editorship of the third, 1804, edition of the *Nugæ Antiquæ* (hereafter 'NA3'). The *Nugæ Antiquæ*, first published in 1769-1775 in two volumes (NA1), was a compendium of letters and poetry taken from the manuscripts of the sixteenth-century Haringtons of Stepney and



Kelston. It was the editorial project of Henry Harington (1754x5-1791), the son of the physician Henry Harington of Bath (1727-1816), and saw a second, three-volume edition in 1779 (*NA2*).<sup>6</sup> Neither *NA1* nor *NA2* contain verse from *P*, which had left the family at that point, and seem assembled in large part from *AH* and the two Harington prose manuscripts alongside manuscripts now apparently lost. Park overhauled the collection for *NA3*, omitting several items and inserting thirteen others from *P*, which include Chaloner's epistle ([1]) and twelve Surrey poems ([34], [47], [50]-[59]). Each of these appears in the section of the second volume entitled 'Poems by Various Authors (written between 1540 and 1612)', and are annotated with Park's own glosses.

Park has added germinal versions of some of these annotations in *P*, leaving a visible record of his research in the pages of the manuscript. His ownership of the manuscript is confirmed in a note in red ink on the pastedown of the front cover, and Park's apparent autograph, together with the date '1800', is inscribed at the top of fol. 3<sup>r</sup>. Park may also have added the notes on fol. 4<sup>r</sup> and fol. 49<sup>v</sup>, which comment on memoranda in the hand of Percy; the first reads 'D<sup>r</sup> Percy's memoranda – to whom this MS Vol. was lent by M<sup>r</sup>. Sayle in 1791'. Park's pencilled note on Helen's maids at the conclusion of [1], reproduced in the textual notes to the transcript, is similar to one which he adds to that poem in *NA3*. In the printed text, it reads: 'Clymene and Æthra were the handmaids and confidantes of Helen. Vide de Arte Amand. lib. ii and Iliad, lib. iii'; in the manuscript on fol. 8<sup>v</sup>, the note reads: 'The kinswomen of Menelaus | the maidians of Helen. Vid. Ovid de | arte a<sup>r</sup>^mand' (*NA3*, II: 389, 5n.). Likewise, fol. 9 of the manuscript is a later slip of paper added to *P* which features appraisals of Chaloner's verse in the words of George Puttenham, Francis Meres and Anthony à Wood. The first two appear almost *litteratim* in Park's initial note on the poem in *NA3* (*NA3*, II: 372, 4n.). Other pencil annotations apparently in Park's hand appear within the Surrey section of poems, all of which are included in the textual notes.

Park's forerunner Thomas Percy, however, was the most active annotator of *P*. On the pastedown of the front cover above Park, he has written 'Mem. This MS belongs to the Rev<sup>d</sup>. W. Sayle of Stowey, Co. Somerset | 1791'. It is therefore probable that Percy consulted the manuscript at around this time. He took poems from it to contribute to his *Songes and Sonettes* edition with Steevens, many copies of which were destroyed by a fire in the printing shop ('Percy, Thomas', *ODNB*). Percy's interest was therefore limited to its Wyatt and Surrey entries, as it was when he used *AH*, 'Dr. [Henry] Harington's MS N<sup>o</sup>. 2', for the same

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<sup>6</sup> For a broader discussion of the three *Nugæ Antiquæ* editions (*NA1-3*), see pp. 36-37 below.

purpose. On fol. 4<sup>r</sup>, he has written: ‘In this MS. occur many | of Lord Surrey’s Poems (but | not all that are printed | among the Songs & Sonnets | 1557 &c.) In D<sup>r</sup>. Harrington’s | MS. N<sup>o</sup>. 1 occur in like manner | many of S<sup>r</sup>. Tho. Wyatt’s Poems | but differing also from the | printed copies ~’.<sup>7</sup> To this he has added on fol. 4<sup>v</sup> ‘An Alphabetical Table of the Poems’ in *P*, organised as a first-line index. This table also contains notes on Percy’s annotating practice, including a comment that he has affixed asterisks to Wyatt and Surrey poems wherein ‘great variations’ to the printed versions are found. These asterisks and their accompanying references to the second quarto of Tottel are the annotations he adds within the Wyatt and Surrey groupings, and are recorded in the textual notes of this edition. In advertising the substantive Wyatt and Surrey poems in *P*, Percy laid the foundations for the scholarly use of the manuscript over the subsequent two decades and beyond.

### 1663-1791

In marked contrast to the early nineteenth century, the period before Rev. Sayle’s ownership of *P* in 1791 yields only scant information. It is possible that, by the 1790s, the manuscript had been in Sayle’s possession for a number of years; any previous eighteenth-century owners are unknown. Park does, however, leave a record of one possible seventeenth-century owner. Centred at the top of fol. 3<sup>r</sup>, he has written ‘Liber Jacobi Tyrell. | 1663’ in an ornate italic hand, besides which is his own name. This is a page which otherwise contains three biblical excerpts in Hebrew, from Numbers, 36:8, Leviticus, 27:29. and Exodus, 40:33, with accompanying references in Latin. The James Tyrrell to whom Park refers is unknown. *P* seems until Rev. Sayle to have a regional attachment to Somerset, beginning with its location in the Harington household at Kelston. However, no record of a James Tyrrell from Somerset survives on the genealogical database Family Search.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, there are no candidates with this name at Cambridge, where some members of the Harington family were enrolled, but one at Oxford, where other family members attended. This is James Tyrrell of Shotover, Oxford (1642-1718) (‘Tyrrell, James’, *ODNB*), a high-profile political theorist who numbered John Locke (1632-1708) among his circle of friends. It is possible that *P* could have come to Tyrrell from its apparent home at Somerset via a Harington. Locke also provides a possible though hypothetical link between Somerset and Oxford, though it is uncertain that he ever had possession of the manuscript. Locke was born in Wrington, Somerset, and was

<sup>7</sup> The manuscript Percy terms ‘Dr. Harrington’s MS No. 1’ is Wyatt’s autograph manuscript, *E*.

<sup>8</sup> The full website address is <<https://familysearch.org/>>, accessed 18 July 2013.

raised in neighbouring Ponsford before studying at Oxford. In the absence of further evidence, the Oxford James Tyrrell's ownership can only be conjectural.

### **c. 1560-c. 1663**

There is no certain knowledge of the owner(s) of *P* in the first half of the seventeenth century before Tyrrell. The evidence, however, points to the conclusion that it remained in the Harington family, perhaps as late as c. 1638 or 1639, before leaving it some time thereafter. The main grounds for this hypothesis are certain similarities with Wyatt's autograph manuscript, *E* ('Harington MS No. 1'), which the Haringtons certainly kept at this time. The younger Haringtons of this period used Wyatt's manuscript as a workbook, creating a palimpsest of its leaves by overwriting the poems with mathematics and language homework, alongside several other types of note. On a much-reduced scale, *P* also features additions of this nature. On fol. 33<sup>v</sup>, someone has set out a mathematical problem; on fol. 34<sup>v</sup>, someone (perhaps the same person) has drawn a geometric diagram of a triangle. *P* and *E* also share passages in Hebrew: *P* on fol. 3<sup>r</sup> and *E* upside down *E* on fol. 40<sup>r</sup>; in each, the same hand may be responsible. The two manuscripts also share another annotating hand, probably seventeenth-century in origin, which has added passages on vacant leaves. The *P* example is found on fol. 79<sup>v</sup>, adjacent to [65] on fol. 80<sup>r</sup> but upside-down, where the hand has copied an English translation of an excerpt 'out of Thomas Aquinas'. In *E*, the same hand has made entries on fols 2<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>; it may be responsible too for adding a passage upside-down in the second Harington prose manuscript, on fol. 129<sup>r</sup>.<sup>9</sup> These correspondences between *P* and *E* suggest, but cannot confirm, that *P* remained in the possession of the Harington family at Kelston in the years following Sir John Harington's death in 1612. The circumstances which led to the manuscript leaving the family, a fact which distinguishes it from the Haringtons' other principal verse miscellanies, is not known.

The binding of *P* at around turn of the seventeenth century brought a close to a process of compilation and transcription which had probably been ongoing for the best part of forty years or more. Like *AH*, the origins of *P* are most probably early Elizabethan: Hughey (I:36) argues that *AH* was begun 'by the early years of Elizabeth's reign, and perhaps earlier', and continued up to c. 1600. The compilation of *P* appears to have taken place over a broadly similar period. In the *Index* (I.170), May and Ringler posit a hypothetical date range of c.

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<sup>9</sup> The second prose manuscript also has a mathematical problem on fol. 134<sup>v</sup>, but this is not in the same italic hand.

1560-1590. The preponderance of items composed before 1565 indicates that its instigator and initial compiler was almost certainly John Harington of Stepney, though much of the active copying and organisation of the manuscript was undertaken by his immediate family and household scribes.

Harington's life was one of contrasting fortune and favour, both of which were tied to his allegiances. Hughey (1971) provides a detailed account of his life. First noted as being part of Henry VIII's household in *c.* 1538, Harington had become the client of Thomas Seymour, brother of Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset, by *c.* 1544 ('Harington, John', *ODNB*). When Seymour fell in 1549, Harington was imprisoned alongside him. Poem [16] in *P*, a stanza on friendship translated from Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, reflects the strength of Harington's relationship with Seymour. During his first imprisonment in 1549, Harington also translated a French version of Cicero's *De Amicitia*, which Thomas Berthelet printed in 1550 as *The booke of freendship of Marcus Tullie Cicero* (STC 5276). Harington was imprisoned for a second time in 1554 and early 1555 for his suspected involvement with Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, in the rising against Mary I's proposed marriage to Phillip II of Spain. Princess Elizabeth was a fellow prisoner at this time. Poem [62] dates from this period and is aimed at Mary I's Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, with whom Harington had a strained relationship (Hughey, 1971: 42-46). Upon Elizabeth I's accession to the throne in 1558, in whose service Harington's second wife Isabella had been, his life became more stable and prosperous. He retained the favour of Elizabeth, who was godmother to Sir John (1561-1612), and appears to have undertaken the process of building the family manor house at Kelston in Somerset, which Sir John completed (Hughey, 1971: 49; 64). It is in this period of comparative leisure that Harington most probably began the compilation of *P*.

The different characters of the ten scribal hands suggest that the items were copied over a range of dates in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup> The probable input of Sir John's hand in the manuscript, in poem [26a], indicates that work on *P* certainly continued into the later reaches of the century. Ruth Hughey identified Hands B and C in the manuscript as, first, Sir John's brother and sister Francis and Ellina (Hughey, 1935: 408-413), before revising this hypothesis to his daughters Frances and Ellina, which would date the input of Hands B and C

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<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of the ten scribal hands in *P*, see pp. 47-57 below.

to the late 1590s (Hughey, I, 1960: 40, 51n.).<sup>11</sup> Hughey made these attributions on the basis that the signatures ‘Francis Haryngton’ and ‘Ellina Harrington’ have been added to fol. 29<sup>v</sup>, as has the separate signature ‘Ellina Harrington’ on fol. 82<sup>f</sup>. However, as the ‘Hands’ section below argues, it is distinctly improbable on palaeographical evidence that Hands B and C are those of Frances or Ellina. Nevertheless, their signatures do perhaps furnish evidence that Sir John’s children used *P* and looked over its contents. The nature and possible sources of these contents, their layout and order in the manuscript, and their wider cultural significance, are the themes of the next section.

## CONTENTS

*P* is an important document whose contents, together with their possible sources, reveal John Harington of Stepney’s interest in collecting valuable poems from a wide range of textual networks. The layout and ordering of these contents in *P* were undertaken in a deliberate and careful fashion, and the poems themselves hold significance in wider sixteenth-century literary and manuscript culture. This section addresses each of these aspects in turn.

### Contents

The eight writers in *P* are, in order of their appearance: Sir Thomas Chaloner; Thomas Phaer; Sir Thomas Wyatt; the elder Harington; Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; Edmund Campion; Sir John Cheke; and Edward Dering. The manuscript therefore combines ‘in-house’ poems and representative early– and –mid Tudor entries, giving it a dual identity as both a family and courtly miscellany. Above all, the manuscript reflects the kinds of poem which circulated among mid-Tudor compilers such as the elder Harington, and the types of verse he valued and sought to supplement through his own poetic efforts. The result is a miscellany which, as a predominantly Elizabethan collection, is unusually nostalgic in its leanings, but which also showcases Harington’s well-connectedness. As Arthur F. Marotti has remarked of *AH*, Harington’s preservation of such verse helped to fashion both himself and his family as members of ‘courtly society’ and participants in ‘the recreations of an educated elite’ (Marotti, 1995: 63). Harington’s selection of entries may also bespeak his desire to compile a

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<sup>11</sup> For records of Sir John Harington’s children, see F. J. Poynton’s pedigree in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, New Series, Vol. 4 (1884), pp. 191-193. Francis did perhaps act as one of Sir John’s scribes (Kilroy, 2009: 73).

manuscript miscellany to emulate, and even rival, Tottel's best-selling print anthology, the *Songes and Sonettes*.

At a fundamental level, *P* offers a conspectus of the wide range of genres and forms in which poets from the 1530s to 1560s worked and experimented, including Harington himself.<sup>12</sup> Of the 4941 written lines in the manuscript, 3123 (63%) are taken up by epic poetry, with [2], [3], and [15] Books 1-3 of Phaer's translation of the *Aeneid*; and [64] Campion's 821-line religious epic on the early Church in Latin. In terms of numbers, however, the sonnet occupies the largest share of the manuscript, with twenty five of the seventy works (36%) in this form. This increases to twenty seven (39%) if [13] and [14] are permitted as eighteen-line variations on the sonnet. Biblical paraphrase in poulter's measure is the second most represented genre, with eight items (11%) in the manuscript; non-sonnet love laments are third with seven poems (10%). Amid the variety of genres and forms are also anti-Catholic polemic ([13], [14]), complaint ([17], [18], [62]), elegy ([33]), epitaph ([45], [65]), and epithalamium ([65], [69]), the final two of which are among the earliest dated epithalamia in the Tudor corpus of verse. The common denominator of the poems in *P* is their sober tone. There are no lewd or salacious poems, nor, with the possible exception of Harington's poem [62] on Gardiner, are there libels whose contents are tied to contextual knowledge of particular environments, events, or persons. In this regard, the manuscript has much in common with the earlier items in *AH*, and differs from the more *au courant* miscellanies compiled at the universities or Inns of Court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which Marotti has described in depth (Marotti, 1995: 31-37; Marotti, 2012: 236-266). With the exception of Campion's poem, *P* seems designed above all to foreground English as a viable and flexible medium for verse. This patriotic ambition of the manuscript is one of its main distinctions.

In his selection of entries for the manuscript, Harington demonstrably had access to several privileged manuscript circles despite his moderate social standing as a minor court servant and gentleman. Reconstructing these, or at least hypothesising what they were, gives some indication of his intellectual milieu, but is a valuable undertaking in itself given that relatively few of the poems in *P* survive in print, and not many more in other manuscript witnesses. It is clear from several pieces in *AH* that Harington was an opportunistic collector of verse. He possibly took the biblical paraphrases of Sir Thomas Smith; John Dudley, Earl of Warwick; and Robert Dudley in that manuscript during his two imprisonments in the

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<sup>12</sup> Figure 1 below on pp. 25-27 describes the genre of each of the entries in *P*.

Tower: Smith was a fellow prisoner in 1549, and the Dudley brothers John and Robert in 1554/5 (Hughey, I: [289], [290], [323]). The original composition of these pieces also certainly pre-dates their compilation in *AH* by several years, and it is highly probable that many of the contents in *P* were collected some time before transcriptions of them were made.

Harington had associations with several important Protestants and humanists of the mid-sixteenth century. These included Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk (1519-1580); to whom he dedicated his *Booke of freendeship* in 1550; Sir William Cecil; Sir John Cheke, and Roger Ascham. It is from these intellectual circles that he may well have culled the Cheke poems in *P*, of which [65]-[68] carry strong attributions; [69] is a probable Cheke item. Harington was, for instance, stationed in the household of Catherine Parr and Sir Thomas Seymour in 1548; at this time, Roger Ascham was tutor to Princess Elizabeth, of whom Parr and Seymour had charge. This is one potential route through which Harington obtained his Cheke poems. The Haringtons cultivated a wider interest in Cheke, and their prose miscellanies are replete with his letters to various recipients, including one from Cheke to Harington during Cheke's exile in 1554. This is preserved in each of *NA1-3*.<sup>13</sup> None of the Cheke poems survive in manuscript or print sources outside of *P* and *AH*, and the evidence of [66], which preserves Cheke's idiosyncratic spellings, suggest that Harington's source was possibly Cheke's autograph copy or at least one at a close proximity to it. Harington's poem [63] is a translation of a Latin original by Cheke's associate and fellow humanist Walter Haddon (1516-1572) which probably pre-dates the appearance of that text in print.<sup>14</sup> Here again the likelihood is that Harington obtained a version in manuscript through Protestant and/or humanist networks.

The preservation in *P* of the Chaloner and Phaer translations ([1]; [2], [3], [15]) is also significant. Neither was apparently a prolific poet, and little is known of the textual circles through which their work circulated, particularly in the case of Phaer, who was stationed for most of his adult life in the marches of Wales. None of the pieces in *P* survive in any other extant manuscript sources. These texts may have found a courtly audience through a contact such as George Ferrers (c. 1510-1579), who knew both men. However, Ferrers' membership of the literary circle of William Baldwin, with which Chaloner was connected and Phaer perhaps more loosely so, makes it an equally plausible source for Harington. This largely Protestant group collaboratively produced the the hugely popular compendium of *de casibus*

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<sup>13</sup> Cheke's letter is in *NA1*, I, pp. 171-172; *NA2*, II, pp. 258-259; and *NA3*, III, pp. 51-53.

<sup>14</sup> For [63], see Vol. II, pp. 317-321.

tragedies, *A Myrroure for Magistrates*. Although Harington has no traceable link to the circle, he may have been well-placed to obtain copies of any poetic material which passed through it.

A similar scenario perhaps pertains for the Campion and Dering pieces. In these cases, Sir John as well as the elder Harington was possibly involved in accessing copies.<sup>15</sup> Item [70] in *P*, a version of the Puritan Dering's reported death-bed sermon, is preserved in no other known manuscript witnesses. The two other copies of the Jesuit Campion's poem are both of a Harington provenance. The textual environments through which both works circulated are unknown. Dering's known networks are Kent-based and epistolary in nature, as his collection of letters to spiritually-inclined women, *Certaine Godly and Verie comfortable Letters* (1590), attests ('Dering, Edward', *ODNB*). Another avenue was perhaps the Court, where Dering material would probably have passed through the hands of stronger-minded Protestants, such as Barnabe Googe (1540-1594). The channels through which Campion's poem came to the Haringtons may well have been both Catholic and clandestine. It is possible that such networks had roots at Oxford, where Campion composed the poem and was based until he departed for the continent in 1570.

Taken as a whole, *P* is the product of Harington's and his family's dedication to uncovering and preserving poems from several intellectual sources. This includes its Wyatt and Surrey selections; these were probably obtained from courtly environments, and are considered in greater detail below. Early twentieth-century commentators proposed the elder Harington as the editor of Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* and supplier of its major texts, which Hyder Rollins (II.92), Hughey (1971: 52), and Steven W. May (2009: 420) have successively rebutted. It is possible that Harington provided Tottel with some texts, but, in the case of *P*, approximately half of its verse contents in *P* do not survive in Tottel. Even taking Harington's possible relation with Tottel into account, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that *P* was a reaction to the printed miscellany. The literary-cultural impact which Tottel's publication registered may have spurred the Haringtons to compile their own manuscript equivalent, but their choice of contents seems as rivalrous as it is imitative, delivering a bullish statement of their resourcefulness as compilers. In this sense, *P* affords an example of the complex reciprocal interaction between the worlds of manuscript and print.

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<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of Sir John's role in preserving material relating to Campion, see pp. 39-40 below.



## Layout and Ordering

The layout and ordering of contents in *P* indicates that the Haringtons had a clear design in mind when they bound the manuscript. Given that the binding dates approximately to the turn of the seventeenth century, it is almost certain that the poems were initially copied on loose leaves and later folded and bound into the present codex. In addition, the scribes of [1] and [64] both use catchwords; lines from Phaer's Books 2 and 3, on fols 21<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>v</sup> and 36<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>v</sup>, run well into the gutter. These are both strong indications that the pages were copied before being bound. With some potential exceptions, the verse contents of *P* are arranged according to author and, within these authorial groupings, on the basis of genre or poem length. This principle may shed light on the authorship of the anonymous entries in the manuscript. Although the date of the binding makes it probable that Sir John oversaw this process, the plan to collate authorial groupings possibly originated with his father.

The term 'author' is, of course, used advisedly for manuscript poems: as Stamatakis argues, they were entities not so much authored as 'handled' and reworked by a number of different textual agents over the course of their transmission, including scribes and compilers (Stamakis, 2012: 17-18). Nevertheless, the Haringtons appear to have followed a broadly author- (or at least initial composer-) centred system of organisation in *P*. Within the manuscript there are also six blank spaces, three of which are sizeable. The points at which these spaces occur suggest that they may be deliberate, and indicate that the Haringtons intended to fill them at a later date with poems linked via genre or author to those already in place. The table below shows these generally authorial groupings in the manuscript:

<b>Grouping / Section</b>	<b>Poem(s) and Genre</b>	<b>Poet</b>	<b>Folios</b>	<b>Hand(s)</b>
1	[1]: heroic epistle; translation of Ovid, <i>Heroides</i> 17	Chaloner	5 <sup>r</sup> -8 <sup>v</sup>	F
	later slip of paper bound into the manuscript		9 <sup>r-v</sup>	
2	[2]-[3]: epic; translation of Books 1 and 2 of the <i>Aeneid</i>	Phaer	10 <sup>r</sup> -29 <sup>v</sup>	A
3	[4]: satire; [5]: sonnet; [6]-[10] epigrams; [11]-[12]: love laments	Wyatt	30 <sup>r</sup> -33 <sup>r</sup>	B, A

BLANK	ONE LEAF original paper stock mathematics homework		33 <sup>v</sup> -35 <sup>r</sup>	
4	[13]-[14]: anti-curial satire; translations of Petrarch's <i>Rime sparse</i> 136 and 138	Anon.	35 <sup>v</sup>	A
5	[15]: epic; translation of Book 3 of the <i>Aeneid</i>	Phaer	36 <sup>r</sup> -43 <sup>r</sup>	A
6	[16]: stanza on friendship; translation from Ariosto, <i>Orlando Furioso</i>	Harington of Stepney	44 <sup>r</sup>	B
7	[17]: satire/complaint; [18]: satire/complains	Anon.	44 <sup>r</sup> -44 <sup>v</sup>	B
BLANK	SIX LEAVES original paper stock		pp. 92-103 (unfoliated)	
8	[19]-[25], [27]-[31]: sonnets translated from Petrarch's <i>Rime sparse</i> ; [26a]: moralising sixain	Anon.	45 <sup>r</sup> -48 <sup>r</sup>	B, D, I, J
BLANK	original paper stock		48 <sup>v</sup> -49 <sup>v</sup>	
9	[32]: amatory complaint; [33]: elegy; [34]: satire; [35]-[37]: amatory complaint; [38]: epigram; translation of Martial; [39]- [46]: sonnets; [47]: amatory poem; [48]-[49]: sonnets	Surrey	50 <sup>r</sup> -57 <sup>r</sup>	A, B, C
BLANK	original paper stock		57 <sup>v</sup> -58 <sup>r</sup>	
10	[50]-[54]: biblical paraphrase; [55]: dedication; [56]: biblical paraphrase; [57]: dedication; [58]-[59]: biblical paraphrase	Surrey	58 <sup>v</sup> -65 <sup>v</sup>	B, C
BLANK	TWO LEAVES original paper stock		pp. 147-150 (unfoliated)	
11	[60]: sonnet	Harington of	66 <sup>v</sup>	B

		Stepney		
12	[61]: posy/maxim	Anon.	66 <sup>v</sup>	B
13	[62]: complaint; [63]: advice poem	Harington of Stepney	67 <sup>v</sup> -68 <sup>v</sup>	B, G
14	[64]: religious epic, Latin	Campion	69 <sup>v</sup> -78 <sup>r</sup>	E
BLANK	original paper stock		pp. 176-201; (unfoliated) ff. 79r-79v	
15	[65]: epitaph; [66]: epithalamium; [67]: moral poem; [68]: epitaph	Cheke	80 <sup>r</sup> -81 <sup>r</sup>	A
16	[69]: epithalamium	Anon. [Cheke?]	81 <sup>v</sup>	A2
17	[70]: sermon	Dering	82 <sup>r</sup>	H

Figure 1: Layout of *P* and Ordering of Contents

Of the seventeen groupings (or sections for those single-item representatives), twelve are ordered on the basis of author, with the ninth and tenth effectively constituting one grouping with a short two-page hiatus between Surrey's lyrics and biblical paraphrases.<sup>16</sup> As in most anthologies, major entries tend to begin on rectos; those which do not, such as the fourth, eleventh, and thirteenth groupings, are among the more difficult to assign in the manuscript. It is probable that the fourth follows the author-centred rationale, and possible that the sixth and seventh groupings represent one cohesive author-centred collection. The same pertains for the eleventh to thirteenth and fifteenth and sixteenth groupings. Each of these cases is discussed in greater detail below. The fifth section, Phaer's translation of Book 3 of the *Aeneid*, is anomalous in the authorial groupings given that it is divorced from Books 1 and 2 in the second grouping. This lack of consecutive Phaer entries may well be the result of an error during the binding of the manuscript.

The Haringtons' concern for arranging verse in an orderly and author-determined fashion in *P* resembles that of Tottel. Here again it is tempting to see the *Songes and Sonettes* as an influence on the elder Harington's and Sir John's anthologising practice. Nearer at hand,

<sup>16</sup> The twelve author-centred groupings (or sections) are 1-5, 9-11, 13-15, and 17.

*P* also has similarities to the earliest sections of *AH*. Hughey (I.27) argues that in its initial conception, that manuscript contained four major groupings: (1) poems of John Harington of Stepney and others, (2) poems of Surrey, (3) poems of Wyatt, and (4) another section of Harington poems interspersed with the verse of others. This order is author-centred in its second and third groupings, though the others are more heterogeneous in nature and somewhat analogous to the ‘Uncertain Auctours’ section of Tottel. The broad correspondences between the two verse miscellanies here point to author-centred groupings being a Harington *modus operandi*.

In general, each authorial grouping in *P* is the work of an individual scribal hand among the ten who contributed to the manuscript, though there are exceptions. Hand A is responsible for copying all of the Phaer and Cheke poems in the manuscript; Hand B transcribed all of the known Harington the elder poems with the exception of [63], which is the work of Hand G. The single-poem sections continue this trend: Hand F copied the Chaloner poem in the first section, Hand E the Campion poem in the fourteenth section, and Hand H the Dering sermon in the seventeenth. This cumulative evidence suggests that the Haringtons set individual scribes the task of copying specific material. The consistency of the ink across most of these scribes’ output indicate that they copied their assigned workload in a single stint. This includes Hand H, who copied the 821-line Campion poem. In [2], another long poem, Hand A changed pens towards the end of the poem on fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.

Hands A and B are the apparent household scribes who undertook the bulk of the copying work. Hand A is involved in six groupings and Hand B in eight; both have an input in the third, Wyatt grouping, and ninth and tenth Surrey groupings. Hand B, or a hand which resembles it, added partial first lines from *Rime* 136 and 138 to serve as headings to the Hand A-copied poems [13] and [14] in the fourth grouping. The Wyatt and Surrey groupings therefore disrupt the general trend in being the products of more than one hand. Even here, however, the copying load is apparently subdivided according to genre or length of poem. With regard to Wyatt, Hand B copied the longer epistolary satire and Hand A the shorter lyrics; for Surrey, Hand A transcribed the lyrics, Hand B the paraphrase of Eccles. 1-5, and Hand C the paraphrase of Psalms 88, 73, and 55, together with their accompanying dedications. The single exception is poem [48], a sonnet which Hand B copied on fol. 57<sup>r</sup>; below it, Hand A completed the lyric section of the ninth Surrey grouping with [49]. The variants in handwriting size, line spaces, and ink indicate that Hand A copied the lyrics in more than one sitting (see textual notes in the transcript). The short hiatus between Surrey’s lyrics and the paraphrases demarcates the ninth and tenth groupings and has the paraphrases

unusually begin on a verso. However, it does not contradict the Haringtons' broad schema of authorial groupings. They perhaps intended to fill the gap with additional Surrey lyrics, or wished to mark a generic division between lyrics and paraphrases. The same decision probably underlies the single-page ellipsis between the satire [4] and the lyrics [5]-[10] in the Wyatt grouping.

The most knotted questions which surround the make-up of *P* concern, first, the curious eighth grouping, and, second, the relation between the anonymous fourth, seventh, eleventh, and sixteenth sections and the authorial ones which precede or succeed them. Hand B has a central part in each of these groupings, except the fourth. It is the dominant hand in the eighth grouping, transcribing nine of a sequence of twelve sonnet translations from Petrarch's *Rime sparse* which is punctuated by the sixain, [26a]. The varying consistency of the ink, as is the case between the poems on fol. 46<sup>r-v</sup>, makes it probable that Hand B copied the translations over more than one session. Poems [27] and [28] are the work of Hand D, who used only the recto of fol. 47; on the vacant verso, Hand I opportunistically added [29], probably after *P* had been bound. In this place, it serves as the only 'answer poem' as such in the manuscript, placed adjacent to a translation of the same sonnet, *Rima* 365, which completes the grouping.<sup>17</sup> Alongside Hand B, there are therefore two additional scribes who contributed to the sequence. Despite this, the sequence appears to have been undertaken with a clear design in mind. Translations of Petrarch's first and final sonnets in the *Rime sparse* serve as the bookends. There is perhaps also a thematic *cursus*, progressing from amatory through morally serious to spiritual sonnets, which dictated the arrangement of the internal poems and leaves in the grouping.<sup>18</sup>

With the probable exception of [29], this eighth grouping may be the work of a single author. Another witness to poem [26a] is preserved in *AH*, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>, though it is there deleted and replaced with a modified version. The surrounding poems in *AH* are all pieces with strong attributions to John Harington of Stepney; on this basis, Hughey (II.7-8) also claims him as the author of the variant sixain and, by implication, [26a]. The fact that Sir John copied [26a] into *P* suggests it is either his own poem or, equally, that of his father. His rationale for adding the poem after [25] may merely have been that the half-page was vacant, but it may also be a deliberate addition to a set of his father's translations from Petrarch, or both. Beyond this hypothesis and the knowledge that Hand B copied most of the known Harington poems in the manuscript, there are literary grounds for considering the elder

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of [29], see Vol. II, pp. 181-182.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the order of the sequence, see Vol. II, p.156.

Harington the probable author of the sonnets in the sequence. The experimental forms of these sonnets are consistent with the adventurous rhyme schemes of Harington's known poems, both sonnets and otherwise. The sustained allusions to Wyatt and Surrey in the sequence, moreover, suggest a keen admirer and student of the two poets, as Harington's collections of their verse in both *P* and *AH* attest that he was. This formal and textual evidence makes Harington the chief candidate for their authorship.<sup>19</sup>

The first anonymous grouping in *P*, the fourth, is copied by Hand A, and is confined to the single verso fol. 35<sup>v</sup>. It comprises two translations of Petrarch's 'Babylon' sonnets, [13] and [14], which follow the Wyatt grouping. The case for Harington's authorship of these is not as strong as the Petrarchan translations in the eighth grouping, but the unusual rhyme schemes make it plausible.<sup>20</sup> Both Kenneth Muir and Anthony Mortimer have assigned these poems to the elder Harington on the basis of their presence in *P* (Muir, 1950: 464-471; Mortimer, 2002: 17).

The second anonymous grouping, the seventh, is the work of Hand B. A stretch of six blank leaves (pp. 92-103) separates the poems in this section, [17] and [18], from the eighth grouping. They have, however, been gathered together with [16], a Hand B-copied poem which Sir John attributes unequivocally to his father in his translation of *Orlando Furioso* in 1591 (Harington, 1591: N5<sup>r</sup>). Poem [17] follows [16] on fol. 44<sup>r</sup>; [18] is on the subsequent verso.<sup>21</sup> In the twelfth section, Hand B copied the two-line posy or maxim, [61].<sup>22</sup> This is sandwiched between two Harington sections/groupings, both of which, like the fourth, begin uncommonly on versos. The eleventh contains [60], a sonnet which Sir John also assigns to his father in *Orlando Furioso* (Harington, 1591: F3<sup>r</sup>), and the thirteenth contains [62] and [63], both of which have strong connections to Harington. The placement of [17], [18], and [61] in the manuscript, together with the fact that Hand B copies them, makes Harington's authorship highly probable if not, in the final analysis, conclusive.

Taking Harington as the author of these poems, [16]-[18] would constitute one cohesive sixth grouping in the manuscript and [60]-[63] one cohesive eleventh grouping. The sixteenth section in the manuscript, the single item [69], is almost certainly a Cheke poem given its formal and textual similarities with [65]-[68] in the fifteenth grouping. It is separated from these poems on the basis that the witness in *AH*, the only other copy known, carries no subscription to Cheke, whereas the texts of [65]-[68] in that manuscript all feature

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of Harington's possible authorship of the sequence, see Vol. II, pp. 158-160.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of Harington's possible authorship of [13] and [14], see Vol. II, pp. 122-123.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of Harington's possible authorship of [17] and [18], see Vol. II, pp. 148 and 152-155.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of Harington's possible authorship of [61], see Vol. II, p. 309.

one. If [69] is added to the existing Cheke collection, [65]-[69] would constitute a unified fifteenth grouping.

The result of merging the groupings thus would be a total of twelve groupings, with the fourth, sixth, eighth, and eleventh consisting of Harington poems. The possible presence of so many Harington poems in *P* accords with Marotti's statement that manuscript compilers often inserted their own poems into their miscellanies (Marotti, 1995: 171). One clear problem with claiming the four anonymous groupings as Harington ones is that their sporadic presence in *P* disrupts the otherwise prevalent system of dedicating each grouping to an individual author, the error with the fifth notwithstanding. It is not clear why these 'in-house' items of *P* would not have been arranged in a similar fashion to the rest. The fact that blank spaces surround each of the present seventh, eighth, and eleventh groupings also warrants explanation. However, the other principal Harington miscellanies share similarities regarding these seemingly *ad hoc* Harington groupings and the use of blank spaces. First, the presence of Harington poems in different miscellaneous groupings is also a characteristic of *AH*, as cited above, though some of the pieces there were copied at different times onto available folios once the initial contents had been entered. Second, both *AH* and the first Harington prose manuscript have entries separated by blank leaves which correspond to the blanks in *P*; it therefore appears to be a procedure which the Haringtons adopted uniformly for their miscellanies. Before Sir John's later additions to it, *AH* contained numerous blank leaves. As Hughey (I.27) notes, moreover, in the first prose manuscript 'one to ten leaves of the original paper are left blank between entries[, making] space [...] available for material of a similar nature'. As in *P*, these spaces were not used. The blanks surrounding the 'Harington' groupings in *P* were probably deliberate ellipses, left to be filled out when other Harington poems, or those in the same genre or form, came to hand.

With the possible exception of these 'Harington' groupings, there is overall a clear system underpinning the order of *P*, which focused on grouping together poems from the loose leaves on the basis of their authorship. This was an order which fell in line with both Tottel's practice and *AH*, and may point to their influence.

### **Cultural Significance**

The main significance of *P* in sixteenth-century manuscript and literary culture is the number of substantive Wyatt and Surrey poems it preserves, i.e., those which have do not descend from another extant witness, as well as the number of apparently unique mid-Tudor poems it

adds to the surviving canon. The first of these is covered in point (i) below, which focuses on the Wyatt and Surrey entries in *P* in the overall context of other sixteenth-century witnesses to these two poems, particularly Tottel. Point (ii) addresses the place of the manuscript in the overall Harington collection of miscellanies. As Marotti has averred, the importance of these collections makes the Haringtons one of the premier manuscript-compiling families of the sixteenth century (Marotti, 1995: 61-63). Point (iii) gives detailed consideration to the unique items in *P*, and (iv) considers its unusually varied religious profile.

(i) *Wyatt and Surrey Canon*

*P* is distinctive in being an Elizabethan verse miscellany whose contents are largely pre-1565 in date of composition. As noted above, this is in part because its featured poets are almost entirely contemporary with the elder Harington, as a man born in 1517x1520. The nostalgic inclination of the manuscript may also have been born out of the Haringtons' desire to respond to the publication of Tottel's printed miscellany. In making Wyatt and Surrey's verse widely available in print from 1557, Tottel dulled the taste and need for anthologising it in manuscript after this date. Against this background, *P*'s inclusion of multiple poems by both poets is therefore unusual.<sup>23</sup> Thomas Whythorne (c. 1528-1596) offers one of the more high-profile counterparts to Harington in gathering large numbers of Wyatt and Surrey poems for transcription, albeit at an earlier date. He copied both poets' material, in transcriptions not now extant, for the playwright and epigrammatist John Heywood (1496x7-1578), as Whythorne recounts in his *Autobiography*: 'Also whyll I waz with [Heywood] I did wryt owt for him diverz songs and sonets þat wer mad by þe erll of Surrey, sir Thomas Wiatt þe elder, and Mr Moor þe excellent harper besyd certain salms þat wer mad by þe said mr wyatt, and also mr. Sternhold' (Whythorne, 1961: 14). Whythorne entered Heywood's service as a 'servant and skoller' some time after his departure from Oxford in 1545 and appears to have remained in the household for around three years (Whythorne, 1961: 13; 'Whithorne, Thomas', *ODNB*).

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<sup>23</sup> There are no real Elizabethan analogues to *P* which manifest such a nostalgic taste, nor are there many which preserve poems which had been made widely available in print. Steven W. May's recent article on Somerset Heritage Centre DD/SF 10/5/1, a manuscript apparently compiled by one Samuel Watts, offers a partial counterpart from the early-seventeenth century (May, 2012: 190-211). This manuscript takes form as an assemblage of mainly printed excerpts from poets such as Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Spenser, and prose writers such as John Lyly and Robert Greene. Watts and his principal collaborator therefore jettison early-Stuart favourites such as John Donne, Henry Wotton, and William Strode. However, Watts differs from the Haringtons in taking his excerpts directly from print rather than culling alternative versions from manuscript currents.



The Haringtons' preservation of Wyatt and Surrey poems in *P* thus ensures that the manuscript must be considered alongside earlier miscellanies in manuscript and print rather than Tottel's Elizabethan successors such as Richard Edwards' *The Paradyse of daynty deuices* (1576; STC 7516). Beyond this, their inclusion of Wyatt and Surrey poems may have been competitive in motivation, asserting the Haringtons' ability to add different and (in their estimation) superior copies than were available in Tottel. The discussion below ends on this point.

Outside of the Harington collections, the major manuscript miscellanies with which *P* shares poems are Henrician in provenance. These are BL, Add. MS 17492, the Devonshire Manuscript (*D*); and Trinity College, Dublin, MS 160, the Blage Manuscript (*B*). With *D*, *P* shares five poems and with *B* it shares three, as the table below summarises:

Poem	Poet	Add. MS 36529	Blage / Devonshire
[4]: 'Myne owne I.P'	Wyatt	fol. 30 <sup>r</sup>	<i>D</i> , fol. 85 <sup>v</sup>
[5]: 'I finde no peace'	Wyatt	fol. 32 <sup>r</sup>	<i>D</i> , fol. 82 <sup>r</sup>
[6]: 'Venemous thorns'	Wyatt	fol. 32 <sup>r</sup>	<i>D</i> , fol. 72 <sup>v</sup>
[7]: 'I am not dead'	Wyatt	fol. 32 <sup>r</sup>	<i>D</i> , fol. 74 <sup>r</sup>
[9]: 'A face'	Wyatt	fol. 32 <sup>v</sup>	<i>B</i> , fol. 72 <sup>r</sup>
[10]: 'The wandring gadling'	Wyatt	fol. 32 <sup>v</sup>	<i>D</i> , fol. 35 <sup>v</sup>
[35]: 'Suche waywarde wais'	Surrey	fol. 53 <sup>r</sup>	<i>B</i> , fol. 178 <sup>r</sup>
[65]: 'What natures woorke'	Cheke	fol. 80 <sup>r</sup>	<i>B</i> , fol. 186 <sup>r</sup>

Figure 2: Poems Common to *P* and *D*, and *P* and *B*

The collation of these texts in the Commentary reveals that the elder Harington had recourse to different sources for the Wyatt and Surrey poems than those used by the the compilers of *D* and *B*.<sup>24</sup> The entries in the 'WyT' and 'SuH' sections of Beal's *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450-1625*, Vol. I, catalogue a handful of other manuscripts which are pre-1560 in origin and preserve Wyatt and Surrey poems. Poem [4], 'Myne owne I.P', has eight witnesses in total; poem [6] has seven, and poems [7] and [10] four apiece.<sup>25</sup> Poem [35], Surrey's 'Suche waywarde wais', also has four witnesses in total; [38], his epigram 'Marshall,

<sup>24</sup> For *D*, see Vol. II, pp. 89-96, 98-100, 103-105, 107-109, and 115-116; for *B*, see pp. 112-113, 208-210, and 326.

<sup>25</sup> For [4], see Vol. II, p. 89; for [6], see p. 98; for [7], see p. 103; and for [10], see p. 115.

the things for attayne' ([38]), survives in eleven copies overall, though not in *D* or *B*.<sup>26</sup> In all of these cases, too, the Harington copies in *P* consistently derive from sources independent of the rest, which generally have more identifiable textual relationships between them. Some of Surrey's biblical paraphrases ([50]-[52], [56]) are preserved in the anthology of moralistic verse, *Certayne Chapters of the prouerbes of Salamon* (1549/50; STC 2760), as is [56] in Francis Seager's *Certayne Psalmes select out of the Psalter of Dauid* (1553; STC 2728). Seager derives his text from *Certayne Chapters*, which is a substantive source in its own right; its poems, however, tend to be more error-strewn.

The same narrative holds true for Elizabethan manuscripts and printed texts which include Wyatt and Surrey poems. In terms of print, George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589; STC 20519.5) reproduces several excerpts from Wyatt and Surrey to serve as exemplars of poetic composition. Puttenham seems to have adapted his sources to suit his purposes, as the lines he prints are often unique. Michael Drayton (1563-1631) also culled passages from Surrey to serve as supplementary notes to the fictitious epistle from Surrey to Geraldine in the second edition of *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1594; STC 7194). As with Puttenham, the regularity with which Drayton's readings are unique points to his own editing of them. Both Puttenham and Drayton only print excerpts with the single exception of Puttenham's full text of [48], Surrey's sonnet 'Set me wheras the sonne'.

In terms of manuscripts, there are four main Elizabethan Wyatt and Surrey sources with which *P* shares poems: Cambridge University Library, Ff.5.14 (c. 1566-1572), which contains copies of [4] and [6] in its compiler William More's hand; Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely's manuscript miscellany Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 168 (c. 1558-1578), which houses a text of [4]; Robert Commaundre's miscellany BL, Egerton MS 2642 (c. 1570-1602), which has text of Surrey's 'Martial' epigram; and, unusual for its seventeenth-century provenance, the pharmacist Richard Glover's miscellany BL, Egerton MS 2230 (c. 1630), which contains a copy of [48].<sup>27</sup> These manuscripts all include isolated witnesses rather than the cohesive Wyatt and Surrey groupings seen in *P* and *AH*. As Stamatakis points out with reference to Surrey, such differences perhaps indicate that Surrey circulated poems both as individual copies and tranches (Stamatakis, 2012: 22). None of the copies in these Elizabethan manuscripts are related to *P*; most compare unfavourably with those which *P* contains.

<sup>26</sup> For [38], see Vol. II, pp. 220-224.

<sup>27</sup> For [48], see Vol. II, pp. 257-259. Edwards also lists the curious circulation of Surrey's lyric 'If care do cause men cry' in seventeenth-century Scottish manuscripts (Edwards, 2004: 289-290). This poem is not in *P*.

It is with Tottel in particular that the substantive Wyatt and Surrey poems in *P* are fruitfully compared. With the printed miscellany, *P* shares twenty-four poems in total, constituting its largest overlap with any other source. Seven of these are Wyatt texts and seventeen Surrey lyrics. With the exception of [4], *P*'s Wyatt poems are superior to their counterparts in Tottel. The relative estimation of *P*'s Surrey poems in comparison with those in Tottel is more complex. A. S. G. Edwards' recent article on this subject aims to reverse the long-held critical attitude that Tottel's contingent of Surrey lyrics is inferior to those in *P* (Edwards, 2012: 25-44). He first notes that, as the earlier source, Tottel's accidentals should be the basis for copy-text. Second, he challenges the frequent criticism that the substantive variants in Tottel are purely editorial distortions which reflect Tottel's or his editor's desire to refine both metre and spelling. Edwards suggests that these variants may merely represent preferable readings. Third, he argues that Tottel devoted energy to acquiring multiple alternative texts when preparing *T1* and *T2*, as reflected in the changes which the Surrey poems often undergo between these two editions. This may indicate that he had a choice of manuscript sources, and looked to use the best one available.

Edwards' article informs some of the collations analysis for [32]-[49] in the Commentary in Volume. II. On average, the copies in Tottel contain fewer corruptions than *P*, but the quality of its texts fluctuates. Some poems in Tottel are manifestly superior, such as [32], [36], [37], [42], and [48];<sup>28</sup> two poems, [38] and [41], are so different as to suggest Surrey's circulation of two different versions of the poem.<sup>29</sup> For others, *P* is the better text, as in [39], [43], [44], and [45].<sup>30</sup> In two cases, [37] and [42], the second edition of Tottel introduced additional errors, and so cannot have been set up from a more authoritative text than the first. In preserving substantive Wyatt and Surrey poems, as well as being the major manuscript of Surrey lyrics by which to compare Tottel, *P* makes an important contribution to the surviving corpus of both Henrician poets. As May notes, Harington was almost certainly not the only man of his social station who had access to Wyatt and Surrey poems in such numbers, but the collections in *P* and *AH* are the major two that have survived, offering evidence that both poets still 'circulated widely at the mid-century' (May, 2009: 422).

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<sup>28</sup> For [32], see Vol. II, pp. 191-192; [36], pp. 213-214; [37], pp. 216-217; [42], p. 239; and [48], pp. 257-259.

<sup>29</sup> For [38], see Vol. II, pp. 220-224; for [41], see pp. 234-235.

<sup>30</sup> For [39], see Vol. II, pp. 227-28; [43], p. 242; [44], pp. 245-246; and [45], pp. 249-250.

(ii) *Place in Harington Collections*

The Harington collection of verse miscellanies, which includes primarily *AH*, *E*, and *NA1-3* alongside *P*, is one of the most sophisticated of any sixteenth-century family and contains numerous valuable poems. Yet *P* has often been considered marginal to this collection, partly due to it leaving the Harington family earlier than the others, and partly because it has been overshadowed in critical accounts by the attention accorded to *AH* and *E*. However, *P* manifestly had its own purpose which is in need of retrieval. The Commentary in Volume II undertakes a detailed collation of the texts in the manuscript alongside the Harington miscellanies and other extant witnesses, but it is worth summarising *P*'s overall relations to the family manuscripts in itemised form.

*P* has twenty-two poems in common with *AH*; this number involves compositions by the elder Harington, as well as Wyatt, Surrey, and Cheke poems.<sup>31</sup> In general, the textual relationship between the two miscellanies is close, as Hughey (I.40-44) describes in detail. *P* and *AH* seem for the most part to have to have taken their texts from a common ancestor, as with Harington's poem [62], Wyatt's poem [4], Surrey's poem [34], and Cheke's poems [65]-[68]. Neither manuscript took its texts directly from the other, but, as Hughey argues, the scribes who transcribed Surrey's biblical paraphrases in *P* (Hands B and C) appear to have checked their transcriptions against those in *AH* and revised accordingly.

The major differences between the two miscellanies are in size and scope. *AH* has 145 written folios, with 83 folios missing; it is therefore a much larger collection than *P*, with its 82 written folios. Whereas *P* showcases early- and mid-Tudor material alone, *AH* has contents from the contemporaries of both the elder Harington and Sir John. Besides the Wyatt and Surrey pieces, it shares a number of other lyrics with the 'Uncertain Auctours' grouping in Tottel. Through Sir John's extensive additions to *AH*, however, it is also a store of high Elizabethan verse which had shortly left the pens of such poets as Sidney, Raleigh, and even Queen Elizabeth. In addition, *AH* contains verse libels such as the three consecutive ones on fols 132<sup>f</sup>-139<sup>f</sup>. Its poems in general have a higher degree of social and political allusiveness than *P*. This leaves the Haringtons' motivation for compiling *P* an open question. One of the more distinctive characteristics of the manuscript is the strong presence of long translations from the classics and privileged European vernaculars. Poem [1], Chaloner's translation of Ovid; [2], [3], and [15], Phaer's rendering of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Books 1-3; and [19]-[25] and

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<sup>31</sup> *AH* shares the following poems with *P*: [4], [16], [26a] (deleted but still visible *AH*), [32] (a fragment in *AH*), [34], [35], [50]-[59], [62], and [65]-[69].

[27]-[31], the sequence of Petrarch translations, are all significant in this regard. The elder Harington of evidently had an interest in such material and may have intended *P*, at least in part, to champion English translations. This patriotic motive does not appear to be so conscious an aim of *AH*. The fact that none of the translations cited above are preserved in either *AH* or Tottel suggests that the Haringtons may also have intended *P* to contain new or previously uncollected material. Both suggestions give the manuscript a distinct character and rationale which differentiate it from its more celebrated sibling.

*P* has a complex relationship with the three editions of the *Nugæ Antiquæ*. With *NAI* and *NA2*, edited by Henry Harington, it shares fifteen poems.<sup>32</sup> The first thirteen of these appear, with [36] first and [6] last, in a short anthology in *NAI-2* entitled ‘SONNETS BY JOHN HARINGTON, ESQ., AND SOME OTHERS, 1547’.<sup>33</sup> For the third edition, *NA3*, Thomas Park omitted eleven poems in their earlier editions ([5]-[14] and [33]), but retained [62] and [63]; he also inserted thirteen poems from *P* to the section entitled ‘POEMS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS (written between 1540 and 1612)’ in Vol. 2, pp. 323-416.<sup>34</sup> The textual relationship between *P* and *NA3* is therefore close, including one variant in [62] where Park apparently revised the text he inherited from *NAI-2* with a reading from *P*.<sup>35</sup> The other variants are in general attributable to scribal errors on the part of Park. The texts in *NAI-2* also show relatively little substantive variation from *P*, particularly in their Wyatt poems ([5]-[10]). This suggests that the entries in both *P* and *NAI-2* possibly derive from a common or closely-related ancestor. Hughey (I.23) argues that the *NA* copies may well be based on originals in *AH* which were then lost or destroyed after Henry Harington had used them. Given the corresponding closeness of *P* and *AH*, and *P* and *NAI-3*, Hughey’s speculation is plausible. Yet it is also possible that the common source of *P* and *NAI-2* was another manuscript which has not survived. *P*’s relationship with *E* may add some evidence about the identity or character of this manuscript.

*P* has five poems in common with *E*: the Wyatt pieces [4], [5]-[7], and [10]; and Surrey’s sonnet, [44], which commends Wyatt’s paraphrase of the penitential psalms. However, despite the fact that *E* apparently preserves Wyatt’s final versions of [4], [5]-[7], and [10], the Haringtons did not take their texts directly from that manuscript. Like *AH*, the copies in *P* and *NAI-2* consistently show the marks of a reviser who sought to refine Wyatt’s

<sup>32</sup> *NAI-2* share the following poems with *P*: [5]-[14], [33], [36], [37], [62], and [63].

<sup>33</sup> The section is in *NAI*, I, pp. 183-199, the shared poems with *P* are on pp. 183-186 and 189-197. In *NA2*, III, the section is on pp. 240-258; the shared poems with *P* are on pp. 240-243 and 246-256.

<sup>34</sup> Park takes the following poems from *P*: [1], [34], [47], and [50]-[59]. Poem [1] is on p. 372, [34] on p. 336, [47] on p. 339, and [50]-[59] on pp. 339-371.

<sup>35</sup> For [62], see Vol. II, pp. 314-317.

poems in diction and metre to bring them in line with mid-Tudor prosodic developments. With regard to *AH*, Hughey (I.56-50) suggests that the Haringtons, perhaps with the aid of another textual agent (or agents), took their poems from *E* and then emended them. More recently, Jason Powell has speculated about the existence of another manuscript, probably made by the elder Harington or someone under his instruction, which served as an intermediary between *E* (and other sources) and *AH* and *P*. This hypothetical ancestor modernised and subtly manipulated the texts in *E*; it possibly accounts for the texts of [4] in *P* and *AH*, and also [5]-[10] in *P* and *NAI-2*, if their copies were not taken from *AH*. The Collations in this edition broadly supports Powell's speculation. The collation of [4] in the Commentary in Volume II shows that *P* and *AH* descend independently of the other copies, including *E*. The copies of [5]-[10] in *P* and *NAI-2* regularly share substantive variants which modernise Wyatt's poems and attempt to improve readings which are shared by the other surviving witnesses. The Wyatt texts in *P* are therefore important as substantive copies in themselves, and also as evidence that Harington (and perhaps others) made a concerted effort to emend the poems that he acquired.

### (iii) *Unique Poems*

Seventeen of the sixty-nine poems in *P* are apparently unique;<sup>36</sup> a further six entries survive only in *NAI-3* outside of *P*.<sup>37</sup> Among the first category are poems [17] and [18]. These are outspoken pieces against the state whose predilection for alliterative phrasing and stock phrases place them within the same mid-Tudor polemical tradition as Thomas Churchyard's *Dauy Dycars Dreame* (1552?; STC 5225). Poems [19]-[25] and [27]-[31] are the sequence of twelve sonnet translations from Petrarch's *Rime sparse*. The collection is important on a number of grounds. As possible compositions by the elder Harington, the poems potentially expand his known corpus. The common bond of experimentation which unites them is also a testament to the formal ingenuity of mid-Tudor versifiers. The wealth of allusions to Wyatt and Surrey in form and phrase also represent one of the earliest and most sustained engagements with both poets.

Chief among the poems which are otherwise preserved only in *P* and one or all of *NAI-3* is poem [1]; this is Sir Thomas Chaloner's translation of Ovid's *Heroides* 17, the epistle of Helen to Paris. It appears to be the earliest Tudor translation of an epistle from the *Heroides*:

<sup>36</sup> The poems are, in chronological order: [1], [17], [18], [19]-[25], [26]-[31], [60], [61], and [70].

<sup>37</sup> The poems are, in chronological order: [11], [12], [13], [14], [47], and [63].

Chaloner died in 1565, two years before the publication of George Turberville's whole translation, *The Heroycall Epistles of ... Publius Ouidius Naso* (1567; STC 18939.5). Yet there is no substantial scholarship on the poem. Christopher Martin included [1] in his collection *Ovid in English* (1998), but its critical airings have been few. Lee T. Percy offered a brief comment about the unwieldy metre of [1] in *The Mediated Muse: English Translations of Ovid, 1560-1600* (Percy, 1984: 10). However, Chaloner's long line is of formal interest, as it is an adaptation of poulter's measure which inverts the twelve- and fourteen-syllable lines. Most recently, [1] was ignored in a special issue of the journal *Renaissance Studies* devoted to Renaissance translations of the *Heroides* (2008, 22:3: 295-433).

Poems [13] and [14], also preserved in *NAI-2*, are unusual eighteen-line translations of Petrarch's *Rime* 136 and 138. These are two of his 'Babylon' sonnets, directed originally at the Papal Court at Avignon, but which the translator redirects firmly in the direction of the Catholic Church in general as part of a bitter Protestant rewriting of the poems. This makes them English contributions to a wider Protestant and continental vogue in the mid-sixteenth century for adapting the 'Babylon' sonnets thus (Taylor, 2006b: 446-453). Item [70], a transcription of the Puritan preacher Edward Dering's death-bed sermon in 1576, is apparently the latest-dated item in the manuscript. It is also the single known witness to this prose sermon in manuscript, and contains marked substantive variation from the printed witnesses of this sermon.<sup>38</sup> In the same vein, poems [2], [3], and [15] are the sole manuscript copies of Books 1-3 of Thomas Phaer's translation of the *Aeneid*, and appear to be earlier drafts than those which were used for the four printed texts of seven, nine, twelve, and thirteen Books in 1558 (STC 24799), 1562 (STC 24800), 1573 (STC 24801), and 1584 (STC 24802). The case of the Phaer poems is perhaps analogous to the Tottel one: the elder Harington's decision to include these translations have been spurred by the publication of one of the printed copies, probably 1558 or 1562. In sum, *P* adds considerably to the extant fund of mid-Tudor verse, and in range of representative genres and forms such as heroical epistle, satire, sonnets, and epic.

#### (iv) *Religious Profile*

*P* is also important, and arguably distinctive, due to the diverse religious profile of its entries. One of the crucial questions this raises is whether the the elder Harington and Sir John were

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<sup>38</sup> For [70], see Vol. II, pp. 337-339.

able to separate doctrinal allegiance from their estimation of literary worth value when compiling the manuscript. The elder Harington seems to have been involved in largely Protestant circles, but could apparently tolerate well-composed Catholic poems. According to Sir John, his father's favourite poem at the time of his death in 1582 was Henry Walpole's epitaph on Edmund Campion, 'Why doe I vse my paper ynke and pen', preserved in *AH*, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>, though 'truely he misliked both the man [Campion] and the matter [his beliefs]' (Harington, 1880: 105). The religious position of Sir John is notoriously difficult to gauge, given that he defined himself somewhat jocularly as a 'protesting catholique puritan' (Kilroy, 2005: 108). The unusually flexible positions of its two principal compilers may exert some influence on the material anthologised in *P*.

The bulk of the manuscript features poets who were either avowedly Protestant or appear to have been so: Chaloner, Cheke, Surrey, and Wyatt, alongside the elder Harington himself. However, the two distinct anomalies are the Puritan preacher Dering's sermon (item [70]), and the Jesuit martyr Campion's epic on the early Church: *Sancta salutiferi semina verbi* ([64]). Dering was a *bête noir* to Elizabeth I, upbraiding her ministry of the Church in a Lenten sermon delivered in 1569/70, but he was clearly a popular writer whose letters and sermons enjoyed a strong presence in print.<sup>39</sup> The Haringtons' particular interest in Campion, of which there is considerable evidence, is more curious.

The copy of *Sancta salutiferi* in *P* appears to be the earliest of three Harington copies: Sir John commissioned two presentation copies in the italic hand of his principal scribe, now Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall MS 437, and Bodleian Library, Rawl. D .289. The poem on the early Church is a deliberate counterpoint to the earthly dynasticism of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which Campion completed while nominally still a Protestant at Oxford shortly before he left for the continent in 1570 and converted to Catholicism. Its controversy therefore lies as much in the identity of its author, as a famous recusant, than any clear denominational slant in the poem itself. This edition prints a transcription of the poem in the main text, but does not include a commentary; Gerard Kilroy's English translation is Appendix 1. The date at which the poem was copied for the Haringtons is unknown, but as the most famous Jesuit in Elizabethan England, circulation of material by or relating to Campion was restricted to tight circles. Kilroy's *Edmund Campion* discusses in great detail the unusual lengths to which both the elder Harington, and especially Sir John, went to preserve Campion's verse, including the hazardous transportation of material relating to him (Kilroy, 2005: 68). It is clear that the

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<sup>39</sup> For Dering's biography, see Vol. II, pp. 335-336.



preservation of both it and Dering's sermon give *P* a religious profile which is decidedly more varied than those of many contemporaneous MSS.

### PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Given that *P* has not been edited in full, this edition is the first to include a commentary on poems such as [1], [13], [14], [19]-[25], [27]-[31], [60] and [61]. Because much of the earlier scholarship on the manuscript formed part of the Provenance, this section concentrates on the work of scholars since 1900. Critical and editorial use of the manuscript has been largely the preserve of Wyatt and Surrey scholars, but recent work has begun to consider some of the other contents of the manuscript.

#### 1900-2000

In his 1920 critical edition *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, reprinted in 1928 and 1966, Frederick Morgan Padelford used *P* as the copy-text for all twenty-eight Surrey poems in the manuscript. However, he did not collate several important witnesses, including *AH*, for which he instead used the transcription of *AH* which Nott organised, now BL, Add. MS 28635. In 1964, Emrys Jones published *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey: Poems*. Like Padelford, Jones used *P* as the copy-text for most of the Surrey poems it contains, though he exercised quality control in his decision to omit copies of [36] and [37] on account of their 'small merit' (xxvii). Jones' is not a critical edition; his interest inhered principally in Surrey's poetics, and his Introduction advances the argument that Surrey is the first neo-classical poet.

Hughey was the first major editor outside of Wyatt and Surrey specialists to publish work on *P*. Her study of the manuscript was limited but ran in tandem with her principal research on *AH*, which she rediscovered at Arundel Castle in the 1920s. Hughey's three publications to consider *P*, cited throughout the Introduction to this edition, are 'The Harington Manuscript at Arundel Castle and Related Documents' (1935), *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, 2 Vols (1960), and *John Harington of Stepney: Tudor Gentleman* (1971). In general, Hughey considered *P* a later verse miscellany than *AH*, and a comparatively marginal one among the extant Harington verse miscellanies. She devoted more space to the relationship between *AH* and *E*. In *John Harington*, Hughey took

her text of poem [63] from Arundel Harington; she did not recognise that [60] is a Harington poem, and therefore did not reproduce it. Hyder R. Rollins also undertook scholarship on *P* in his 1928 edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*, 2 Vols, reprinted in 1966. In the Commentary in his Volume II, Rollins listed the variants between the copies of Wyatt and Surrey poems in *Tottel* and those in *P*. He also printed the Petrarchan translations [21], [22], [23], [27], and [28] from the manuscript as analogues to Wyatt's earlier translations of these sonnets.

Most of the principal twentieth-century editions of Wyatt came in the wake of Hughey, and followed the broad contours of her provenance of *P* and estimation of its relative authority. Kenneth Muir's first edition of Wyatt, *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, was published in 1949; an enlarged version, co-edited with Patricia Thomson, was issued in 1969. In the 1969 edition, Muir catalogued *P*, which he termed 'the Park-Hill Manuscript' as a 'minor' Wyatt document (M&T: xvi-xvii); he took poem [8], as well as the doubtful [11] and [12], from the manuscript (M&T: CCXLI, CCXLII, CCXLIII). H. A. Mason gave minor consideration to *P* in his 1972 *Editing Wyatt*. In Richard Harrier's 1975 edition of *E*, *The Canon of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poetry*, he provided a potted version of Hughey's provenance and treated it as a manuscript derived largely from *E* and *AH*. Like Muir and Thomson, Harrier attributed the doubtful [11] and [12] to Wyatt on the basis of their appearance alongside Wyatt poems in *NAI-2*. R. A. Rebholz did likewise in his Penguin edition, *Sir Thomas Wyatt: The Collected Poems*, published in 1978. This was not a critical edition, though Rebholz offered a brief stemma of the surviving copies of [4] (498), and described the textual history of [36] in detail, a Surrey lyric which shares five stanzas with a doubtful Wyatt one (517).

## 2000-

Since the turn of the millennium, A. S. G. Edwards has undertaken the major scholarship on *P* and its Surrey poems. His article 'Manuscripts of the Verse of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey' discusses the unusual size of the Harington collections of Surrey's poems in *P* and *AH* in contrast to the piecemeal preservation of them in other manuscripts. Edwards locates in this fact the specific concerns of both the elder Harington and Sir John for collating Surrey's lyric corpus and biblical paraphrases. Edwards' second article on *P*, 'Manuscript and Print: The Text and Canon of Surrey's Lyric Verse', is described above.<sup>40</sup> This piece attempts to argue for the textual superiority of at least some of the Surrey poems in *TI* over the witnesses

<sup>40</sup> For a synopsis of Edwards' article, see pp. 35-36 above.

of the same poems in *P*. W. D. McGaw published a critical edition of Surrey, *A Critical Edition of the Complete Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, which Edwin Mellen Press issued in 2012.

Amanda Holton and Tom MacFaul made use of *P* in both their co-written article “‘Ruth’ in Surrey’s Windsor Elegy”, printed in *N&Q*, 56.1: 29-33 (2009), and co-edited volume *Tottel’s Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others*, published by Penguin in 2011. In the article, Holton and MacFaul examine the complexities of l. 21 of Surrey’s ‘So crewell prison’, examining the variants in *P*, *NA1-2*, and Tottel. They also give a different account of the relative precedence of *P* and *AH*, claiming the former as earliest (Holton and MacFaul, 2009: 29) Holton and MacFaul’s commentary in their edition of *Tottel’s Miscellany* lists substantive variants between the second quarto and *P*.

The major scholarship on Wyatt in relation to *P* this millennium has been Chris Stamatakis’ *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting: ‘Turning the Word’*, published in 2012. This book examines Wyatt’s poems as self-aware products of a textual milieu where authorship involved multiple agents. Stamatakis supplied a short description and provenance of *P* in Appendix I, which is in large part a reproduction of Hughey’s. Stamatakis also makes brief reference to poems [29] and [31] in the sequence of Petrarchan translations in the manuscript as an example of a ‘collational poetics’ in which readers were encouraged to compare different versions of the same text (Stamatakis, 2012: 51-52). Jason Powell is currently editing Wyatt’s poetry and prose for Oxford University Press.

Gerard Kilroy’s *Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription*, published in 2005, was the first major publication to print [64]. Kilroy discusses Sir John’s investment in preserving material related to Campion. He includes a transcription and translation of Campion’s biblical epic, together with a textual apparatus. Kilroy chose *P* as his copy text over Holkham Hall MS 437 (he was not then aware of Bod. Rawl. D. 289) due both to its greater accuracy and the fact that it is the source of the Holkham Hall MS. Kilroy also undertook a physical description of *P*, including details of its paper and watermarks.

## PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

### Size and Binding

*P* is a folio-sized codex measuring 200 x 295mm in size and comprising 105 leaves, 23 of which are blank. The manuscript is bound in late-sixteenth- or early-seventeenth-century brown calf with faded ornate gilt tooling; this may not be original, and the evidence indicates that the constituent poems in *P* were copied on loose leaves prior to binding. The boards feature an inlaid design of a diamond enclosed within a rectangle, and are much defaced with significant scuff-marks and wear, particularly in the corners. The spine is a later replacement: as a note written into the penultimate leaf indicates, the manuscript was rebacked around ‘January 1900’. On the spine the British Museum labels with shelfmark are inscribed in gilt morocco, and read: ‘POEMS | BY | SURREY | WYAT | AND | OTHERS | BRIT. MUS. | ADDITIONAL | 36,529’.

A square hole has been cut into the pastedown and two notes have been written on the back of the upper board. The first is by Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, and states: ‘Mem. | This MS belongs | to the Reu<sup>d</sup>. William Sayle | of Stowey Co. Somerset | 1791’. Immediately below the note is the second, possibly written by Thomas Park in red ink, which reads: ‘It was purchased by TPark / from Mr. Sayle’s Library, 1800’.<sup>41</sup> Below these notes are a British Museum stamp and a cut-and-pasted section of an alternative, perhaps earlier version of the spine, reading ‘POEMS | BY | SURREY | WYAT &C. | MS.’. There are also some pencil notes relating to earlier shelfmarks assigned to *P*: ~~464.C~~, ~~S.668.a~~ and ~~611B~~ are struck through, with \$672b retained. 672 and b have been stuck onto the outer spine.

### Paper

There are 82 written leaves in *P*; each of the total 105 leaves has vertical chainlines in the paper, and, where they occur, watermarks are found in or around the centre of the page. A note on the penultimate leaf of the manuscript, which is original and not a modern binding leaf bound into the volume, suggests it was foliated in 1900 when the British Museum acquired it: ‘82 ffs January 1900 w<...> | Examined by S S O’. The verse begins on fol. 5 (p. 13): fol. 2<sup>f</sup> is a page of pen trials and verse excerpts written in a range of different early modern hands, fol. 3<sup>f</sup> a series of three biblical excerpts in Hebrew, and fol. 4<sup>f</sup> a series of notes on the manuscript which Percy has added. The ink pagination is still visible on the pages of

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<sup>41</sup> For Percy’s and Park’s notes in *P* and their broader work on the manuscript, see pp. 16-18 above.

the manuscript, although it is almost uniformly struck through on rectos and replaced with folio numbers; exceptions are found on fols 10<sup>r</sup>, 67<sup>r</sup> and 82<sup>r</sup>, which preserve both page and folio numbers. The pagination on the present fols 3 and 4 skips from 4 to 9; this suggests two leaves are wanting from the original total in this place, though no stubs are visible.

The 23 blank leaves in the manuscript are unfoliated but still paginated. These fall within six distinct groupings, three of which are of particular note. The first, of six leaves, is found between poems [18] and [19], covering pp. 93-104; the second, of two leaves, is found between [59] and [60], extending from pp. 147-150; the third and largest, of thirteen leaves, is found between [64] and [65], covering pp. 176-202. In each instance, the paper is the same as the written leaves and is not supplied from a later stock, as in *AH*: George Frederick Nott, under whose direction *AH* was rebound in 1810, inserted nineteenth-century paper to stand for original leaves wanting (Hughey, I: 14-15). There is one stub in *P*, sandwiched between the present fols 68 and 69. Given that no lapse in the foliation takes place as a result of the excision of the leaf, it was probably removed at an early date, perhaps one close to the binding of the manuscript. The jagged state of the stub indicates that the leaf was not extracted with particular care. Fols 67 and 68 themselves became detached from the binding: a 'Record of Treatment' note pasted on the final vacant folio of *P* records preservation work undertaken in May 2012, in which these two leaves were reattached.

It is almost certain that *P* was bound in its present form after the poems were copied. This conclusion is indicated by the layout and arrangement of the manuscript, and is buttressed by further evidence. Any suggestion that *P* is a composite made up of unrelated gatherings which were later bound together is discounted by the fact that the same watermarks appear throughout the manuscript. Its distribution of blank leaves also seems pre-planned. The overwhelming evidence points to *P* starting life as a series of loose sheets which were written on and then folded and bound.

### *Watermarks*

The Haringtons used three or more stocks of paper for their compilation of *P*. Forty-nine foliated and unfoliated leaves have no watermark, but three in total are identifiable in the manuscript.<sup>42</sup> The first is a gloved left hand faced palm outwards with a daisy at the fingertips; '3' is inscribed on the palm and 'HH' or 'IH' on the wrist. This watermark appears, in an

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<sup>42</sup> The foliated leaves with no watermark are 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 28, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 54, 58, 60, 61, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82. The unfoliated leaves are pp. 89, 95, 97, 99, 193, 199, and 201.

upright position, in fols 7, 8, and 10; it is back-to-front in fols 14 and 15. The watermark is therefore used only at the beginning of the manuscript, and there sporadically, in parts of [1] and [2]. It is similar to watermark 11369 in Briquet, a paper stock from the Low Countries, dated *c.* 1533x1567 (Briquet, III, 1907: 574)<sup>43</sup> and watermark 2512 in Heawood (Heawood, 1950: 328), though it closely corresponds with neither.<sup>44</sup> It is possible that the paper was produced in a similar period of 1530sx1560s. The second watermark is a right-handled pot with trefoil, which is found in upright positions on eighteen foliated and unfoliated leaves,<sup>45</sup> and upside-down on twenty-eight foliated and unfoliated leaves.<sup>46</sup> This second watermark is similar to 12672 in Briquet, a paper stock from the Low Countries, dated 1550s; and 12633, from Maestricht, dated *c.* 1542 (Briquet, IV, 1907: 633-4). Gerard Kilroy also suggests the similarity to Briquet 12672 in his description of *P* (Kilroy, 2005: 149).<sup>47</sup> One of the main watermarks in Harington prose manuscripts I and II is also a right-handled pot with handle and trefoil. This is not, however, the same as that in *P*. The third watermark is in the form of a monogram, ‘GP’, enclosed within a rectangle. This is found singularly on the folio marked ‘End’.<sup>48</sup>

The methodological problems around paper stocks prevent firmer conclusions about dating. The watermarks are of limited value, denoting time of usage alone: it is conceivable that the paper could have been stored for a period of years prior to being plied into a manuscript. In the case of *P*, it is difficult to establish how closely the date of the paper corresponds to the date range over which its entries were copied. It may well be some decades given that *P* is almost certainly an Elizabethan volume whose compilation can only loosely be estimated to a period spanning *c.* 1560 and 1600. The same argument pertains for the ten scribal hands in the manuscript. Although most of these are of a mid-Tudor character, their general duct indicates the period at which they were trained rather than the period at which the poems were transcribed, and styles often remained durably resistant to new palaeographical developments.

<sup>43</sup> The watermark is also similar to 11379 (Vassenære, 1552), 11380 (Osnabrück, 1552; Bruges, 1552) and 11381 (Clairvaux, 1552) in Briquet; In each case, however, the initials inscribed on the wrist of the hand do not match the HH or IH of the watermark in Add. MS 36529.

<sup>44</sup> The watermark is also similar to 2511 (n.d.), 2513 (1558) and 2521 (1544-46) in Heawood.

<sup>45</sup> The foliated leaves are 20, 21, 27, 29, 40, 50, 51, 56, 66, 74, and 81; the unfoliated leaves are pp. 177, 181, 183, 185, 191, 195, and 197. I am grateful to Dr Alan Bryson for undertaking an independent check on the distribution of paper bearing this watermark in *P*.

<sup>46</sup> The foliated leaves are 4, 17, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 35, 37, 41, 42, 44, 53, 55, 57, 59, 63, 65, 68, and 72; the unfoliated leaves are pp. 11, 93, 101, 103, 149, 179, 187, and 189. I am grateful to Dr Alan Bryson for undertaking an independent check on the distribution of paper bearing this watermark in *P*.

<sup>47</sup> The second watermark is also similar to 12635, a paper stock from Utrecht, *c.* 1541, in Briquet (IV, 1907: 633).

<sup>48</sup> I am grateful to Dr Alan Bryson for identifying this watermark.

*Collation*

The task of producing a collation for *P* is difficult for two principal reasons: the codex is still in its seventeenth-century binding, and as such is not especially robust, and the leaves have been tightly bound, with no visible stitch-marks. Except in the case of the first watermark (the gloved hand), watermarks are not a reliable guide for calculating the different quires given that they are dispersed with no discernible order throughout the manuscript. On the basis of the most detailed study possible in the circumstances, the following collation seems the most probable: i, 1<sup>4</sup>, 2-3<sup>10</sup>, 4<sup>13</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, 6<sup>9</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup> (-8.5), 9<sup>9</sup>, 10<sup>13</sup>, 11<sup>one</sup>, i.<sup>49</sup> Fol. 9, a later slip of paper clearly not original to the codex, has not been considered in these figures; 8.5 corresponds to the stub between fols 67 and 68.

Quire 1 is the most confidently designated of the eleven postulated. It is the only gathering to include paper bearing the gloved hand watermark, and fols 5-15 are ruled in a matching brown ink with the same fold in the centre of the page. This is despite the fact that these folios comprise poem [1] and part of [2], which are copied by different scribal hands. Quires 9 and 10 have the same left-margin fold as first appears in Quire 8, where it was introduced to give the scribe of the *Campion* poem ([64]) sufficient space to add annotations.

Quires 5 and 8 are more conjectural. The first is so because its final two leaves (pp. 99-102) are possibly part of the following Quire 6. The eighth is made complex by the presence of the reattached fols 67 and 68, which protrude more than the other leaves in the gathering and makes it uncertain whether they belong in the larger gathering or represent a separate one. Considering them separate would lead to a tripartite division of Quire 8, in which fols 67 and 68 would be a self-contained ninth gathering bracketed by an eighth and tenth: i, 1<sup>4</sup>, 2-3<sup>10</sup>, 4<sup>13</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, 6<sup>9</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>4</sup>, 9<sup>3</sup> (-9.2), 10<sup>4</sup>, 11<sup>9</sup>, 12<sup>13</sup>, 13<sup>1</sup>, i.

In general, the leaves of the manuscript are in good condition. There are no wormholes in the paper, nor is the paper unclean to the point of obscuring the text. Some of the leaves have sustained light water damage: the Wyatt grouping in the MS, [4]-[12], which covers fols 30<sup>f</sup>-fol. 33<sup>f</sup>, is the most affected in this regard; fol. 30 bears particular marks of damage. Even in this instance, however, poem [4] is fully legible. Ink blots and other marks on the leaves are highlighted in the textual notes.

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<sup>49</sup> Quire 1: fols 2-4 + blank before 5; Quire 2: fols 5-15; Quire 3: fols 16 to 26; Quire 4: fols 27-40; Quire 5: fol. 41 to p. 102, Quire 6: p. 103-fol. 52; Quire 7: fols 53-64; Quire 8: fols 65-73; Quire 9: fol. 74-p. 184, Quire 10: p. 85-fol. 82, Quire 11: fol. 'End'.

## HANDS

There are ten main scribal hands in *P*, defined as those hands responsible for copying the poems as opposed to those restricted to emendation or correction.<sup>50</sup> The table below shows the number of poems which each of these hands transcribed:

Hand	Poem(s) Copied	Author
A	[2], [3], [15] [5]-[10] [11]-[12] [13]-[14] [32]-[47], [49] [65]-[68]	Phaer Wyatt Wyatt(?) Harington of Stepney (?) Surrey Cheke
A2	[69]	Cheke(?)
B	[4] [16] [17]-[18] [19]-[25], [30]-[31] [50]-[54] [60]-[62]	Wyatt Harington of Stepney Harington of Stepney (?) Harington of Stepney (?) Surrey Harington of Stepney
C	[56]-[59]	Surrey
D	[27], [28]	Harington of Stepney (?)
E	[64]	Campion
F	[1]	Chaloner
G	[63]	Harington of Stepney
H	[70]	Dering
I	[29]	Anon.
J	[26a]	Harington of Stepney (?)

Hand A therefore copied all of the Phaer and Cheke poems, the Wyatt lyrics, and most of the Surrey lyrics. In total, this hand set down thirty-five of the seventy items in the manuscript. Hand B copied all but one of the known Harington poems and all but two of the possible

<sup>50</sup> All images from BL, Add. MS 36529 are reproduced with kind permission from the British Library.



Harington poems, transcribing a total of twenty-two poems. Cumulatively, therefore, Hands A and B are responsible for a substantial 81% of the entries in *P*.

In general, care for presentation is consistent among the scribal hands, with most poems apparently fair or presentation copies. The most striking piece in this regard is the Hand F-copied poem [1], which is designedly and elegantly wrought. The poem boasts embossed letters in initial positions, ink-ruled lines, and a title and subscription; the script is careful and regular. The principal exceptions are the poems for which Hands E and H are responsible, [64] and [63], together with the Hand B-copied set of Surrey's paraphrases of Eccles. 1-5, [50]-[54]. These are the most untidily copied poems in *P*, and are perhaps pre-final drafts or working copies. The two more careful transcriptions of [64], which Sir John commissioned in Holkham MS 437 and Bodleian MS Rawl. D . 289, attest to this fact for the *Campion* poem.

(i) *Hand A*

Hand A is anonymous. It is a clean, regular secretary hand of approximately mid-Tudor date, with few italic influences. Hughey (I.40) conjectured that it was the script of Sir James Harington, first Baron Ridlington (c. 1540-1613), a relation of John Harington of Stepney and Sir John who descended from the Haringtons of Exton. She made this attribution on the basis of an Elizabethan volume of metrical psalms, 'King Davids Psalmes', which is housed at Ohio State University with the shelfmark Spec.Rare.MS.Eng.16. However, the hand is not Sir James', whose minuscule 'g' and occasionally looped ascenders on minuscule 'h' are much different from Hand A. However, the general duct of the two hands, their regularity, and their general mid-Tudor character is similar, and is consistent with other principal Harington scribes.


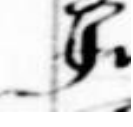


As well as Sir James, Hughey (I.40) noted the close resemblance between Hand A and the main scribal hand in *AH*. The two are different, but again have the same general duct. Amid the diagnostic features of Hand A are its more frequent 'w<sup>l</sup>' and 'o<sup>r</sup>' abbreviations, and its distinctive minuscule 'g' with a looped descender. This form is apparent in each major grouping in *P* that Hand A copies; on the whole, it is a sporadic rather than common feature, though is consistent in [32]-[35].<sup>51</sup> It does not appear at all in [69], which otherwise looks like a Hand A poem. Minuscule 'g' here has a different body and elaborate descender, as does

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<sup>51</sup> For a discussion of the groupings in *P*, see pp. 24-31 above. Examples of the looped 'g' include poem [3], fol. 27<sup>r</sup>; [4], fol. 32<sup>r</sup>; [32], fol. 50<sup>r</sup>; and [65], fol. 80<sup>r</sup>.

majuscule ‘I’ in initial positions in the line. Neither letter is typical of Hand A, and suggests the possible input of a conjectural hand, scribe A2:


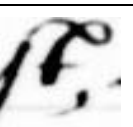
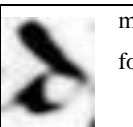

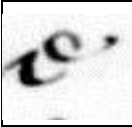
### *Hand A and Scribe A2*

	Hand A looped ‘g’ fol. 50 <sup>r</sup>		Hand A majuscule ‘I’ fol. 50 <sup>t</sup>		Scribe A2 minuscule ‘g’ fol. 81 <sup>v</sup>		Scribe A2 majuscule ‘I’ fol. 81 <sup>v</sup>
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As with Sir James’ hand and the *AH* scribe, there are sustained similarities between Hand A2 and A. This evidence suggests that the Haringtons schooled the secretary hands of the scribes in their household, with the aim of encouraging a uniform script with little peculiar variation. P. J. Croft and R. H. Miller have demonstrated that Sir John Harington adopted a similar practice for the scribes who transcribed manuscripts for him (Croft, 1983: 39-75; Miller, 1987: 101-105)<sup>52</sup> This includes three italic MSS that Beal catalogues as autograph (Beal, II, 1980: HrJ 21, HrJ 22, HrJ 328). Kilroy avers that Sir John’s italic scribe ‘belonged to a household circle’, and it probably bears witness to an earlier practice of this nature in the Harington household (Kilroy, 2009: 73).

Chief among the formations common to Hand A and its counterparts is majuscule ‘C’. This is an open-bodied form which is the one major influence from italic. Also common are minuscule ‘y’, the ‘st’ ligature, two types of minuscule ‘d’, and minuscule ‘e’ in terminal positions. In each hand, the descender on minuscule ‘y’ has an exuberant flick back to the body of the letter. The ‘st’ ligature, particularly in terminal positions, has a high curling loop which connects the two letter-forms. Minuscule ‘d’ can be both compact with a pronounced, angular left-leaning ascender and open-bodied with a looped ascender. Terminal ‘e’s tend to have a prominent spur.

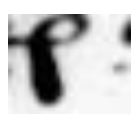
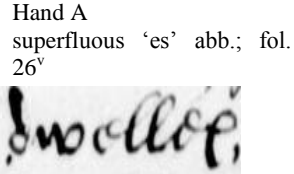
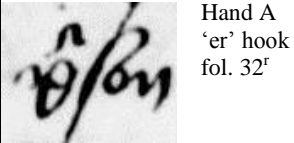
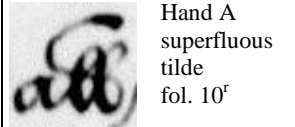
### *Formations common to A and scribes A2, AH, and O*

	minuscule ‘y’ fol. 10 <sup>r</sup>		‘st’ ligature fol. 14 <sup>r</sup>		minuscule ‘d’ (1) fol. 15 <sup>v</sup>		minuscule ‘d’ (2) fol. 14 <sup>v</sup>
	spurred ‘e’ fol. 14 <sup>v</sup>						

<sup>52</sup>. The italic MSS are Cambridge, Adv. b. 8. 1; Folger Library MS v.a.249; and BL, Royal MS 17B XXII.

Apart from minuscule ‘g’, the other distinctive characteristics of Hand A concern its handling of abbreviations and use of diacritical marks. The first and second of these affect his ‘es’ abbreviation. This can be truncated and somewhat clubbed; in [3] and [15], Hand A also makes erroneous use of the abbreviation, often writing it after ‘e’. When expanded, this produces the ending ‘ees’ instead of ‘es’. Third, Hand A occasionally uses a ‘p’-abbreviation which resembles a superlinear ‘r’. The hand has otiose tildes, which pertains in particular to [2], [3], and [4]-[12]. They thus serve more as a decorative mark or scribal tic than an abbreviation. Hand A uses apostrophes to mark elisions, though his use is not uniform.<sup>53</sup>

*Hand A: abbreviations*

 <p>Hand A ‘es’ abb. fol. 21<sup>r</sup></p>	 <p>Hand A superfluous ‘es’ abb.; fol. 26<sup>v</sup></p>	 <p>Hand A ‘er’ hook fol. 32<sup>r</sup></p>	 <p>Hand A superfluous tilde fol. 10<sup>r</sup></p>
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(ii) *Hand B*

Hand B is an italic hand which Hughey (I.41) ascribed to Ellina Harington, the third of Sir John’s daughters, born *c.* 1590. She made this attribution based on the fact that the name ‘Ellina Harrington’ is written in italic at the bottom of fol. 29<sup>v</sup> in the manuscript, and again on fol. 82<sup>r</sup>. These signatures are possibly modelled on Sir John’s: Miller prints a version of Sir John’s signatuere from Cambridge, Adv. 8. b. 1 (Miller, 1987: 103).

*Signatures of Ellina Harington*

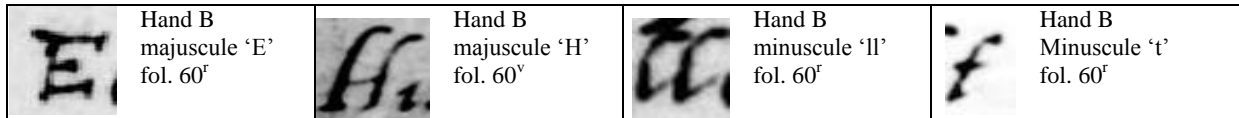
<p>Ellina Harington, fol. 29<sup>v</sup></p> 	<p>Ellina Harington, fol. 82<sup>r</sup></p> 
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Hughey’s attribution is flawed on two grounds. First, the two signatures are in different hands; it is not possible to determine which of them, if either, belongs to Ellina. Second, neither hand corresponds to Hand B. Chief among the distinct formations of Hand B are majuscule ‘E’ and majuscule ‘H’. Majuscule ‘E’ has serifs and a short flourish from the top left, but this is not as exaggerated as that in the signature on fol. 82<sup>r</sup>. Hand B’s majuscule ‘H’ inclines

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, poem [40].1 and [41].4.

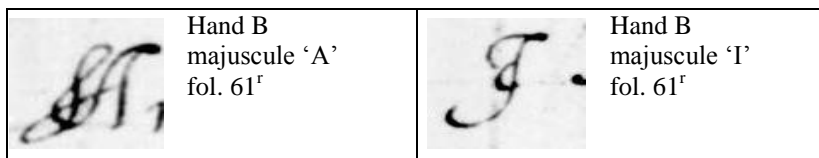
more strongly to the right than in the signatures; it also has a higher cross-bar and less prominent serifs. Also different are Hand B's minuscule 'l' and 't'. The second in particular tends to have a serif, which is a feature of neither signature above:

*Hand B: majuscule and minuscule forms*



The dating of Hand B is difficult to establish, though a comparison with the mid-Tudor italic hands of Roger Ascham, Sir John Cheke, and Thomas Byng, preserved in *The Italic Hand in Tudor Cambridge* (1962), suggests it may well belong to a similar period (Fairbank and Dickins, 1962: Plates 2-9). Alfred Fairbank describes these as of 'generally narrow letter, compactly proportioned and spaced, small in size, slightly sloped, and pointed (if not quite angular) with narrow bends' (Fairbank and Dickins, 1962: 14). Two of the distinctive features of Hand B are majuscule 'A' and majuscule 'I'. The flourish at the start of majuscule 'A' often resembles an ampersand; majuscule 'I' features a small flourish, distinct from the more common cross-bar, which curves to the left at the mid-point of the stem:

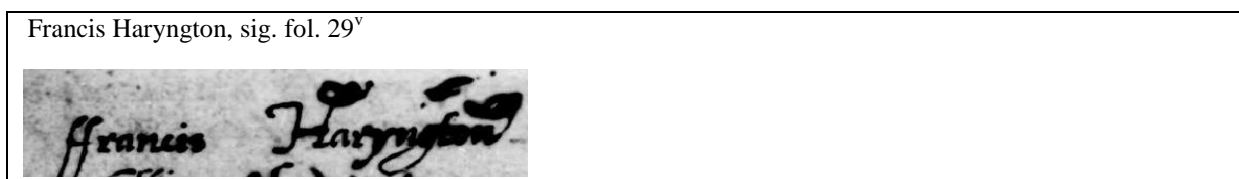
*Hand B: diagnostic forms*



(iii) *Hand C*

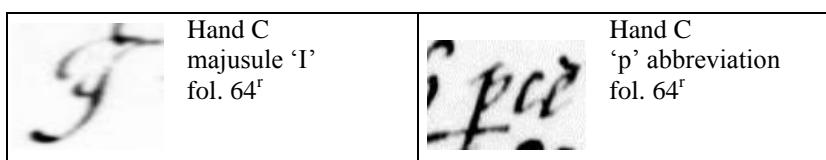
Hand C is another italic hand. Hughey (I.41) assigned the hand to Sir John's daughter Frances on the basis of the appearance of her signature above Ellina's on fol. 29<sup>v</sup>:

*Signature of Frances Haryngton*



As with Hand B, Hughey's attribution is flawed. Hand C is in general much more angular and serifed than the signature. It shares some features with Hand B, but the overall duct is quite different. Chief among the shared features is the unusual flourish on majuscule 'I'. Hand C also uses the 'p' abbreviation, which is not a characteristic of Hand B.

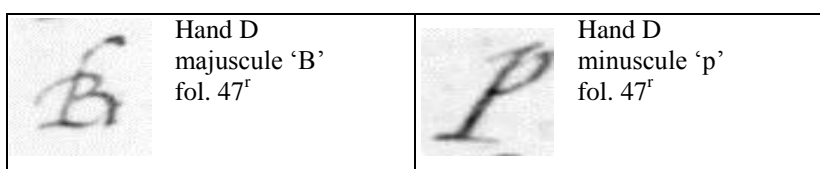
*Hand C: diagnostic forms*



(iv) *Hand D*

Hand D is an italic hand whose majuscule forms are in general more stunted than in Hands B and C. Chief among its diagnostic features is majuscule 'B', which is formed through the superimposing of a '3' or sideways 'm' shape over an 'L'; this leaves a large penstroke which leads into the top of the body. Minuscule 'p' is also distinctive, and has a pronounced lower serif. Hand D tends to double vowels to represent long vowel sound, as in 'skoorge' in [27]. 9, and 'empeere' in [28]. 7.

*Hand D: diagnostic forms*

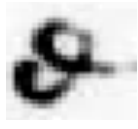
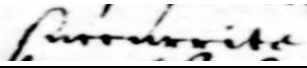




(v) *Hand E*

Hand E is a cursive secretary hand with small letter forms; it is probably mid- to late-Elizabethan in date, as several diagnostic features suggest. Chief among these are the initial flourishes which lead into initial 'm' and 'n' and the backwards-facing 'e'. Hand E tends to write majuscule 'C' indiscriminately in initial positions. The formation of minuscule 'c' and 'r' is often similar, particularly in medial positions. There are also two types of miniscule 'd'. The first is more elaborate and has a long, looped ascender which inclines to the left; the second has a straighter ascender. Hand E sometimes struggles to produce distinct forms when

writing a series of minims. Unlike the nine other scribal hands, with the exception of Hand F, Hand E uses catchwords.




*Hand E: diagnostic forms*

 <p>Hand E minuscule 'e' fol. 72<sup>r</sup></p>	<p>Hand E similar formation of minuscule 'c' and 'r': 'succurrite'; fol. 70<sup>v</sup></p> 	 <p>Hand E minuscule 'd' (1) fol. 71<sup>r</sup></p>
 <p>Hand E minuscule 'd' (2) fol. 71<sup>r</sup></p>		

(vi) *Hand F*

Hand F is an elegant secretary hand with some chancery influence; the title and subscription are written in chancery hand. The hand is difficult to date, though several diagnostic forms suggest that it mid-Tudor with some earlier influences. Chief among these is the 'z'-like appearance of minuscule 'r', a common trait of Henrician secretary hands (Petti, 1977: 17). Of the more unusual forms, minuscule 'k' appears alongside more regular formations of that letter in a detached form, with the downstroke separate from the other strokes. Anthony G. Petti's sample early-, mid-Tudor, and Elizabethan secretary alphabets in *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden* have no comparable form (Petti, 1977: 17-18); the feature may well descend from fifteenth-century hands, and is seen in printed texts such as John Lydgate's [*The horse, the goos & the sheep*].(1477; STC 17018). Majuscule 'R' has a broad flourish above the line which leads into the letter. In general, Hand F is compact in appearance; ascenders and descenders are truncated with the exception of long minuscule 's' and 'f'. Hand F uses few abbreviations and contractions; unlike the nine other scribal hands with the exception of Hand E, it uses catchwords.

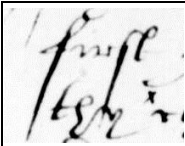



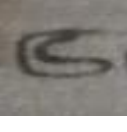



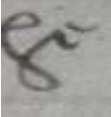
*Hand F: diagnostic forms*

 <p>Hand F minuscule 'k' fol. 8<sup>r</sup></p>	 <p>Hand F minuscule 'r' fol. 6<sup>r</sup></p>	 <p>Hand F majuscule 'R' fol. 5<sup>r</sup></p>
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(vii) *Hand G*

Hand G is a somewhat careless secretary hand of generally mid-Tudor date. Hughey (I.40) argues that it is the same hand which copies items [323] and [324] on fol. 225<sup>r-v</sup> of *AH*; the first of these is a psalm paraphrase attributed to Thomas Smith. Both hands share several forms, though none is so unusual as to be diagnostic. Chief among them are the noticeably long descenders of minuscule ‘s’ and ‘f’. There are three major differences between the hands. First, Hand G’s majuscule ‘S’ is different from the *AH* scribe; second, he has a more stunted form of minuscule ‘p’ than the *AH* scribe; and third, his minuscule ‘h’ tends not to have the same cursive loop as it does for the *AH* scribe. The two hands are therefore not the same, but are probably the products of a similar schooling. In terms of duct, Hand G is the least careful in *P*.

*Hand G: diagnostic forms*

 <p>Hand G long descenders fol. 69<sup>v</sup></p>	 <p>Hand G majuscule ‘L’ fol. 69<sup>v</sup></p>  <p>AH Scribe majuscule ‘L’</p>	 <p>Hand G Majuscule ‘S’ fol. 69<sup>v</sup></p>  <p>AH Scribe majuscule ‘S’</p>
 <p>Hand G minuscule ‘p’ fol. 69<sup>v</sup></p>  <p>AH Scribe minuscule ‘p’</p>	 <p>Hand G minuscule ‘h’ fol. 69<sup>v</sup></p>  <p>AH Scribe minuscule ‘h’</p>	

*Arundel Castle Archives, Harington MS, fol. 225<sup>v</sup>*



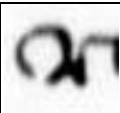

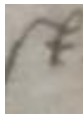
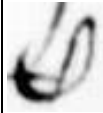
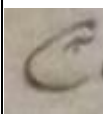
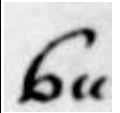


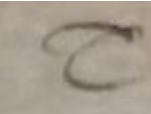
*Images from the manuscript are reproduced by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.*

(viii) *Hand H*

Hand H is an Elizabethan secretary hand. Hughey (II.8) argues that the hand and a similar one in *AH*, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>, are Ellina Harington’s secretary hand due to the appearance of her signature appears below item [70] on fol. 82<sup>r</sup>. This is again improbable; Ellina’s inscription more likely suggests that she looked over the manuscript. Hand H and its counterpart in *AH* share several diagnostic forms. Chief among these is minuscule ‘r’ in medial positions, which

is formed like a Greek ‘ε’. In Hand H, initial ‘r’ tends to be double-stemmed; there are no equivalents for comparison in the *AH* scribe. The two hands also share looped ‘st’ and ‘sh’ ligatures, though neither is unusual. There are, however, differences between the hands. Hand H’s majuscule ‘C’ is secretary whereas the *AH* scribe adopts an italic one; Hand H’s minuscule ‘b’ does not have as exaggerated a loop on the ascender as that of the *AH* scribe and in general it has more engrossed majuscule forms. It is possible that the two samples are the same hand at different stages of its development, though they are more probably different hands which are the products of similar schooling.

*Hand H: diagnostic forms*

 <p>Hand H minuscule ‘r’ (medial) fol. 82<sup>r</sup></p>  <p><i>AH</i> Scribe minuscule ‘r’ (medial)</p>	 <p>Hand H minuscule ‘r’ (initial) fol. 82<sup>r</sup></p>	 <p>Hand H ‘st’ ligature fol. 82<sup>r</sup></p>  <p><i>AH</i> Scribe ‘st’ ligature</p>
 <p>Hand H majuscule ‘C’ fol. 82<sup>r</sup></p>  <p><i>AH</i> Scribe majuscule ‘C’</p>	 <p>Hand H minuscule ‘b’ fol. 82<sup>r</sup></p>  <p><i>AH</i> Scribe minuscule ‘b’</p>	 <p>Hand H engrossed ‘T’ fol. 82<sup>r</sup></p>  <p><i>AH</i> Scribe engrossed ‘T’</p>

*Arundel Castle Archives, Harington MS, fol. 17<sup>r</sup>*

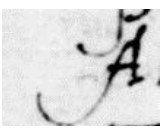
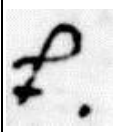
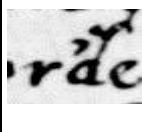
*Images from the manuscript are reproduced by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.*

(ix) *Hand I*

Hand I is an italic hand of probably later date than Hands B, C, and D. Chief among its diagnostic forms is the elaborate flourishes on majuscule ‘A’. Minuscule ‘t’ is distinctive in terminal positions as well as in a medial position in l. 1, with a loop on the top of the vertical stroke. Hand I uses apostrophes to mark elisions, a practice it shares with Hand A.



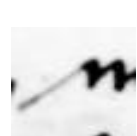
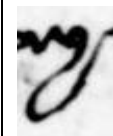
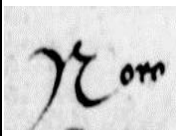
*Hand I: diagnostic features*

	Hand I majuscule 'A' fol. 47 <sup>v</sup>		Hand I minuscule 't' fol. 47 <sup>v</sup>		Hand I elision mark fol. 47 <sup>v</sup>
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*(x) Hand J*

Hand J copies the single item [26a] in *P*. The hand is probably that of Sir John Harington, though it could be one of his scribes whose hand approximates Sir John's. The hand matches the one which Miller prints from Bodleian MS Rawl. B. 162, p. 13 (Miller, 1987: 103). Sir John's is a small, neat secretary hand with distinct italic influence. As with Hand H, initial 'm' and 'w' feature long diagonal flicks. Minuscule 'y' is uniformly cursive, seen also in Miller's image from Rawl. B.162. Sir John engrosses the majuscule first letters of each line.

*Hand J: diagnostic features*

	Hand J minuscule 'n' fol. 46 <sup>v</sup>		Hand J cursive 'y' fol. 46 <sup>v</sup>		Hand J engrossed forms fol. 46 <sup>v</sup>
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*Ruling*

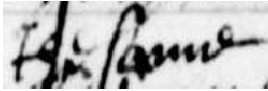
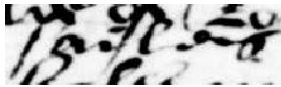
Most of the leaves in *P* are ruled, although the method used to rule the paper differs across the manuscript. In Hand A-copied poems, the left margin and lines tend to be scored into the paper, with the margin ranging in size from approx. 16mm, in [2], to approx. 38mm, in [13] and [14]. In [2] and [3], Hand A has included dots in the left margin to indicate line spacing. The scored type of ruled line is also used in poems which Hands C, I, and J copy. In poems which Hands B and D copy, the ruled line is drawn onto the paper or scored and subsequently filled in with ink. Hand F also fills in the ruled lines; in each case the scribe uses the clearer line as an aid to regular lineation. The pages on which Hands E and H copy their poems have not been ruled. Further information on ruling and line spacing is supplied in the textual notes.

## Correcting Hands

The main scribal hands in *P* tend to make their own corrections to the poems they transcribe. However, there are also at least seven other correcting hands in the manuscript in addition to the scribal hands. These are defined as those hands whose input is restricted to correction or emendation. Five of the hands apparently make revisions and emendations to several poems across *P*, though the small sample size of each makes identification difficult. In general, the correcting hands are early modern in date, though most seem later than the main scribal hands. The presence of later emending hands in the poems of *P* offers broad support to Stamatakis' argument that poems in early modern manuscript contexts bear witness to a collaborative rather than fixed concept of authorship involving initial composers and other agents (Stamatakis, 2012: 5, 13).


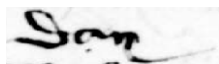
### (i) *Correcting Hand 1*

Correcting Hand 1 makes corrections to two poems in *P*: [1] and [2]. It is a somewhat careless secretary hand.

Correcting Hand 1: [1], fol. 6 <sup>r</sup> 'the same' 	Correcting Hand 1: [2], fol. 10 <sup>r</sup> 'sailes' 
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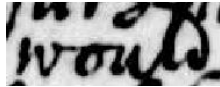

### (ii) *Correcting Hand 2*

Correcting Hand 2 makes corrections to two poems in *P*: [1] and [66]. The hand has an open-bowled minuscule 'd' and a diagnostic minuscule 'w', the initial flourish of which is curved.

Correcting Hand 2: [1], fol. 6 <sup>r</sup> 'will' 	Correcting Hand 2: [66], fol. 81 <sup>v</sup> 'day' 
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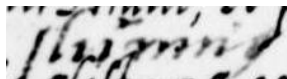
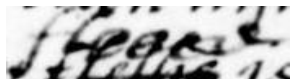

(iii) *Correcting Hand 3*

Correcting Hand 3 probably makes corrections to two poems in *P*: [4] and [59]. It is difficult to identify consistently, but has a minuscule ‘d’ which slopes to the left in terminal positions.

Correcting Hand 3: [4], fol. 30 <sup>r</sup> ‘would’ 	Correcting Hand 3: [65], fol. 64 <sup>r</sup> ‘ioyn’d’ 
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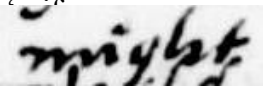

(iv) *Correcting Hand 4*

Correcting Hand 4 makes corrections to three poems in *P*: [21], [58], and [62]. It is a somewhat sloppy secretary hand with some italic features which writes with an imperfectly-cut pen: its corrections therefore tend to be in a patchy ink. There is a possibility that the correction in fol. 68<sup>r</sup> is by Hand B, the main scribal hand in that poem.

Correcting Hand 4: [21], fol. 30 <sup>r</sup> ‘shining’ 	Correcting Hand 4: [58], fol. 6 <sup>r</sup> ‘fleace’ 	Correcting Hand 4: [62], fol. 68 <sup>r</sup> ‘brest’ 
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(v) *Correcting Hand 5*

Correcting Hand 5 makes corrections to two poems in *P*: [22] and [32]. It is a largely cursive hand which writes with a thick pen.

Correcting Hand 3: [22], fol. 45 <sup>r</sup> ‘might’ 	Correcting Hand 3: [32], fol. 50 <sup>r</sup> ‘it’ 
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Poems [35] and [52] all feature the input of individual correcting hands which do not appear to make revisions or emendations elsewhere in *P*.

Correcting Hand: [35], fol. 53<sup>r</sup>

A small, high-contrast image of handwritten cursive text, appearing to be the word "waib".

Correcting Hand: [52], fol. 60<sup>v</sup>

A small, high-contrast image of handwritten cursive text, appearing to be the word "cke".

## EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The items in this edition are arranged in the same order in which they occur in *P*. Numbering of the entries in arabic numerals has been supplied in square brackets; these numbers are centred and placed above each individual work, moving in sequence from [1] to [70]. There is one instance in the manuscript where a work has been crossed out and replaced with a retranscription. These have not been considered separate works and are designated [26] and [26a]. A first-line index of the seventy discrete items in *P* is found in Indices 1 and 2 at the end of this volume.

The edition produces a full transcription of *P*, but not in a page-for-page format. In the manuscript, ink foliations have been added to the upper-right corner of rectos. In this edition, they are supplied in the left margin, enclosed in square brackets, and are level with the first line of each item. This will aid a reader referring to the manuscript with the edition at their side to turn promptly to the relevant leaf. In the case of rectos, folio numbers are not enclosed: e.g., [Fol.] 1[r], which reflects the fact that the folio number has been written onto the page and is not an editorial addition. In the case of versos, the folio number is an editorial interpolation and is therefore included in the brackets: e.g., [Fol. 1v]. When a change of leaf occurs during the course of a single item, this is marked by foliation given to the left of the first line of the new leaf. The one exception to this format is [64], where the scribal annotations in the left margin are considerable. In this instance, folio numbers are given to the right.

The edition retains the documentary lineation of the items in the manuscript; editorial line numbering in denominations of five is added in square brackets to the right of the text. Numbering begins from the first line of non-titular text.

The edition standardises differences in spacing between lines in the manuscript; the textual notes record the approximate spacing between lines as well as unusual disparities between poems, such as those on fols 53<sup>v</sup> and 54<sup>r</sup>, and fol. 55<sup>v</sup>. Where text has been centred (e.g., a title) or copied using a larger left margin than is usual in the manuscript ([64]), this effect is replicated in the edition. In instances where the scribe has left a space in order to mark a change in verse paragraph (e.g., in [2].410-411), this is also reproduced in the transcript.

Ten scribal hands are involved in the composition of *P*, designated Hand A to Hand J. These designations have been made according to the number of poems which each hand copied. Thus, Hand A is responsible for copying the largest number of works, Hand B the

second. For the hands which transcribe just one item, Hands E to J, the designations have been made according to the number of lines which each hand copies, with Hand E the most and Hand J the least. The textual notes for each poem record the hand which copies that item.

The edition uses different font formats on occasion to denote significant scribal changes in type. In [1] and the titles of [58] and [59], bold type is employed to represent an engrossed letter form; the title of [1] is also in a larger font to represent its size in proportion to the main text. In [13] and [14], copied by Hand A, the italic headings, added most probably by another hand, are distinctive from the secretary form of the non-titular text. They are therefore represented as italic in the transcript. The italic subscriptions of poems [32], [33], [34], and [37] to Surrey, not made by Hand A, are likewise printed in italic. This is not the case for the italic headings in [19], [20], [22], [25], [27], [28], and [48], which are apparently scribal and match the italic form of the hands which transcribe the non-titular texts (Hands B and D). In [64], the scribe uses italic script rather than the prevailing secretary for three principal reasons: to emphasise proper nouns, signal the heightened rhetorical effect of apostrophes, and distinguish marginalia from the main text. In the transcription of [64] in this edition, the use of italic script in these places corresponds to the practice of Hand E.

The systems of capitalisation and punctuation which the different scribal hands in *P* use are retained. The virgule, which functions as both a punctuation mark and a marker of a verse paragraph break in [2], [3] and [15], is represented as ‘/’. Original spelling is retained as far as possible. Scribal use of ‘u’ for ‘v’ and ‘v’ for ‘u’ is preserved, as is scribal use of ‘i’ for ‘j’ and ‘j’ for ‘i’. In [64] and [66], a poem which features several orthographical idiosyncrasies, double ‘i’ (‘ii’) is represented as ‘ij’. For ease of reading, long ‘s’ is replaced with modern minuscule ‘s’. To ensure typographical consistency in the cases of poems where the scribe begins each individual line with a majuscule form, majuscule ‘ff’ is represented as ‘F’. The debased thorn, which occurs in the main in [65]-[69], is retained (thus ‘y<sup>e</sup>’ is given for ‘the’ and ‘y<sup>t</sup>’ for ‘that’). Superscript contractions are also retained; thus, ‘w<sup>t</sup>’ for ‘with’, ‘w<sup>ch</sup>’ for ‘which’ and ‘yo<sup>r</sup>’ for ‘your’ (as well as similar examples such as ‘treaso<sup>r</sup>’ for ‘treasour’) are preserved. In the last case, preserving the contraction elides the ambiguity of whether the expanded word would have been spelt ‘treasour’ or ‘treasowr’. Abbreviations which use the colon, especially in the Latin headings to [50]-[59], are retained. Tildes, however, are expanded, with the supplied letter underlined, e.g. ‘frō’ becomes ‘fromu’. Hand A uses many otiose tildes, and so a different criterion has been used in this case, with tildes expanded only when it does not corrupt or distort the spelling of word (e.g. ‘alll’ for ‘all’, ‘cownnsell’ for ‘cownsell’).

Two other scribal abbreviations are also expanded, with the supplied letter(s) underlined. These are The ‘p’-abbreviation and the ‘er’ hook (e.g. ‘prosper’; ‘howsouer’). The terminal ‘es’ abbreviation is silently expanded. No sufficient character for any of these abbreviations is available on a standard Microsoft Word<sup>®</sup> program.. The ampersand, ‘&’, is retained and used uniformly to represent all scribal variations on this character.

Deletions are represented through diamond brackets (<>). These are preferred to the strikethrough format on the basis that a large number of deletions in the manuscript involve single letters, which the strikethrough format is unable to represent as clearly (e.g. ‘al<l>e’ vs. ‘alle’’). Most letters crossed or blotted out are still legible; in such cases, the letter or letters are enclosed in the diamond brackets. The textual notes record where letters cannot be identified, and an ellipsis marked in the main text (e.g. <...>). The number of periods enclosed in the diamond brackets represents an estimation of the number of unidentifiable letters (e.g. <....> indicates that four letters are unidentifiable). There are no instances in the manuscript in which the sense of a word or words has had to be repaired due to damage to the paper.

Interlinear insertions are represented above the line in the position in which they appear in the manuscript. In most cases, the scribe denotes an addition by writing a caret, which is also reproduced in the transcription. For each insertion, the textual note records whether or not it was made by the main copying hand, and whether the darkness and/or thickness of the ink indicates the time at which the insertion was made, i.e., whether the correction was made at the initial copying stage or is a later revision. The textual notes also record corrections and emendations not made by the main copying hand.

Marginalia in *P* performs a number of functions. Poem [64] is the single poem in the manuscript in which marginal glosses are scribal; in all other instances, the annotations are those of later owners or borrowers of the manuscript, and concern (among other things) author attributions, identification of historical figures, and page and folio references to printed copies of the poems, as in [4]-[12] and [32]-[49]. The textual notes describe all such marginal annotations, including, where possible, the identity of the annotator, and the whether the annotation has been made in pen or pencil. Unusual marks or crosses whose function is unclear are also included in the textual notes. These can be both original and later additions; the textual notes conjecture the probable date at which each mark was made.

[1]

[Fol.] 5[r]

**Helen to Paris./**

**Now that myn eyes** thy pistle red alre dy haue suffred stayn  
 Small prayse my pen shold wyn from answer to refrayn  
**Thow** shamest nought (a straunger here) all honest custom broke  
 Agaynst her wedlocke vowe thyne hostes to provoke  
**Was** that the cause thy weried ship long tost w<sup>t</sup> wynd and wether [5]  
 Of purpose (as thow saydest) her course dyrected hyther  
**Or** herefore did our palaice gates vnfolded to the stand  
 A gest vnknowen to vs of vnaquaynted land  
**To th<sup>e</sup>** end that for our gentlenes we shold be wronged so  
 didest  
 Whan thou <sup>^</sup>entre<sup><st></sup> wyth this mynd, was thow our frend or foo? [10]  
**It** may be for my wrytyng thus, thow wilt me symple call  
 As if I had no cause, to playn for this at all  
**Ye** symple let me still remayn so not forgettyng shame  
 As long as no new blot, my wonted chastnes blame  
**Thoughe** in my face no fayned chere, doth counterfeat the sad [15]  
 With frownyng browes to seem, as if no myrth I had  
**Yet** hetherto for deed or thought, my fame hath ben vntouched  
 Of none adulterer may, my spousebreache well be vouched  
**I** muse the more what confydens impelleth the hereto  
 Or what sign geves the hope, I newly shold mysdoo [20]  
**If** Theseus dyd ones afore, by force of Rape possesse me  
 Woldest thow therefore of right, the second tyme distresse me  
**Myne** wer the fault if willingly I had agreed therto  
**But** tane ageynst my will, what could I therwyth doo

[1]

Poem [1] is copied by Hand F. The poem is ruled in brown ink, with lines approx. 6mm apart.

*Helen to Paris*: Written by Hand F in an engrossing hand which shows signs of chancery influence.

1.9] *th<sup>e</sup>*: Emendation not by Hand F; later revision by different hand in darker ink.

1.10] <sup>^</sup>*didest*<sup>^</sup>: Correction not by Hand F; later revision by different hand.

1.18] *spouse breache*: Perhaps two words, i.e., 'spouse breache'.

1.24] *tane*: 'n' written over another letter, of which descender still visible.



- Yet gote he not for all his payn the frute of me he sought [25]  
 (The fear I had except) at hym I ayled nought  
 A sory kysse or twayn perhaps wyth strugling he bereft me  
 Save that a virgin pure so as he found he left me  
 Wold Paris wyth no further gayn haue ben content as he  
 God sheld me from all such, he was not lyke to the [30]  
 A mayden to restore me home it less<e>ned half his cryme  
 Youth playd his part but yet repentaunce cam in tyme  
 Did Theseus repent hym than for Paris to succede  
 That in the peples mouthes my name agayn shold spread  
 [Fol. 5v] But thinke not I am angry now, for who wold not be loved [35]  
 In case the love thow shewest vnfaynedly be moved  
 Yet stand I halfe in doubt thereof, not for I nede to fear  
 As yf I wyst not well, what shap and face I bear  
 But seyng our credulytie, vs Ladyes doth vndoo  
 So hardely may your wordes wyth othes be trusted to [40]  
 <...>  
 Yet others synne and matrones chast ben rare thou sayst to see  
 What lettes among those rare my name enrold to be  
 For where thou think<e>st my mothers dede myght serve me as it were  
 A president whereby what I shold do to lear /  
 Mystaking was her giltes excuse where Ioue (hys godhed hyd) [45]  
 In lykenes of a swan his pleasure on her dyd  
 But if I synne I can not say vnwittingly to do it  
 No errour in this case, can serve for shadow to it  
 Happy was she to synne so well through th<e> auto<sup>r</sup> of the same  
 But where haue I a Ioue to honor so my shame [50]

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1.28] *Save that*: Lunula after ‘that’, but not before ‘save’; omitted in transcription.

1.31] *less<e>ned*: Emendation by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

[Fol.] 5[r] *Catchwords*: ‘But thinke’.

1.41] *synne*: Apparently deleted in the MS, but visible below strikethrough; there is an interlinear addition in a later hand, but only initial ‘s’ visible. Scribe or corrector perhaps intended to reinstate ‘synne’; retained in transcription.

1.43] *think<e>st*: Emendation by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

1.49] *th<e>*: Emendation not by hand E; same hand as 1.9.

Thou bostest eke thyn auncestry, wyth royall names ysett  
 As yf we dyd our house, from baser titles fett  
 All Pelops lyne with Tyndarus and Iove to overpasse  
 Thoughe to my husbandes syre gret graundfather he was  
 My mother geaves me names ynough Ioves doughter that I am [55]  
 Who vnder semblaunt fauls transfourmed to her cam  
 Now go and boste thy Troian stocke of famous rote to growe  
 With Priar take good heed Laomedon thou show  
 Whom I esteme but thus thow seest that Iove at v<sup>t</sup> degree  
 Suche glory to thy blode is but the first from me [60]  
 I graunt the Sceptres of thy Troy, ben great as thou dost say  
 Yet do I not suppose these here for lesse than they  
 Nombre of goodes and men perchaunce, thy land hath more than myne  
 Yet may I say it is, not barbarous as thyn  
 Soche promyses of presentes <sup>great</sup>, thy golden lynes do make me [65]  
 Aswell through them myght move the Goddesses to take the  
 But sure and yf that any thing, myght move me to relent  
 Thy selfe sholdest be more cause t<o> enforce me to consent  
 [Fol.] 6[r] Eyther I will preserve my name vnspotted as it stode  
 Or rather shall I yeld to Paris than his good [70]  
 Yet do I not contempn thy gyftes, for gyftes ar had in store  
 Suche as the geuers sake comendeth twyse the more  
 But more do I commend thy loue, that am <she> for whome  
 Thy travayled ship hath cut the trustles salt see fome  
 And though I fayn to marke it nought, yet do I marke right well [75]  
 At table when we sit, thy countenaunce euery deal  
 Somtyme thyn eyes behold me fast, wyth long attractyue looke  
 Whose stedfast percyng rayes myn eyes can scarsly brooke

1.65] <sup>great</sup>: Correction by Hand F; ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision. A later hand has retraced the word in pencil or faint ink.

1.68] t<o>: Emendation by Hand F; ink matches main text, suggesting correction made at initial copying stage [Fol. 5v] *Catchwords*: 'Eythe I will'.

1.71] Redundant dot after first 'gyftes'; omitted from the transcription.

1.73] <sup>the same</sup>: Correction not by Hand F; same hand as l. 10.

1.76] *euery deal*: Perhaps one word, i.e., 'euerydeal'.

Then doost thou sighe or take the cup where I afore did sipp  
 Forgetting nought whiche syde I turned to, my lypp [80]  
**H**ow often haue I marked eke signes wyth thy fingers made  
 How often with thy browes, whiche well nere speking had  
 So farfurth as I feared least my husband shuld hesp ye  
 And blussed at som thinges not handled couer<sup>t</sup>ly  
 Not ones or twyse then wordes I sayd, wyth murmor long or low [85]  
 Is he no whit asham<e>d? whyche nowe I proue ryght so  
**I** noted eke about the borde, where my name set aboue  
 Thy finger dipt in wyne substribed had, I love  
 Whiche natheles I beheld wyth eyes renouncyng it was so  
 But now alas suche signes, for wordes may serve I know [90]  
**T**hose dalyaunces if ought could cause, shuld sonest cause me synne  
 Those were the rediest traynes to make me fall therein  
 Thy face therto I do confesse is rare and suche as may  
 More any womans wisshe, wyth such a lord to play  
**B**ut rather let som others hap be happy voyd of cryme [95]  
 Than I my wyfely trowth, in straungers love to lyme  
 fayr  
**L**erne thou by me these beauties ^, to can, want and refrayn  
 A vertu it is from weal desyred, to abstayn  
 That thou dost wyshe hath ben the wyshe of yongmen more then one  
 What than to iudge aright, hath Paris eies alone? [100]  
**N**ay sure thou seest no more than they, but more thou rashly darest  
 They know as moch as thou, but lesse for shame thou sparest  
 [Fol. 6v] **T**hen lo I wold wyth hasted ship, thou hyther haddest ben brought  
 When me a mayden yet, a thousand woers sought

1.81] *signes*: Apostrophe-like mark above ‘g’, perhaps deleted but unclear; omitted from transcription.

1.83] *feared*: Second ‘e’ perhaps deleted, with a brown smudge at bottom of letter. This is unclear, so ‘e’ retained in transcription.

1.84] *cover<sup>t</sup>ly*: Correction probably by Hand F.

1.86] *asham<e>d*: Emendation by Hand F; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

1.94] *More*: Later hand has tried to emend ‘More’ to ‘Move’ in pencil or faint ink.

1.97] *^fayr^*: Correction by Hand F; ink darker than main text (see 1.65), suggesting later revision. A later hand has retraced the word in pencil or faint ink.

[Fol.] 6[r] *Catchwords*: ‘Then lo?’

yet  
**A** thousand if I had <sup>^</sup> seen, had gon wythout thy gayn [105]  
**My** husband shall in this, forgeue my iudgement playn  
**But** now to com for pleasures past, and ioies enjoyed I say  
**Thy** hope was overslacke, an other hath got thy pray  
**Nat** so vnleef that I shold wyshe to be thy Troian wyfe  
**Wyth** Menelay I lead no such displeasent lyf [110]  
**Do** way therefore wyth fawnyng wordes, my tendre hart to presse  
**And** do not brew her hurt, whose love thou dost professe  
**But** suffer me to broke at leest, in worth my fortunes will  
**To** shamefull were thy spoyles, my shamefastnes to spill  
**But** Venus did behight it so, when in the vales of Ide [115]  
**Three** goddesses by the ther naked beaulties tryed  
**So** where the first dyd profer state, the second knighthode gave  
**The** third thou saiest dyd plight, that Heleyn thou sholdst have  
**It** may well be but sure I trow full hardly yet that they  
**From** heavin down wold com thy iudgement to obey [120]  
**That** if they dyd the tother part, is but thyn own devyse  
**Where** I of thyn award, am sayd to be the pryse  
**I** do not thynke aboute the rest my beaultie so moche <sup>or</sup> w<it>the  
**As** it for greatest gifte a goddes shuld set forth  
**Sufficeth** that my sely fourme do mortall eyes detayn [125]  
**But** vndre Venus <trayn> prayse, I fear som secret trayn  
**Yet** do I not refuse the same, for why shold I make coy  
**With** outward wordes to squaym, my inward <sup>r</sup>thu<sup>^</sup>sted ioye  
**Nor** be thou wrath wyth moch a doo, that scant I do beleve the  
**A** weighty case as is, requyres slacke fayth to preue the [130]  
**My** fourme therefore I dobled hold, to Venus prayse referrd

1.105] <sup>^</sup>yet<sup>^</sup>: Correction not by Hand F; same hand as ll. 10 and 73.

1.123] w<it><sup>^</sup>or<sup>^</sup>the: Correction by Hand F; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

1.124] set forth: A later hand has retraced the word in pencil or faint ink.

1.126] <trayn>: Deletion represented through strikethrough and dotted underlining; the underlining perhaps indicates that an eye-skip has occurred.

1.128] thu<sup>r</sup><sup>^</sup>sted: Correction by Hand F; ink browner and fainter than in main text, suggesting later revision.

1.130] preue: First 'e' written over another letter, unidentifiable.

And likewise by thy choise, for gretest gift preferred  
 That neyther Pallas profers large nor Iunos hestes might move  
 Thy mode (my name ones hard) ther parties to approve  
 For my sake then dyd Paris leaue, both prowes state and havyour [135]  
 What adamant could chose so free an hart but fauour  
 [Fol.] 7[r] I ame not made of Athamant althoughe I ame not prone  
 To loue hym that I scarce could thynke wold be myn own  
 Why shold I seke to plowe the sand, whose print the flood replyeth  
 self  
 Or geaue my ^ suche hope, as place it self denyeth [140]  
 I can not skill on Venus stelthes, and Iove my witnes be  
 My husband never yet deceyued was by me  
 Yea wher I now to aunswer thyne this pystle vndretake  
 Thinke how it is the first, whiche ever I dyd make  
 Happy be they that knowe the trade, but I through practyse small [145]  
 Suppose the way right hard to syn and scape wythall  
 The fear it self is ill ynough alreedy I geaue place  
 As if a worldes eies stode poring in my face  
 Nor yet in vayn mysgeves my mynd I know what people say  
 My damsell Ethra hard som backe tales yesterday [150]  
 So eyther thou must cloke thy love, or leaue wyth loue to mell  
 But why shold loue be left, which thow maist cloke so well  
 Play but beware and thinke we haue, more libertie nat most  
 That Menelay is nowe, departed from this coast  
 He for affaiers which touch<sup>e</sup>d hym nere good man the seas hath past [155]  
 A great and lafull cause, his sodeyn gate dyd hast  
 And partely I where doubting yet, what best was to be done  
 I bade hym go with spede, to spede hym home as sone  
 Glad for the lucke, my wordes hym gaue, he kyssed me, and see  
 Thou loke well to our hous and chere our <our> ghest qd he [160]

[Fol. 6v] *Catchwords*: 'I am not made'.

1.140] *my*: 'y' of this word has been converted from an 'e'; revision in later hand.

^*self*^: Correction not by Hand F; same hand as 1. 10, 73, 105.

1.155] *touch<sup>e</sup>d*: Emendation by Hand F; ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision.

1.160] <*our*>: Deletion represented through strikethrough and dotted underlining; the underlining perhaps indicates that an eye-skip has occurred (see 1.126).

kepe

Skarse could I then my laughter <sup>^</sup> wyth struglyng backe to call

**O**ne word I had not more for answer, but I shall./

And so his sayles wyth wynd at will to Creteward he vnfolded

**B**ut let not thy conceit be therefore to moche bolded

**H**is absence is not suche but that, his spials present ar [165]

The proverbe sayth (thou knowest) a kinges hand stretcheth farr

**M**y fame also reputed fayr shall, now this combraunce do me

The more I am belyk<sup>,</sup><e>d to, cause him loke more to me

So that the prayse which set me fourth is now my setter backe

**M**e lever were mens eyes, had found in me som lacke [170]

[Fol. 7v] **Y**et marvell not though parted hence with Paris he durst leaue me

**M**y maners and good lyfe, such credit makes hym geaue me

**M**y face may cause hym <stran> stand in drede, my lyfe hym self will swear

**I**s such as well what doubt my beaultie moves can clear

**B**ut tyme thou sayst thus proferd vs, we shold not lose alday [175]

**H**is symplenes to take for vauntage while we may

**I**wold and yet I fear to will my mind I wot ner how

**H**alf geaven to consent, half doth it disalow

**M**y husband is from home I wot, and thou alone dost lye

**M**y beaultie perceth thyn, thyn perced hath myn eye [180]

**T**hese nyghtes ar long and now in spech we ioyn and wo is me

**S**o fayr thy wordes ar sett, and both in one house be

**A**nd neuer haue I ioye vnles all thinges provoke me to it

**B**ut ay this elvish drede revokes me to vndo it

**O** that thou hadst the pour to force that ill thou dost perswade [185]

**S**o lo a symple wight more skilfull shold be made

**A**n iniury somtyme doth turne vnto theyr bote that byd it

1.161] <sup>^</sup>kepe<sup>^</sup>: Correction by Hand F; ink darker than main text (see 1.65 and 97), suggesting later revision.

1.162] *I shall*: A later hand has retraced these words in pencil or faint ink; this hand perhaps adds virgule at end of 1.162.

1.168] *belyk<e>d*: Emendation by Hand F; ink darker than in main text, suggesting later revision.

[Fol.] 7[r] *Catchwords*: 'Yet marvaill'.

1.173] <stran>: Deleted word conjectural; deletion represented through strikethrough and dotted underlining. The underlining perhaps indicates that an eye-skip has occurred. (see 1.126 and 160).

1.178] *geaven*: 'ven' in blacker ink, written over other letters, unidentifiable.

- So were I happy loo, to say compeld I dyd it  
**But** rather let me leaue this loue, ere further it encreseth  
 A fyer but newly made with litle water ceaseth [190]
- S**<o> vnstedfast is this straungers love it wandreth eft as they  
 Whan moost we thinke it sure, it sonest flyeth away  
**Hipsiphile** and Ariadne can hereof witnes bear  
 Both Ioyn<e>d to other beddes by whom betrayed they were  
 And thou lykewyse vnfaythfull man art sayd to haue forsaken [195]  
 eke  
 Enone, ^ that so long was for thy mastres taken  
 Nor yet thy self denyest it, and thynke not <that> but I know  
 By depe enquiry made how all thy doyngees goo  
**But** yf thou woldest be fyrme in love, how lyeth it in thy pour  
 Thy maryners do loke for passage euery hour [200]  
**Whyles** we do treat or whiles the night long hopt <...> hard at hand  
 A thankeles wynd shall blow directly for thy land  
**Then** as thy ship doth ronne her course, thy new sought Ioyes and I  
 Here lefte behynd our loue into the wynd shall flye./
- [Fol.] 8[r] **Or** shall I folow by thy reed thy famous Troy to see [205]  
 There nere vnto the great Laomedon to be  
 Nay yet I do not set so light, by brute of flyeng fame  
 That she the worldes cares, shuld burden wyth my shame  
 will doo  
**What** ^ my town of Spart than ^ what may hole Grekeland say  
 Wyll Asy or Troy it self from blamyng of me stay [210]  
**Will** Priam or king Priams wyf, excuse my dede herein  
 Thy brethern or ther wyves with other of thy kyn  
**Wilt** thou thy self hereafter hope, that faythfull I wold byde

---

1.191] *S*<o>: Emendation by Hand F; ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision.

1.194] *Ioyn*<e>'d: Emendation by Hand F; ink patchier than main text, suggesting later revision.

1.196] ^*eke*^: Correction not by Hand F; later addition by different hand (see 1.10, 73, 105, and 140).

1.197] <that>: Deletion represented through strikethrough and dotted underlining.

1.201] <...>: Letter or word supplied is unclear; a descender is visible, and a character that resembles minuscule 'r' and perhaps serves as an ampersand.

[Fol. 7v] *Catchwords*: 'Or shall I folow'.

1.209] ^*will*^, ^*doo*^: Corrections probably not by Hand F, though difficult to establish.

1.210] *Asy*: Dash-like line above 'y', function unclear.

Nat rather to suspect thyn own example tryed  
 What s'ever gest in foreyn ship Troy hauen then dyd entre [215]  
 Shuld cause thy ielous hart to fear thyn own aventure  
 Then lo at every lytle Iarr adulteres wilt thou say  
 Forgetting of my cryme, thyn own to bere the key  
 And so shall he that made me synne condemp my synne also  
 Ere that day com I wish my carcas laid full lowe [220]  
 But goodes thou sayst with richer wede obteyn I shall at Troy  
 There gyftes in dede above thy promes to enioye  
 Such purple Robes soch cloth of gold soch Iewells plyeng to the  
 Wyth treasour pyld in hurdes ~~in hurdes~~ presented shall <sup>I</sup> be <to me>  
 Thy presentes suer forgeaue it me I do not so allow [225]  
 To leave my natyve ground more leef I wot nere how  
 How? if in Troy I suffer wrong whose succour shall me steed  
 Whence shall I claym my kynne or brothers ayd at nede  
 Meda was constrayned at last from Esons hous to go  
 How ever Iason fals dyd promes her nat soo [230]  
 But where had she her father than her mother or her syster  
 Dispysed so by hym for refuge to assist her  
 Now as I fear no soch myshap no more Medea dyd  
 But often on good hope yll chaunces haue betid  
 A ship that is amyds the seas turmented to and froo [235]  
 At setting from the port myght fynd the waves full low  
 The fyerbrand eke wyth Hecuba before thy byrth dyd seme  
 All bloody to bryng fourth moch make me to mysdeme  
 [Fol. 8v] And sore I drede the prophecy whyche cometh thus they say  
 That Ylion shall burne with grekysh fyre one day [240]  
 And lyke as Venus is thy frend bycause she wan and welded  
 Two tryumphes at one tyme whiche thyn award her yelded  
 So fear I yf thy vaunt be true the tothers iust dysdayn

1.215] *What s'ever*: Elision mark faint.

1.224] *<in hurdes>*: Deletion represented through strikethrough and dotted underlining; the underlining perhaps indicates that an eye-skip has occurred (see 1.126, 160, and 173).

<sup>I</sup>: Correction not by Hand F; later addition by different hand.

[Fol.] 8[r] *Catchwords*: 'And sore I dred'.



Who standyng to thy dome dyd not theyr cause obtayn  
 And sure I ame that followyng the, warr foloweth next at hand [245]  
 To tryall of the sworde our love alas must stand  
 For ravysched Hippodanie the beastly Centaures pray  
 Betwene her frendes and them how <sup>bloddy</sup> <blyndly> was the fray  
 Will Tyndarus or Menelay wyth both my Brethern than  
 Forgeaue the and not seke reuengement all they can [250]  
 Now where thou doost thy manhood bost for warly feates achyved  
 That beaultie of thyn forbyddes thy wordes tobe belyved  
 Those tendre lymmes not made for Mars, in venus camp shuld play  
 Let warryoures fight ther fill, thou Paris love all day  
 Byd Hector whom thou praysest so fyght for the if he will [255]  
 An other maner fight pertayneth to thy skill  
 Conclude that yf I had the wyt or spryte thereto I shuld  
 Thyn ample profers take as she that wyse is wold  
 Or I perchance will take them to my shamfast fear vp<cast> <sup>cast</sup>  
 And yeld me to the tyme that may me wyn at last [260]  
 Where thou desierst som secret place to treat betwen vs two  
 I know thy trayn and how, our treaty than shold goo  
 But soft a whyle what nedes this hast thy corn ys yet but grene  
 Thy taryng all this whyle, perchance thy frend hath bene  
 Thus hetherto my pen that put, my secret mynd in wryting [265]  
 Syns weried is my hand shall ceas now from endyting  
 The rest hereof by Clemenee and Ethra thou shalt know  
 My pryvy Damsels both and Counsayloures also. **finis.**

**qd T. Chaloner eques auratus. etc. /**

1.245] Medial comma added later by a different hand in pencil or faint ink.

1.247] *Hippodanie*: 'ni' possibly 'm'; would give 'Hippodame'.

1.248] <*blyndly*>: Deletion represented through strikethrough and dotted underlining.

<sup>^bloddy^</sup>: Correction by Hand F; ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision (see 1.65, 97, and 161). A later hand has retraced the word in pencil or faint ink.

1.252] *thy words...belyved*: A later hand has retraced the words in pencil or faint ink.

1.259] *up^cast^*: Correction not by Hand F; later addition by different hand (see 1.10, 73, 105, 140, and 196).

*gloss*: Above 'and' (1.267), Park has written an asterisk in pencil and added note: 'The kinswomen of Menelaus / the maidians of Helen. Vid. Ouid de / arte ama[...].'. The reference is to Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* ('Art of Love').

[Fol.] 9[r]

[SLIP OF PAPER ADDED TO MS]

[Fol. 9v]

[BLANK]

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*qd. T. Chaloner...etc./:* subscription in engrossing hand.

*gloss:* Underneath subscription, later hand has added note in pencil: 'no other copy seems to be known.'

[Fol.] 9[r]: Fol. 9 is a slip of paper inserted between Fols. 8 and 10, in which Park has collected and written in pen a series of appraisals of Chaloner's verse. These read:

*In Eclogue + pastoral poësie (says <...>^Puttenham^) Sir P. Sidney + Maister Challoner, for such doings as I haue seen of them, do deserve the highest praise."*

*Art of English Poesie. 1589.*

*Meres also numerates Master Challoner among the best, in his time, In pastorall:*

*Wits Treasury. 1598*

*Wood says that "he had written some matters pertaining to virtuosity, + others, + Pastoral but whether extant he could not tell." (Wood upon the younger[?] Chaloner) Ath. Oxon. I. 398.*

[2]

[Fol.] 10[r] I that some time my slender flute, in verse was wonte to sounde  
of wooddes, and next to that I taught, for husband men the grounde  
how frute vnto their greedye lust, thei might constraine to bring  
A worke of thankes / Lve nowe of mars, and dreedfull warres I sing.  
of armes, and of the man of Troie, that first by fatall flight [5]  
from thence arived to Lavine land, that now Italia hight:  
but shaken sore withe many a storme, by seas and landes ytost  
and all for goddesse Iunos wrathe, that wrought to haue him loste  
and sorrowes greate in warres he bode er he the walles coulde frame  
of mightye Rome, and bring the goddes t'advaunce the Romaine name [10]  
now muse direct my song to tell, for what offence and why  
what ayled so this quene of goddes, to dryve thus cruelly  
this noble prynce of vertue mylde, from place to place to toile  
suche paynes to take, maie heavenlie myndes, so sore in ranco<sup>r</sup> boile?  
Ther was a Towne of auncient tyme, Carthago of olde it hight [15]  
against Italia and Tyberes mouthe laye loof at seas aright  
bothe riche in welthe, and sharpe in war, the people it held of Tire  
this towne above all Townes to reise was Iunos most desire  
forsooke her seate at Samos Ile, and here her armes she set  
her cheare, and here she myndes to make (if <sup>all</sup> goddes do not let) [20]  
an empier all the worlde to rule, but hearde she had be forne  
from Troie shuld rise a stock, by whome, their towres should all be torne  
that Lyby lande destroie they shoulde, so fortune tournes the whe<sup>e</sup>le  
for feare of that, and calling eft, the olde war to her mynde

[2]

[2] is copied by Hand A, which adds numerous otiose macrons, e.g. 'came' in 2.65; none expanded in transcription. The poem is ruled in brown ink until Fol. 16r; from Fol. 16<sup>v</sup> until Fol. 20<sup>f</sup>, ruling is scored into the paper.

*gloss.* Centred above 2.1, a later hand has added note in brown ink: 'The first book Virgils Æneids'. Another hand has appended in black ink: 'apparently Phaer's translation with variations from ye printed copy'.

2.5] *man*: 'a' written over 'e'; correction not by Hand A; later revision by different hand in brown ink.

2.16] Hand A omitted line; adds in interlinear space between 2.15 and 2.17.

2.19] *armes*: Dot above 'r'.

2.20] <sup>all</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

2.23] *whe<sup>e</sup>le*: Correction by Hand A; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.

that she at Troie had don before, for greekes her frindes so kinde [25]  
 ne from her hart the causes olde, of wrathe and sore disdainē  
 still  
 was slaked yet, but in her brest highe spite did <yet> remaine  
 how Paris venus beautie praised, and heres estemed at naught  
 shabhorres the stocke, and Ganimede, whome Iove to heaven had raught  
 thus flamed in her moode she cast, through all the seas to throwe [30]  
 the selie pore remaine of Troie, that grekes had laide so lowe  
 and them thatt wilde Achilles wrathe had spared aliue at last  
 from Italie she thought to kepe till destny shoulde be past  
 and many a yere thei wandred wide through seas and sondry pine  
 so howge a worke of weight it was, to buylde of Rome the ligne [35]  
 sailes  
 scant from the sight of Scicile Ile, their <seales> in merie araye  
 went vnder winde, and throughe the seas, and salt fome made their waye  
 [Fol. 10v] when Iuno her bethought againe, of her imortall wounde  
 vnto her self: and shall I thus, be conquered and confounde?  
 and shall I leave it thus qd she? shall yet this Troian king? [40]  
 for all my worke to Italie, this people saulflie bring?  
 I trowe the destny willes it so: but did not Pallas burne  
 a fleet of greekes? and in the seas, them all did ouertourne?  
 for onne mannes sinne? and for the fault, of Ajax made to fall  
 she threwe the fieres of mightie Iove from skies vpon them all? [45]  
 and drowned their shipps and he him self w<sup>t</sup> whirlwind set a fier  
 all smoking on the rockes she caste, his carcas to expier?  
 But I that Quene of godes am calde, and sister of Iove in throne  
 and eke his wief, how long I war, with this pore stocke alone?  
 so many a yere? and who shall nowe, dame Iunos godhead knowe? [50]  
 or shortlye on myne altares: who due hono<sup>rs</sup> will bestowe?  
 Thus rolling in hir burning brest, she streight to Aeolia hide  
 into the countrie of cloudye skies, where <blustering> blustering windes do bide  
 King Eolus the wrastling windes, in caves he lockes full lowe.  
 in prison strong the stormes he keepes, forbidden a brode to blowe [55]

2.27] <sup>^still^</sup>: Correction made by Hand A; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

2.36] *their*: Diagonal line struck through 'h'; letter retained in transcription.

<sup>^sailes^</sup>: Correction not by Hand A; later revision by different hand.

thei for disdain, withe murmo<sup>r</sup> greate, at everie mouthe do rage:  
 but he a lofte w<sup>t</sup> mace in hand, their force doth all aswage  
 if he so did not: landes and seas, and skies thei wolde so swepe  
 within a whyle, that all were gon, therefore in dongeons deepe,  
 almightie Iove hath clos<e>d them vpp, and hilles hath over set [60]  
 and made a king that shulde know whan, to loose them whan to let  
 whome to entreate this Iuno came, and thus to him she spake.  
 King Eolus for vnto the, the greate god hath be take  
 and geven the leave to lift the flouddes, and calme to make them still  
 on Tyrrhen sea there <seales> sayles a flete, that beares me no good will [65]  
 to Italye thei mynde to passe, a new Troie there to buylde  
 let out thy windes, and all their shippes, do drowne w<sup>t</sup> waters wilde  
 disperse them all to sondry shores, or whelme them downe w<sup>t</sup> deepe  
 of precious ladies seaven and seaven, a bowte me do I kepe.  
 wherof the fairest of them all, that cald is Dyopeye [70]  
 shalbe thine owne for ever more, my mynde if thou obeye  
 and of a goodlie sonn (qd she) she shall the make a syer.  
 To that said Eolus: (o queene:) what nedes all this desire?  
 [Fol.] 11[r] commaunde me (Dame) I must obey, my duetie <i>t is of right  
 by youe this kingdome furste I gate, and grace of Iove on hight [75]  
 ye  
 youe make me sit among the godes, at Bankettes this <youe> knowe  
 youe gaued me might this stormye windes, to straine or make to blowe  
 he tornd his sworde whan this was saide, and through the hilles he pusht  
 and all at ones withe thronges thereat, the windes furthe out thei rusht  
 the whirlwindes to the landes went out, and then to seas thei flue [80]  
 waves  
 both est and west and from the sandes the <waters> aloft thei threw  
 the stormy Southe againe the clives, the waters drives so hie  
 that cables all began to crake and men for dreede to crye

2.60] *clos<e>d*: 'e' struck through, probably by Hand A.

2.65] *sayles*: 'ay' thickly formed and written over other letters; letters replaced unclear.

2.73] *said*: Smudged fingerprint around word.

2.74] <i>t: Diagonal line struck through 'i'.

2.76] <youe>: Hand A has partially written 'e' over 'o'.

^ye^: Correction by Hand A; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.

2.81] ^waves^: Correction by Hand A; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

anon was take from Troian eies bothe sight and light of sonne  
and on the sea the grimme darke night, to close all in begonne [85]  
the thonders rored, and lightnings lept, full oft on everie side  
ther was no man but present deathe, before his face espied  
Eneas then in everie limme withe <col> colde began to quake  
with handes vp throwne to heavens a loft, his mone thus gan he make  
O blessed men whose fortune was before there parentes sight [90]  
before the walles of Troie to die, and lose their lives in fight  
i  
O D<o>mede thow valiant Lorde and guyde of greekes so stoute  
coude I not of thy force have fallen, and shed my lif right oute  
In Troian fieldes? wher hector fearce, liethe vnder Achilles launce  
King Sarpedon and many a lorde, how blissfull was their chauce. [95]  
their  
whose bodies withe ^ armes and Sheeldes, in Symois waters sinckes  
he  
as ^ thus spake the northen blast, his sayles brake to the brinckes  
vnto the skies the waves them lifte, their Oares been all to torne  
and  
awaye gothe helme ^ with the surge, the shipp syde downe is borne  
In come the seas, and hie as hilles, some hanges in flouddes a bove [100]  
some downe the gaping water sendes, ageinst the sandes to shove  
three  
there <there> at once the Southerne windes, into the rockes hath cast  
(so call thei stones that in the seas, like altars lye full fast)  
and three the easterne winde also, that pitie it was to thinke  
oute of the deepe into the shouldes, and quicke sandes made to sincke [105]  
and one that men of Lycya lande and trustie <Oon> Orontes helde  
afore his face there fell a see that made the pupp to yelde  
and hedlong downe the master falles, and thrise the keele a grounde

---

2.92] *D<o>^i^omede*: 'o' blotted out by Hand A. Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.96] *^their^*: Correction by Hand A; ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

2.97] *^he^*: Correction by Hand A; ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision (matches 2.96).

2.99] *lifte*: Terminal 'e' by Hand A written in brown ink, suggesting later revision.

2.99] *^and^*: Correction by Hand A; ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision (matches 2.96 and 97).

2.102] *^three^*: Correction by Hand A; ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision (matches 2.96,.97, and 99).

2.103] *like*: 'i' written over 'y'; correction orthographic.

the water whirld, and at the last, the wild sea swallowed rounde  
 [Fol. 11v] there mought youe see both heere and there men w<sup>t</sup> their arme<sup>r</sup>s swymme[110]  
 the robes and painted pompe of Troie, laye fleeting on the brimme  
 and now the ships where Ilionee, and where Achates strong  
 and where as Abas went and where Aleches lyving long  
 the weather had wonne and throughe the ribbes, the seas cam wonders fast  
 when sodainlie the god Neptune, vp stert him all agast [115]  
 withe wonder how so greate a rage, should hap to him vntold  
 and furthe his noble face he puttes, the water to behold  
 there saw he how Eneas ships through all the seas be spred  
 and Troian folke ydrownde withe <flud> flud, and stormes falln over hed  
 anon the craft therof he knew, and Iuno his sisters yre [120]  
 straight by there names he calles the windes, who than began retire  
 Are you so bolde youe blastes (qd he), without my licence heere  
 the <londes> londes and Skyes and seas also, withe suche a storme to steere?  
 I wilbe quyte. But first is best, the flouddes to set in staie  
 and after this for yo<sup>r</sup> desertes, be sure I shall youe paie [125]  
 In hast be goan: go tell yo<sup>r</sup> king, the seas is not his chardge  
 but vnto me that lot befell, with mace three forked lardge  
 not here but in his caves of winde, his co<sup>r</sup>te go bid him kepe  
 there let him if he list, youe blastes, inclose in prison deepe  
 this spoken with a worde he makes, the swelling seas to cesse [130]  
 and sonne to shine, and cloudes to flee that did the skies oppresse  
 the mermades therew<sup>t</sup>all apperes, and Triton fletes a bove  
 and withe his forke thei all the shippes from rockes do softlie move  
 then lettes he lose the perilous sandes that ships away may slide  
 and on the sea full smothe his chare, withe wheelles he made to ride [135]  
 and like as in a people stoute, when chauncethe to betide  
 the multitude to make a fraie, of wit full often wide  
 that stones and weapons flees a broade, and what comes first to hand

---

2.119] *flud*: 's'-like flourish on terminal 'd' not typical of Hand A.

2.123] <londes> *londes*: Hand A substitutes word written without 'es' abbreviation for same word with abbreviation .

2.135] *chare*: 'a' written over another letter, probably 'e'.

2.138] *hand*: Flourish on terminal 'd' (matches 2.119).

some sad man comth that for his right, is loved of all the land  
anon thei cease and silence make, and downe thei ley their rage [140]

to harke at him, and he with speche, <w> their wood myndes dothe asswage  
So fell this deadly fraye at sea, whan Neptune had controlld  
the waters wilde, and throughe the seas, his chare a brode had rolld  
the men of Troie vnto the shore, that next was in their sight  
made hast to drawe, and on the coaste, of affrica thei lyght [145]

[Fol.] 12[r] For in the shore there lyethe an yle, and there besides a baye  
where from the chanell deepe the haven <goeth> goth in and oute allway  
on eyther side the roches hie, to h<sup>e</sup>aven vpp clyme to growe  
and vnder them the still sea liethe, for there no breath can blowe  
but greene wood like a garland growes, and <hides> hides them all w<sup>t</sup> shade [150]  
and in the middes a pleasaunte cave, there standes of nature made  
where sittes the nymphes among the springes, in seates of mosse and stone  
when shippes ar in no gables neede, nor ankers neede thei none.

Than from the ship to walke a lande, Eneas longed sore  
and chose of all the nomber seaven, and brought w<sup>t</sup> him to shore [155]  
there by a banke their werie lymmes, of salt sea did thei stretche  
and firste Achates from the flint, a sparke of fire did fetche  
whiche he receaved in matter meete, and drye leaves laide a bouthe  
than vitalles oute thei laide a lande w<sup>t</sup> seas well nere ymarde  
and come to drye thei set and some with stones thei brused harde [160]

There whiles Eneas vp the rocke, was gone to walke on hie  
to see where anie ships of his, astraye he mought espie  
if Caicus armes vpon the sailes, or Capis happes to showe  
no boate in sight but on the shore, three hartes there stode arowe  
and after them the herde behinde, a long the valey fedd [165]  
he stayed, and of his boltes and bowe Achates streight him <fedd> spedd

---

2.139] *land*: Flourish on terminal 'd' (matches 2.119 and 138).

2.142] *whan*: Initial 'w' perhaps majuscule.

*controlld*: Line struck through flourish on terminal 'd' in brown ink.

2.143] *rolld*: Line struck through flourish on terminal 'd' in brown ink.

2.148] *eyther*: Initial 'e' perhaps 'o'; would give 'oyther'.

*h<sup>e</sup>aven*: Correction by Hand A; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

2.150] <*hides*> *hides*: Hand A substitutes word written without 'es' abbreviation for same word with abbreviation (matches 2.123).



the cheef that highest bare their heades, a downe with dartes he kest  
 and to the woodes he followed than, with like p<sup>r</sup>sute the rest  
 he left them nat till seaven of them, were <fallen> withe bodies greate  
 to match the nombre of his ships, that now had nede of meate [170]  
 than to the haven he dothe the flesshe, among his men deuide  
 and pipes of wine departed eke, that was a bourde that tyde  
 whiche good Acestes had them geven, when thei from Cicile went  
 and then to cheere their heavie hartes, w<sup>t</sup> these wordes he him bent  
 O mates (qd he) that many a woo, have bidden and borne er this [175]  
 worse haue we seene, and this also, shall end whan goddes wille, is,  
 throughe Scilla rage (youe wote) and through the roring rockes we past  
 thoughte Ciclops shore was full of feare, yet cam we through at last  
 plucke vp yo<sup>r</sup> hartes, and dryve from thence, bothe thought & feare awaye  
 to thinke on this maye pleasure be, perhaps a nother daye: [180]  
 withe paines and many a daung<i>er sore, by sondry chaunce we wend  
 to come t' italia, where wee trust, to fynde o<sup>r</sup> resting end.  
 [Fol. 12v] and where the destnies haue decreede, Trois kingdom eft to rise  
 be bolde and harden now your selves, take ease whan ease applies  
 Thus spake he tho: but in his hart, howge cares him had opprest [185]  
 disimmling hope withe outwarde eyes full heavie laie his brest  
 than all besturd them to the praye, the bankettes gan begin  
 the skinnnes from of the flesshe thei plucke, and eke thentrailes withe in  
 some cut their shares and quaking yet, on broches gan to broile  
 some blew the fire to burne, and some, their Cawdrens set to boile [190]  
 good cheare thei made and fed them fast, as on the grasse they sat  
 withe wine and vittelles of the best, and red deere good and fat  
 whan meate was don and hunger past, and trenchers vp ytake  
 greate search and talking for their frendes that were behinde thei make  
 n  
 I<sup>n</sup> hope and dreede of them they stande, and whither alive thei be [195]

2.169] <sup>fallen</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.186] Word covered over between 'eyes' and 'full'.

or what is elles of them becom, or shall them ever see. /

case

But cheeflie good Eneas did the <sup>^</sup> full sore lament

of stoute Orontes and Amicus, whome the seas had hent

and other whiles he sighed sore, for Lycus pitious fall

and mightie Gias and Cloanthus, mourned he moste of all [200]

And now an ende therof there was, when Iove him self on hie

beheld the seas where ships do faile, and broade landes vnder skye

and from the toppes of heaven above, he kest his eyes a downe

and stayed and loked on Affrike, and who there bare the Crowne

and vnto him as to and fro his carefull mynde he caste [205]

came venus in, and sad she was, vnlike her custome paste

withe teares about her eyes so bright, she thus began to plaine

O king (qd she) that ouer vs all, bothe goddes and men dost raine

for euermore, and with the dintes, of lightninges makest afright

what hath my sonne Eneas wrought, or spoken againe thy might [210]

what hathe the simple Troians don? that after turmentes all

from Italie to kepe them of, the wo<sup>r</sup>lde is made so small?

Sometime yow saide there shuld arise, whan yeres were come a boutte

the men of Rome, that of the ligne, of Troie should be so stoute

that seas and landes should to there rule bothe far and nere suppressse [215]

what makes o mightie father now, yo<sup>r</sup> will a waye to dresse?

In hope therof yewis I tooke, the fall of Troie so light

and thought amendes should now be made, & pleasure payne to quyte

now

[Fol.]13[r] but <sup>^</sup> I see the same mischaunce, the pore men yet to chase

what end therof shall wee awaite, at your almightie grace? [220]

Anteno<sup>r</sup> through the myddes of Greece had fortune saulf to steale

and to Lyburnus kingdom cam, as destnie list to deale

even to the mides and head therof, wheroute Tymavus springes

2.195] *I<sup>n</sup>*: Correction by Hand A; ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision (matches those on Fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

2.197] *^case*: Correction by Hand A; ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision (matches those on 11<sup>v</sup>).

2.208] *king*: Initial 'k' perhaps majuscule.

2.219] *^now*: Correction by Hand A; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.222] *deale*: Initial 'd' perhaps majuscule.



till Ilia queene w<sup>t</sup> <chield> childe of Mars twoo twinnes to light shall bring  
whome volves shall nurse & proude therof, he growes that shalbe king  
[Fol. 13v] he Romulus shall take the rule, and vp the valles shall frame [255]  
of mightie Rome, and Romaines all, shall call them of his name  
i  
no end to the<sup>r</sup>e estate I set ne termes of time or space  
but endles shall their empier growe and Iunos cruell grace  
that now with feare the grounde beneth, turmoiles and eke the skies  
shall leave her wrath<e> and worke w<sup>t</sup> me, and take more sad advice [260]  
to loue the Romaines lordes of peace, and people clad in gowne  
let it be so: let time rolle on: and set forth their renowne  
than shalbe borne of Troian blod thempro<sup>r</sup> Cesar bright  
whose empier through the seas shall stretch, and fame to heaven vpright  
and Iulius his name it is, of myghtie yule derivd [265]  
him laden full of easterne spoiles, by him in war achivd  
In heaven thow shallt bestow full glad, & vowes men shall him hight  
then downe goth war men shalbe myld, in armes shall not delight  
than truth and right and Romaine goddes, shall sit w<sup>t</sup> lawes in hand  
the gates of war w<sup>t</sup> boltes and barres, of harde steele fast shall stand [270]  
and there w<sup>t</sup>in <in> on armo<sup>r</sup> heapes, sittes Battlerage and wailes  
w<sup>t</sup> brasen chaines a hundreth bounde, his wrastling not a vailes  
Thus moche he saide and downe anon, the sonne of Maie he sent  
that new Carthage and all the coast, of Affricke shoulde be bent  
The Troians to receave aland, lest Dido there the Quene [275]  
e  
might from hir shore expell them of, er she the cause had seene  
and downe he flees him through the skies, w<sup>t</sup> winges as swift as wind  
and on <lo> the lande of Lybie stode, and did his fathers mynde

2.257] *the<sup>r</sup>e*: Correction by Hand A; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.258] *growe*: Cnial 'g' written over another word.

2.260] *wrathe*: Possible attempt to strike through terminal 'e'; difficult to establish whether Hand A or different hand.

2.265] *derivd*: Possible 'i' between 'v' and 'd'; would give 'derivid'. Flourish on terminal 'd' (matches those in Fols 11<sup>v</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>).

2.271] *Battlerage*: Words perhaps separate, i.e., 'Battle rage'.

2.275] *Dido*: Initial 'D' perhaps minuscule.

2.276] *hi<sup>r</sup>e*: Hand A has added interlinear 'e' though not deleted 'i'; both letters retained in transcription.

w<sup>t</sup> that the mores laide doune their rage, as god did byd and eke  
the queene hir self ganne turne, and lo, the Troians waxed meeke / [280]  
But good Eneas all that night, his mynde a boutte he <kost> tost  
and in the morning went him oute, to serche and see the cost  
to lerne what lande thei were com to, what people dwelt theron  
if men or salvage beastes it holdes, for tild he could see non /  
this wolde he know, and to his men, the <trueth> truthe of all to tell [285]  
there whilest within a water cave, his ships he made to dwell  
whome trees and wooddes with shadowes thick, and eke the rockes doth hide  
than furth he goth and tooke but one, Achates, by his side  
and lawnces twoo thei bare in hand, of metall sharp and light  
and as he went amynd the wood, he met his mother right [290]  
[Fol.]14[r] moste like a meyde in maydens weede, she maydens armo<sup>r</sup> beares  
as dothe harpabice the queene, that horsses wild out weares  
so wight of foote as heber streame, so swift she leavth behinde  
for hunter like her bow she bare, her lockes went w<sup>t</sup> the winde  
behinde her backe, and tuckd she was, that naked was her knee [295]  
she cald to them and saide, good sirs, I pray youe did you see  
to straye this way as ye have come, my sisters any one  
with quiver bound that in the chace, of some wild beast ar gone  
or w<sup>t</sup> a crie pursueth a pace, the fomy bore to paine  
so venus saide, and venus sonne, her aunswerd thus againe [300]  
none of thy sisters have I seen, nor hard I the assure  
O mayde what shall I make of the? thy face I see so pure  
not mortall like, nor like mankinde, thy voice doth sounde I gesse  
some goddesse thow arte, and Phebus bright, thy brother is doubtles  
or of the noble nymphes thow comst, of grace we the beseche [305]  
what ever thow arte, and help o<sup>r</sup> neede, and now vow<sup>t</sup>chaf to teache  
what land is this? what coast of heaven, wee be come vnder here?

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2.278] *mynde*: ‘y’ thickly formed, though not clearly written over another letter.

2.281] <*kost*>: Deleted word perhaps ‘tost’.

2.292] *harpabice*: Initial ‘h’ perhaps majuscule.

2.293] *heber*: Initial ‘h’ perhaps majuscule.

2.306] *vow<sup>t</sup>chaf*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

straied

where neyther man nor place wee knowe, so <strayd> we haue in feare  
 oute of o<sup>r</sup> co<sup>r</sup>se we have <him> cast, w<sup>t</sup> wyndes and fluddes yshake  
 a fore thine altares many a beast, to offre I vndertake [310]  
 as for myne altares (qd she) tho, no suche estate I beare  
 the maner is of virgins heere, this short araye to weare  
 I<sub>^</sub> purple weede we vse to walke, w<sup>t</sup> quiver fast ybounde  
 the realme of Affrick heere thow seest, and men <sub>^</sub> Tirus grounde  
 here is the citie of Ageno<sup>r</sup> fearce be the londes a boutte [315]  
 queene Dido rules and wearth the crowne, from Tirus she came oute  
 and <lately> latlye from her brother fled, the cause is long to leare  
 the storie long but towche I woll, the cheef and leave it thare  
 Sycheus was her husband tho, the riche man of grounde  
 I<sub>^</sub> all the coast and deepe (good harte) in love w<sup>t</sup> hir was drounde [320]  
 for her to him her father gave, a virgyn yet vntwight  
 and vnto her brother cam the crowne, of Tirus than by right  
 Pigmalion a wicked wretche of all that ever rayned  
 whome covetise did blinde so sore, and rage of fury strayned  
 that vnaware w<sup>t</sup> prvy knyf, before the altares pure [325]  
 he slew Sycheus and of his sisters, love he thought him sure  
 [Fol. 14v] and long he kept the deede in close, and she good sowle full sad  
 the craftie theef made wonders meanes, and tales her mynd to glad.  
 but in a dreame (vnburied yet,) her husbände came to pere  
 w<sup>t</sup> visage pale & wonders hewes, full deadly was his cheere [330]  
 and told her all, and wide his wounde, set ope, he shewed his brest

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2.307] *land*: ‘a’ thickly formed; probably written over ‘o’.

2.308] *^straied^*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage. Correction orthographic.

2.309] *^bin^*: Correction probably by Hand A; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.313] *I^n^*: Correction by Hand A; ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision (matches those on fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

2.314] *^of^*: Correction by Hand A; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.

2.318] *th^e^are*: Correction by Hand A; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later. Hand A has added interlinear ‘e’ but not deleted ‘a’; both letters retained in transcription.

2.320] *I^n^*: Correction probably by Hand A; ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision (matches those on fol. 11<sup>v</sup>).

how he before the altares was, for what entent opprest  
 and bad her flee the wycked soile, er wo<sup>f</sup>se might her befall  
 and treaso<sup>f</sup> vnd<sup>f</sup> ground he showd, to help her therew<sup>t</sup>all  
 bothe golde and siluer pleantie greate, vnknowne <th> till than and so [335]  
 this Dido did and made her frindes, and ordained her to go  
 than suche as for his wicked lif, the cruell Tiraunt hates  
 or bin a fraid of him for ought, them gettes oute of the gates  
 In ships that readye laye by chaunce, the gold w<sup>t</sup> them thei packte  
 and spoiled also Pigmalion, this was a womans acte [340]  
 than past thei furth and here thei cam, where now thou shalt espie  
 the howgee walles of new Carthage, that now thei reare on hie  
 thei bought the soile and birsa it cald, when first thei did begin  
 as muche as w<sup>t</sup> a bull hyde cut, thei could inclose within  
 But what are youe, faine wold I knowe? or what coast com youe fro? [345]  
 where wold youe be? demaunding thus, he aunswered her vnto  
 w<sup>t</sup> sighing deepe, and from his brest his heavye tale he fet  
 O ladie myne (qd he) to tell, if nothing did me let  
 and of o<sup>f</sup> paines ye luste to heere, the stories out at lardge  
 the daie were short and er an end the <sone> son wolde him dischargde [350]  
 of auncyent Troye, if ever, Troie, besides your eares hath past  
 of thence be wee: by sondrye seas, and coastes we haue bin cast  
 and nowe the tempest hath us brought, to Lyby lande by chaunce  
 my name Eneas cleped is: my countrie goddes (t'advauce)  
 In ships I bring: vnto the starres, well blased ys my fame [355]  
 of Italie I seeke the lande, and Ioves ofspring I am  
 a Troian fleete I tooke to sea, w<sup>t</sup> twentie vesselles wide  
 my mother godesse taught my waye, as destnie did me guide  
 now seaven ther of do skant remayne the rest w<sup>t</sup> weatheres gon  
 And I vnknowne in wildernes, here walke and comfort non [360]  
 From Asia and from Europa quyte thus dryven I am <sup>w<sup>t</sup></sup> that  
 o  
 she c<sup>^</sup>ulde no lenger byde him speake: but <his tale> brake his tale thereat

2.340] *spoiled*: 'p' unclear; left-leaning tail overlaps with that of 's'.

2.361] <sup>w<sup>t</sup></sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

[Fol.] 15[r] what euer thow art (qd she) for well I wote the goddes above  
hath loued the moche to save thi lif, to this place to remove  
go furth to yonder Palais straight, assaye the queene to see [365]  
for saulf thei companie a land, be set beleve thow me  
and saulf thi ships be com to shore w<sup>t</sup> northern wind at will  
vnlesse my conning failes me now, whom wont I was to skill  
beholde the flocke of sixe and sixe, that yonder cheerlie flies  
of swannes / whome late an egle fearce did chase through all the skies [370]  
now toward land, or on the <lande> land thei seeme their co<sup>r</sup>se to keepe  
and as for ioye of daunger past, their winges a lofte thei <sheepe> sweepe  
w<sup>t</sup> mirthe and noise right, so thi men, and all thy ships arowe  
be come to haven, or nye the haven, in saulfgard this I knowe  
now get thee furthe, and where the waye thee leades kepe on a pace [375]  
skant had she sayde and therew<sup>t</sup>all, she turned a side her face  
as red as rose she gan to shine, and from hir heavenlie heare  
the flavo<sup>r</sup> sprang, as nectar sweete, downe fell her <kirtle> kirtell there  
and like a godesse right she fled, whan he his mother wist  
he followed fast, and cald (alas), what meane youe thus to list [380]  
In fayned shaps so oft to me, begiling to appere  
whi ha<sup>n</sup>d in hand embrace we not, and one a nother heere?  
thus playning sore he still his pace, vnto the citie holdes  
but venus as thei went a weede a bout them both she foldes  
of mist and cloude and ayer so thick that no man should the spie [385]  
ne do them harme nor interupt, ne axe them who ne whi  
her self by skie to Paphos yedes where standes her honno<sup>r</sup> seates  
and temple riche, and of incence, a hundreth altares sweates  
and wherof <flowers> floures and garlandes freshe, her floore is all bespred

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2.362] *she*: Smudged fingerprint around word.

*c<sup>o</sup>ulde*: Correction made by Hand A; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.371] <lande>: Deleted word perhaps 'londe'.

2.373] *men*: 'e' slightly blotted.

2.378] <kirtle> *kirtell*: Correction orthographic.

2.382] *ha<sup>n</sup>d*: Correction not by Hand A; later revision by different hand.

2.387] *honnour*: First 'n perhaps 'u'; would give 'hounour'.

2.389] <flowers> *floures*: Correction orthographic.



- thei in that while went on there waye, whereto the pathe them led [390]  
 and now com vp thei wer the hill, that nere the citie lies  
 from whence the towrs and castelles all, be subiect to their eyes  
 Eneas wondred at the worke where some time sheepe was fed  
 and on the gates he wondred eke, and noise in streete yspred  
 The mores w<sup>t</sup> corage went to worke, some vnder burdens grones [395]  
 some at the walles and towres w<sup>t</sup> handes wer tombling vp the stones  
 some measured oute the place to build, their manc<sup>i</sup>on howse w<sup>i</sup>n  
 some lawes and officers to make, in parlment did begyn /  
 [Fol. 15v] a nother sort a haven had cast, and deepe thei trench the ground  
 some other for the games and plaies, a statlye place had found [400]  
 and pillers great thei cut for kinges, to garnishe furth their halles  
 and like as bees among the flowers whan freshe the sommer faulles  
 In shine of Sonne applie thir wo<sup>t</sup>ke whan grown, is vp their yong  
 or whan their hives thei gin to stop and hony sweete is sprong  
 that all their caves and cellers eke, w<sup>t</sup> dulcet liquor filles [405]  
 some dothe vnlade, som other bringes, the stuff withe readye willes  
 some time thei ioyne and all at ones, do from their mangers fet  
 the slouthefull drones, that wolde consume and nowght will do to get  
 the work it heates, the hony smelles of flowres and tyme ywet  
 O happie men whose chaunce it is, yo<sup>f</sup> walles now thus to rise [410]
- e
- Eneas saide / and to the topp<sup>^</sup>s, of all he kest his eyes /  
 encompass with the cloude he goth a wonders thing to skill  
 and through the middes of men vnseen, he cometh and goth at will  
 Amides the towne a grove there stoode, full gladsom was the shade  
 where furst the mores by weather cast, and stormes into that trade [415]  
 had made a marke and dygd the place, where shortly thei had found

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2.393] *worke*: Ink blots around word.

2.398] *officers*: ‘e’ slightly blotted.

2.405] *eke*: ‘e’ and ‘k’ slightly blotted.

2.409] *smelles*: ‘es’ slightly blotted; perhaps written over another letter.

2.410-411] Hand A leaves additional gap between 2.410 and 2.411; retained in transcription.

2.411] *topp<sup>^</sup>s*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.412] *encompass*: Thick vertical to right of word in pencil or faint ink; not added by Hand A.

a horses hed of corage highe, so Iuno did compound  
that by that signe thei vnderstode, there stocke should prosper stoute  
in warres and fame and light to fynd, in tyme by landes a boutte  
and in that place queene Dido had, a gorgeous temple set [420]  
w<sup>t</sup> richesse great, no spare of coast, shuld Iunos <honno<sup>r</sup>> hono<sup>r</sup> let  
the brasen grees a fore the dores, did mount and eke the beames  
w<sup>t</sup> brasse ar knit, and vawtes and and doores, of brasse and mettall streames  
there in that wood a sodaine sight, his feare began to slake  
and there Eneas furst him dares, to trust and comfort take [425]  
for as w<sup>t</sup> in that temple wide, on <euery> euery thing he gasde  
and waited whan the queene should come, & stoode as one amasde  
to see the worke and how to state, so soone the towne was brought  
and wondered at the precieuse thinges, that craftes men there had wrought  
he see the amonges them all the Iestes of Troie and stories all [430]  
and wares that w<sup>t</sup> their their fame had fild, all kingdomes great and small  
King Priam and Atridas twaine, and wrothe to both Achill  
he staid w<sup>t</sup> teares and said, alas, what land hath not his fill  
[Fol.] 16[r] of o<sup>r</sup> decaye? Achates myne, what place is voyde? behold  
where Priam is, lo here some praise, is left him for his gold [435]  
here is a sight for men to mourne, and sample take in mynde  
cast of <this> thy care for of this fame, some comfort thow shalt fynde  
so saide, but yet w<sup>t</sup> picture plaine, a while his mynde he fedd  
and many a sight and lardge streames, from oute his eyes he shedd  
for there he sawe how in the fight, the walles of Troie aboute [440]  
heere fledd the greekes, and them p<sup>r</sup>sued, the youth of Troyan route  
here thei of Troye be chaced a fore, Achilles wild in chare  
Not far aloof was Ryses camp that while in baners bare  
he mournd to thinke how soone betraid, thei were and fast a sleepe  
Tytydes them in blooddye fight, distroyed w<sup>t</sup> slawghter deepe [445]  
and brought a waye the horses stoute, er once thei had assaide  
the tast of Troyan pastur, or, their feet in water laide

---

2.432] *wrothe*: Formation of initial 'w' not typical of Hand A; also slightly blotted.

2.437] *fame*: Dot above 'm'.

2.446] *assaide*: Terminal 'e' unclear.

a nother waye was Troilus seene, to ronne w<sup>t</sup> armo<sup>r</sup> broke  
 vn lucky lad and matche vnmeete, Achilles to provoke  
 his horses fled and he a long, in chare was over cast [450]  
 yet held he still the raynes in hande, and er a while is past  
 by hear and hed vnto the ground, Achilles hath him hent  
 and w<sup>t</sup> his speare to cruell death, in dust he hath him sent  
 there whiles vnto the temple greate, of angry pallas went  
 the wifes of Troie w<sup>t</sup> hear vnfold, a veyle thei did present [455]  
 withe humble teares and on their breastes, to knock thei nothing spares  
 she <turnd> turnes her face & fast her eyes vpon the ground she stares  
 three tymes a bout the walles of Troye was Hecto<sup>r</sup> haled agrounde  
 his carcas eke Achilles had, for gold exchanged rounde  
 then from the botom of his brest, a howge sighe he drewe [460]  
 whan of his <fr<sup>e</sup>nde> frind y<sup>e</sup> cruell spoile, & chare and corps he knewe  
 and Priamus he saw to praye, w<sup>t</sup> handes a broad on knee  
 and eke him self among the lordes, of Greece he saw to be  
 and felde that out of Inde were fet, and Memnons black araye  
 and frome the Realme of Amazon, w<sup>t</sup> thronges and tergates gaye [465]  
 Penthafile virago feerce, amides the milliones standes  
 in armo<sup>r</sup> girt her pap set out, and laced w<sup>t</sup> golden bandes  
 a queene of war thoughe maide she be, that men she likes to <be> trie  
 while thus a boute this Troian duke, Eneas led his eye  
 [Fol. 16v] w<sup>t</sup> marvell moche and ernest stode, him still in one to vewe [470]  
 to temple comes this Dido lo, the queene so faire of hewe  
 of Lordes and <of> lustie yonkers fine, aboute her many a route  
 most like vnto Diana bright, when she to hunt goth oute  
 vppon Evrotas bankes or throughe the copps of Cynthus hyll  
 whome thowsandes of the ladie nymphes awayt to do her will [475]  
 she on her arme her quyver beares, and all them overshines  
 and in her brest the ticking ioye, her harte to myrthe enclines

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2.452] *ground*: Flourish on terminal 'd' (matches those in fols 11<sup>v</sup>-12<sup>f</sup>).

2.457] <turnd>: Terminal 'd' perhaps replaced with 's'.

2.461] <fr<sup>e</sup>nde>: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

So Dido cam, and freshlie glad, among the <praise> prease she past  
 and forward she their wo<sup>r</sup>ke set furthe, and cherly biddes them hast  
 whan she into the temple cam, before the godesse gate [480]  
 amydes her gard her downe she set, in seat of great estate  
 there iustice right and Law she gave and labo<sup>r</sup> did devyde  
 in equall partes or elles by lot, let men their chaunce abide  
 whan sodainlie Eneas seethe, w<sup>t</sup> great concourse to throng  
 both mightie Anteus and S<sup>r</sup>gestus and Cloanthus strong [485]  
 and other Troians <ma> many one, whom weathers wide had sp<sup>r</sup>ed  
 and driven a broade in sondry sortes, to dyuerse coastes yled  
 astoynd w<sup>t</sup> him Achates was, for ioie thei wold haue lept  
 to ioine their handes, but feare ageine, them held & close ykept  
 tooke nothing on, and through the cloude, thei hid, did all behold [490]  
 what chaunce thei had and where their ships, & what shore might them hold  
 what make thei there for men yculd, of all the navie chief  
 withe cries into the Temple came, to seeke the queenes relief  
 whan they were in and licence had, before the queene to speake  
 the greatest lord S<sup>r</sup> <E>llionee, thus gan the scilence breake [495]  
 O queene to whom is geven of god, to buyld this citie new  
 and for yo<sup>r</sup> iustice peoples proude, and salvage to subdue  
 we Troians poore whom through the seas, all wyndes ytossed haue  
 beseeke yo<sup>r</sup> grace o<sup>r</sup> selye ships, from wicked fiers to save  
 haue mercie vpon o<sup>r</sup> gentle stocke, and graciouslye relieve [500]  
 o<sup>r</sup> painfull cace we com not heere, w<sup>t</sup> weopon<sup>e</sup>s yow to greeve  
 to spoile the coast of Lyby lande, or booties hence to beare  
 we conquered men be not so bold, o<sup>r</sup> pride neede none to feare  
 there is a place the Greekes by name, Hesperia do call  
 an auncyant lande and stoute in war. & <fruyt> frutefull soile w<sup>t</sup>all [505]

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2.478] *Dido*: Terminal ‘o’ faint.

2.479] *cherly*: ‘r’ written partially over ‘a’.

2.482] *Law*: Initial ‘L’ perhaps minuscule.

2.486] <...>: Word struck difficult to establish.

2.491] *hold*: ‘o’ written over another letter, probably ‘a’.

2.493] *relief*: ‘e’ and ‘f’ slightly blotted.

2.501] *weopon<sup>e</sup>s*: Correction by Hand A; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

[Fol.] 17[r] oute from Oenotria thei cam<e> that furst did till the same  
now Italie men seithe is cald, so of the captaines name  
to that o<sup>r</sup> course was bent /  
whan sodainlye there rose at South, a winde and tempest wood  
that towarde shore enforst to fall, and so tooke on the flood [510]  
that in the rockes we be disperst, we few this coast haue caught  
what kinde of men be theise of yo<sup>rs</sup>? What maners wild ytaught  
this countrey keepes? to lodge in sande, we can not suff<sup>e</sup>red be  
they fight, and non to tread a lande, thei can content to see  
if mortall men youe do dispise, and care for non in fight [515]  
yet haue respecte to goddes aboue, that iudge both wrong and right  
wee had a king Eneas cald, a iuster was there none  
in vertue nor in <feast> feates of warres, or armes culd matche him <n>ooone  
whome if the destnies keepes alive, if breth and ayer of skies  
he drawes, nor yet among the gostes, of cruell deth he lies [520]  
there is no feare it shalbe quyt, the favo<sup>r</sup> now yow showe  
youe furst his kindnes to provoke, shall never repent I knowe  
in dyuerse Iles some cities be, that Troyan armo<sup>rs</sup> beares  
of Troyan blood there is also, Acestes crowne that weares  
now geue us leave o<sup>r</sup> shaken ships, to laye a lande we praye [525]  
and Tymber to repayre them eke, and <sup>oares</sup> to passe a waye  
that w<sup>t</sup> o<sup>r</sup> king if we can meete, and eke o<sup>r</sup> fellowes mo  
to Italye by yo<sup>r</sup> relief, with glad chere maye we go  
but if that comfort all be past, and mightie father thee  
the Lyby seas hath had nor of, Iulus hope maye wee [530]  
yet at the last to Cicill yle, and seates that will not swarve  
fro whence wee cam let us departe, and king Acestes sarve  
So saide S<sup>r</sup> Ilionee, the rest of Troyans cryed the same  
at once w<sup>t</sup> murmo<sup>r</sup> great /  
Than Dido shortly full demure, her eyes downe set and thus [535]

2.513] *suff<sup>e</sup>red*: Correction by Hand A; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.

2.518] *c<sup>o</sup>uld*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.526] *oares*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.529] *that*: 'h' unclear; apparently covered over with a patch of paper.

cast of yo<sup>r</sup> care yow Troians, set, yo<sup>r</sup> hartes at ease for us  
 great neede, and yet the raw estate, of this my kingdom new  
 compelles me thus my coast to keepe, and wide a bouthe me vew  
 who knows not of Eneas who? Or hath not hard the name  
 of lustie Troie and of the men, and all that war the flame [540]  
 we mores be not so base of wit, ne yet so blunt of minde  
 ne from this towne the sonne his horse, so far away doth wynde  
 [Fol. 17v] go where yow please to Italie, to old Saturnus felde  
 or get yow into Scicill land, that king Acestes weldes  
 I will yow help and see yow saulf, and geue yow goodes to go [545]  
 will yow remayne even here with me? Be yow contented so?  
 this towne is yo<sup>rs</sup> I haue it made, set vp yo<sup>r</sup> ships anon  
 a Troian and a more to me, in dyfferent shalbe one  
 and wold to god yo<sup>r</sup> king had hapt, this way also to bend  
 and were him self Eneas heere, forsooth I will out send [550]  
 a long the coastes and wyldernes perhaps he maie be found  
 if any where in townes he strayes, or woodes of affryke ground  
 w<sup>t</sup> this the Troians comfort tooke, and now Achates strong  
 and lord Eneas through the cloude, to breake thei thought to long  
 Achates to Eneas first, him drew and to him saide [555]  
 thow godesse sonne what meane<st> thow thus? How long shall we be staide  
 all thinges thow seest is saulf & sure, o<sup>r</sup> fleete, o<sup>r</sup> frindes, and all  
 we misse but one whome in the mides, of floude we saw to fall  
 and drownd, but in the rest I see, yo<sup>r</sup> mothers tale is true  
 skant had he spake, and sodainlye, the cloude from them w<sup>t</sup> drew [560]  
 and vanished into aier alone, and left them bare in light  
 Eneas stode and freshlie shinde, all men behold him might  
 most like a god w<sup>t</sup> face and hew, for than his mother deere  
 set forth hir sonne w<sup>t</sup> shoulders faire, and comelye shinde his hear  
 nd  
 a<sup>^</sup> w<sup>t</sup> a roset yowth his eyes, & countenunce over cherd [565]  
 and whyte as burnisht everie fyne, his neck and handes aperd

2.555] *saide*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear.

2.556] *meane<st>*: Deletion of ‘s’ and ‘t’ unclear.

2.565] *a<sup>^</sup>nd<sup>^</sup>*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

e

full like as if the silver cleare, or perl<sup>^</sup>s ar put in gold  
 than to the queene he steps and saide, (all sodainly) behold  
 he that youe seeke, lo heere I am, Eneas Troian I  
 escaped from the Lyby seas, where drownd I was welney [570]  
 O queene that in o<sup>r</sup> woes (alone), suche mercy dost extende  
 to us the poore remaine of Troie that welney brought t<sup>r</sup>an ende  
 by seas and landes are tost and tried, of all thing bare and pild  
 o<sup>r</sup> towne o<sup>r</sup> howse o<sup>r</sup> people eke, yow wo<sup>r</sup>thy thanks to yeld  
 it lieth not Dido in o<sup>r</sup> power, nor what is everye where [575]  
 of Troian blood not all that through, the wide wo<sup>r</sup>lde scatered were  
 thalmightie godes if pitie thei, regarde or if there be  
 of iustice any wight or <sowle> sowle, that vertue loves to see  
 [Fol.] 18[r] do paie thi meede: what happie wo<sup>r</sup>lde, furth such a treaso<sup>r</sup> brought?  
 what blessed father the begate, and mother suche hath w<sup>r</sup>ought? [580]  
 while floodes into the seas do ronne, while hilles do shadowes cast  
 and while the starres abowte the skies do turne and tary fast.  
 shall never more w<sup>t</sup> me thy name, thy praise and hono<sup>r</sup> end  
 what lande so ever calth me to, so saide, and than his frind  
 S<sup>r</sup> Ilionee by hand he tooke, and then Serestus strong [585]  
 and Gyas and Cloanthus eke, and other his lordes among  
 the queene astonied gan to be, whan first she saw the sight  
 and wayd<d> the chaunce of such a lorde, & thus her wordes she dight  
 Thow godesse son<sup>ne</sup> what fortune the, throwgh all these daungeres drives?  
 what force vnto this cruell shore, thy p<sup>er</sup>son thus arives? [590]  
 art thou not he Eneas whom from Dardanus the king  
 Anchises gate on Venus hie, where Symois dothe spring?  
 er this I well remembre how, that Tevcer from his raine  
 exiled was, and to the towne of Sydon flee was faine  
 some help at Belus hand t<sup>r</sup>optaine, his kingdom to restore [595]  
 than warde my father Belus wide, in Ciperes land so sore  
 and conquered all and kept the state, that tyme I hard the fall

2.567] *perl<sup>^</sup>s*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

2.571] *extende*: Terminal 'e' unclear.

of Troye and eke the name of the, and kinges rehersed all  
their enmyes of the Troians than great praise a broade did blowe  
and of the auncient race of Troie, to come he wold be knowe [600]  
wherfore approach and welcom<e> all, my houses shall yow hoast  
for like mischaunce w<sup>t</sup> labo<sup>rs</sup> sore, my self som time hath toast  
and fortune heere hath set me now, this land for to subdue  
  bin  
by proof of pain I haue <been> taught on painfull men to rew  
thus talked she and then Eneas to her pallais browght [605]  
whan on their altares thei had don suche hono<sup>rs</sup> as they thowght  
yet ceased not the queene to send, vnto his men that tyde  
a score of bulles and eke of brawnes a hundreth rough of hide  
and w<sup>t</sup> the dames a hundreth more, of lambes both good and fat  
The gladsom giftes of god. / [610]  
The inner court was all be set, wyth ryches round a bout  
and in the myddes the feastes thei gan, prepare for all the route  
[Fol. 18v] with precieuse clothe and coning wrought, and proudelye embroudered wide  
and on the bordes the mightie pyles, of plate there stode beside  
<and deedes of lordes> wherin was graven in golden wo<sup>r</sup>ke, the stories  
  by  
all <by> rowe [615]  
and deedes of lordes of antike fame, a long disco<sup>r</sup>se to knowe  
Eneas than for in his mynd could love not <yet> let him rest  
his frind Achates for his sonne Askanius hath him drest  
vnto the ships and bad him tell, the newes and bring him there  
as faste as maye, for in Askanius fixt was all his feare [620]  
and giftes with him he bad to bring, from Troye destroyed yfet  
  o  
a ryall pall that all with gold, and stonnes was over set  
and eke a robe w<sup>t</sup> borderes riche, somtyme it was the weede  
of helen bright whan Paris her, from Greece to Troye dyd leede

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2.604] <sup>^bin^</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.  
Correction orthographic.

2.615] <sup>^by^</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

Rhyme-word of 2.615 is not on a separate line in MS.

2.618] *drest*: Initial 'd' perhaps majuscule.

2.622] <sup>r^o^yall</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink patchier than main text, suggesting later revision.



her mother Ledas gifte it was, wonderous wo<sup>f</sup>ke to view [625]  
 a septer eke that Ilioney, king Priamus dowghter trew  
 was wont to bear, and eke a brooche, that from her neck went downe  
 w<sup>t</sup> precious perles and doble set, of fine gold eke a crowne  
 theise thinges to fet Achates hast, vnto the navie makes  
 counsailes  
 but Venus straunge devises new, and <counselles> new she takes [630]  
 that Cupide shall the face and hew, of sweete Askanus take  
 and beare the presentes to the queene, her hart a fier to make  
 w<sup>t</sup> farvent love, and in her bones, to fling the privye flame  
 suspect she dothe the mores that haue, of doble tong the name  
 o  
 and Iunos wrath her frettes, and in the night her care returnes [635]  
 therefore she thus exhortes her sonne, Cupide that loveres burnes  
 lone  
 my sonne that art my staye a<bove>, my great renowne & might  
 my sonne that of the thunderblastes, of Iove settest but light  
 how through the seas Eneas myne, thi brother hath ben throwne  
 by cruell Iunos wicked wrathe, to the is not vnknowne [640]  
 and often mournd w<sup>t</sup> me thow hast, therefore, but so it is  
 w<sup>t</sup> Dido queene he lodgeth now, and feare he flattered is  
 but whereto Iunos Iynnes will turne, is matter harde to knowe  
 in suche a time of daung<i>er great, thow mayst not be to slowe  
 wherefore opreventing all mischaunce, I liste to worke a while [645]  
 and with the flame of loue I meane, the queene for to beguile.  
 [Fol.] 19[r] lest by some misaventure bad, her mynd she happlie turne  
 but for Eneas loue w<sup>t</sup> me, some deale I like she burne  
 and how this thing ywrowght shalbe, geeve ear & know my mynd  
 now goth <my> the childe my cheefest care, vnto his father kind [650]  
 into the towne and from the seas, the presentes furth he bringes  
 that from the flame of burnyng Troie, weare savd and other thinges

2.626] *dowghter*: Second letter perhaps ‘a’; would give ‘dawghter’.

2.630] *^counsailles^*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage. Correction orthographic.

2.635] *ret^o^urnes*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage. Correction orthographic.

2.637] *a<bove>^lone^*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

him purpose I, a sleepe to make, and into hie Cytheere  
 or to my seates in yda mount all vnaware to beare  
 that from this craft he maie be far, ne let therin to make [655]  
 thow for a night and not beyonde, his forme and figure take  
 her to beguyld, and of a child, thow child put on the face  
 that when within her lap, the queene, the gladlye shall embrace  
 among the ryall pompe of meate, and wyne of Bacchus blisse  
 and clips the sweet and on thy lips, doth presse the pleasaunt kisse [660]  
 disperse in her thy secret flame, and poison sweet enspire  
 love doth obey putes of hys winges, and after her desire  
 putes on Askanius shape furthw<sup>th</sup>, and like the same he went  
 but venus on Askanius sweet, a restfull slumber cast  
 and in her bosom vpp she beares, and furth with hym she past [665]  
 to yda woodes where beddes of, and maioram so soft  
 and lustie floures in greene wood shade, hym breathes and confortes oft  
 and now is Cupide on hys waye, Achates with hym yeede  
 the ryall presentes to the corte, they beare as they were bed  
 whan in they cam the queene hert sett, in chayre on carpet gaye [670]  
 of kingly state with hanginges riche, in gold and prowde araye  
 and now the lorde Eneas eke, and youth of Troian rowte  
 together came in purple seates, bestowed they were abowte  
 the wayters gave the water sweet, and princlie towelles wrought  
 and eke the bread in sundrie guyse, in baskettes fine they brought [675]  
 and fiftie ladies far within, ther was, that had the chardge  
 of all the feast to be set furthe, and fieres on alteres largde  
 a hundreth more to wayt and carve, and like of age and trade  
 a hundreth gentilmen besides, the deyntyte bourdes to lade  
 and many lordes of mores among, at everye bourd to dyve [680]  
 cam in and were commaunded sit, on <puct> pictured carpetes fyve  
 [Fol. 19v] they wondered at the presentes there, they wondered at yule

2.656] From this line until 2.738 Hand A has used different pen, with thinner nib. Also exploits more page space, with more lines per page.

2.669] *bed*: 'e'perhaps 'i'; would give 'bid'.

2.672] *rowte*: Brown stain around initial 'r'.

2.680] *bourd*: 'o' written over another letter, probably 'u'.

his count<sup>n</sup> quicke, & well that gode, his eyes, and tong could rule  
 but specyallie the queene was cawght, in mervell to behold  
 vppon the child vpon the pall, the giftes and robe of gold [685]  
 no sight her eyes could draw therfrom, and as she looked more  
 the more she fell into the flame, that after paynd her sore  
 but chieflie to the noble child, she moves who in a while  
 whan he his fayned father had, deceaved with a wyle  
 vnto the queene he drew and her, withe eyes and brest and all [690]  
 about her neck embraceth sweet, and whole on her doth fall  
 she on her lape somtyme hym settes, good dyd nothing knowes  
 how great a god vppon her sittes, what cares on her he throwes  
 he thinking on his motheres art, by smale, and smale doth make  
 the queene forgett her husband dead, & hym from mynde to shake [695]  
 and where of love she nothing<sup><e></sup> feeles, her hart she kept so true  
 her wonted heat and old desires, he stires and doth renue  
 whan men from meat began to rest, and trenchores vp was take  
 great bolles of wine along they set, and crownes on them they make  
 great cheer in all the chamberes wide, of noyse the hall yt ringes [700]  
 and taps towarde night they burne, hie hangd w<sup>t</sup> golden stringes  
 and w<sup>t</sup> the light of torches great, they drowne the darke at ones  
 the queene commaundes a mightie bolle, of gold and precious stones  
 to fill w<sup>t</sup> wyne, whome Belus king, and all king Belus ligne  
 was wont to hold, then through them all, was scilence made by signe [705]  
 O Iove (qd she) for thow of hoostes, and gestes both great & small  
 men saye the lawes hast put, geve grace and let vs all  
 both mores and also Troianes here, this daye for good be met  
 that all owre ofspringe after vs, this time in ioye may set  
 now Bacchus maker of the mirth, good Iuno godesse deere [710]  
 and yow o mores go do yo<sup>f</sup> best, these Troianes for to cheere /  
 Thus sayde she, and whan the grace was don, the boll in hand she sipt  
 and in the liquor sweete of wine, her lips she scantlye dipt  
 but vnto Bycias she it raught, w<sup>t</sup> chardge and he anon

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2.696] *nothing<e> feeles*: Terminal 'e' scrubbed out or covered over.

2.701] *towarde*: Terminal 'e' unclear.

the fomy boll of of gold vpturnd, and drew till all was gon [715]  
 than all the lordes and states abowt, and on hys golden harp  
 yopas w<sup>t</sup> his busshie lockes, in sweete song gan to carp  
 of stories suche as hym had taught, most mightie Atlas old  
 the wandring mone and of the sonn, the dailie toyle he told  
 { how mankind was begon and beastes, wherhence the fier & showres [720]  
 procedes and how the stares arise, and fall in certeyne howres  
 the wayne the ploughe star and the seven, y<sup>t</sup> stormes and tempest lowres  
 what means the son that to the sea, he westwarde hieth so fast  
 in winter dayes and why the nightes, so short in somer wast  
 the mores w<sup>t</sup> cryes cast vp their handes, so doth the Troians eeke [725]  
 and all that night the queene of them, new talke begane to seeke  
 full oft of Priam wold she knowe, of hecto<sup>r</sup> oft enqueeres  
 in what aray auroras sone, came in she gladlie heeres  
 what horses dyomedes brought, how great Achilles was  
 she lerned all to soone, & of, long love she bibbes alas [730]  
 and from the first (qd she) my gest, vouchsaf I pray to tell  
 the treasones of the greekes, & how, yo<sup>r</sup> Towe and people fell  
 and of yo<sup>r</sup> chaunce and travailes all, for thus these seven yere  
 abowt the landes and all the seas, thow wanderest as I here.

Fynis /

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2.725] *eeke*: Perhaps 'eke'.

2.726] *talke*: 'l' unclear; perhaps written over another letter.

2.729] *dyomedes*: Initial 'd' perhaps majuscule.

*Fynis*: Added by Hand A; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later addition.

[3]

[Fol.] 21[r] All held their peace and fixt with eyes, intentif to behold  
 whan lord Eneas there he sat, from hie benche thus he told  
 a dolefull work me to renue (o queene,) thow dost constrayne  
 to tell how Greekes the Troyan wealth, and lamentable raygne  
 did overthrow, whiche I my self, have seene and ben apart [5]  
 no smale therof: but to declare, the stories all, what hart?  
 can of the Greekes or souldio<sup>r</sup> one, of all vlisses rowte  
 refrayne to weepe? and now the night, w<sup>t</sup> hie heaven gothe abowte  
 and on the skies the falling starres, do men provoke to rest  
 but yf so great desire to know, such longing have yo<sup>r</sup> brest [10]  
 of Troie the later toile to heere: to speake or yet to thinke  
 for all that yt my mynde abhorres, & sorow makes me shrinke  
 I will begin: / fforsaken of godes, and tyrd warres at last  
 the lordes of Greekes whan all in vaine, so many yeres had past  
 a horse of tree by Pallas arte, most like a mounte they frame [15]  
 with timber bourdes, (and for a vowe,) to leave) they blow the fame  
 Ther is an yle in sight of Troye, and Tenedos it hight  
 a welthie land while Priams state, and kingdome stode vpright  
 but now a baye and herbo<sup>r</sup> bad, for shipes to lye at rode  
 to that they went and hid them self, that none was seene abrode [20]  
 we thought them gon, and w<sup>t</sup> the winde, to Greec to have ben fled  
 therfore all Troye of labo<sup>rs</sup> long, relived, abrod them spred  
 set ope the gates, they runne to sport, and grekishe campes to see  
 and places long of souldio<sup>rs</sup> kept, whereof they now ben free  
 here lay the men of dolop land, here fearce Achilles fought [25]  
 here stode the ships and here to trye, were wont the armies stoute  
 some gased at the straungee gift, that there to Pallas stode  
 and wondred at the horse so great, and furst for counsell goode

[3]

[3] is copied by Hand A. There are more lines per page than in [2].

*gloss*: Centred above 3.1, same later hand as in [2] has added note in brown ink: 'The second book of the Æneids'.3.3] *renue*: Brown ink stain obscures terminal 'e'.

Timetes straight wold into towne, and market have it brought  
 god wot if craft or w<sup>h</sup>ether so, of Troye the fortune wrought [30]  
 But Capis and a few beside, that wiser wer in skill  
 bad throw the treasones of the Greekes, and giftes suspected yll  
 into the sea, or w<sup>t</sup> a fier, ymade to burne outright  
 or hew the ribbes and serche w<sup>t</sup>in, what thing yhid be might  
 the comones into sundrye wittes, devided were & stoode [35]  
 till Lacon came from the Towne, in hast as he were woode  
 and aff<sup>t</sup> hym a number great, and ere they gan to throng  
 he cried, o wretched citzens, what madnes is yow among?  
 beleeve yow gon the Greekes? or do, yow thinke that enie giftes  
 of them be good? so know yow well, that false vlisses driftes? [40]  
 In this tree for my lif is hid, of Greekes an hideous rowte  
 or this is but an engin made, to climbe o<sup>f</sup> walles with owt  
 { and sodainlie to slip them downe, and on the citie fall  
 or other worse devise ther is, take heede yow know not all  
 what ever it is I feare the Greekes, and trust their giftes as small [45]  
 [Fol. 21v] this saide and w<sup>t</sup> a coradge good, his mightie speare he drives  
 against the side beneth the ribbes, that where he hyt it clives  
 it shooke therw<sup>t</sup> and still it stoode, that throughe the bellye round  
 the vawtes w<sup>t</sup>in and all the caves, of noise againe resound  
 { and yf the will of goddes had not, had not o<sup>f</sup> hartes ben blind [50]  
 ynoughe was don all vp to breake, and all the craft to find  
 and Troye thow shouldst have stand as yet, and Priamus towres have shind  
 Behold the shepperdes in this while, a yong man have ycought  
 and pyniond w<sup>t</sup> hys handes behind, vnto the king hym brought  
 that for the nones had don hym self, by yelding to be take. [55]  
 to compasse this and to the Greekes, Troye open wide to make  
 a fellow slie and stoute of mynd, and bent in bothe to trie

3.28] *the*: Faint brown ink stain above word.

3.30] *w<sup>h</sup>ether*: Ccorrection by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

3.41] *this*: Faint ink stain to immediate right of this word.

[Fol. 21v]: At top of leaf, an unidentified sixteenth-century secretary hand has written upside-down 'haue marcie on vs Lord / ^for^ marcies sake'. Correction made by a different hand.

to wine w<sup>t</sup> guyle of yf he faile, w<sup>t</sup> certeyne dethe to dye  
 on everie side abowt hym drew, the Troyan youthe to see  
 and some of them to skorne hym gan, but now take heed to me [60]  
 yow shall perceave the treasons false, of Greekes and of this one /  
 coniecture all. /

For as vnarmed in the myddes, all vexed ther he stood  
 and w<sup>t</sup> hys eyes on Troyane men, did looke w<sup>t</sup> piteous mood  
 Ahlas (qd he) what ground may me, what sea maye me receave? [65]  
 what shall I Caytif miser do, what hope may I conceave?  
 that neyther w<sup>t</sup> the Greekes dare bide, and now the Troyans here  
 as worthy is my blood to shed, for vengauce to requere?

w<sup>t</sup> morening thus, o<sup>r</sup> mynd gan tourne, o<sup>r</sup> force we left alone  
 and bad hym tell what man he was what ment he thus to mone [70]  
 what newes he had he shuld expresse, and furth hys mynd to breake  
 he at the last set feare a side, and thus began to speake

all thing (qd he) o king what ev<sup>r</sup>, yt is I will confesse  
 nor me a Greeke I can denye, among them born dowbtlesse /  
 this furst: for thowgh that fortune false, hath Synon captive brought [75]  
 yet lyer shall she never make, nor faine or flatter ought

In speach if ever to yo<sup>r</sup> eares, the name of Palamed  
 hath come, and of the glorie great, that of hys fame did spread  
 whome by a treason false the Greekes, & spite by wicked lawe  
 vngiltie did condempne (alas) for he from war did drawe [80]  
 to death him put, and now hym dead, they mourne to have againe

his squier I was and kinsman neare, my father (to be plaine)  
 to hym for povertie me put, in armes my yowth to frame  
 while yet hys kingdom stode vntwight, and truth to saye some name  
 and hono<sup>r</sup> eke we bare w<sup>t</sup> men: but whan through false envie [85]  
 the wicked wretche Vlisses had, betrayed and don hym die

for woe my lif in corners darke, and wailing furth I drewe  
 lamenting sore the fale of myne, vngiltie frind so trewe.

3.70] *bad*: Terminal ‘d’ thickly formed; probably written over another letter, unidentifiable.

3.74] *virgule* At end of 3.74 perhaps part of the ascender from ‘b’ in ‘brought’ (3.75).

3.77] *speech*: Flourish on terminal ‘h’ creates diagonal stroke; perhaps functions as virgule.

[Fol.] 22[r] and foole I could not hold my peace, but if that fortune servd  
if ever to my countrey com, I might as he deserved [90]  
w<sup>t</sup> hym I threatned to be quite, and great thinges did I crake  
here was the cawse of all my woe, this did vlisses make  
new crymes against me to invent, and cawse me be suspecte  
to all the camp as one by Troye, of treason than infecte  
nor wold he rest till calcas had, by hys vngratious wit [95]  
but what do I reherce these thinges, to show that be not fit?  
if all the Greekes in one aray, yow hate yf I yt wist  
it is ynoughe: yow have me here: take vengauce yf yow list  
vlisses and Atridas twayne, great goodes for that wold spend  
than kindled be wee more to know, the circumstaunce and end [100]  
not thinking of so great a craft, and Greekes devise so fell  
all trembling on his tale he goth, w<sup>t</sup> fayned harte to tell  
Full oft the Greekes wold have ben gon, and Troye forsake at last  
for werie of the war they were, that long in vaine had past  
and gon they had but oftentimes, roughe seas and cruell tyde [105]  
and winter storme, and Southerne winde, them stayed and made to byde  
but cheeflye whan this tymber horse, was reisde and stood a ground  
such noise among the cloudes was hard, that all the skie did sound  
Euripilus to Phebus straight, for counsell all amasd  
we sent, and he retourning home, this heavie aunswer blasd [110]  
w<sup>t</sup> blood (o greekes,) yow pleasd the windes, and with a virgine slayne  
whan furst the seas to Troye ye tooke, and now through blood ageyne  
seeke to retourne: a grekische sowle, for wind yow must bestowe  
that worde whan throwgh the commons eares, was soone abroad yblowe  
all men agast, and trembling feare, on everie persone falles [115]  
to thincke who now this death shall dye, & whome Apollo calles  
vlisses here hys tyme espied, and Calcas furth he drewe  
the prophet great and hym before, the states of Greekes a newe  
bad vtter plaine what man yt was, Apollo he des<t>ierd

3.89] *servd*: 'Ss'-like flourish terminal 'd' (matches those in [2], Fols. 11<sup>v</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>).

3.99] *wold*: Deleted 'u' written over another letter, now unidentifiable; correction orthographic. Ink of strike-through smudged; extends onto 3.100.



and here and there men murmured me, for privelie enspird [120]  
men smeld the compasse of this wretch, and some me warning sent  
ten dayes in scilence Calcas was, and semed not content  
that by hys tale should anie man, to cruell deth be drest  
till at the last vlisses cries, hym forst w<sup>t</sup>outen rest  
as covenunte was w<sup>t</sup> open voice, and me to death they name [125]  
all men agreed, for of hym self, eche one had feard the same  
and to be sure w<sup>t</sup> glad assent, they all cryed owt one me  
and now the daye was nere at hand, whan offred I shuld be  
the garlandes on my hed wer set, and frutes as vsage is  
from deathe my self I drew and brake, my bandes I knowledge this [130]  
and in a slimie lake of mudde, all night laye hid in woase  
till they were past and vnder sayle, I durst me not disclose  
[Fol. 22v] and now my natif coundrey deere, for ever have I lost  
nor see my children sweet I shall, nor father loved most  
whome they maye chaunce for my escape, all giltles put to payne [135]  
and w<sup>t</sup> the death of them poore sowles, this fault redeeme ageine  
that I the by the mightie goddes, and heaven that truthe doth heere  
by if there doth among mankind, remayne yet any where  
vnfayned faith: (o king I <po> praye), have mercie of my estate  
relieve my woe whome cares oppresse, that all men kindlie hate [140]  
than pardon we for pitie gave: this wayling smertes vs so  
king Priam first his men commaundes tunbind hym free to go  
what ever thow art, forget the Greekes, from hence thow need not care  
thow shalt be o<sup>rs</sup> and now the truth, of my request declare  
what mean they by this monster big, this horse who did invent? [145]  
wherefore? religion sake? or is yt some ginne of war ybent  
thus saide, and he w<sup>t</sup> grekische wyles, and treasones false yfreight  
his lowsed handes to heaven above, w<sup>t</sup> great crye held on height.  
O everlasting fiers of god, whose wrath no wight can beare  
yow altares and yow swerdes also, whose force I fled I sweare [150]

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3.119] *des<t>ierd*: Thick downstroke of 't' perhaps signals strikethrough; deletion unclear.

3.120] *enspird*: Faint ink stain above word.

3.127] *me*: Fingerprint around word.

and yow to witnesse now I call, and by the garlondes gaye  
 that like abeast to slawghter brought,(qd he) I bare that daye  
 not by my will I am compeld, great secretes here to spread  
 not by my will my countrey I hate, but since their cruell deed  
 hath forst me thus it lawfull is, all goddes me pardon shall [155]  
 thowghe secretes hie whome they conceyle, I blase and vtter all  
 thow Troye therfore which I <perce> preserve, w<sup>t</sup> like faith save thow me  
 performe thy worde if treaso<sup>rs</sup> great, great fortune bring I the  
 The hope of greece and comfort all, since furst the war began  
 in Pallas ayde was ever set, and not in vayne till whan [160]  
 Ti<d>tides and of myschief all, the father Vlisses had  
 by treason Pallas temple take, by night like people mad  
 they slew the watche and in they brake, and all with blud embrud  
 a waye they browght w<sup>t</sup> sinfull hands, her signe w<sup>t</sup> blisse endued  
 from that daye furthe good fortune flew, nothing to mynd ensues [165]  
 no hope ne <.> force they find & quite, the goddesse them refuse  
 nor by no doubtfull signes of wrath, them Pallas did affright  
 for skant her ymage to the campe, was brought and ther ypight  
 a fleing flame from oute her eyes, oute stert & over all  
 her bodye ran w<sup>t</sup> sweat, and from, the ground (we wondred all) [170]  
 three tymes alone she lept, and thrise, her shild and speare she shooke  
 anon to flight to the seaes, bides Calcas men to looke  
 this hope is lost (qd he) by greekes, shall Troye not now be teard  
 but lest this godesse from o<sup>r</sup> campe, the fetche is to be feared  
 and now that to ther countrey land, the long seas have they past [175]  
 tys but a wyle for ther a new, their godes to wyn thei cast  
 [Fol.] 23[r] and w<sup>t</sup> a freshe force godes and men, whan wind may serve to drive  
 all vnawares anew they come, thus Calcas can contrive  
 and for amendes to Pallas wrath, so greved w<sup>t</sup> sore offence  
 by visions warnd this image here, they set er they went hence [180]  
 but it so howge in timber worke, so nere the skies to lifte  
 for feare of yow did Calcas make, for this was Calcas drifte

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3.166] <.>: Deleted word unidentifiable.

3.174] *be feared*: Perhaps one word, i.e., 'befeaured'.

that to yowr towne ne through yo<sup>r</sup> gates, yow might yt not receve  
 nor it the people worshypp shuld, but Pallas honors leave  
 for if by chaunce yow should attempt, this gift of her defile [185]  
 destruccjon great and long (that god, on hys head whelme therwhile)  
 w<sup>t</sup>outen doubt on Priams blood, and all hys empier falls:  
 but yf by yowr devocon great, it had stand on yo<sup>r</sup> walls  
 all Greece should for yo<sup>r</sup> fortune quake, and conquestes far and wyde  
 ye should opteyne and wee and o<sup>rs</sup>, those destnyes must abyde [190]  
 by this deceyte and throw the craft, of Synon false periurd  
 this to beleeve vs falshed caught, and we w<sup>t</sup>teares allurd  
 whome neyther all Titides force, nor fearce Achilles fame  
 not ten yeres war nor yet of Greekes, a thowsand ships could tame  
 A nother monster worse then this, and worse to dread o<sup>r</sup> eyes [195]  
 amased made and quite from doubt, confusd o<sup>r</sup> hartes vnwise  
 for as by chaunce that tyme apreest, to neptune chosen newe  
 Laoocon a myghtie bull, on thoffring alters slewe  
 behold from Tenedos aloof, in calme seas through the deepe  
 (I quake to tell) twoo serpentes great, w<sup>t</sup> foldinges great dothe sweepe [200]  
 and side by side in dragons wise, to shore their way they make  
 their heades above the streame they hold, ther fireread manes y<sup>e</sup> shake  
 the salt se waves before them fast, they shoven, & after trayles  
 their vgly backes and long in linckes, behind them drag ther tayles  
 w<sup>t</sup> russhing noyse the fome vp riseth, & now to land they past [205]  
 w<sup>t</sup> blood red lookes & glistring fiers, their sparkling eyes out cast  
 w<sup>t</sup> hissing out w<sup>t</sup> spirting tonges, their mouthes they lick for yre  
 we dead almost for fear do flie, they strayt w<sup>t</sup> one desier  
 on Laoocon set, and first in sight, his tender children twayne  
 eche one they tooke, and wynding wrappes, their tender limes to <strayne> [210]  
 and gnawing them w<sup>t</sup> greedie mouthes, (<pore> poore wetches) fed they fast  
 than he hym self to their deffence, w<sup>t</sup> drawne sword making hast

3.190] *opteyne*: ‘p’ probably written over ‘b’; order difficult to establish. Correction orthographic.

3.194] *not ten*: ‘t’ of ‘not’ and ‘te’ of ‘ten’ smudged; ink blotted.

3.202] *y<sup>e</sup>*: Later hand has added a caret and letter above the ‘e’ in thick, black ink, now unidentifiable.

3.210] *^strayne^*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

in hold they caught, and wreathing grypt, his bodye abowt at tywse  
 and twyse hys throte w<sup>t</sup> rolles they girte, them selves in compasse wise  
 and, then ther heades and scale bright neckes, hym ov<sup>r</sup> aloft they lift [215]  
 whan fromu their knottes hym self t<sup>r</sup>vntwyne, w<sup>t</sup> handes he sought to shift  
 ther poisons rancke all ov<sup>r</sup> hym rones, and lothsom filthe out flies  
 therw<sup>t</sup> a greslye noyse he cast, that mountes vp to the skies  
 likewise as from the mortall stroke, some wounded bull at stake  
 the slawghtering axe hath fled by chaunce, & roring lowd dothe make [220]

[Fol. 23v] { but they anon the dragons twayne, all gliding swift they lept  
 and to the godesse sacred seate, in Pallas temple crept  
 there vnderneath her sheeld & feete, they cowching close them kept  
 than trembling feare through all o<sup>r</sup> hartes, was spred & wonder newe  
 we thinke how Lacon for sine, was paide w<sup>t</sup> vengeaunce dewe [225]  
 for hurting of the holie gift, whome he w<sup>t</sup> cursed speare  
 assayled had, & worthie was, men said, that plaag to beare  
 bring in the holie horse they cried, this godesse wrathe t<sup>r</sup>appease.  
 and her of mercye great beseeke. /  
 then wide abroad we breake the walles, a way through them we make [230]  
 w<sup>t</sup> coradge all men fals to worke, some sort doth vndertake  
 his feete on sliding wheelles to slip, som thwart his necke bigin  
 the cables bynde, and on the walles, now climbs the fatall ginne:  
 w<sup>t</sup> armor fraight: about hym rones, of boyes & girles the skull  
 w<sup>t</sup> songes and hymnes, and glad goeth he, that hand may put to pull [235]  
 It enteres, and a fronte the Towne, it slides w<sup>t</sup> threatning sight  
 Oh countrey soyle, oh howse of godes, thow ylion, oh the might  
 of doughtie Troyan walles in war, for there fower tymes a ground  
 it swayde, and fowre times through throughe the wombe, was harneise hard to  
 sound  
 yet we went on & blind w<sup>t</sup> rage, o<sup>r</sup> worke we wold not let [240]  
 but in this cursed monster brought, by Pallas towre to set  
 than prophecies alowd to preache, cassandra nothing spares

3.214] *compasse*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear.

3.236] *the*: Tterminal ‘e’ written over another letter, probably ‘o’.

3.237] *Oh*: Initial ‘O’ perhaps minuscule.

as god enspird but nev<sup>r</sup> of vs, beleevd who nothing cares  
 and wretches we that never daye, beside that daye shuld byde  
 the temples stroade and through the towne, great feasting made that dyde [245]  
 this while the firmament doth turne, & darke night vp doth rise  
 and ov<sup>r</sup> hides w<sup>t</sup> shadow great, both lands, & seas & skies  
 and falshed of the Greekes w<sup>t</sup> all, and now along the walles  
 the werie Troyans laid at rest, the dead sleap on them falles  
 whan w<sup>t</sup> their f<sup>l</sup>et in goodlie araye, the grekische armies soone [250]  
 from Tenedos wer come for than, full frendlie showe the moone  
 In scilence great, their wonted shore, they tooke, and than a flame  
 their admyrall ship for waring showd, whan kept all godes to shame  
 S<sup>r</sup> Synon out by stealth hym stirres, & wyde he settes abroad  
 his horses pautche and he disclosd, straite laideth owt hys load [255]  
 Thersander, Stelenus, and false, Vlisses captaines all  
 and Athamas and Thoas eke, by long ropes downe they fall  
 Neptolemus Achilles broode, Machaon chief w<sup>t</sup> pride  
 and menelae w<sup>t</sup> numberes mo, full gladlie furth the slide  
 and he him self Epeus there, this mischief furst that found [260]  
 the Towne invade they do furthw<sup>t</sup>, in sleepes & drinking drownd  
 they slew the watche and then the gates, broad vp they breake & standes  
 ther fellowes readye to receave, & thicke they ioyne their bandes  
 That tyme of night it was whan slomber first, & dead sleeps deepe opprest  
 on werie mortall men doth creepe through godes gift sweet at rest [265]  
 [Fol.] 24[r] vnto my sight as dreame I did, all sad w<sup>t</sup> dolefull cheere  
 did Hector stand and large hym weepe, w<sup>t</sup> sobbes I might well heere  
 w<sup>t</sup> horses haled as bloody drawne, some tyme he was in dust  
 and all to swollen his worthy feete, where through the thonges wer thrust  
 alas to thinke hym sore beraide, how from that hector sore [270]  
 he changed was that in Achilles spoiles came home before  
 or whan among the shipes of Greece, the fiers so ferce he flong  
 but now in dust his beard bedabd, his heare w<sup>t</sup> blood is clong

3.245] *dyde*: sSecond 'd' in blacker ink.

3.250] *f<sup>l</sup>et*: cCorrection by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

3.270] *beraide*: Terminal 'e' unclear.

{ withe naked wondes that in defence of Troyan walles sustaind  
 he often had: and me to weepe, for pitie woe constraind [275]  
 w<sup>t</sup> heauiue voice me thought to speake, and thus to hym I plaind  
 O light of Troye o Troyan hope, at neede that never faild  
 what cuntrye the so long hath kept, what cawse hath so prevailld  
 that after slawghters great of men, thy towne thy people tierd  
 w<sup>t</sup> sundrye paynes and daungeres past, the long so sore desierd [280]  
 at last we se, what chaunce vnkind thi face before so brighte  
 hath made so fowle? alas and whi, of wonds I see this sighte?  
 he nothing therto spake nor me, w<sup>t</sup> vaine talke long delaid  
 but heauiue from hys brest he fet, his deepe sigh than he said /  
 Fle flee thow goddesse sone alas, thy self save from these flames [285]  
 the walles ar wone (qd he) the Greekes, of Troye pull downe the frames  
 for Priam and o<sup>r</sup> cuntrye deere, o<sup>r</sup> duetie is done, yf hand  
 or manes relief might Troye have kept, by this hand had yt stand  
 { and now religiones all to the, w<sup>t</sup> goddes doth Troye betake  
 new fortune thow and they must seeke thow vnto them shalt make [290]  
 more mightie walles, when through the seaes, long iorneyes hast thow take  
 so said & w<sup>t</sup> his handes me thought, he from ther alteres drew  
 the mightie godes and all there fiers, aie lasting owt he threw  
 By this tyme diuerse noise abroad, through all the Towne is sterd  
 and waylinges lowde and more and more, on everie side apeerd [295]  
 and thoughe my father Anchises howse, w<sup>t</sup> trees encompass rownd  
 stode far w<sup>t</sup> in yet brime we heere, the noise and armoures sound  
 therew<sup>t</sup> I woke and vp the Towre, I climbe by stayres on hie  
 and layd myne eare and still I stood, abowt me round to spie  
 and even as fier in boistowes wind, some contrey ripe of corne [300]  
 doth burne, or as the mountayne flood, w<sup>t</sup> great force downe hath borne  
 the grayne the grasse the toile of men, that plowghes and bestes have wrought  
 and trees it hedlong drawes w<sup>t</sup> all, for stones it forceth nought

3.301] *downe*: Faint diagonal line running through this word; difficult to establish whether Hand A or another hand. Stain around word; perhaps indicates attempted deletion of line.

the plowman wayling from the rocke, beholdes and heres the sound  
 right so this wofull sight I saw, and Greekishe treasones fownd. [305]  
 and now the great howse downe was falne, by fyer that wild doth flie  
 of Deiphebus furst, and next, his neyghbo<sup>r</sup> burns on hie  
 vcalegon, and shores & strondes, w<sup>t</sup> blasing shines about:  
 and shriking showtes of people riseth, and trompettes blowne ar owt  
 [Fol. 24v] amased I myne armo<sup>r</sup> tooke, nor what to do I wust [310]  
 but hedlong ranne and throughe the thronges, to sight I thought to thrust  
 and to the castellward I hied, more ayd to call me nye  
 w<sup>t</sup> anger wood, and fayre me thought, in armes it was to dye  
 behold where scaping from the Greekes, and through ther weopones past  
 dothe panthus ronne, that of the towre, was Phebus priest, and fast [315]  
 his relikes w<sup>t</sup> his conquered goddes, he bare, & hym beside  
 his neview smale he haling drew, and swift to shoreward hide  
 now Panthus where goth the worst? what shift, what tower is best we take  
 Skant had I saide, whan he all straught, in cries thus owt he brake  
 owre vt<sup>t</sup> owre is come alas, fell destnyes have vs caught [320]  
 we have ben Troes whan Ilion was, o<sup>r</sup> glories great to naught  
 the spitefull goddes have all to torne: o<sup>r</sup> pompe o<sup>r</sup> towne o<sup>r</sup> towers  
 the Citie burnes and who but Greekes, ar lordes of vs and owres  
 the howgee horse abroad his men, in harneise powreth owte  
 ^ and Synon over all trivmphes, and fiers he through about ^ [325]  
 w<sup>t</sup> conquest wide and everie gate, is fild w<sup>t</sup> people armd  
 w<sup>t</sup> thowsandes such as owt of Greece, so thicke they never swarmd  
 the straytes in everie streete they keepe, the wayes w<sup>t</sup> weapons pight  
 and stowte in ranckes they stand w<sup>t</sup> steele, fast bent to death in fight  
 skant doth the wathe that kepe the towers, resist w<sup>t</sup> feble might [330]  
 this whan I hard no longer hold, my self I could but right  
 into the flames and weapones flue, where most resembling hell  
 men roring made, and where w<sup>t</sup> cries, to heaven the people yell

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3.308] *about*: Colon misaligned, placed under line; corrected in transcription.

[Fol. 24v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

3.315] *was*: Mark after 'w'; probably indicates partially-formed letter which Hand A aborted.

3.325] Hand A omitted line; adds in interlinear space between 3.324 and 3.326. Carets probably scribal.

Than Ripheus hym self adioynd, & mightie most w<sup>t</sup>lawnce  
 cam Iphitus vnto my side, by moone light met by chaunce [335]  
 and Hypanis and dymas eke, abowt me flocke they more  
 w<sup>t</sup> yong Choreb duke Migdones sone, that few dayes than before  
 to troye was come. Cassandras love, w<sup>t</sup> wood desier to wynne  
 and succo<sup>r</sup> than for Priam brought, to assist her Troyan kynne  
 vnhappie man that what hys spowse, hym raving told in trawnce [340]  
 wold not regard . /

whome as I sawe to battaile bent, thus bold me cluster abowt  
 I thus began. / O lustie youth, of valiant harts and stowt  
 in vaine if into daungers most, attempting after mee  
 yow mynd to ronne, the state of thinges, and fortune heere yow see [345]  
 the temples left and seates alone, and alters quite forsake  
 the godds whereby this empier stode, ar gon, yow vndertake  
 a Citie burnd to seeke to save, what shall we do? but dye  
 like men and in the mydes of armes, and weapones let vs flye?  
 one cheef relief to conquered men, is desperatlie to trye [350]

whan this the yong men hard me speake, of wild they waxed wood  
 and than like wolves, whome hunger drives, to ravin for the foode  
 in clowdye mistes abroad to raung, ther welps with hungrie iawes  
 them bides at home and they for rage, do ronne to feede their mawes

[Fol.] 25[r] Even so through thicke & thine we flang, through foes & weapons pight [355]  
 to doubtles death right through the streetes encompass all w<sup>t</sup> might  
 who can the slawteres of that night, w<sup>t</sup> tong declare, or who  
 w<sup>t</sup> worthy teares can tell the toyle, that death men drave vnto  
 the Cite falth that auneyaunt long, & manye a yere the crowne  
 hath borne, & everie streat is strowd, w<sup>t</sup> bodies beaten downe [360]  
 and heapes of everie howse ther lyeth, & temples all ar fild  
 w<sup>t</sup> bodies dead, and not alone, the Troyanes poore ar kild  
 sometyme whan tired bin ther hartes, ther manfull stomakes steeres

3.343] Virgule has flick on top left; resembles a diamond bracket (>).

3.345] *heere*: Double-stemmed ‘r’ defectively formed; spelling difficult to establish.

3.346] *seates*: Hand A has written ‘e’ then ‘es’ abbreviation; would give ‘seatees’. Not retained in transcription.

3.351] *yong*: Faint brown ink stain around ‘y’.



and downe ther conqueroures they quell, on everie side appeeres  
 the fearfull dread & wayling wide, and face of death at hand [365]  
 there furst against vs of the Greekes, w<sup>t</sup> men a mightie band  
 Androgeos vs met and thought, his countrey men we were.  
 all vnaware, and like a frind, he cald vs void of feare  
 Set forward s<sup>rs</sup>: what trifling thus? so long yow linger makes  
 whan other men the burning Towne, doth sacke, o<sup>r</sup> fellowes ta<l>kes [370]  
 the spoiles of Troye while yow for slowthe, skant from yo<sup>r</sup> ships can passe  
 he said, and straight (for aunswer none, that likd hym given ther was)  
 all sodaynlie amides hys foes, hym self betrapt he kew  
 he stanke therw<sup>t</sup> and stopt hys tale, and foote he backward drew  
 as one that vnbethought hath hapt, some snake among the briers [375]  
 to tread, and quicklye starting back, w<sup>t</sup> trembling feare retiers  
 whan swolne w<sup>t</sup> angrie teene he seethe, his blew neick bent vpriight  
 so quaking whan Androgeos vs, espied he tooke hys flight  
 but we persued and thicke w<sup>t</sup> armes, them all encompass round  
 on everie side, and them affrayd, & nothing kew the ground [380]  
 we overthrew: and fortunes lucke, o<sup>r</sup> first assaye succeedes  
 for ioye wherof trivmphing fearce, Chorebus nothing dreedes  
 now matche (qd he) where fortune furst, hath shewed relief, & where  
 o<sup>r</sup> valiaunt handes o<sup>r</sup> ayd hath well, begon proceede we there  
 and let vs chaing o<sup>r</sup> shilds w<sup>t</sup> greekes, & armd in Greekes arraye [385]  
 let vs set on what skilles it force, or falshed enemies slaye  
 o<sup>r</sup> enemies lo their weapons yeldes, ageinst them selves to fight  
 so said and on hys hed he putes, Androgeos helmet bright  
 and w<sup>t</sup> his gorgeous shild him self, he clad full gaye to beare  
 and on hys side the greekishe sword, he comelye girt did weare [390]  
 so Rypheus so dymas dothe, him self & therw<sup>t</sup>all  
 the youth of Troye w<sup>t</sup> greekishe spoiles, them deckes both great & small  
 there mixt among the Greekes we gon, o<sup>r</sup> selves vs doth not guyde  
 and manye a skirmishe sore that night, we blindlye fought & tryde  
 and manye a Greeke to hell we sent, some other awaye for feare [395]

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3.369] *thus?*: Question mark not clearly formed; perhaps a colon.

to shipburd ran, & some to shores, w<sup>t</sup> coursing here & there  
 { som full afraid their howgie horse, againe to climbe and take  
 their wonted seates & in his pauche, ther lurking old they make  
 alas what may mankind prevaile, whan goddes hym doth forsake  
 [Fol. 25v] behold wheare hald by heare of hed, from Pallas temple sure [400]  
 Kinges Priames dawghter drawne we se, Cassandra virgin pure  
 and vp to heaven in vayne for help, her glistring eies shee cast  
 her eies for then her tender handes, w<sup>t</sup> yrones were fettered fast  
 that sight Chorebus raging wood, could not hym hold to see  
 but even among the myddes he lepte, w<sup>t</sup> will to dye & wee [405]  
 him after sude and thicke in thronges, of armes o<sup>r</sup> selfes we thrust  
 there from the temples top aloft, with troians weapones first  
 o<sup>r</sup> owne men vs did whelme, where doth most piteous shawghter rise  
 o<sup>r</sup> armo<sup>rs</sup> false mistake and greekishe sheeldes deceyvd their eyes  
 than all the Greekes whan from them take, the virgin was for yre [410]  
 by flockes on everie side w<sup>t</sup> cryes, invades vs wild as fyer  
 Atrydas twaine, and Aiax cheif, and eger in armies stowte  
 and after them their armies all, & youth of Dolop rowte  
 none otherwise than whan somtyme, the whirlwindes owt ar brast  
 and sundrye stormes from sundrye coastes, ar met and struggling fast [415]  
 conflictes bothe east & weast & Sowthe, that woodes with craking quakes  
 and Neptunes forke the fomye seas, from botemes wild vp rakes  
 and they also whome through the darke, y<sup>t</sup> night wee chased had  
 and overcam by chaunce before, they first w<sup>t</sup> coradg glad  
 apered in sight and first o<sup>r</sup> sheeldes and armo<sup>rs</sup> false escried [420]  
 they knew and marking by o<sup>r</sup> soundes, o<sup>r</sup> seuerall tonges espied  
 there downe by heapes the number vs threw, Chorebus first of all  
 at mightie Pallas seat of Peneleus hand doth fall  
 and fall doth Ripheus to ground, the iustest man that was  
 of Troyan kynd and one that most, of right and law did pas [425]

[Fol. 25v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

3.406] *selfes*: ‘f’ thickly formed; not clearly written over another letter.

3.414] *whan*: ‘h’ blotted; not clearly written over another letter.

3.417] *vp rakes*: Perhaps one word, i.e., ‘vprakes’.

3.422] *threw*: ‘e’ perhaps an ‘o’; would give ‘throw’.

but god of them had other wise, than disposed and beside  
 bothe hipanis and dymas eke, wer lost and slayne that tyde  
 their owne men through them weopones threw nor the o Panthu pure  
 thi vertue great nor Phebus crowne, from deathe could than assure  
 yet by the flames extreame I sweare, that all Troye brought to dust [430]  
 at yowr decaies I witenesse take, (if truth protest I must:)  
 I never man ne weapon shond of Greekes ne from yow swarvd  
 if goddes will were my death I sought, and sure my hand deservd  
 than oute we breake bothe Iphitus, and I and Pelias kind  
 the one for age thother Vlisses wond made coome behind [435]  
 and by the cries to Priames co<sup>r</sup>te, o<sup>r</sup> king, furthw<sup>t</sup>enclynd  
 there now the battaile great was vp, as yf no place elles where  
 had felt of warr as dye did none, through all the towe but there  
 so raging mars and Greekes vp ron, to howses toppes we see  
 and postes puld downe, & gates vp broke, beset that none should flee [440]  
 the wales w<sup>t</sup> scaling laders laide, & sculpes of scaffoldes hie  
 & vp by staires they climbe and backe, they drive the dartes y<sup>t</sup> flie  
 w<sup>t</sup> sheldes: & bartilmentes above, in handes they catche & hold.  
 against them Troyanes downe the Towres, & toppes of howses rold  
 and rafters vp they reeve and after all attempes at last [445]  
 those toles for shift at death extreame, to fend them selves they cast  
 their golden beames their auntiaunt fathers frames of comlye sight  
 they tombled downe some other alowe, w<sup>t</sup> weopones pointed bright  
 at gates & everie dore dothe ward, & thicke in ranckes doth stand  
 anon the palaies of o<sup>r</sup> king, to healpe we tooke in hand [450]  
 o<sup>r</sup> aide to put & add relief, to men w<sup>t</sup> labours spent  
 a wall ther was and through the same, a posterne yate ther went  
 an entrie blind, that secret servid Priames lodginges wide  
 where through sometyme whan yet in state, their kingdomes did abide  
 full oft Andromache was wont, her self alone to pas [455]  
 vnto the king and queene her father and, mother law that was  
 and yong Astyanax her child, his groundsier to, she brought

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3.441] *wales*: Hand A has written ‘e’ then ‘es’ abbreviation; would give ‘walees’. Not retained in transcription.

there through I scoope and vp the toppes of howses hie I past  
 where downe the selie Troyans, dartes, in vaine for fainting cast  
 a towre that steepe vpright did stand, & hie to skies vp reerd [460]  
 above the roofe from whence all Troy, full brode in sight appeerd  
 and whence the shippes and campes of Greekes, & tentes in times of warres  
 men wonted wer to viewe the towre, w<sup>t</sup> ginnes & mightie barres  
 we vnder heaved and where the ioyntes, & timber beames it bownde  
 beneth togither at ones we lift, at last it lose from grounde [465]  
 we shogd & with the shog for heft, w<sup>t</sup> ratling noise and fall  
 downe over along the Greekes it falles, and farr & wyde w<sup>t</sup>all  
 great slawghter makes but other vpp steps for them, nor stones this while  
 nor kindes of weapons cease ther one. /

before the porche all ramping first, at thentrye dore dothe stand [470]  
 duke Pyrrhus w<sup>t</sup> his brasen harneis bright w<sup>t</sup> burnished brand  
 & glistring like a serpent shines, whome poysoned weedes hath fild  
 that lurking long hath vnder ground, in winter cold bin hild  
 and now his coate of cast all freshe, w<sup>t</sup> youth renued & pride  
 vpright his head doth hold & swift, w<sup>t</sup> walowing backe doth glide [475]  
 brest heigh against the sonne & spites, w<sup>t</sup> tonges three forked fyer  
 and howgie Periphas w<sup>t</sup> hym, w<sup>t</sup> hym Achilles squyer

Automedon his maysters steedes, that wonted was to chase  
 then all the youthe of stirie land, ensues & to the place  
 they enter thicke & fieres abowt, on howses highe they fling [480]  
 him self in hand among the cheif, a twyble great doth bring  
 and therw<sup>t</sup>all he throughe the gates, and dores w<sup>t</sup> dintes doth dryve  
 and downe the brasen postes doth pull, & timb<sup>f</sup> planks doth clyve  
 and now the the barres a sunder brast, and ioystes vp hewed doth fall  
 and entrye broad & window wide, is made now through the wall [485]

{ there howses farr w<sup>t</sup>in appeers and halles are laid in light  
 { appeers kinges Priams parlowres great, that auntiaunt kinges had dight  
 { and harneisde men they se to stand, at thentrie doores to fight  
 but thiner lodginges all w<sup>t</sup> noise, and wofull wailing sowndes

w<sup>t</sup> bounsinges thicke and lar<o>umes lowde, the buyldinges all reboundes [490]  
 and howling women showtes, their cries, the golden starres do smyte  
 [Fol. 26v] then wandring here & there w<sup>t</sup> dreede through chamberes wide, affright  
 the mothers clip their countrey postes, them kissing hold they fast  
 but Pirrhus w<sup>t</sup> his fatheres force, on <prea<sup>c</sup>th> preaceth neyther walles  
 nor keepers him there owt can hold, w<sup>t</sup> rammes and enginnes falles [495]  
 the portall postes and thresholdes vp, ar throwne and doores and halles  
 than forcing furth & through they shove, they pushe, & downe y<sup>y</sup> kill  
 them furst that meetes & everie floore, w<sup>t</sup> souldyo<sup>rs</sup> fast they fill  
 not half so ferce the fomy flood, whose rampier torne /  
 w<sup>t</sup> rage oute rones whan ditches thwart & pieres ar over borne [500]  
 w<sup>t</sup> waves and furthe on feeldes it falles, and waltring downe the vales  
 and howses downe it beares w<sup>t</sup> all, and herdes of beastes it haies  
 Neptolemus my self I saw, w<sup>t</sup> slaughteres wood to rage  
 and bretherne twaine Atridas fierce, their furies none could swage  
 queene Hecuba and her hundreth dawghter lawes & Priam there [505]  
 w<sup>t</sup> blood I sawe defile the fieres, him self to god did reare  
 and fiftie paramo<sup>rs</sup> he had, & children yssue told  
 no nomb<sup>f</sup> lasse, the statelie spoiles, of postes full proud of gold  
 abroad ar throwne, & what the fier, dothe leave the Greekes dothe hold. /  
 The fatall end of Priam now, perhappes yow will requier [510]  
 whan he the citie taken saw, and howses toppes on fyre  
 and buyldinges broke & round about, so thicke his enmies rage  
 his harneise on hys shoulderes (long vnworne till then) for age  
 all quaking on (good man) he puttes, to purpose smale, & than  
 his sword hym girte and into death, & enemyes thicke he ranne [515]  
 amides the skies right vnderneath, the nakid skies in sight  
 on alter howge of sise ther stoode, and by the same vpright  
 an auncyaunt laurer tree did grow y<sup>t</sup> wide abrode did shed  
 & yt & all the carved goddes, w<sup>t</sup> brode shade over spred

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3.490] *lar<o>umes*: Correction orthographic.

[Fol. 26v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

3.494] <prea<sup>c</sup>th>: Correction by Hand A; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.

3.499: Virgule perhaps part of descender from ‘f’ in ‘fill’ (3.498).

there heccuba and her daughters all, poore sowles at thawt<sup>r</sup> side [520]

in heaps together affraid them drewe, like doves whan<sup>u</sup> doth betide  
some storme them hedlong drive and clipping fast their godes they hold

but whan she Priam thus be clad, in armes of yowth so bold

espied: what mynd alas (qd she), o wofull husband yowe

in harneis dight & whither awaye, in weapones ronne yow now [525]

not men nor weapones vse can save, this time doth aske to beare

no such defence no not yf hector myne here present were

{ stand here by me this altar vs, from slaughters all shall sheld  
or dye together at ones we shall, so said she & gan to weld  
hym aged man & in that sacred seat hym set & held [530]

Behold wheare scaping from the stroke, of Pirrhus feare in fight

Polites one of priams sonnes, through foes and weopones pight

through galleries along doth ronne and wide abowt hym spies

sore wonded than but Pirrhus aft<sup>r</sup> hym sues w<sup>t</sup> burninge eyes

in chace & now wellnie in hand, hym caught and held w<sup>t</sup> speare [535]

till right before hys parentes sight, he came, then feld hym there

to death & w<sup>t</sup> his gussing blood, his lief right owt he shed

there priamus though now for woe, that tyme he half was dead

hym self could not refraine nor yet, his voice nor anger hold

but, vnto the (oh wretch he cried) for this dispite so bold [540]

the goddes if anie Iustice dwelles, in heaven, or right regard

do yeld the worthy thanckes, & the, do pay thy due reward

[Fol.] 27[r] that here w<sup>t</sup> in my syght my sonne, hast kild w<sup>t</sup> slawghter vile

& not ashamed w<sup>t</sup> lothsom death, his fatheres face to file

not so did he whome falslye thow, belyest to be thy syer [545]

Achilles w<sup>t</sup> his enmye Priam deald, but my desyer

whan Hecto<sup>ts</sup> corps to tombe he gave, for gold did entertaine

w<sup>t</sup> truthe & right & to my realme, restoared me half againe

so spake he and therw<sup>t</sup> all his darte, w<sup>t</sup> feble force he threwe

but sounding on his brasen harneise hoarce, it backward flewe [550]

3.541] *dwelles*: Hand A has written ‘e’ then ‘es’ abbreviation; would give ‘dwellees’. Not retained in transcription.

3.542] *thanckes*: ‘c’ perhaps deleted, though unclear; retained in transcription.

and on his target side it hit, where dyntles downe yt hing  
 Than Pirrhus said / Thow shalt go now, therefore and tydings bring  
 vnto my father Achilles sowle, my dolefull deedes to tell  
 Neptolemus his bastard is, not I, say this in hell  
 now dye & as he spake that worde, from thalter self he drew [555]  
 hym trembling there & deepe hym throughe, his sonnes blood  
 & w<sup>t</sup> his left hand wrapt his lockes, w<sup>t</sup> right hand through his syde  
 his glistring sword owte drawne he did, hard to the hiltes yt glide  
 This end had Priames destnies all, this chaunce him fortune sent  
 whan he the fyre in Troy had seene, his walles & castels rent [560]  
 { that sometyme over people prowde, and landes had raigned w<sup>t</sup> fame  
 of Asia Thempro<sup>r</sup> greate, now short, on shore he lithe w<sup>t</sup> shame  
 his hed besides his shoulders laide, his corpse nomore of name  
 Then furst the cruell feare me caught, & sore my sprytes appald  
 & of my father deere I thought, his face to mynd I cald [565]  
 whan slaine w<sup>t</sup> greslye wound o<sup>r</sup> king, hym like of age in sight  
 lay gasping dead, & of my wief, Crewsa bethought the plight  
 alone, foresake my howse dispoild, my child what chaunce had take  
 I loked, & about me viewde, what strength I might me make  
 all men had me forsake for paines, and downe their bodye drew [570]  
 to ground they lept, & some for woe, them selves in fires they threw  
 and now but I was left alone, whan vestas temple stayre  
 to keepe & secretlye to lurke, all cowching close in chayre  
 dame helen I mought see to sit, bright burninges gave me light  
 where ever I went the waies I past, all thing was sett in sight [575]  
 she fearing her the Troyanes wrath, for Troye destroyed to wreake  
 Greekes, turmentes & her husbandes force, whose wedlock did she breake  
 the plaage of Troye & of her countrey monster most vntame  
 there sat she w<sup>t</sup> her hated head, by thaltares hid for shame  
 streight in my brest I felt a fyre, deepe wrathe my hart did straine [580]  
 my countreies fall to wreake & bring, that cursed wretch to paine

3.569] *viewde*: 'i' written over 'y'; correction orthographic.

3.571] *to*: Faint 't' to immediate left of word; 'to' written in darker ink and indented. Faint line through 'o'.

what shall she into her countrey soile, of Sparthe & hie Mycene  
 all saulf shall she retourne? & there on Troye tryumphe as queene  
 her husband, children, countrey kynne, her howse her parentes old  
 w<sup>t</sup> troyan wyves and Troyan lordes, her slaves shall she behold? [585]  
 was Priam slayne w<sup>t</sup> sword for this? Troye burnt w<sup>t</sup> fyre so wood?  
 Is it herfore that Dardan strondes, so often hath swet w<sup>t</sup> blood?  
 not so, for though it be no praise, on womans kind to wreake  
 nor hono<sup>r</sup> none there lyeth herein, nor name for men to speake  
 yet quenche I shall this poyson here, and due desertes to dight [590]  
 man shall commend my zeale, & ease, my mynd I shall outright  
 thus much for all my peoples boanes, and countrey flames to quyte  
 These thinges w<sup>t</sup>in my self I tost, & feerce w<sup>t</sup> force I ranne  
 whan to my sight my mother great, so brime no tyme till than  
 appeerd & showd her self in sight, all shining pure by might [595]  
 right goddesse like w<sup>t</sup> glorie suche, as heavens beholdes her bright  
 so great w<sup>t</sup> maiestie she stode, & me by right hand tooke  
 she staide & red as rose w<sup>t</sup> mowth, these wordes to me shee spooke  
 my sonne what sore owtrage so wild, thy wrathfull mynd vpsteares?  
 why fretest thou? or where of vs, thy cares exilde appears? [600]  
 not furst vnto thy father seest? whome feble in all this woo  
 thou hast forsake? nor if thy wief, doth live thou knowest or noo?  
 nor yong Askanius thy child? whome thronges of Greekes about  
 doth swarming ronne & w<h>ere not my, relief w<sup>t</sup>owten doubt  
 by this tyme flames had vpp devowrd, or swordes of enmies kilde [605]  
 it is not helens face of Grece, this towne my sonne hath spilde  
 nor Paris is to blame for this:, but goddes w<sup>t</sup> grace vnkinde  
 this welth hath overturnd, and Troye, from toppe to ground vntwinde  
 Behold for now away the clowd, & dymme fogg will I take  
 that over mortall eyes doth hange, & blynd thy sight doth make [610]  
 thou to thy parentes heest take heede, dread not, my mynd obeye

[Fol. 27v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

3.599] *vpsteares*: Hand A has written 'e' then 'es' abbreviation; would give 'vpstearees'. Not retained in transcription.

3.607] Double punctuation in middle of line.



In yonder place where stones from stones, & buyldinges hye do swey  
 thow seest, and mixt w<sup>t</sup> dust & smoke, thicke streames of rekinges rise  
 him self the god Neptune that side, doth turne in wondrous wise  
 w<sup>t</sup> forke threetynd the walles vp rootes, fundacions all to shakes [615]  
 & quyte from vnder soyle this towne, w<sup>t</sup> grownd workes all vp rakes  
 on yonder syde w<sup>t</sup> furies most, dame Iuno fearcelie standes  
 the gates she keeps and from their shippes, the Greekes her  
 in armo<sup>r</sup> girt she calles frindlie bandes  
 Lo their ageine wheare Pallas sittes, on fortes & castle Towres [620]  
 w<sup>t</sup> gorgon eyes in lightning clowdes, vnclosde full grym she lowres  
 the father god hym self to Greekes, their nightes and coradge steeres hym self  
 ageinst the Troyan blood, both goddes & armo<sup>rs</sup> reeres  
 betake the to thy flyght my sonne thy labo<sup>rs</sup> end procure  
 I will the nev<sup>r</sup> fayle but the, to resting, place assure [625]  
 Thus said she & through the darke night shaad, her self she drew from sight  
 appeers the gryslie faces than Troyes enmies vglye dyght  
 the mightie powres of goddes. /  
 then verilie right broad I saw, hole Ilion casteles sinke  
 in fyres & vpp so downe all Troye, from bottoom turne to brinke [630]  
 & like as on the mountayne top, some aunceaunt oke to fall  
 the plowmen w<sup>t</sup> their axes strong, do strive and twybbles tall  
 to grub & round abowte hath hewed: it threatning from above  
 doth nod, & w<sup>t</sup> the braunches wide, all trembling bendes to move  
 till overcoom w<sup>t</sup> strokes, at last, all craking downe to fall [635]  
 one wound it ov<sup>r</sup> throwes, & ground yt drawes & rockes w<sup>t</sup> all  
 than downe I went as god me led, through flames & foes to trye  
 all weopones as I passe geve place, & flames awaie do flye  
 but whan vnto my fathers mancjon howse I came, and there  
 hym first I thought to shift & vp, the mountaines next to beare [640]  
 my father aft<sup>r</sup> Troye destroyd, no longer lif desyres  
 nor owtlaw wold he become, of yow whose youth requyres

3.619] *calles*: Possible virgule after word, obscured by descender from ‘f’ in ‘from’ (3.617).

3.621] *grym*: ‘y’ written over another letter, probably ‘e’.

3.642] *wold*: Flourish of the terminal ‘d’ perhaps ‘e’; would give ‘wolde’.

to live, & blood in lust vpholdes, (qd he) yowr lymes to weld  
take yow yo<sup>r</sup> flight

For as for me yf goddes above, wold lif have had me led [645]

this place, they wold have kept me: ynough, tomoche & ov<sup>r</sup> hed  
do

[Fol.] 28[r] of slawghters have we seen, o<sup>r</sup> citie burnt we <have> survive  
go furthe let me remaine (I pray) for me do yow not stryve  
myne owne hand shall my death optayne, my foe will rew my plight  
my corps he can but spoile, for of, a grave the losse is light [650]

this many a yeare to goddes abhord, vnwildye lif I fynd

since tyme whan me the father of goddes, & king of all mankind  
be blasted w<sup>t</sup> his lightning windes, & fyres on me did cast

thus spake he & in purpose still, he fixed remayned fast  
wee there ageinst w<sup>t</sup> streaming teares, my wief also she stooode [655]

Askanius & o<sup>r</sup> howshold all, we praid that in that moode  
all thinges w<sup>t</sup> hym good father turne, he nold no slawghter make  
of all outright nor vs to death, and destnies fell betake

he still denied, & stif hys mynd, nor purpose wold forsake  
ageine to weopones furth I flew, & death most myser call [660]

for counsell what, or what relief, of fortune now can fall  
Thinke yow that I one foote from hence, yow father left behynd  
can passe, or may there such a synne, escape yo<sup>r</sup> mouth vnkynd  
if nothing of so great a towne, to leave the goddes be bent

& fixt in mynd, yow have decreed, Troyes ruynes to augment [665]  
w<sup>t</sup> losse of yowe & yo<sup>rs</sup> agreed, at this doore death doth stand

& heere anon from Priames blood, comth Pirrus hot at hand  
that chyld afore the fathers syght, & fathr on thaltar killes  
for this oh mightie mother myne, through fyres foes & billes  
have yow me savd till now for this? that in my parloure flowres [670]

myne enmyes I must see to kill, my folkes w<sup>t</sup>in my doors

Askanius my child my wief, Creusa, my fathe old

all spralling slayne w<sup>t</sup> blood in blood, embrud shall I behold?

3.647] <sup>do</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

3.663] *vnkynd*: 'y' written over 'i'; correction orthographic.

3.668] *fathr on*: Erroneous spacing of letters ('fath ron'); regularised in transcription.

{ weopones servantes bring me weopones, o<sup>f</sup> last howre doth vs call  
 & yeld ne among the Greekes to fight, let me to Battaile fall [675]  
 afreshe, for nev<sup>f</sup> shall we dye, this daye vnvenged all  
 than me ageine w<sup>t</sup> sword I girte, my left arme vnder sheeld  
 I put and owt at doores I ran, w<sup>t</sup> rage to fight in feeld  
 behoold at thentrie gate my wief, embracing both my feet  
 doth kneele, & vp to me she holdes, my chyld Askanius sweet [680]  
 if towards death thow goest take vs, w<sup>t</sup> the to chaunces all  
 yf succo<sup>f</sup> owght <t>or ho<l>pe thow fyndst, in armes than first of all  
 defend this howse to whome forsaakst, thy chyld yule alas?  
 to whome thy father levist? and somtyme thy wief that was?  
 thus wayling all o<sup>f</sup> howse she filde, thus cryed she through the halles [685]  
 whan sodaylie right wonder great, to tell, a monster falles  
 For even betwene o<sup>f</sup> handes, & right before o<sup>f</sup> face in sight  
 behold from owt Askanius top, a flame vpryseth bright  
 and harmeles lykkes hys lockes & soft, abowt hys temples feed  
 we straight his burning heare gan shake, all trembling dead for dreed [690]  
 and wateres on the sacred fyres to quench anon we sheed  
 but than my father Anchises glad, to heaven doth lift his eies  
 w<sup>t</sup> handes vpthrowne against the starres, & voice exalted cries /  
 Almightye Love of mans respect, or prayers doest regarde  
 behold vs now this cauce, & yf, o<sup>f</sup> deeds deserve rewarde [695]  
 from hencefurth father help vs send, and blesse this grace w<sup>t</sup> more  
 scant from hys mouth the word was past, whan skies aloft to rore  
 begins, & thunder light was thrown & downe from heaven by shade  
 [Fol. 28v] a streaming starr discendes & long, w<sup>t</sup> great light maketh a glade  
 we looking, brim behold it might, & ov<sup>f</sup> o<sup>f</sup> howse it slippes [700]  
 & furthe to Ida woodes it went, there downe it self it dippes  
 vs poynting owt the waies to flee, than straking light along

3.681] *chaunces*: Hand A has written ‘e’ then ‘es’ abbreviation; would give ‘chauncees’. Not retained in transcription.

3.682] *ho<l>pe*: ‘o’ written over ‘e’.

*in*: ‘i’ possibly formed from initial ‘a’, corrected.

3.694] *regarde*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear.

3.695] *rewarde*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear.

[Fol. 28v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

doth shyne & broad abowte dothe smoke, w<sup>t</sup> sent of sulfur strong  
than straight my father (overcom) hym self advauncing weeldes [705]  
and praieth his goddes & worship to, that blessed starr he yeeldes  
now now no more I let, lead whear, yow list I will not swarve  
oh countrey goddes ow<sup>f</sup> howse vphold, my neviewe saulf presarve  
this token yet is yo<sup>rs</sup>: yet Troye, in youre regard remaynes  
I yeld me sonne nor further staye, w<sup>t</sup> the to take all paynes  
so spake he, & nowe abowt o<sup>f</sup> walles, the fyres approching sowndes [710]  
at hand, & nere & nere the flames, w<sup>t</sup> fervent rage redowndes  
deere father now therfore yowr self, set on, my necke to beare  
my shoulderes shall yow lift, this labour me shall nothing deare  
what ev<sup>f</sup> chaunce betydes one daunger both we must abide  
in sauftye both alike we shall, be sure, & by my syde [715]  
my child yule shall go, my wief, shall trace aloof behynde  
yow servauntes what I saye take heede, emprint it well in mynde  
ther is a hill whan owt the towne, ye coome & temple olde  
of Ceres long vnvsed there, besydes yow shall beholde  
an auncyaunt Cypres tree to growe, that for relygyones sake [720]  
o<sup>f</sup> fathers there did set, & there, long tyme did hono<sup>r</sup> make  
in that place owt of dyverse waies, we all shall seeke to meet  
yow father take o<sup>f</sup> countrey goddes, in hand o<sup>f</sup> comfort sweet  
for me that from the battailes Freshe, am coom & slawghters new  
I may not them for synne presume, to towch till wateres dewe [725]  
w<sup>t</sup> Flooddes hath wasst me pure. /  
Thus said I & one my shoulderes broad, & thwarte my neck I kest  
a  
a weede & in <my> Lyons skynne, full red my self I drest  
& vnd<sup>f</sup> burden fast I fled, my child my ryght hand kept  
yule, & aft<sup>r</sup> me w<sup>t</sup> pace, vnlike in length he stept [730]

3.715] *sauftye*: ‘f’ and ‘t’ thickly formed; possibly written over ‘l’.

3.716] *behynde*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear; possible flourish.

3.717] *mynde*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear; possible flourish.

3.718] *olde*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear; possible flourish.

3.719] *beholde*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear; possible flourish.

3.728] <sup>^a^</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

3.730] *stept*: First ‘t’ retraced with thick downstroke; possibly written over ‘c’.

my wief ensued through lanes & crookes, & darkenes most we past  
& me that late no showtes or cryes, nor noise nor weopones cast

{ cowlde feare, nor clusteres great of Greekes, in thronges agast cold make  
now everie wynde & puffe doth move, at everie sound I quake  
not for my self, but for my mate, & for my bowrdens sake [735]

And now against the gates I cam, w<sup>ch</sup> owt of daungers fownd  
I thought I well escaped had, whan suddainlie the sownd  
of feete we heer to tread, & men, full thicke my father stand  
flee flee my sonne he cryed: lo here they com, lo here at hand  
their harneise bright appers, & glistring I se to shyne [740]

there what it was I not, some chaunce, or god no freed of myne  
amasyd than my witt for while through thicke & thinne I passe  
and from thaccustomed waies I drew, to seeke to skape alas  
my wief from me (most woefull man), good Crewse beloved best  
remayne she did or lost her waye, or sat her downe to rest. [745]

vnknowne it is but aft<sup>r</sup> that, in vaine her all we sought  
nor of her losse I knew, nor lacke I looked, or bethought  
till vnto Ceres temple olde, and auncyaunt seat, eche oone  
was come & there togethers met, we all, but she alone  
did lacke, & there her frendes & child & husband did beguyle [750]

[Fol.] 29[r] what man or god for anger madde, did I not curse that while?  
or what in all that towne vpturnd, sawe I so sore befall?  
my father and my child yule, and Troyan goddes w<sup>t</sup>all  
vnto my men I tooke and in, a crooked vale them hydd  
againne vnto the citie girt, in glistring armes I yeedd [755]

all chaunces there ageine to trye, my mynd I fixed fast  
all Troye for her ageine to seeke, my lief to Daung<sup>r</sup>es cast  
first backe vnto the walles & gate, I turnd & then trye blind  
where owt I cam I sought, & steps, of feete I mark behynd

3.733] *Greekes*: 'es' abbreviation thickly formed; possibly written over 'e'.

3.740] *shyne*: 'y' retraced with thick downstroke and dot above 'n'; possibly written over 'i'. Correction orthographic.

3.749] *olde*: Terminal 'e' unclear.

3.755] *vnto*: Initial 'v' written over 'i'.

3.759] *feete*: Initial 'f' blotted.

where night to see could serve & fyres, that glistring shines abowt [760]  
 great feare on every syde I saw, that scilence mackes me dowbt  
 my howse at home if happlie there, yf happlie there shee hild  
 I went to looke, the Greekes were in, & howses all they fild  
 devouring fyre doth all consume, from howse to howse yt flies  
 the wynd increaseth the flames, & vp, the rage to heaven doth ryse [765]  
 to Priames cort I turne & to, the castell view I cast  
 the temples great wer spoild & Iunos holye dores dores wer brast  
 amyddes the floore the keeps stood, the cheefe of captaynes stowt  
 both Phenix and Vlisses false, w<sup>t</sup> them their trayne abowt  
 the praye did kepe, and Greekes to them, the Troyan riches brought [770]  
 that from the fyres one everye syde, was raught the temples sowgh<sup>t</sup>  
 & tables from the goddes wer take, & basones great of golde  
 & preciose plate and robes of kinglie state, & treso<sup>rs</sup> old  
 & captive children stooode & trembling wives in long arraye  
 were stowde abowte. / [775]

I ventred eke my voice to lift, & through the glimsing night  
 the wayes w<sup>t</sup> cryes I fild & Creusas name full lowd yshright  
 in vaine I cald & cald & ofte, ageine & yet I cryed  
 thus seking & w<sup>t</sup> endles paines, & rage all places tryed  
 At last (w<sup>t</sup> woefull lucke) her spright, & Creusas ghoast alas [780]  
 before myne eyes I saw to stand, more great then wonted was  
 I stonyed & my heare vpstart, my mouthe for feare was fast  
 she spake also & thus from me, my cares she gan to cast  
 what meane yow thus yo<sup>r</sup> raging mynd, w<sup>t</sup> labo<sup>rs</sup> sore to move  
 oh husband sweet these thinges w<sup>t</sup> owt, the poweres of goddes above [785]  
 hath not betyde: me now from hence, to lead or by yo<sup>r</sup> syde  
 yow shall see nev<sup>r</sup> more: he willes, it not that heavn doth gyde  
 long Pilgrimage yow have to passe, howge feeldes of seas to eare  
 vnto hespia land yow shall, arive do yow not feare  
 wher Tiber flood throughe fertill soyle, of men doth softly slyde [790]  
 there substaunce great & kingdom strong, & queene to wief besyde

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3.767] *captaynes*: 'a' written over another letter, unidentifiable.

yow shall enioye, for me thy Creusa deere do weep no more  
 to Myrmydones nor dolop land, shall I not now be bore  
 nor to the ladyes pround of Greece, shall I be servaunt seene  
 of Dardan and of venus dawghter lawe. / [795]

But me the mightie mother of goddes, will not from hence to move  
 & now farr well, & of o<sup>r</sup> child, for both keepe thow the love  
 thus whan she said I weeping there, & moe thinges wold have spoke  
 she left me: & w<sup>t</sup> the winde she went, as thinn from sight as smoke  
 three tymes abowt her necke I sought, my armes to set & thrise [800]  
 in vaine her lykenes fast I held, for through my handes she flies  
 like wavering wynd or lyke to dreames that men full swift espies

[Fol. 29v]

than to my companye at last, whan night was gon I drew  
 & there a multitude of men, full huge & nomb<sup>r</sup> new  
 I fownde w<sup>t</sup> mervaile muche bothe men, & women yong & old [805]  
 a rable great exild & piteous comones to behold  
 from everie coast were come, & w<sup>t</sup> their gooddes & hartes assent  
 to what land or sea soeuer I wold, them lead they were content  
 and now from vpp the mountayne, toppes the dawning starr doth rise  
 and bringes ageine the daye, the Greekes, as best they cowld devise [810]  
 the gates possest, & held, all hope, & helpe was gon, at last  
 I yeilded & my father tooke, and vp the hill I past. /

finis

Francis Haryngton

Ellina Harrington

---

3.794] *Dardan*: Second 'd' blotted.

*gloss*: Beneath 'finis' in centre of page, a later hand has added in faint black ink: 'See the third book on p. 73' (ref. to old pagination).

*Francis Haryngton* | *Ellina Harrington*: At bottom of Fol. 29v an italic hand has written these two names.

*gloss*: To left of *Francis Haryngton* a later hand (the same as above) has added note in faint black ink: 'was the younger brother of Sir John H. who furnished 50 stanzas in Book XXXII of Orlando Furioso'.

[4]

[Fol.] 30[r]

Myne owne <I.> I. P. sins you delite to knowe  
 the cawse whie that whomeward I do me drawe  
 and flee the prese of courtes wherso they goe  
 Rather than to liue thralle vnder the awe  
 of lordely lokes wrapped w<sup>t</sup> in my cloke [5]  
 to will and lust, learning to set a lowe  
 It is not because I scorne or mocke  
 the power of them to whom fortune hath lent  
 charg ouer us of right to strike the stroke  
 but trew it is that I haue allwaies ment [10]  
 lesse to esteme them than the common sorte  
 of owtward things that iudge in their intent  
 w<sup>t</sup> owt regarde what dothe inward resorte.  
 I graunt sumtime that of glory the fier  
 doth touch my hart melist not to reporte [15]  
 blame by honor and honor to desier  
 but how may I now this honor attaigne  
 to cloke the truth for praise w<sup>t</sup> out desart  
 of them that list all uice for to retaine  
 I cannot honor them that settes their parte / [20]  
 with Venus and Backus all their life long,  
 nor hold my pease of them though that I smarte;  
 I cannot crouch, nor kneale to do so great a wrong  
 to worship them lyke god on earth alone;  
 that ar as wolues theise sillie lambes among [25]  
 I cannot w<sup>th</sup> wourdes complain and mone,

[4]

[4] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled in faint ink, with lines approx. 6mm apart.

*gloss:* In left margin, Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink: 'See Songs & | Sonnets | fo. 46' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

4.4.] *than:* 'n' written over another letter, unidentifiable.

4.20] At end of 4.20, slightly below the text, is a stroke that resembles a virgule; not typical of Hand B, but retained in transcription.

4.24] Semi-colon at end of line in darker ink than main text: added by later hand, perhaps correcting hand in [4].31 and/or [4].98.



vse wiles for wit and make disceite a pleasure  
and call craft, counsaile, for proffitte still to paine,  
I cannot wrest the law to fill the coffer  
with innocent bloode to feade my selfe fat [30]  
and do most hurt where my selfe I offer:  
I am not he that can allowe the state  
of high Cesar and dampne Cato to die  
that with his death did scape out of the gate  
from Cesars handes (if Liuie doth not lie.) [35]  
would  
and <will>^ not liue where libertie was lost  
so did his hart the comon weale applie:  
I am not he sutche eloquens to bost  
to make the crowe singing as the swanne,  
of  
nor call the lion <of> coward ^ beastes the most, [40]  
That cannot take a mouce as the cat can;  
and he that dieth for hunger of the golde  
call him Alexander, and say that Pan  
passeth Appollo in musicke manyfold;  
praise Sir Topias for a noble taile, [45]  
and scorne the <the> story that the knight told  
praise him for counsaile that is dronke <asale> of ale;  
grynne when he laughes, that beareth the sway,  
froune, when he frouneth, and grone when he is pale,  
on others lustes to hang both day and night, [50]  
none of these points will euer frame in me:

---

4.30] *innocent*: To left of word there is a mark which resembles an inverted comma.

4.31] Colon at end of line in darker ink than main text: added by later hand? (see [4].31).

4.35] *Liuie*: First 'i' slightly smudged.

The parentheses and period at the end of line in darker ink than main text: added by later hand? (see [4].31).

4.36] *^would^*: Correction not by Hand B; later revision by different, later hand in darker ink and finer pen.

4.37] Colon at end of line in darker ink than main text: added by later hand? (see [4].31).

4.40] *^of^*: Correction not by Hand B; later revision by different hand in browner, fainter ink. Same hand makes strikethrough of '<of>' in line.

4.46] *told*: Water damage has partially obscured 'o' and 'l'.

4.47] *<asale>*: Words struck through unclear: first letter perhaps an 'o'.

*of ale*: Difficult to establish whether correction made by Hand B or later hand. Ink darker than main text, and text larger, suggesting revision made after initial copying stage.

my wit is naught I cannot learne to way  
 and mutch the lesse of things that greater bee,  
 That aske helpe of colours to deuise  
 to ioyne the meane w<sup>t</sup> each extremitie [55]  
 w<sup>t</sup> the nearest uertue to cloke alway the vice,  
 and as to purpose like wise it shall fall  
 to presse the uertue that it may not rise,  
 as dronkennes good fellowship to call,  
 the frendly foe w<sup>t</sup> his dowble face, [60]  
 say he is gentle and curteis therw<sup>t</sup>all,  
 and that fauell hath a goodly grace  
 In eloquens, and crueltie to name  
 Zeale of iustice, and chaung in tyme and place,  
 and he that suffreth offence w<sup>t</sup>out blame [65]  
 call him pitifull, and him trewe and plaine  
 That rayleth reckles to euery mans shame;  
 say he is rude that cannot lye and faine,  
 The letcher a louer, and tirroranye  
 to be the right of a Princes raigne [70]  
 I cannot I no nor yet will not be:  
 this is the cause that I wold neuer yet  
 hang on their sleues, that way as thou mayst see  
 a chip of chaunce more than a pound of witt:  
 This maketh me at <w>home to hunt and hauke, [75]  
 and in foule wether at my boke to sit.  
 In frost and snowe then w<sup>t</sup> my bowe to stalke,  
 no man doth marke where that I ride or goe,  
 In lustie leases at lybertie I walke  
 and of these newes I feale nother well nor woo, [80]  
 saue that a clogge doth hang yet at my heale,  
 noforce for that, for it is ordered soe,

[Fol.] 31[r]

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4.59] *call*: Superfluous tilde or macron over word.

4.70] *raigne*: Superfluous tilde or macron over word.

4.74] *chip*: Initial 'c' retraced and blotted.

That I may leape bothe hedge and dicke full well:  
 I am not in fraunce to iudg the wine  
 what sauerie sauce theise delicates to fele; [85]  
 nor yet in spaine where one must him encline,  
 rather than to be outwardly to seame,  
 I meddle not w<sup>t</sup> wittes that be so fine;  
 nor flaunders chere letts nat my sight to dime  
 of blacke nor white, nor takes my wittes away [90]  
 w<sup>t</sup> beastlynes the beastes do so esteame,  
 nor I am not wher Christ is geuen in pray  
 for monye, poyson and treason at Rome,  
 a comon place vsed night and day:  
 but heare I am in Kent, and Christendome, [95]  
 among the muses wheare I read and rime,  
 wher yf thou list my. I. P. for to cume  
 do  
 thow shalt be iudge how I <sup>^</sup> spend my tyme. ~

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4.98] <sup>^</sup> do<sup>^</sup>: Correction not by Hand B; later revision by different hand.

[5]

*Pace non trouo.*

[Fol.] 32[r]

I finde no peace and all my war is done  
 I feare and hope I burn and frese like yse  
 I flye above the wind yet can not ryse  
 and nowght I haue yet all the world I season  
 that loosethe nor locketh holdes me in prison  
 and holdes me not yet can I escape no wise  
 nor letes me live nor dye at my device  
 and yet of death it gevethe none occasion  
 w<sup>t</sup>out eye I see and w<sup>t</sup>out tong I playn  
 I desire to perishe yet aske I helth  
 I love another and yet I have my self  
 I feed in sorow and lawgh in all my paine  
 likewise pleaseth me bothe death and lyfe  
 and my delight is causer of my gryef

[5]

[10]

[5]

[5] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*pace non trouo.* The opening words of Petrarch's *Rime* 134 are in italic; perhaps copied by Hand B.

*gloss:* In left margin above [5], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 21' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

[6]

o

[Fol.] 32[r]

Venemus thorns that be both sharpe and keene  
 beare somtymes flowers fayre and fresh of hew  
 and poyson ofte ys put in medycine  
 and cawseth helth in man for to renew  
 the fier eke that all consumeth cleene  
 may help and hurt and yf that this betrew  
 I trust somtyme my harme may be my helth  
 syns every woe is ioyned w<sup>t</sup> some welth.

[5]

[7]

[Fol.] 32[r]

I am not dead although I had a fall  
 the sonn returns that was hid vnder clowde  
 and whan fortune hath spytt owt all her gall  
 I trust good luck shalbe to me allowde  
 for I haue seen a shipp into the haven fall  
 when storme hath broke both mast & also shrowde  
 and eke the willow that stowpith w<sup>t</sup> the winde  
 doth ryse a gaine and greater wood doth bynde

[5]

[6]

[6] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin above [6], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 42' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

6.1] *venem<sup>o</sup>us*: Difficult to establish whether correction made by Hand A or later hand; ink similar to main text.

[7]

[7] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

[8]

[Fol. 32v] Luckes my faire falcon and yo<sup>r</sup> fellowes all  
 how well pleasaunt yt were yo<sup>r</sup> libertie  
 ye not forsake me that faire might ye befall  
 but they that somtyme lykt my companye  
 like lyse awaye from ded bodies thei crall [5]  
 Loe what a profe in light adversytie  
 But ye my birdes I swear by all yo<sup>r</sup> belles  
 ye be my fryndes & so be but few elles.

[9]

[Fol. 32v] A face that shuld content me wonders well  
 shuld not be faire but louelie to behold  
 w<sup>t</sup> gladsome cheare all grief for to expell  
 w<sup>t</sup> sober lookes so wold I that it should  
 speake w<sup>t</sup>out wordes such woordes as non can tell [5]  
 the tresse also should be of crysped gold  
 w<sup>t</sup> witt and thus might chaunce I might be tyde  
 and knyt a gayne the knott that should not slide.

[8]

[8] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper. The ink in the poem is darker than that in [9] and [10], matching the ink in [11] on fol. 33<sup>r</sup>. [8] may have been copied in a different sitting than [9] and [10].

*gloss*: In left margin above [8], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 35' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

[9]

[9] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin above [9], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 35' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

[10]

[Fol. 32v]

The wandring gadling in the somer tyde  
 that fyndes the adder w<sup>t</sup> his retchles fote  
 startes not dysmayde so sodenly a syde  
 as did gelosy tho ther were no boote  
 when that he saw me sitting by her side  
 that of my health ys very cropp and roote  
 yt pleased me to have so faire a grace  
 to styng the wight that wold have had my place.

[5]

[11]

[Fol.] 33[r]

Playn ye my neyes accompany my hart  
 your  
 for by<sup>^</sup> fault Loe here is death at hand  
 ye brought him first into this bytter band  
 and of his harme as yet ye felt no part  
 but now ye shall Loe here begyns yo<sup>f</sup> smart  
 wet shall ye be ye shall yt not withstand  
 w<sup>t</sup> weeping teares that shall make dymm yo<sup>f</sup> sight  
 and mistie clowdes shall hang still in yo<sup>f</sup> light  
 blame but yo<sup>f</sup> selves that kyndyld have this brand  
 withe such desire to straine that past yo<sup>f</sup> might  
 but synce by yow the hart hathe cawght his harme  
 his flamed heate shall somtyme make ye warm.

[5]

[10]

[10]

[10] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin above [10], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin he has added in red ink 'fo. 23' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

[11]

[11] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

11.2] <sup>^</sup>*your*<sup>^</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

11.4] *harme*: Unusual character to left of the 'h', slightly overlapping with it, looks like minuscule 'c', but formation not typical of Hand A. Would give 'charme'.

[12]

[Fol.] 33[r]

I see my plaint with open eares  
ys hard alas and lawghing eyes  
I see y<sup>t</sup> scorne beholdes my teares  
and all the harme hap can devyse  
I se my lyfe a way so weares  
that I my self my self dispysse  
and most of all wherew<sup>t</sup> I stryve  
ys that I see my self a lyve

[5]

[Fol. 33v]

[*BLANK PAGE*]

[Fol.] 34[r]

[*MATHEMATICS HOMEWORK: LATER HAND*]

[Fol. 34v]

[*GEOMETRIC DIAGRAM OF TRIANGLE: LATER HAND*]

[Fol.] 35[r]

[*BLANK PAGE*]

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[12]

[12] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.



[13]

[Fol. 35v]

*Fiamma dal ciel:*

Vengauce must fall on thee thow fylthie hoore  
 of Babilon thow breaker of christes fold  
 that from achorns and from the water cold  
 are rych becom w<sup>t</sup> making many pore  
 thow tresons nest that in thy hart dost hold [5]  
 of cancard mallis and of mischif more  
 than pen can wryte or may w<sup>t</sup> tong be told  
 slaue to delightes that chastety hath sold  
 for wyne and ease whiche settyth all thy store  
 vpon hooredom & on no nother lore [10]  
 in thy pallays of strompetes yong and old  
 there walkes plenty and Belzabub thi Lorde  
 gydes thee and them and dothe thy rayne vphold  
 yt is but late as wryting will recorde  
 that pore thow art w<sup>t</sup>outen land or golde [15]  
 yet now hath gold & pryde by on accord  
 In wickednes so spred thy lyfe a brode  
 that yt doth stynke before the face of god.

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 [13]

[13] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*Fiamma dal ciel:* The opening words of Petrarch's *Rima* 136 are copied by Hand B.

 13.12] *Lorde*: Initial 'L' perhaps minuscule.

[14]

[Fol. 35v]

*Fontana di dolor.*

Spring of all woe o den of cursed yre  
 scole of errour temple of heresy  
 thow Pope I meane hed of hipocrasy  
 thow and thi church vnsasiat of desier  
 have all the world fyld full of misery [5]  
 well of disceat thow dungeon full of fire  
 that hides all trueth to breede Idolatrie  
 thow wycked wretch christ can not be a lyer  
 behold therfore thi iudgement hastelie  
 thy first fownder was gentill poverty [10]  
 but there against, is all thow dost require  
 thow shamles beast where hast thow put thy trust  
 in thy hooredom or in thi ryche attyre  
 Lo constantyne that is turned into dust  
 shall not returne for to mentaine thy lust [15]  
 but now his heires that might not set the hier  
 for thy great pride shall teare thy seat a sonder  
 and scourge the so that all the world shall wonder.

[14]

[14] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*Fontana di dolor*: The opening words of Petrarch's *Rima* 138 are copied by Hand B .

14.14] *Lo*: Initial 'L' perhaps minuscule.

[15]

[Fol.] 36[r] Whan Asia state was ov<sup>r</sup>throwne & Priamus kingdom stowte  
all giltles by the poweres of goddes, above was rooted owte  
and downe the fortresse prowde was fallne, that Ilyon glorious hight  
& flat from grownde all neptunes Troye, lay smoking broad in sight  
to dyuerse landes & diuerse costes, like owtlawde men compeld [5]  
by tokens of the goddes wee were, to seeke from thence expeld  
& vnd<sup>r</sup>neth Antander hille, and mountes of Ida name  
in Phrigie land o<sup>r</sup> navie great, we wrought & vp did frame  
vncerteine wherevpon to staye, where destenye list vs guyde  
& power of men assembleth fast, scant soomer first wee spied [10]  
whan sayles vnto the wyndes to set, my father Anchises cryes  
then parting from my cuntry shores, & havens w<sup>t</sup> weeping eyes  
{ The feeldes where Troye did stand I leave, furthe owtlaw fare I right  
my sonne my mates & frindes w<sup>t</sup> me, throwgh deep seas tooke their flight  
my sayntes & cuntry goddes also, that are full great of might [15]  
There lyeth a land farr loof at seas, wher mars is lord & where  
the lardgee feeldes & fertill soyle, men Thracis cald doth eare  
some tyme Lycurgus force therin, did reigne & emper holde  
an aunciaunt staye to Troye & like, in faith & frendship olde  
while fortune was: to that I went, & on the croked shore [20]  
foundaciõs furst of walles I laid, w<sup>t</sup> destnyes lucke full sore  
& of my name their name I shope, & Eneades them call  
vnto the mother of goddes that tyme, & heavenlye persones all  
great sacrifice I made for lucke, my workes to prosper new  
& to the king of heaven him self, a bright bull downe I slew [25]  
a banke by chaunce by me ther stode, where bright as horne of hew

[15]

[15] is copied by Hand A; number of lines per leaf similar to [3]. Dots in left margin mark guides for line spacing.

*gloss.* Centred above 15.1, a later hand has added note in black ink: 'The Third book of the *Aeneids*'.

*gloss.* To immediate right of note above, another later hand has added note in black ink: 'continued from p. 60' (old pagination).

15.9] *destenye*: 'e' and 'n' unclear due to lift-off of pen.

15.12] *shores*: 's' and 'h' blotted.

15.24] *lucke*: 'u' unclear; patch of paper stuck over it.

w<sup>t</sup> rodde vpright & branches thicke, a mirtill bushe ther grew  
 I drew me nere, & from the grownd, the greene bushe vp I pull  
 myne altares to adourne therw<sup>t</sup>, w<sup>t</sup> bowes & shadowes full  
 A dreedfull sight & monstre (marvaile great to tell) I found [30]  
 for from the twig that furst I brake, & rootes I rent from ground  
 the blacke blood owt dothe breake & downe, w<sup>t</sup> trickling dropes yt trylles  
 defiling fowle the soyle w<sup>t</sup> that, for fear my bodye chilles  
 my lymes do quake, my blood for dread, dothe shrincke w<sup>t</sup> frostye cold  
 A nother braunche ageine to plucke, w<sup>t</sup> force I waxed bold [35]  
 the cawse therof to lerne & see, what thing ther vnder laye  
 that other braunch ageine doth bleed, & blacke doth me beraye  
 great thinges in mynd I cast & streight, the feeld nymphes I ado<sup>re</sup>  
 & mars the father great that prince, is of that land & shore  
 good fortune me to send & tourne, that sight to good they should [40]  
 but whan the third tyme twiges to take, w<sup>t</sup> greater might I pulde  
 { & knees ageine the sand I set, w<sup>t</sup> force: what shall I do?  
 speake owt or holde my peace? a pyteous wayling vs vnto  
 was hard from owt the hill, & voice thus groning spake me to  
 why doost thou thus Eneas, me, most woefull miser teare [45]  
 abstayne my grave to fyle, from synne, thy gentill handes forbear  
 I am to the no staunger borne, nor thus deserve to speed  
 this blood thou seest from owt this stub, ywis doth not proceed  
 { flee flee alas this cursed shore, flee from this cursed land  
 for I am polidore in this, place slaine I was w<sup>t</sup> hand [50]  
 This bushe of dartes is growne, & sharp w<sup>t</sup> prickes on me they stand  
 [Fol. 36v] than more w<sup>t</sup> doubt & dread opprest, my mynd from me was past  
 I stonyed & my heare vpstart, my mouth for fear was fast  
 This Pollidore somtyme w<sup>t</sup> gold, of weight full huge to tell  
 hys father Priam king (good man), by stelth had sent to dwell [55]  
 vnto the king of Thrace, whan furst, to Troy he gan mistrust  
 whan he the citie sieged saw, that needes defend he must  
 But he, whan Troye decaye began, & fortune furth was past

[Fol. 36v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

the strong<sup>r</sup> parte he tooke & Agamemnon aydyng fast  
 all truthe he brake, & Polidore, of choppes, & then the gold [60]  
 by force into his handes he caught, & held, what can be told  
 or what is yt that hung<sup>r</sup> sweet, of gold dothe not constayne  
 men mortall to attempt? when feare my bones forsooke agayne  
 vnto the peoples lordes I went, & furst vnto my Syer  
 the monsters of the goddes I show, theyr counselles I requyer [65]  
 All they w<sup>t</sup> one assent doth bydde, that cursed land forsake  
 to leave that hostrye vyle, & shipes, to wyndes at south betake  
 Anon therfore to Pollydore, a herce we gan prepare  
 & howge in height his tombe we reare, all altares hanged are  
 w<sup>t</sup> weedes of mourning hewes & cypres trees and black devise [70]  
 & Troian wives about w<sup>t</sup> heare, vnfold as is there guyse  
 { great fomye bolles of mylke we threw, lukewarme on hym to fall  
 & holie blood in basens brought, we powre, & last of all  
 we shrigh, & on his sowle o<sup>r</sup> last, w<sup>t</sup> great cries owt we call  
 Than whan the seas wee see to trust, & wynd w<sup>t</sup> pypling sweet [75]  
 ys owt at South & to the seas, to sayle doth call the fleete  
 my mates their shippes set furth & shores, w<sup>t</sup> men they mustred all  
 to seas wee flee, & as wee flee, both townes and hilles do fall  
 Ther is a land in mydsea set, whome Neptune deere doth love  
 & mother of the mermaydes eke, that land somtyme did hove [80]  
 in floodes and to & fro did stray, till Phebus it did bynd  
 w<sup>t</sup> landes about & fixt it fast, & bad defye the wynd  
 w<sup>t</sup> Gyarus & Myconey, twoo countreyes stronglye stayde  
 whan in wee cam, o<sup>r</sup> werye shippes in haven at rest we layde  
 & went to worshyp Phebus Towne, & giftes w<sup>t</sup> vs wee beare [85]  
 king Anyus king of men & Phebus prest against vs theare  
 his hedd w<sup>t</sup> holie labelles layd, & crowne of lawrer greene  
 cam owt & welcom bad his frend Anchises long vnseene  
 then hand in hand we set, & lodging tooke in howses hie  
 I worship eke the temple there, that to y<sup>t</sup> god I spie [90]

15.59] *aydyng*: Dot above 'n'; omitted from transcription.

15.61] *told*: Possible virgule or question mark after word; disappears into gutter of page so unidentifiable.

of auncyaunt stone: O Phebus bright, geve me som howse to dwell  
geeve walles to werie men and Towne, from whence may none expell  
have mercye vpon o<sup>r</sup> blood & save, of Troye this last remayne  
the leavings of Achilles wild, & greekes abiectes vnslayne  
who shall vs lead? or where appoint, o<sup>r</sup> place it may the please [95]  
o<sup>r</sup> rest to take, geeve token god, enspier our hartes w<sup>t</sup> ease  
scant this I said, whan trembling fast, w<sup>t</sup> sodeyne shewe to shove  
the lawrell trees gan quake, & dores, & thressholdes all to move  
the mount therw<sup>t</sup> doth bend, & vp, the gates w<sup>t</sup> roring breakes  
adowne to grownd all flat wee fall, streight avoice ther speakes [100]  
ye Troyans tough the grownd that yow, furst bare from  
[Fol.] 37[r] the same shall yow receave ageine, seeke owt yo<sup>r</sup> mother old parentes bold  
for ther Eneas howse shall stand, whome countreyes all shall dreed  
& childrens childe all their ligne, that of them shall proceed  
This Phebus said, & we for ioye great noyse & murmur make [105]  
& what those walles should be wee skanne & counsell great we take  
what place it is that Phebus biddes, to seeke & where to fynd  
my father then the stories old, of auncyaunt men to mynd  
doth call, & then, yow lordes (qd he), laye now to me yo<sup>r</sup> eare  
& marke me well, for now of me, yo<sup>r</sup> great hope shall yow leare [110]  
Candye from hence in mydsea lyeth, Ioves Iland great it is  
whear Ida mount doth stand, & where, furst sprang o<sup>r</sup> stocke er this  
a hundreth mightie Townes they kepe, most frutfull soyle to till  
from whence o<sup>r</sup> aunciaunt groundsier great (if trueth report I skill)  
king Teucus issued furst, & on the coast of Rheta hit [115]  
and there his kingdom furst began, Troy was not vp as yet  
nor Ilion Towres did stand, but there, in lowe vales did they dwell  
Cibele wildernes doth haunt, therin w<sup>t</sup> sounding bell  
& Coribantes beat there brasse, the moone from clippes to cure  
from thence we have that service tyme, wee keepe w<sup>t</sup> scilence pure [120]  
for Lyones in that ladyes chare, their yokes to drawe do beare

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15.111] *is*: Dot to immediate right of word.

15.114] (*if trueth...skill*): Closing lunula unclear; lack of space at end of page.

15.120] *that*: Large space between 'h' and 'a' not typical of Hand A.

come of therfore & where the goddes, do call, let vs go theare  
 please we the wyndes, & furth to Candye kingdomes let vs wend  
 the corse is not so long, if Iove, vs lucke voutchaf to send  
 o<sup>r</sup> shippes on Candye shores to stand, the third day shall we see [125]  
 so speaking on the alters there, due hono<sup>rs</sup> kill did hee  
 a bull to the O Neptune furst, a bull to Phebus bright  
 a blacke beast to the winter storme, to western flawes a white  
 There flyeth a fame that of his fathers kingdom quyt forsake  
 Idomeneus duke therof, expeld his flight hath take [130]  
 & all the coast of Candye lyeth, wyde open for their foes  
 vnfenced & the townes of people void of so rumo<sup>r</sup> goes  
 anon therfore o<sup>r</sup> havens we left, & through the seas we fliee  
 by greene Donyse & Naxon hilles, where men to Baccus crie  
 Olearon aparon white, as snowe, & skattered wyde [135]  
 of Cicladas we compasse yles, that rough seas makes to ryde  
 The mariners their showtes vp set, eche man his mate doth bold  
 to Candye let vs cheerlye fare, to seeke o<sup>r</sup> groundsieres old  
 a merye coole behynd them fast, pursues, & furth dothe Drive  
 & at the length on Candye coastes, o<sup>r</sup> shippes we do arrive [140]  
 my towne therfore (w<sup>t</sup> great desyer) & walles I gynne to frame  
 & pergam I the citie call, right glad they take that name  
 I courage them that land to love, & towres and temples buyld  
 & now well neare o<sup>r</sup> shippes vp set, drye land o<sup>r</sup> navye heeld  
 w<sup>t</sup> wedding and w<sup>t</sup> tilladge newe, the yowth them selves applies [145]  
 & howses eke & lawes I gave. whan sodainlye doth rise  
 among them fowle, a plaage & piteous murreyne to be thought  
 the skies corrupted wer, that trees, & corne distroyed to naught  
 & lymes of men consuming rottes, such yere of death them deares  
 that sweete lif of they leave, or long, their grevowes wo them weares [150]  
 the dog star vp doth ryse, for heate of sonne doth frye

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15.128] *storme*: Dot above first minim of ‘m’; probably accidental.

15.131] *foes*: ‘o’ smudged; resembles an ‘a’.

15.147] *murreyne*: ‘u’ and first ‘r’ unclear: ‘u’ possibly written over an ‘r’. First ‘r’ is thickly formed and blotted; perhaps indicates attempted deletion. Would give ‘mureyne’.

15.151] *dog star*: Perhaps one word, i.e., ‘dogstar’.

the grayne & grasse vp dryes, & feeldes of foode doth men denye  
 [Fol. 37v] Againe to Phebus holie seat, yet backe ageyne owre waye  
 through seas my father biddes vs turne, & Phebus mercye praye  
 what end of wo to werie men, he putes & how from payne [155]  
 oure selfs we may releeeve, and where from hence to tourne agayne  
 then was yt night & on the grownd, all creatures laid a sleepe  
 the goddes of Phrigie land, whome I w<sup>t</sup> me full deere do keepe  
 whome from the myddes of burning Troye, w<sup>t</sup> me I brought in flight  
 before myne eyes (as dreame I did), I sawe to stand vpriht [160]  
 { all shining in theyre glorie bright, behold I myght them cleere  
 the way that throughe my wyndow then, the full moone did appeere  
 they spake also & thus from me, they lighten gan my cheere  
 The thing that of Apollo now, to know yow do entend  
 he speakes yt heere, & vs to the, w<sup>t</sup> glad will doth he send [165]  
 { we from the flames of Troye w<sup>t</sup> the, thyne armye came to guyde  
 we vnd<sup>r</sup> the w<sup>t</sup> navye great, the salt seas broad have tryde  
 we be the same that to the starres, thy ligne shall lift w<sup>t</sup> pryde  
 An empyer great we shall the geeve, & cytie great to reare  
 for mightie men make mightie walles, long flight do thow not feare [170]  
 chaunge yet thy place, not here it is, that Phebus biddes the byde  
 it is not here to Candye shore, Appollo the did guyde /  
 There is a place the Greekes by name, Hesperya do call  
 an auneyaunt land, & fearce in war, & frutfull soyle w<sup>t</sup> all  
 out from Oenotrya they cam, that furst did tyll the same [175]  
 now Italie men saithe is cald, so, of the Captaynes name  
 ther be o<sup>r</sup> dwelling seates, from thence king Dardan self was borne  
 & Iasius the prince from whome, o<sup>r</sup> ligne descendes beforene  
 arise, to go, & tell this thing vnto thy father deere  
 seeke once Italia land, the shores, of Corit coast enqueere [180]  
 be bold, proceede, for Iove doth the, from Candye countreyes take

[Fol. 37v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

15.156] *agayne*: Terminal 'e' unclear.

15.161] *myght*: 'y' thickly formed; probably written over 'e'.

15.175] *tyll*: 'y' written over 'e'.

15.177] *Dardan*: Second 'd' thickly formed and blotted; not clearly written over another letter.



astonyed I w<sup>t</sup> this was made, whan goddes to me so spake  
 for slomb<sup>r</sup> was it not (me thought,) but plaine theyre faces bright  
 & folded heare bewrapt I sawe, & knew them well by syght  
 w<sup>t</sup> cold sweat all my bodye then, did roonne, and therw<sup>t</sup>all [185]  
 from owt my bed I lept, & streyght, on knees there downe I fall  
 my handes to heaven, I held, & praid, & giftes and offringes pure  
 in fyres to them I threw, & all, my duetye dome w<sup>t</sup> cure  
 Anchises I asserteyne then, & hym declare the cace  
 anon the dubtfull lygne he knew, how he beguyled was [190]  
 by groundsyers twayne, & children twayne, & places old mystake  
 than said he thus, Oh sonne whome Troye, by destnys, tough doth make  
 Cassandra alone of all mankynd, these thinges to me did tell  
 theese chaunces of o<sup>r</sup> stocke she sang, I now remember well  
 of Italie full oft she spake, oft of hespia shore [195]  
 but who could ev<sup>r</sup> thinke that tyme, or this beleeeve before  
 that Troyanes to hespia land, should come to dwell at last  
 of prophecyes or who that time, of madde Cassandra past  
 to Phebus let vs yeld, & aft<sup>r</sup> warning take the best  
 so spake he, & anon w<sup>t</sup> ioye, all we obeyed hym prest [200]  
 that seat also we than forsake, and few folke left behynd  
 w<sup>t</sup> beames through howgee seas we cut, & sayles set vp for wynd  
 [Fol.] 38[r] when to the deepe o<sup>r</sup> shyppes wer coom, & now on neyther syde  
 appeeres no land, but seas & skies, abowt vs broad ar spyde  
 a showre above my hedd there stode, all dustie blacke w<sup>t</sup> blewe [205]  
 both night & storme it brought, & roughe, the wateres darke their hewe  
 streight all the seas w<sup>t</sup> windes ar tost, & mightie surges rise  
 & throughe the deepes we to & fro, be throwne in wonderes wise  
 the clowdes inclosed have the daye, dymme night hath hyd the heaven  
 and from the skies the lightning fyers, do flashe w<sup>t</sup> greslye steaven [210]  
 from owt o<sup>r</sup> corse wee be disperst, & blynd in waves we straye  
 eke he him self o<sup>r</sup> master there, can scant the night from daye

15.188] *fyres*: Hand A has written ‘e’ then ‘es’ abbreviation; would give ‘fyrees’. Not retained in transcription.

15.191] *twayne* [second in line]: ‘w’ thickly formed; not clearly written over another letter.

15.208] *wise*: Mark between ‘w’ and ‘i’; possible ligature, though probably an accidental mark.

discerne he sayth, so trubleth hym, the tempest, palynure  
 nor in the waters wyld hys waye, to hold he can be sure  
 three daies therfore, vncerteyne where, we go w<sup>t</sup>outen soonne [215]  
 in seas wee wand<sup>r</sup> wyde, & th<e>ree, nightes like in darke we ronne  
 w<sup>t</sup>outen starr the fourthe daye land to ryse wee spyde at last  
 & mountaynes farr in sight are seene, & smoke do seeme to cast  
 o<sup>r</sup> sayles furthw<sup>t</sup> do fall, & vp, w<sup>t</sup> oares & than anon  
 the marino<sup>rs</sup> do sweepe the seas, & through the fome they gon [220]  
 escaping so the seas, on shore, at strophades I lyght  
 at strophades, so for so their names, in greekishe tong doth hight  
 ffor Ilandes in the salt sea great, they stand, wherin doth dwell  
 Celeno fowle mishapen byrde, & harpyes more right fell  
 since Phynes howse from them was shut, theyre former fare they fled [225]  
 a monster more to feare then them, nor plaage was nev<sup>r</sup> bred  
 nor from the pitt of hell vpstert, the wreake of god so wyld  
 like fowles w<sup>t</sup> maydens face they bynn, theyr pauches wyde defylde  
 w<sup>t</sup> garbage great theyre hooked pawews they spred; & ev<sup>r</sup> pale  
 with hungrye lookes: / [230]  
 when there we cam & furst in havn, wee entreed, lowe see  
 the heerdes of beastes full fat to feede, on everye syde full free  
 & goates also to grase, & keeper<sub>none</sub> ^ their was to view  
 o<sup>r</sup> weopones on them fast we laye, & downe them all we slew  
 & bankes vppon the shore wee make, & goddes to parte we call [235]  
 & Iove hymself to blesse the praye, & fast to meat wee fall  
 but soddeynelye from downe the hilles, w<sup>t</sup> greeslye fall to sight  
 the harpies com, & beating winges w<sup>t</sup> great noyse out they shrygh<sup>t</sup><sub>^</sub>  
 and at o<sup>r</sup> meat they snatche & w<sup>t</sup>, their clawes they all defyle  
 & fearfull cryes also they cast, & sent of savo<sup>r</sup> vyle [240]  
 againe into the prevye place, where rockes & caves doth hyde  
 w<sup>t</sup> trees & shadowes compast darke, o<sup>r</sup> tables we provyde  
 and altares vp agayne wee make, & fyres on them we tynd

15.214] *wyld*: Flourish on terminal 'd' perhaps 'e'; would give 'wylde'.

15.233] ^*none*^: Correction by Hand A; ink fainter and patchier than in main text, suggesting later revision.

ageyne from owt a dyverse coast, from holes & lurkinges blynd  
 the prease w<sup>t</sup> crooked pawes ar owt, & sownding fowle they flye [245]  
 polluting w<sup>t</sup> their filthy mouthes, o<sup>r</sup> meat, & than I crye  
 that all men weapones take, and w<sup>t</sup>, that vgly nac<sup>i</sup>on fight  
 They did as I them bad furthw<sup>t</sup>, & in the grasse from sight  
 theyre swordes by them they layed, & cowching close there sheeldes they hyde  
 then whan the third tyme from the clyves, w<sup>t</sup> noyse ageine they glide [250]  
 Misenus from aloft w<sup>t</sup> brasen trompe settes owt a sound  
 my mates invade them than, & felt, the fight but newly found  
 [Fol. 38v] & on the filthye byrdes they beate, that wyld sea rockes doth breed  
 bur feather none do from them fall, nor wound for stroke doth bleed  
 nor force of weopons hurt them can, their backes & whing no spear [255]  
 can perce, but fast away they flee, full hye from sight, and there  
 the pray to vs haulf manched &, begnawne full fowle they leave  
 but one of them, Celeno, than, her self on rockes doth heave  
 vnhappye tale to tell, & thus, her lothsom voyce she brake  
 & is it war q<sup>d</sup> she w<sup>t</sup> vs? war Troyans do yow make? [260]  
 & for o<sup>r</sup> cattell slayne do yow, w<sup>t</sup> vs to battayle bende?  
 poore harpies, & o<sup>r</sup> kingdom, take, from vs that nought offend?  
 take this w<sup>t</sup> yow therefore, & well, my wordes imprynt in mynd  
 that god hym self to Phebus sayd, & I by Phebus fynd  
 that am the cheif of furies all, & thus to yow I tell [265]  
 to Italie yo<sup>r</sup> course yow take, whan wynd shall serve yow, well  
 to Italie arive yow shall, & havn possesse yow there  
 but power yow shall not have yo<sup>r</sup> towne, nor walles therof to rear  
 till famyn for yo<sup>r</sup> trespas heer, & for o<sup>r</sup> cattall slayne  
 shall pinch yow so that tables vp, to eate yow shalbe fayne [270]  
 she said & into wooddes therw<sup>t</sup>, full fast she tooke her flight  
 but than my mates their bloodd for cold, did shrinckes & sore affright  
 theyre coorage downe doth fall, & now, no weopones more they weld

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[Fol. 38v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

15.255] *backes*: Brown ink stain surrounds ‘c’; letter not smudged, but possibly retraced.

15.254] *there*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear.

15.266] *well*: Mark to bottom of word; probably accidental.

but vowes & prayers make, & downe, for peace they kneele in feeld  
 if goddesses perchaunce they be, or furies, or of seas [275]  
 some boistous birdes, what ev<sup>f</sup> it is, full fayne they wold them please  
 but than my father Anchises, vp, his handes to heavn on hye  
 dothe holde & to the goddes above, w<sup>t</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> great doth crye  
 Oh goddes defend this feare, Oh goddes, from this chaunce vs presarve  
 god save good men from harme: than from, that shore he biddes to swarve [280]  
 & cables vp to wynd, & sayles, vp hoyses w<sup>t</sup> halseres hye  
 the northerne wynd vs blowes, & fast, through foming seas we flie  
 where wyndes doth dryve, & where o<sup>r</sup> maister call o<sup>r</sup> corse to keepe  
 Zacynthos Iland, full of wooddes, appeares amiddes the deepe  
 Dulichin & Samey landes & craggess of Nerit hye [285]  
 of Ithaca wee fleethe rockes, (& as we passe them by  
 the kingdom of Laertes there, sir false Vlisses nurse  
 that land aloof we leave, & it w<sup>t</sup> good cawse oft we curse  
 Anon the point Lewcate cald, & cloudy toppes of hill  
 apperes Appollo poynte, & coast, that shipmen trust full yll [290]  
 all werye there we land, & there, the citie small we vewe  
 o<sup>r</sup> ankeres owt we layde on land, & shippes to shore we drew  
 Therefore to mayne land whan we cam, long looked for at last  
 processions great to Iove we make, & altares kinde fast  
 & on the shore to Troyan guyse, o<sup>r</sup> games, & playes we point [295]  
 some wrastling for disport w<sup>t</sup> naked lymes in oyle anoint  
 & maystries w<sup>t</sup> them selves they trye, great ioy they make to se  
 that through so manye townes of Greekes, & foes they scaped be  
 this while the soonne w<sup>t</sup> compasse wyde, the great yere bringes about  
 & wint<sup>f</sup> windes & Northerne frostes, rough seas dothe make men dowbt [300]

the  
 tittle { a sheeld of beaten brasse, sometyme, that Albas strong did weare  
 on poastes I fixed fast, & tittle wrote, & left it there

15.273] *theire*: Brown stains above word, probably caused by blotting of ink.

15.283] *maister*: Comma-like mark under ‘s’; omitted from transcription.

15.289] *Lewcate*: ‘w’ traced over another ‘w’, visible beneath in fainter ink. Formation of both ‘w’s not typical of Hand A.

*cloudy*: ‘o’ thickly formed; probably written over another letter, unidentifiable.

15.295] *playes*: ‘y’ thickly formed; possibly written over ‘e’.

15.299] *abowt*: Possibly spelled ‘about’; word disappears into gutter, so difficult to establish.

[Fol.] 39[r] { Eneas of the victo<sup>r</sup> greekes, these armes hath offered here  
 than portes I bid them leave, & furthe to sea them self to stere  
 streight w<sup>t</sup> there oares they skoom the seas, & salt fome through they  
 sweepe [305]

streight from sight Pheaca Towres, we hidde w<sup>t</sup> mountaynes steepe  
 & round about Epyrus coast, wee roonne & then anon  
 to Chaon haven, & vp the towne, of Butrot hye we gon  
 a wonderes fame there filles o<sup>r</sup> eares & rumor thought but vaine  
 that Helenus king Priames sonne, on greekishe townes doth rayne [310]  
 & wedded vnto P<h>yrrhus wief, & Pyrrhus kingdomes keeps  
 & how Andromache eftsones, w<sup>t</sup> Troyan husband sleeps  
 I stonyed & w<sup>t</sup> wonders love, my hert in fyre did glowe  
 to see the man, & of that chaunce, the fortune great to knowe  
 from owt the haven I went to walke, my fleete bestowed behynde [315]  
 great sacrifice by chaunce that tyme, & giftes w<sup>t</sup> heavy mynd  
 before the towne in greene wood shade, by Symois water syde  
 Andromache to Hecto<sup>rs</sup> dust, w<sup>t</sup> service did provide  
 & deyntees great of meat she brought, & to hys sowle she cried  
 at hecto<sup>rs</sup> tombe that greene w<sup>t</sup> grasse, & turfes stode her besyde [320]  
 & cawses more to mourne therby, twoo altares had she set  
 whan toward her she saw me come, & Troyan armo<sup>rs</sup> met  
 { all straught w<sup>t</sup> monsters great she stert, & frantike like, affright  
 astonyed starke she stode, her lymmes, had heat forsaken quite  
 she fell therw<sup>t</sup> & long at last, w<sup>t</sup> these wordes owt she shrigh [325]

{ And is yt true? I see thy face? true tydinges bringst thow me?  
 or  
 O goddesse sonne? & art alive? ^ yf we changed be  
 into some other world, wher is, my Hector now q<sup>d</sup> she  
 and w<sup>t</sup> that worde her eyes on wat<sup>r</sup> brast, & therw<sup>t</sup>all  
 the corte w<sup>t</sup> cryes she fyld, & I, whome sorowe thus did pall [330]

15.301-302] the / *title*: Marginal annotation by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting annotation made at initial copying stage.

15.305] *streight*: Mark to immediate left of word in margin; function unclear. Possible ampersand, deleted.

Rhyme-word of 15.305 not on separate line in MS.

15.309] *eares*: Hand A has written 'e' then 'es' abbreviation; would give 'earees'. Not retained in transcription.

15.327] ^or^: Correction by Hand A. Ink browner and fainter than main text, suggesting later revision. Correction makes preceding question mark unclear.

few wordes could I replye for woe, & softlye spake ageine  
 I live in dred, & aft<sup>r</sup> daungers all in life remayne  
 dowbt not for truth thow seest. /

Ahlas how from so great a fall, so great a husband slayne  
 what chaunce doth the restore, or fortune due doth entertayne [335]

Andromache of hecto<sup>ts</sup> wief, Pyrres wedlockes dost thow keepe  
 she kest her eyes to ground, & soft, w<sup>t</sup> voice she did beweepe  
 Oh happie one of happies all, king Priams dawghter right  
 that vnderneath the walles of troye, was don to death outright  
 before her enemyes tombe, for lottes, on her wer nev<sup>r</sup> cast [340]

nor nev<sup>r</sup> she to M<sup>ts</sup> bedd, was capitue fixed fast  
 but wee when brent o<sup>r</sup> countrey was, through sundrye seas w<sup>t</sup> payne  
 the pryde of fearce Achilles ympe, & yonglinges hye disdayne  
 in thraldome to o<sup>r</sup> travaile great, have borne, but he at last  
 hys mynd on helenes (dawght<sup>r</sup>) gaye, for greekes to wed) did cast [345]

& me his maid, to Helenus, his man, for wief he left  
 but shortlye hym, for Ielous rage, & for his spowse bereft  
 Orestes full of furies wood, all vnaware w<sup>t</sup> knyf  
 him slewe, & on hys fatheres tombe, hym chopt & tooke from lyf  
 Then dyed Neptolemus also, & of hys kingdomes all [350]

this parte to helenus befell, which he did Chaon call  
 of Chaon Troiane lord, & Chaon feeldes theyr name is yet  
 this pergam towne he buylt, & ylion towre ther on he set

[Fol. 39v] But the what destnye, thus doth guyde? what wynd the here doth drive?  
 what chaunce or god vnto this coast, vnknowne doth the arrive? [355]  
 how doth Askanus thy chyld? doth lyf & breth him feede?  
 whome tymelye Troy to thee. /

{ how farethe he? how for his mother lost? doth he not long  
 doth he not manfull vertues great, embrace? & them among  
 example of hys father take, & vncler Hecto<sup>r</sup> strong? [360]

15.332] *dred*: 'r' converted from an 'e'; comma after word possibly an ink blot.

15.345] Closing lunula after both 'dawght<sup>r</sup>' and 'wed'.

15.346] *Helenus*: Comma after word perhaps flourish from 'l' of 'Ielous' (15.347).

[Fol. 39v]: Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

These thinges w<sup>t</sup> teares she told, & weepinges long for woe she drew  
 whan from the towne the prince hym self, descending there we vew  
 king Helenus king Priames sonne, w<sup>t</sup> lordes a stately trayne  
 his countrey men he knew, & vs, to towne he brought full fayne  
 & teares from owt hys eyes in talke, at everie word did fall [365]  
 I went me furth to walke, & Troye, by name that citie small,  
 In countenance like to Troye the great, & pergam walles I vewe  
 & slend<sup>r</sup> brooke of xanthus name, & gates well lyke I knewe  
 the troyans in their countrey towne, also ther easment take  
 the king hym self great cheere to them, in parlo<sup>rs</sup> wyde doth make [370]  
 & wyne in plentye great they quaff, & deyntyte meates in gold  
 they feed, & seemelye set in halles, their cuppes in hand they hold  
 & thus a daye or twayne the tyme we past, whan wynd at willes  
 beginns to blow & calling furth, o<sup>r</sup> sayles w<sup>t</sup> puffing fylles  
 vnto the sacred king I went, & frendlye prayd hym thus [375]  
 O Troyan king that secretes hie, of great goddes canst discusse  
 whome Phebus token trees & starrs, of heaven hath taught to skye  
 both chirminges tonges of byrdes & whinges, of fowle that swift doth flye  
 tell sooth I thee beseeke, for luckye course & happye trade  
 Religions all, & all the goddes, w<sup>t</sup> one voice do perswade [380]  
 but one alone (a monster straung,) to thinke) & synne to speake  
 Celeno harpie fowle, doth wond<sup>r</sup> tell, & fearfull wreake  
 of hung<sup>r</sup> vile what daung<sup>r</sup> first, shall I escape Alas?  
 or whervnto shall I me trust, through paynes so great to passe?  
 There Helenus as custome is, furst heiferes downe she slew [385]  
 & prayeth this godes of peace, & then, the labelles he w<sup>t</sup>drew  
 { from of hys holye hed, and to, thy blessed secretes me  
 O Phebus hand in hand he brought, all trembling them to see  
 & then w<sup>t</sup> mouth devyne he spake, both priest & prophet he  
 O goddesse sonne for greater lucke, than mankind through the deepe [390]

15.363] *a*: Letter thickly formed; not clearly written over another letter.

15.364] *countrey men*: Perhaps one word, i.e., 'countreymen'.

15.370] *hym self*: Perhaps one word, i.e., 'hymself'.

15.381] Closing lunula after both 'straung' and 'thinke'

doth guyde the thus, & greater might, to great<sup>r</sup> thinges doth keepe  
 Right trewe it is the king of goddes, hym self to destnye guydes  
 so lottes doth fall, & so the whele, of fatall ord<sup>r</sup> slides  
 few thinges of nomb<sup>r</sup> moe, to the, that bould<sup>r</sup> through the seas  
 thow mayst endure, & to thy po<e><sup>r</sup>tes, at last arive w<sup>t</sup> ease [395]  
 In brief I will declare for destnyes deepe I leave vntold  
 I know them not, & Iuno more to tell my tonge doth hold  
 first Italye, whome nere at hand, vnware thow doest suppose  
 & neare at hand in haven thy rest to take thow doest propose  
 far owt aloof & long aloof, it lyethe in compasse sore [400]  
 & furst in Cicill streame thow must, embathe & bend thyne oare  
 & fleeting in the salt sea fome, long coursinges must thow make  
 for Cyrces yle must first be seene, & landes of Lyombo lake  
 [Fol.] 40[r] er thow <thow> the citie saulf on lond, mast buyld & resting fynde  
 these tokens I the tell, do thow, emp<sup>r</sup>int them well in mynd [405]  
 whan thow alone w<sup>t</sup> carefull hart, shaltes sit besydes a flood  
 & see a sow of mightye syse, that late hath layed her broode  
 beneath a banke among the rootes, w<sup>t</sup> thirtie sucklinges owt  
 all white her self on ground, & white, her brattes her dugges about  
 there shall thy cytye stand, ther lyeth, thy rest of labo<sup>rs</sup> all [410]  
 nor dreded the not the plage that shall, of tables eating fall  
 the destnyes will invent a weye, therefore, & Phebus bright  
 shalbe thyne ayde & the therof, from daungeres all acquite  
 but yonder coast & all that land, that ov<sup>r</sup> next vs lyes  
 though part of Italye it be attempt not in no wyse [415]  
 leave all aloof the cursed Greekes, all cities ther have filled  
 one quarter men of Locrus have, & castelles strong they bild  
 another where in salet feeldes, all places pestring wyde  
 Idomeneus duke hys armye keepes, & there besyde  
 Petilia small whome Philoctetes wall doth compasse round [420]  
 duke Melybee therin doth dwell, & Greekes possesse the ground

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15.395] po<e><sup>r</sup>tes: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.



moreouer, whan the seas ar past, & shipes in saulfty stand  
 & altares thow shalt make to paye, thy vowes vppon the sand  
 w<sup>t</sup> purpull weedes & hoodes of purple hewes yo<sup>r</sup> self attyre  
 In purple hyde yo<sup>r</sup> heddes from sight, before the sacred fyre [425]  
 for hono<sup>rs</sup> great of goddes: that no, vnfrindlye signe or face  
 of enmytye appear, disturbing all, and hind<sup>r</sup> grace  
 This custome kepe thy self, so set, thy mates & all thy trayne  
 in this religion pure also, thyn ofspringes shall remayne  
 but whan approaching Scicile coast, the wynd the furth doth blow [430]  
 and that Pelorus crooked straites, begine them selfs to show  
 than left hand land, & left hand sea, w<sup>t</sup> compasse long alee  
 fetch owt aloof from landes & seas, on right hand see thow flee  
 these places twoo some tyme by force, w<sup>t</sup> breatche and ruynes great  
 (sometyme doth altar thinges & what, it is but age doth eate?) [435]  
 from sond<sup>r</sup> fell, men sey whan bothe, in one the grownd did grow  
 the seas brake in by force, & through, the myddes did ov<sup>r</sup>throw  
 both townes and feeldes, & Italye, forthw<sup>t</sup> from Cycill syde  
 did cut & yet w<sup>t</sup> narrow streame, & sharpe it doth deuide  
 the right syde Scilla keepes, the left Charibdes gulf vnmuyld [440]  
 w<sup>t</sup> gaping mouth she syttes, & to, her wombe the wateres wyld  
 three tymes to grownd she gulpes, & thries, the same to skies on hight  
 by corse aloft she liftes ageinst, the starres the surges smyght  
 but Silla couching close in cave, yf pray she happily fyndes  
 her head above the streame she holdes, & shippes in rockes she wyndes [445]  
 from shoulderes vp a man she lookes: in brest amayden bright  
 but from the navell downe a whale, w<sup>t</sup> vglye shape to sight  
 compacted of the wombes of wolves, & myxt w<sup>t</sup> dolephines tayles  
 behynd her long they lag & thus, in seas her self she trayles  
 yet better is Pacchinus point, & crookes both in & owt [450]  
 by leyso<sup>r</sup> all to seeke, & cowrses long to cast about  
 Then oanes this Silla monster wyld, behold in dongeon fowle

15.434] *places*: Hand A has written 'e' then 'es' abbreviation; would give 'placees'. Not retained in transcription.

15.437] *through*: Comma after word may be part of abbreviation with 'w<sup>t</sup>' on line below (15.438).

[Fol. 40v] or heare the roare among the rockes, of dogges, that there doth howle  
besydes all this if cooning ought, of prophecyes, or skill  
to Helenus is geven, if Phebus me doth trulye fill [455]  
one thing to the thow goddesse sonne, one thing & ov<sup>r</sup> all  
one thing I woll the warne, & yet agayne, and yet I shall  
dame Iunos goddhead great adore, w<sup>t</sup> hart and prayers meeke  
to Iuno make thy vowes that ladye great & mightye seeke  
to winne w<sup>t</sup> humble giftes, so shalt, thow to thy mynd at last [460]  
all saulf to Italye arive, the land of Sycill past  
there whan thow comst & Cumas towne thow entrest furst at shore  
where holye lakes in wooddes & flooddes (Averna cald) doth roare  
a frantike prophet preest, of woman kynd thow shalt behold  
that deepe in ground doth dwell, & vnd<sup>r</sup> rockes her self doth hold [465]  
& destnies owt she singes, & leaves, w<sup>t</sup> notes & names she singes  
what ev<sup>r</sup> thing that vyrgine writes, in leavs & painted lines  
in rymes and verce she settes & them, in caves in ord<sup>r</sup> couche  
there still they byde nor from ther ord<sup>r</sup> move if nothing touche  
but when the doore by chaunce doth turne, & wynd that<sup>corner</sup><cov> blowes [470]  
theyre heapes asund<sup>r</sup> fall, & furth, they flye and breake ther rowes  
she then to staye, nor from the cave, to flye doth nev<sup>r</sup> lett  
nor seekes them eft to ioyne nor of, her verses more doth sett  
awaye they ronne & Syblies howse, their misteres seat they hate  
there let no tyme be lost, but though, for hast thow thinkest late [475]  
though all thy mates do call & crye, to seas, & wynd at will  
allureth forthe thy fleet, & sayles, thow maist w<sup>t</sup> puffing fylle  
assaye the prophet first, & her, w<sup>t</sup> prayers do beseche  
thy destnyes the to tell & chaunces all by mouth to teache  
of Italye she shall the showe, & peoples all declare [480]  
and warres at hand & how thy self, therto thow must prepare  
& everie labo<sup>r</sup> how thow maist, avoid or howe endure

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[Fol. 40v] Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

15.470] <sup>^corner^</sup>: Correction probably by Hand A; ink fainter than main text and letters formed less carefully, suggesting later revision.

15.471] *rowes*: Spelling unclear; word disappears into gutter.

& all thy course she will the tell, that preest & prophet pure  
 these thinges I maie the show, & this, to heere hath byn thy chaunce  
 go play thy parte & mightye Troye, to heaven w<sup>t</sup> deedes advaunce [485]  
 w<sup>ch</sup> thinges when thus the prophet me, so lyke a frind had told  
 great giftes of Iueryr wrought and treasures great in weight of gold  
 to shippes he biddes vs beare, & rowmes aboard he made to lade  
 w<sup>t</sup> silv<sup>r</sup> plentye great, & plate, full riche & massye made  
 a gorgeous armo<sup>r</sup> coat also, threefolded gilt w<sup>t</sup> hookes [490]  
 of gold, & helmet eke, w<sup>t</sup> crest, theron that glistring lookes  
 Neptolemus his arnes, my father eke hath hys rewardes  
 & horses more & captaynes more. /

And armo<sup>r</sup> eke vnto my mates, he gave & doth supplie  
 o<sup>r</sup> want of ores, my father all, this while doth byd them hye [495]  
 & sayles in ord<sup>r</sup> sett, that nothing lack whan wynd doth call  
 whome Phebus prophet spake vnto, w<sup>t</sup> these wordes last of all  
 Anchises whome dame venus prowde, in bed did not disdayne  
 thow care of goddes, that twyse from Troyes destruction dost remayne  
 lo Italye lo yond<sup>r</sup> it, to the, set vp thy sayles [500]

& take the same, yet must thow passe, by this land owt of fayle  
 that further land yt is Apollo, showethe that further shore  
 go furthe: o happye man w<sup>t</sup> such, a sonne, what shold I more

[Fol.] 41[r] <go furth> prolong the tyme in talke: & yow from wynd that ryseth keepe  
 lykewise Andromache no lesse, at parting gan to weepe [505]

& robes of riche arraye, & brodered deepe w<sup>t</sup> gold she brought  
 a troian mantell for Askanius wondrous gorgeous wrought  
 & hym w<sup>t</sup> giftes & woven workes, of gold full gaye doth lade  
 than said she thus take this of me, myne owne handes have them made  
 take this my child, that long w<sup>t</sup> the my love in mynd maye last [510]

of Hecto<sup>rs</sup> wief, receave thy frindes good will & tokens last  
 Oh figure, next Astianax, alone to me most deere  
 so he hys eyes so he hys handes, so lyke he bare his cheere  
 & now alike in yeeres w<sup>t</sup> the, his youth he should have led  
 then parting thus I spake to them, & teares for weeping shed [515]  
 now fare ye well, oh happye men, whose fortunes end is past

now destnyes vs doth call, & we, from care to care be cast  
 yo<sup>r</sup> rest is readye wonn, no feeld, of seas yow have to eare  
 to seeke the land that backe doth alwaye flee yow have no feare  
 yo<sup>r</sup> cytye fayre in facion like, to Troye & xanthus old [520]  
 yo<sup>r</sup> ryv<sup>r</sup> lyke, & buyldynges worthy prayse yow do behold  
 yo<sup>r</sup> proper handes them made, yo<sup>r</sup> self, the frames therof do reare  
 w<sup>t</sup> bett<sup>r</sup> lucke (I trust) & lesse, the Greekes shall need to feare  
 if ev<sup>r</sup> I to Tyber flood, & feeldes of Tyb<sup>r</sup> fayre  
 maye come & see my citye buylt, whereof I not dispayre [525]  
 two freendlye townes hereaft<sup>r</sup>, that & this both neare of kynne  
 two peoples neyghbo<sup>r</sup> like shall dwell, & frendshipp fast betwene  
 Epyrus & Italia land, whose fownd<sup>r</sup> both of name  
 king dardan is one blood we be, & chaunce have had the same  
 & now of both one Troye to make, in wynd let vs prepare [530]  
 and to o<sup>r</sup> offspring aft<sup>r</sup> vs, likewise we leave the care  
 in seas we went & at Ceramica neare o<sup>r</sup> selves we putt  
 from whence Italia lyeth & shortest corse there is to cutt  
 the sonn this while dothe fall, & shadowes great doth hyde the hilles  
 we spredd o<sup>r</sup> selves on land & layd, vs downe w<sup>t</sup> gladsome willes [535]  
 whan shipes to shore was brought, & cheere we make oon corneres all  
 o<sup>r</sup> werye lymes we fressh & slumb<sup>r</sup> sweet doth on vs fall  
 nor yet from vs the mydnyght howre his compasse owt had ronn  
 whan palinurus quicke from cowch, hymself to steere begon  
 to feele the wyndes and quarteres all, w<sup>t</sup> eares attentif harkes [540]  
 & everye starr that still doth stand, or moves in heavn he markes  
 the wayne the plowgh starr & the sevn, that stormes & tempest powres  
 Orion grimie w<sup>t</sup> fawchon great, of gold also that lowres  
 { whan all thing sure he seethe & all, thing fayre in skyes above  
 from shypburd lowd he geves a signe, we than o<sup>r</sup> campe remove [545]  
 the waye we seeke to kepe, & winges of sayles full hye we hove  
 & now the morning redd doth rise, & stares expulsed be  
 whan farr aloof w<sup>t</sup> mountaynes dymme, & low to looke we see  
 Italia land Italia furst, of all Achates cryed  
 Italia then w<sup>t</sup> greeting lowde, my mates for ioy replied [550]

Anchises then my father straight, a mightye boll of gold  
 did crowne & fill w<sup>t</sup> wyne, & vp, to goddes on hye did hold  
 advauncing furth in shippe. /

- [Fol. 41v] Oh goddes that landes & seas & tempestes great have might to guyd  
 vowchaf yo<sup>r</sup> grace to send, & speed vs fast w<sup>t</sup> wynd & tyde [555]  
 the wynd at wishe dothe blow: & havn, more open now is neare  
 & pallas temple towre to vs doth broad in sight appeare  
 my fellowes made to shore, & downe, their sayles they do bestowe  
 The port lyeth in from easterne seas, & crooketh like abowe  
 a front yt rockes do stand, & salt, sea fome abowt them falles [560]  
 but close yt self it lyeth, on eyther syde w<sup>t</sup> howgye walles  
 twoo rockye Toweres aryse, the temples shrinkes away from shore  
 there for a lucke fowre horses furst, I saw to feed in grasse  
 the ground w<sup>t</sup> teethe they share, & whyte as snow the colo<sup>r</sup> was  
 my father then Anchises: war (oh countrey land) qþ he [565]  
 thow threatnest war, these beestes betoken war right well I see  
 but then ageyne for in the cart, I see they wonted were  
 to draw like matches meete,, & glad their bittes & yokes to beare  
 I hope of peace (he sayed) then fast, o<sup>r</sup> blessed goddes we praie  
 & pallas great in war, that furst, vs did receive that daie [570]  
 & headdes w<sup>t</sup> purple hooddes, before, the fyers in Troyan guyse  
 we hyd from sight as helenus, w<sup>t</sup> great charg did advyse  
 & vnto greekishe Iuno there, w<sup>t</sup> giftes & hono<sup>rs</sup> new  
 we sacryfyce and aft<sup>r</sup> all thing donn, we order dew  
 o<sup>r</sup> shrowdes aloft we lift, & sayles, abroad on hye we heave [575]  
 anon the greekishe townes & countrey sore suspect we leave  
 then passe we by Tarentum baye, where Hercules sometyme  
 (yf mens report be true) did dwell, & there against doth clyme  
 Latynia goddesse seat & towres, of Cawlon castelles hye  
 & then to Sillas wrackfull shore, w<sup>t</sup> shippes approach we nye [580]

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[Fol. 41v] Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

15.567] *for in*: Ink smudge between two words; probably extends from the terminal 'r' of 'for'.

15.568] Double punctuation in line.

15.574] Possible attempt to delete comma, though unclear.

than from the flood a farr we do the mountayne Etna see  
 & howgie noyse of seas we heere, & stones that beaten be  
 against the clives & flapping voice, of waves & water sowndes  
 the surges leps aloft, & from, the sandes they steer the growndes  
 Than said my father Anchises, lo, here is Charibdis hold [585]  
 these stones did Helenus declare, these gastlye rockes he told  
 O mates laye to yo<sup>r</sup> might and vs, w<sup>t</sup> oares from hence remove  
 they did as he comaund, and Palinurus furst above  
 his tackle to the left hand set, and sterne to left hand wryed  
 to left hand all my mates their shippes w<sup>t</sup> wyndes & oares applied [590]  
 as hie as heaven we rise, w<sup>t</sup> mounting waves & therw<sup>t</sup>all  
 whan downe we come vnto the sowles, of hell we thinke we fall  
 three roringes lowd among the rockes, we hard and surges flashe  
 & thrise the falling fome to breake, & starres we saw to washe  
 This while the wynd o<sup>r</sup> werye fleet, forsooke, so did the sonn [595]  
 & vnawares on cycloppes coast, from owt o<sup>r</sup> corse we ron<sup>n</sup>  
 A haven ther is whome force of wynd, o<sup>r</sup> storme can nothing move  
 but Etnas brasting noise w<sup>t</sup> greeslye thundring rores above  
 somtyme therowt a blowstring clowd, doth bleake & vp to skyes  
 all smoking blacke as pitche w<sup>t</sup> flakes, of fyers among it flies [600]  
 & flames in fouldinges rownd to sweep, the starres the mouth doth cast  
 sometyme the rockes & mountaynes deepe, entrayles a sund<sup>r</sup> brast  
 it belching bolketh owt, & stones, it meltes & vp it throwes  
 in lompes w<sup>t</sup> roring noyse, & lowe, beneath the botom glowes  
 [Fol.] 42[r] Enceladus (men saye) haulf brent, sometyme w<sup>t</sup> lightening blast [605]  
 is pressed heere w<sup>t</sup> weight & Etna howge on hym is cast  
 whose flaming breath along those broken chimneyse vp doth ryse  
 & whan his werye syde he happes, to tourne in wonderowes wyse  
 all Scycill land doth shake w<sup>t</sup> noyse, & smoke doth close the skies.  
 that night in wooddes w<sup>t</sup> straw<sup>n</sup>gie sight, & monsteres far from kynd [610]  
 we troobled were, nor cawse of all that noyse & sownd we fynd

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15.587] *mates*: 't' smudged.

15.610] *straw<sup>n</sup>gie*: Correction by Hand A; ink fainter and patchier than main text, suggesting later revision.

for neyther star nor light in skies, ther was nor welkyn cleere  
 nor yet for clowdes & tempest dime, the mone could ought appeere  
 The morning next doth ryse at east, & light abroad was spred  
 & from the skyes the drowping shade, of night awaye was fled [615]  
 whan soodaynelye from owt the woodes, w<sup>t</sup> fleashe consumed leane  
 a straungie man to sight appeeres, in pituouse forme vnclane  
 to vs he came & downe did kneele, w<sup>t</sup> handes abroad vpthrowne  
 we loked, fowle araid he was, his beard was overgrowne  
 his vesture rent w<sup>t</sup> thornes, & like a Greeke in weed he went [620]  
 and was sometyme among the Greekes, to Troye in armo<sup>r</sup> sent  
 he when that Troyans ensignes owt, & armes of Troye beheld  
 affrayd he pawsed furst, & still, hym self <held> awhile he held  
 anon in hast all hedlong downe, he ronns and prayers meeke  
 w<sup>t</sup> teares he wayling makes / now by the starres I yow beseeke [625]  
 by all the goddes & by this breath, of heavn that men do feede:  
 take me from hence (oh Troyans) wheare, ye list awaye me lead  
 to landes or seas I recke not wheare, I know my self a Greeke  
 & in their shippes I came, the spoyle, of Troye yo<sup>r</sup> towne to seeke  
 for w<sup>ch</sup>, if my offence so great, deserveth such a wreake [630]  
 in flooddes do yow me drowne, or all, my lymes in water breake  
 if mankynd me doth kille, yt dothe, me good my lyf to loose  
 so saide he and his knees before, vs still he kept in woase  
 what man he was we bid hym strayt, to tell what kinred borne  
 & what hym ayles & why he lookes, so lyke a man forlorne [635]  
 { my father Anchises gave to hym, his hand him self anon  
 and bad hym comfort take, for harme of vs he shold have non  
 he set hys fear asyde & thus, his tale proceeded on  
 I am a man of Ithaca, vlisses woefull mate  
 my name is Achamenides, to Troye I cam but late [640]  
 my father sent me there, & Adamastus is his name  
 of poore estate I wold we yet, continued had the same  
 for in this place, when all my fellowes fled this coast vnkind

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15.636] *his*: 's' thickly formed; possibly written over another 's'.

for hast in Cycloppes dongeon wyde, they left me here behynd  
 a blooddye shop where slawg<sup>h</sup>ter fowle, & deinties vile do stinke [645]  
 but howge & broad w<sup>t</sup> in: but he, hym self is worse to thinke  
 the starres he retchethe: such a plaage, god from this world defend  
 no hart can hym behold, nor tong, in talke can comprehend  
 on fleshe of men he feedes, & wretches blood he gnawes & bones  
 I saw my self when of my fellowes bodyes twayne at once [650]  
 w<sup>t</sup> mightye handes he caught, & groveling on the ground owtright  
 ageinst a stone he brake them both, the dongeon floore in sight  
 did swimme w<sup>t</sup> blood I saw the blood, and filthy slavo<sup>r</sup> drop  
 from owt hys mouth when he w<sup>t</sup> teethe, their quaking limes did chop  
 [Fol. 42v] but paid he was, nor there vlisses in that daung<sup>r</sup> great [655]  
 this mischief could sustayne to see, nor did hymself forget  
 for whan he gorged had hym self, w<sup>t</sup> meates & drinkinges drownd  
 he bowed his necke to sleepe & there, he laye along the grownd  
 and hydeous thing to sight, & belching owt, the gubbes of blood  
 and lompes of fleshe w<sup>t</sup> wyne, he galped furth we all vpstood [660]  
 and prayed o<sup>r</sup> goddes for help, and all, at ones hym rownd about  
 we spred o<sup>r</sup> selfs & did hys eye, w<sup>t</sup> weopones sharpe put owt  
 his mightye eye that on hys frowning full broad he heeld  
 in compasse like the son or lyke, a greekishe armye sheeld  
 & thus o<sup>r</sup> fellowes lif at last, full glad we be to wreake [665]  
 but flee (alas) oh caytiffes flee, and fast from shore do blake  
 yors cables. /  
 ffor of the sort that Poliphemus is in dongeon deepe  
 & closeth beastes & straung<sup>es</sup> all, doth kill & mylketh sheepe  
 a hundreth more along this crooked coast of Ciclopes fell [670]  
 among these mountaynes hye do straye, and deepe in dennis they dwell  
 three tymes the mone her light hath fyld & thrise her light exild  
 since I my lief in woodes & hauntes, of beastes & maysters wyld

15.645] *slawg<sup>h</sup>ter*: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

[Fol. 42v]: There are much fewer guides to line spacing in left margin than the other verso pages in [15].

15.663] *mightye*: Comma after word smudged; probable attempt at deletion. Omitted from transcription.

15.669] *straung<sup>es</sup>*: Terminal 'es' abbreviation scrubbed out / covered over.



in wyldernes do lead & Cyclops hie from holdes & rockes  
 all quaking I behold, & of, thier feet I feare the knockes [675]  
 for hung<sup>r</sup> sloes hath bin my foode, and mast on trees I fownd  
 & hawthornes hard & rootes of heerbes I rent from owt the grownd  
 all thinges about I spied: this fleet, at last on seas I see  
 what ev<sup>r</sup> it were I did my self, bequethe therto to flee  
 and now eskaped from this wicked kind I am at ease [680]  
 destroy me rather yow, & geeve, to me what death yow please  
 scant had he saide his tale when on the mountayne toppes above  
 hym self among the beastes we see, w<sup>t</sup> b<sup>o</sup>^y<sup>o</sup>steous noyse to move  
 that vgly Polyphemus, &, to shore hym self enclynd [685]  
 a monst<sup>r</sup> fowle, mishapen, lothsom great oneide & blind  
 a post in hand he bare of mightye pyne & therw<sup>t</sup>all  
 he felt hys waye & led hys sheepe, ther was hys comfort all  
 about hys necke a pipe ther honge, his greef therw<sup>t</sup> to ease  
 <from owt hys grevous eye, the blood>  
 whan to the floodes he came, & set, his foote w<sup>t</sup>in the seas  
 from owt hys grevous eye, the blood, he washt & poyson fowle [690]  
 w<sup>t</sup> gnasshing teeth for woe, & lowd for woe began to howle  
 & through the streamye waves, he stamping goeth & yet above  
 his brest is nothing wet, & thus hym self in sea doth hove  
 we all afraid in hast awaye, do flee & vp we take  
 o<sup>r</sup> gest as worthy was, and soft o<sup>r</sup> cables of we breake [695]  
 than sweepe we through the seas, & oares we pull w<sup>t</sup> might & mayne  
 he hard vs & against the sownd, he turning stept agayne  
 but when w<sup>t</sup> hand on vs to grype, we could not have his retche  
 nor wading through the deepe of seas vs backe he cold not fetche  
 { a roaring lowde aloft he liftes, whereat the seas & all [700]  
 the wateres shoke & landes therw<sup>t</sup>, affrighted gan to pall  
 of Italie, & Etna mount, did yell as it wold fall  
 But from the wooddes all Cyclopes kynde, & swarmes onn everye hill

15.679] *bequethe*: First minim of 'u' written over 'e'.

15.682] *he*: Initial 'h' written over 's' or 'f': a partially scrubbed out / covered over descender visible.

15.683] *b^o^y<sup>o</sup>steous*: Correction by Hand A; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.

arose, and to the portes they ronne, and shores along they fill  
 [Fol.] 43[r] we sawe them stand (but harme they could, not do) w<sup>t</sup> lowring eyes [705]  
 the bretherne grime of Etna mount, ther heddes were vp to skies  
 { an vgly counsell, like in sight, for nomb<sup>r</sup> to behold  
 vnto a forest great of okes, or trees of Cypres old  
 or like dyanas wood that hie, to heavn their tops doth hold  
 all hedlong feare enforceth vs, to flee nor waye we know [710]  
 but furth to seas in hast we flew, where wynd vs list to blow  
 but then agayne king helenus, commaundmentes did vs staye  
 to keepe betweene Charibdis gulf, & Sylla myddle waye  
 betwene them both we part w<sup>t</sup> daung<sup>r</sup> great, & glad we were  
 if corse we could not kepe, yet back, ageine we thought to beare [715]  
 behold a Northern blast from owt Pelorus mouth was sent  
 therw<sup>t</sup> pantagia stonye cragg<sup>s</sup>, I past incontynent  
 and Megaros & all those bayes, where tapsus lowe doth lye  
 I left them all & through the seas, w<sup>t</sup> wynd at will I flye  
 These places vs repeted then, where left he had beforne [720]  
 poor Achamenydes, Vlisses mate vnluckye borne  
 ageinst the race of Scicill land, there lyeth in seas an yle  
 Plemyrium of auneyaunt men, it hight, but later while  
 Ortigia doth it call, the fame, is, how Alpheus brooke  
 by secreat wayes all vnd<sup>r</sup> seas, to this land passage tooke [725]  
 and heere it brasteth owt, & Arethusas mouth it meetes  
 and therw<sup>t</sup> all to Scicill seas, it ronnes & furth it fletes  
 the blessed goddes, that in that place, do dwell we hono<sup>r</sup> than  
 & streight Elorus fertill soyle, wee past, & furth we ran  
 then through the rockes, that sleepe do stand, ageinst Pachinus no okes [730]  
 o<sup>r</sup> wayes we share w<sup>t</sup> labo<sup>rs</sup> great, we ouercam the crookes  
 Then Camerina poole whome destnye nev<sup>r</sup> graunt to move  
 and Gelas towne full great, and Gelas hilles apperes above  
 then Agragas hys gorgeous walles, oloof settes owt on hye

15.703] *kynde*: Character after 'e'; possibly scrubbed out / covered over.

15.705] *sawe*: Terminal 'e' resembles 'es' abbreviation.

15.713] *keepe*: Initial 'k' probably written over 'b'.

where horses force somtyme did breed, the towrs a farr we spye [735]

& the w<sup>l</sup> all thy dates Selynys soone I left behynd

and Lylybeas lurking stones, & sholdes I passed blynd

then haven at drepanus I tooke, in that vngladsome shore

whan daungeres all of seas, & tempestes all wer past before

Ahlas my father there, my onely ioy in care & woe [740]

Anchises I do lose ahlas, he there departes me froe

there me oh father deare, in labours all thow dost forsake

ahlas in vayne from daungeres all, of seas thow hast bin take

nor Helenus whan he to me, great fearfull thinges did tell

theese waylinges did fore speake to fall, nor yet Celeno fell [745]

This is my labo<sup>rs</sup> last, there was, my iorneye long at end

ffrom thence departing now doth god, me to yo<sup>r</sup> contreies send

{ So lord Eneas to them all, intentif to behold

the destnies of the goddes did show, & all hys corses told

{ he stayed at last and making here, an end, did scilence hold [750]

Finis

[Fol. 43v]

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[pp. 89-90]

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15.734] *gorgeous*: Faint fingerprint above initial 'g'.

15.736] *Selynys*: Body of 'y' thickly formed; possible attempt to retrace as 'v'.

15.738] *drepanus*: Initial 'd' perhaps majuscule.

*tooke*: Fingerprint / stain above word; extends up to 'stones' (15.738).

15.745] *fore speake*: Perhaps one word, i.e., 'forespeake'.

[16]

[Fol.] 44[r]

None can deame right who faythfull frends do rest  
                               beare sway or riese  
 whilest they <do rule and raln> in great degree  
 for than bothe fast and fained frends ar prest  
 whose faithes seame bothe of one effect to be  
 but if that welthe vnwind and fortune flee  
 as never knowne reuolt's th'unfaithfull gest  
 but he whose hart once vertue linked fast  
   lif and  
 will loue and sarue when <hope of> all is past

[5]

[16]

[16] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled in faint ink, with lines approx. 6mm apart.

*gloss:* In left margin above 16.1, a later hand has written 'e' in pencil.

16.2] <*do rule or raln*>: Final word unclear behind strikethrough.

^*bear sway or riese*^: Correction by Hand B; ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision.

16.4] *whose*: Mark above 'o' resembles the ascender of a partially-completed letter which Hand B aborted.

16.8] ^*lif and*^: Correction probably by Hand B; left-sloping ascender of 'd' not typical of hand. Ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision (matches 16.2).

[17]

[Fol.] 44[r]      You on whose necks, the waight of rewill doth rest,  
 and bownd by othe, to iudge all men aright,  
 to frend the trouthe, each erreure to detest  
 with owt respect, of fauor gold or might  
 right to maintaine, all wrongs to se redrest      [5]  
 looke bake betimes, be hold th'unhappie plight  
 of Englands state, by yo<sup>f</sup> corrupted gaine  
 whear crewell will, doth rule in reasons place  
     th'offenceles      b  
 <the giltles> lym<sup>^</sup>es, w<sup>t</sup> wynding raks to strain  
 vnbridled lust, as lawe eke deames eache cace      [10]  
 what shold I say, vice doth so much abownd  
 and chef in those, that bear, the chefest sway  
 that skant the face of vertue can be fownd  
 and all the rest, so bonnd-men lyke obay  
 that yf he smile, they lawghe, yf frowne, they fyght      [15]  
 sweare or he speake, that all is sooth he sais  
 and no life spar'd, that may withstand his spight  
 leaue of for shame, to use so bloody wais  
 make hast to mend, or else beleeeue yt well  
 the Lord in heauin, will skorge you all in hell      [20]

[17]

[17] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper and then filled in with faint ink.

*gloss:* In left margin above 17.1, a later hand has written 'e' in pencil.

*gloss:* In left margin next to 17.4, a later hand has added 'b' in black ink, and 'a' next to 17.5.

17.9] <sup>^</sup>th'offenceles<sup>^</sup>: Correction by Hand B; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

    lim<sup>^</sup>b<sup>^</sup>es: Correction by Hand B; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

17.12] *bear*: Terminal 'e' in word scrubbed out / covered over.

17.14] *bonnd-men*: Hyphen is perhaps accidental mark; 'e' of 'men' written over 'a'.

17.17] *spar'd*: Terminal 'd' written over 'e'.

[18]

[Fol. 44v]

Whear giltles men ar greuously opreste  
 and faultie folks of fauor boldly boste  
 whear wrongs encrease eache day and none redreste  
 whear wisdoms wants and will dothe rule the roste  
 whear crewelltie doth rain that bloody beast [5]  
 w<sup>t</sup> innocents blood be sprinkling euery poste  
 whear good mens gold do store the wickedes chest  
 whear law is rakt and right of Iustice lost  
 whear plaines pines and flatre feads at feast  
 whear wolues do warde the lames through owt the cost [10]  
 whear that byrd breads that files her natrall nest  
 whear fleshe and blood doth rule and guid the gost  
 And trouthe constrained, dothe offre costum place  
 that piteous state doth stande in wofull cace.

[pp. 92-103 blank]

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[18]

[18] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper and then filled in in with faint ink.

*gloss*: In left margin above 18.1, a later hand has written 'e' in pencil.

18.13] *constrained*: 'n' smudged.

[pp. 92-103] Folio number '45' erased on p. 93.



[20]

[Fol.] 45[r]

Se amor non è

Yf loue be not, what throwse doo I sustayne  
 but yf loue be, lord what and w<sup>ch</sup> is he  
 If good whence springs, each pange and deadlie paine  
 if badd what thyng, so sweetlie torments me  
 if w<sup>t</sup> my will, I smart why do I plaine [5]  
 if gainst my will, what boots to wishe me free  
 o lyuyng death, o slipry staid degree  
 but I consent, howe can such care increase  
 if I agree, I arre in dole to driue  
 thus tikl'imbarkt, in stormes that neuer seace [10]  
 steereles I stand, between to winds that striue  
 light lade w<sup>t</sup> skill, w<sup>t</sup> errorrs fraught am tost  
 so that my selfe ne knowes whear safe t'ariue  
 In cold I burne, in heat I freese as froste.

finis

[20]

[20] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin, a later hand has written 'e' and an 'x'-like sign in pencil.

*Se amor non è*: The opening words from Petrarch's *Rima* 132 are copied by Hand B.

20.10] *tikl'imbarkt*: 'k' written over another letter, unidentifiable.







[23]

[Fol.] 46[r]

If stable mynd and hart that cannot faine  
 if sportles plaints that moues unfained desire  
 if constant will that neuer ment retier  
 if restles foote in maze that treades in vaine  
 if face whear in eache thocht is painted plaine [5]  
 if broken voice that wantes words to require  
 if now for shame and then for feare in paine  
 if frawdles searche that fyndeth frutles gaine  
 if to esteme you than my selfe more deere  
 if endles sewte that wageles craueth hier [10]  
 if gref for foode and panges that pearce to neere  
 if boorn farr of and freese a mids the fire  
 be cawse that I thus helpes tourne and tosse  
 yo<sup>rs</sup> is the fawlt and myne the giltles losse.

finis

[23]

[23] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper. [23] is written in a darker ink than other poems in sequence.

*gloss:* In left margin, a later hand has written 'e' and an 'x'-like sign in pencil.

*gloss:* Below character above, another later hand has added 'b'.

23.11] *neere*: First 'e' thickly formed; probably the result of an ink blot.

23.12] *a mids*: Perhaps one word, i.e., 'amids'.



[25]

[Fol. 46v]

## Dell'a empia Babilonia

From babells bowre and all her wiked wais  
 From whence eache shame and euery good is fled  
 Howse of harts greif and wombe that errowre bred  
 Ame I fled eke for to prolong my dais  
 And here kepes home and as the humors moue [5]  
 Now walke and muse now write in verse and rime  
 But most I minde the torne of better tyme  
 And cheffly this doth me much ease I proue  
 For comon rowts nor fortune take I cure  
 Ne self care much nor yet for awght vile is [10]  
 w<sup>t</sup> in nor owt great heat nor cold I dure  
 Only twoo wightes I wold and wishe th'one sure  
 Euen such good hape as cold not hape a mis  
   seene  
 Th'other in state as I haue <sup>^</sup> or this.  
   finis

[25]

[25] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin, a later hand has written 'e' in pencil.

*gloss*: Below character above, a later hand has written 'e'.

*Dell'a empia Babilonia*. The opening words from Petrarch's *Rima* 114 are copied by Hand B.

25.14] <sup>^</sup>*seene*<sup>^</sup>: Correction by Hand B; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

[26]

[*TEXT CROSSED OUT*]Finis

[Fol. 46v]

[26a]

Now hope, now feare, now ioye, now wofull cace,  
 Our wandringe willes in nature frayle dothe prove.  
 In steed of good for better bad <to> t'embrace.  
 In place of best the worst to like and love.  
 So taking sweet for sowre and ioy for payne  
 We erre in chaunge and reape repentaunce vayne

[5]

~

---

 [26a]

[26a] is copied by Hand J. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

26a.3] *t'embrace*: First 'e' perhaps majuscule; obscured by apostrophe.26a.6] *erre*: First 'r' blotted; possibly written over 'a'.

[27]

[Fol.] 47[r]

Vinse Anniball' e<sup>T</sup> non seppe usar poi

**H**aniball woon and after cold not sew  
 The victrus lote that happly to him fell  
 Therefore deer sire take heed and fore see well  
 That like mischance doo not chance unto you  
 The Beare for losse of whelps skant owt of shell [5]  
 (Whiche finds in mai moste cawse their food to Rew)  
 Doothe storme and rage and hardens teethe and clawse  
 For to reuenge on us her yong whelps cawse  
 Whilste this new storme doothe laste then skoorge their pride  
 Doo not put up that honorable bronnde [10]  
 But preasse to that your fortune doothe prouide  
 Go throughe w<sup>t</sup> that that you haue tane in honde  
 Whiche after deathe mai geue unto your name  
 A thosand years and mo honor and fame.

[27]

[27] is copied by Hand D. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss:* In left margin, a later hand has written 'e' in pencil.

*Vinse Anniball...poi:* The first line from Petrarch's *Rima* 103 is copied by Hand D.

27.6 and 27.13] *mai:* No dot above stem of 'i' in either word.

27.10] *bronnde:* 'o' thickly formed; probably written over another letter, unidentifiable

[28]

[Fol.] 47[r]

Rotta è l'alta colonna, e' il uerde lauro

The precius piller perisht is and rent  
                                   <sup>u</sup>  
 That co<sup>u</sup>ntnanste lief and cherd the werid mind  
 Like of my losse no age shall euer find  
 Thoghe the wolrds eyes a seking all wais went  
 Deathe hathe be refte, the worlds cheef glory heere [5]  
 Who made the mind w<sup>t</sup> lief the more content  
 And now alas no gold no land Empeere  
 Nor gift so great can that restore is spent  
 But if the cawse proseed from th'uper place  
 What can I more then morn that ame constrained [10]  
 W<sup>t</sup> wofull tears to waill that wofull case  
 O britell lief w<sup>t</sup> face so faire I stained  
 How easily lost th' art in a moment space  
 That many yeares w<sup>t</sup> muche a doo a tained

[28]

[28] is copied by Hand D. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss:* In left margin, a later hand has written 'e' in pencil.

*gloss:* In left margin of 28.1, Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 21' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*Rotta è...lauro:* The first line from Petrarch's *Rima* 269 is written by Hand D.

28.2] *co<sup>u</sup>ntnaste:* Correction probably by Hand D; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

28.5] Comma in darker ink than main text; if not an ink blot, probably a later addition.

28.14] *attained:* 'e' written over 'i'; correction orthographic.



## [29]

[Fol. 47v]

Now I bewayle the stepps I trode awry  
 That I a mortall thing so vaynely loved,  
 Still s<'>or'de aloe and never sor'de on hy,  
 Who might have others by example moued.  
 Thow mightie maker of y<sup>e</sup> gloriouse skyes [5]  
 That seeste ech sinne committed in ech place  
 Pardon my wandring Sowle that Mercy cryes  
 And fill my many wantes w<sup>th</sup> thy more grace;  
 That though I livde in warre an Surging Seas  
 In fearefull tempests and in hatefull strife, [10]  
 Yet grant me reach the Haven and pass in peas  
 The litle Remnant of my lingring life.  
 And when I shall (whence I was fram'de) to dust.  
 Help Lord: Thow knowst thow art my only trust.

[29]

[29] is copied by Hand I. The poem is not ruled.

*gloss:* In left margin, a later hand has written 'e' and an 'x'-like sign in pencil.

29.3] *sor'de:* Initial 's' of first 'sor'de' appears to have been written over a majuscule 'S'.

29.8] *grace:* Terminal semi-colon in line possibly a colon.

29.9] *an:* Later hand has added 'd' in pencil after 'an'.

29.11] *pass:* First 's' is long ('ſ') and second short.

[30]

[Fol.] 48[r]

The belye cheere ease and the unchast bed  
 hathe dreuin each vertu from the world to flie  
 whearby o<sup>f</sup> nature strayethe farr a wrie  
 Costome so rules and nature is so led  
 and t<sup>h</sup>eaunlie skill so spent or skarslie spred [5]  
 whearein the forme of eache good lif dothe lie  
 that who to wisdom doth direct ther hed  
 or other lore doth set them selfs t<sup>h</sup>aplie  
 a finger marke is made and counted uain  
 go poore and naked as thow hast profest [10]  
 the nomb<sup>f</sup> saith assotted dronke in <vile> gain  
 small thrust is fownd to presse y<sup>t</sup> waie is best  
 the rathere sands whilst y<sup>ow</sup> thie course shalt roon  
 leaue not th<sup>h</sup>attempt so vertiouslye begoon

---

[30] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss:* In left margin, a later hand has written 'e' and an 'x'-like sign in pencil.

30.7] *ther:* 'r' thickly formed; probably written over another letter, unidentifiable.

30.8] *them:* 'e' thickly formed and written over 'y', with descender scrubbed out / covered over.

30.12] Ink in line inconsistent due to pen left-off; it is thickest in 'ru' of 'thrust', 'ow' of 'fownd', and 'is'.

30.13] As in 30.12; ink thickest in 're' of 'rathere' and initial and terminal 's' of 'sands'; perhaps written over words now scrubbed out / covered over.

[31]

[Fol.] 48[r]            I do bewepe my rekles passed days  
                           that I consum'd in serche of things all vain  
                           w<sup>ch</sup> ill bestow'd doth all the lif distain  
                           and well imployd myght chaunce haue lefte som praise  
                           thou faultles lord fore whome eache fault displeise            [5]  
                           thou lasting king that rules the termles rain  
                           socor the sowll straid fraylye from thy train  
                           and store with grace whear want it self bewrais  
                           if I haue liu'd in warr and troublous seas  
                           grant I may die in peace and quiet land                            [10]  
                           if vain th'abode yet let the parting pleas  
                           and for the small remain lif hath to stand  
                           and eke in death I aske, thie help alone  
                           for other trust thou know'st I haue in none

[Fol. 49v]

[BLANK PAGE]

[31]

[31] is ruled and is copied by Hand B. The ink is faint, suggesting it was copied at the same time as [30], the ink of which is also inconsistent.

*gloss:* In left margin, a later hand has written 'e' and an 'x'-like sign in pencil.

31.5] *faultles:* 'a' unclear, as surrounding paper damaged .

31.13] Medial comma in line unclear; perhaps an accidental mark.

*gloss:* On Fol. 49v, otherwise blank, Percy has added a note in red ink: 'NB. An asterisk is prefixed to such as are in the printed edition 1557 of the Songs and Sonnets of the Earl of Surrey, Sr. Thomas Wyatt &c. & the folio marked wherein they occur.'

*gloss:* Below Percy's note, Park has added the note: '(Dr. Percy's Mem.) and Nos. 3 and 16 not printed in Ld. Surrey's poems'.





[33]

[Fol.] 51[r]            So crewell prison howe could betyde alas  
as prowde wyndso<sup>r</sup>, where I in lust & ioie  
w<sup>t</sup> a kinges soon my childishe yeres did passe  
in greater feast then Priams sonnes of Troye  
where eche swete place retournes a tast full sowre            [5]  
the large grene courtes / where we wer wont to hove  
w<sup>t</sup> eyes cast vpp vnto the maydens towre  
and easye sighes such as folke drawe in love  
the statelye sales / the Ladyes bright of hewe  
the daunces short, long tales of great delight            [10]  
w<sup>t</sup> wordes & lookes, that Tygers could but rewe  
where eche of vs did plead the others right  
the palme playe where dispoyled for the game  
w<sup>t</sup> dased eyes oft we by gleames of love  
have mist the ball and got sight of o<sup>r</sup> dame            [15]  
to bayte her eyes which kept the leddes above  
the graveld ground w<sup>t</sup> sleeves tyed on the helme  
on fomynge horse w<sup>t</sup> swordes and frendlye hertes  
w<sup>t</sup> chere as thoughe the one should overwhelme  
where we have fought & chased oft w<sup>t</sup> dartes            [20]  
w<sup>t</sup> sylver dropps the meades yet spredd for rewthe  
In active games of nyblenes and strengthe  
where we dyd strayne, trayled by swarmes of youthe  
our tender lymes that yet shott vpp in lengthe  
the secret groves which oft we made resound            [25]

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*H.S.*: Subscr. perhaps in Hand A's italic script; if not, added by italic hand approx. contemporary with Hand A.

[33]

[33] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin above [33], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in top right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 6' (signifies fol. no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss*: Centred above [33].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 2'.

33.13] *palme*: Brown dot above 'm'.

33.22] *active*: Written in fainter ink than rest of main text; Hand A or reviser has scrubbed out / covered over a terminal 's'.

of pleasaunt playnt, & of o<sup>r</sup> ladyes prayes  
recording soft, what grace eche one had found  
what hope of spede what dred of long delays  
the wyld forest, the clothed holtes w<sup>t</sup> grene  
w<sup>t</sup> raynes avald, and swift ybrethed horse [30]  
with crye of houndes and merey blastes bitwen  
where we did chace the fearfull hart a force  
the voyd walles eke that harbourde vs eche night  
wherew<sup>t</sup> alas revive within my brest  
the swete accord such slepes as yet delight [35]  
the plesaunt dreames the quyet bedd of rest  
the secret thoughtes imparted w<sup>t</sup> such trust  
the wanton talke, the dyvers chaung of playe  
the frendshipp sworne eche promyse kept so iust  
wherew<sup>t</sup> we past the winter nightes away [40]  
and with this thought the blood forsakes my face  
the teares berayne my chekes of dedlye hewe  
the which as sone as sobbing sighes alas  
vpsupped have thus I my playnt renewe  
[Fol. 51v] O place of blys renewer of my woos [45]  
geve me accompt wher is my noble fere  
whome in thy walles thow didest eche night enclose  
to other lief, but vnto me most dere  
eache alas that dothe my sorowe rewe  
retournes therto a hollowe sound of playnt [50]  
thus I alone where all my fredome grew  
In pryson pyne w<sup>t</sup> bondage and restraynt  
and w<sup>t</sup> remembraunce of the greater greif  
To bannishe the lesse I fynde my chief releif ~

Finis. H. S

33.25] *made*: Dot above ‘m’; downstroke on ‘a’ is thickly formed, though not clearly written over another letter.

33.28] *what dred*: Initial flick on ‘w’ not typical of Hand A.

33.39] *iust*: Fingerprint in red ink in right margin next to word.

33.54] *fynde*: Terminal ‘e’ unclear.

[34]

[Fol.] 52[r]      London, hast thou accused me  
 Of breche of lawes the roote of stryfe,  
 within whose brest did boyle to see  
 (so fervent hotte) thy dissolute lief  
 that even the hate of synnes that groo [5]  
 within thy wicked walles so rife  
 For to breake forthe did convert soo  
 that terro<sup>r</sup> colde it not repress  
 the which by wordes syns prechers knoo  
 what hope is left for to redresse [10]  
 by vnknowne meanes it liked me  
 my hydden burden to expresse  
 wherby yt might appere to the  
 that secret synn hath secret spight  
 ffrom Iustice rodd no fault is free [15]  
 but that all such as wourkes vnright  
 In most quyet ar next ill rest  
 In secret sylence of the night  
 this made me with a reckles brest  
 to wake thy sluggardes w<sup>t</sup> my bowe [20]  
 A fygure of the lordes behest  
 whose scourge for synn the sceptures shew  
 that as the fearfull thonder clapp  
 by soddayne flame at hand we knowe  
 of peoble stoness the sowndles rapp [25]  
 the dredfull plage might mak the see  
 of goddes wrath that doth the enwrapp

---

*Finis*: Added by Hand A; ink fainter than in main text, suggesting later addition.

*H.S.*: Subscr. perhaps in Hand A's italic script; if not, added by italic hand approx. contemporary with Hand A.

[34]

[34] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: Centred above [34].1, Percy has added 'No. 3' in red ink.

34.21] A: Letter perhaps minuscule.



that pryde might know from conscyence free  
 how lofye workes may her defend  
 and envye fynd as he hath sought [30]  
 how other seke hym to offend  
 and wrath tast of eche crewell thought  
 the iust shapp hyer in the end  
 and ydell slouthe that nev<sup>r</sup> wrought  
 to heven hys spirite lift may begyn [35]  
 & gredye lucre lyve in drede  
 to see what haate ill gott goodes wynn  
 the lechers ye that lustes do feed  
perceve what secrecye is in synne  
 and gluttons hartes for sorow blede [40]  
 awaked when their faulte they fynd  
 In lothsome vyce eche dronken wight  
 to styrr to godd this was my mynd  
 thy wyndowes had don me no spight  
 but prowde people that drede no fall [45]  
 clothed w<sup>t</sup> falshed and vnright  
 bred in the closures of thy wall  
 but wrested to wrathe in fervent zeale  
 thow hast to strief my secret call  
 endured hartes no warning feale [50]  
 Oh shameles hore is dred then gon?  
 by suche thy foes as ment thy weale  
 Oh membre of false Babylon  
 the shopp of craft, the denne of ire  
 thy dredfull dome drawes fast vpon [55]  
 thy martyres blood by sword & fyre  
 in heaven & earth for Iustice call  
 the lord shall here their iust desyre  
 the flame of wrath shall on the fall

[Fol. 52v]

---

34.51] *Oh*: Ink blots around 'O', not due to smudging of letter.

w<sup>t</sup> famyne and pest lamentable [60]  
 stricken shalbe they lecheres all  
 thy proud towers and turretes hye  
 enmyes to god beat stone from stone  
 thyne Idolles burnt that wrought iniquitie  
 when none thy ruyne shall bemone [65]  
 but render vnto the rightwise lord  
 that so hath iudged Babylon  
 Imortall praise w<sup>t</sup> one accord

Fynis *H. S*

---

34.67] *iudged*: Brown mark above terminal 'e'.

*Fynis*: Added by Hand A; ink fainter than in main text, suggesting later addition.

*H.S.*: Subscr. perhaps in Hand A's italic script; if not, added by italic hand approx. contemporary with Hand A.

[35]

wais

[Fol.] 53[r] Suche waywarde <wailes> hath love that moste parte in discorde  
o<sup>f</sup> willes do stand wherby o<sup>f</sup> hartes but seldom dooth accorde  
Disceyte is his delight and to begyle and mocke  
The symple hertes w<sup>ch</sup> he doth stryke w<sup>t</sup> froward dyvers stroke  
he cawseth hertes to rage w<sup>t</sup> golden burninge darte [5]  
and doth alaye w<sup>t</sup> ledden cold agayne the tothers harte  
hot gleames of burning fyre & easye sparkes of flame  
In balaunce of vnegall weight he pondereth by ame  
From easye fourde where I might wade & passe full well  
he me w<sup>t</sup>drawes and doth me drive into the darke diep well [10]  
and me w<sup>t</sup>holdes where I am cald and offerd place  
do  
and wooll that still my mortall foo I <sup>do</sup> ^ beseche of grace  
he lettes me to pursue a conquest well nere woon  
to follow where my paynes wer spilt or that my sute begune  
lo by these rules I know how sone a hart can turne [15]  
from warr to peace from trewce to stryf and so again returne  
I knowe how to convert my will in others lust  
of litle stuff vnto my self to weyve a webb of trust  
and how to hide my harme w<sup>t</sup> soft dissembled chere  
when in my face the paynted thoughtes wolde owtwardlye appere [20]  
I knowe how that the blood forsakes the faas for dredd  
and how by shame it staynes agayne the chekes w<sup>t</sup> flaming redd  
I knowe vnder the grene the Serpent how he lurckes  
the hamer of the restles forge I know eke how yt workes  
I know and can be roote the tale that I wold tell [25]  
but ofte the wordes come forth a wrye of hym that loveth well

[35]

[35] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss:* In left margin above [35], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in top right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 3' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss:* Centred above [35].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 4'.

35.1] <sup>^wais^</sup>: Correction not by Hand A; later addition by different hand in fainter and browner ink.

35.3] *Disceyte*: Initial 'd' formed with open bowl, which is not typical of Hand A; letter perhaps majuscule.

35.12] <sup>^do^</sup>: Correction by Hand A; difficult to establish where made at initial copying stage or later.

I know in heat and cold the lover how he shakes  
 In singinge how he can complayne, in sleaping how he wakes  
 to languishe w<sup>t</sup>out ache sickles for to consume  
 a thousand thinges for to devyse resolving all <sup>in</sup> <hys> fume [30]  
 I know to seke the tracke of my desyred foo  
 and feare to fynd that I do seke but chefelye this I know  
 that lovers must transforme into the thing beloved  
 and live alas (who colde beleve) w<sup>t</sup> spryte from lief removed  
 I know in hartye sighes and lawghters of the splene [35]  
 at ones to chaunge my state my will and eke my colo<sup>r</sup> clene  
 I know how to disceyve my self withouten helpp  
 and how the lyon chastysed is by beating of the whelpp  
 In standing nere my fyer I know how that I frese  
 Far of to burn, in both to wast & so my lief to lese [40]  
 I know how love doth rage vppon the yeldon mynd  
 how small a nett may take & mashe a hart of gentle kynd  
 which seldome tasted swete to seasoned heaps of gall  
 revyved w<sup>t</sup> a glyns of grace olde sorowes to let fall  
 the hidden traynes I know & secret snares of love [45]  
 how sone a loke may prynt a thought that nev<sup>r</sup> will remoue  
 that slipper state I know those sodayne tournes from welthe  
 that doutfull hope that certayne woo & sure dispaire of helthe

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35.30] <sup>in</sup>: Correction made by Hand A; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later addition.

35.26] Possible comma after 'eke', but unclear.

35.38] *chastysed*: Second 's' written over 't' or 'c'.

[36]

[Fol. 53v]

As ofte as I behold and see  
 the soveraigne bewtie that me bound  
 the ner my comfort is to me  
 alas the fressher is my wound

As flame dothe quenche by rage of fier [5]  
 and roonnyng streames consumes by raine  
 so doth the sight that I desire  
 apeace my grief and deadly payne

Like as the flee that see the flame [10]  
 and thinkes to plaie her in the fier  
 that fownd her woe and sowght her game  
 whose grief did growe by her desire

When first I saw theise christall streames  
 whose bewtie made this mortall wounde  
 I litle thought w<sup>t</sup> in these beames [15]  
 so sweete a venvme to have found

Wherein is hid the crewell bytt  
 whose sharpe repulse none can resist  
 and eake the spoore that strayn<sup>,</sup><e>th eche wytt  
 to roon the race against his list [20]

[36]

[36] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss:* In left margin above [36], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 12' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss:* Centred above [36].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 5'.

36.11] *woe:* Initial 'w' not typical of Hand A; perhaps results from closeness to 'r' of preceding 'her'.

36.14] *wounde:* Terminal 'e' unclear.

36.15] *litle:* Word is partially obscured with descender from 's' in 'whose' (36.14).

But wilfull will did prick me forthe  
 blynd cupide dyd me whipp & guyde  
 force made me take my grief in worthe  
 my fruytles hope my harme did hide

I fall and see my none decaye [25]  
 as he that beares flame in his brest  
 Forgetes for payne to cast a waye  
 the thing that breadythe his vnrest

And as the spyder drawes her lyne  
 w<sup>l</sup> labour lost I frame my sewt [30]  
 the fault is hers the losse ys myne  
 of yll sown seed such ys the frewte.

H. S

---

36.21] *forthe*: Terminal 'e' unclear.  
 H. S: Subscription probably added by Hand A.

## [37]

[Fol. 54r]

When youthe had ledd me half the race,  
 That Cupides scourge did make me rune,  
 I loked backe to mete the place  
 ffrom whence my werye course begune.

And then I sawe how my desyre [5]  
 by ill gydyng had let my waye  
 whose eyes to greedye of their hire  
 had lost me manye a noble praye

ffor when in sightes I spent the daye,  
 and could not clooke my grief by game, [10]  
 their boyling smoke did still bewraye  
 the fervent rage of hidden flame.

And when salt teares did bayne my brest  
 where love hys plesaunt traynes had sowne  
 the brewt therof my frewt opprest, [15]  
 or that the bloomes were sprunge & blowne.

And where myne eyes did still pursewe  
 the flying chace that was their quest  
 their gre dye lookes did oft renewe  
 the hydden wounde within my brest [20]

[37]

[37] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, though lines of approx. 6mm (scored into the paper) are not followed, with spaces of 8-9mm between lines. [37] exploits more page space than [36]; poems probably copied in different sittings.

*gloss:* In left margin above [37], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo<o>2' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss:* Centred above [37].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 6'.

37.12] Colon at end of line unclear.

37.19] *renewe:* Terminal 'e' thickly formed; not clearly written over another letter.

when everye looke these cheekes might stayne  
 from dedlye pale to flaming redd  
 by owtward signes apperyd playne  
 the woo wherew<sup>t</sup> my hart was fedd

But all to late love learneth me [25]  
 to paynt all kynd of coloures newe  
 to blynde their eyes that elles should see  
 my sparskled chekes w<sup>t</sup> Cupydes hewe

And now the covert brest I clayme [30]  
 that worshippes Cupyd secretlye  
 and nourysheth hys sacred flame  
 From whence no blasing sparckes do flye /

Finis *H S*

---

37.27] *blynde*: Terminal 'e' unclear.

*Finis*: Written by Hand A.

*H S*: Subscr. perhaps in Hand A's italic script; if not, added by italic hand approx. contemporary with Hand A.









[41]

[Fol. 55v]

I neuer saw youe madam laye aparte  
 your cornet black in colde nor yet in heate  
 sythe first ye knew of my desire so greate  
 which other fances chac'd cleane from my harte  
 whiles to my self I did the thought reserve [5]  
 that so vnware did wounde my wofull brest  
 pytie I saw w<sup>l</sup>in your hart dyd rest  
 but since ye knew I did youe love and serve  
 your golden treese was clad alway in blacke  
 all that w<sup>l</sup>drawne that I did crave so sore [10]  
 so doth this cornet governe me a lacke  
 In sommeres sonne in winter breath of frost  
 of your faire eies whereby the light is lost

H S

[41]

[41] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, though the lines of approx. 6-7mm (scored into the paper) are not followed, with spaces of 8-9mm between lines. [41] exploits more page space than [42]; poem probably copied in a different sitting.

*gloss:* In left margin above [41], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo.6' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss:* Centred above [41].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 10'.

41.2] *colde:* Terminal 'e' unclear.

41.5] *whiles:* Diacritical mark above 'es' resembles a tilde; function unclear.

41.8] *and:* Downstroke on terminal 'd' thickly formed.

*H S:* Subscription added by Hand A. Ink fainter than main text, suggesting later addition.

[42]

[Fol. 55v]

Love that doth raine and liue within my thought  
 and buylt his seat within my captiue brest  
 clad in the armes wherein w<sup>t</sup> me he fowght  
 oft in my face he doth his banner rest  
 but she that tawght me love and suffre paine [5]  
 ^my doubfull hope & eke my hote desire^  
 with shamfast clooke to shadoo and refrayne  
 her smyling grace convertyth streight to yre  
 And cowarde love then to the hart apace  
 taketh his flight where he doth lorke and playne [10]  
 his purpose lost and dare not shew his face  
 for my lordes gylt thus fawtles byde I payne  
 yet from my Lorde shall not my foote remove  
 sweet is the death that taketh end by love

H S

[42]

[42] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: in left margin above [42], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo.4' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss*: Centred above [42].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 11'.

42.6] Hand A omitted line; he has added it in left margin. The interlinear marks above 42.6 indicate that the line is to be inserted between 42.5 and 42.7.

42.8] *convertyth*: Elaborate flourish on 'y'; possible 'e' written to left of or over 'y'. Would give 'convertyeth' or 'converteth'.

H S: Subscription added by Hand A. Ink fainter than main text, suggesting later addition.

[43]

[Fol.] 56[r]

In Cipres springes (wheras dame venus dwelt)

a well so hote, that who so tastes the same

were he of stone as thawed yse shuld melt

and kindled fynd his brest w<sup>t</sup> secret flame

whose moist poison dissolved hath my hate

[5]

this creping fier my cold lymmes so oprest

that in the hart that harbred fredom late

endles dispaire long thraldom hath imprest

snow

one eke so cold in froson <sup>^</sup><sone> is found

whose chilling venume of repugnant kind

[10]

the fervent heat doth quenche of cupides wound

and w<sup>t</sup> the spote of change infectes the mynd

where of my deer hath tasted to my payne

my service thus is growne into disdayne.

H S

[43]

[43] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin above [43], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo.<17>5' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).*gloss*: Centred above [43].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 12'.43.9] <sup>^</sup>sn<sup>o</sup>w<sup>^</sup>: Correction by Hand A; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

H S: Subscription added by Hand A. Ink fainter than main text, suggesting later addition.

[44]

[Fol.] 56[r]      The greate Macedon that out of persy chased  
 Darius of whose huge powre all Asia range  
 in the riche arke yf hommers rymes he placed  
 who fayned gestes of heathen princes sange  
 what holie grave, what worthy sepulture [5]  
 to wyates spalmes should christians than purchase  
 where he doth painte the lively fayth and pure  
 the stedfast hope the sweet returne to grace  
 of Iust David by perfect penitence  
 where <l> rulers may see in a myrrour clere [10]  
 the bytter frute of false concupicence  
 how Iurye bowght vryas death full deere  
 in princes hartes godes scourge <in>yprinted deepe  
 mowght them awake out of their synfull sleepe.

H S

[44]

[44] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin above [44], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo 16' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss*: Centred above [44].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 13'.

44.3] *arke yf*: Unusual spacing of letters ('ar keyf'); regularised in transcription.

44.5] Medial comma perhaps part of flourish from descender of 'of' in 44.4.

44.12] *vryas*: Initial 'v' perhaps majuscule.

44.13] <in>: Deleted word unclear, but dot indicates an initial 'i'.

H S: Subscription added by Hand A. Ink fainter than main text, suggesting later addition.





[46]

[Fol. 56v]

Thassyryans king in peas with fowle desyre  
 And filthye lustes that staynd his regall harte  
 In warr that should sett pryncelye hertes a fyre  
 vaynquyshd dyd yelde for want of marcyall arte  
 The dent of swordes from kysses semed straunge [5]  
 and harder then hys ladyes syde his targe  
 from glotton feastes to sowldyers fare a change  
 his helmet far aboute a garlandes charge  
 who scace the name of manhode dyd retayne  
 Drenched in slouthe & womanishe delight [10]  
 Feble of sprete vnpacyent of payne  
 when he hadd lost his hono<sup>r</sup> and hys right  
 Prowde tyme of welthe, in stormes appawld w<sup>t</sup> drede  
 murdred hym self to shew some manfull dede

H S

[46]

[46] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin above [46], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 17' (signifies folio no. second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss*: Centred above [46].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 15'.

*H S*: Subscription added by Hand A. Ink fainter than main text, suggesting later addition.

[47]

[Fol. 56v]

Yf he that erst the fourme so lively drewe  
 Of venus faas tryvmpt in paynteres arte  
 Thy father then what glorye did ensew  
 By whose pencell a goddesse made thow arte  
 Touchid with flame, that figure made some rewe  
 And w<sup>t</sup> her love surprysed manye a hart  
 There lackt yet that should cure their hoot desyer  
 Thow canst enflame and quenche the kyndled fyre

[5]

H S

[47]

[47] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: Centred above [47].1, Percy has written 'No. 16' in red ink.

*H S*: Subscription added by Hand A. Ink fainter than main text, suggesting later addition.

[48]

[Fol.] 57[r]

Pommi, oue'l sol occide i fiori, et l'herba

Set me wheras the sonne, dothe perche the grene  
 Or whear his beames, may not dissolue the Ise  
 In temprat heat, wheare he is felt and sene  
 w<sup>t</sup> prowde people, in presence sad and wyse  
 set me in base, or yet in highe degree [5]  
 in the long night, or in the shortyst day  
 in clere weather, or whear mysts thikest be  
 in loste yowthe, or when my heares be grey  
 set me in earthe, in heauen or yet in hell  
 in hill, in dale, or in the fowming floode [10]  
 Thrawle, or at large, a liue whersoo I dwell  
 sike, or in healthe, in yll fame, or in good  
 yours will I be, and w<sup>t</sup> that onely thought  
 comfort my self when that my hape is nowght. ~

H . S

[48]

[48] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper, retraced in a faint ink.

*gloss:* In left margin above [48], Percy has written an asterisk in red ink; in right margin, he has added in red ink 'fo. 6' (signifies folio no. in second quarto of Tottel, T2).

*gloss:* Centred above [48].1, Percy has added in red ink 'No. 17'.

*Pommi...l'herba:* Opening line of Petrarch's *Rima* 145 copied by Hand B.

48.1] *Set me:* Red ink blot between words.

*H . S:*] Subscr. perhaps in Hand A's italic script; if not, added by italic hand, approx. contemporary with Hand A.



[50]

[Fol. 58v]

Cap. 1. Eccles:

I Salamon dauids sonne, king of Ierusalem  
 Chossen by god to teache the Iewes, and in his lawes to leade them  
 confesse vnder the sonne, that euerey thing is uayne  
 The world is false, man he is fraile, and all his pleasures payne  
 Alas what stable frute, may Adams Childeren fynde [5]  
 In that they seke by sweate of browes, and trauill of their mynde  
 we that liue on the earthe, drawe toward o<sup>r</sup> decay  
 Ower childeren fill o<sup>r</sup> place a while, and then they fade awaye  
 e  
 suche chaungs maks the earthe, and dothe remoue for none  
 But sarues us for a place, too play, o<sup>r</sup> tragedes vppon [10]  
 when that the restles sonne, westwarde his course hathe ronne  
 Towards the east he hasts as fast, to ryse where he begonne  
 o  
 when h<sup>o</sup>rry boreas, hathe blowen his frosen blast  
 Then Zephirus w<sup>t</sup> his gentill breathe, dissolues the Ise as fast  
 fludds that drinke vpp smale broks, and swell by rage of rayne [15]  
 Discharge in sees, w<sup>ch</sup> them repulse, and swallowe strayte againe  
 these worldly pleasures (lord) so swifte they ronne their race  
 That skace o<sup>r</sup> eyes may them discerne, they byde so littell space  
 what hathe bin, but is now, the like hereafter shall  
 What new deuce grounded so suer, that dreadeth not the fall [20]  
 what may be called new, but suche things in tymes past  
 s  
 A<...> time buryed and dothe reuiue, and tyme agayne shall waste

[50]

[50] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled in faint ink, with lines approx. 6mm apart.

*gloss*: To right of the heading Park has added note in pencil: 'By the Earle of Surrey – to page 145 [fol. 65<sup>v</sup>]; level with 50.2, he has added 'In Warton III.26'.

*Cap. 1. Eccles*: Heading copied by Hand B; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

50.9] *chaung<sup>e</sup>s*: Correction by Hand B; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

50.12] *Towards*: Terminal 's' in darker ink than the rest of word; later addition.

50.13] *h<sup>o</sup>rry*: Correction by Hand B; ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision. Letter to right of terminal 'y' scrubbed out / covered over, as is terminal colon in line.

50.16] *repulse*: 'ul' written over 'le' (i.e., 'replesse'), with ascender of 'l' scrubbed out / covered over.

things past right worthey fame, haue now no brute at all  
 Euen so shall dey suche things, as now, the simple wounders call  
 I that in dauides seate, sit crowned and reioyce [25]  
 That w<sup>t</sup> my septer rewle the Iewes, and teache them w<sup>t</sup> <sup>my</sup> <sub>^</sub> uoyce  
 all  
 haue serchied long to know, <straunge> things vnder the sonne  
 To see how in this mortall lyef, a suerty might be wonne  
 this kyndled will to knowe, straunge things for to desyer  
 God hathe grafte in o<sup>r</sup> gredye breasts, a torment for o<sup>r</sup> hier [30]  
 the end of eache trauell, furthw<sup>th</sup> I sought to knoo  
 uaine  
 I found them <sub>^</sub> mixed w<sup>t</sup> gall, and burdend w<sup>t</sup> <sub>r</sub> muche woo  
 defaults of natures wo<sub>^</sub>ke, no mans hand may restore  
 Whiche be in nomber like the sandes, vppon the salte floods shore  
 then vaunting in my witte, I <gall> <sub>^</sub> call to my mynd [35]  
 What rewles of wysdom I hadde taught, that elders could not find  
 <that elders,> and as by contraries to treye, most things we use  
 Mens follies and ther errors, eke I gan them all peruse  
 therby w<sup>t</sup> more delight, to knowledge for to clime  
 But this I found an endles wourke of payne and loss of tyme [40]  
 skoole  
 For he to wisdomes <skolle>, that doth applie hys mynd  
 the further that he wades therin, the greater doubts shall find  
 [Fol.] 59[r] And such as enterprice, to put newe things in ure  
 of some that shall skorne their deuise, may well them selves assure.

finis

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50.22] A<t>^s^: Correction by Hand B; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.  
 50.26] ^my^: Correction by Hand B; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.  
 50.27] ^all^: Correction by Hand B; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.  
 50.28] To: 'o' thickly formed; possibly written over another letter, unidentifiable (remnants of descender).  
 50.31] trauell] 'e' written over another letter, probably 'i' as dot visible.  
 50.32] ^uaine^: Correction by Hand B; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.  
 50.33] wo^r^ke; Correction by Hand B; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.  
 50.35] ^gan^: Correction by Hand B; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.  
 50.39] therby: 'h' is in Hand B's secretary hand, and has been partially written over.  
 50.41] ^skoole^: Correction by Hand B; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.  
 50.43] such: 's' written over 'f'.  
 50.44] shall skorne: Later hand has drawn undulating line through words; its function is unclear.

[51]

## Cap.2. Eccles.

From pensif fanzies then, I gan my hart reuoke  
 And gaue me to suche sporting plaies, as laughter myght prouoke  
 but euen suche uain delights, when they moste blinded me  
 <When they most l> Allwayes me thought w<sup>t</sup> smiling grace, a kyng did yll agre  
 then sought I how to please, my belly w<sup>t</sup> muche wine [5]  
 To feede me fatte w<sup>t</sup> costely feasts, of rare delights and fine  
 and other plesures eke, too purchace me w<sup>t</sup> rest  
 In so great choise to finde the thing, that might content me best  
 but lord what care of mynde, what soddaine stormes of Ire  
 W<sup>t</sup> broken slepes enduryd I, to compasse my desier [10]  
 to buylde my howses faier, then sett I all my cure  
 By princely actes thus straue I still, to make my fame indure  
 delicious gardens eke, I made to please my sight  
 And grafted therein all kindes of fruts, that might my mouthe delight  
 condits by liuely springs, from their owld course I drewe [15]  
 For to refreshe the frutfull trees, that in my gardynes grewe  
 of catell great encrease, I bred in littell space  
 Bondmen I bought I gaue them wives, and saru'd me w<sup>t</sup> ther race  
 greate heapes of shining gold, by sparing gan I saue  
 W<sup>t</sup> things of price so furnyshed, as sitts a prince to haue [20]  
 to heare faier women sing, sometyme I dyd reioyce  
 Rauyshed w<sup>t</sup> ther pleasaunt times, and swetnes of their voyce  
 lemans I had so faier, and of so liuely hewe  
 That who so gased in their face, myght well their bewtey rewe

---

*gloss:* To right of 'finis' in [50], Park has added note: 'These lines are printed before Archb. Parker's Psalms, taken from the Earle of Surrie's "Ecclesiastes", which denotes this Version to be his Lordship's.'

[51]

[51] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled in faint ink, with lines approx. 6mm apart.

*Cap. 2. Eccles.:* Heading copied by Hand B; ink matches main text. A later hand has underlined the title.

51.4] <When they most l>: Terminal letter in deleted sequence an unfinished vertical stroke, probably 'b'.

51.8] *me*: Redundant dot above first minim of 'm'; scribe perhaps intially wrote 'i'.

neuer erste sat theyr king, so riche in dauyds seate [25]  
 Yet still me thought for so smale gaine, the trauaile was to great  
 from my desirous eyes, I hyd no pleasaunt sight  
 Nor from my hart no kind of myrth, that might geue them delyght  
 w<sup>ch</sup> was the only freute, I rept of all my payne  
 [Fol. 59v] To feade my eyes and to reioyce, my hart w<sup>t</sup> all my gaine [30]  
 but when I made my compte w<sup>th</sup> howe great care of mynd  
 And herts vnrest that I had sought, so wastfull frutt to fynde  
 then was I streken strayte, w<sup>t</sup> that abused fier  
 To glorey in that goodly witte, that compast my desyer  
 but freshe before myne eyes, grace did my fawlts renewe [35]  
 What gentill callings I hadd fledd, my ruyne to purswe  
 what raging pleasurs past, perill and hard eskape  
 What fancis in my hed had wrought, the licor of the grape  
 the erreure then I sawe, that their fraile harts dothe moue  
 W<sup>ch</sup> striue in vaine for to compare, w<sup>t</sup> him that sitts aboue [40]  
 in whose most perfect worcks, suche craft apperyth playne  
 That to the least of them, their may no mortall hand attayne  
 and like as lighsome day, dothe shine aboue the night  
 So darke to me did folly seme, and wysdomes beames as bright  
 whose eyes did seme so clere, mots to discern and fynde [45]  
 But will had closed follies eyes, w<sup>ch</sup> groped like the blynde  
 yet death and time consume, all witt and worldly fame  
 And looke what ende that folly hath, and wisdom hath the same  
 then sayd I thus (oh lord) may not thy wisdom cure  
 The wayfull wrongs and hard conflicts, that folly doth endure [50]  
 r  
 to shape my witt so fine, then why toke I this payne  
 Now finde I well this noble serche, may eke be called vayne  
 as slanders lothsome brute, soundes follies iust rewarde  
 Is put to silence all be time, and brought in smale rgarde

51.29] *payne*: Faint brown ink blot or fingerprint surrounds 'ne'.

51.47] *death*: Fingerprint surrounds 'ea'.

51.51] *sha<sup>r</sup>pe*: Correction by Hand B; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

51.53] *lothsome*: Second 'o' written over another letter, probably 'a'.



eun so dothe tyme deuoure, the noble blast of fame [55]  
W<sup>ch</sup> showld resounde their glories great, that doo desaruē the same  
thus present changes chase, away the wonders past  
Ne is the wise mans fattal thred, yet lenger spunne to last  
<0>  
then in this wredtched vale, o<sup>r</sup> lief I lothed playne  
When I beheld o<sup>r</sup> frutles paynes, to compasse pleassurs vayne [60]  
my trauayll this a vaile, hath me produced loo  
An heire unknowen shall reape the frute, that I in sede did sowe  
but whervnto the lord, his nature shall inclyne  
[Fol.] 60[r] Who can fore knowe into whose handes, I must my goods resine  
but lord how pleasaunt swete, then seamd the idell lief [65]  
That neuer charged was w<sup>th</sup> care, nor burdened w<sup>t</sup> stryefe  
and vile the gredye trade, of them that toile so sore  
To leaue to suche ther trauells frute that neuer swet therefore  
what is that pleasant gaine, w<sup>ch</sup> is that swet relief  
That showld delay the bitter tast, that we fele of o<sup>r</sup> gref [70]  
the gladsome dayes we passe, to serche a simple gaine  
The quiete nights w<sup>t</sup> broken slespes, to fead a resteles brayne  
what hope is left us then, what comfort dothe remayne  
O<sup>r</sup> quiet herts for to reioyce, w<sup>t</sup> the frute of o<sup>r</sup> payne  
yf that be trew who may him selfe so happy call [75]  
As I whose free and sumptius spence, dothe shyne beyonde them all  
sewerly it is a gift, and fauor of the lorde  
Liberally to spende o<sup>r</sup> goods, the ground of all discorde  
and wretched herts haue they, that let their tressurs mold  
And carrey the roodde that skorgeth them, that glorey in their gold [80]  
but I doo knowe by prooffe, whose ryches beres suche brute  
What stable welthe my stand in wast, or heping of suche frute  
finis

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51.59] *lo<sup>o</sup>^thed*: Correction by Hand B, then apparently scrubbed out / covered over.

51.60] *frutles*: Ink of the initial ‘f’ smudged at top; scribe (or later reviser) has attempted to scribble it out.

51.65] *seamd*: ‘d’ written over ‘e’.

51.77] *it*: Faint brown ink blot surrounds word.

[52]

## Capitulo. 3. Eccles.

boote

Like to the stereles, <sup>^</sup> that swerues w<sup>t</sup> euery wynde  
the slipper topp of worldely welthe, by crewell prof I finde  
Skace hathe the seade wherof, that nature foremethe man  
receuid lief when deathe him yeldes, to earth wher he began  
The grafted plants w<sup>t</sup> payn, wherof wee hoped frute [5]  
to roote them vpp w<sup>t</sup> blossomes sprede, then is o<sup>r</sup> cheif porsute  
That erst we rered vpp, we undermyne againe  
and shred the spraies whose grouthe, some tyme we laboured w<sup>t</sup> paine  
Eache frowarde thretning chere, of fortune maiks vs playne  
and euery plesant showe <sup>uiues</sup> re<ioyce> o<sup>r</sup> wofull herts againe [10]  
Auncient walles to race, is o<sup>r</sup> unstable guyse  
and of their wether beten stones, to buylde some new deuysse  
[Fol. 60v] New fanzes dayly spring, w<sup>ch</sup> vaade returning moo  
and now we practyse to optaine, that strayt we must forgoo  
Some tyme we seke to spare, that afterward we wast [15]  
and that we trauelid sore to knitt, for to un<c>lose as fast  
In sober sylence now o<sup>r</sup> quiet lipps we closse  
and with vnbyrdled touns, furth w<sup>t</sup> o<sup>r</sup> secret herts disclosse  
Suche as in folded armes, we did embrace, we haate  
whom strayte we reconsill againe, and banishe all debate [20]  
My sede w<sup>t</sup> labour sowne, suche frute produceth me  
to wast my lief in contraries, that neuer shall agre

[52]

[52] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled in faint ink, with lines approx. 6mm apart.

*Capitulo 3. Eccles.*: Heading by Hand B; ink fainter than main text.52.1] <sup>^</sup>boote<sup>^</sup>: Correction by Hand B; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.52.7] *undermyne*: Redundant dot above 'e'.52.8] *shred*: Redundant dot above 'e'.52.10] *re<sup>^</sup>uiues<sup>^</sup>*: Correction by Hand B; ink darker than main text, matching 'showe'. Both added later; reason for ellipsis between words unclear.52.13] *vaade*: Second 'a' written over 'd', with ascender scrubbed out / covered over.52.16] *un<c>lose*: Deletion of 'c' through vertical downstroke unclear.

From god these heuy cares, ar sent for o<sup>r</sup> vnrests  
 and w<sup>t</sup> suche burdens for o<sup>r</sup> welth, he frauteth full o<sup>r</sup> brests  
 All that the Lord hathe wrought, hath bewtey and good grace [25]  
 and to eache thing assined is, the proper tyme and place  
 And graunted eke to man, of all the worldes estate  
 and of eache thing wrought in the same, to argue and debate  
 w<sup>ch</sup> arte though it approche, the heuenly knowlege moste  
 r  
 to se<sup>^</sup>che the naturall grounde of things, yet all is labor loste [30]  
 But then the wandering eyes, that longe for suertey sought  
 founde that by paine no certayne welth might in this world be bought  
 Who liueth in delight, and seks no gredy thryfte  
 but frely spends his goods, may thinke it is a secret gifte  
 Fullfilled shall it be, what so the lord intende [35]  
 w<sup>ch</sup> no deuce of mans witt, may, aduance nor yet defende  
 Who made all thing of nought, that Adams chyldren might  
 lerne how to dread the Lord that wrought, suche wonders in their sight  
 The gresly wonders past, w<sup>ch</sup> tyme wearse owt of mynde  
 to be renewed in o<sup>r</sup> dayes the Lord hath so assynde [40]  
 Lo thuse his carfull skourge dothe stele on us vnware  
 w<sup>ch</sup> when the fleshe hath clene forgott, he dothe a gaine repaire  
 When I in this uaine serche, had wanderyd sore my witt  
 eke as  
 I saw a rioall throne <sup>^</sup> wher<as, that> <sup>^</sup> iustice should haue sitt  
 In stede of whom I saw, w<sup>t</sup> fyerce and crwell mode [45]  
 wher wrong was set that blody beast, that drunke the giltles blode  
 Then thought I thus one day, the lord shall sitt in dome  
 to vewe his flock and chose the pure, the spotted haue no rome  
 Yet be suche skourges sent, that eache agreuid mynde

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52.24] *welth*: Mark below 't'.

*frauteth...brests*: Ink darker than in rest line.

52.30] *se<sup>^</sup>r<sup>^</sup>che*: Correction by Hand B; ink similar to main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

*loste*: Faint brown ink blot to right of word.

52.43] *wanderyd*: 'y' written over 'e'.

*sore*: 's' written over 'H'; vertical lines indicate deletion of cross-bar from 'H'.

52.44] *^eke^; ^as^*: Difficult to establish whether corrections by Hand B or later hand; 'k' of 'eke' not typical of Hand B. Ink is darker than main text.

lyke the brute beasts that swell in rage, and fury by ther kynde [50]  
 His erreure may confesse, when he hath wreasteled longe  
 and then<sub>u</sub> with pacience may him arme, the sure defence of wronge  
 [Fol.] 61[r] For death that of the beaste, the carion doth deuoure  
 unto the noble kynde of man, presents the fatall hower  
 ether  
 The perfitt forme that god, hathe <ether> geuen to ^ man [55]  
 or other beast dissolue it shall, to earth wher it began  
 And who can tell yf that, the sowle of man ascende  
 or w<sup>t</sup> the body if it dye, and to the ground decende  
 Wherfore eache gredy hart, that riches seks to gayne  
 gather may he that sauery frutte, that springeth of his payne [60]  
 A meane conuenient welth, I meane to take in worth  
 and w<sup>th</sup> a hand of larges eke in measure poore it fourth  
 For treasure spent in lyef, the bodye dothe sustayne  
 the heire shall waste the whourded gold, a massed w<sup>t</sup> muche payne  
 Ne may foresight of man, suche order geue in lyef [65]  
 fore  
 for to ^ know, who shall reioyce, their gotton good w<sup>t</sup> stryef. ~

Finis //

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52.51] *wreasteled*: 'a' smudged, with small hook-like mark coming from bottom right.

52.52] *therwith*: 'r' scrubbed out / covered over, with tilde supplying 'n'.

52.55] ^*ether*^: Correction by Hand B; ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision.

52.66] ^*fore*^: Correction by Hand B; ink darker than main text, suggesting later revision.

*know*: Large, brown ink blot surrounds word; matches that next to 'loste' (52.30), created when leaves placed together.



Then gan I thus resolue, more pleasant is the lyef [25]  
 of faythefull frends that spends their goods in commone w<sup>t</sup> out stryef  
 For as the tender frend appeasith euery gryef  
 so yf he fall that lives a lone, who shalbe his relyef  
 The frendly feares ly warme, in armes embraced faste  
 who sleapes aloone at euery tourne dothe feale the winter blast [30]  
 What can he doo but yeld, that must resist aloone  
 yf ther be twaine one may defend the tother ouer throwne  
 The single twyned cordes, may no suche stresse indure  
 thre fould  
 as cables brayded <sup>^</sup> may, together wrethed swer  
 In better far estate stande children poore and wyse [35]  
 then aged kyngs wedded to will that worke w<sup>t</sup> out aduice  
 In prison haue I sene, or this a wofull wyght  
 that neuer knewe what fredom ment, nor tasted of delyght  
 W<sup>t</sup> suche unhoped happ in most dispaier hath mete  
 w<sup>t</sup> in the hands that erst ware giues to haue a sept<...>re sett [40]  
 And by coniures the seade of kyngs is thrust from staate  
 wheron agreuyd people worke, ofteymes their hidden haat  
 Other w<sup>t</sup>out respect, I saw a frend or foo  
 w<sup>t</sup> feat worne bare in tracing such, whearas the honours groo  
 deth  
 And at <change> of a prynce great rowtes reuiued strange [45]  
 w<sup>ch</sup> faine theare owlde yoke to discharg, reioyced in the change  
 But when I thought to theise, as heauy euen or more  
 shalbe the burden of his raigne, as his that went before  
 And that a trayne like great upon the deade depend  
 I gan conclude eache gredy gayne, hath his vncertayne end [50]  
 In humble spritte is sett, the temple of the Lorde  
 wher yf thow enter loke thy mouth, and consyence may accorde  
 Whose churtche is buylte of loue, and dect w<sup>t</sup> hoothe desyre  
 and simple fayth the yolden goost, his marcy doth requyre

53.34] <sup>^</sup>*thre fould*<sup>^</sup>: Correction by Hand B; ink fainter and patchier than main text, suggesting letter revision.

53.45] <sup>^</sup>*deth*<sup>^</sup>: Correction by Hand B; ink fainter and patchier than main text, suggesting later revision (matches 53.34).

53.54] *goost*: Initial 'g' written over 'h' in darker ink.

Wher perfectly for aye, he in his woord dothe rest [55]  
 w<sup>t</sup> gentill eare to heare thy sute, and graunt to thy request  
 [Fol.] 62[r] In boost of owtwarde works, he taketh no delight  
 nor wast of wourds suche sacryfice <sup>re</sup> unsaue<sup>^</sup>th in his sight

Finis

[54]

Capitulo 5. Eccles./

When that repentant teares, hathe clensyd clere from ill  
 the charged brest, and grace hathe wrought, therin amending will  
 W<sup>t</sup> bold demands then<sup>u</sup> may, his mercy well assaile  
 the speche man fayth, w<sup>t</sup> owt the w<sup>ch</sup>, request may no<sup>ne</sup><t> preuaile  
 More shall thy pennytent sighes, his endles mercy please [5]  
 then their Importune suits w<sup>ch</sup> dreame, that words gods wrath appease  
 For hart contrit of fault, is gladsome recompence  
 and prairer fruct of faythe wherby, god doth w<sup>t</sup> synne dispence  
 As ferfull broken slepes, spring from a restles hedde  
 by chattering of vnholly lippis, is frutles prayer bredde [10]  
 In wast of wynde I rede, vowe nought vnto the Lord  
 wherto thy hart, to bynd thy will, freely doth not accord  
 For humble uowes fullfilld, by grace right swetly smoks  
 but bold behests, broken by lusts, the wrath of god prouoks  
 Yet bett<sup>er</sup> w<sup>t</sup> humble hert, thy frayltye to confesse [15]  
 then to bost of suche perfitnes, whose works suche fraud expresse

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53.58] *unsaue<sup>^</sup>re<sup>^</sup>th*: Correction by Hand B; ink fainter and patchier than main text, suggesting later revision (matches 53.34 and 53.45).

[54]

[54] is copied by Hand B. The poem ruled in faint ink, with lines approx. 6mm apart.

*Capitulo 5. Eccles./*: Heading written by Hand B; ink matches main text. The '5 is' slightly smudged.

54.14] *broken*: Brown ink blot partially obscures 'r'; letter perhaps written over another letter, unidentifiable.

*of god*: Several marks surround words, the result of damage to leaf, and extend down to 'sight' in 54.20.

ks

W<sup>t</sup> fayned wor<sup><ds></sup> and othes, contract w<sup>t</sup> god no gyle  
 suche craft returns, to thy nown harme, and doth thy self defile  
 And thoughe the myst of sinne, perswad such error light  
 therby yet ar, thy owtward works, all dampned in his sight [20]  
 As sondry broken dreames, vs dyuerslye abuse  
 so ar his errors manifold, that many words dothe use  
 W<sup>t</sup> humble secret playnt fewe words of hotte effect  
 honor thy Lord, allowance vaine, of uoyd desart neglect  
 Thoughe wronge at tymes the right, and welthe eke nede oppresse [25]  
 thinke not the hand of Iustice slowe, to followe the redresse  
 en  
 For suche unrightius folke, as rule w<sup>t</sup> out<sup>^</sup> dred<sup><d></sup>  
 by some abuse o<sup>r</sup> secret lust, he suffereth to be led  
 to  
 The cheif blisse that in earth, <the><sup>^</sup> liuing man is lent  
 is moderat welth, to nourishe lief, yf he can be content [30]  
 He that hath but one felde and gredely sekethe nought  
 tillers <toiling>  
 to fence the <sup>^</sup> hand from nede, is king w<sup>t</sup> in his thought  
 [Fol. 62v] But suche as of ther golde, ther only Idoll make  
 noe treasure may the rauens of ther hungry hands asslake  
 For he that gapes for good, and hurdeth all his gayne [35]  
 e  
 trau<sup>^</sup>lls in uayne to hyde the sweet, that showld releue his payne  
 Wher is gret welth their showld, be many a nedy wight  
 to spend the same and that should be, the riche mans cheif delight  
 The sweet and quiet slepes that weryd limmes oppresse  
 n  
 begile the night in diet thyne, and feasts of great excesse [40]

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54.17] *wor<sup>^</sup>ks<sup>^</sup>*: Correction by Hand B; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

54.27] *w<sup>t</sup> out<sup>^</sup>en<sup>^</sup>*: Correction by Hand B; ink darker and patchier than main text, suggesting later revision.

*dred<d>*: Second 'd' scrubbed out / covered over.

*gloss*: 54.28] In right margin, Percy has added 'our' in pencil, with 'H' below and to right (signifies orthographic variant in *AH*).

54.29] *to<sup>^</sup>*: Correction by Hand B; ink patchier than main text, suggesting later revision.

54.32] *tillers <toiling><sup>^</sup>*: Correction by Hand B; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revisions.

54.34] *hungry*: 'y' written over 'e'.

*gloss*: 54.35] In right margin, Percy has added 'hordith' in pencil, with 'H' below and to right.

54.36] *trau<sup>^</sup>lls*: Difficult to establish whether correction made by Hand B or later hand.

54.40] *thyn<sup>^</sup>n<sup>^</sup>e*: Correction by Hand B; difficult to establish whether made at initial copying stage or later.





[55]

[Fol.] 63[r]

Wher recheles youthe in a vnquiet brest  
 set on by wrath revenge and crueltye  
 after long warr pacyens had opprest  
 and iustice wrought by pryncelye equitie  
 my deny then myne errour depe imprest  
 began to worke dispaire of libertye  
 had not David the perfyt warriour tought  
 that of my fault thus pardon shold be sought. ~

[5]

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*gloss:* Below [54], Park has added note in pencil: 'The above variations marked H, from Dr. Harrington's copy, were inserted by Mr. Percy.' This refers to *AH*.

[55]

[55] is copied by Hand C. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

[56]

[Fol.] 63[r]

Domine deus salutis. Psal÷ 98:

Oh lorde vppon whose will dependeth my welfare  
 to call vppon thy hollye name syns daye nor night I spare  
     graunt that the iust request of this repentaunt mynd  
 so perce thyne eares that in thy sight som fauour it may fynd  
     my sowle is fraughted full w<sup>t</sup> greif of follies past [5]  
 my restles bodye doth consume and death approacheth fast  
     lyke them whose fatall threde thy hand hath cut in twayne  
 Of whome ther is no further brewte which in their graues remayne  
     oh lorde thow hast cast me hedling to please my foe  
 into a pitt all botomeles whear as I playne my wooe [10]  
     the burden of thy wrath it doth me sore oppresse  
 and sundrye stormes thow hast me sent of terrour and distresse  
     the faithfull frends ar fled and bannysed from my sight  
 and such as I haue held full dere haue sett my frendshipp light  
     my duraunce doth perswade of freedom such dispaire [15]  
 that by the teares that bayne my brest myne eye sight doth appaire  
     yet did I neuer cease thyne ayde for to desyre  
 w<sup>t</sup> humble hart and stretched hands for to appease thy yre  
     wherfore dost thow forbear in the defence of thyne  
 to shewe such tokens of thy power in sight of Adams lyne [20]  
     wherby eche feble hart w<sup>t</sup> fayth might so be fedd  
 that in the mouthe of thy elect thy mercyes might be spredd  
     the fleshe that fedeth wormes can not thy loue declare  
 nor suche sett forth thy faith as dwell in the land of dispaire  
     in blind endured herts light of thy lively name [25]

[56]

[56] is copied by Hand C. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss:* In left margin, Park has added note in pencil: 'By the Earl of Surrey'.

*gloss:* A later hand has written asterisk above '98' in Latin heading; in right margin is an asterisk and the correction '88'.

*Domine deus salutis. Psal÷ 98:* Latin heading by Hand C, in slightly engrossed script; ink matches main text.

can not appeare as can not iudge the brightnes of the same  
 nor blasted may thy name be by the mouth of those  
 whome death hath shitt in sylence so as they may not disclose  
 the liuelye uoyce of them that in thy word delight  
 must be the trumpe that must resound the glorye of thy myght [30]

[Fol. 63v]      wherfore I shall not cease in chief of my distresse  
 to call on the till that the sleape my weryd lymes oppresse  
 and in the morning eke when that the slepe is fledd  
 w<sup>t</sup> floods of salt repentaunt teres to washe my restles bedd  
 w<sup>t</sup>in this carefull mynd bourdnyd with care and greif [35]  
 why dost thou not appere oh lord that sholdest be his relief  
 my wretched state beholde whome death shall strait assaile  
 of one from youth afflicted still that never did but waile  
 the dread loo of thyne yre hath trod me vnder feet  
 the scourgis of thyne angrye hand hath made deth seme full sweet [40]  
 like to the roring waues the sunken shipp surrounde  
 great heaps of care did swallow me and I no succour found  
 for they whome no myschaunce could from my loue devyde  
 ar forced for my great<sup>f</sup> greif from me their face to hyde.

Finis

[57]

[Fol. 63v]

The sondden stormes that heaue me to and froo  
 had welneare perced faith my guyding saile  
 for I that on the noble voyage goo  
 to succhor treuthe and falshed to assaile  
 constrayned am to beare my sayles ful loo  
 and neuer could attayne some pleasaunt gaile  
 for vnto such the prosperous winds doo bloo  
 as ronne from porte to porte to seke availe  
 this bred dispayre whereof such doubts did groo  
 for vnto such the prosperous winds doo bloo  
 that I gan faint and all my courage faile  
 but now my blage myne erro<sup>r</sup> well I see  
 such goodlye light King David giueth me. /

[5]

[10]

[57]

[57] is copied by Hand C. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.  
*gloss*: Centred above [57].1, Park has added note in pencil: 'By Ld Surrey'.



Foled be he w<sup>t</sup> fables vayne that so abused is  
 in terro<sup>r</sup> of the iust thus raignes iniquitye  
 armed w<sup>t</sup> power laden w<sup>t</sup> gold and dred for crueltye  
 then vayne the warr might seme that I by faythe mayntayne  
 against the fleshe whose false affects my pure hert wold distayne [30]  
 for I am scourged still that no offence have doon  
 by wrathes children and from my byrth my chastesing begoon  
 when I beheld their pryde and the slacknes of thy hand  
 I gan bewaile the wofull state wherin thy chosen stand  
 and as I sought wherof thy sufferance lord shold groo [35]  
 I found no witt could perce so farr thy hollye domes to knoo  
 and that no mysteryes nor dought could be distrust  
 till I com to the holly place the mansion of the iust  
 where I shall se what end thy iustice shall prepare  
 for such as buyld on worldly welth and dye ther colours faire [40]  
 [Fol. 64v] Oh how their ground is false and all their buylding vayne  
 and they shall fall their power shall faile that did their pryde mayntayne  
 as charged harts w<sup>t</sup> care that dreme some pleasaunt tourne  
 after their sleape fynd their abuse and to their plaint retourne  
 so shall their glorye faade thy sword of vengeaunce shall [45]  
 vnto their dronken eyes in blood disclose their errorrs all  
 fleace  
 and when their golden <fleshe> is from their backe yshorne  
 the spotts that vnder neth wer hidd thy chosen shepe shall skorne  
 care  
 and till that happye daye my hert shall swell in <rare>  
 my eyes yeld teares my yeres consume bitwne hope and dispayre [50]  
 loo how my sprits ar dull and all thy iudgments darke  
 no mortall hedd may skale so highe but wunder at thy warke.

58.25] <sup>^doth^</sup>: Correction by Hand C; initial 'd' in particular patchier than main text, suggesting later revision.

58.31] *am*: Large brown stain partially obscures word; it affects 58.29-58.33.

*doon*: First 'o' thickly formed and in darker ink than the rest of the letters.

58.41] *all*: Second 'l' slightly blotted; brown stain surrounds word, though not result of smudging.

58.47] *fleace*: Correction not by Hand B; later revision by different hand in fainter, patchier ink.

58.49] *care*: Correction not by Hand B; same hand as 58.47.

alas how oft my foes haue framed my decaye  
 but when I stode in drede to drenche thy hands still did me stay  
 and in eache voyage that I toke to conquer synne [55]  
 thow wert my guyd and gaue me grace to comfort me therin  
 and when my withered skyn vnto my bones did cleue  
 and fleshe did wast thy grace did then my simple sprits releue  
 in other succo<sup>r</sup> then oh lord why should I trust  
 but onely thyn whom I haue found in thy behight so iust [60]  
 and suche for drede or gayne as shall thy name refuse  
 shall perishe with their golden godds that did their harts seduce  
 where I that in thy worde haue set my trust and ioye  
 the highe reward that longs therto shall quietly enioye  
 and my vnworthy lypps inspired w<sup>t</sup> thy grace [65]  
 shall thus forespeke thy secret works in sight of Adams race. /

Finis

---

58.52] *warke*: Character like superlinear ‘r’ above terminal ‘e’; written then scrubbed out / covered over. This period is perhaps an accidental mark or dot marking guide for line spacing.  
 58.62] *golden*: ‘e’ written over ‘o’.





It was a frendly foo by shadow of good will  
 myne old fere and dere frende my guyde that trapped me  
 where I was wont to fetche the cure of all my care  
 and in his bosome hyde my secreat zeale to god [25]  
 such soden surprys quicke may them hell deuoure  
 whilst I inuoke the lord whose power shall me defend  
 my prayer shall not cease from that the sonne disscends  
 till he his <h>aulture wynn and hyde them in the see  
 w<sup>t</sup> words of hott effect that moueth from hert contryte [30]  
 such humble sute o lord doth perce thy pacyent eare  
 It was the lord that brake the bloody compactts of those  
 that preloked on w<sup>t</sup> yre to slaughter me and myne  
 the euerlasting god whose kingdom hath no end  
 whome by no tale to dred he cold divert from synne [35]  
 the conscyence vnquyet he stryks w<sup>t</sup> heuy hand  
 and proues their force in fayth whome he sware to defend  
 butter fales not so soft as doth hys pacyence longe  
 [Fol. 65v] and ouer passeth, fine oyle running not halfe so smothe  
 but when his suffraunce fynds that brydled wrath prouoks [40]  
 he thretneth wrath he whets more sharppe then any toole can fyle  
 friowr whose harme and tounge presents the wicked sort  
 of those false wolves w<sup>t</sup> cootes which doo their ravin hyde  
 that sweare to me by heauen the fotestole of the lord  
 who though force had hurt my fame they did not touch my lyfe [45]  
 such patching care I lothe as feeds the welth w<sup>t</sup> lyes  
 but in the thother phalme of David fynd I ease  
 Iacta curam tuam super dominum et ipse te'enuet.

Finis

---

59.26] *them*: 't' in dark ink, suggesting later addition. Letter has been struck through unclearly with diagonal stroke. Possible attempt at deletion, though 't' retained in transcription. Also, 'e' written over 'y'. Original word appears to have been 'hym'.

*hell*: 'e' in dark ink and appears to have been written over another letter, probably 'o'. Terminal 'l' appears to be written over 'e', though 'e' in darker ink.

59.37] *proues*: Different abbreviation than 'perce' in 59.31.

59.43] *cootes*: 't' obscured entirely by loop of 'g' from 'tounge'; it could be an 'l', which would give 'cooles'.

59.44] *fotestole*: 'fote' appears to have been struck through, though horizontal line could be a result of Hand C failing to lift pen when forming cross-bars for 'f' and 't'. Four letters 'fote' retained in transcription.



[61]

[Fol. 66v]

How soeuer the world shall wind  
such as I seame such shall you find. ~

[Fol.] 67[r]

[BLANK PAGE]

[62]

[Fol. 67v]

At lest w<sup>t</sup> draw yo<sup>r</sup> creweltie  
or force the tyme, to work yo<sup>r</sup> will  
it is to mucche extremytie  
to kepe me pent, in prison still  
fre from all fault, voyd of all cawse, [5]  
w<sup>t</sup> owt all right, against all lawse,  
how can you vse, more crewell spight  
then offer wrong, and promes right:  
yet cannot acuse, nor will aquit.

A leuin mon<sup>n</sup>thes full, and longer space [10]  
I haue indur'd, yo<sup>r</sup> deuilishe driftes  
whil'st you haue sought, bothe man and place  
and set yo<sup>r</sup> snares, w<sup>t</sup> all yo<sup>r</sup> shiftes  
the faultles foote, to wrape w<sup>t</sup> wile

[61]

[61] is copied by Hand B.

[62]

[62] is copied by Hand B. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 6mm apart scored into the paper.

*gloss*: In left margin above 62.1, a later hand has written 'e' in pencil.

62.5] Medial comma may be inadvertent mark or ink blot.

62.10] *mon<sup>n</sup>thes*: Second 'n' thickly formed and written over another letter, possibly 'o'.62.11] *indur'd*: Terminal 'd' thickly formed; to immediate right, another 'd' has been scrubbed out / covered over.



of right and iustice looke to haue  
 yf good or euill, life short or long  
 if false or trew, yf right or wrong  
 and thus till then, I end my song. ~ [45]

[Fol. 68v]

[BLANK PAGE]

[63]

[Fol.] 69[r] If dutie wyf leade the to deeme  
 that trade moost fytt I hold moost deere  
 furst god regarde next me esteme  
 thy chirdrene then respect thow neere  
 o<sup>r</sup> howse both Sweete and clenlye see [5]  
 ordre o<sup>r</sup> fare thy maides kepe short  
 thye mirth with meane well myxed be  
 thy curtese partes in chaste wyse sort  
 in sober weede the clenly dresse  
 when ioyes me rayse thy cares downe cast [10]  
 when gryeffes me grype thy solace sease  
 who so me frendes frend them as fast  
 in preasse gyve place what so I say

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62.43] *life*: Initial 'l' faint; possible attempt at deletion, though unclear. Would give 'ife'.

[63]

[63] is copied by Hand G. The poem is not ruled.

*gloss*: Centred above 63.1, a later hand has added the title 'Advice to his Wife'.

*gloss*: In left margin of 63.1 a later hand has written an asterisk-like sign.

*gloss*: 63.1] Above 'wf', Nott has written 'x' in black ink. In right margin, he has added 'x wyfe' in black ink.

*gloss*: 63.4] Above 'chirdren', Nott has written 'x' in black ink. In right margin, he has added 'chirdrene' in black ink. Below are the initials 'Gn'.

63.11] *grype*: 'y' thickly formed; not clearly written over another letter.

*gloss*: 63.11] Above 'sease', Nott has written 'x' in black ink. In right margin, he has added 'sease, i.e. seize' in black ink.

*gloss*: 63.13] Above 'preasse', Nott has written 'x' in black ink. In right margin, he has added 'preaβe' (β = 'ss') in black ink.

63.13] *preasse*: 'easse' thickly formed and possibly retraced.

apart complayne yf cause thow fynde  
 let liberall Lypps no trust bewray [15]  
 nor ielous humor payne thy mynd  
 yf I the wronge thy gryef vnfold  
 yf thow me vex thyne error graunt  
 to seke straunge soyles be not to bold  
 the stryfls bedd no iarrs may haunt [20]  
 smale sleap and tymely prayer intende  
 the Idle lyff as poyson hate  
 no credytt light nor much spech spende  
 in open place <no> cause <sup>no</sup> ^ debate  
 no thwartes, no frowns, no grudge nor stryf [25]  
 eschew the badd embrace the best  
 to troth of worde ioyne honest lyff  
 and in my bosom buyld thy nest

---

63.17] *gryef*: 'y' possibly written over another letter, unidentifiable.

62.24] <sup>no</sup>: Correction by Hand G; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

[64]

Nacentis Ecclesiæ generatio prima: [Fol. 69v]

Hoc est.

Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum Cæsarum patrum et  
rerum aliquot insignium post Chrsit servatoris  
Ascensionem ad annum Domini setpuagesimum

Authores præcipui quorum frequentius  
opera vsi sumus.

Iosephus	Augustinus	Suetonius tranquillias
Philo	Theodoretus	Cornelius tacitus
Euseb. Cæs.	Egesippus	Entropius &./
Hieron.	Nicephorus &.	

O

HER^ICIS virtutibus ornatissimo viro D. Anthonio [Fol.]70[r]  
Browneo Vicecomiti montis acuti Edmundus Campianus  
Oxoniensis aeternam et veram fælicitatem præcatur.

Si quicquam de tuo in bonas litteras, totamque adeo Rempub christianam  
ardore et studio dubitarem (Illustrissime domine) per quam mihi necessarium fore  
crederem, uti ne prius tuo nomine hosce labores meas infimæ sortis ~  
homuncio consecrarem, quam audiacæ meæ Culpam vel potius impudentiæ  
deprecatus essem. Nunc vero cum ad Ceteras vel naturæ vel ingenij [5]  
tui Clarissimas et amplissimas virtutes, insignis quædam atque incredibilis  
morum facilitas accesserit vt plane nihil sit quod cuiusquam in hac  
causa animum perterre faciat Non sum veritus ne parum verecunde  
hoc institutum viderer suscepisse qui te tantum virum tantillus adolescens  
in istius opusculi patrociniu tam Confidenter advocarem Nam cum summa [10]  
semper admiratione et gloria apud homines nostros fuerunt excellens



dignitas, singularis eruditio spectata pietas et mansuetudo tua, tum mihi  
 præter cæteros alliquot ab hinc mensibus istius in te splendoris et gloriæ  
 quasi signum alliquod tam pulchre sustulisti postquam litterulas meas et  
 rudes et loquaces tam Comiter, tam honorifice excepisses, vt conscientia [15]  
 quadam obstrictus liberalitatis et Clementiæ tuæ acquiescere nequaquam  
 potuerim Donec elucubrato saltem munusculo litterario hoc quicquid est officii et  
 ardoris erga te mei depromarem. Quare vt subrusticum et invtilem pudorem  
 in Causa tam honesta, ac Iudice tam benigno proiciam, quibusque cætori præsiidiis  
 instructi paulatim, ac pedetentim lectores allicere, et favorem vel emereri [20]  
 vel ambire solent, ea ego tamquam superflua prætermittam En tibi (vir  
 vt ita loquar) ecclesiæ Compendio expeditam historiam ad id vsque temporis *κατλο //*  
*γαδιν*: potius quam *παραφραστικης* heroicis versibus Comprehensam quo  
 Petrum & Paulum totius ecclesiæ lumina nequissimus Imperator ad inter //  
 necionem dedit. Cuius intervallum temporis hoc potissimum Consilio primam [25]  
 Christiana fidei generacionem libuit appellare quod Petro iam Rom  
 Pontif totius ecclesiæ figuram gerente Paulo gentium Doctore trucidatis  
 aptum mihi interstitium historiæ subsequenti ordiendæ videbatur præsertim  
 cum et hæc prima, e decem notissimis persecutionibus numeretur, qua cum  
 Nerone finem sortita est. Et nunc primum deus optimus maximus pace [30]  
 Christianis elargita Vespasianum Imperatorem ac Titum filium ad  
 Iudaicam perfidiam et obstinatiam frangendam atque vlciscendam amaret  
 Ad cuius ego gentis subversionem accuratius et Copiosius contexandum  
 accinctus volui interea temporis quasi præludiis quibusdam agera, et  
 brevissimo Compendio seciem rerum præcedentium multis et magnis nego // [35]  
 tiorum fluctibus refertissimam comprehendere Quod quidem universum ex pro //  
 batissimis Authoribus Conflatum bonis exemplis et hominibus longe ditissimum  
 varietate ipsa (nisi mi animus fallit) minime iniucundam tuæ Committo man //  
 doque fidei Si probas vehementer gaudeo, sin minus tamen id gaudeo aliquam  
 me saltem industriæ et observantiæ significationem apud animum tuum [40]  
 testatam reliquisse. Id vnum si assequutus fuero, quod humanitatis  
 et amplitudo mihi tua pollicetur vberrimum laboris mei fructum, et  
 quasi talionem Consequutus fuero. Tuam interea dignitatem (qua nihil  
 habet hæc ætas vel sanctius vel celebrius, Clementissimus deus  
 incollumem ac illæsam duitissime teneri velit. vale // [45]

*Psalm: 18:*

Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi [Fol. 70v]  
 et quacumque patent spatiosæ viscera terræ  
 fortiter emissas cælesti numine voces  
 et tragicos fluctus, et plus quam ferrea mundi  
 sæcula, promissæ calcantia dona salutis [5]  
 Christicolæque gregis primordia lumina dicam  
 Annue Conanti per laudes ire tuorum  
 Christe graves hominum semper miserate labores  
 spes, via, vita, salus mundi melioris origo  
 Nate Dei patris verum de numine numen [10]  
 te duce Carpo viam cuius vestigia pressa  
 nulla patent sine te, nec tam iuvenilibus annis  
 tristis inaccessum reserabit semina passum  
 vos quoque se precibus fas est sperare patronos  
 fælices animæ, tot tanta pericula passa [15]  
 per mare per terra, per læsi principis iram  
 (prælia vestra cano) tenui succurrite vati  
 Huc agitate viri fortes et macula virtus  
 Arma virosque Cano Christumue latrantia contra  
 bella, per impuros ter terque ferocia Campos [20]  
 et tamen invitis et pulsus luce tenæbris  
 victrices animas totoque nitentia Cælo  
 Casta trophæa ducum temeri suffulchra popelli  
 arma virosque cano: Non quæ mavortius heros  
 fullminibusque potens magni furor altitonantis [25]  
 temperat aut fictæ pugnancia signa Minervæ  
 Iupiter interijt, perijt Tritonia Pallas  
 et qui Phæbus equos (vulcania dona) Coercet  
 Saturnique Nepos, Iove natus matre Iovisque  
 et soror et Coniunx incedens regia Iuno [30]  
 et Mars, et Triviæ mendacia sceptra Dianæ  
 et finxit quæcumque superstitiosa vetustas  
 numina, solus enim terram, mare sydera Cælum

	ivum	
	solus et vnus habet, d<...> pater atque hominum rex	
	Ille Colit terras illi mortalia Curæ	[35]
	adsit, et ille mihi dederitque in carmina vires	
<i>Act: 1º.</i>	Iam lux illa aderat niveo signando lapillo	
	cum Deus humana lustrans sub imagine terras	
<i>Io. 20 &amp; 21</i>	Discipulis doctis et rebus rite peractis	
	et quæcumque chari mandata parentis	[40]
<i>per dies quadraginta conspicit'</i>	luce quaterdena (devicta morte) triumphos	
<i>ab illis &amp; loquitur eis de</i>	agit, et inflatum divini numinis haustum	
<i>Regno Dei. Act. 1.</i>	numine præsentis Cupidis infundit amicis	
<i>fluit in eos &amp; dicit eis</i>	Quin et perfidiæ ne quæ scintilla supersit	
<i>accipite spiritum sanctum</i>	omnibus intuitu gaudentibus assidet	[45]
<i>Jo. 20</i>	vestitur et celebri penetrat sermone medullas	
<i>præcepit eis ne discederent</i>	Mox vti ne solimis discedant neve verentes	
<i>Hierosolimis sed expectarent</i>	spe frustrare velint animas infixaque certis	
<i>promissum patris de quo in//</i>	pectora promissis teneant, et condita servant	
<i>quit) auditis ex me. Act. 1.</i>	præcepitque novo fundari lumine terras	[50]
<i>Luc. 24</i>	frausque dolusque aberint me me qui spondeo (dixit)	
	Cernite veracem invidia testante Magistram	
	Cælitus instincti (non vos mortalibus ausis	
	destino præcones) docili cælestia mente	[Fol.] 71[r]
<i>Quoniam Ioannis baptizavit vos</i>	volvite et erectos ad sydera tollite vultus	[55]
<i>aqua vos autem baptizabimini</i>	Hactenus emensum satagit baptismum Iohannis	
<i>Spiritu Sancto &amp; igne post dies</i>	exiguoque sacro contentos simplicis vndæ	
<i>hosce non multos. Act. 1.</i>	nil nisi transactæ faciendæ piæ Culpæ	
	sat fuit exhaustos irroravisse liquores	
	nunc opus est alijs et ad hæc obeunda peraltis	[60]
	viribus, et strenuo quia sunt immensa vigore	
	otius ergo dehinc vbi decurrentia paucis	
	tempora transcatis fuerint elapsa diebus	
	Candida spiritui reserantes pectera Sancto	
	vberiora novi capietis dona Lavachri	[65]

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[Fol. 70v] *Catchword*: 'destino'.

<i>Mar: 16</i>	dixit et eliso cælestibus aere pennis	
<i>Luc: 14</i>	Angel<l>ico resonante chore plaudentibus astris	
<i>Jo: 20</i>	quem genus ob nostrum muliebri tegmine lætus	
<i>Act: 2</i>	deseruit celsum repetit rediviuus olimpiam –	
<i>atque hæc loquutus viden//</i>	Cesserat ille quidem sed non cessare ministri	[70]
<i>tibus ipsis in altum sub//</i>	Simon donatus celebri Cognomine <i>Petrus</i>	
<i>latus est et nubes sub//</i>	germani duo <i>Iacobus Charusque Iohannes</i>	
<i>duxit illum ex oculis</i>	Andreas, Thomas Mathæus Bartholomæus	
<i>eorum</i>	<i>Simon Zelotes Alphæus &amp; alter Iudas</i>	
<i>Mat: 16</i>	quique secutus erat dominum post prima <i>Phillipus</i>	[75]
<i>et cecidit sors super</i>	annumeretur et his <i>Mathias</i> sorte credatus	
<i>Mathiam et coaptatus</i>	hi numero bis sex domini mandata capessunt	
<i>ad numerum undecim</i>	multaque per proceres perturbam plurima passi	
<i>Apostolorum. Act. 1</i>	Certa tamen verbis figentes corda supremis	
<i>Visæ sunt illis dissectæ</i>	ignibus accensi sacris et numine fortes	[80]
<i>linguæ velut igneæ ac</i>	veridico fideique amarti viribus altis	
<i>repleti sunt omnes spiritu</i>	incaluere sono totusque perhorruit orbis	
<i>sancto Act. 2</i>	Sunt quoque tantillæ retrahunt qui nomina chartæ	
<i>Præter duodecim Aposto//</i>	præcones alij quorum celeberrima facta	
<i>los Christi in terris</i>	nulla dies potetit nec edax abolere vetustas	[85]
<i>plus quam septuaginta</i>	<i>Stephane</i> primus eras <i>Stephano</i> qui digna tulisti	
<i>discipulos concertatus</i>	demone qui victo qui pulsus luce tenebris	
<i>fuisse Autor est Euseb</i>	hostibus in medijs cælesti luce Coruscans	
<i>lib. 1 cap. 14</i>	Te lapides sevæque manus et vullnera torquent	[90]
<i>Στεφανος corona</i>	victus es et tenues excessit vita per auras	
<i>Act. 7.</i>	Dixisti moriens hoc hoc pater elue Crimen	
	da meliora sciant	
	At pater omnipotens in te sua dona Coronans	
	annuerat precibus Saulique minantia tela	[95]
<i>Act. 13.</i>	Condidit et sanctas inspirat numine flammæ	
<i>Act. 8. Saulus consen</i>	<i>Paulus</i> ab insigni tractum pro Consule nomen	
<i>erat in necem eius</i>	<i>Saulus</i> erat dum mente ferox et sanguine foedus	
<i>act. 22. Galat. cap. 1</i>	Terror erat sanctis, ferrumque minatus et ignes	
<i>supra modum persequabatur</i>	omnia turbaret Nunc nunc mitissima Colla	[100]

	it	
<i>ecclesiam dei &amp; depopula// batur illam &amp;c act. 9 a cap. 9. Act apostolicorum et deinceps ad finem refertissima est historia rebus gestis Diui Pauli Apostoli</i>	subdidit electus (Christo vor <sup>^</sup> ante) magister doctor et interpres cæpti fiducia verbi Moxque per immensos terræ pelagique meatus arma inter media et rabiosam demonis iram sydera voce potens Christum pius intonat ore hei mihi quanta tulit sacra versatus in vrbe sacrilegos inter proceres dum scismatis Author et novitatis amans et non bene sanus habetur	[105]
<i>suorum laborum quos ob evangelium sustinuit ipse Diuis Paulus locuple- tissimus testis est ad Cor. 2. cap. 11°.</i>	Quanta tulit vivens dum vinctus cæsus abactus versus et inversus ventis agitatus et vndis prædicat extremis ignoti partibus orbis Denique fælici facto trans secula cursu Miles inexhaustus charo Comitante sodali Quanta tulit moriens sævo grassante tiranno? Cætera quid referam quorum numerosa Caterva	[110]
<i>Lucas evangelista prosequitur actus Apostolorum &amp; præcipue Pauli (cui comes indiuiduus fuerat vt ait Hieron) vsque ad annum Neron 3 vs. anno Domini 60</i>	proditur in sacris libris dictante fideli Luca discipulo certoque per omnia teste Non mea fert ætas ab origine cuncta referre non animus: sed summa loquar fastigia rerum In paucos igitur stringentem plurima versus quæ suppleant alij quæ nos Collegimus <...> ipsi Si quid habent certi veterum monumenta parentum ordinis et rerum seriem tenuisse iuvabit	[Fol. 71v] [120]
<i>Ann° Cæsar. 19. Ann° a christi nativitate. 34 Ab ascensione. 2°.</i>	Iam prope Tiberius bis denos imperat annos iamque novos fructus effuderat altera messis post dominum passum duri cum pectora ferri molliri cæpere mora, Collisque superbis imposuere ingum sed non immite futurum vndique sancta salus mentes linguasque fideles occupat et steriles cultura perpolit artus	[125] [130]

64.101] vor<sup>^</sup>it<sup>^</sup>ante: Correction by Hand H; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.  
[Fol.] 70[r] Catchword: 'Cætera'.

	Nec Iudea suis Conclusit finibus vltro procipit in gentes sternitque ferocia Corda Iam videas resonare domos iam tecta penates Iam videas Christum nudas resonare plateas	
<i>vt apparet Act Cap. 9.10.11 &amp; alibi.</i>	hac ibat Petrus illicpia dogmata Paulus	[135]
<i>Egesippus lib. 2 de excidio urbis Hierosolimi cap. 12 Eusebius Cæsariensis Ecclesiastica historia lib.2°. Cap. 3.</i>	intonat atque alibi reliquorum turba ministrum nam simul in Stephanum sceleratos impia turba iactasset lapidos et inevitabile pondus dispersi fratres hominesque locumque perosi invia lustrantes et quo tulit impetus illos	[140]
<i>Cognominati sunt primum Antiochæ Christianæ Act. 11°.</i>	<i>Antiochos</i> adeunt profugi sedemque locarunt tum primum Celebris referentes nomine Christum <i>Pontius</i> interea <i>Pilatus</i> Christomast<r>ix sensit vt in tantam reprobatum accrescere sectam et circumferri recto præconia visu.	[145]
<i>Tartullianus in Apolog pro Christianis cap. 5 Eusebius lib. 2. cap. 2.</i>	surgentis domini demum et super æthera vecti arripit (vt mos est) calamum dignamque relatu orditur seriem <i>Christi</i> <q> <i>nati</i> que <i>dei</i> que <i>Artificis miri crucifixi denuo viui</i> <i>Elati</i> que <i>super summa vertigine cæli</i>	[150]
	Retulit hæc domino Romanis imperitanti et <i>Cæsar</i> patribus (quorum sine numine non est alios designare deos ^ vellentne iuberent <i>Esse Deum Christum.</i> vah stulta insania surgit sed male Consultus quisquis fuit ille senator	[155]
	præsentisque animos sic in sua vota reflectit Ergone Diis superis novus hic asciscitur hospes? quem quicumque Colit reliquos abdicere divos et patrios ritus et tot solemnia sacra atque eadem nobis inimica vocare necesse est non fero non patior non stat sententia (patres	[160]

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64.153] ^alios^: Correction by Hand H; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

	quin potius veterum pia tot monumenta deorum sedulo firmemus meritoque sequamur honore dicta viri pars voce probant stimulosque frumenti adijciunt alij partes assensibus implent	[165]
<i>Paulus Osorius lib. 7. contra Paganos cap. 4.</i>	At <i>Cæsar</i> (quid enim faceret luctante senatu) impia Regali condemnanus murmura voce anxius accepit patiturque doletque repalsum et licet adverso contendunt omnia vultu sanciri vetent quod nec suffragia curat nec tulit impuria decreta nefanda senatus hoc tamen ipse sibi tenet alta mente repostum Cælicolas inter venerandum numen Jesu esse reponendum. sed et his minitatur acerbe hoc qui Iudicibus deferrent nomine quenquam	[Fol.] 72[r] [170]
<i>Adhuc nemo Cæsarum Regum persecutus fuerat Ecclæsiam</i>	Nondum Scilla vorax non irriquieta Charibdis vrget et insontes nondum mala vexat errinus pax vptata fuit nullo prohibente volentes discipuli Coeunt precibus noctesque diesque invigilant læti celebrantque salubria sacra	[175] [180]
<i>Eusebius lib. 2 . cap. 1</i>	hæc quoque prima sacræ dederant insignia vitæ alter in alterius reiecti nomen honores non mundi tenebris non ambitione sepulti sponte sua insigni Solimorum dede vocantes	
<i>Iacobus frater Domini vel ex filiis Joseph ex alia vxore uel ex cognatione Marie matris domini debet intelligi August in exposit ep. ad. Galat Cap. 1. 2. Hæc omnia gesta sunt vno et eodem anno. Dni. 34. anno Dni. 38</i>	<i>Jacobum Domini fratrem Cognomine Iustum</i> non illo melior quisquam ned amontior æqui vir fuit huic sedi curarunt præficiendum Annus erat quintus domini scandentis olimpum <i>Tiberius</i> moritur <i>Caiusque</i> secundus ab illo præfuit Imperio Caligæcui castra dedere nomen et invertit sacrati numina sceptri perfidus elatas Regni dum sentit habenas et cæcam ridere deam quæ vindice nullo	[185] [190]

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[Fol. 71v] *Catchword*: 'Et licet'.

	sepe fovet miseros et spæ producit inani ardua celsa petens et summa Cacumina spirans	[195]
<i>Sueton in Calig cap. 22. &amp; Paulus Osorius lib. 7<sup>o</sup> cap. 5</i>	se imbet esse deum legumque in fronte notari imperat hoc fieri <i>Caius Dominusque Deusque</i> <i>Quo ruis ben Cæsar quo te ferus incitat error</i>	
<i>Ioseph antiquit. lib. 19 1. Apostroph ad Cæsarem</i>	sis deus ergo vides quæ te mala fata sequuntur ergo caves, ergo plusquam trieteridæ regnas sed neque vidisti quia tu libi Credo caveres sed neque Cavisti nec plus trieteride regnas Aspice transacti Clarissima nomina sæcti et quærunque tenent dives circumspice tellus si nihil est solidum nihil omni ex parte beatum plurima si fatum rapiat si plurima casus omnia tempus edax rebusque inimica vetustas tu tibi Concedis vitam sperare perennem Aut si non speras quæ to dementia coepit vt tibi divinos tribuas mortalis honores	[200]
<i>Euseb lib. 2<sup>o</sup> Cap. 9.</i>	Quid quod <i>Hierosolimæ</i> foede lacerav <sup>r</sup> it vrbem sacratasque deo sedes altaria phana turpiter abcipiens sibi consecraverit ipsi nec contentus eo quamvis atrocius istis	[205]
<i>Euseb lib. 2. cap. 5. &amp; 7. Philo Judeus in legatione ad Caium qui etiam de Iudeorum Calamitatibus sub hoc Imperatore quinque libros edidit.</i>	nil patrare potest incendia furta rapinos terribiles pugnas cædes homicidia spirat totaque luxuriat Iudæo terra Cruore flumina mellis erant et flumina lactis habebant Antiqui patres iam flumina sanguinis ibant quin mihi dent operam pulso Iudæus <i>Jesu</i> Cæsar in leges sancte iuravimus (inquit hunc solum colimus: nihil in nos iris habebit qui modo se nobis Regem mentitur <i>Jesus</i> Et nunc Cæsar habet volat vndique sæva potestas Ille iubet fieri sed quo sociante ministro?	[210] [215] [220]
<i>Non habemus Regem. nisi Cæsarem. Jo. 19. sub eodem Pilato quem ad</i>		[Fol. 72v] [225]

64.220] *rapinos*: Kilroy (2005) emends to 'rapinas'.  
[Fol.] 71[r] *Catchword*: 'hunc'.



<i>ferendam in Christum sen// tentiam impulerunt nunc ijdem ipsi Iudæi poenas luunt Euseb.</i>	Principis Imperium quondam excercente <i>Pilato</i> hic erat in Christum Capitali servidus ore gens tamen extorsit gen importuna coegit nunc manus hæc eadem gentem convellit eadem <i>Cæsari</i> ad nutum quem sic <i>Iudæa</i> colebas [230]
<i>Pilatus moritur Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 7.</i>	hic quoque ne moriens tantum non impius esset Cætera cuncta ferox vbi sanguine contaminasset atque cruentatam foedasset sordibus vrbem in sua victricem Convertit viscera dextrum Temporis huius erat Iunior (sic namque vocabant) [235]
<i>Herodes iunior tetrarcha.</i>	<i>Herodes</i> regni cui portio quarta cadebat huic <i>Tetrarchiæ</i> nomen sed <i>Cæsaris</i> iram vltricesque manus meritusque piacula Culpis Cædis in Authorem tantum scelerisque magistrum Dicere fert animus; bello confertus et armis [240]
<i>Niceph lib. 1. cap. 20.. Joseph antiquit lib. 18. cap. 4. Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 4.</i>	Impius <i>Herodes Caio</i> male fidus haberi cæpit et exilio mulctatus regia scepra invitus posuit videt hæc et adultera Coniunx et dolet et sequitur moritura fit exulis uxor antea prodiderat lascivam perfida natam [245]
<i>Matt. 14.</i>	quæ nodo sanguineam ducebat læta Choræam <i>Bapistæque</i> caput <i>Prodromi</i> magnique prophætæ inter fæmineas quo non fuit altera proles sanctior aut maior læthali Condidit ense Traditur <i>Agrippæ</i> regnum qui nomine primo [250]
<i>Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 11<sup>o</sup>. vt sit consonantia inter Lucam referentem de morte Herodis Act. 12. et Josephum qui hoc idem evenisse scribit Agrippæ</i>	Dictur <i>Hrodes</i> Contedit <i>Cæsariensi</i> <i>Præsul</i> et historicus sic res non para movebat Interea vigiles celesti voce ministri quo pede cæperunt longe lateque salutem gentibus inculcant et qui secumque locassent [255] perlustrant sedulo <fulgent> ^ peregrinas lumine terras

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*Margin] impulerunt:* Kilroy emends to 'impulerant'.  
 64.229] *eadem:* stroke through 'd'; probably accidental.  
 4.255] *secumque:* Kilroy emends to 'se cumque'.

<i>lib. 29. antiquit. cap. 8.</i>	fundarunt magno repetentes fænore lucrum	
	Ergo alias alij: prædam pater vnicus vnam	
<i>Edessa Civitas Arabiæ</i>	<i>Thaddæus</i> celebrem domino venatur <i>Edessam</i>	
<i>cui qui imperabat Augarus</i>	promissamque prius expectatamque salutem	[260]
<i>gravi morbo decumbens</i>	detulit <i>Augaro</i> qui regia scepra tenebat	
<i>Christum in Iudææ finibus</i>	Cuius epistolion fertir salvator <i>Iesus</i>	
<i>agentem et miracula</i>	cum fera iudaicæ mulceret pectora gentis	
<i>ædentem ad se curandum</i>	cum celebres curas et tot medicamina morbis	
<i>accensivit Euseb. lib. 2.</i>	ederet acceptum vultu dignatus amico	[265]
<i>cap. 1. ex lib. 6. disposit</i>	rescriptoque simul: quæ religiosa vetustas	
<i>Clementis Allexand.</i>	servat adhuc nobis nec erit recitare molestum	
<i>Epistola Augare ad Iesum</i>	Chara dei soboles hominum servator <i>Iesu</i>	
<i>Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 15.</i>	hanc libi qua careo nisi tedonante salutem	
	mittit Edeseena princeps<...>s <i>Augarus</i> ab vrbe	[270]
	diceris eximias nullo medicamine curas	
	atque alia immensi miracula pleana stuporis	
	adere vt eterno confringas dæmona verbo	
	vt cæcos oculis mutos sermone bearis	[Fol.] 73[r]
	et pedibus clandos et multis multa refundas.	[275]
	quasque animas iam tertia lux admiserat orco,	
	solus inexhaustæ revocaris numine vocis.	
	te genus humanum meritis pro talibus ornat	
	et merito neque enim qui tot tam magna potenti	
	efficias nutu miracula, cæca latæbris	[280]
	abdita recludas, qui ventos imperiose	
	Corrigis et mare velivolum terrasque iacentes	
	aut frenare queas aut emollire loquendo	
	(sic mecum statuo) fars est mortale vocari	
	Ergo deus certe nostra sub imagine terras	[285]
	incolis aut saltem divinæ stirpe creatus	
	Sis bonus o fælixque tuis; me sæva dolorum	
	millia exanguem prope tot labentibus annis	

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[Fol. 72v] *Catchword*: 'vt cæcos'.

i

mimanis morbi lacerat miserable telum  
 his lachrimis vitam tribue et miserescce <miseram>  
malorum [290]  
 tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.  
 hac mecum tenui poteris requiescere terra  
 insidias tibi quando struit Iudæa propago.  
 Ergo veni et si te non his graviora morantur  
 numine presenti lacrimas vliscere nostros. [295]  
*Rescriptum Iesum ad*  
*Augarum*  
 .Hæc Rex his Regem scriptis affatur *Iesus*  
 Iudice me princeps o terque quaterque beate  
 missurus maiora brevi nunc verba remitto  
 pauca tuis qui me peracuto lumine mentis  
 Credulitate vides aliter non videres vnquam [300]  
 vecares de me sic præcinuere *Prophætæ*  
 Corporeis oculio me natio stulta videbit  
 non habitura fidem quibus hæc concessa facultas  
 non erit advertent animos et pectore condent  
 et credent vitæ mortisque caligine solvent [305]  
 seque suasque animas, et partas frande catænas  
 Scribis vt accedam fessosque doloribus artus  
 restituam Nunc te quæ sint facienda monebo  
 ffilius a summo dilapsus numine numen  
 versor adhuc homines inter gentemque vocatam [310]  
 omnia facturus Chari mandata parentis  
 et mox ad cælos cursu properante revertur  
 tum tibi de nostro numero præconia mittam  
 Corperis atque animi rigidos pellentia morbos  
 hæc ait et fido dedit obsignata ministro [315]  
 scripta Capistratum mox ascensura Cubile  
 fertur et expressam divini pictor *Iudæam*

64.289] *miserabile*: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting correction made at initial copying stage.

64.290] *malorum*: Final word of 64.290 not on separate line in MS.

64.292] *tenui*: 'n' smudged.

<i>Ioseph lib. 2. cap. 7.</i>	vultus adduxisse simul quam principis ardor efflagitarat opus cælesti pollice dignum vsibus hæc nostris <i>Sirij</i> prompsere libelli	[320]
<i>Anno domini. 43.</i>	accidit elapsus <i>Caius</i> bis quatuor	
<i>Evangelium Mathei post</i>	post dominum <sub>u</sub> passum celebrata <i>Titus</i> in vrbe	
<i>Christum passum. 8. annis.</i>	Cl <sup>u</sup> dius accepit fasces cellamque curulem	
<i>perscriptum fuit non tamen</i>	primus <i>Evangelium</i> tipo <i>Matheo hebræo</i>	[325]
<i>editum &amp; vulgatum (vt</i>	scripserat æternum nativæ gentis in vsum	
<i>placet Ireneo priusquam</i>	Consoluitque suis alias inviscere terras	
<i>Petrus &amp; Paulum Romam advenissent anno viz Domini. 58. /</i>		
<i>Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 34</i>	Dum parat at notam Cupit omnibus esse salutem	[Fol. 73v]
<i>Theophilact 9 in Math.</i>	intestina fames terrarum obsederat salutem	
<i>refert ex aliorum sentenijs</i>	<i>Rex Agrippa</i> sacra foedavit cædibus vrbem	[330]
<i>Iohannem convertisse evangelium</i>	dilaniatque gregem Capitisque pericula sanctis	
<i>Mathæi ex hebreo in</i>	fratribus ostentat quorum <sub>u</sub> satis ampla propago	
<i>græcum. Act. 11. Sueton</i>	infixas stabili retinens sub pectore voces	
<i>in Claud. cap. 18.</i>	et procul a foedis rerum ablactatque lacunis	
	Corpora Corporibus opponunt ensibus arma	[335]
	arma fides fuit et vitæ spes certa futuræ	
	prodijt edictum volitatque per ora per aures	
	invisum sancti nomen iubet esse magistri	
	hoc qui non faciant sceleri quincunque reclamant	
	morte luant poenas superisque piamina sunt	[340]
	Inter Apostolicos semor <i>Iacobus</i>	
	Conspicuus pietate pater fideique Columna	
	principis obsequium conculcans Rege triumphans	
	<i>Christo</i> qui cæli qui terræ sustinet axem	
	Iudicis ante pedes reus est astante sodali	[345]

margin] *Mathei*: Possible attempt to delete terminal ‘i’, but unclear; retained in transcription.

64.324] *Cl<sup>u</sup>dius*: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

64.327] *inviscere*: Kilroy emends to ‘invisere’.

[Fol.] 73[r] *Catchword*: ‘dum parat’.

margin] *Petrus & Paulum*: Lineation of marginal annotation changed here in order to fit it on line.

6.341] *Inter*: ‘I’ an italic form.

<p><i>Qui Iacobum accuserat Christianus et ipse factus Martirij vna. subijt Clemens Allexand. 7<sup>o</sup>. lib. diposit vt citatur ab Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 9</i></p>	<p>qui prius hunc ipsum scelerato prodidit ausu et se <i>Christicolam</i> fassus (mirabile dictu) sedulo Martirij palmam subiturus adhæsit dumque iter ad pœnam gressu properante capessunt me miserum exclamat <u>Dominique</u> ad lumina fixus [350] volvitur extremaque trahens suspiria voce me miseram ingenitat per me iacet inclitus iste sacratusque parens me me discerpite Cives pæmitet ah sceleris sola hæc medicina dolori obvia fit nostro quod te per vulnera passi [355] qui te sic docuit (quem nunc mortiturus anhelo) obtestor domini scleratum dilue Culpam hæc ait et tacuit lachrimis oppletus at ille nescio quid magni volvens in mente negoti paulum vbi spirasset complectens colla lacertis [360] pax tibi frater ait sic conciliatus vterque occidit et cæco fertur res grata popello hoc vbi vidisset sitis insatia tyranni gratias ab officio sol&lt;...&gt;idam dum sperat inire totus in exitium sceleri scelus addere pergit [365] sænaque primori fabricavit vincula <i>Petro</i> iniecitque manus vinctum servare ministris Regis ad arbitrum vigilantibus Angelus ecce pronus ad auxilium si quid discriminis instat confregit faciles Domino mandante Catenas [370] et modo Captivum tenues emisit in auras liber abit <i>Petrus</i> superest vindicta tyranno tempus erat cum Rex studio delusus inani <i>Cæsarem</i> properans <i>Tirijs</i> infestus et vrbi <i>Sydonis</i> tacitos pœnarum exæstuat ignes [375] regalesque minas et sesquipedalia verba plebis in exitium patranti iactat ocello</p>
<p><i>Herodes Rex iniecit manum vt affligeret quosdam de ecclæsia. occidit autem Iacobum fratrem Iohannis glaudio Act. 12. videns autem quid gratum fuisset Iudæis perrexit compre // hendere &amp; Petrum ibidem.  Act. 12. Ioseph. lib. 19. cap. 7. &amp; 8. Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 11.</i></p>	<p>hoc vbi vidisset sitis insatia tyranni gratias ab officio sol&lt;...&gt;idam dum sperat inire totus in exitium sceleri scelus addere pergit [365] sænaque primori fabricavit vincula <i>Petro</i> iniecitque manus vinctum servare ministris Regis ad arbitrum vigilantibus Angelus ecce pronus ad auxilium si quid discriminis instat confregit faciles Domino mandante Catenas [370] et modo Captivum tenues emisit in auras liber abit <i>Petrus</i> superest vindicta tyranno tempus erat cum Rex studio delusus inani <i>Cæsarem</i> properans <i>Tirijs</i> infestus et vrbi <i>Sydonis</i> tacitos pœnarum exæstuat ignes [375] regalesque minas et sesquipedalia verba plebis in exitium patranti iactat ocello</p>

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*Margin] glaudio: Kilroy emends to 'gladio'.  
[Fol. 73v] Catchword: 'fecissetque'.*

	u	
	fæcessit <u>que</u> fidem dictis res ipsa sequa	[Fol.] 74[r]
	ni prece in precio in viribus om <u>nes</u>	
	atria Complessent et læsi principis iram	[380]
	pollicitis blandis et spe meliora levassent	
	Ergo vbi Concedit solio sceptro <u>que</u> superbus	
	Corporis insigni forma fulgentibus auro	
	vestibus ingenti. peditum stipatus acervo	
	voce manu <u>que</u> potens pacem studiosius instat	[385]
	solatur <u>que</u> suis Concussam viribus vrbem	
	a	
	Ambiguum est populum insperat ^ voluptas	
	principis an pietas an res tam grata citaret	
	applausere viro lætis Clamoribus omnes	
	quo <u>que</u> foret maior furiosæ gratia turbæ	[390]
	plenus vt misero <i>Dominum</i> laudaret hiatu	
	sæpe hoc elegium blasphemio prodidit ore	
<i>Dei voces &amp; non hominis</i>	non hominum vox ista sonat sed ab æthere numen	
<i>Act. 12.</i>	Cælitus hæc (inquit) non sunt mortalia verba	
	obstupuisse tum si mens non læva fuisset	[395]
	<i>Rex Agrippa</i> foret callcasses impia vulgi	
	præmia damnasses sceleratæ murmura plebis	
	non tua Cælicolum vox sed mortale sonabat	
	pectus et ingenium Capiti suffulchra superbo	
	hæc tamen ille videt nec iniqua mente ferebat	[400]
	auribus exhausit nec dum piget esse receptum	
<i>percussit eum Angelus</i>	mox piget at <u>que</u> pudet postqum feriente supremo	
<i>dei quod non dedisset</i>	numine Cælorum terræ <u>que</u> maris <u>que</u> monarcha	
<i>gloriam deo. et scatens</i>	Regia vindicibus permittit viscera pænis	
<i>verimibus expiravit. act. 12.</i>	vermiculis <u>que</u> scatens deformi Corpore foedus	[405]
	hepate corroso laniata Carne putrescens	
	en ait en sceleris manifesta piacula nostri	

64.380] *atria*: Blot surrounding word.

64.384] Period in line perhaps accidental.

64.396] *callcasses*: Kilroy (2005) emends to 'calcases'.

64.403] *marisque*: 'r' and 'i' blotted; 'i' written over 'e'.

	ecce deus vester quid me censetis amici? qui modo tam celsæ tantillus homuncio famæ succubui demens mortis terroribus angor	[410]
	et mecum (quid enim nonstra de mole supersit?) lausque decusque mei crudelibus occupat vmbris Hæc autem et moriens verba intermissa retentat sic precor o pereat videatque novissima fata qui si mortalis tanta dignetur honore	[415]
	pax erat et positis cælesti gaudia Curis sancta C<h>ohors agitatur cæso recreata tiranno sed fera progenies tetro nutrita sub orco videt vt externo nullum discrimen<e> ab hoste et legem Domini contra intentibus armis	[420]
	regibus invitis tenebras pulsasse paternas fraudibus aggreditur quo <sup>d</sup> aperto Marte nequibat	
<i>Simon Magus pater hæreti// cus eorum Ignati in epistola ad Trallianos act. 8.</i>	<i>Samariæ</i> impostor natus prænomine <i>Symon</i> quem dixerunt <i>Magum</i> nativa pulsus ab vrbe pestiferas artes <i>Divo</i> reserante <i>Philippo</i>	[425]
<i>Eusebius lib. 2. cap. 1.</i>	Commigrat <i>Romani Romæ</i> venalia profert numera discipulos et quod speraret habebat quo non prorumpit petulans audacia sese iactitat esse deum blasphemis impia dictis astruxere fidem miracula prodigiosis	[430]
<i>Niceph. lib. 3. cap. 14.</i>	plena dolis <i>Sathan</i> quos ipse inexit Anteor huius ad arbitrium muliercula foeda <i>Selenes</i> auxerat infandum facinus mentemque sup <sup>r</sup> mam se verat impulsu Cuius terrestria quæ <sup>r</sup> sque et præfinitos observant æthera <i>Cursus</i>	[Fol. 74v] [435]

64.408] *ecce*: First ‘c’ in majuscule italic; possible attempt to delete, but unclear. Retained in transcription.

64.413] *Hæc*: Initial ‘H’ perhaps minuscule.

64.422] *quo<sup>d</sup>*: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting correction made at initial copying stage.

64.427] *et*: ‘e’ written over ‘v’.

[Fol.] 74[r] *Catchword*: ‘plena’.

64.433] *facinus*: Precise spelling difficult to establish due to unclear sequence of minims.

	miscenturque novis semper nova præmia rebus et placitura simul dulci Condita veneno sancta vivendi studium curamque salutis	
<i>Theodoretus hæreticarum fabularum lib. primo.</i>	sustulit a medio neque enim pia facta beatum nec bene res gestæ sed gracia fererit (inquit)	[440]
<i>August. de. heresibus ad quod vult cap. 1. Simonis Magi in hunc modum commemorat negabat carnis resurrectionem &amp; assere// bat se esse christum. dixerat enim se in monte Sinai legem Moisis in patris persona dedisse Iudæis tempore Tibij in filij persona putative apparuisse postea se in linguis igneis spi// ritum sanctum super Apostolos venisse. Simoni Deo sancto. Ann<sup>o</sup> Claud. Cæs. 2. Anno Domini. 44. Petrus Romam venit in Ann<sup>o</sup> Claud. 2. ann<sup>o</sup> Domini. 44.</i>	Cætera sic docuit seu dogmata plean stuporis Conscia discipulis tantum scelerumque ministris quæ si quis prima voluit contingere fronte protinus insolita rabie laceratus abir<et> abibat denique provectus studio magicisque susurris crevit eo faciles vt concililaret honores inque foro posita est auro tituloque superba sacra deo sancta <i>Simoni</i> insignis imago Iamque novi solis toto spatiantia cælo lumina et alternis exustos ignibus agors Autumnosque duos hiemisque ruentia versæ frigora Conspexit <i>Romani Claudius</i> orbis princeps et terris nati post tempora Christi tertius effluxit et quadragessimus annus c San <sup>^</sup> tior interea <i>Simon</i> cognomine <i>Petrus</i> Carcere iampridem et minitata cæde solutus qua via Romanam recta deducit ad vrbem Carpit iter sacri sparsurus semina verbi hic vbi sacriligos fœdi nebulonis honores i vid<e>t et impuri præcomia tanta magistri Casibus indoluit depravatamque Magiam a prodit et insidi<...>s nutrimenta malorum et fœdos Coitus et sordida lucra <i>Selenis</i>	[445]
<i>Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 14. 15. Hieron in Catalogo Script ecclesiast.</i>		[450]
		[455]
		[460]

64.444] *rabie*: Initial ‘r’ z-like in appearance.

*abitat*] Correction made in Hand E’s italic hand.

64.455] *san<sup>^</sup>c<sup>^</sup>tior*] Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting correction made at initial copying stage.

64.455-456] Kilroy (2005) has the two lines in the opposite order.

64.460] *vid<e>^i^t*]: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting correction made at initial copying stage.



	sedibus e patrijs vt sit detrusus vterque nullaque præterea <i>Romam</i> sit causa videndi	[465]
<i>Initium Romanæ ecclesiæ</i>	assensere greges ac impostore relicto præcephore novo melioris dogmata famæ et fidei maioris avent Petroque docente	
<i>Niceph.</i>	orsa est innumeris ecclesia clara trophæis At magus interea sceleratæ conscius artis	[470]
	Convulsasque videns manifestæ fraudis habænas antea quas <teneuit> tenuit totumque illuserat orbem præstigias latebris inania furta recondit fœlix <i>Roma</i> tuos alta sub pace triumphos nunc age nunc lætos animos et splendida fata	[475]
	victricesque manus et fortia prælia iacta non genus <i>Æneadum</i> non te cum fratre <i>Quirinus</i> <i>Rhemo</i> conscriptive patres cellæve nec <i>Cæsar</i> decorat spolijs orientis onustus	[480]
	gaudia falsa tibi <i>Iove</i> sub <i>Statore</i> creasti indigitesque deos studios veneraris inani luce data plenas terrena fere lacunas desere tam magni vocem sortita Magistri hunc tibi (fabor enim quando est effabile verum)	[485]
	principe sub <i>Christo</i> cui summa capescere fas est nacta es christicolæ primum Caput vrbis et orbis	[Fol.] 75[r]
	tu tibi nec metas rerum nec tempora ponas Imperium sine fine tenes sedemque perennem et pia iura dabis sacrati pastor ovilis	
	tu maris exhaustos <cursas> cursus terrasque iacentes	[490]
<i>De Antehristo præter ea passim in epist Pauli &amp; Ioannis alijsque scripturæ locis occurunt pulcherrima</i>	deiectosque polos et quod tegit omnia Cælum extremumque diem fatis ruitura notabis impietalis enim veniet sævissima proles si modo sunt aliquid veterum præsagia, sed sunt	

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6.474] *tuos*: ‘o’ written over ‘i’.

6.478] *cellæve*: Kilroy (2005) emends to ‘sellæve’.

[Fol. 74v] *Catchword*: ‘nacta’.



<p><i>August contra faust Manichae. lib. 12 cap. 39. &amp; alibi Ann<sup>o</sup> Domini 49.</i></p>	<p><i>si sic orasses si sic ieuna fuisses fecisses vtam tua nunc quoque sacra stetissent. sed redeo ad seriem Nato post sæcula verbem transierant prope lustra decem cum nuptas puella sancta <i>Maria</i> parens sine semina fæmina virgo Christifera exacto iam conclamata sub ævo (pone supercilium veteri si more loquamur) assumpta ad Cælos fruitur melioribus annis <i>O quam te memorem virgo namque haud tibi fas est communes casus &amp; lamentabile fatum assignare tuo qui tanta ventre tulisti progeniem cuius fulgenti lumine vultus humanas tenebras tempestatesque serenat sis fælix nostrumque leues pia virgo laborem</i></i></p>	<p>[530]</p>
<p><i>Anno ætatis suæ. 59. Niceph lib. 2. cap. 21. 2.2. 23.</i></p>	<p><i>Annus ad elapsos accesserat vnus et alter antiochos inter cum seditione coorta <i>Mosaicos</i> ritus et anitum pondera legum fratribus inculcat <i>Pharisaica</i> turba cietque scismaticus pestes et cæni vincla prioris quæ nec ferre patres nec nos portavimus ipsi nec poterit servare ætas ventura nepotum hæc mala vel <i>Paulo</i> presente vidente docente impia sex agitat: <i>Quid nostra hæc tempora? quid non ergo vbi fraterni convulsum Culmen amoris videtet excussæ languentia fœdera pacis protinus assumpto proficicitur ille sodali consultumque patres tenui velocior aura pergit Hierosolimas Mox confluxere parentes grandævi veneranda Cohors et vulnera curant</i></i></p>	<p>[535]</p> <p>[Fol. 75v]</p>
<p><i>Anno domini. 51. Act. 15.</i></p>	<p><i>Annus ad elapsos accesserat vnus et alter antiochos inter cum seditione coorta <i>Mosaicos</i> ritus et anitum pondera legum fratribus inculcat <i>Pharisaica</i> turba cietque scismaticus pestes et cæni vincla prioris quæ nec ferre patres nec nos portavimus ipsi nec poterit servare ætas ventura nepotum hæc mala vel <i>Paulo</i> presente vidente docente impia sex agitat: <i>Quid nostra hæc tempora? quid non ergo vbi fraterni convulsum Culmen amoris videtet excussæ languentia fœdera pacis protinus assumpto proficicitur ille sodali consultumque patres tenui velocior aura pergit Hierosolimas Mox confluxere parentes grandævi veneranda Cohors et vulnera curant</i></i></p>	<p>[540]</p> <p>[545]</p> <p>[550]</p>
<p><i>Petrus etiam eo loci vbi:</i></p>	<p><i>Primus ibi ante omnes to celeberrimus vrbe</i></p>	<p>[555]</p>

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[Fol.] 75[r] *Catchword*: ‘progeniem’ (in italic).  
64.548] *sex*: Kilroy (2005) emends to ‘secta’.  
64.551] *proficicitur*: Kilroy (2005) emends to ‘proficiscitur’.  
64.555] *to*: Kilroy (2005) emends to ‘tota’.

<i>Iacobus episcopatum tenuit in discernendo primas obtinuit</i>	<i>Petrus erat primaque dedit suffragia voce. Proximus a primo κρινειν Iacobus habebat inde refert Paulus peregrinum vt viserit orbem quantaque barbaricas acciret gratia gentes vox audita vir studijs accensa refervent pectora ter sancti postquam meminere magistri Messis abunda satis sed deest operarius (inquit) Sunt lachrimæ rerum et mentem miseratio tangit non secus ac celeri qui fertur in avia Cursa ingenit et latos altis clamoribus agros implevit doctamque viam petit indico certo est in conspecta quem sors aut fata tulere auxiliumque ferat misero gratissimus hospes discipuli totas reputantes ordine terras Corripuere viam desudatosque labores in melius vertant et gaudia luctibus æquant</i>	[560]
<i>Mat. 9. Luc. 10.</i>	<i>Gens antiqua fuit studijs asper<sup>r</sup>ima belli Parthica nomen habet rubrum mare sentit ab austro hircanumque fretum septem fudere triones</i>	[565]
<i>Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 1.</i>	<i>Didimus huc Thomas mater ei Scithia est Tanais devisa meatu frigoribus durata suis patiensque laborum</i>	[570]
<i>Parthia.</i>	<i>hanc tulit Andræus India læta duas messes fructusque secundos quæ capit et primi contenta lumina solis dives agri dives placide mulcentibus auris messibus erre novis nunc horrea plena reportat</i>	[575]
<i>Scithia.</i>	<i>Bartholomæus habet Ethiopes quorum sub montibus Atlantæis littora strata iacent quæ littora sole tepescunt occiduo gaudentque vndantis flumien Nili</i>	[580]
<i>India.</i>	<i>littora strata iacent quæ littora sole tepescunt occiduo gaudentque vndantis flumien Nili</i>	[Fol.] 76[r]
<i>Ethiopia.</i>		

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64.571] *vertant*: Kilroy (2005) emends to ‘vertunt’.

64.576] *devisa*: Kilroy (2005) emends to ‘divisa’.

[Fol. 75v] *Catchword*: ‘littora’.



	tempora despiciens fœdis conclusa volucris et genus humanum tanto complexus amore	[620]
	avorat et tenebris missa sub secula nato virgineum in Corpus quem milla pericula passum per mare per terras et acerbæ vulnera mortis restituit vitæ superasque remisit ad auras	
	dixit et incertum studia in contraria vulgus	[625]
	Scinditur eludunt alij tolluntque chachinnos hi dubitant pauci sincero pectore Conduunt e quibus ille fuit celeri <i>Dionisus</i> arte	
<i>Dionisius Areopagita.</i>	Clarus et ætherij motum scrutatus <i>Olimpo</i> forsitan illa dies passum quæ videt <i>Iesum</i>	[630]
<i>Mat. 27. Marc. 17.</i>	Cuius ad obtuitum <i>Phæbus</i> pudibenda	
<i>Luc. 23.</i>	ora cruentatis avertens lumina cæptis	
<i>Dionis Areop. in epist. ad Policarpum.</i>	nondum animo exciderat cum splendidus <i>Areopagi</i> doctor in æterni desudans viscera cæli Eclipsumque videns quam nec natura nec artis	[635]
	admisit ratio sic in sua verba resolvit	[Fol. 76v]
	Aut patitur mundi deus aut hæc machina mundi dissolvetur ait vigilans industria quid non expugnat? quid non mentis coniectat acumen?	
<i>Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 4. de Cælesti Hierarchia de ecclesiast Hierarch. de diuinis nominibus de mistica Theolog.</i>	præsul <i>Athenarum</i> ( <i>Paulo statuente</i> ) creatus edidit egregiæ bis bina volumina famæ quæ tibi Commendo vere sunt aurea (lector) <i>Paulus</i> at hinc solvens toto notissimus orbe omnia perlustrans cursat videt et revisit non labor absterret, non sordida lucra morantur	[640]      [645]
<i>Act. 18. 19. 20.</i>	quantumque fuit pedibusve, manuve, rotave huc atque huc celeri defertur in omnia cursu<...>	

64.621] *missa*: Kilroy (2005) emends to ‘misso’.

64.626] *Scinditur*: ‘S’ not typical of Hand E’s practice.

64.629] *ætherij*: First ‘i’ written over ‘e’.

[Fol.] 76[r] *Catchword*: ‘admisit’.

64.642] *vere*: ‘re’ written over other letters, unidentifiable.

	deinde peragratis ignoti partibus orbis	
	<i>Iudæis</i> iterum solidam firmare salutem	[650]
Act. 21.	nititur et notas iterum Contendit ad oras	
	Pene quaterdecimum regnabit <i>Claudius</i> annum	
	lucida sacrilegi miscent acomita ministri	
<i>Sueton cap. 23. &amp; 24.</i>	occubensque neci supremis scepra <i>Neroni</i>	
<i>in via Claudij Cæs.</i>	Commendat verbis reducemcum ad sidera <i>Christum</i>	[655]
<i>Anno domini 56.</i>	bis duo bis deni volvendis mensibus orbis	
	vidissent læti Nondum miserabile <i>Cæsar</i>	
	flagitijs patefecit iter retinente magistro	
<i>Sæneca pius Philosophus</i>	Philosophoque pio <i>Seneca</i> qui pondere vocis	
<i>Cornelius Tacit. lib. 13:</i>	frænata et emollit iuvenilis plena furoris	[660]
<i>vide Tragediam octaviam</i>	pectora non aliter luctantem <Re>publica flamam	
Act. 2.	viribus occule<ri>s sed quæ tamen vsque recurrat	
	omnibus invitis Quibus enim celaverit ignem?	
Act. 21.	vincula iam <i>Paulum</i> cruciant tormenta<que> dira	
<i>Paulus Hieros. in carcere</i>	et <i>Iudæa</i> ferox et inanis murmura vulgi	[665]
<i>duos annos permansit.</i>	ille manet fixis medijs<que> in millibus vrget	
act. 2. 23. 24. 25. 26.	invisum<que> suis dum se videt esse tribun al<l>	
Act. 25.	<i>Cæsar</i> is appellat fruitur spatia<s><que> bienni	
	ingreditur	
Act. 27. Act. vltimo.	hopsicium <i>Romæ</i> ^ latijs<que> suis<que>	
<i>Hic Lucas destit Paulum</i>	lumen evangelij nullo discrimine prodit	[670]
<i>coitam</i>	Quin et <i>Romulidæ</i> quantum profecerit	
	et quibus auxilijs <i>Iudæis</i> vicerit artes	
	discipulum scripto monuit <i>Me Cæsar</i> is inquit	
2. Timo. 4.	Ante pedes dubijs ægrum successibus at<que>	
	Extrema stantem fortuna nemo iuvabit	[675]
	Ausfugere omnes gelidus<que> per <mira> ima cucurrit	
	ossa tremor iusto precor vt sub iudite pænas	
	quas meruere pati non dent (charissime fili)	

64.668] *spatia<s>que*: Second 'a' perhaps 'o'; would give 'spatiosque'.

64.669] ^*ingreditur*^: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

64.671] *profecerit*: 'i' written over 'a'.

	At qui/cuncta potest operari solus et vnus	
	Astitit ille mihi tempestatique futuræ	[680]
	Mete leuamen erat nec me tulit esse relictum	
<i>Vnde colligit' Paulum dicta</i>	fancibus abreptum spumantis cæde leonis	
<i>causa absolutum fuisse et</i>	Protinus amissæ videt et dispendia prædæ	
<i>evangelium postea prædicasse</i>	fex <i>Iudæa</i> sitim nondum satia cruentam	
<i>per annos. 10.</i>	(in facinus iurasse putes) nova pectore versat	[685]
	Consilia et scelerum gravioribus incubat ausis	[Fol.] 77[r]
<i>Iacobus iustus frater</i>	<i>Iacobus</i> sanctæ venerandis Episcopus vrbs	
<i>domini episcopus Hieros.</i>	sanguinis admixta Clarus cognomine <i>Iusti</i>	
	et	
	Clarior ^ vita longe clarissimus ipsa	
	hos apud æterni iecit fundamina verbi	[690]
<i>Egesippus lib. 5. apud.</i>	sanctus honoratæ fælisci matris ab alvo	
<i>Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 32</i>	sanctus ab intacta terreni fece negoti	
	balneolis, oleis, vnguentis, vitibus, hostis	
	non animale satatur vacuo iuiunia ventre	
	et crebris precibus totos agit integer annos	[695]
	Cuius ad obsequium vitæque exempla probatæ	
	aucta fides dederat quæsitam cædibus ansam	
<i>egerant enim cum</i>	Hunc igitur summi residentem in vertice templi	
<i>Iacobo vt sua autho//</i>	pacta prius quiddam quod ab ipsis stare putabant	
<i>ritate populum a</i>	circumfusa ruit teneros fucata susurros	[700]
<i>Christo revocaret.</i>	turba virum scelerata C<h>ohors instructa dolosis	
	artibus et plusquam crudelia cæpta voluntas	
	talia voce refert hominum sanctissima proles	
	Cuius in arbitrio posita est sententia nostra	
	cuius honorati mirare in verba <i>Magistri</i>	[705]
	res iubet et pietas et muturata senectus	
	aspcis ignotum plebs vt veneretur <i>Iesum</i>	
	<i>Mesiamque</i> ferat quem quondam magna loquentem	

64.679] *qui/cuncta*: Hand E has added line to demarcate two words he initially compounded.

[Fol. 76v] *Catchword*: 'Consilia'.

64.688] *clarus*: 'u' written over 'i'.

64.689] ^et^: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.



et sibi credentem et cælesti patre superbum  
 protinus e terris mer<d>ito devovimus orco [710]  
 Dicage (quando tibi divum pater atq hominumu rex  
 dit  
 expugnare de^<bent> quæ nos incognita turbant)  
 Dic age dic veri quæ tandem lumina *Christi*  
 tu *Iacobe* voces tibi nos pendemus ab ore  
 talibus orabat dictis *Pharisæa* caterva [715]  
*Confessio Iacobi* tum sic ferert Quid me quod pectore fixo  
 par tenuisse fuit, quid me renovare iubetis?  
 o (ait) immensi lux o certissima mundi  
 nate dei patris nostroque salutifer ævo  
 et de virgineo susceptum Corpore Corpus [720]  
 Crux tua nostra salus tua mors nos morte redemptus  
 et patriæ reduces fecit qui plurima sæcla  
 fraude Catenati patrijque excludimus oris  
 tu patris ad dextram nos in tua regna vocasti  
 venisti pastor tenerumu solatus ovile [725]  
 qui venies olim spatiosa per æthera Iudex  
 vivis et æternum tua laus florebit in ævum  
 vix bene finierat pudor, et furor iraqueque mentem  
 hostibus extimulant hominemque elate colendum  
 religione patrem nulli pietate secundum [730]  
 talia dicentem feriunt pinnaque suprema  
 protrusum in terras furiata mente dederunt  
 Ille quidem (horesco referens) quo fata vocabant  
 volvitur in præceps ac poplite lapsus vtroque  
 orat et inanis animis meliora precatus [735]  
 extrema sanctum sequitur pietate magistrum  
 vivus  
 iam quoque difficili spirat semi<nibus> agone [Fol. 77v]

64.712] *de^dit^<bent>*: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

64.733] *horesco*: Kilroy (2005) emends to 'horresco'.

[Fol.] 77[r] *Catchword*: 'iam'.

64.737] *semi^vivid^<nibus>*: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

	e	
	cum Caput illisum fullonis vecte c <sup>e</sup> rebrum	
<i>Excidium Hierosol quod iam imminebat Iosephus partim huic flagitio piaculum assignat</i>	Sede vacante patres <i>Simionem</i> substituere prognatum <i>Cleopha</i> coniunctum sanguine <i>Christo</i> Pax ab <i>Iudæis</i> alius tamen ingruit horror et gravior quem das finem rex magne laborum	[740]
<i>Hæc(inquit) omnia Iudæis acciderunt propter Iacobum cognominatum iustum. qui erat frater Iesu qui dicitur Christus quem iustiss. &amp; pijss. omnium confessione virum Iudæi interfecerunt Ioseph. lib. 20. cap. 19. Cornelius Tacit. lib. 14. Sueton in vita Neronis cap. 34. &amp; 35. Cornelius Tacit. lib. 15. Osor. lib. 7. cap. 7 Cornelius Tacit. lib. 15 Suet in Nerone Cæs. cap. 16.</i>	Principio Cæsar immanis ab omni parte foret nostrum horrendum Cendele superbum fas nihili pendens tetra feritatis imago matris et uxoris dimisit in ilia ferum ter tribus ruunt quæ mortibus atque diebus continuis miseram pariunt incendia stragem Sæva renitentes populatur flamma plateas Cumque satis arbusta simul perudesque virososque tecta que cumque suis rapuit penetralia sacris Attomitus tantæ subito terrore ruinæ Infœlix Cæsar perituris pectora palmis Contulit sævis vlciscitur ignibus ignes Subditit ergo reos in quos Crudele tyrannos ederet exemplum non vlllo Crimine sontes sed genus invisum <i>Christique</i> insigne gerentes affixus alios Cencibus terrisque ferinis impositos alios subiectis vrere flammis iussit: et arderi nocturni in luminis vsum Quid moror externis? rediere domestica bella sepe ego magnorum recolo dum scripta sophorum grandiloquosque patres et avitæ pondera famæ	[745]
<i>Hieron in Catal. Script. August. de Civitate dei. lib. 5. cap. 11.</i>	Concitus occurrit non vltima gloria <i>sanctus</i> <i>Sæneca</i> si fas est sanctis cum patribus istur dicere) qui mersum tenebris damnabile sæclum increpat et mutuo <i>Paulum</i> complexus amore scripta libens habuit liberque remisit ad illum	[760]
		[765]

64.737] c<sup>e</sup>rebrum: Correction by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage

64.767] No opening lunula to match that after 'dicere'.

	non tulit hos mores non h<...>uius iurgia <i>Cæsar</i>	[770]
	nec hortatoris fidissima verba magistri	
	mitior ista tamen neque <i>Convenientia</i> primis	
	quod necis electum meritis pro tallibus addit	
	Interea <i>Petrus</i> magni <i>Coriphæus</i> ovilis	
	itque reditque frequens et purgat fecibus urbem	[775]
<i>Niceph. lib. 3. cap. 37.</i>	his quibus allectam cæco modulamine turbem	
	cæperat impostor qui postquam fæda	
	in tenebris vivens aliquot labentibus annis	
	hæsit in adverso fructumque salutis abegit	
	denique blasphemis iactantem plurima verbis	[780]
	spirantemque suis ad ad summam Culmen <i>Olimpi</i>	
<i>Egesippus. lib. 3. cap. 2.</i>	carminibus magicis <i>Petrus</i> melioribus atmis	
	vaniloquum e summi deiecit in ima prophætam	[Fol.] 78[r]
	efflataque anima sceleratis excidit ausis	
	res bene successit fidei nervosa <i>Columna</i>	[785]
	Constitit et <i>Petri</i> nunquam lapsura <i>Carina</i>	
	fortiter invito processit firma tiranno	
<i>Mat. 16.</i>	firma quidem semper nec tempestate nec armis	
	fracta nec insidijs vnquam peritura <i>Sathanum</i>	
	fluctuat illa tamen postquam graviore procella	[790]
	sævijti infestus (monstrum execrabile) <i>Cæsar</i>	
	supremosque dies furijs et sanguine <i>Complet</i>	
<i>Egesipp. lib. 3. cap. 2.</i>	<i>Prima Cruci</i> affixum dederat sententia <i>Petrum</i>	
<i>Hieron in Catal.</i>	qui simul ac decreta videt <i>Capitalia</i> mortem	
	<i>Æmulus</i> excelsi metuens ambire <i>Magistri</i>	[795]
	exigit et pedibus mecum <i>Caput</i> imprimat imo	
	stipite deiecto quo spectet lumine terram	
	figitur ergo manus subter pedibusque supinis	
	altior hoc animo quanto minor ille figura	
	noverat ex humili citius penetrabile cælum	[800]
	pectore prostratas agnoscunt æthera mentes	

[Fol. 77v] *Catchword*: ‘vaniloquum’.  
64.796] *mecsum*: Kilroy (2005) emends to ‘versum’.

- Proximus in *Pauli* ingulum *Nero* fervidus iram  
 evomit et Corpus læthali vulnerat ense  
 qua Collo est confine Caput, prædixerat ipse  
 2. *Tim. 4.* *Timotheumque monet iam (nunc ait ipse resolvor)* [805]  
*Et consummato delabor ad æthra cursa*  
 nec mora protrahitur non lux non hora fefellit  
 dividit ossa duum ripa sacratus vtraque  
*Tibris* et exstructis æterna trophæa sepuchris,  
 regio  
 dextra *Petrum* regio ^ tenet altera *Paulum* [810]  
 et quos vna fides <...> fouit, quos vna salutis  
 anchora nutrivit morientes lucifer idem  
 Anno domini. 70. evehit ad superes, exoptatamque Coronam  
 sedem  
 Protinus a *Petro* ^ successor habebat  
 Iren lib. 3. cap. 3. *Liuus* at imperium confecta Galba Nerone [815]  
 vide suetoni in vitis  
 vitis Cæs. prostavit *Galbam*, septem post menibus Otho.  
 Istum nec vita nec morte Vitellius, vt vir,  
 namque vbi nocturnas quæ temperat æmula currus  
 bis quater in toto reparasset cornua ciclo.  
*Eminus* accito succumbens Vespasiano [820]  
 turpiter imperium cum sanguine fudit inermi

finis

[pp. 176-201]

[BLANK PAGES]

[Fol.] 79[r]

[BLANK PAGE]

[Fol. 79v]

[TEXT IN LATER HAND, UPSIDE DOWN]

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64.808] *dividit*: Terminal ‘t’ written over ‘d’.

64.809] *exstructis*: ‘x’ written over another letter, possibly ‘l’.

64.814] ^*sedem*^: Correction made by Hand E; ink matches main text, suggesting revision made at initial copying stage.

[Fol. 79v]: Translation ‘Out of Thomas Aquinas’

[65]

[Fol.] 80[r]

what natures woorke is this in one wightes corps to hyde  
 so gaye giftes & so bad ill myxt w<sup>t</sup> owt a meane  
 The happye hedd of witt, y<sup>e</sup> tong well set to speake  
 the skillfull pen in hand to paint the wittes device  
 vncerteyne is the rest which shame will not discrye [5]  
 nor rage w<sup>t</sup> stroke of tonge that byttrest ege to byte,  
 Ageyne the dead who hath discharged vnto earth  
 Dame natures loue of lyf y<sup>t</sup> hevy dett to paye  
 what saye we then by y<sup>e</sup> whose wittye workes we see  
 Excell in kynd of verce as woorthy chawcers mate [10]  
 even as the paynter good, w<sup>t</sup> pensell, natures match  
 Apelles ons did leave y<sup>e</sup> lusting goddes hedd  
 portered w<sup>t</sup> shape of lyf faire blomes of beawtis shyne  
 so fayre & lively drawne w<sup>t</sup> collers to behold  
 that onely yt lakt in dede both lyf & heat therin [15]  
 the boddy left vnmade no connyng hand in woorke  
 the craft of skill well tryed dourst facion to y<sup>e</sup> rest  
 and drawe w<sup>t</sup> trained hand a sightlye boddyes frame  
 to y<sup>t</sup> so noble pece y<sup>e</sup> prayse of paintures scoole  
 such was natures device so fyne in sevte to mold [20]  
 & plentyfull to make one kynd w<sup>t</sup> shiffted sort  
 thy hedd she made of witt, a paragon of tonge  
 a sottell tole to fyle y<sup>e</sup> roughe hewne to the best  
 of style a streame to flowe w<sup>t</sup> connyng to Indite  
 w<sup>ch</sup> envye wyll deny most perfytest grace to have [25]  
 such seldom thewes of kynd is seld in one hed fownd

[65]

[65] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled in a faint ink, with lines approx. 9-10mm apart.

65.6] Terminal comma perhaps accidental, as punctuation at line-end is not common in poem.

65.8] *Dame*: Above word, the interlinear correction at [66].8 on other side of leaf has bled through paper.

*gloss*: In right margin of 65.10, a later hand has added 'Chawcer' in pencil.

65.12] *goddes*: Hand A has written 'e' then 'es' abbreviation; would give 'goddees'. Not retained in transcription.

65.21] *plentyfull*: Above word, the ink blot at [66].21 on other side of leaf has bled through paper.

what should I saye the rest much better ment then spoke  
 not hyd w<sup>th</sup> envies flame Iust prayes for to deny  
 but staid by purposd stile thy great lacke to forgett  
 the had well praysd in the not had is stayd to wishe [30]

[66]

[Fol. 80v] I prai to god, who weldeth ai, the sterri heavns  
 in cours so due, to serve him & hys chosen all  
 y<sup>t</sup> this desyred knot, that all the free do knit  
 and seek to wrap them selves within, & hoap to last  
 with heated hart in love, to lead the stailles hap [5]  
 of lives vnended bond: so maye the course be set  
 of yo<sup>r</sup> remained lijf: that all this slipri tyme  
 of breath ne given but lent to yeld vp at the <sup>day</sup><wie>  
 forpointed of the owner hie: yow may go through  
 w<sup>t</sup> easi mynde, & passe the strijfls yoake w<sup>t</sup> health [10]  
 vngreeved of disease, while hoared aage do call  
 & tell that all must paye the due, which birth to death  
 doth ow by natures plaine decree, & heer to leav  
 sum frute behynd, vndeathfull if the goan be mai  
 vndeathfull ai to maake ye heer, & eek to leave [15]  
 of them by tyme againe to keap the goal, to bee  
 boathe happie, in this haples age, and happie eeke  
 whear happes vnhappi can be noan, & so to short  
 my wishe, desire, that happie hap yow boathe befall  
 w<sup>ch</sup> yow do wishe yo<sup>r</sup> selves to have, & god doth heap [20]  
 on hys beloved chosen: & none have no moar. ~

[66]

[66] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 9-10mm apart scored into the paper. Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

66.8] <sup>^day^</sup>: Correction probably not by Hand A, with open-bowled 'd' and tail of 'y' which flicks strongly to the right.

66.21] Medial colon unclear, and slightly misaligned, with second dot beneath main text.  
*moar*: Terminal 'r' smudged and partially obscured.

[67]

[Fol. 80v]

The fainted shade of lif painted w<sup>t</sup> natures hand  
 like blossome freshe of hew dothe sleighely passe away  
 who in the morning castes a pleasant beame of youthe  
 but or y<sup>e</sup> cold dewd night, the hote son dothe a bate  
 & hides his dayly course ay drenched in y<sup>e</sup> sea [5]  
 her fairnes all doth fade shroonken w<sup>th</sup> withred sear  
 and fallethe downe apalld w<sup>t</sup> drery chere to see. ~

[68]

[Fol.] 81[r]

vncertaine certaine deathe free grindall hath the rawght  
 w<sup>t</sup> dent of flaming plagg, & stint thy race of lif  
 no losse ther in to be, thy quiet lif thee tawght  
 synce bound is none so free, as change to rest from strif  
 by study lernd, by proof sober, by nature wise [5]  
 by grace well lyvd to dye & free from egre lust  
 didst welthe of hap beare well & throws of chaunce dispise  
 well pleasd w<sup>t</sup> smart of death, th'appointed end of dust  
 the lif did other please, death did thy self content  
 an hapy havin of lif well wune in vertues lore [10]  
 wherfore thy spedy death was late to lyf well spent  
 & makes thee hapy man more hapy then before. ~

[67]

[67] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 9-10mm apart scored into the paper. Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

[68]

[68] is copied by Hand A. The poem is ruled, with lines approx. 9-10mm apart scored into the paper. Dots marking guides for line spacing visible in left margin.

68.10] *wune*: First letter unclear; sequence of minims would allow for 'w', making 'wune', though form not typical of Hand A. Minims and possible dot above second minim may suggest 'ri', making 'rinne', i.e., 'run'. Transcription above prefers first option.





whose dreadfull hande dothe turne the starry heavens aboute  
And stayethe y<sup>e</sup> heavy earthe vppon the stormy seaes  
In godly feare and wirshipp of his holy name [30]  
To leade the course in of this vnstayde slipprie life /

---

69.27] *ea<r>thely*: ‘r’ struck through with thick downstroke; difficult to establish whether made by Hand A2 or later hand.

*Lorde*: Superlinear mark to immediate right of ‘L’; function unclear, so omitted from transcription.

[70]

[Fol.] 82[r]            These words ffolowinge that M<sup>f</sup> Diringe spake in this life  
the occasion was by the openinge of a windowe, at w<sup>ch</sup> the sonn  
dyd shine in vpon him, the w<sup>ch</sup> windowe was opened of  
purpose by those that then wear w<sup>th</sup> him, who thought he  
had bene dead because he Laye soe still & moued not, then            [5]  
they asked him if the Sonn did not burne hime /  
who answered thus. /

There is but one sonn that giueth light<es> vnto the earth, there is but  
one Sonn of righteousnes, there is but one ffealowshipp of Saintes  
w<sup>ch</sup> I wishe wee maie holde through loue to the ende. / Yf wee            [10]  
wear the excellentist creatures in the worlde If wee wear as  
righteous as Abraham Isack & Iacob for they wear the most righteous  
on the earth, yet wee must confes that wee are all synneres & haue  
nede of the grace of god, and that there is no saluation but in the  
rightuousnes of Christe, And for my parte I feele such Ioie of            [15]  
sprighte, that if I sholde here the sentence of lyfe on the one side  
and the sentence of death on the other side, seing the Lorde hath  
appointed his time of seperation I had rathre a thousand times  
Chuse the sentence of death then of lyfe /

Ellina Harrington

---

[70]

[70] is copied by Hand H. The poem is not ruled.

70.6] *Sonn*: Initial 'S' only partially formed due to lift-off of pen.

70.8] *light<es>*: Correction by Hand H; ink fainter than main text, suggesting later revision.

70.12] *Abraham*: 'a' supplied from macron-like interlinear mark above 'm'.

70.17] *on the*: Dot placed between two words in a faint ink, probably accidental.

*Ellina Harrington*: Copied in a different italic hand than in fol. 29v.

*gloss*: To right of the name, Park has added note: '[...] Elenor? The daughter of Sir James Harington; | who married Sir Henry Clinton in 1606. haryngton [...] p. 46'. Page reference to fol. 29v (p. 46 in old pagination).

**INDEX 1: ALPHABETISED FIRST-LINE INDEX**

<b>First Line</b>	<b>Poem No.</b>
A face that should content me wonderous well	9
All held their peace and fixed with eyes intente to behold	3
As oft as I behold and see	36
At least withdraw your cruelty	62
Blest be the day, the month, and all the year	24
Caesar what time the wise and valiant head	22
Diverse thy death diversely do bemoan	49
Fountain of sorrow, O spring of all pain	14
From Babel's bower and all her wicked ways	25
From pensive fancies then I gan my heart revoke	51
From Tuscan came my lady's worthy race	39
Give ear to my suit Lord fromward hide not thy face	59
Hannibal won but after could not sue	27
Howsoever the world shall wind	61
I am not dead although I had a fall	7
I do bewail the steps I trod awry	29
I do bewEEP my reckless passed days	31
I find no peace and all my war is done	5
I never saw my lady look apart	41
I pray to God who wieldeth aye the starry heavens	66
I see my plaint with open ears	12
I Solomon David's son king of Jerusalem	50
I that sometime with slender flute in verse was wont to sound	2
If duty wife lead thee to deem	63
If he that erst the form so lively drew	47
If love be not, what throes do I sustain	20
If stable mind and heart that cannot feign	23
In Cyprus springs whereas Dame Venus dwelt	43
In the rude age when science was not so rife	45
Like to the steerless boat that swerves with every wind	52
London, dost thou accuse me	34

Love that doth reign and live within my thought	42
Lucks my fair falcon and your fellows all	8
Martial the things for to attain	38
Mine own J.P since you delight to know	4
None can deem right who faithful friends do rest	16
Now hope now fear now joy now woeful case	26a
Now that mine eyes thy pistle read already have suffered stain	1
O Lord upon whose will dependeth my welfare	56
Plain ye mine eyes accompany my heart	11
<i>Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi</i>	64
Set me whereas the sun doth parch the green	48
So cruel prison how could betide alas	33
So lucky be your twisted hold of coupled youth	69
Some kind of creatures have so piercing sight	21
Such wayward ways hath love that most part in discord	35
The Assyrians' king in peace with foul desire	46
The belly cheer ease and the restless bed	30
The fainted shade of life painted by nature's hand	67
The Great Macedon that out of Persia chased	44
The precious pillar perished is and rent	28
The sudden storms that heave me to and fro	57
The wandering gadling in the summer tide	10
The sun hath twice brought forth the tender green	32
The wandering gadling in the summer tide	10
These words following that Mr Dering spake in this life	70
Though Lord to Israel thy graces plenteous be	58
Uncertain certain death free Grindal hath thee raught	68
Venemous thorns that be both sharp and keen	6
Vengeance must fall on thee thou filthy whore	13
What nature's work is this in one wight's corpse to hide	65
When Asia state was overthrown and Priamus kingdom stout	15
When I bethought me well under the restless sun	53
When that repentant tears hath cleansed clear from ill	54
When Winsdor walls sustained my wearied arm	40

When youth had led me half the race	37
Where guiltless men are grievously oppressed	18
Where reckless youth in a unquiet breast	55
Whoso can weigh of each attempt the end	60
You in whose rhymes dispersed hear the sound	19
You on whose necks the weight of rule doth rest	17

## INDEX 2: AUTHOR-BASED FIRST-LINE INDEX

**Anon.**

I do bewail the steps I trod awry	29
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So lucky be your twisted hold of coupled youth	69
[Harington, John, of Stepney?]	
Blest be the day, the month, and all the year	24
Caesar what time the wise and valiant head	22
Fountain of sorrow, O spring of all pain	14
From Babel's bower and all her wicked ways	25
Hannibal won but after could not sue	27
Howsoever the world shall wind	61
I do bewep my reckless passed days	31
If love be not, what throes do I sustain	20
If stable mind and heart that cannot feign	23
Now hope now fear now joy now woeful case	26a
Some kind of creatures have so piercing sight	21
The belly cheer ease and the restless bed	30
The precious pillar perished is and rent	28
Where guiltless men are grievously oppressed	18
Vengeance must fall on thee thou filthy whore	13
You in whose rhymes dispersed hear the sound	19
You on whose necks the weight of rule doth rest	17

**Campion, Edward (1540-1581)**

<i>Sancta salutiferi nascentia seminar verbi</i>	64
--	----

**Chaloner, Sir Thomas (1521-1565)**

Now that mine eyes thy pistle read already have suffered stain	1
--	---

**Cheke, Sir John (1514-1557)**

I pray to God who wieldeth aye the starry heavens	66
The fainted shade of life painted by nature's hand	67

Uncertain certain death free Grindal hath thee raught	68
What nature's work is this in one wight's corpse to hide	65
<b>Dering, Edward (1540-1576)</b>	
These words following that Mr Dering spake in this life	70
<b>Harington, John, of Stepney (1517x1520-1582)</b>	
At least withdraw your cruelty	62
If duty wife lead thee to deem	63
None can deem right who faithful friends do rest	16
Whoso can weigh of each attempt the end	60
<b>Howard, Henry, Earl of Surrey (1516x17-1547)</b>	
As oft as I behold and see	36
Diverse thy death diversely do bemoan	49
From pensive fancies then I gan my heart revoke	51
From Tuscan came my lady's worthy race	39
Give ear to my suit Lord fromward hide not thy face	59
I never saw my lady look apart	41
I Solomon David's son king of Jerusalem	50
If he that erst the form so lively drew	47
In Cyprus springs whereas Dame Venus dwelt	43
In the rude age when science was not rife	45
London, dost thou accuse me	34
Like to the steerless boat that swerves with every wind	52
Love that doth reign and live within my thought	40
Martial the things for to attain	38
O Lord upon whose will dependeth my welfare	56
Set me whereas the sun doth parch the green	48
So cruel prison how could betide alas	33
Such wayward ways hath love that most part in discord	35
The Assyrians' king in peace with foul desire	46
The Great Macedon that out of Persia chased	44
The sudden storms that heave me to and fro	57

The sun hath twice brought forth the tender green	32
Though Lord to Israel thy graces plenteous be	58
When I bethought me well under the restless sun	53
When that repentant tears hath cleansed clear from ill	54
When Winsdor walls sustained my wearied arm	40
When youth had led me half the race	37
Where reckless youth in a unquiet breast	55

**Phaer, Thomas (1510?-1560)**

All held their peace and fixed with eyes intentive to behold	3
I that sometime with slender flute in verse was wont to sound	2
When Asia state was overthrown and Priamus' kingdom stout	15

**Wyatt, Sir Thomas (1503-1542)**

A face that should content me wonderous well	9
I am not dead although I had a fall	7
I find no peace and all my war is done	5
I see my plaint with open ears	12
Lucks my fair falcon and your fellows all	8
Mine own J.P since you delight to know	4
Plain ye mine eyes accompany my heart	11
The wandering gadling in the summer tide	10
Venemous thorns that be both sharp and keen	6



## APPENDIX 1

**Gerard Kilroy's English translation of *Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi*<sup>61</sup>**

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*The first generation of the new-born church*

This is a catalogue of the Roman pontiffs, Emperors, Fathers and sufficiently significant events after the Ascension of Christ our Saviour up to the seventieth year of Our Lord.

These are the authors whom I have used more frequently:

Josephus	Augustine	Suetonius
Philo	Theodoretus	Cornelius Tacitus
Eusebius	Egesippus	Eutropius
Jerome	Nicephorus	

**[Dedication]**

To Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, one of the most heroic men alive, Edmund Campion at Oxford wishes eternal and true happiness. If I, an ordinary mortal, had any doubt, my most noble Lord, of your warmth and enthusiasm both for learning and indeed for the entire Christian world, I should think it absolutely necessary to apologise for my boldness, even impudence, before I adorned my work with your name. But as your very generous virtues of nature and talent are well known, and as these have been enhanced by an outstanding and incredible ease of manner which makes it impossible for anyone to be frightened in an approach of this kind, I have had no fear of seeming arrogant in this undertaking: I, a young man of little worth, call confidently upon you to be patron of this work. For among our people, your dignity, your extraordinary learning and your well-tryed piety and kindness been the subject of pride and admiration. In addition to this, you have shown to me personally, above all others, such a token of your splendour and glory in accepting my rough and loquacious little works of literature that, conscious of your generosity and kindness, I feel myself deeply in your debt. I could not rest, therefore, until I had completed this little literary offering, and produced it to show my loyalty and devotion towards you.

So let me now, in a cause so noble and with a judge so well disposed, abandon all pretence of uncultivated and pointless shyness, and pass over as quite unnecessary those defensive devices which others use to win over readers step by step, and to solicit or gain their favour. Here for you, Sir, a man held in the highest esteem by all, is a history of the church as it comes to birth (if I can so describe it) from the Ascension of our Saviour to the time when that most wicked emperor Nero put to death those lights of the whole church, Peter and Paul. It is written in heroic verse, enumerating the events in plain prose rather than in an elaborate paraphrase.

This period of time, rich in wisdom, I have decided to call the first generation of the Christian faith, when Peter, who as Roman Pontiff was forming the shape of the whole church, and Paul, who was acting as the Doctor of the Gentiles, were butchered. It seemed

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<sup>61</sup> I am grateful to Dr Gerard Kilroy for generously sending to me a copy of the typescript of his translation, which is reproduced here.

especially fitting that I should insert into the history of the subsequently established church what came to be numbered the first out of the ten most famous persecutions which reached their end with Nero. Then for the first time Almighty God gave peace to the Christians, and stirred up the Emperor Vespasian and Titus his son to break and avenge the treachery and obstinacy of the Jews. The overthrow of that nation I wish to deal with more fully and in a more scholarly way, when I am fully armed with references. Meanwhile I wished to provide a summary of the main events that preceded it, a time packed with the stormy fluctuations of political life.

I entrust this to you, a history based on a careful collation of the best authorities, a period rich in good examples and admirable men and, in its very variety I imagine, attractive to you. I shall be overjoyed if you approve; if not, I shall nevertheless be glad that you will have with you some proof of my hard work and religious observance. If I have achieved that one thing, which your humanity and generosity promise to me, then I shall have achieved both the richest fruit of my labours and, in a way, the most appropriate payment. May the most merciful God meanwhile preserve your high office (there is nothing in this age more holy or more renowned); may it remain unharmed and uninjured for as long as possible. Farewell.

**[Invocation: 1-36]**

The birth of the sacred seeds of the Word that brings salvation; the voices courageously uttered, wherever the bowels of the spacious earth lie open, by heavenly inspiration; the tragic storms of that period of the world's history worse than the age of iron, which trampled down the gifts of the promised salvation; and the first lights of the Christian flock: of all these shall I sing.

Help me, O Christ, as I try to relate the praises of thy people – thou who hast always pitied the grievous labours of men, who art the Hope, the Way, the Life, Salvation and origin of a better world. Son of God the Father, true God from true God: with thee as my guide I am going down a road whose tracks are not open without thee; without thee the gloomy path will not disclose its inaccessible steps to one so young. And you too, O happy souls – if I can dare to hope for such patrons in my prayers – who have endured such great dangers by sea and land through the anger of offended princes (it is your battles I sing): come to the aid of this feeble bard! O brave men with your virile courage, hasten here.

I sing of arms and men, and wars thrice three times savage, shrieking against Christ, waged over plains defiled with blood; yet I sing too of souls victorious when darkness has been unwillingly repelled by the light; of the unsullied trophies of leaders, shining through heaven, the comfort of a delicately young people. I sing of arms and men, not those brandished by Aeneas, the martial hero, nor the madness of the mighty thunderer as he wields his lightning, nor the battle standards of an imagined Minerva. Jupiter is dead; perished is the Tritonian Pallas, and Phoebus Apollo who guides his chariot horses (Vulcan's gift) and Saturn's grandson to whom Jupiter was mother; perished is royal, stately-stepping Juno, Jupiter's sister and wife; dead too is Mars, and Diana's realm of lies; and whatever divinities superstitious antiquity has invented. For one alone, he who is Father of gods and King of men possesses earth and sea and stars and sky: he cherishes the earth; mortal affairs are his care. May he be with me and give me strength for my song!

**[The Risen Christ: 37-69]**

And now the day was at hand, to be marked by stone of snowy white, when God ranging the earth in human form, having taught his disciples and accomplished all his works to perfection, and all the commands which he had received from his dear Father, triumphed on the fortieth day after his conquest of death and, with the indwelling spirit, poured out upon his eager friends the inspiration of the power of God. Indeed, so that no spark of treachery should remain, he sat among them, much to their joy, and ate with them; with his oft-quoted discourse he reached into their inmost hearts.

Next, he commanded them not to leave Jerusalem, nor directly to choose to rob minds of hope, but hold and keep their hearts firmly fixed and grounded in his sure promises. He commanded too that the earth be surely founded on a new light, and that deceit and treachery should be no more. ‘Behold in me,’ he said, ‘in me who make this promise, a truthful teacher, as even envy bears witness. Inspired by heaven, I am sending you forth as heralds for purposes that transcend human designs. So turn your mind to heavenly things, and lift up your face to the stars above. Up till now, the revelation of John’s baptism was enough: when it was a mere atonement to be made for past sin, it was enough for people content with the little ritual of simple water to draw and sprinkle it over them. Now a different and very exalted strength is needed, and strenuous vigour too, to face these tasks, for they are immense. So when time has gone by and a few days have elapsed after this, you will open your pure hearts to the Holy Spirit, and seize the richer gifts of the new baptism.’ He spoke and, as the chorus of angels sang and the stars applauded, he rent the air asunder with his heavenly wings. He who had risen from the dead, returned to the heaven above which he had abandoned so joyfully for our – for mankind’s – sake.

**[The Apostles: 70-123]**

So he had gone; but his servants did not go: Simon, who was given the famous name of Peter, the two brothers James and the beloved John; Andrew; Thomas; Matthew; Bartholomew; Simon the Zealot; Alphaeus; the other Judas; and Philip who had followed the Lord after the first. To these we should add Mathias, chosen by lot. These twelve undertook the Lord’s commands, and suffered much at the hands of rulers, and very much at the hands of the mob; yet they were faithful in their hearts to his last words. Burning with sacred fire, strong in the power of the Spirit that speaks the truth, and armed with the lofty strength of faith, they spoke with warm eloquence: and the whole world trembled. There are other heralds too, whose names stand out from those in this little book, whose deeds of renown Time will not destroy nor age consume.

Stephen, whose name in Greek means crown, you were the first, you who suffered a fate for which you deserved your crown, who conquered the devil, drove away darkness with light. In the midst of your foes, you shone with heavenly light, and on those very foes bestowed the most beautiful gifts of salvation. Stones, cruel hands and wounds tormented you: overcome, you allowed your life to dissolve in the insubstantial air. As you were dying, you said, ‘Father, wash away this crime from them, and grant that they may know better.’ And the Almighty Father, crowning His gifts in you, granted your prayers, sheathed Saul’s threatening weapons, and by his divine power breathed into him a holy flame. As Saul he had been fierce of heart and stained with blood, brought fear to the holy, and everywhere wrought havoc with his threats of fire and sword; as Paul – a name taken from a famous proconsul – he gently submitted his neck to the yoke, and was chosen, at Christ’s calling, as master, teacher, interpreter and faithful witness to the new Word. And soon, through immense

journeys by land and sea, in the face of wars and the raging wrath of the devil, he raised his voice to the skies and piously thundered out the name of Christ. Alas, what sufferings he endured in the holy city, among sacrilegious leaders, when he was held to be the source of schism, a lover of novelty and not really sane! What sufferings he endured in his life when, bound and beaten and imprisoned, tossed this way and that by wind and wave, he preached in the furthest parts of an unknown world. Finally, when that undaunted soldier, with his dear companion, had completed his journey across the world, what sufferings he endured in death when a cruel tyrant set upon him. Why tell of his other deeds? A host of them is reported in the sacred scriptures, in the words of the faithful disciple Luke, a reliable witness in all matters. Neither my age nor inclination leads me to tell everything from the beginning, but I shall relate the highest points of the story. Confining within a few verses all the facts which others supply, or which I have collected myself – whatever certainty is contained in the memorials of our ancestors – I shall choose simply to keep to the chain of events in their order.

### [The Reign of Tiberius: 124-87]

Tiberius had reigned nearly twenty years, and a second harvest had yielded its new fruits since the passion of our Lord, when the hearts of iron, with the passage of time, began to soften and laid upon proud necks a yoke which was not to be harsh. Everywhere holy salvation seized faithful hearts and tongue, and the celebration of faith refines the limbs of a barren culture. Nor did Judaea any longer keep within its own bounds: out it rushed among the gentiles, and laid proud hearts low. Now you could see houses and homes and hearths echo with the name of Christ. Peter was going here; there Paul thundered out his sacred teachings – and elsewhere a crowd of all the other ministers. For as soon as the impious mob had hurled its wicked stones and inescapable heavy rocks against Stephen, the brethren scattered. Disgusted with those men and that place, they passed through pathless wastes, wherever their instinct led them, and arrived as exiles at Antioch, and there made their home. Then it was that they first recalled *Christ* in the (now) famous name they adopted.

Meanwhile, Pontius Pilate, the scourge of Christ, seeing that the sect he had rejected was growing so great, and that the proclamation of the resurrection of the Lord and his ascension into heaven was everywhere being made in public, seized the pen (as the custom is) and began the remarkable story of Christ, both born of woman and divine, the marvellous Creator, crucified and living anew, raised above the summit of highest heaven. He reported these things to the lord who ruled over the Romans; Caesar reported them to the senate, without whose sanction no other gods can be named, and asked them whether they wished to decree that Christ should be God? Alas, foolish madness arose. Ill advised was the senator, whoever he was, who bent the feelings of the moment to his own wishes: ‘So is a new stranger now being enrolled among the gods above? Must whoever worships him abjure all other gods, the rites of our fathers and all our holy ceremonies, and call all these hostile to us? This is not to be borne; I will not endure it. This proposal cannot stand, Senators. Why should we not instead carefully strengthen all the holy memorials of our ancient gods, and worship them with the honour they deserve?’

Some voiced their assent to the man’s words, and spurred on his rage; others made up the party simply by voting with him. Caesar (for what could he do against a senate’s opposition?) merely condemned their impious murmurs with regal voice; though disquieted, he accepted, suffered and lamented the rejection. Though they argued every point against him with hostile look, he forbade the decision to be ratified because he neither cared about the votes nor tolerated that wicked senate’s unspeakable decrees. Deep in his heart, however, he

held the belief that the venerable power of Jesus should be counted among the gods of heaven. He also gave a sharp warning against anyone who should denounce any person to the judges by name. Greedy Scylla and unrelenting Charybdis were not yet a pressing danger, nor was the evil Fury yet troubling the innocent. The long-desired peace was at hand. No one stopped the disciples from gathering together as they wished. The disciples gathered freely by day and by night to watch and pray with joyful mind, and they celebrated the rites that bring salvation. And the first other sign they had given of a holy life was this: they all rejected honours, handing them to others, and were not buried alive by the darkness of the world or its ambitions. Of their own free will, in the famous see of Jerusalem, they summoned James, the brother of the Lord, who was called the Just (there was no man better or more devoted to justice than he) and they put him in charge of the see.

**[Caligula: 188-261]**

It was now the fifth year since the Ascension of Our Lord: Tiberius died, and Gaius (to whom the army gave the name Caligula) was his successor in command of the Empire. That traitor turned the power of the sacred sceptre upside down, when he felt the sublime reins of empire, and the smiles of the blind goddess who often cherishes wretched mortals and leads them on, unpunished, with vain hopes. He coveted the heights, breathed the spirit of the summit, and ordered that he should be a god; that, in the preamble of all laws should be written: 'Gaius, Lord and God, commands that his be done.' *Alas, where are you rushing, Caesar? Where is your wild error driving you?* Suppose you are a god: then you surely see what evil destiny is coming to you? Are you, therefore, on your guard so that you reign for more than three years? But you did not see: otherwise, I believe, you would have been on your guard. But you were not on your guard: so you did not reign for more than three years.

Consider the most famous names of past ages; look around everything the rich earth possesses. Consider this: if nothing is solid or happy in every respect; if fate and chance take most things away, and greedy time and age, the universal enemies, take everything – do you allow yourself to hope for eternal life? Or if you do not, what madness has seized you, that you award yourself, a mere mortal, honours due to gods alone?

And what of the way he foully mutilated the city of Jerusalem, basely seized its sites consecrated to God, its altars and shrines? And not content with this (though no more outrageous deed could he commit) he breathed fire, theft, rapine, dreadful battles, massacres, and murders: and the whole land of Judaea wallowed in blood. In ancient times our fathers had rivers of honey and rivers of milk; of blood were the rivers that now flowed.

'Let them take heed of me,' says the Jew, 'now Jesus has been driven out; we have piously sworn allegiance to Caesar's laws. Caesar alone we do worship: Jesus who once lied to us that he was king, shall have no rights over us.' Caesar has the rights now; his cruel command flies everywhere, and he gives orders but who is to help him carry it out? It is the very same Pilate who once exercised the authority of the Emperor. He was once zealous against Christ, and passed deadly sentence: but it was the people, the importunate people who forced him to do it. Yet now the same hand tears in pieces that same people at the command of the Caesar whom, O Judaea, you worshipped so much. Yet Pilate too, ferocious in all he did, made sure his death was as evil as his life; after defiling everything with blood and turning the city into a blood-stained theatre of filth, he plunged his conquering sword into his own entrails.

The younger Herod (so they called him), belonged to this time, to whom fell a fourth part of the kingdom, called a tetrarchy. My heart bids me tell of the way he incurred Caesar's anger and his avenging hand, the deserved punishment for the sins of a monstrous murderer

and master of crime. Worn out by war and conflict, impious Herod began to incur the distrust of Gaius Caesar; he was punished by exile, and the loss of his royal sceptre. His adulterous wife saw this, grieved, and followed him: she was to die an exile's wife. This was the treacherous woman who had previously betrayed her wanton daughter, who once joyfully led the dance of blood, and cut off with lethal sword the head of John the Baptist (no child of woman has been holier or greater than this man) the Precursor, the great prophet.

The kingdom was handed over to Agrippa, who had Herod as his first name (argued by the Bishop of Caesarea, the historian, who considered it no small point). Meanwhile, the tireless disciples brought salvation with heavenly voice to the gentiles far and wide, with the same speed with which they had begun; and wherever they settled they shed light over those foreign lands. They invested their treasure, and recovered it with great profit. So they did their work in various ways. One father alone, Thaddaeus, gained as a prize for the Lord the famous Edessa, and offered Abgar, who held the royal sceptre there, the salvation promised and so long awaited.

### [Letters to and from Jesus: 262-321]

It is said that when Jesus, our Saviour was softening the savage hearts of the Jewish race, and was performing his famous healings and many cures of disease, He received a letter from Abgar, and thought it deserved a friendly response. He immediately replied. Posterity has faithfully preserved the text of these letters for us, and it will not be tedious to repeat them.

‘Jesus, dear Son of God and saviour of man, Prince Abgar from the city of Edessa sends you that greeting of salvation which I cannot have unless you grant it. You are said to perform without medicine amazing cures and other astonishing miracles, so as to crush the devil with your eternal Word: to give sight to the blind and speech to the dumb, to make the lame walk and pour gifts on all. You alone have brought back to life, with the power of your unfailing voice, those souls who have been in the land of the dead for two days. The human race honours you for such services, and rightly so. For (as I firmly believe) it is wrong for such an act to be called mortal, if you perform such mighty miracles with a nod of power: reveal things hidden in dark, secret places, command the winds with authority; and are able to restrain or calm, merely by speaking, the sail-bearing seas and the lands that surround them. Truly you are a god in human form, dwelling on the earth; at least you were born of divine stock. Be kind and bring happiness to your people. As the years slip by for me, the wretched dart of a horrible disease and thousands of fierce pains make me almost lifeless. Grant life to me in my tears, have mercy on my great troubles, and take pity on a soul that suffers undeservedly. You will be able to rest with me in this land when the Jewish race plots treachery against you. So come, and if no graver matters delay you, avenge our tears with your present help.’

So wrote the king, and Jesus addressed the king in writing as follows: ‘O prince, thrice and four times happy (as I judge), I send a few words in reply to yours and will send more soon. It is only because of your faith – in no other way could you see me – that, by the keen light of your mind, you have seen me. The prophets told the truth when they foretold of me: “A foolish nation shall see me with its eyes and shall not believe, while those to whom this chance has not been given will heed and keep me in their hearts: they will believe in life, and set free from the darkness of death both themselves and their souls, and loosen the chains born of deceit.” You write to ask me to come and restore your limbs, worn out by pain. I will tell you what must be done. I am the Son divine, sent down from God on high; I am still living among men and the chosen people, ready to carry out all the commands of the Father. Soon, with eager haste, I shall return to heaven; and then I will send you messages from our

people which will drive away sicknesses of body and mind.’ So he said, and gave the writings (soon to go up to a tightly fastened bed) to a faithful servant. A painter is said to have brought at the same time an image of the divine face – a picture which the enthusiastic prince had demanded – a work worthy of a divine finger. Syrian books have made public these things for our use: the story deserves belief and comes out of early records.

**[Agrippa: 322-40]**

Eight years after the passion of Our Lord, Gaius died. Titus Claudius took up the fasces and occupied the curule chair in the famous city. Matthew had written the first Gospel in Hebrew, for the eternal use of his native people. He advised his own people to visit other lands; and while he was preparing eagerly for salvation to be known to all, a dreadful famine began there and spread to the whole world. King Agrippa besmirched the holy city with murder, butchering the flock and threatening the saints with death. A large number of them, keeping the Lord’s words firmly in their steadfast hearts, weaned away from the foul waters of the world, opposed bodies with bodies, swords with arms; but their arms were faith and the sure hope of future life. The edict went forth: through mouths and ears it flew, ordering the Holy Master’s name to be hated. Those who did not obey, or who refused to commit this crime, were to pay the penalty of death, and be a sacrifice to the old gods.

**[Martyrdom of James the Elder: 341-62]**

Among the Apostles was James the Elder, the foster-child, a father conspicuous for his piety, and a pillar of the faith, one who trampled on obedience to the prince and triumphed in Christ the King, who holds up the axis of heaven and earth. At the judge’s feet he stands accused, and with him the comrade who had previously betrayed him so wickedly, but who now – a remarkable story – confessed himself a Christian, and clung steadfastly to the faith, as he prepared to submit to the palm of martyrdom. While they were making their way with hurried steps to their punishment, he cried out, ‘Wretch that I am!’ Fixed with his whole attention on the eyes of the Lord, he rolls on the ground, and drawing a deep sigh with his last breath, repeated, ‘Wretch that I am! It is my fault that this famous holy father is to die. Tear me in pieces, citizens! I repent of my crime; the only remedy I can have for my pain is that I beg thee, father, by the wounds of him who suffered and who taught you – him whom I long for as I face death – to absolve my sin.’

So he spoke, and was silent, overcome by tears. James, turning over I know not what great matter in his mind, embraced his companion, and said, ‘Peace be with thee, brother.’ So they both died, reconciled. It is said that the blind mob was pleased.

**[Death of Agrippa: 363-415]**

When the tyrant’s insatiable thirst saw this, hoping to gain some solid favour from what he did, he put all his efforts into the work of destruction, and piled crime on crime. He made cruel chains for his prime victim Peter, and laid hands on him. Though the king had his servants watching to keep him fettered, behold an angel, ready to help if any danger threatened, made light work of breaking the chains, and released the former captive into the thin air.

So Peter went free; but the tyrant's revenge was yet to come. The time came when the king deluded by vain ambition, hastened to Caesarea, full of enmity towards the Tyrians and the city of Sidon. He boiled with the suppressed fires of vengeance; rolling his lascivious eye, he hurled royal threats and bombastic edicts for the people's destruction. Deeds would have followed words, if the people had not filled the hall with prayers, offerings and all the means they had and, by flattering promises and better hopes, lessened the prince's anger. So, when he sat on the throne, proudly holding his sceptre, with his impressive person and his garments gleaming with gold, surrounded by an immense mass of soldiers, powerful in voice and hand, he strongly urged peace, comforting the very city which his own power had shaken. Whether it was the unexpected pleasure or the prince's piety or the happy event that influenced the people is unclear; but they applauded him with shouts of joy. And to increase still more the sycophancy of the possessed crowd, they praised their master even more lavishly; with their wretched mouths wide open, they repeatedly cried out with blasphemous lips, 'It is not the voice of a human being that sounds here, but a god from on high; these are not mortal words but sent from heaven.'

If your mind had not been deranged, your reaction would have been to be struck dumb; King Agrippa, you would have trampled over the impious rewards offered you by the mob, and you would have condemned the murmurings of a wicked people. Your voice was not that of the gods; the heart and mind that supported your proud head spoke the language of mortals. Agrippa saw all this, however, and was not distressed by it; he drank it all in with his ears, and had no qualms yet about being so received. Soon he had both qualms and shame when the supreme God of heaven, monarch of land and sea, struck him down, and his royal intestines succumbed to a dreadful punishment. Teeming with worms, foul over all his hideous body, with his liver eaten up and his butchered flesh rotting, 'Behold,' he cried, 'the manifest punishment of my crime! Behold your god! Friends what do you think of me? I, an insignificant little human who just now in my madness was carried away by my lofty fame, am now tortured by the terrors of death; and with me (for what of my body can survive?) my praise and glory fall to the cruel shades.' This first is what he spoke; dying, he returned to his interrupted speech: 'I pray that any mortal who thinks himself worthy of such divine honour will perish like this, and see before him his last and final day.'

### [Simon the Magus: 416-73]

Now there was peace and the holy company, revived by the death of the tyrant, put aside its cares and turned to heavenly joys. But when the savage offspring of Satan, bred in horrid Hell, saw that there was no danger from external foes, and that the law of the Lord had driven away the darkness of their father Satan, despite the efforts of kings who relied upon arms against them, they attempted by deceit what they could not achieve by open war.

An impostor named Simon, born in Samaria, whom they called 'the Magician', was driven from his native city when Saint Philip exposed his pestilent arts, and moved to Rome. In Rome he sold offices at a price, and gained disciples and whatever else he hoped for. To what lengths will not his outrageous audacity go? He boasts – impious idea in blasphemous words – that he is god. Miracles full of extraordinary tricks, which Satan himself contrived, built up people's belief in him. At his will, a disgraced woman called Selenes had compounded the dreadful crime, and called herself 'the Supreme Mind' at whose bidding all earthly and heavenly things observe their predetermined courses. New rewards certain to give pleasure, but seasoned with seductive poison, went with new actions. He took away the desire to live a holy life and to care for salvation. 'For,' he said, 'it is not good works or well-performed acts that make a man blessed, but grace.' He taught in this way the rest of his



doctrines, which were full of madness known only to his disciples and the servants of his crimes. If anyone wanted to acquire even the first sight of these, he went away mauled by the man's strange madness. Finally, as he progressed in his study and his magic mumblings, he grew so great that he could easily acquire honours; there was set up in the Forum a remarkable image, proudly made in gold and inscribed as 'sacred to the holy god Simon'.

And now Claudius, the ruler of the Roman world, had seen the light of the new sun ranging the heavens, the fields parched by its recurring fires, two autumns, and the hastening cold of returning winter, and the forty-third year since Christ was born had passed away from the earth. Meanwhile a holier Simon – Peter by name – long freed from prison and the threat of death, made his way along the road that leads straight to Rome, to scatter the seeds of the holy word. Here, when he saw the blasphemous honours conferred on that vile scoundrel and the great fame of the impure teacher, he wept over the disaster and exposed the wicked magic, the deceits, the nourishing of evil, the sexual depravity and the corrupt avarice of Selenes. The result was that both were driven from their native home, and were deprived of any reason thereafter for seeing Rome. The flock agreed, and abandoning the impostor, welcomed doctrines of better repute and greater faith from their new teacher. Under Peter's instruction, the church began to be famous with innumerable triumphs. Meanwhile the magician, conscious of his criminal art and seeing torn from his hands the reins of his outrageous deception which he had held before, and with which he had fooled the whole world, hid his conjuror's tricks and vain deception in secret places.

#### **[Apostrophe to Rome: 474-502]**

O happy Rome, enjoy your triumphs in deep peace: now boast a joyful heart, a splendid destiny and battles bravely fought. It is not the descendants of Aeneas nor Quirinus with his brother Remus, nor the Roman senators nor the curule chairs, nor Caesar, laden with the spoils of the East, that covers you with honour: under Jupiter Stator you invented false joys, and you worship your mythical heroes with pointless enthusiasm. Now that the light has come, abandon those swamps choked with earthly filth: you have gained the voice of so great a master as Peter. I shall speak the truth since it can be spoken: you have gained him as the first head of the city of Christ and the world of Christ. It is he who, under Christ your prince, rightly undertakes the highest charge. Set no limits of time or space to your rule: the empire you hold is without end, your see everlasting. As shepherd of the sacred flock, you will make laws that are holy. You will be there to mark the last day of all, as the sea's courses are dried up, the poles and the heaven which covers all, as it rushes to its destined destruction, and the lands which lie beneath it, all cast down. For the most savage offspring of impiety will come – if the prophecies of the ancients mean anything, and surely they do – and he will exercise new arts and with false heart has already planned new fantasies against the Lord Jesus. As long as you hold up your head among the rest of the cities, you will crush the plague of heresy; no vogue will change your decision. But once your light is put out, the foe will riot unchecked. Schisms, wars, fire and all the horrors of an earthquake will follow, until, at the last day, the reaper purges the heavy crop, and gathers the pure wheat into the granaries.

#### **[Britain and the Apostolic Life 503-27]**

Peter, with Mark at his side, was still giving out his powerful voice at Rome, and preaching Christ in a whirlwind of words. Mark, the interpreter, met the needs of the brethren, and clothed in the Greek idiom what Peter brought forth in his teaching. Taking up the little book

he had written himself, he made his way to Egypt, and with a great crowd accompanying him, was chosen as the first bishop of Alexandria. So firmly did he hold to truth and justice that the holy race, following his example, took an honest path through life, and dead to the world and buried to the flesh, confounded the watchful foe by fasting and prayer. Now it is their delight to read the books of the Mosaic law, now to unroll the histories, now the prophets and anything of that kind, which drives away all dishonest business. The night is passed in peaceful contemplation, and the hunger of the stomach encourages them. Their bread is unleavened, river water is their drink; they scarcely wait for salt at dinner, and not at all for sauces; hyssop, garlic and leeks are their simple luxuries. I remember that Philo the Jew, who flourished about this time and never submitted to the yoke of Christ, handed on these and other more important traditions.

*O my country, O piety, O Britons, hearts once so much praised; if your sacred rites had stood firm like that, if you had prayed and fasted like that (would that you had done so!) your sacred rites too would now have stood firm.*

### [The Primacy of Peter: 528-71]

But I return to the chain of events. Nearly fifty years have passed since the time when the Word was born; the wedded girl, holy Mary, mother without seed, woman and virgin, bearer of Christ, now that her time was done and that she was called by the mourners (lay aside your displeasure if I speak now in the old way), was taken up to heaven and enjoys there a better life.

*O what shall I call you, Virgin? For it cannot be right to attribute to you the common accidents and sorrowful fate of man. For you bore in your womb such a child, the bright light of whose countenance calms the tempests and lightens the darkness of man. May you be gracious to us, O Holy Virgin, and lighten our labour.*

A year or two more had passed when a disturbance arose at Antioch: the Pharisees were imposing on the brethren the rites of Moses and the weighty burden of the ancestral laws, stirring up the plague of schism and the chains of the old mire. Our fathers could not endure this, nor have we ourselves borne it, nor will the coming ages of our descendants be able to keep it. Even while Paul was there, watching and teaching, the impious sect stirred up these evils. *What does this age of ours not produce?*

And so when he saw the achievement of brotherly love torn down, and the agreements of the peace now weakened, he at once took his companion with him and, swifter than the insubstantial wind, hastened to Jerusalem to consult the elders. The ancient fathers, a venerable band, assembled and healed the wounds. First before all was Peter, most famous man in the city: and he was the first to pronounce his vote. It was James who had to give judgement next after him. Then Paul reported how he had taken the Gospel far and wide round the world, and how grace had summoned the barbarian nations. They listened to this man's voice, and their hearts, kindled by enthusiasm, grew warm, when they remembered the words of their thrice-holy master: *'The harvest is great, but the labourers are few.'* The world is full of tears, and pity touches the human heart. Just as when a man who is travelling into pathless places, calls out and fills the wide countryside with his shrill cries, and looks for a way that a sure guide can teach him, there comes into sight, someone whom chance or fate has brought there and who can bring help to the wretched wanderer: what a welcome arrival! So the disciples considering all lands in order, hastened on their way, turned to good account the work at which they toiled and matched sorrows with joys.

**[Mission to the World: 572-91]**

There was an ancient race, fierce in the pursuits of war: it is called the Parthian race: this country, to which Thomas Didymus went, feels the Red Sea on its southern side, while its northern part contains the source of the Hyrcanian sea. The mother country, separated from it by the winding Tanais, is Scythia, hardened by the cold and able to bear toil. Andrew took this. Blessed India, which fell to Bartholomew, has two harvests and a second crop of fruit, enjoys the light of the rising sun, and is rich in land and in gently soothing breezes: see, now it brings home full granaries of her new harvest. The Ethiopians whose shores lie beneath the mountains of Atlas – shores which grow warm with the western sun and rejoice in the stream of the flooding Nile, the straits of the Ocean and the land of Egypt in the east – all these are entrusted to Matthew. Simon Peter looks after the ruins of the Cappadocians and Galatians, while Asia as a whole had fallen to the beloved John. Nicephorus tells us the rest. I shall sing of many things in few words.

**[Paul in Athens: 592-651]**

Meanwhile Paul, who had been tossed on land and sea and suffered much from scourging and imprisonment, came (skilled in arts as he was) to Athens seat of learning. A crowd fascinated by novelty at once hurried to see him; learned philosophers and timid young women paid him attention and hung from his lips as he spoke. Then Paul began (for they did not stop asking until he had satisfied the surrounding crowd by speaking): ‘O race of men, more ill-advised and prouder of its name than it is right to say, I know not beneath what false image of how many things this race swells with pride, and torments itself wandering over the whole of the heavens! Behold, my brethren, when I enter your dwelling – a dwelling much to be admired for the gathering here of great philosophers – how many seeds of things I see, instead of realities! No home is empty of them; the wild fury reigns everywhere. A city, eyeless and blind, labours too much, far too much, under the burden of its superstition. While I was looking all round, there met my inquiring eye an altar dedicated to the Unknown God. Him whom you worship in your ignorance should be worshipped in full light; Him alone, brethren, I proclaim to you. He it is who divided the primeval chaos into all its parts, who separated the earth from the sky and the waters from the land, who hurls the fierce thunderbolt from his terrible right hand. The axis of the world, ready to rush to destruction, He alone sustains. This creator of the world, this bringer of salvation to our age, looked down on an age imprisoned in enveloping filth, and embraced the human race with such love, rescued it out of darkness by sending his Son into the world and into the body of a virgin. After his Son had endured countless dangers by sea and land and the wounds of bitter death, God restored him to life and sent him back to the air above.’

So he spoke, and the undecided crowd was divided into opposite factions. Some made fun and raised a laugh; some wavered in doubt; a few stored his words in their honest hearts. One of these was Dionysius, a man famous for his quick skill in observing the movements of heavenly Olympus. Perhaps he had not forgotten the day that saw the passion of Jesus, at the sight of which Phoebus turned his face away in shame, averting his eyes from the bloody deed. When the great teacher of the Areopagus, labouring to understand the innermost organs of the heavens, and seeing an eclipse which neither nature nor the principles of his art made possible, he explained it thus in his own words: ‘Either the god of the universe is suffering, or the whole cosmic structure will be broken up,’ he said. What does not watchful industry conquer? What does the mind’s sharpness not conceive? On Paul’s decision, Dionysius was

made bishop of Athens and composed four famous books: I commend them to you reader; they are pure gold.

Paul left Athens, and now well known throughout the world, travelled everywhere, saw everything, and went back to visit it again. Toil did not deter him, nor petty profit delay him. There was no pause in his labours, and he gave full rein to his load. With all his strength, whether by hand, foot or wheel, he moved quickly back and forth in every direction. Then, having traversed the regions of the unknown world, he tried once more to give the Jews a solid basis of faith, and again made his way to those familiar shores.

### **[Paul in Rome: 652-82]**

Claudius reigned for nearly fourteen years. Treacherous servants give him some deadly aconite: he falls dead, and with his last words entrusts the empire to Nero. This was twenty-four years after Christ had been happily restored to heaven. The new Caesar had not yet opened up his wretched path of crime, because his teacher, the pious philosopher Seneca, held him back. He restrained him with weighty advice, and calmed a heart that was full of youthful fury. But it was just like trying to conceal a flame that is struggling to break out in public with its secret force; the flame is bound to come again despite the efforts of everyone. For who has ever concealed fire?

Chains and other dreadful torments, fiercely hostile Jews and the murmurs of a foolish mob now tortured Paul. But he stood firm and, although surrounded by thousands of enemies, pressed on. When he saw that even his own people hated him, he appealed to Caesar's court and enjoyed a breathing space of two years. He entered a lodging at Rome, and preached the light of the gospel to his own people and to the Latins, without distinction. Indeed he told a disciple in a letter how much good he had done the city of Romulus, and what assistance he had received to overcome the trickery of the Jews. *'No one helped me,' he wrote, 'when I stood before the feet of Caesar, troubled at the uncertain outcome, and in extreme peril. They all ran away, and a chill pierced the bones of their trembling bodies. I pray, my dearest son, they may not suffer at the hands of a just judge the penalty they deserve. But he who can do all things alone and by himself stood by me, and was a kindly comfort to me in the storm to come: he did not let me be abandoned, but snatched me from the jaws of the lion foaming with murderous rage.'*

### **[Death of James: 683-741]**

When the Jewish riff-raff saw that it was robbed of its prey, its thirst for blood not yet sated, you might think it had conspired to commit a crime. They turned over new schemes, and brooded on more evil outrages. James, the venerable bishop of the holy city, who was famous for his kinship with the Lord, and even more for his cognomen 'the Just', and most famous of all for his way of life, laid the foundations of the eternal Word among these people. He was holy in that he came from the blessed womb of his honoured mother, and in that he kept himself free from the filth of earthly affairs: he was the enemy of baths, oils, unguents and wine. He did not assuage the fasting of his empty belly with animal food, and faithfully spent his entire life in frequent prayer. The growth of the faith under his direction, and in response to the example of his well-approved life, gave them the handle they wanted to compass his death. So, as he sat on the gable of the temple, a crowd of men, having first made an agreement with him that they believed to be to their advantage, flocked around him with false

soft murmurs of affection. They were a criminal gang, trained in all the arts of treachery, and a desire to commit deeds that were worse than cruel.

This was how they addressed him. ‘Most holy offspring of men: our views depend on your decision. Your piety, your revered old age, and the situation itself, command us to give allegiance to you as our honoured master. You can see how the mob reveres this unknown, Jesus, and regards him as the Messiah. This was the man who once talked grandly, believed in himself and boasted of his heavenly father; this was the man we rightly sent down from earth to Hell: tell us now – for the father of gods and king of men has granted you power to overcome the unknown things that trouble us – tell, tell us what you, James, call the light of the true Christ. We hang on every word that falls from your lips.’ Such was the appeal of the crowd of the Pharisees.

Then he replied: ‘Why do you order me to repeat what should have been fixed firmly in your heart? O most immutable light of the world,’ he cried, ‘Son of God the Father and bringer of salvation to our time; body conceived in a virgin’s body; your cross is our salvation, your death has redeemed us from death, and restored us to our native country, we who have been chained by deceit and banished from our native shores. You have summoned us back to your kingdom, to the right hand of God the Father. You have come as a shepherd comforting the tender flock, and you will come one day, through the wide heaven, as judge. You live eternally, and your glory will flourish for ever and ever.’

Scarcely had he finished when shame, madness and anger aroused his enemies’ minds. The man they should have worshipped with great honour, the father second to none in holiness, they struck down even as he was speaking, and hurled him from the top of the gable to the ground in their fury. He tumbled – I shudder to tell – headlong to his fate: but falling on both knees, he prayed, and begged for better things for their insane minds, and so followed his holy master in piety to the end. He was still half alive, and hardly breathing in his agony, when his head was smashed by a fuller’s club. He died, and his funeral was celebrated with great weeping. The fathers appointed Simeon, the son of Cleophas (also connected by blood to Christ), to fill the vacancy left by his death.

### [Nero and Seneca: 742-773]

There was peace then from the Jews. But another worse horror looms: O mighty King when will you give an end to all the toils of your followers? First of all Caesar, a terrifying, cruel, arrogant monster, and a model of grim savagery, living up to his reputation of being brutal in every respect, with no thought for right and wrong, thrust the sword into his wife’s guts. Then fires, raging continuously for nine days and nights, gave rise to a pitiable slaughter. The cruel flames ravaged the gleaming squares, carrying off crops and trees, cattle and men, houses and shrines with their holy objects. Astonished by the sudden terror of this great disaster, unhappy Caesar beat his breast with hands doomed to perish, and avenged fires with fires still more savage. The tyrant brought to court defendants, guilty of no other crime than being of the hated race that bears the name of Christ. These he would make into a cruel example. Some he ordered to be fastened to crosses, others were covered in the skins of wild beasts; all were to have flames lit beneath them and to be burnt to give light in the night.

But why do I linger over foreign wars? Domestic wars returned. Often, when I read over again the writings of great philosophers, nobly eloquent Fathers of the church and the weighty memorials of the ancient classics, there comes to mind, as one of their great glories, the holy Seneca (if it is right to speak of him in the same breath as the holy Fathers). He cried out against an accursed age, sunk in darkness; he embraced Paul with mutual love, willingly received his letters and freely replied to him. Caesar could not bear either Seneca’s character

or his reproofs or the very loyal words of his teacher and counsellor. More merciful, and completely inconsistent with his earlier actions, was his rewarding Seneca's merits by giving him a choice of death.

**[The Martyrdom of Peter and Paul: 774-821]**

Meanwhile Peter, the leader of the great flock, went back and forth, and cleansed the city of the filth with which the impostor had captivated it. For having seduced it with his dark incantations, done foul deeds and lived in darkness for several years, Simon the Magus had clung to his contrary path, and driven away the fruit of salvation. In the end, when the vain prophet was making mighty boasts in blasphemous words and aspiring to the heights of Olympus with his magic charms, Peter, using better weapons, hurled him down from the heights to the depths. In this way he breathed his last, and finished with his wicked outrages.

Things now went well. The strong pillar of faith stood firm, and the sure barque of Peter, never to sink, sailed bravely forward despite the tyrant; sure it always was, unbroken by tempests or force of arms, and never to perish by the wiles of devils. None the less, it was tossed about when, in a more serious storm, the hateful Caesar, execrable monster, raged again and filled his last days with madness and bloodshed. His first judgement sentenced Peter to death on the cross; but as soon as Peter saw the sentence of death, fearing to rival his sublime master, he asked that his head be reversed to his feet, and fixed to the bottom of the stake, so that he could see the ground with lowered eyes. So his hand was fastened below, and his feet looked upwards. For his spirits were raised as his appearance was lowered; for he knew that heaven is more quickly gained by a humble heart; for the heavens recognize a prostrate mind.

Next, angry Nero vomited his anger on Paul's neck, and struck his body with a fatal stroke of the sword, just where the head joins the neck. Paul had predicted this himself. He had warned Timothy, 'Now I myself am being broken up; I have run my race, and am being poured out as a libation to heaven.' He was dragged forth without delay. Neither the day nor the hour escaped him. Tiber, sacred now on both banks, divides the two men's bones, and the eternal monuments of their lofty tombs; the right side holds Peter, the other Paul. Those whom a single faith cherished and one anchor of salvation nurtured, a single day raised at death to heaven and the crown they both longed for.

After Peter, Linus at once succeeded to the see of Rome; on Nero's death, Galba succeeded to the empire. After seven months Otho laid Galba low; and Vitellius, who neither lived nor died like a man, slew Otho. For when the envious goddess of the moon, who steers the chariot of the night, had refashioned her horns in a complete orb eight times, Vitellius gave way to Vespasian, who had been summoned from afar, and shamefully shed his empire and, without any show of arms, his blood.

*The End*

## APPENDIX 2

BL, Additional MS 36529, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>

Some kind of creature haue, so percing sight  
 They can behold, the ~~glistening~~ <sup>flaming</sup> sonne so hie  
 And some again, cannot abide the bright  
 Nor come abroad but when the night drawes nie  
 One other sort ~~drawe~~ <sup>drawe</sup> of ~~flaming~~ <sup>flaming</sup> light  
~~through vaine lust~~ <sup>through vaine lust</sup> ~~hope~~ <sup>hope</sup> ~~port~~ <sup>port</sup> in  
~~hopes of great sport~~ <sup>hopes of great sport</sup> ~~in the fire~~ <sup>in the fire</sup> to flie  
 And fast's by play, in earnest burning right  
 Alas and I, am of this latter rate  
~~that lightning flames~~ <sup>that lightning flames</sup> to ven' I want much myght  
 And for defence, I know ther is no flight  
 Nor place so darke, can helpe nor ouer so late  
 wherfore I yeld w<sup>th</sup> honor or w<sup>th</sup> blame  
 To follow wherere I shalbe led by fate  
 All thoughe I know, I go as flie to blame.

Cesare perche

fo. 21.

Cesare what time the wise and valiant hed  
~~front~~ <sup>front</sup> traitors hand for present hym was brought  
 Cloking the joy the ~~illustrious~~ <sup>illustrious</sup> ~~light~~ <sup>light</sup> it wrought  
 Outwardlie wept what euer inward bred  
 Hanniball eke when he saw fortune fled  
 And thierpire skoyged as no man wold haue thought  
 Amides the troupe of wiping eyes he laught  
 To slake the rage his kindled furi fed  
 So chauntish it that eachie mind desl<sup>d</sup> assay  
 To hyde his harme w<sup>th</sup> cloke of diuerse hew  
 As passion pearce w<sup>th</sup> looke now grime now gay  
 wherfore if I chance sing or smite a new  
~~thinkt~~ <sup>thinkt</sup> for that I can none other way  
 Couer the plaintes that still my life pursen'.

finis