John Lydgate MUMMINGS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

Edited by Claire Sponsler

TEAMS • Middle English Texts Series

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo

John Lydgate (c. 1371–1449), monk of the great abbey of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, is best known today as the author of such large-scale works as the *Fall of Princes*, the *Troy Book*, and the *Siege of Thebes*, which established him as the preeminent poet of fifteenth-century England, but he also had an active career as a writer of verses for public and private ceremonies and entertainments. Although they have been eclipsed by his longer works, these verses are of great importance for literary and theatrical history. They offer an example — rare in this period — of dramatic texts by a known writer and thus provide valuable information about how performances were commissioned, created, and disseminated in written form. They also reveal the range of Lydgate's poetic activities and his versatility, reminding us that artistic categories we now think of as discrete — writing, oral or mimetic performance, and visual display — overlapped in the fifteenth century. As Lydgate's work shows, modern terms for theatrical events — "performance," "play," "drama," and "theater" — are not particularly apt for a late medieval culture of literate orality, in which poetic verses might be read silently in private, recited aloud, painted on walls or panels, sung, mimed, or enacted — or even made part of the confectioner's art.

That blurring of boundaries poses some problems for deciding which texts should appear here, and while it would certainly be possible to expand or narrow the pool, I have decided to include in this edition only those texts that were mimetic in some way and that featured both oral and visual display. For that reason, the *Roundel for the Coronation of Henry VI*, which probably has no mimetic component, is not included, but the verses that accompanied the confectionary *sotelles* that were among the entertainments at the coronation banquet are, since they were tableau-like figures that included texts meant to be read — in all likelihood aloud as well as silently. Likewise, texts such as the *Danse Macabre*, which was requested in 1430 by John Carpenter, the town clerk of London, for inscription on the cloister walls of the Pardon churchyard at St. Paul's, or the translation of the famous Marian lament "Quis dabit," which was painted along the top of the walls of the Clopton chantry in the town of Long Melford, are omitted, since they seem to have been purely visual, without any spoken or mimetic component. All seventeen of the works on the following pages, then, seem to have involved some degree of mimetic activity and show signs of the use of impersonation, action or gesture, costuming, props, oral recitation, or visual display.

Most of Lydgate's performance texts were written in a flush of energy in the late 1420s and early 1430s, when he was at the peak of his career as a public poet, with the *Troy Book* (1412–20) and the *Siege of Thebes* (1421–22) behind him and the *Fall of Princes* (1431–38) yet

¹ See Lydgate, *Dance of Death*, ed. Warren, and, for the Clopton verses, Gibson, "Bury St Edmunds, Lydgate, and the *N-Town Cycle*," pp. 80–81, and Trapp, "Verses by Lydgate at Long Melford," pp. 1–11 (although Trapp mistakenly refers to the poem as "The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene").

to come. Chief among them are seven mummings or disguisings, which were written for both royal and civic audiences. (The mumming for Margaret of Anjou's entry into London in 1445 is no longer viewed as part of Lydgate's canon, but is included in an appendix for interested readers.)² Three of the mummings were designed as Christmas entertainments for the young Henry VI and his mother Catherine of Valois, while four were created for civic occasions in London. Not surprisingly, given the historical circumstances in which they were written, most of these performances share a concern with questions about the nature of sovereignty and authority, the right of succession and legitimacy of rule, standards of behavior, and proper governance. They characteristically range widely over classical and biblical history, offering an erudite and probably intentionally edifying mix of examples drawn from Greek and Roman mythology as well as Christian writings.

The ten other items in this edition are more miscellaneous in nature. A Procession of Corpus Christi describes a London Corpus Christi procession and, while undated, may also have been written in the late 1420s. In 1429, Lydgate was commissioned to write verses to accompany sotelles for the coronation banquet of Henry VI, one of four poems he produced for the occasion (the others included a prayer, a roundel, and a balade). A few years later, Lydgate wrote another poem for a civic audience when he was commissioned by the mayor of London, John Welles, to write a commemorative description of the pageants Londoners had devised to greet Henry VI on his return to England on 21 February 1432, after two years in France.³ At an undetermined date, Lydgate wrote the *Pageant of Knowledge*, so named by Henry MacCracken after the Latin term pagina that appears in the text. The meaning of the term pagina is ambiguous, but MacCracken thought it pointed to the presentation of the piece as a school play, like what he identified as its original by Ausonius. 4 (The unattributed Mumming of the Seven Philosophers, which a later hand suggestively includes as among the "Poemata Anglicana Lidgati" and which appears to have been designed for a Christmasking performance, possibly also by schoolboys, is included in an appendix for comparison.) Another poem, Bycorne and Chychevache, was made for a "werthy citeseyn of London," apparently to be painted onto a wall-hanging or possibly as part of a dramatic presentation, perhaps a mumming. Of the Sodein Fal of Princes in Oure Dayes seems to have been similarly designed to accompany pictorial representations, processional presentation, or a mumming. ⁵ The Legend of St. George was written at the request of the armorers of London to honor their brotherhood and for the feast of Saint George; like Bycorne and Chychevache, the verses were

² The 1445 entry was first identified as Lydgate's by Stow in his *Annales* (1592), p. 624, based on Fabyan's account, and subsequently attributed to Lydgate by a number of critics, including MacCracken, who later reversed his opinion, after finding the verses inconsistent with Lydgate's style; Kipling argues that the use of two stanzaic forms suggests two separate poets, neither of them Lydgate ("London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou," pp. 11–12).

³ Verses describing the London entry of Henry V in 1415 are no longer ascribed to Lydgate. The verses are reprinted as Appendix IV, pp. 191–92, at the end of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, a text that gives the fullest extant account of the 1415 pageants. For their attribution to Lydgate, see Withington, *English Pageantry*, 1:132 ff., and the references there.

⁴ For a discussion of "pageant" as synonymous with "picture," see Edwards, "Middle English Pageant 'Picture'?"; Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, p. 183, discusses tableau presentation.

⁵ See Hammond, "Two Tapestry Poems;" Pearsall believes *Sodein Fal* was intended for processional performance (*John Lydgate*, p. 180); and Robbins identifies it as a mumming (*Secular Lyrics*, p. 342).

apparently created to be painted onto a wall-hanging along with pictures, and may possibly have included some sort of enactment. *Mesure Is Tresour* also seems to have been intended to accompany portraits of the various ranks of medieval society and ends with verses seemingly spoken by a shepherd figure.

LYDGATE AND HIS MILIEU

Born in a small village in Suffolk, Lydgate spent most of his life as a monk in the nearby Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, one of the wealthiest and most powerful monastic houses in England and a center for culture and drama. The town, with a population of around four thousand in the early fifteenth century, lay inside the monastery walls and the monastery controlled most town affairs. Relations between the town and the monastery were not always without conflict: in 1327 the citizens burned down and plundered the abbey and during the 1381 rising a crowd marched on the abbey and sacked the houses of monastic officials. By 1400, the abbey at Bury had around sixty to eighty monks, with up to two hundred servants and vast estates in Suffolk and beyond. Lydgate tells us in his *Testament* that he entered the abbey as a novice at the age of fifteen and was eventually ordained in 1397. As a student at Bury, Lydgate would have received a standard course of instruction in grammar, logic, and philosophy; he would also have had access to the monastery's library, which held some two thousand manuscripts, including the complete comedies of Terence and eight plays by Plautus.

Lydgate seems to have continued his studies at Oxford, as Derek Pearsall notes in his detailed biography of the poet, where he probably made the acquaintance of a number of eminent men — including the Prince of Wales; Richard Courtenay, chancellor of Oxford in 1406–08 and off-and-on again in 1411–13; and Edmund Lacy, the bishop of Exeter — all of whom appear to have influenced his writing. ¹⁰ At Oxford, Lydgate would have studied at Gloucester College, the house for monk-students from the southern province of the Benedictine order; he appears to have stayed for a few years, but did not take a degree. ¹¹ A few tantalizing glimpses of Lydgate's reading and writing from this period include a

⁶ Lydgate mentions on three occasions (*Fall of Princes*, VIII.195–96 and IX.3431–35, and *Isopes Fabules*, lines 31–32) that he was born in Lydgate (or Lidgate), a small village in Suffolk, eight miles southwest of Bury, where he was recruited as a boy to the abbey (see Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, p.12).

⁷ Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 12–13.

⁸ Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 13–14.

⁹ See James, "Bury St. Edmunds Manuscripts," and Thomson, "Library of Bury," pp. 617–45; for Bury's ownership of the Terence and Plautus manuscripts, see Gibson, "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the *N-Town Cycle*," p. 63.

¹⁰ See Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, pp. 56–57, for the letter from the Prince of Wales, probably written in 1406–08, to the abbot of Bury requesting that "J. L.," of whom he has heard good reports from "R. C." [Richard Courtenay], be allowed to stay at Oxford. Norton-Smith argues that Lydgate met Edmund Lacy at Oxford (Shirley says Lydgate wrote a translation of *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te* for him) and that along with the Prince of Wales, Lacy shaped "the direction and style of Lydgate's religious verse" (*John Lydgate: Poems*, p. 195).

¹¹ Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, p.15. See also Dobson, "Religious Orders, 1370–1540," pp. 546–48, and Pantin, *Documents*, 3:222.

volume containing Isidore's *Synonyma*, the sermons of Hildebert of Le Mans, "Versus circiter cxiv proverbiales" and "Versus lxxiv heroici proverbiales" that Lydgate may have brought with him from the library at Bury, and his *Isopes Fabules*, which the scribe John Shirley says was "made in Oxforde." As Pearsall observes, Oxford would have afforded Lydgate a degree of freedom along with chances for meeting people, while also perhaps giving him a taste for the comforts and privileges of fame and money, and thus helps explain Lydgate's subsequent career of writing on-demand for influential people on important occasions. ¹³

Although it remains an open question how much time Lydgate spent away from Bury, he clearly lived an active and public life. His commissions and contacts suggest that he moved in a circuit that included the court, Oxford and its environs (such as the house of Thomas Chaucer near Oxford), and London, as well as Bury, and even traveled as far as France. During the years when most of his performance pieces for Londoners and the court were written, Lydgate held the priorate at Hatfield, a small Benedictine priory in Essex (c. 1423–30), putting him closer to London and the royal palaces of Windsor and Eltham than he would have been at Bury. Lydgate would also have had an opportunity to make contacts at Bury, which welcomed many powerful visitors and enrolled others as associates of the fraternity of the abbey (such as Richard Beauchamp, William de la Pole, and Thomas Beaufort). Henry IV and Henry V visited Bury, and Henry VI made a long stay in 1433, shortly before Lydgate finished his Lives of Sts. Edmund and Fremund, which was presented to the king as a gift from Abbot Curteys and the monks of St. Edmunds. Lydgate surely also knew promi-nent citizens from the town of Bury, such as John Baret, who was treasurer to the abbey and was designated co-recipient of an annuity granted to Lydgate by Henry VI in the last year of the monk's life.¹⁴

Lydgate's writing is usually thought of in relation to the royal court or to London, yet it should also be seen as a product of East Anglian literary and religious culture. During his lifetime, East Anglia was home to a literary scene that included the poet John Metham, author of the romance *Amoryus and Cleopes* (1448); Osbern Bokenham, the Austin friar and author of, among other things, a life of Mary Magdalene; the chronicler John Capgrave, an Austin friar and poet from Lynn; the mystics Margery Kempe (c. 1373–c. 1439) and Julian of Norwich (c. 1343–c. 1413); and Benedict Burgh, who seems to have met Lydgate in the late 1440s and admired the monk enough to finish one of his poems after Lydgate's death.¹⁵

¹² The volume is Bodley MS Laud misc. 233, and contains what appears to be Lydgate's autograph on the verso of the end flyleaf; Pearsall is skeptical of Shirley's claim that *Isopes Fabules* was "made in Oxforde" since Aesop's *Fables* was a popular Latin school text that Shirley on his own may have associated with Oxford (*Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 16–18).

¹³ Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, p. 16.

¹⁴ Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 37–38, argues that since the king's articles of 1421 recommended against receipt of money by individual monks, Abbot Curteys insisted on giving the grant a cloak of responsibility by having it paid jointly to Lydgate and Baret.

¹⁵ Burgh finished *The Secrees of Old Philosoffres*, on which Lydgate was apparently at work when he died; it is not known whether Burgh completed the work on his own or was commissioned to do so by the king or by Henry de Bourgchier, count of Ewe, who with his son John was admitted to the fraternity of the abbey of Bury in 1440 (see Ord, "Account of the Entertainment," p. 70n1, and Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, p. 40).

The work of these writers was encouraged and read by a thriving group of regional patrons of the arts and bibliophiles, to whom Lydgate must also have been known.¹⁶

The religious drama that flourished in East Anglia provides another important context for Lydgate's performance pieces. The N-Town plays, along with various saints' plays and moralities — including the Digby *Mary Magdalene, Mankind, Wisdom,* and the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament* — are evidence of the region's interest in theatrically and thematically ambitious performances that show a tolerance for reformist religious positions while also supporting orthodoxy and that speak with particular directness to the spiritual preoccupations of the prosperous middle classes. Some of these plays have been linked to Bury St. Edmunds and a number share the concerns and themes of Lydgate's dramatic writings (such as Marian devotion). Although Lydgate's involvement in local dramatic activities remains undocumented, it would have been hard for him to be unaware of the region's performance traditions. His own aesthetic differs — perhaps deliberately — in a number of ways from that of the extant East Anglian plays, but his performance pieces for courtly and urban audiences nonetheless share some common ground with them, including a tendency to bend religious material to secular ends. 18

JOHN SHIRLEY

The significance of John Shirley (c. 1366–c. 1456) for Lydgate's performances is hard to overstate. Shirley's role as a preserver and disseminator of literary texts is well known. A number of Middle English poems survive only in his manuscripts, and attributions and contexts are available for other works solely on the basis of information contained in his headings and rubrics. Shirley is especially crucial for establishing the Lydgate canon and is the sole authority for a number of the poet's minor poems, including the mummings and disguisings. Two of Shirley's anthologies are the source for almost all of the performance pieces included here. Trinity College MS R.3.20, which was compiled in the early 1430s, contains six of the mummings and disguisings as well as the *Procession of Corpus Christi*, the *Sodein Fal of Princes, The Legend of St. George*, and *Bycorne and Chychevache*, making it the single most important source for Lydgate's performance pieces. The *Mumming at Bishopswood* was copied into Shirley's last anthology, Bodley MS Ashmole 59, which is datable by internal evidence to between 1447 and 1449. Only the *Pageant of Knowledge*, *Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London*, and the *Sotelles* are not extant in manuscripts copied by Shirley (the two poems included in appendices are also not found in Shirlean manuscripts).

Besides preserving a record of what would otherwise be ephemeral performance pieces, Shirley also provides valuable — in many instances, almost the only — information about the auspices of the texts he copied. For Lydgate's mummings and other entertainments,

¹⁶ For discussions of East Anglian women as patrons and readers, see Hanna, "Some Norfolk Women" and McNamer, "Female Authors, Provincial Setting."

¹⁷ See Gibson, "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the N-Town Cycle," esp. pp. 60–63.

¹⁸ Some of the N-Town plays may show the influence of Lydgate, and possibly some of the morality plays in the Digby and Macro manuscripts were at one time in the possession of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds; there is also some evidence that the abbey hosted players or minstrels (see Gibson, "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the *N-Town Cycle*," for Lydgate's influence on the N-Town plays).

¹⁹ For the dates of these manuscripts, see Connolly, *John Shirley*, pp. 77 and 152.

Shirley usually attempts to identify the nature of the text, describe its occasion, and give whatever other details he appears to have known about it. Recent assessments agree that, despite a few errors, Shirley's rubrics are for the most part reliable and usefully help situate Lydgate's verses in their cultural and performance contexts.²⁰

Some scholars have thought that Shirley was a commercial publisher who ran a scriptorium in London, but Margaret Connolly has recently demonstrated that his scribal work was an extension of the "culture of service" formed by his career in the household of Richard Beauchamp, the earl of Warwick, with which Shirley had been associated since at least 1403.²¹ As he states in the preface to the first of his three anthologies, Shirley assumed that the primary audience for his anthologies would be "bothe the gret and the commune" of that household.²² When he copied Lydgate's verses for performance, he presumably had in mind the pleasure and instruction of those household readers, a few of whom may have seen some of the original performances for which Lydgate wrote his verses, if they had happened to be at court or in London, as would not have been unlikely given Warwick's movements and duties in the 1420s and early 1430s.

Shirley seems to have been especially eager to disseminate and support Lydgate's poetry: British Library MS Additional 16165, compiled in the late 1420s, contains fourteen pieces by Lydgate, out of some forty-five texts; Trinity R.3.20 in its current form contains twenty-six poems by Lydgate, out of approximately seventy-five (twenty-seven of the non-Lydgatian pieces are short, anonymous poems in French; the other named authors in the anthology include Chaucer, Suffolk, Hoccleve, and Brampton); and Shirley's last anthology, Bodley Ashmole 59, contains thirty-five works by Lydgate as well as verses by Gower, Scogan, and Chaucer. The high percentage of poems by Lydgate in Shirley's manuscripts may simply reflect Lydgate's literary prestige, but it may also signal a deeper attachment to the writer and his work.

It in fact seems likely that Shirley's interest in Lydgate's writing was based on personal acquaintance. They were of the same generation — Shirley was roughly the same age as Lydgate — and both men had ties to the Lancastrian affinity and to London. Records show that Shirley was in Warwick's retinue in France and England from 1403 until the late 1420s; when Warwick was appointed tutor to Henry VI in 1428, Shirley appears to have settled in London where, while still maintaining connections with the aristocratic world of Warwick, he gradually developed associations with the city's merchant class. ²³ At any number of places in these years Shirley could have met Lydgate and perhaps have seen some of the performances featuring his verses. John Stow's copy of what was presumably Shirley's preface to Trinity R.3.20, now missing from that manuscript, suggests that Shirley was concerned with solidifying Lydgate's reputation and with helping him gain financial reward for his poetry,

²⁰ See Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 17–18.

²¹ See Connolly, *John Shirley*, pp. 191–95, for a discussion of competing views of Shirley's scribal activities and his reliability.

²² Connolly, John Shirley, p. 191.

²³ For Shirley's biography, see Connolly, *John Shirley*, pp. 15–63. For Lydgate's connections with Warwick, see Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, pp. 160–71.

efforts that would be especially understandable if they were motivated by firsthand knowledge of the poet.²⁴

PERFORMANCE

Aside from a few internal clues in the poems themselves and the details contained in Shirley's rubrics, we have little information about how Lydgate's mummings and other entertainments were performed. In most cases, we do not know who organized and acted in them, or how they employed props, costuming, and music. We also do not know what role, if any, Lydgate played in the performances or how spectators reacted.

Exactly what form the performances took is complicated by Shirley's use of a variety of terms for the verses Lydgate wrote and the performances in which they were used, terms that include *scripture*, *bille*, *devyse*, *lettre*, *balade*, *ordenaunce*, *momyng*, and *desguysing*. In some cases Shirley uses several different terms to describe one text and he appears to have used some terms — including mumming and disguising — interchangeably. Interestingly, in no instance does he refer to Lydgate's verses with the words commonly used in Middle English to designate dramatic performance — *pley* and *game* — nor does he use the related Latin terms *ludus* and *spectacula*. Whatever Lydgate's performance pieces were, they apparently did not suggest "play" to Shirley, as Anne Lancashire has noted. But contemporaries made fewer distinctions among various kinds of performances than we do, and it is probably best for us to think of Lydgate's verses as fitting into a broad generic category that included various combinations of music, spoken word, impersonation, gesture or action, and special effects.

Complete information is lacking, but we can make some reasonable guesses about who organized and performed in Lydgate's entertainments. Although records show that traveling

²⁴ The relevant passage reads:
 "yet for all his much konnynge
 which were gret tresore to a kynge
 I meane this lidgate munke duan John
 his nobles bene spent I leue ychon
 and eke hus shylinges nyche by
 his thred bare coule woll not ly
 ellas ye lordis why nill ye se
 and reward his poverte."

²⁵ Westfall, *Patrons and Performance*, p. 33n21, uses "mumming" to describe a dumbshow and "disguising" for a more elaborate performance; Wickham defines mumming as involving gift-giving and disguising as not (*Early English Stages* 1:204–05), but A. Lancashire argues convincingly that mummings and disguisings "are similar kinds of occasional entertainment, performed both at court and elsewhere" (*London Civic Theatre*, p. 275n17), and Anglo, "Evolution," p. 7, notes that in the early sixteenth century the terms "mask," "mumming," "pageant," and "disguising" are still being used interchangeably. Although Shirley seems to share that sense of interchangeability, I have followed his lead in labeling the performances at Hertford and London "disguisings," since their length and use of iambic pentameter couplets set them apart from the other mummings. Tiner, Carnahan, and Peterson discuss Lydgate's texts in performance (see "'Euer aftir to be rad & song'"). For a consideration of the difficulty of knowing what medieval texts were performed and how, see Sponsler, "Drama in the Archives."

²⁶ A. Lancashire, London Civic Theatre, pp. 125–26.

players were present for Christmas entertainments at court in the late 1420s and that a group of stagecraft professionals based in London was apparently involved in court entertainments, the royal mummings may also have been written for performance by members of the household, possibly by the chapel royal, as Suzanne Westfall argues, to which Lydgate may have had a connection through Edmund Lacy. Shirley tells us that the *Disguising at Hertford* was commissioned by John Brice, the controller of the royal household; Brice was actually the cofferer, an assistant to the controller, but would nonetheless have been responsible for organizing household entertainments. Whether or not Lydgate was present for these performances, or participated in them as presenter — as Shirley's preface to Trinity R.3.20 with its description of Lydgate as a maker of "many a roundeel and balade" that he has "sayd" "with hys sugred mouthe" suggests — he appears to have been familiar with court entertainments, as we can infer from the reference by name to the king's "some tyme tregetowre," or conjuror, John Rikhill, in the Lansdowne manuscript of Lydgate's *Dance of Death*. Share a country of Lydgate's *Dance of Death*.

The entertainments Lydgate wrote for Londoners may have been performed by either hired professionals or members of the companies. Guilds seem to have encouraged some of their members to become theatrically expert, and records from the sixteenth century show professional players/minstrels as members of various London companies; parish clerks were also available for hire and were sometimes members of companies other than the Parish Clerks' Company. The 1432 entry for Henry VI was probably overseen by Carpenter, the town clerk, with whom Lydgate was apparently acquainted, perhaps along with advice from the mayor and the city council as well as the royal household; it would have drawn on the expertise of artisans and entertainers in London, including a group of professionals who worked on both civic and court revelry; while Lydgate did not supply original verses for the pageants in the 1432 entry, he may have been present for the event, as is suggested by details in his commemorative description of it. So

Whether written for the royal household or for Londoners, Lydgate's verses were designed for festive and ceremonial occasions such as Twelfth Night, Candlemas, Christmas, and May Day. Many of the verses were apparently spoken by a presenter of some sort (sometimes described as a herald), presumably to accompany mimed action; in some cases, while the verses may have been spoken they were also visible in written form as part of the pageant, confection, wall-hanging, or mural. Songs and dancing are mentioned in some verses,

²⁷ For the existence of stagecraft professionals who worked on both city and court entertainments, see Streitberger, *Court Revels*, pp. 46–47 and 172–76; for use of the chapel royal, see Westfall, *Patrons and Performance*, pp. 34–37. According to Shirley, Lydgate was at Windsor sometime between 1414 and 1417, the years when his friend Lacy was dean of the chapel royal (see Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, pp. 21–22). In the 1420s, when Lydgate's royal mummings were performed, the dean was Robert Gilbert (Griffiths, *Reign of King Henry VI*, p. 59).

²⁸ The preface is in BL MS Additional 29729 (presumably copied from a lost preface in R.3.20); for a transcription, see Connolly, *John Shirley*, pp. 208–211. For John Rikhill, see Lydgate, *Dance of Death*, ed. Warren, line 513. *Tregetowre* is defined by the *Promptorium Parvulorum* as a "mimus, pantomimes, joculator" (1.501).

²⁹ A. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 272n116 and n117.

³⁰ For the likelihood that Lydgate saw at least part of the 1432 entry, see Kipling, "Poet as Deviser," pp. 87–88.

suggesting an opening for musical entertainment as part of the performance. A number of Lydgate's verses also point to the inclusion of ritual gift-giving of the sort associated with mummings such as the one Londoners performed at the palace of Kennington for the young prince Richard in January 1377, before he became king, in which the prince was given gifts after playing a game of dice with the costumed mummers.³¹ The festive and ceremonial contexts of Lydgate's mummings and entertainments remind us of the social and communal purposes for which so many early vernacular plays were designed and of their role in cementing social relationships and suggesting proper courses of action, while also providing pleasure.

STYLE

The style of Lydgate's performance pieces will be familiar to anyone who has read his longer works. Most of them (the notable exception is the *Disguising at Hertford*) are written in Lydgate's characteristic "aureate" manner that depends on the use of Latinate vocabulary and elaborate syntax to achieve an elevated artistic effect. While the pieces are sometimes difficult for modern readers and often criticized as deficient in poetic qualities, recent reevaluations have shown that Lydgate's style was eminently well suited for his aims and involves a sophisticated use of language.³² It was also widely admired by those contemporaries who repeatedly commissioned works from him and it influenced later English writers, including the Scottish Chaucerians, and early modern poets, including Spenser and Dryden.

Nearly all of the performance pieces in this edition are short poems in rhyme royal, although two (Hertford and London) are longer compositions that feature rhymed couplets.

THE TEXT

Most of Lydgate's performance pieces were included by MacCracken in his 1934 edition of Lydgate's shorter poems, but only a few have been reprinted or reedited since then. While MacCracken's edition is for the most part reliable (although his collations are sometimes confusing or inaccurate), I have in all cases used the manuscripts as my source, checking them against MacCracken. My editions of the *Procession of Corpus Christi*, Bycorne and Chychevache, the Sodein Fal of Princes, The Legend of St. George, the Procession of Corpus Christi, and all of the mummings and disguisings except for the Mumming at Bishopswood (which is based on Bodley Ashmole 59) follow the readings found in Trinity R.3.20, with the exception of emendations recorded in the Textual Notes. For those pieces that were never copied by Shirley, I have been guided by MacCracken in choosing a base text: the text of the Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet follows British Library MS Cotton Julius B.i; Henry VT's Triumphal Entry into London is based on British Library MS Cotton Julius B.ii; the Pageant of Knowledge, on Trinity R.3.21; and Mesure Is Tresour, on British Library MS Harley 2255—in all cases, emendations are indicated in the Textual Notes. In those instances in which a text exists in multiple manuscripts, I have noted substantive variants in the Textual Notes.

³¹ See the *Anonimalle Chronicle*, pp. 102–03, and the discussions in Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, 1:394–95, and Wickham, *Early English Stages*, 3:49.

 $^{^{32}}$ For a sympathetic reassessment of Lydgate's syntax, see Hardman, "Lydgate's Uneasy Syntax."

A few characteristics of spelling and punctuation in Shirley's manuscripts are worth noting. Shirley seldom includes punctuation at the ends of lines, although sometimes a period or dot appears between words in mid-line, where it may signal a pause or indicate emphasis; when punctuation appears, it is usually a virgule or slash. Shirley occasionally uses a tilde at the end of headnotes and a number of poems feature an n (or m) periodically in the left margin, which is usually disregarded by editors as a scribal device since it does not always seem to indicate a break, or at least not one signaled by the sense of the text. Superscript bar lines sometimes appear to signal double letters (e.g., $ro\bar{n}e = ronne$), but at other times seem not to have a purpose. Abbreviations include w^t for with, p^t for that, and omission of -ro as in peesse for processe. Shirley's characteristic spellings include nexst, filowyng, heer, yee, reedethe, use of -eo in words such as beon, eorlle, neode, and weoping, and the periodic doubling of consonants in words such as englisshe, frensshe, and affter. His ornamental flourishes on occasion include descenders in the bottom line that are enlarged and crisscrossed; ascenders in the top line that are exaggerated in large, bold loops; and decorated running titles. 33

In accordance with the conventions of the Middle English Texts Series, I have transcribed the scribal ampersand as and, thorn as th, and yogh as y, g, or gh, depending on the modern spelling of a word. The spellings of u/v/w and i/j have been regularized (e.g., devise rather than deuise). Words ending in a single -e have been marked with an accent, as in $charit\acute{e}$. When it refers to the second-person pronoun, the has been transcribed as thee, so as to avoid confusion with the article. Except where it conforms to modern usage, double ff has been transcribed as single f (e.g., MS giffte appears as gifte). Abbreviations and suspension marks have been quietly expanded and scribal errors corrected, but for the most part Shirley's spelling has been retained. Capitalization, word division, and punctuation follow modern practice.

³³ Mooney, "John Shirley's Heirs," pp. 183 and 195, and Connolly, John Shirley, pp. 170 and 173.



5

LYDGATE'S MUMMINGS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

BYCORNE AND CHYCHEVACHE

Is graunted to thees beestis tweyin.

[Loo, sirs, the devise (device) of a psynted or desteyned (painted or stained) clothe for an halle, a parlour, or a chaumbre, devysed by Johan Lidegate at the request of a werthy citeseyn (worthy citizen) of London.

[First there shal stonde an ymage in poete-wyse (in the guise of a poet) seying thees thre (these three) balades:

O prudent folkes, takethe heed pay attention
And remembrethe, in youre lyves,
Howe this story dothe proceed
Of the housbandes and theyre wyves,
Of theyre acorde and of theyre stryves
With lyf or deethe, which to derrain decide the outcome of

two beasts

[And thane shalle theer be purtrayed twoo beestis, oon (one) fatte another leene (lean).

Of Chichevache and of Bycorne
Tretethe hooly this matere,

Whos story hathe taught us here to forne
Howe thees beestis, bothe in feere,
Have theyre pasture, as yee shal here,
Of men and wymmen, in sentence,
Thorugh souffraunce or thorughe inpacience.

Skinny cow; Two horns (see note)

completely

before

before

Feed on [men and women]; hear

truly

Through souffraunce or thorughe inpacience.

For this Bicorne of his nature
Wil noon other maner foode
But pacient men in his pasture;
And Chichevache etethe wymmen goode;
And boothe theos beestes, by the roode,

Be fatte or leene, hit may not fayle,
Lyke lak or plenté of theyre vitayle.

Som this Bicorne of his nature

long-suffering

by the cross (a mild oath)

Are
According to lack

[Thane shalle ther be pourtrayhed a fatte beest called Bycorne of the cuntrey of Bycornoys and seyne (say) thees thre balades filowing (following):

	Of Bycornoys I am Bycorne,	
	Ful fatte and rounde, here as I stonde,	
	And in maryage bonde and sworne	bound
25	To Chichevage, as hir husbande,	o conta
	Which wil not ete on see nor lande	Who; sea
	But pacyent wyves debonayre	Any except; humble
	Which to hir husbandes beon nat contrayre.	their; are not contrary
	which to im hasbandes seen hat contrajie.	incir, are not contrary
	Ful scarce, God wot, is hir vitayle,	God knows; her food
30	Humble wyves she fyndethe so fewe,	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	For alweys at the countretayle	in reply
	Theyre tunge clappethe and dothe hewe;	tongue flaps and cuts
	Suche meke wyves I beshrewe,	submissive; curse
	That neyther cane at bedde ne boord	can; table
35	They husbandes nought forbere on worde.	one
33	Theyre husbandes nought forbere on worde.	one
	But my foode and my cherisshing,	nourishment
	To telle pleynly, and not tarye,	delay
	Ys of suche folk whiche ther living,	uctuy
	Dar to theyre wyves be not contrarye,	Dare
40	Ne frome theyre lustis dar not varye,	Dure
10	Nor with hem holde no chaumpartye;	contend against them
	- · ·	contend against them
	Alle suche my stomake wol defye!	digest
	[Thanne shal be pourtrayed a companye of men comyng thees foure balades:	g towardes this beest Bicorne and sey
	Felawes, takethe heede and yee may see	
	Howe Bicorne castethe him to devoure	intends to
45	Alle humble men, bothe you and me,	inienas io
13	Ther is no gayne us may socour;	no half that can brotact us
	Wo be therfore, in halle and bour,	no help that can protect us
	To alle thees husbandes, which theyre lyves	in manor and cottage
	· · ·	corrections ruch as
	Maken maystresses of theyre wyves.	sovereign women
50	Who that so doothe, this is the lawe,	
00	That this Bycorne wol him oppresse,	
	And devowren in his mawe	
	That of his wyf makethe his maystresse;	He who
	This wol us bring in gret distresse,	He who
55	For we for oure humylytee	
33	· ·	D.,
	Of Bycorne shal devowred be.	By
	We stonden pleynly in suche cas,	We are clearly in such misfortune
	That they to us maystresses be,	, , ,
	We may wel sing and seyne allas!	say
60	That wee gaf hem the sovereynté;	gave
	0 / /	8

For we be thralle and they beo fre, Wherfore Bycorne, this cruell beste, Wol us devowren at the leest. $in\ thrall; free$

Will; in any case

But who that cane be sovereyne,

And his wyf teeche and chastyse,
That she dare not a worde geyne-seyne,
Nor disobeye no maner wyse,
Of suche a man, I cane devyse,
He stant under proteccion;

teach contradict in any way

> say stands

70 Frome Bycornes jurisdiccyoun.

75

95

[Thanne shal ther be a womman devowred ypurtrayhed in the mouthe of Chichevache cryen (crying) to alle wyves and sey this balade:

O noble wyves, beothe wel ware,
Takethe ensaumple nowe by me,
Or ellys, afferme weel I dare,
Yee shal beo ded, yee shal not flee;
Beothe crabbed, voydethe humylitee,
Or Chychevache ne wol not fayle
You for to swalowe in hir entrayle.

be aware

example I dare well say

dead spiteful; avoid

You for to swalowe in hir entrayle.

[Thanne shal be ther purtrayhed a longe horned beest sklendre (slender) and lene (lean) with sharpe teethe and on his body nothing save skyn and boone (bone).

Hungry, megre, sklendre, and lene,
To shewe my body I have gret shame,
For hunger I feele so gret teene,
On me no fattnesse wol beo seene,
By cause that pasture I fynde noon,
Therfore I am but skyn and boon.

Chychevache, this is my name,

emaciated; slender; lean

pain

skin and bones

85 For my feding in existence
Is of wymmen that beon meeke,
And lyche Gresylde in pacyence,
Or more, theyre bountee for to eeke;
But I ful longe may goon and seeke
90 Or I cane fynde a gode repaaste

 $in\ reality$

like

Before; good
In the morning

virtue to enhance

I trowe ther beo a dere yeere Of pacyent wymmen nowe theos dayes; Who grevethe hem with worde or chere, believe; is a dearth

Let him beware of suche assayes; For it is more thane thritty Mayes

Amorowe to breke with my faaste.

makes them (i.e., women) angry; manner

sallies thirty

oppose

for a long time

130

That I have sought frome lande to londe, But yit oone Gresylde never I fonde.

100	I fonde but oone, in al my lyve,	life
100	And she was deed sith go ful yore; For more pasture I wil not stryve	dead since long ago
	Nor seeche for my foode no more,	search
	Ne for vitayle me to enstore;	supply
	Wymmen beon wexen so prudent	have grown; wise
105	They wol no more beo pacyent.	
	[Thanne shal there be pourtrayhed after Chichevache an older manassing the beest for the rescowing of his wyf: 1	man with a baston on his bakke
	My wyf, allas, devowred is;	
	Moost pacyente and mooste peysyble,	peace-loving
	Sheo never sayde to me amysse,	
	Whome hathe nowe slayne this beest horryble,	
110	And for it is an inpossyble	impossibility
	To fynde ever suche a wyf,	
	I wil lyve sool during my lyf.	alone
	For nowe of nuwe for theyre prowe	benefit
	The wyves of ful hyegh prudence	high
115	Have of assent made theyre avowe,	vow
	For to exyle Pacyence,	
	And cryed, "Wolfes heed obedyence!" ²	
	To make Chichevache fayle	fail
	Of hem to fynde more vitayle.	In them
120	Nowe Chichevache may fast longe,	
	And dye for al hire cruweltee,	their cruelty
	Wymmen have made hemself so stronge	themselves
	For to outraye humylyté.	vanquish
	O cely housbandes! woo beon yee!	unfortunate
125	Suche as cane have no pacyence	
	Ageyns youre wyves vyolence.	Against
	Yif that yee suffre, yee beo but deed,	dead
	This Bicorne awaytethe yowe so soore,	cruelly
	Eeke of youre wyves yee stonde in dreed	

And thus yee stonde, and have doone yoore,

Yif yee geyne-seye hem any more;

^{1 ...}with a walking stick on his back, threatening the beast in order to rescue his wife

² And cried, "Wolf's head obedience!" (i.e., "Outlaw obedience!")

Of lyf and deeth bytwixen tweyne, Lynkeld in a double cheyne. life; between the two Linked; chain

DISGUISING AT HERTFORD

[Nowe followethe here the maner of a bille by wey of supplication putte to the Kyng holding his noble feest of Cristmasse in the Castel of Hertford as in a disguysing of the rude upplandisshe people (uneducated rural people) compleying on hir (their) wyves, with the boystous aunswere (vigorous answer) of hir wyves, devysed by Lydegate at the request of the Countré Roullour Brys slayne at Loviers.

Moost noble Prynce, with support of your Grace Ther beon entred into youre royal place, And late ecomen into youre castell, Youre poure lieges, wheche lyke nothing weel; who are unhappy 5 Nowe in the vigyle of this nuw yeere (i.e., on New Year's Eve) Certeyne sweynes ful froward of ther chere commoners; in an angry mood Of entent comen, fallen on ther kne, Deliberately For to compleyne unto yuoure Magestee Upon the mescheef of gret adversytee, 10 Upon the trouble and the cruweltee cruelty Which that they have endured in theyre lyves By the felnesse of theyre fierce wyves; treachery Which is a tourment verray importable, unbearableA bonde of sorowe, a knott unremuwable. unremovable For whoo is bounde or locked in maryage, 15 marriage Yif he beo olde, he fallethe in dotage. senility And yonge folkes, of theyre lymes sklendre, slender limbs Grene and lusty, and of brawne but tendre, musclePhylosophres callen in suche aage 20 A chylde to wyve, a woodnesse or a raage. madness; insanity For they afferme ther is non eorthely stryf earthly strife May be compared to wedding of a wyf, And who that ever stondethe in the cas, is in that situation He with his rebecke may sing ful oft ellas! fiddle 25 Lyke as theos hynes, here stonding oon by oon, farmers

[i. demonstrando vi. rusticos

30

six rustics for the showing

He may with hem upon the daunce goon,
Leorne the traas, boothe at even and morowe,
Of Karycantowe in tourment and in sorowe;
Weyle the whyle, ellas! that he was borne.
For Obbe the Reeve, that goothe heere al toforne,
He pleynethe sore his mariage is not meete,
For his wyf, Beautryce Bittersweete,

Steps

Regretting all the while
first
complains; pleasant

	Cast upon him an hougly cheer ful rowghe,	angry look very harsh
	Whane he komethe home ful wery frome the ploughe,	weary
35	With hungry stomake deed and paale of cheere, In hope to fynde redy his dynier;	dull and pale of face
	Thanne sittethe Beautryce bolling at the nale,	carousing at the tavern
	As she that gyvethe of him no maner tale;	has no concern for him
	For she al day, with hir jowsy nolle,	drunken head
40	Hathe for the collyk pouped in the bolle,	colic; gulped; tankard
	And for heedaache with pepir and gynger	
	Dronk dolled ale to make hir throte cleer;	mulled~ale
	And komethe hir hoome, whane hit drawethe to eve,	
	And thanne Robyn, the cely poure reeve,	unfortunate
45	Fynde noone amendes of harome ne damage,	relief from harm
	But leene growell, and soupethe colde potage;	gruel; dines on cold stew
	And of his wyf hathe noone other cheer	hospitality
	But cokkrowortes unto his souper.	stale gruel
	This is his servyce sitting at the borde,	meal; table
50	And cely Robyne, yif he speke a worde,	simple minded
	Beautryce of him doothe so lytel rekke,	cares so little
	That with hir distaff she hittethe him in the nekke,	
	For a medecyne to chawf with his bloode;	warm
	With suche a metyerde she hathe shape him an hoode.	yardstick; deceived him
55	And Colyn Cobeller, following his felawe,	
	[demonstrando pictaciarium	a cobbler for the showing
	Hathe hade his part of the same lawe;	
	For by the feyth that the preost him gaf,	faith; priest gave him
	His wyf hathe taught him to pleyne at the staff;	complain
	Hir quarter-strooke were so large and rounde	•
60	That on his rigge the towche was alwey founde.	backbone
	Cecely Soure-Chere, his owen precyous spouse,	Sourpuss
	Kowde him reheete whane he came to house;	Could lay into him
	Yif he ought spake whanne he felt peyne,	·
	Ageyne oon worde, alweys he hade tweyne; ¹	
65	Sheo qwytt him ever, ther was no thing to seeche,	She repaid
	Six for oon of worde and strookes eeche. Six times for	or every word and stroke of his
	Ther was no meen bytweene hem for to goone;	,
	Whatever he wan, clowting olde shoone	earned, mending old shoes
	The wykday, pleynly this is no tale,	On weekdays
70	Sheo wolde on Sondayes drynk it at the nale.	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
	His part was noon, he sayde not oonys nay;	once
	Hit is no game but an hernest play,	
	For lack of wit a man his wyf to greeve.	displease
		•

 $^{^{1}}$ Lines 63–64: If he spoke when he felt pain, / For every word he received two (blows)

	Theos housbondemen, whoso wolde hem leeve,	believe
75	Koude yif they dourst telle in audyence	dared; in public
	What followethe therof wyves to doone offence; ¹	
	Is noon so olde ne ryveld on hir face,	wrinkled
	Wit tong or staff but that she dare manase.	tongue
	Mabyle, God hir sauve and blesse,	
80	Koude yif hir list bere hereof witnesse:	if she wanted to
	Wordes, strookes unhappe, and harde grace	misfortune
	With sharpe nayles kracching in the face.	scratching
	I mene thus, whane the distaff is brooke,	
	With theyre fistes wyves wol be wrooke,	satisfy their anger
85	Blessed thoo men that cane in suche offence	those
	Meekly souffre, take al in pacyence,	suffer
	Tendure suche wyfly purgatorye.	To endure
	Heven for theyre meede, to regne ther in glorye,	reward
	God graunt al housbandes that beon in this place,	
90	To wynne so heven for His hooly grace.	earn
	Nexst in ordre, this bochier stoute and bolde	butcher
	[demonstrando carnificem	a butcher for the showing
	That killed hathe bulles and boores olde,	
	This Berthilmewe, for al his broode knyf,	
	Yit durst he never with his sturdy wyf,	
95	In no mater holde chaumpartye;	engage in battle
	And if he did, sheo wolde anoon defye	0 0
	His pompe, his pryde, with a sterne thought,	
	And sodeynly setten him at nought.	consider him worthless
	Thoughe his bely were rounded lyche an ooke	
100	She wolde not fayle to gyf the firste strooke;	give
	For proude Pernelle, lyche a chaumpyoun,	0
	Wolde leve hir puddinges in a gret cawdroun,	cauldron
	Suffre hem boylle, and taake of hem noon heede,	Let them boil
	But with hir skumour reeche him on the heved.	skimming utensil hit; head
105	Shee wolde paye him, and make no delaye,	0
	Bid him goo pleye him a twenty devel wey.	in the name of twenty devils
	She was no cowarde founde at suche a neode,	,
	Hir fist ful oft made his cheekis bleed;	
	What querell ever that he agenst hir sette,	
110	She cast hir not to dyen in his dette.	
	She made no taylle, but qwytt him by and by;	tally
	His quarter sowde, she payde him feythfully,	quarterly payments
	And his waages, with al hir best entent,	1 71 7
	0 '	

¹ What the consequence is of offending wives

115	She made therof noon assignement. Eeke Thome Tynker with alle hees pannes olde,	allotment
	[demonstrando the Tynker	a tinker for the showing
	And alle the wyres of Banebury that he solde — His styth, his hamour, his bagge portatyf —	wares anvil; carrying bag
	Bare up his arme whane he faught with his wyf.	anou, carrying bag
	He foonde for haste no better bokeller	shield
120	Upon his cheeke the distaff came so neer.	
	Hir name was cleped Tybot Tapister.	
	To brawle and broyle she nad no maner fer,	quarrel; had no fear at all
	To thakke his pilche, stoundemel, nowe and thanne,	beat his hide, occasionally
105	Thikker thane Thome koude clowten any panne.	Harder; strike; head
125	Nexst Colle Tyler, ful hevy of his cheer,	serious
	Compleynethe on Phelyce his wyf, the wafurer.	a maker of wafers
	Al his bred with sugre nys not baake, Yit on his cheekis sometyme he hathe a caake	
	So hoot and nuwe, or he can taken heede,	
130	That his heres glowe verray reede,	hairs
100	For a medecyne whane the forst is colde,	frost
	Making his teethe to ratle, that beon oolde.	J
	This is the compleynt that theos dotardes oolde	
	Make on theyre wyves, that been so stoute and bolde.	
135	Theos holy martirs, preved ful pacyent,	
	Lowly beseching in al hir best entent,	their
	Unto youre noble ryal magestee	
	To graunte hem fraunchyse and also liberté,	freedom
	Sith they beothe fetird and bounden in maryage,	fettered
140	A sauf-conduyt to sauf him frome damage.	safe-conduct; save them
	Eeke under support of youre hyeghe renoun,	
	Graunt hem also a proteccyoun;	
	Conquest of wyves is ronne thoroughe this lande,	$C1 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot 1 \cdot \cdot \cdot 1 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$
145	Cleyming of right to have the hyegher hande.	Claiming the right; upper
143	But if you list, of youre regallye, The Olde Testament for to modefye,	power
	And that yee list asselen theyre request,	approve
	That theos poure husbandes might lyf in rest,	live
	And that theyre waves in theyre felle might	treacherous
150	Wol medle amonge mercy with theyre right.	mix mercy with
	For it came never of nature ne raysoun,	reason
	A lyonesse t'oppresse the lyoun,	lion
	Ner a wolfesse, for al hir thyraunye,	she wolf; tyranny
	Over the wolf to haven the maystrye.	mastery
155	Ther beon nowe wolfesses moo thane twoo or three,	
	The bookys recorde, wheeche that yonder bee.	

[i. distaves

	Seothe to this mater of mercy and of grace, And or thees dotardes parte out of this place,	If either; depart
1.00	Upon theyre compleynt to shape remedye,	
160	Or they beo likly to stande in jupardye.	jeopardy
	It is no game with wyves for to pleye,	
	But for foolis, that gif no force to deye!	Except; who don't care about dying
	[Takethe heed of th'aunswer of the wyves.	
	Touching the substance of this hyeghe discorde,	high
	We six wives been ful of oon acorde,	one accord
165	Yif worde and chyding may us not avaylle,	help
	We wol darrein it in chaumpcloos by bataylle.	decide it; tournament field
	Jupart oure right, laate or ellys raathe.	Risk; sooner or later
	And for oure partye the worthy Wyf of Bathe	
	Cane shewe statutes moo than six or seven,	
170	Howe wyves make hir housbandes wynne heven,	reach heaven
	Maugré the feonde and al his vyolence;	In spite of; devil
	For theyre vertu of parfyte pacyence	perfect
	Partenethe not to wyves nowe-adayes,	1 J
	Sauf on theyre housbandes for to make assayes.	Except; tests
175	Ther pacyence was buryed long agoo,	1
	Gresyldes story recordethe pleinly soo.	
	It longethe to us to clappen as a mylle,	It is our duty to chatter like a mill
	No counseyle keepe, but the trouth oute telle;	
	We beo not borne by hevenly influence	
180	Of oure nature to keepe us in sylence.	
100	For this is no doute, every prudent wyf	
	Hathe redy aunswere in al suche maner stryf.	
	Thoughe theos dotardes with theyre dokked berdes,	short
	Which strowtethe out as they were made of herdes,	stick out; flax
185	Have ageyn hus a gret quarell nowe sette,	against us
103	I trowe the bakoun was never of hem fette,	againsi us
	Awaye at Dounmowe in the Pryorye.	
	•	haha
	They weene of us to have ay the maystrye;	hope
100	Ellas! theos fooles, let hem aunswere hereto;	
190	Whoo cane hem wasshe, who can hem wring alsoo?	
	Wryng hem, yee, wryng, so als God us speed,	,1 .
	Til that some tyme we make hir nases bleed,	their noses
	And sowe hir cloothes whane they beothe torent,	torn
105	And clowte hir bakkes til somme of us beo shent;	beat; exhausted
195	Loo, yit theos fooles, God gyf hem sory chaunce,	
	Wolde sette hir wyves under govvernaunce,	
	Make us to hem for to lowte lowe;	bow low to them
	We knowe to weel the bent of Jackys bowe.	too well the set of Jack's mind

000	Al that we clayme, we clayme it but of right.	
200	Yif they say nay, let preve it out by fight.	
	We wil us grounde not upon wommanhede.	
	Fy on hem, cowardes! When hit komethe to nede,	
	We clayme maystrye by prescripcyoun,	uninterrupted possession
	Be long tytle of successyoun,	
205	Frome wyf to wyf, which we wol not leese.	lose
	Men may weel gruchche but they shal not cheese.	complain; choose
	Custume is us for nature and usaunce	tradition
	To set oure housbandes lyf in gret noysaunce.	annoyance
	Humbelly byseching nowe at oon worde	
210	Unto oure Liege and moost soverein Lord,	
	Us to defende of his regallye,	gloss
	And of his grace susteenen oure partye,	
	Requering the statuyt of olde antiquytee	Entreating
	That in youre tyme it may confermed bee.	
	[The complaynte of the lewed housbandes with the cruwell an	instilers of themse tumiles herde
	the kyng givethe therupon sentence and jugement.	inswers of the fre wyves herae,
	the ryng giveine therapon semence and jugement.	
215	This noble Prynce, mooste royal of estate,	
	Having an eyeghe to this mortal debate,	eye
	First adverting of ful hyeghe prudence,	being heedful of; high
	Wil unavysed gyve here no sentence,	
	Withoute counseylle of haste to procede,	hastily
220	By sodeyne doome; for he takethe heede	rash judgment
	To eyther partye as juge indifferent,	impartial
	Seing the paryll of hasty jugement;	peril
	Pourposithe him in this contynude stryf	•
	To gif no sentence therof diffynytyf,	
225	Til ther beo made examynacyoun	
	Of other partye, and inquysicyoun.	
	He considerethe and makethe raysoun his guyde,	reason
	As egal juge enclyning to noo syde;	impartial judge
	Notwithstanding he hathe compassyoun	imparitui juuge
230	Of the poure housbandes trybulacyoun,	
400	So oft arrested with theyre wyves rokkes,	distaffs
	Which of theyre distaves have so many knokkes;	uisiajjs
	Peysing also, in his regallye,	Canaidanina a carravai matu
	. 0	Considering; sovereignty
995	The lawe that wymmen allegge for theyre partye,	on their side
235	Custume, nature, and eeke prescripcyoun,	title of possession
	Statuyt used by confirmacyoun,	
	Processe and daate of tyme oute of mynde,	
	Recorde of cronycles, witnesse of hir kuynde:	natural order
	Wherfore the Kyng wol al this nexste yeere	
240	That wyves fraunchyse stonde hoole and entier,	freedom
	And that no man withstonde it, ne withdrawe,	

Til man may fynde some processe oute by lawe, That they shoulde by nature in theyre lyves Have soverayntee on theyre prudent wyves, A thing unkouthe, which was never founde. 245 unknownLet men beware therfore or they beo bounde. The bonde is harde, whosoo that lookethe weel; carefully considers Some man were lever fetterd beon in steel, would rather be fettered Raunsoun might help his peyne to aswaage, assuage 250 But whoo is wedded lyvethe ever in servage. servitude And I knowe never nowher fer ner neer far nor near Man that was gladde to bynde him prysonier, Thoughe that his prysoun, his castell, or his holde Wer depeynted with asure or with golde. decorated

[Explicit.

DISGUISING AT LONDON

In theyre hevenly hermonye

[Lo here filowethe (follows) the devyse (device) of a desguysing (disguising) to fore (before) the gret estates of this lande, thane being at London, made by Lidegate Daun Johan, the Munk of Bury, of Dame Fortune, Dame Prudence, Dame Rightwysnesse (Righteousness), and Dame Fortitudo. Beholdethe, for it is moral, plesaunt, and notable. Loo, first komethe (comes) in Dame Fortune.

Loo here this lady that yee may see, Lady of mutabilytee, Which that called is Fortune, For seelde in oon she doothe contune. seldom does she remain the same 5 For as shee hathe a double face, Right so every houre and space She chaungethe hir condycyouns, disposition Ay ful of transmutacyouns. changes Lyche as the Romans of the Roose as the Romance of the Rose 10 Descryvethe hir, withouten glose, without lying And tellethe pleyne, howe that she Hathe hir dwelling in the see, Joyning to a bareyne roche. barren rock And on that oon syde doothe aproche 15 A lytel mountaygne lyke an yle; island Upon which lande some whyle Ther growen fresshe floures nuwe, Wonder lusty of theyre huwe, Dyvers trees, with fruyte elade. laden with fruit 20 And briddes, with theyre notes glaade, birds That singen and maken melodye;

harmony

	Somme sing on hye, and some lowe.	
	And Zepherus theer doothe eeke blowe	
25	With his smoothe, attempree ayre.	temperate
4,5	He makethe the weder clere and fayre	weather weather
	And the sesoun ful of grace.	weamer
	But sodeynly, in lytel space,	
	Upon this place mooste ryal	royal
30	Ther comethe a wawe and fordoothe al.	wave
30	First the fresshe floures glade	cheerful
	On theyre stalkes he dothe faade.	cheerful
	To theyre beautee he doothe wrong;	
	And thanne farweel the briddes song.	birds'
35	Braunche and boughe of every tree	orras
33	She robbethe hem of hir beautee,	
	Leef and blossomes downe they falle.	
	And in that place she hathe an halle,	
	Departed and wonder desguysee.	Multicolored; decked out
40	Frome that oon syde, yee may see,	municolorea, accaea oui
10	Ceryously wrought, for the noones,	In this order; for the occasion
	Of golde, of sylver, and of stoones,	The this order, for the occasion
	Whos richesse may not be tolde.	
	But that other syde of that hoolde	building
45	Is ebylt in ougly wyse,	ugly
10	And ruynous, for to devyse;	ugoy
	Daubed of clay is that doungeoun,	
	Ay in poynt to falle adoun.	Always about to
	That oon fayre by apparence,	Thuays dood to
50	And that oother in existence	
00	Shaken with wyndes, rayne and hayle.	
	And sodeynly ther doothe assayle	
	A raage floode that mancyoun,	violent; mansion
	And overflowethe it up and doun.	Couche, mansion
55	Her is no reskous, ner obstacle	rescue; nor defense
00	Of this ladyes habytacle.	dwelling
	And as hir hous is ay unstable,	awening
	Right so hirself is deceyvable:	
	In oo poynt she is never elyche;	In short; constant
60	This day she makethe a man al ryche	The shorts, consecuti
00	And thorughe hir mutabilytee	
	Castethe him tomorowe in povertee.	
	The proddest she can give a fal:	proudest
	She made Alexaundre wynnen al,	conquer
65	That noman him withstonde dare,	conquer
0.5	And caste him doune, er he was ware.	before he was aware
	So did sheo Sesar Julius:	vejore ne was aware
	She made him first victorius,	
	Thaughe to do weel sheo beo ful loothe;	she is very reluctant
	maughe to do weer shed bed ful loothe,	she is very retuctant

70	Of a bakers sonne, in soothe,	
	She made him a mighty emperrour,	6 11 3
	And hool of Roome was governour,	of all Rome
	Maugrey the Senaat and al theyre might;	Despite
	But whanne the sonne shoone mooste bright	
75	Of his tryumphe, fer and neer,	
	And he was corouned with laurier,	crowned with laurel
	Unwarly thorughe hir mortal lawe	Without warning
	With bodekyns he was eslawe	daggers
	At the Capitoyle in Consistorye,	
80	Loo, after al his gret victorye.	
	See, howe this lady can appalle	subdue
	The noblesse of theos prynces alle.	majesty
	She hathe two tonnys in hir celler;	casks
	That oon is ful of pyment cler,	spiced wine; pure
85	Confeit with sugre and spyces swoote	Made; sweet
	And manny delytable roote.	delightful
	But this is yit the worst of alle:	
	That other tonne is ful of galle;	
	Whoo taastethe oon, ther is noon oother,	no other choice
90	He moste taaste eeke of that tother.	also
	Whos sodeyne chaunges been not soft,	
	For nowe sheo can reyse oon aloft,	raise someone up
	Frome lowghe estate til hye degree.	to
	In olde storyes yee may see	
95	Estates chaunge, whoo takethe keepe.	takes heed
	For oon Gyges, that kepte sheepe,	tanes neve
	Sheo made, by vertu of a ring,	
	For to be made a worthy kyng;	
	And by fals mourdre, I dare expresse,	murder
100	He came to al his worthynesse—	attained all his honors
100	·	anamea an ms nonors
	Moost odyous of alle thinges.	
	And Cresus, ricchest eeke of kynges,	1
	Was so surquydous in his pryde,	haughty
105	That he wende, upon noo syde	believed
105	Noon eorthely thing might him pertourbe,	harm
	Nor his ryal estate distourbe.	royal
	Til on a night a dreme he mette,	he had a dream
	Howe Juvo in the ayre him sette	
	And Jubiter, he understondes,	
110	Gaf him water unto his handes,	
	And Phebus heelde him the towayle.	towel
	But of this dreme the devynayle	meaning
	His doughter gane to specefye,	
	And fer toforne to prophesye,	
115	Whiche called was Leryopee.	(his daughter) was called Liriope
	Sheo sayde, he shoulde anhanged bee;	

	This was hir exposicyoun.	interpretation
	Loo, howe his pruyde was brought adoune.	pride
	And alle theos chaunges, yif they beo sought,	Prese
120	This fals lady hathe hem wrought,	(i.e., Fortune)
	Avaled with theyre sodeyne showres	Destroyed
	The worthynesse of conquerroures.	honor
	Reede of poetes the comedyes;	Read
	And in dyvers tragedyes	1000
125	Yee shal by lamentacyouns	as expressions of sorrow
140	Fynden theyre destruccyouns —	as empressions of sorrow
	A thousande moo than I can telle — ,	more
	Into mescheef howe they felle	more
	Downe frome hir wheel, on see and lande.	her (i.e., Fortune's) wheel
130	Therfore, hir malys to withstande,	malice
130	Hir pompe, hir surquydye, hir pryde.	haughtiness
	Yif she wol a whyle abyde,	naugnimess
	Foure ladyes shall come heer anoon,	
	Which shal hir power overgoone,	
135	And the malys eeke oppresse	
133	Of this blynde, fals goddesse,	
	Yif sheo beo hardy in this place	If the days
	Oonys for to shewe hir double face.	If she dare For once
	Conys for to snewe fin double face.	roi once
	[Nowe komethe here the first lady of the foure, Dame Prudence.	
	Loo, heer this lady in youre presence	
140	Of poetis called is Dame Prudence,	
	The which with hir mirrour bright,	
	By the pourveyaunce of hir forsight	By means of
	And hir myrrour, called provydence,	, , ,
	Is strong to make resistence	
145	In hir forsight, as it is right,	
	Ageyns Fortune and al hir might.	
	For Senec seythe who that can see,	Seneca says
	That Prudence hathe eyeghen three,	eyes
	Specyally in hir lookynges	Expressly; vision
150	To considre three maner thinges,	1 37
	Alweyes by goode avysement:	with due consideration
	Thinges passed and eeke present,	
	And thinges after that shal falle.	
	And she mot looke first of alle,	
155	And doon hir inwarde besy peyne,	take great pains
100	Thinges present for to ordeyne	Stow parts
	Avysely on every syde,	Carefully
	And future thinges for to provyde,	Carejuny
	The thinges passed in substaunce	in general
160	For to have in remembraunce.	memory
100	Tor to have in remembraunce.	тетоту

165	And who thus doothe, I say that hee Verrayly hathe yeghen three Comitted unto his difence, The truwe myrrour of provydence. Thane this lady is his guyde, Him to defende on every syde Ageyns Fortune goode and perverse	Truly; eyes defense
170	And al hir power for to reverse. For fraunchysed and at liberté, Frome hir power to goo free, Stonde alle folkes, in sentence Wheeche beon governed by Prudence.	free in fact
	[Nowe shewethe hir (shows herself) heer the secounde lo	ndy, Dame Rigwysnesse (Righteousness)
175	Seothe here this lady, Rightwysnesse. Of alle vertues she is pryncesse, For by the scales of hir balaunces	See
173	Sheo sette hem alle in governaunces.	them
	She puttethe asyde, it is no dreede, Frenship, favour and al kyns meede. Love and drede she settethe at nought,	kinfolk's profit
180	For rightful doome may not beo bought.	justice
	And Rightwysnesse, who can espye, Hathe neyther hande ner yeghe. She loste hir hande ful yore agoone,	eye
185	For she resceyvethe gyftes noone, Nother of freonde, neyther of foo. And she hathe lost hir sight alsoo, For of right sheo doothe provyde,	foe
	Nought for to looke on neyther syde, To hyeghe estate, ner lowe degree,	high; nor
190	But doothe to bothen al equytee, And makethe noon excepcyoun To neyther part, but of raysoun.	what is fair except for a reason
	And for the pourpos of this mater Of a juge yee shal heere,	for the sake of this account
195	Which never his lyf of entent Ther passed no jugement By his lippes of falsnesse; Of whome the story doothe expresse,	intentionally
200	After his deethe, by acountes cleer, More thane three hundrethe yeer, His body, as is made mencyoun,	
	Was tourned unto corrupcyoun, The story tellethe, it is no dreed;	decayed there is no question
	But lyche a roos, swoote and reed,	sweet and red

205	Mouthe and lippes werne yfounde, Nought corrupte, but hoole and sounde.	
	For trouth is, that he did expresse	Because of the truth that he spoke
	In alle hees doomes of rihtwysnesse.	judgments
	For this lady with theos balaunce	,
210	Was with him of acqweyntaunce,	Was well known to him
	Which him made in his ententys	intentions
	To gyf alle rightwyse jugementis.	impartial
	Wherfore this lady, which yee heer see	you see here
	With hir balaunces of equytee,	
215	Hathe the scaalis honged soo,	Has hung the scales in such a way
	That she hathe no thing to doo	
	Never with Fortunes doublenesse.	
	For ever in oon stant Rightwysnesse,	
990	Nowher moeying too ne froo	
220	In no thing that she hathe to doo.	
	[Loo, heer komethe in nowe the thridde lady, called Fe	ortitudo.
	Takethe heede, this fayre lady, loo,	
	Ycalled is Fortitudo,	
	Whame philosophres by theyre sentence	Whom; custom
	Ar wonte to cleepe Magnyfysence.	call
225	And Fortitudo sothely sheo hight,	truly she is called
	Ageyns alle vyces for to fight,	
	Confermed as by surtee	by a pledge
	Ageynst all adversytee.	
000	In signe wherof sheo berethe a swerde,	As a sign
230	That sheo of nothing is aferd.	
	For comune profit also she,	common
	Of verray magnanymyté,	true
	Thinges gret doothe underfonge,	undertake
235	Taking enpryses, wheeche beon stronge. And moost sheo doothe hir power preove	deeds; mighty
433	A communaltee for to releeve,	a nation
	Namely upon a grounde of trouthe;	a nation
	Thanne in hir ther is no slouthe	
	For to maynteyne the goode comune.	
240	And alle th'assautes of fortune,	the assaults
-10	Of verray stidfastnesse of thought	Because of
	Alle hir chaunges she sette at nought.	(her, i.e., Fortune's)
	For this vertu magnyfycence	,
	Thorough hir mighty excellence	
245	She armed theos philosophres oolde,	
	Of wordely thing that they noughte tolde:	
	Recorde upon Dyogenes,	Remember
	On Plato, and on Socrates.	

250	She made Cypion of Cartage To underfongen in his aage	in his old are
230	For comune proufyte thinges gret;	in his old age
	And for no dreed list not leet,	And did not allow him to surrender out of fear
	Ageynst Roome, that mighty toune,	town
	For to defende his regyoun.	
255	Sheo made Hector for his cytee	.,
	To spare for noon adversytee,	avoid
	But, as a mighty chaumpyoun, In the defence of Troyes toun	
	To dye withouten feer or dreed.	fear
260	And thus this lady, who takethe heed,	,
	Makithe hir chaumpyounes strong,	
	Parayllous thinges to underfong,	Dangerous
	Til that they theyre pourpos fyne.	achieve their purpose
965	Recorde of the worthy nyen,	Remember
265	Of other eeke that weere but late, I meene prynces of latter date.	who lived more recently
	Herry the fyft, I dare sey soo,	$Henry\ V$
	He might beo tolde for oon of thoo;	counted as
	Empryses wheeche that were bygonne	Deeds
270	He left not til they weere wonne.	
	And I suppose, and yowe list see,	
	That thees ladyes alle three	
	Wer of his counseyle doutelesse,	
275	Force, Prudence and Rightwysnesse. Of theos three he tooke his roote,	habit
473	To putte Fortune under foote.	пион
	And sith this lady, in vertu strong,	
	Soustenethe trouthe, and doothe not wron	ng.
	Late hir nowe, to more and lasse,	Let; to people of every rank
280	Be welcome to yowe this Cristmasse.	
	[And theos edoone, komethe inne the feorthe lady, cleped Dame Feyre and Wyse Attemperaunce.	
	This feorthe lady that yee seon heer,	fourth; you see here
	Humble, debonayre and sadde of cheer,	courteous; sober of look
	Ycalled is Attemperaunce;	
	To sette al thing in governaunce	
285	And for hir sustres to provyde,	
	Vyces alle shal circumsyde, And setten hem in stabulnesse.	exterminate
	With hir Cousin Soburnesse	stability Soberness
	She shal frome vyces hem restreyne	restrain them
290	And in vertu holde hir reyne,	kingdom
	And therinne gyf hem libertee,	give them
	Eschuwing alle dishonestee;	Avoiding

	And hem enfourmen by Prudence,	instruct
295	For to have pacyence, Lownesse and humylytee,	
_00	And pruyde specyally to flee.	pride
	Contynence frome gloutonye,	Restraint
	Eschuwe deshoneste compaignye,	
	Fleen the dees and the taverne,	Flee; dice
300	And in soburnesse hem gouverne;	
	With hert al that ever they can,	
	In vertu loven every man;	1 , 1
	Sey the best ay of entent: Whoo that seythe weel, doothe not repent.	voluntarily
305	Detraccion and gloutouny,	
000	Voyde hem frome thy companye	Banish them
	And al rancoure sette asuyde.	aside
	Be not to hasty, but ever abyde,	too; hesitate
	Specyally to doone vengeaunce;	
310	In aboode is no repentaunce.	In delay
	And in vertu whoo is thus sette,	
	Thanne beo theos sustres weel ymette;	
	And soothely, if it beo discerned, Who by theos foure is thus governed —	
315	Thus I mene: that by Prudence	
010	He have the myrrour of provydence.	
	For to consider thinges alle,	
	Naamely parylles, or they falle —	perils
	And who that have by governaunce	-
320	Of Rightwysnesse the ballaunce,	
	And strongly holde in his difence	defense
	The swerd of hir Magnyfycence:	
	Yee been assured frome al meschaunce,	misfortune
325	Namely whanne that Attemperaunce Hir sustre governethe al three.	
323	Frome Fortune yee may thane go free,	
	Boothe alwey in hert and thought.	
	Whyle yee beo soo, ne dreed hir nought,	
	But avoydethe hir acqweyntaunce	
330	For hir double varyaunce,	treacherous changeableness
	And fleothe oute of hire companye	
	And alle that beon of hir allye.	allies
	And yee foure susters, gladde of cheer,	
335	Shoule abyde here al this yeer In this housholde at libertee;	
333	And joye and al prosparytee	
	With yowe to housholde yee shoule bring.	
	And yee all foure shal nowe sing	
	With al youre hoole hert entiere	whole heart

scarlet

340 Some nuwe songe aboute the fuyre, Suche oon as you lykethe best; Lat Fortune go pley hir wher hir list.

new; fire Such a one: like Let; she wishes

[Explicit.

5

HENRY VI'S TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO LONDON

In furred clokes, the colour skarlette;

[Ordenaunces (Contrivances) for the Kyng made in the Cité of London.

Towarde the end of wyndy Februarie, Whanne Phebus was in the Fysshe eronne, When the sun was in Pisces Out of the synge, which called is Aquarie, Newe kalendes wern entred and begonne (i.e., February 16) Of Marchis komyng, and the mery sonne Upon a Thursday shewed his bemys briht Uppon London, to make hem glade and liht. The stormy reyne of alle theyre hevynesse Were passed away and alle her olde grevaunce, 10 For the sixte Herry, roote of here gladnesse, Henry VI Theyre hertis joye, theyre worldis suffisaunce, By trewe dissent crounyd kyng of Fraunce, rightful lineage The hevene rejoysyng the day of his repayre returnMade his komyng the wedir to be so fayre. weather 15 A tyme, I trowe, of God, for hym provided, In alle the hevenes there was no clowde seyn, cloudFrom other dayes that day was so devided, And fraunchised from mistys and from reyn, free The eyre attempred, the wyndis smoth and pleyn, The air was mild 20 The citezenis thurhoute the Citee Halwyd that day with grete solempnyté. Celebrated And lyke for David, after his victorie, Rejoyssed was alle Jerusalem, So this Citee with laude, pris, and glorie, honor 25 For joye moustred lyke the sonne beem, assembled To geve ensample thurhout the reem; realmAlle of assent, whoso kan conseyve, Theyre noble kyng wern gladde to resseyve. receive Theyr clothing was of colour ful covenable, very suitable 30 The noble Meire cladde in reede velvette, The Sheryves, the Aldermen ful notable, Sheriffs

	In statly wyse, when they were mette, Eche oon well horsed made no delay,	assembled
35	But with here Meire roode forth in her way.	on their way
	The citizenis echoon of the Citee	each one
	In here entent that they were pure and clene, Chees hem of white a ful feyre lyveré,	livery
	In every crafte, as yt was well sene;	weery
40	To showe the trouthe that they dyde mene	
	Toward the Kyng hadd made hem feythfully	
	In soundry devyses enbrowdred richely.	various devices
	And forto remembre of other alyens;	aliens (i.e., foreigners)
	First Jeneweys, though they were straungers,	Genoese
45	Florentyns and the Venycyens,	
	And Esterlinges gladde in her maners,	Hansa merchants
	Canveyed with sergeauntes and other officers	
	Estatly horsed, after the Meire rydyng,	Nobly
	Passed the subbarbes to mete with the kyng.	suburbs
50	To the Blakeheeth whanne they dydde atteyne,	
	The Meire, of prudence in especyall,	Mayor
	Made hem hove in rengis tweyne,	ride in two rows
	A strete bitwene eche partye lyke a wall,	
	Alle cladde in white, and the moste princypall	
55	Afforn in reede with theire Meire rydyng	
	Tyl tyme that he sauh the kyng komyng.	
	Thanne with his sporys, he toke his hors anoon,	spurs
	That to beholde yt was a noble siht,	•
	How like a man he to the kyng ys goon	
60	Riht well cherid, of herte gladde and liht;	
	Obeying to him as him ount of riht;	as he ought to by right
	And after that he konnyngly abrayde,	courteously began to speak
	And to the kyng evyn thus he sayde:	

"Sovereyn Lorde and noble Kyng, ye be welcome out of youre Reeme of Fraunce into this your blessed Reeme of Englond, and in speciall unto your moste notable Citee of London, othir wyse called youre Chaumbre; We thankyng God of the goode and gracious arenyng [disposition] of youre Croune of Fraunce. Beseching his Mercyful Grace to sende yow prosperité and many yeers, to the comforte of alle youre lovynge peple."

But forto tellen alle the circumstaunces,

Of every thing shewed in sentence,

Noble devyses, dyvers ordenaunces

Conveyed by scripture with ful grete excellence,

70	Alle to declare I have noone eloquence, Wherfore I pray to alle that shall yt rede, Forto correcte where as they se nede.	
	First whanne he passed was the fabour Entryng the Brigge of this noble town, Ther was a pyler reysed lyke a tour	suburb London Bridge pillar; tower
75	And theron stoode a sturdy champeoun, Of looke and chere sterne as a lyoun, His swerde up rered proudely gan manace, Alle foreyn enmyes from the kyng to enchace.	manner threaten drive away
80	And in defence of his estate ryall The geaunt wolde abyde eche aventure; And alle assautes that wern marcyall, For his sake he proudely wolde endure, In tokne wherof he hadde a scripture	giant warlike
	On eyther syde declaryng his entent, Which seyde thus by goode avysement:	prudently
85	"Alle tho that ben enemyes to the Kyng, I shall hem clothe with confusioun, Make him myhty with vertuous levyng His mortall foon to oppressen and bere adoun,	All those who are clothe them i.e., the king foes
90	And him to encresen as Cristis champioun, Alle myscheffes from hym to abrigge With the grace of God at th'entryng of the Brigge."	Christ's prevent
95	Twoo antelopes stondying on eytheyr syde With the armes of Englond and of Fraunce, In tokenyng that God shal for hym provyde, As he hath tytle by juste enheritaunce To regne in pees, plenté and plesaunce; Sesyng of werre, that men mow ryde or goon, As trewe lieges, theyre hertes made both oon.	happiness Stopping war; so that men might vassals; one
100	Ferthermore, so as the Kyng gan ryde, Midde of the Brigge ther was a tour on lofte, The Lorde of Lordes beyng ay his guyde, As He hath be and yitt wole be ful ofte;	In the middle of
105	The tour arrayed with velvettes softe, Clothis of golde, sylke, and tapcerye, As apperteynyth to his regalye.	tapestry Befitting his royalty
	And at his komyng, of excellent beauté, Beyng of port most womanly of chere, Ther yssed oute emperesses three;	demeanor came out

110	Theyre heer dysplayed as Phebus in here spere, With crounettes of golde and stones clere; At whos out komyng they gaf such a liht, That the byholders were stonyed in theire siht.	hair; their cosmic spheres coronets; bright gave off; light astonished
115	The first of hem called was Nature, As she that hath under her demeyne, Man, beeste, and foule, and every creature, Withinne the bondys of hire goldyn cheyn; Eke heven, and erthe, and every creature	rule
	This emperesse of custume doth enbrace; And next hire komyth hire sustre called Grace.	by custom sister
120	Passyng famous, and of grete reverence, Moste desired in all regions;	Very
105	For wher that ever she with here precence, She bryngeth gladnes to citees and touns; Of alle well fare she holdeth the possessions,	her
125	For, I dar say, prosperyté in no place No while abydith, but yf ther be grace.	Does not long abide, unless
190	In tokne that Grace shulde longe contune Unto the Kyng she shewed hire full benyngne; And next hire come the emperesse, Fortune,	remain graciousness
130	Apperyng to hym with many a noble sygne, And ryall toknes, to shewe that he was dygne, Of God dysposed as Grace lyst to ordeyne, Upon his heede to were crounes tweyne.	royal; worthy
135	Thes three ladyes, all of oon entent Three goostly giftes, hevenly and devyne, Unto the Kyng anoon they dydde present, And to his hydnesse they dydd anoon englyne;	with one intent spiritual
	And to his hyhnesse they dydd anoon enclyne; And, what they were pleynly to termyne, Grace gaf him first at his komyng	to declare plainly
140	Twoo riche giftes, Sciens and Kunnyng;	Knowledge
	Nature gaf him eke strenth and feyrenesse, Forto be lovyd and dredde of every wiht; Fortune gaf him eke prosperité and richesse,	beauty honored by everyone
145	With this scripture apperyng in theire siht, To him applyed of verrey dewe riht, "First undirstonde and joyfully procede	aptly
	And lange to regne" the scripture seyde in dede.	long
	This ys to mene, whoso undirstonde ariht, Thow shalt be Fortune have lange prosperité;	by

b	And be Nature thow shalt have strenth and myht,	150
happines	Forth to procede in lange felicité;	
	And Grace also hath graunted unto thee,	
	Vertuously lange in thy ryall citee,	
	With septre and croune to regne in equyté."	
	On the riht hande of thes emperesses	155
trul	Stoode sevyn maydenys verrey celestyall;	
Phebus' beam	Lyke Phebus bemys shone hire goldyn tresses,	
their heads; circle	Upon here heedes eche havyng a cornall,	
bearing and manne	Of porte and chere semyng inmortall,	
Ü	In siht transendyng alle erthely creatures,	160
	So aungelyk they wern of theyre figures.	
purit	Alle cladde in white, in tokne of clennesse,	
Lik	Lyche pure virgynes as in theyre ententys,	
	Shewyng outward an hevenly fressh brihtnesse;	
Ornamented with sun ray	Stremed with sonys were alle their garmentis,	165
	Aforne provyded for pure innocentis,	
demure in manner and loo	Most columbyne of chere and of lokyng,	
	Mekely roos up at komyng of the Kyng.	
wore sashes; sapphir	They hadde an bawdrykes alle of safir hewe,	
to gree	Goynge outward gan the Kyng salewe,	170
thei	Hym presentyng with her giftes newe,	
	Lyche as theym thouht yt was unto hem dewe,	
spiritual; follow	Which goostly giftes here in ordre sewe,	
1 3	Doune dessendyng as sylvere dewe fro hevyn,	
	Alle grace include withinne thes giftes sevyn;	75
	Thes ryall giftes ben of vertue moste	
desire	Goostly corages, moste sovernynly delyte;	
	Thes giftes called of the Hooly Gooste,	
dove	Outward figured ben seven dowys white,	
	And seyying to him, lyke as clerkes write,	80
	"God thee fulfille with intelligence	
wisdon	And with a spyryt of goostly sapience.	
benefi	"God sende also unto thy moste vaylle	
-	Thee to preserve from alle hevynesse,	
	A spyrit of strenth, and of goode counsaylle,	85
reverence; humilit	Of konnyng, drede, pité, and lownesse,"	
offe	Thus thes ladyes gan theire giftes dresse,	
33	Graciously at theyre oute komyng,	
By flowing in	Be influence liht upon the Kyng.	
,, 0	. , ,	

190 195	Thes emperesses hadde on theyre lefte syde Other sevyne virgynes, pure and clene, Be attendaunce contenuelly to abyde, Alle cladde in white, smytte fulle of sterres shene; And to declare what they wolde mene Unto the Kyng with ful grete reverence Thes were theire giftes shortly in sentence:	studded with shining stars
200	"God thee endewe with a crowne of glorie, And with septre of clennesse and pytee, And with a swerde of myht and victorie, And with a mantel of prudence cladde thow be, A shelde of feyth forto defende thee, An helme of helthe wrouht to thyn encrees, Girt with a girdyll of love and parfyte pees."	endow scepter; purity perfect peace
205 210	Thes sevyn virgyns, of siht most hevenly, With herte, body, and handes rejoysynge, And of othir cheris appered murely, For the Kyngis gracious home komynge; And for gladnesse they beganne to synge, Moste aungelyk with hevenly armonye, This same roundell, which I shall now specyfye:	gestures; joyfully angelic; harmony
	"Sovereyne Lorde, welcome to youre citee; Welcome, oure Joye, and oure Hertis Plesaunce, Welcome, oure Gladnesse, welcome, our Suffisaunce, Welcome, welcome, riht welcome mote ye be.	Sufficiency
215	"Syngyng toforn thy ryall Magesté, We say of herte, withoute variaunce, Sovereyene Lorde, welcome, welcome ye be.	sincerely, without hesitation
220	"Meire, citezenis and alle the comounté, At youre home komyng now out of Fraunce, Be grace relevyd of theyre olde grevaunce, Syng this day with grete solempnyté, Sovereyne Lorde, welcome to youre citee."	common people By
225	Thus resseyvyd, an esy paas rydyng, The Kyng is entred into this Citee: And in Cornhill anoon at his komyng, To done plesaunce unto his Magestee, A tabernacle surmountyng of beauté, Ther was ordeyned, be ful fresh entayle, Richely arrayed with ryall apparayle.	easy pace of new design furnishings

230	This tabernacle of moste magnyficence, Was of his byldyng verrey imperyall	in its construction
	Made for the lady callyd Dame Sapience;	in as construction
	Tofore whos face moste statly and ryall	Before
	Wern the sevyn sciences called lyberall	Were
235	Rounde aboute, as makyd ys memorie,	
	Which nevere departed from hire consistorie.	her court
	First ther was Gramer, as I reherse gan,	
	Chief founderesse and roote of all konnyng,	
	Which hadde aforne hire olde Precian;	Who had before her
240	And Logyk hadde aforn hire stondyng	
	Arestotyll moste clerkely dysputyng;	
	And Rethoryk hadde eke in hire presence,	
	Tulyus, called Mirrour of Eloquence;	
	And Musyk hadde, voyde of alle discorde,	
245	Boece, hire clerke, with hevenly armonye,	Boethius; harmony
	And instrumentis alle of oone accorde;	
	Forto practyse with sugred melodye	sweet
	He and his scolers theyre wyttes dydde applye,	
	With touche of strenges on orgons eke pleyng,	
250	Theyre crafte to shewe at komyng of the Kyng;	
	And Arsmetryk, be castyng of nombrarye,	Arithmetic, through mathematics
	Chees Pyktogeras for hire partye;	Chose Pythagoras
	Called chief clerke to governe hire lybrarye,	
	Euclyde toke mesours be crafte of Gemetrye;	by; Geometry
255	And alderhyhest stode Astronomye,	highest of all
	Albunisar last with hire of sevyn,	
	With instrumentis that rauht up into hevyn.	reached
	The chief pryncesse called Sapience,	
	Hadde toforn hire writen this scripture:	
260	"Kynges," quod she, "moste of excellence,	
	By me they regne and moste in joye endure,	
	For thurh my helpe, and my besy cure,	
	To encrece theyre glorie and hyh renoun,	
	They shull of wysdome have full possessioun."	
265	And in the front of this tabernacle,	
	Sapience a scripture ganne devyse	
	Able to be redde withoute a spectakle,	
	To yonge kynges seyynge in this wyse,	
	"Understondith and lernyth of the wyse,	learn from
270	On riht remembryng the hyh lorde to queme,	please
	Syth ye be juges other folke to deme."	Since; rule over

	Ferthermore the matere doth devyse: The Kyng, procedying forth upon his way,	
275	Kome to the Conduyte made in cercle wyse;	Whom to receive
273	Whame to resseyve, ther was made no delay, And myddys above in ful riche array,	in the middle
	Ther satte a childe of beauté precellying,	surpassing
	Middis of the throne rayed lyke a kyng.	In the middle; dressed
	middle of the throne rayed tyke a kyng.	In the made, dressed
	Wham to governe, ther was figured tweyne,	Whom; two
280	A lady, Mercy, satte on his riht syde;	,
	On his lyfte hande, yf I shall nat feyne,	feign (lie)
	A lady, Trouthe, his domes to provyde;	judgments
	The lady Clemens alofte dydde abyde,	<i>J</i> 8
	Of God ordeyned in the same place	
285	The Kyngis throne strongely to enbrace.	
	For, by the sentence of prudent Salamon,	
	Mercy and Riht kepyn every kyng,	
	And Clemencé kepte by Resoun	
	His myhty throne from myschief and fallyng,	
290	And makith yt stronge with lange abydyng;	
	For I darr say thes sayde ladyes three	
	A kyng preserve in lange prosperytee.	
	/g	
	Thanne stoode also afore the seyde kyng	
	Twoo juges with full hyh noblesse —	nobility
295	Eight sergeauntes echon representyng	each one
	For comune profyte, doom and rihtwysnesse,	common profit, justice; righteousness
	With this scripture, which I shall expresse:	1 3 3
	"Honour of kyngys, in every mannys siht,	
	Of comyn custum lovith equyté and riht."	common
	,	
300	Kyng Davyd wrote, the Sawter berith wytnesse,	Psalter
	"Lorde God," quod he, "thy dome geve to the Kyn	ıg,
	And geve thy trouthe and thy rihtwysnesse	0.
	The Kyngis sone here in his levyng";	King's son while he is alive
	To us declaring, as by theyre writing,	8
305	That kyngis, princes, shulde aboute hem drawe	them
	Folke that be trewe and well expert in lawe.	
	1	
	The Kyng forth rydyng entryd Chepe anoon,	
	A lusty place, a place of alle delycys;	delights
	Kome to the Conduyt, wher, as cristall stoon,	stone
310	The watir ranne like welles of Paradys,	
	The holsome lykour, ful riche and of grete prys,	value
	Lyke to the water of Archedeclyne,	(see note)
	Which by miracle was turned into wyne.	(=== 18810)
	-,	

Thetis	Thetes, which that is of waters chief goddesse,
	Hadde of the welle power noon ne myht,
abundance	For Bachus shewed there his fulsomnesse
every sort of man	Of holsome wynes to every manere wiht;
	For wyn of nature makith hertes liht,
	Wherfore Bachus, at reverence of the Kyng, Shewed oute his plenté at his home komyng.
	shewed oute his piente at his nome komyng.
	Wyn is a likour of recreacioun,
	That day presentyd in tokne of alle gladnesse,
	Unto the Kyng of famous and hyh renoun,
to exile	From us t'exile alle manere hevynesse;
	For with his komyng, the dede berith wytnesse,
	Out of the londe he putte away alle trouble,
	And made of newe oure joyes to be double.
	Eke at thes welles there were virgyns three
happiness	Which drewe wyn up of joye and of pleasaunce,
Pity	Mercy and Grace, theyre suster eke Pyté;
moderation	Mercy mynystred wynes of attemperaunce,
	Grace shedde hire likour of goode gouvernaunce,
bounty	And Pitee profered with ful goode foysoun
	Wynes of comforte and consolacioun.
	The wyn of Mercy staunchith by nature
	The gredy thristis of cruell hastynesse,
	Grace with hire likour cristallyne and pure
anger	Deferrith vengaunce of furious woodnesse,
blunts; Righteousness	And Pitee blymsith the swerde of Rithwysnesse;
P 11	Convenable welles, moste holsom of savour,
Excellent	Convenable welles, moste noison of savour,
Excellent	Forto be tasted of every governour.
Excellent	Forto be tasted of every governour.
Excellent their; subdue	Forto be tasted of every governour. O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede,
	Forto be tasted of every governour. O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame,
	Forto be tasted of every governour. O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede,
their; subdue	Forto be tasted of every governour. O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede
their; subdue	Forto be tasted of every governour. O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede Forto accorden with the Meirys name;
their; subdue	Forto be tasted of every governour. O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede Forto accorden with the Meirys name; Which by report of his worthy fame
their; subdue Mayor's	Forto be tasted of every governour. O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede Forto accorden with the Meirys name; Which by report of his worthy fame That day was busy in alle his governaunce, Unto the Kyng forto done plesaunce.
their; subdue Mayor's to do	O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede Forto accorden with the Meirys name; Which by report of his worthy fame That day was busy in alle his governaunce, Unto the Kyng forto done plesaunce. Ther were eke treen, with leves fressh of hewe,
their; subdue Mayor's to do trees	Forto be tasted of every governour. O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede Forto accorden with the Meirys name; Which by report of his worthy fame That day was busy in alle his governaunce, Unto the Kyng forto done plesaunce.
their; subdue Mayor's to do trees laden	O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede Forto accorden with the Meirys name; Which by report of his worthy fame That day was busy in alle his governaunce, Unto the Kyng forto done plesaunce. Ther were eke treen, with leves fressh of hewe, Alle tyme of yeer, fulle of fruytes lade,
their; subdue Mayor's to do trees laden like	O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede Forto accorden with the Meirys name; Which by report of his worthy fame That day was busy in alle his governaunce, Unto the Kyng forto done plesaunce. Ther were eke treen, with leves fressh of hewe, Alle tyme of yeer, fulle of fruytes lade, Of colour hevynly, and ever-yliche newe,
their; subdue Mayor's to do trees laden like pomegranate	O! how thes welles, whoso take goode hede, With here likours moste holsome to atame, Afore devysed notably in dede Forto accorden with the Meirys name; Which by report of his worthy fame That day was busy in alle his governaunce, Unto the Kyng forto done plesaunce. Ther were eke treen, with leves fressh of hewe, Alle tyme of yeer, fulle of fruytes lade, Of colour hevynly, and ever-yliche newe, Orenges, almondis, and the pomegernade, Lymons, dates, theire colours fressh and glade,

360	Eke the fruytes which more comune be — Quenynges, peches, costardes and wardouns, And other meny ful fayre and fresh to se; The pomewater and the gentyll ricardouns; And ageyns hertes for mutygaciouns Damysyns, which with here taste delyte, Full grete plenté both of blak and white.	see for relief of pains Damson plums
365	And besydis this gracious paradys, Alle joye and gladnesse forto multyplye, Twoo olde men, full circounspecte and wyse, There dydde appere lyke folkes of feyrye; The toon was Ennok, the tothir Elye, The Kyng presentyng theire giftes ful notable, That God conferme his state ay to be stable.	fairyland The one Presenting to the king
370	The first seyde, with benynge chere, Gretly desirynge his prosperyté, That noon enemyes have in him power,	in a kindly manner
375	Nor that no childe by false iniquyté Parturble nevere his felicité; Thus olde Ennok the processe gan well telle, And prayd for the Kyng as he roode by the welle.	wicked person Disturb; happiness speech
380	After, Elyas, with his lokkes hoore, Seyde well devoutly, lokyng on the Kyng, "God conserve thee and kepe thee evermore, And make him blessid, here in erthe levyng, And preserve him in alle manere thyng, And specially amongis kynges alle, In enemyes handes that he nevere falle."	gray hair
385	And at fronteur of thes welles clere, There was a scripture komendyng the lykour; — "Yee shall drawe waters, with goode chere, Oute of welles of oure Savyour, Which have vertue to curen alle langour, Be influence of her grete swetnesse,	the front
390	Hertes avoydyng of alle theire hevynesse."	Purging hearts
	Thanne from thes welles of fulsome habundaunce, With theyr lykours as eny cristall clene, The Kyng roode forth, with sobre contenaunce, Towarde a castell bilt of jaspar grene,	plentiful pure as any crystal
395	Upon whos toures the sonne shone shene, Ther clerly shewed, by notable remembraunce, This kyngis tytle of England and of Fraunce.	towers; bright

400	Twoo green treen ther grewe upriht, Fro Seint Edward and fro Seint Lowys, The roote ytake palpable to the siht, Conveyed by lynes be kyngis of grete prys; Some bare leopardes, and some bare floure-de-lys, In nouther armes founde was there no lak, Which the sixte Herry may now bere on his bak.	lineage; visible by; honor
405	The pedegree be juste successioun, As trewe cronycles trewely determyne, Unto the Kyng ys now dessended doun	by
410	From eyther partye riht as eny lyne; Upon whos heede now fresshely done shyne Two riche crounes most sovereyn of plesaunce To brynge inne pees bitwene England and France.	i.e., from both lines of descent
415	Upon this castell on the tothir syde There was a tree, which sprange out of Jesse, Ordeyned of God ful longe to abyde; — Davyd crounyd first for his humylité The braunches conveyd, as men myht se, Lyneally and in the genologie, To Crist Jhesu, that was born of Marie.	
420	And why the Jesse was sette on that partye, This was the cause in especyall,	there
	For next to Paulis, I dar well specefye, Is the partye moste chief and princypall, Callyd of London the chirche cathederall, Which ought of reson the devyse to excuse,	place
425	To alle thoo that wholde ageyn yt froune or muse.	frown
	And fro that castell the Kyng forth gan him dresse Toward Poulys, chief chirche of this citee, And at Conduyt a liht, and a lyknesse Indevysible made of the Trinité,	
430	A throne compassid of his ryall see; About which, shortly to conclude, Of hevenly aungelles wern a grete multitude;	encompassing
	To whom was goven a precept in scripture,	given
435	Wrete in the frontour of the hyhe stage, That they shulde done theyre besy cure, To kepe the Kyng from alle damage In his lyf here, duryng alle his age.	work diligently
	In his lyf here, duryng alle his age, Hys hyh renoun to sprede and shyne ferre, And of his twoo reemes to sese the mortall werre.	afar realms to stop

440	And laste was wretyn in the fronterys:	in front
	"I shall fulfille him with joye and habundaunce,	j
	And with lengthe of holsome yeerys,	
	And I shall shewe him my helpe with alle plesaunce,	
	And of his lieges feythfull obeyssaunce,	vassals; obedience
445	And multyplye and encrese his lyne	cassais, occarence
113	And make his noblesse thurh the worlde to shyne.	nobility throughout
	And make his hobiesse than the worlde to shylle.	nobility throughout
	Love of his peple, favour of alle straungers,	
	In bothe his remys pees, reest, and unyté,	realms peace; unity
	Be influence of the nyne sperys,	Under; [cosmic] spheres
450	Longe to contune in his ryall see,	continue
	Grace to cherice the Meire and the Citee,	
	Longe in his mynde to be conceyved	
	With how good will, that day he was resseyved."	
	, , , ,	
	Comyng to Poulis ther he liht adoun,	St. Paul's Cathedral
455	Entryng the chirche ful demure of chere,	manner
	And there to mete him with processioun	
	Was the Erchebisshop, and the Chaunceller,	
	Lyncoln, and Bathe, of hoole herte and entier,	most devoutly
	Salysbury, Norwich, and Ely,	,
460	In pontyficall arrayed richely.	
	Fyy	
	Ther was the Bisshop of Rouchestre also,	
	The Dene of Paulys, the Chanons everychon,	The Dean of St. Paul's
	Of dewté as they auht to do,	duty
	On processioun with the Kyng to goon;	-
465	And thouh I kan nat reherse hem oon by oon,	
	Yitt dar I say, as in theyre entent,	
	To do theyre devere full trewely they ment.	duty
	To do choyro devere run tronery and month	auty
	Lyke theyre estates forth they ganne procede;	
	With observaunces longyng for a kyng	belonging to
470	Solempnely gan him conveye in dede	0 0
	Up into the chirche with full devoute syngyng;	
	And whanne he hadde made his offryng,	
	The Meire, the citezenis, abode and left him nouht,	etanad
		stayed
	Unto Westmynstre tyl they hadde him brouht;	
475	Wher alle the covent, in copys richely,	convent; copes
	Mette with him of custume as they ouht;	7 1
	The Abbot after moste solempnely	
	Amonges the relikes the septre oute souht	
400	Of Seint Edward, and to the Kyng it brouht;	
480	Thouh it were longe, large, and of grete weyht,	1. 1
	Yitt on his shuldres the Kyng bare it on heyht,	on high

485	Into the mynstre, while alle the belles ronge, Tyl he kome to the hyh awtere; And full devoutly <i>Te Deum</i> ther was songe, And the peple, gladde of looke and chere, Thanked God with alle here hertes entere, To se theire Kyng with twoo crounys shyne,	minster high altar
	From twoo trees trewly fette the lyne.	derived
490	And after that, this ys the verrey sothe, Unto his paleys of kyngly apparaylle, With his lordes the Kyng forth goothe	absolute truth
	To take his reste after his travaylle; And than of wysdome, that may so mych avaylle,	exertions that is so useful
	The Meire, the citezenis, which alle this dyd se,	that to oo thought
495	Ben home repeyred into hire citee.	Went home
	The Shereves, the Aldermen in fere,	in a group
	The Saturday alther next suyng,	On the following Saturday
	Theire Meire presented, with theyre hertes entere,	wholeheartedly
	Goodly to be resseyved of the Kyng;	received by
500	And at Westminster confermed theire askyng,	confirmed their request
	The Meyre and they with full hole entent	
	Unto the Kyng a gyfte gan to present.	
	The which gifte they goodly have dysposyd,	planned well
	Toke an hamper of golde that shene shone,	gold casket that shone brightly
505	A thousand pounde of golde therinne yclosyd;	gota tacher that those originaly
000	And therwithall to the Kyng they goone	
	And fylle on knees toforn him everychoone,	fell
	Full humbly the trouthe to devyse,	jou
	And to the Kyng the Meire seyde in this wyse:	
	"Most Cristen Prynce and noble Kyng, the goode folke of London, otherwyse cleped youre Chambre (called there moste lowly wyse they mowe be recomaunded (mit Hyhnesse and that yt kan lyke unto your Noble Grace gyfyn with a goode wille of trouthe and lownesse (allegeny gifte was yoven (given) to eny erthely prince."	your Chamber), beseching in ght be recommended) to youre to resseyve this lytyll gyfte,
510	Be gladde, O London! be gladde and make grete joye	
	Citee of Citees, of noblesse precellyng,	surpassing nobility
	In thy bygynnynge called Newe Troye;	
	For worthynesse thanke God of alle thyng,	
× 1 ×	Which hast this day resseyved so thy Kyng	received
515	With many a signe and many an observaunce	

To encrese thy name by newe remembraunce.

5

10

Suche joye was nevere in the Consistorie, Made for the tryumphe with alle the surplusage, embellishments Whanne Sesar Julius kam home with his victorie;

520 Ne for the conqueste of Sypion in Cartage; As London made in every manere age, Out of Fraunce at the home komyng Into this citee of theyre noble Kyng.

Of sevyn thinges I preyse this citee:

525 Of trewe menyng, and feythfull observaunce, intentions Of rihtwysnesse, trouthe, and equyté, righteousness Of stablenesse ay kepte in lygeaunce; allegiance And for of vertue thow hast such suffisaunce, sufficiency In this lande here and other landes alle 530

The Kyngis Chambre of custume men thee calle.

[L'envoye. The epilogue

O noble Meir! be yt unto youre plesaunce, And to alle that duelle in this citee, On my rudenesse and on myn ygnoraunce, Of grace and mercy forto have pitee, My symple makyng forto take at gree; Considre this, that in moste lowly wyse My wille were goode forto do yow servyse.

dwell

look with favor on

THE LEGEND OF ST. GEORGE

[Next nowe filowing here bygynnethe the devyse of a steyned halle of the lyf of Saint George ymagyned by Daun Johan the Munk of Bury Lydegate and made with the balades at the request of th'armorieres of London for th'onour of theyre brotherhoode and theyre feest of Saint George.

[The poete first declarethe:

O yee folk that heer present be, Wheeche of this story shal have inspeccion, Of Saint George yee may beholde and see His martirdome, and his passyoun; And howe he is protectour and patroun, This hooly martir, of knighthood loodsterre,

To Englisshe men boothe in pees and werre.

lodestar (i.e., guide) peace and war

In whos honnour sithen goon ful yoore many years ago The thridde Edward of knighthoode moost entier third; perfect In his tyme, b'assent at Wyndesore by assent; Windsor

	Founded th'ordre first of the gartier, Of worthy knightes ay frome yeere to yeere Foure and twenty cladde in oo lyveree Upon his day kepte ther solempnytee.	the order; garter
15	This name George by interpretacioun Is sayde of tweyne, the first of hoolynesse, And the secound of knighthood and renoun, As that myn Auctor lykethe for to expresse, The feond venqwysshing of manhoode and prowesse	Is said to mean two things Author Satan; valor
20	The worlde, the flesshe, as Crystes owen knyght, Wherever he roode in steel armed bright.	own
25	Capadoce, a mighty strong citee, As the story of hym list to endyte, Ordeyned was to his natyvytee; And in his youthe he gaf himself delyte Frome day to day, as clerkis of him wryte, To suwe vertue, so gynnyng his passage, Vyces excluding, al ryot, and oultrage.	likes to say birth delight follow; beginning violence
30 35	And Cristes feyth for to magnefye At gretter age his cuntree he forsooke, And thoroughe his noblesse and his chyvallerye Trouthe to sousteene, whoso list to looke, Many a journee he upon him tooke, The chirche defending with swerd of equytee, The right of wydowes, and of virgynytee.	faith country nobility sustain, whoever cares to notice battle sword; justice
40	Importable the people to sousteene, Amiddes the provynce whiche men Lybye calle, In a cytee that named is Lysseene; A gret dragoun, with scales silver sheene,	ing this time a misfortune occurred Too heavy for; bear silvery bright
45	Horryble, dreedful, and monstruous of sight, Tofore the citee lay boothe day and night. The kyng, the qweene, the lordes taken heed Of this sodeyne wooful aventure, And the people fellen in gret dreed Consydering howe that they stonde unsure, As they that might the mescheef not endure Maade by assaute of that felle dragoun By pestylence upon theyre wooful toun.	unexpected; occurrence dread misfortune the assault; evil unfortunate town
50	But whane the conseyle of theyre toun took keep Howe that theyre peyne was intollerable,	council; realized pain

55	They senten out every day twoo sheep To this beest foule and abhomynable, To staunche his hunger which was unstauncheable But whane theyre sheep by processe gan to fayle They most of nuwe provyde more victaylle,	beast ; gradually began to fail had to provide anew
60	And whanne they foonde no refuyt ne coumfort For the dragoun to make pourveyaunce, Thane they tooke by lotte other by soort Man or chylde, theyre vytayle to avaunce, Lyche as hit felle on by mortal chaunce Allas, ellas, it was to gret pytee To seen the sorowe that was in that citee.	relief provision or by turn their food (for the dragon) to increase too great a pity see; city
65 70	The statuit made noon excepcyoun Of heghe ne lowe, they stoode in so gret doute Touchant that monstre and that foule dragoun, Eche maner man, as it came aboute, To be devowred, allas, they were sent oute, Til at the last the lott in this maner Fel right upon the kynges doughter deer,	no high nor; fear Concerning dear
75	That she most nexst of necessytee Beo so devowred, helpe may no meede, But to beo sent oute of that cytee, This cely mayde quakyng in hir dreed; Upon hir hande a sheep shee did leed, Hir fader wepte, hir moder, boothe tweyne, And al the cytee in teerys did so reyne.	must nothing could spare her unfortunate tears
80	At hir oute goyng hir fader for the noones Arrayed her with al his ful might In cloothe of golde with gemys and with stoones, Whiche shoone ful sheene ageyne the sonne brigh And on hir wey sheo mette an armed knight Sent frome the Lord as in hir diffence Ageynst the dragoun to make resistence.	occasion gems; jewels t, splendidly against; sun defense
85 90	Saint George it was, Oure Ladyes owen knight, That armed seet upon a ryal steed Which came to socour this mayde in hir right, Of aventure in this grete neode, "Ellas!" quod she, whane she takethe heed, And bade him fleen in hir mortal feer, Lest he also with hir devowred were.	sat; royal help By chance; great need noticed (him) flee; fear

	And whane he saughe of hir the maner,	saw
	He hadde pytee and eeke compassyoun,	pity; also
	To seen, allas, the cristal streemys cleer	see; streams clear
95	On hir cheekys reyne and royle adowne,	rain and roll
	Thought he wolde beon hir Chaumpyoun,	be her Champion
	For lyf nor deeth from hir not to depart	
	But in hir quarell his body to jupart.	put at risk
	Hooly Seint George his hors smote on the syde	
100	Whane he the dragoun sawe lyft up his hede,	head
	And towardes him he proudely gan to ryde	
	Ful lyche a knight with outen fere or dreede;	fear
	Avysyly of witt he tooke goode heed,	Shrewdly
	With his spere sharp and kene egrounde	keenly honed
105	Thoroughe the body he gaf the feonde a wownde.	fiend
100	Thoroughe the body he gai the reolide a wowlide.	jeena
	The cely mayde, knelyng on hir kne,	unfortunate (innocent)
	Unto hir goddes maked hir preyer,	
	And Saint George, whane he did it see,	
	To hir he sayde, with debonayre cheer,	courteous manner
110	"Ryse up anoon, myn owen doughter deer,	
	Take thy girdell, and make therof a bande,	
	And leed this dragoun boldly in thyn hande	
	"Into the cyté, lyche a conqueresse,	
	And the dragoun meekly shall obeye."	
115	And to the cytee anoon she gan hir dresse,	to make her way
113	The ouggely monstre durst it not withseye,	loathsome; dared not resist it
	And Saint George the mayden gan conveye,	began to guide
	That whane the kyng hade inspeccyoun,	
	With palme and banner he goothe processyoun,	
120	Giving to him the laude of this victorye,	praise
	Which hathe theyre cytee delyverd out of dreed;	1
	And Saint George, to encresce his glorye,	
	Pulled out a swerde and smote of his hed,	cut off his (i.e., the dragon's) head
	The people alwey taking ful goode heed,	paying close attention
125	How God this martyr list to magnefye,	chose to
	And him to enhaunce thorughe his chivallerye.	
	Thomas ha made she day and 1 day	
	Thanne he made the dragoun to be drawe,	
	With waynes and cartes fer out of the towne,	wagons
100	And after that he taught hem Crystes lawe,	them (i.e., the townsfolk)
130	By his doctryne and predicacyoun,	preaching
	And frome th'errour by conversyoun,	the error
	He made hem tourne, the kyng and the cyté,	them turn
	And of oon hert baptysed for to be.	one heart

135 140	The kyng after in honnour of Marye And in worship of Saint George hir knight, A ful feyre chirche gan to edefye, Riche of bylding and wonder feyre of sight, Amiddes of which ther sprang up anoon right A plesaunt welle, with stremys cristallyne, Whos drynk to seek was helthe and medecyne.	afterwards very beautiful; erect fair
145	Saint George thanne enfourme gan the kyng Of foure thinges of great excellence, First that he shoulde above al other thing Crystes chirche have ever in reverence, Worship preesthood with al his diligence, Have mynde on poore, and first his hert enclyne	began to instruct Be mindful of the poor
150	This same tyme, the stoory telle cane, Ageynst Crysten ther was a thyrant sent, The which was called Theodacyan, Of paynyme lawe he was a presydent, And to destroye was hooly his entent The feyth of Cryst, and sleen his confessours, With dyvers peynes wrought by his tormentours.	their the Christians; tyrant pagan; leader completely faith; slay pains
155 160	Whane that Saint George gan hereof take heed Howe this thyraunt gan Crystes feyth manace, He of pourpos left of his knightly weede, And pourely cladde mette him in the face, Mannely cheered, fulfilled al with grace, In his presence lowde he gan to crye "Oon God ther is, fy on ydolatrye."	threaten clothes face to face Brave loudly
165	The false thyraunt by gret vyolence Comaunded hathe anoon that he be taake, And to be broughte unto his presence; Bade that he shoulde Crystes feyth forsake, But he ne liste noo delayes maake, Aunswerd pleynly, his lyf by deth to fyne, Frome Crystes lawe no thing shall him declyne.	he (i.e., St. George) be taken he (i.e., St. George) made no delay Answered; life; to end turn away from
170 175	The thyraunt thanne, of verray cruweltee, Bad that he shoulde this martir moost entier Naked beon hanged upon a galowe tree, With scowrges beet in ful feele maner, And with brondes brennyng bright and cler, His sydes brent. Were not hees peynes strong? His entraylles opende, salt cast in among.	out of sheer cruelty Commanded; illustrious be beaten in a very cruel manner burning torches his pains intestines

	The nexst night, Cryst to him did peere,	appear
	And gracyously gan him to coumfort,	1 · 1 1
	And beed him souffre his peynes with goode cheer,	bid; endure
100	And in no wyse himselven discoumfort,	
180	For he the palme of victor schal report,	victory
	By his souffraunce, and wynnen the laurier	suffering; win the laurel
	Of martirdame above the sterres cleer.	stars
	This mighty geant, Crystes chaumpyoun,	giant
	Drank bitter venyme made b'enchauntement,	by enchantment
185	Crystes crosse was his proteccion,	
	Preserving him that he was not shent,	harmed
	And he that made hit of ful fals entent	
	Saughe ageyne God he hade no puissaunce,	Saw that against; power
	Forsooke his errour and fel in repentaunce,	
190	Axethe mercy in ful humble wyse,	Asked for mercy
	And bycame Cristen, bytwix hope and dreed.	, , ,
	The false juge, voyde of all justyce,	
	Comaunded hathe that he shuld leese his heed,	lose his head
	And in his blood, as any roose reed,	red rose
195	He was baptysed, whoo that can discerne,	
	By deethe deserving the lyf that is eterne.	eternal
	Thanne Dacyan, furyous and cruwel,	
	Gane of nuwe devysen in his teene,	Began anew; anger
	Reysed aloft a ful large wheele,	Raised
200	Ful of swerdes grounden sharp and keene,	Haista
400	And Saint George, in his entent moost cleene,	
	Tourned theron in that mortal rage.	Turned
	The wheel tobraake; he felt no damage.	broke
	The wheel toblaake, he left no damage.	OTOKE
	Eeke in a vessel boylling ful of leed,	boiling; lead
205	This hooly martir was eplounged downe,	plunged
	He enterd in withouten feer or dreed,	
	The grace of God was his salvacioun,	
	And liche a bath of consolacioun	
	He founde the metal coumfortable and clere,	
210	Escaping oute devoyde of al daunger.	free of
	He was eeke brought, the story doothe devyse,	
	Into a temple ful of mawmetrye,	idolatry
	Of entent to have doo sacrefyce,	to make sacrifice
	But alle theyre goddes he knightly can defye,	J
215	And sodyenly oure feyth to magnefye	faith
•	A fyre frome heven was by myracle sent,	<i>J</i>
	Wher thorughe the temple was till asshes brent.	burned to ashes
	O 1	

220	And with al this we fynden in his lyf, Thorugh Goddes might and gracyous purvey. That Alexandrea of Dacyan the wyf	aunce providence
	Forsooke ydolles and al hir fals creaunce	idols; belief
	And became Crysten with humble attendaunce	
	Suffred deethe, baptysed in hir bloode	
	For love of Him that starf upon the roode.	died upon the cross
995	A. 1D d 1 . C. 1 11	
225	And Dacyan thanne, by ful mortal lawe,	
	Comaunded hathe in open audyence,	.,
	That Saint George be thorughe the cyté draw	e city
	And after that this was his sentence,	
000	He to ben heveded by cruwel violence,	to be beheaded
230	And in his dying thus it is befalle,	
	He made his preyer for hem that to him calle	. them
	"O Lord," quod he, "thou here myn orysoun	hear my prayer
	And graunte it beo unto thee plesaunce	pleasing
	That alle folk that have devocyoun	
235	To me, O Lord, have hem in remembraunce	remember them
	And condescende with every circumstance	with utmost care
	Of thy mercy, O Soverein Lord moost deer	
	Al for my saake to heren theyre preyer."	to hear
	And al the people being in presence,	
240	A voyce was herd doune from the hye heven.	
410	Howe that his preyer was graunted in sentence	
	Of him that is Lord of the sterres seven.	By
	And Dacyan, with a sodein leven	
	Was brent unwarly by consumpcyoun,	flash
245		burned unexpectedly by a firey annihilation returned
243	As he repayred hoome to his mansyoun.	returnea
	rn . It is	

[Explicit.

MESURE IS TRESOUR

5

Men wryte of oold how mesour is tresour, And of al grace ground moost principall, Of vertuous lyfe suppoort and eek favour, Mesour conveyeth and governyth all, — Trewe examplayr and orygynall, To estaatys of hyh and lowe degree, In ther dewe ordre, for, in especiall, Alle thyng is weel so it in mesure be.

exemplar high due MESURE IS TRESOUR 49

	Mesure is roote of al good policye,	
10	Sustir-germayn unto discrecioun,	True sister
	Of poopys, prelatys, it beryth up the partye,	popes
	Them to conduce in hyh perfeccioun,	guide in high
	To leve in preyour and in devocioun,	live
	Yeve good exaunple of pees and unité,	
15	That al ther werkys, for shoort conclusioun,	works
	With trewe mesure may commended be.	true
	Al theyre doctryne, nor all ther hoolynesse,	
	Kunnyng, language, wisdam, nor science,	Knowledge
	Studye on bookys, in prechyng besynesse,	
20	Almesse-dede, fastyng, nor abstinence,	Almsgiving
	Clothe the nakyd with cost and dispence,	an outlay of money
	Rekne alle these vertues, compassioun, and pité,	Reckon
	Avayllith nought, pleynly in sentence	in plain truth
	But there be mesure and parfight charyté.	perfect
25	Myghty emperours, noble wourthy kynges,	
	Pryncis, dukys, erlys, and barounnys,	earls
	Ther greete conquestys, ther surquedous rydynges,	haughty cavalcades
	But ther be mesure in ther condicyounnys,	behavior
	That attemperaunce conveye ther renownys,	moderation; renown
30	Rekne up the noblesse of every conquerour,	Reckon; nobility
	What availlith al ther pocessiounnyns,	
	But ther ende conclude in just mesure?	
	Kyng Alisaundre, that gat al myddyl-erthe,	conquered all the world
	Affryk, Ayse, Ewrope, and eek Ynde,	
35	And slowh Porrus with his dreedful swerde,	killed; sword
	Yit in his conquest mesure was set behynde;	
	For which, ye lordys, left up your eyen blynde!	eyes
	The stoon of paradys was fyn of his labour,	stone; the goal of
	In al his conquest, have ye wel in mynde,	
40	Was sett ferre bak for lak of just mesure.	far
	Knyghthood in Grece and Troye the cité	
	Took hys principlys, and next in Rome toun,	Followed his example
	And in Cartage, a famous gret cuntré,	country
	Recoord of Hanybal and wourthy Scipioun;	
45	The greete debaatys and the devisioun	
	Among these kyngdammys by marcial labour,	
	Fynal cause of ther destruccioun,	
	Was fawte of vertu and lakkyng of mesure.	lack of virtue
	To knyghthood longith the Chirche to supporte,	belongs the duty
50	Wydewys, and maydenys, and poore folk to diffende,	defend

55	Men in ther ryght knyghtly to recoumfoorte, To comoun profight nyght and day entende, Ther lyf, ther good manly to dispende, To punysshe extorcioun, raveyne, and ech robbour, And bryngen alle unto correccioun, That be froward unto the just mesour.	common profit their wealth vigorously to use robbery hostile to
60	Trewe juges and sergeauntis of the lawe, For hate or frenshippe they shal ther doomys dresse, Withoute excepcioun, and ther hand withdrawe, Fro meede and yiftes alle surfetys to represse; Holde trouthe and sustene rightwisnesse, Mercy preferre alwey tofor rigour, That fals for-sweryng have there noon interesse, For lak of trouthe and lak of just mesour.	deliver their judgment bribes; excess righteousness instead of strict justice perjury; no influence
65	So egally ther doomys to avaunce, Of God and trouthe alwey to takyn hede, And Cambises to have in remembraunce,	impartially; judgments
70	That was slayn because that he took meede Of poore folk, the causys they shall speede, To moordre nor thefte they shal doo no favour, In al ther doomys of conscience to dreede, That ryght goo not bak, equité, nor mesour.	champion murder
75	Meyris, sherevys, aldirmen, cunstablys, Which that governe bourghes and citees, Kepith your fraunchise and statutys profitablys, That moost avayalle may to the comountees; In no wise lese nought your libertees; Accorde ech man with his trewe neyhbour, As ye ar bounde to hih and lowh degrees,	Mayors boroughs privileges; profitable statutes citizenry lose Reconcile
80	That peys and wheyghte be kept, and just mesour. Among yoursilf suffre noon extorcioun,	balance; weight
85	Let no wrong be doo unto the poraylle, On thefte and manslaughte doo execucioun, Beth weel providid for stuff and for vitaylle; Let no devisioun, Salamon doth counsaylle, Withinne yoursilf holde no socour;	poor supplies; provisions find refuge
	And for a tresour which greetly may avaylle, Among alle thyng kepe peys and just mesour.	
90	Famous marchauntys, that ferre cuntrees ryde, With al ther greete rychesse and wynnynges, And artificerys, that at hom abyde, So ferre castyng in many sundry thynges,	profits craftsmen So skillfully crafting

MESURE IS TRESOUR 51

And been expert in wondirful konnyngges, skills Of dyvers craftys t'avoyden al errour; to avoid 95 What may avaylle al your ymagynynges, Withoute proporciouns of weyghte and just mesour? Rekne up phesyk with all ther letuaryes, physicians; potions Grocerys, mercerys, with ther greet habundaunce, mercers Expert surgeyns, prudent potecaryes, apothecaries 100 And all ther weyghtes peysed in ballaunce, weighed Masouns, carpenterys, of Yngelond and of Fraunce, Bakerys, browsterys, vyntenerys, with fressh lycour, brewers, vintners All set at nought to rekne in substaunce, Yif peys or weyghte doo lake, or just mesour. If scales; lack 105 Ploughmen, carterys, with othir laborerys, Dichers, delverys, that greet travaylle endure, diggers Which bern up all, and have doon many yeerys, hold up The staatis alle set here in portrature, estates On Goddys wyll, and also by nature, 110 Alle oon ymage divers in ther degree, Shulde be alle oon, by recoord of Scripture, Be large mesour of parfight charyté. Fro yeer to yeer th'experiencce is seyn, Ne were the plough no staat myght endure; Without the plow; estate 115 The large feeldys shulde be bareyn, No corn upgrowe nor greyn in his verdure, grain in its greenness Man to suppoorte, nor beeste in his nature, For which we shulde of trouthe for our socour Wourshippe the plough, sithe every creature 120 Hath of the ploughman his lyfoode be mesour. livelihood by So as the shepperde wacchith upon ther sheep, The hoote somyr, the coolde wynterys nyght, summer Spiritual heerdys shulde take keep In Crystes foolde, with al ther fulle myght, 125 By vertuous doctryne as they ar holde of ryght, To save ther sogettys fro wolvys fell rygour, subjects from wolves' fierce attack That heretikys quenche nat the lyght Of Crystes feith nor of just mesour. Heerdys with sheep shul walke in good pasture, And toward nyght sewrly sette a foolde, 130 safely Of Isaak and Jacob a ful pleyn figure, That wer shepperdys whyloom be dayes oolde; in days of old Which lyk prelatys and bysshoppes as I toolde, Th'estaatys here sett in charyté shal governe,

By good exaumple in heete and froostys coolde, That ryght and mesure shal holde up the lanterne.

Strong as Herculees of manhood and of myght, I am set here to stondyn at dyfence, Wrong to represse, and to suppoorte ryght

in defense

With this burdoun of sturdy violence;
But unto alle that wyl doo reverence,
To alle the staatys sett here in portrature,
I shall to hem make no resistence,
That be governyd justly be mesure.

Among boorys, beerys, and leounnys,
 Myn office is to walke in wyldirnesse,
 Reste anyght in cavys and dongeounnys,
 Tyl Phebus shewe a morwen his bryghtnesse
 Now stonde I here to kepe in sekirnesse
 This hows in sewyrté, with al my besy cure,
 To letyn in folk, that of gentilnesse
 Lyst hem governe justly be mesure.

boars, bears; lions My job dens in the morning security safety

Wish to govern themselves

MUMMING AT BISHOPSWOOD

[Nowe here next following ys made a balade by Lydegate, sente by a poursyvant (sent by a messenger) to the Shirreves of London, acompanyed with theire bretherne upon Mayes daye at Busshopes wod, at an honurable dyner, eche of hem bringginge his dysshe.

Mighty Flourra, goddes of fresshe floures,
Whiche clothed hast the soyle in lousty grene,
Made buddes springe with hir swote showres
By influence of the sonne so sheene;
To do plesaunce of entent ful clene
Unto th'estates wheoche that nowe sitte here,
Hathe Veere doune sent hir owen doughter dere,

Ver (i.e., Spring); her (i.e., Flora's)

Making the vertue that dured in the roote,
Called of clerkes the vertue vegytable,
life-giving force
For to trascende, moste holsome and moste swoote,
Into the crope, this saysoun so greable.
The bawmy lykour is so comendable
That it rejoythe with the fresshe moysture
Man, beeste, and foole, and every creature

makes happy
bird

Which hathe repressed, swaged, and bore doune The grevous constreinte of the frostes hoore; And caused foolis, for joye of this saysoune, diminished

20	To cheese theire makes thane by natures loore, With al gladnesse theire courage to restore, Sitting on bowes fresshly nowe to synge Veere for to salue at hir home comynge;	choose; mates; command desire greet
25	Ful pleinly meninge in theire ermonye Wynter is goone, whiche did hem gret payne, And with theire swoote sugre melodye, Thanking Nature theire goddesse sovereyne That they nowe have no mater to compleyne Hem for to proygne every morwenyng With lousty gladnesse at Phebus uprysinge.	meaning; harmony them sugary reason preen; morning at the sun's rising
30	And to declare the hye magnifysence Howe Vere inbringethe al felicytee, After wynters mighty vyolence Avoydinge stormys of al adversytee; For sheo hathe brought al prosperitee To alle th'estates of this regyoun	high ushers in all happiness she
35 40	At hir comynge tofore youre hye renoun: To the mighty prynces the palme of theire victorie; And til knighthode nowe sheo dothe presente Noblesse in armes, lawde, honnour, and glorie; Pees to the people in al hir best entente, With grace and mercy fully to consente That provydence of hye discressioun	before to Nobility in battle, praise Peace sound judgment
45	Avoyde descorde and al devysyoun. Wynter shal passe of hevynesse and trouble, Flowres shal springe of perfite charité, In hertes there shal be no meninge double, Buddes shal blosme of trouthe and unytee, Pleinly for to exyle duplicytee, Lordes to regne in theire noble puissance, The people obeye with feythful obeyssaunce.	discord; dissent perfect deceitful feelings unity power obedience
50	Of alle estates there shal beo oone ymage, And princes first shal ocupye the hede, And prudent juges, to correcte outrages, Shal trespassours constreynen under drede,	head
55	That innosentes in theire lowlyhede As truwe comunes may beo theire socour, Truwly contune in theire faithful labour.	humbleness commons (subjects); succor continue
	And by the grace of Oure Lorde Jhesu That Holly Chirche may have parseveraunce,	may persevere

60	Beo faythfull founde in al vertue,	Be
00	Mayre, provost, shirref, eche in his substaunce; And aldremen, whiche have the governaunce	
	Over the people by vertue may avayle,	succeed
	That noone oppression beo done to the pourayle.	poor
	That hoose oppression see done to the pourage.	Poor
	Thus as the people, of prudent pollycye,	
65	Pryncis of the right shal governe,	
	The Chirche preye, the juges justefye,	
	And knighthode manly and prudently discerne,	nobly
	Til light of trouthe so clerely the lanterne:	,
	That rightwysnesse thorughe this regyoune	righteousness
70	Represse the derknesse of al extorcyoune.	righteeteriose
• 0	riepresse une derimiesse er ar entere) came.	
	Theos be the tythinges, wheoche that Weer hathe brough	t. These; tidings; Ver
	Troubles exylinge of wynters rude derknesse;	
	Wherfore rejoye yowe in hert, wille, and thought,	rejoice; heart
	Somer shal followe to yowe of al gladnesse;	Summer
75	And sithen sheo is mynistre of lustynesse,	since; pleasure
	Let hir beo welcome to yowe at hir comyng,	71
	Sith sheo to yowe hathe brought so glad tythinge.	such a
	/ -··	
	The noble princesse of moste magnifisence,	
	Qweene of al joye, of gladde suffisaunce,	sufficiency
80	May is nowe comen to youre Hye Excellence,	33
	Presenting yowe prosperous plesaunce,	
	Of al welfare moste foulsome haboundance,	plentiful abundance
	As sheo that hathe under hir demayne	domain
	Of floures fresshe moste holsome and soveraine.	
	[L'envoye to alle th'estates present.	epilogue; the estates
85	This Princesse hathe, by favour of nature,	
	Repared ageine that wynter hathe so fade,	that which; has so withered
	And foolis loustely recuvre	birds; recover
	Theire lusty notes and theire ermonye glade,	harmony
	And under braunches, under plesant shade,	
90	Rejoyssing thaire with many swote odoures,	sweet
	And Zepherus with many fresshe shoures.	showers
		ractively; multicolored flowers
	Alle hilles, pleynes, and lusty bankes grene,	
	,	fragrance; waft over; meadow
95	And fury Tytane shewe oute heos tresses sheene,	the fiery sun; his
	And uppon busshes and hawthornes kene,	sharp
	The nightingale with plesant ermonye	
	Colde wynter stormes nowe sheo dothe defye.	

MUMMING AT ELTHAM 55

On Parnoso the lusty muses nyene, pleasure-loving; nine 100 Citherra with hir sone nowe dwellis, This sayson singe and theire notes tuwyne blendOf poetrye besyde the cristal wellis; springs Calyope the dytes of hem tellis, stories And Orpheus with heos stringes sharpe 105 Syngethe a roundell with his temperd herpe. harmonious harp Wherfore to alle estates here present, This plesant tyme moste of lustynesse, May is nowe comen tofore yow of entent with the intent To bringe yowe alle to joye and fresshnesse, 110 Prosparitee, welfare, and al gladnesse, And al that may youre Hyenesse gweeme and pleese, satisfy In any parte or doone youre hertes eese. heart's ease **MUMMING AT ELTHAM** [Loo here begynnethe a balade made by daun John Lidegate at Eltham in Cristmasse, for a momyng tofore the Kyng and the Owene. Bachus, which is god of the glade vyne, who; jolly vine Juno and Ceres, acorded alle theos three, all three together Thorughe theyre power, which that is devyne, Sende nowe theyre giftes unto your Magestee: 5 Wyne, whete, and oyle by marchandes that here be, (olive) oil; merchants Wheche represent unto youre Hye Noblesse your High Nobility Pees with youre lieges, plenté and gladnesse. Peace; vassals, abundance For theos giftes pleynly to descryve, fully; describe Wheche in hemself designe al souffisaunce: themselves signify complete sufficiency 10 Pees is betokened by the grene olyve; In whete and oyle is foulsome haboundaunce; plentiful abundance Wheche to youre Hyenesse for to do plesaunce, to please your Highness They represente nowe to youre Hye Noblesse, Pees with youre lieges, plentee with gladnesse. 15 Ysaak, the patryark ful olde, Gaf his blessing with his giftes three Gave

You may read and see it in Genesis

similarly

sends

Unto Jacobe; in Scripture it is tolde, Genesis yee may hit reede and see.

And semblabully the Hooly Trynytee,

Youre staate blessing, sent to youre Hye Noblesse

Pees with youre lieges, plentee with gladnesse.

20

In the olyve he sendethe to yowe pees, The Lord of Lordes, that lordshipethe every sterre, rules over: star And in youre rebelles, wheche beon now reklesse, who are 25 He stint shal of Mars the cruwel werre; stop; cruel war And thane youre renoun shal shyne in londes ferre remote lands Of youre two reaumes, graunting to your Noblesse realms Pees with youre lieges, plentee and gladnesse. For Mars that is mooste furyous and woode, 30 Causer of stryf and desobeyssaunce, strife; disobedience Shal cesse his malice; and God that is so goode, cease Of unytee shal sende al souffysaunce. unity; satisfaction He joyne the hertes of England and of Fraunce, hearts B'assent of boothe sent to your Hye Noblesse By the assent of both 35 Pees with youre lieges, plentee with gladnesse. Juno that is goddesse of al tresore, treasure Sende eeke hir gyftes to your estate royal: also Laude of knighthoode, victorie and honnour, Praise Ageyns mescreantes in actes marcyal, pagans; martial 40 For Crystes feyth yee enhaunce shal; faith Repeyre ageyne, and regne in youre Noblesse, Return Pees with youre lieges, plentee and gladnesse. And al this whyle Ceres, goddesse of corne, Shal where yee ryde mynistre you victayle; wherever; supply you provisions 45 Provydence, hir sustre, goo byforne before And provyde, soo that no thing ne fayle; nothing is lacking Bachus also, that may so miche avayle: who can help so much Alle of acorde present to youre Noblesse in agreement Pees with youre lieges, plentee with gladnesse. 50 This God, this Goddesse, of entent ful goode, with completely good intent In goodely wyse also theyre gyftes dresse manner; direct To yowe, Pryncesse, borne of Saint Lowys blood; St. Louis' Frome yowe avoyding al sorowe, al hevynesse, driving away; sadness Frome yeere to yeere in verray sikrenesse; in genuine security 55 To you presenting, yif yowe list adverte, if it please you to notice Ay by encresse, joye and gladnesse of hert. Ever be increased They wol theyre gyftes with you and youres dwelle wish that Peese, unytee, plentee and haboundaunce, So that Fortune may hem not repelle, not drive them away 60 Ner hem remuwe thorughe hir varyaunce; Nor remove them; fickleness Graunting also perseveraunt constaunce; steadfast constancy

To you presenting, yif yowe list adverte, Ay by encresse, joye and gladnesse of hert. MUMMING AT WINDSOR 57

To youre Hyenesse they gif the fresshe olyve,

65 By pees t'exyle awaye al hevynesse;
Prosparytee eeke during al your lyve.
And Juno sent you moost excellent ricchesse,
Love of al people, grounded in stablenesse.
With this refrete, yif yowe list adverte,

riches donation

to exile

Ay by encresse joye and gladnesse of hert.

70

80

5

Ceres also sent foulsomenesse, prosperity
Frome yeere to yeere in your court t'abyde. to abide
Adversyté shal ther noon manase, menace no one

But care and sorrow forever sette asyde,

Happe, helthe and grace chosen to be youre guyde. And with al this present, yif yee adverte,

Happiness

And with at this present, yil yee adverte, Ay beo encresse, joye and gladnesse of hert.

[L'envoie epilogue

Prynce excellent, of your benignytee,
Takethe thees gyftes, sent to your Hye Noblesse,
This hyeghe feest frome theos yche three:
Pees with youre lieges, plentee with gladdnesse,
As Bacus, Juno and Ceres bere witnesse.
To you, Pryncesse, also, yif yee adverte,

Ay beo encresse, joye and gladdnesse of hert.

of your grace

exalted; each of these three

bear

MUMMING AT WINDSOR

[Nowe followethe next the devyse of a monying to fore the Kyng Henry the Sixst, being in his Castell of Wyndesore, the fest of his Crystmasse holding ther, made by Lidegate daun John, the Munk of Bury; howe th'ampull and the floure delys (the ampule and the fleur-de-lys) came first to the kynges of Fraunce by myrakle at Reynes (miracle at Reims).

Mooste noble Prynce of Cristen prynces alle,
To youre Hyeghnesse lat hit beo plesaunce,
In youre presence men may to mynde calle,
Howe that whylom oure worthy reaume of Fraunce
Converted was frome theyre mescreaunce,
Whane the Lord of Lordes caste a sight
Upon youre lande and made His grace alight.

Christian

may it be pleasing

(that) men may call to mind

formerly; realm

misbelief (i.e., paganism)

glance

For in the heghe, hevenly consistorye,

Be ful acorde of the Trynitee,

By

10 As in cronycles maked is memorye, The Lord, which is called oon, twoo and thre, His eyeghe of mercy caste on Cloudovee,

eye; Clovis

	Shadde His grace of goostely influence	spiritual
	Towardes that kyng, having his advertence,	attention
15	That he shoulde passe frome paganymes lawe	paganism's
	By prescyence, which that is devyne,	foreknowledge; divine
	His hert al hoolly and himself withdrowe	heart
	Frome his ydooles, and alle hees rytes fyne,	idols; lavish rituals
	Whane hevenly grace did upon him shyne,	
20	By meene oonly and by devoute preyer	Indirectly
	Of Saint Cloote, moost goodly and entier.	Clotilda; sincere
	Hir hertely love, hir meditacyouns,	heartfelt
	Hir wacche, hir fasting and hir parfyt lyf,	vigils; perfect
	Hir stedfast hoope, hir hooly orysouns,	prayers
25	Hir conversacyoun moost contemplatyf	conduct; devout
	Stynt in Fraunce of mawmetrye the stryf,	Stopped; idolatry
	Causing the lawe, moost soverein of vertue	greatest in virtue
	To sprede abroode of oure Lord Jhesu.	far and wide
	Hir meryte caused, and hir parfit entent,	miraculous power; pure intent
30	That Crystes feyth aboute ther did sprede,	faith
	Whane that an aungel was frome heven sent	
	Unto an hermyte, of parfyt lyf in deed,	
	Presented it, whooso can take heed;	
	A shelde of azure, moost soverein by devys,	shield; superior by design
35	And in the feelde of golde three floure delys.	fleur-de-lys
	At Joye en Vale, withoute more obstacle,	further delay
	Fel at this cas, where th'aungel doune alight,	It so happened; the angel descended
	A place notable, chosen by myracle,	
	Which thorughe al Fraunce shadde his bemys light.	shed; beams
40	God of his grace caste on that place a sight,	
	For to that reaume in passing avauntage	as an excellent addition
	In thilke vale was sette that hermytage.	that same valley; established
	Al this came in, whooso list to seen,	came about, whoever desires to see
	I dare afferme it withoute any dreed,	
45	By parfytnesse of the hooly qweene,	perfection
	Saynte Cloote, floure of wommanheed.	flower
	Whatever she spake, acordant was the deed:	
	I mene it thus, that worde and werke were oon;	
	It is no wonder, for wymmen soo beon echoon.	all women are like that
50	Hir hoolynesse Fraunce did enlumyne	illuminate
	And Crystes fayth gretly magnefye.	
	Loo what grace doothe in wymmen shyne,	
	Whas assurance noman may denye.	Whose faithfulness

MUMMING AT WINDSOR 59

To seve pleyne trouth nys no flaterye; To speak plain truth is 55 But stabulnesse in wymmen for to fynde, Deemethe youreself wher it komethe hem of kynde.¹ For thorughe meeknesse, yif it be adverted, notedOf Saynte Cloote, and thorugh hir hyeghe prudence, high (i.e., great) Kyng Cloudovee was to oure feyth converted. 60 In hir ther was so entier diligence, such complete Fully devoyde of slouthe and necglygence, Ne stynt nought, til that hir lord hathe take The feyth of Cryst and his errour forsake.² This made, the kyng that Crystes feyth tooke, This having happened For he was boothe manly and rightwys, 65 righteous The three crepaudes this noble kyng forsooke, heraldic toads And in his sheelde he bare thre floure delys, bore Sent frome heven, a tresore of gret prys; treasure; price (i.e., value) After at Revnes, the story tellethe thus, Rheims 70 Baptysed lowly of Saint Remigius. humbly Th'aumpolle of golde a colver brought adoune, The ampule; dove With which he was, this hooly kyng, ennoynt. anointedGret prees ther was stonding envyroun, crowd; all around For to beholde the kyng frome poynt to poynt. head to toe 75 For where as he stoode, in gret desjoynt, distress First a paynyme, by baptyme anoon right pagan; immediately Was so converted, and bekame Crystes knight. At Reynes yit that hooly unccyoun still; oil Conserved is for a remembraunce, Preserved 80 And of coustume, by revolucyoun custom; revelation Of God provyded, with due observaunce, By; reverence T'annoynte of coustume kynges wheeche in Fraunce Joustely succeede, the story doothe us leere;³ Of which Sixst Henry, that nowe sittethe here, 85 Right soone shal, with Goddes hooly grace, As he is borne by successyoun, next in hereditary succession Be weel resceyved in the same place well And by vertu of that unccyoun, power

¹ Lines 55–56: But as for finding steadfastness in women, / Decide for yourself whether it comes to them by nature

² Lines 62–63: She did not relent until her lord (i.e., Clovis) had adopted / Christianity and had forsaken the error of his ways

³ Legitimately succeed to the throne, as the story teaches us

5

10

Atteyne in knighthoode unto ful hye renoun Resceyve his coroune, he and his successours,

By tytle of right, lyche hees progenytours.

Receive; crown like his forefathers

Descendant; St. Louis

So may it please

again

Nowe, Royal Braunche, O Blood of Saint Lowys, So lyke it nowe to thy Magnyfycence,

That the story of the flour delys

95 May here be shewed in thyne heghe presence, And that thy noble, royal Excellence Lyst to supporte, here sitting in thy see, Right as it fell this myracle to see.

Allow; on your throne To see this miracle just as it happened

MUMMING FOR THE GOLDSMITHS OF LONDON

[And nowe filowethe a lettre made in wyse of (in the style of) balade by Ledegate Daun Johan, of a mommynge, whiche the goldesmythes of the Cité of London mommed in right fresshe and costelé (costly) Welych (Strange) desguysing to theyre Mayre Eestfeld, upon Candelmasse day at nyght, after souper; brought and presented unto the Mayre by an heraude cleped (herald called) Fortune.

That worthy David, which that sloughe Golye,
The first kyng that sprang oute of Jesse,
Of God echosen, the bookes specefye,
By Samuel sette in his royal see,
With twelve trybus is comen to this citee,
Brought royal gyftes, kyngly him t'aquyte,
The noble Mayre to seen and to vysyte.

who slew Goliath
who slew Goliath
throne
throne
throne
to acquit himself in kingly fashion
Mayor; see and visit

The first trybe, the Byble cane well telle,
Is called Juda, the hardy, strong lyoun.

Fro whos kynrede — for hit did excelle —

Cryst lyneally he came adowne,

Which lyche David was the chaumpyoun

That sloughe the tyraunt, to gete himself a prysse,

Win himself a prize

This noble David, moost mighty and moost goode,
Is nowe descended in his estate royal,
With alle the trybus of Jacobus blood,
For to presenten in especial
Gyftes that beon bothe hevenly and moral,

Apperteyning unto good gouvernaunce,
Unto the Mayre for to doo pleasaunce.

This noble David, moost mighty and moost goode,

Jacob's

present especially
Appertaining to
Mayor; to bring pleasure

Frome his cytee of Jherusalem He is come doune of humble wille and thought;

Man to restore ageyne to Paradys.

25	The arke of God, bright as the sonne beeme, Into this toune he hathe goodely brought, Which designethe, if hit be wel sought, Grace and good eure and long prosperitee Perpetuelly to byde in this cytee.	sun's beam town signifies fortune abide
30	O yee Levytes, which bere this lordes arke, Doothe youre devoyre with hevenly armonye The gret mysterye devoutly for to marke,	Levites, who carry this lord's Do your duty; harmony
	With laude and prys the Lord to magnefye;	praise one; show
	Of oon acorde shewethe your melodye, Syngethe for joye, that the arke is sent	Sing
35	Nowe to the Mayre with hoole and truwe entent.	complete and true
	Whylome this arke, abyding in the hous Of Ebdomadon, brought in ful gret joye;	Formerly
	For in effect it was more gracyous	
40	Thanne ever was Palladyone of Troye.	.1
40	Hit did gret gladnesse and hit did accoye Thinges contrarye and all adversytee.	soothe
	Th'effect therof, whane David did see,	
	And fully knewe, howe God list for to blesse,	was wont to
	Thorughe his vertu and his mighty grace,	
45	That of gladdnesse they might nothing mysse	
	Wher hit aboode any maner spaace,	for any length of time
	God of his might halowed so the place.	, , ,
	Wherfore Kyng David, by gret devocion,	great
	Maade of this ark a feyre translacion	fair transfer
50	Into his hous and his palays royal,	
	Brought by the Levytes with gret solempnytee.	
	And he himself in especyal	
	Daunsed and sang of gret humylyté,	Danced
	And ful devoutely left his ryaltee,	kingdom
55	With ephod gyrt, lyche preestis of the lawe,	Girdled with an ephod, like priests
	To gyf ensaumple howe pryde shoulde be withdrawe	give an example of how
	In yche estate, who list the trouth serche,	each; whoever wishes to; seek out
	And to exclude al veyne ambycyoun,	vain ambition
60	Specyally fro mynistres of the Chirche, To whome it longethe by devocyoun,	Especially from ministers Whose duty it is
50	To serve God with hool defeccyoun	complete selflessness
	And afforne him mynistre in clennesse,	before
	B'ensaumple of David for al his worthynesse.	By example
	1	> 1

65 70	Nowe ryse up, Lord, into thy resting place, Aark of thyne hooly halowed mansyoun, Thou aark of wisdome, of vertu and of grace, Keepe and defende in thy proteccion The Meyre, the citeseyns, the comunes of this toune, Called in cronycles whylome Nuwe Troye, Graunte hem plenté, vertu, honnour and joye.	commons; town chronicles; New Troy
	And for that meeknesse is a vertu feyre,	And since
	Worthy David, with kyngly excellence,	
	In goodely wyse hath made his repayre,	proper style; journey
	O noble Mayre, unto youre presence,	
75	And to youre Hyeghnesse with freondly dilygence	friendly
	This presande brought, oonly for the best,	present
	Perpetuelly this toune to sette at rest,	
	Of purpoose put this aark to youre depoos, ¹ With good entent, to make youre hert light;	
80	And thoo three thinges, which therinne beo cloos,	those; enclosed
00	Shal gif to yowe konnyng, grace, and might,	knowledge
	For to gouverne with wisdome, pees, and right	peace
	This noble cytee, and lawes suche ordeyne,	city
	That no man shal have cause for to compleyne.	complain
	• ,	•
85	A wrytt withinn shal unto you declare	writ
	And in effect pleynly specefye,	plainly specify
	Where yee shal punysshe and where as yee shal spare,	
	And howe that mercy shal rygour modefye.	strict justice
	And youre estate also to magnefye,	
90	This aark of God, to make you gracyous,	
	Shal stille abyde with you in youre hous.	always
	For whyles it bydethe stille in youre presence,	while it stays
	The hyeghe Lord shal blesse boothe yowe and youres,	high
	Of grace, of fortune sende yowe influence	0
95	And of vertue alle the fresshe floures;	flowers
	And of adversytee voyde awey the shoures,	drive away the storms
	Sette pees and rest, welfare and unytee	peace; unity
	Duryng youre tyme thorougheoute this cytee.	throughout

¹ Intentionally delivered this ark into your keeping

MUMMING FOR THE MERCERS OF LONDON

[And now filowethe a lettre made in wyse of balade by Daun Iohan, brought by a poursuyvaunt (messenger) in wyse of (in the style of) mommers desguysed to fore the Mayre of London, Eestfeld, upon the twelfethe night of Cristmasse, ordeyned ryallych by the worthy merciers, citeseyns of London.

	Moost mighty Lord, Jubyter the Greet, Whos mansyoun is over the sonnes beem, Frome thens that Phebus with his fervent heet	Jupiter the Great sun's beam thence; heat
5	Reflectethe his light upon the swyft streeme Of Ewfratees towardes Jerusalem, Doune coosteying, as bookys maken mynde, By Lubyes landes, thorughe Ethyope and Ynde;	the Euphrates River Passing along the border; remind Libya's; India
10	Conveyed doune, where Mars in Cyrrea Hathe bylt his paleys upon the sondes rede, And she, Venus, called Cytherrea, On Parnaso, with Pallas ful of drede; And Parseus with his furyous steede Smote on the roche where the Muses dwelle, Til ther sprange up all sod cynly a welle	palace Struck; rock
	Til ther sprange up al sodeynly a welle,	suddenly
15 20	Called the welle of Calyope, Mooste auctorysed amonges thees Cyryens; Of which the poetes that dwelle in that cuntree. And other famous rethorycyens, And they that cleped beon musycyens, Ar wont to drynk of that hoolsome welle, Which that alle other in vertu doothe excelle;	honored country rhetoricians who are called
25	Where Bachus dwellethe besydes the ryver Of ryche Thagus, the gravellys alle of gold, Which gyvethe a light agens the sonne cleer, So fresshe, so sheene, that hit may not beo tolde; Where Bellona hathe bylt a stately hoolde, In al this worlde, I trowe, ther is noon lyche, Of harde magnetis and dyamandes ryche:	sands bright castle lodestones and diamonds
30	And of that welle drank some tyme Tulius And Macrobye, ful famous of prudence; Ovyde also, and eeke Virgilius, And Fraunceys Petrark, myrour of eloquence; Johan Bocas also, flouring in sapyence. Thoroughe that sugred bawme aureate	mirror flourishing in wisdom sweet aureate balm
35	They called weren poetes laureate.	

	Oute of Surrye, by many straunge stronde, This Jubiter hathe his lettres sent, Thoroughe oute Europe, where he did lande,	Syria; exotic shores
4.0	And frome the heven came doune of entent,	
40	To ravisshe shortly in sentement	in short
	Fayre Europe, mooste renommed of fame, After whame yit al Europe berethe the name.	renowned whom still
	After whalie yit at Europe berettle the fiame.	wnom stiti
	And thorughe Egypte his poursuyant is comme, Doune descendid by the Rede See,	messenger
45	And hathe also his right wey ynomme	made his way
	Thoroughe valeye of the Drye Tree	-
	By Flomme Jordan, coosteying the cuntree,	River Jordan
	Where Jacob passed whylome with his staff,	once
	Taking his shippe, to seylen at poort Jaff.	sail
50	And so forthe downe his journey can devyse, In Aquarye whane Phebus shoon ful sheene,	
	Forthe by passing the gret gulf of Venyse;	Venice
	And sayled forthe soo al the ryver of Geene;	Genoa
	In which see regnethe the mighty qweene,	
55	Called Cyrses, goddesse of waters salte,	
	Where nymphes syng, hir honnour to exalte.	
	And ther he saughe, as he gan approche,	saw
	Withinne a boote a fissher drawe his nette	boat
	On the right syde of a crystal rooche;	rock
60	Fisshe was ther noon, for the draught was lette. ¹	
	And on th'oon syde ther were lettres sette	
	That sayde in Frenshe this raysoun: Grande travayle;	this reason: Great effort
	This aunswere nexst in ordre: Nulle avayle.	Nothing avails
65	Thanne seyling forthe bysyde many a rokk, He gane ful fast for to haaste him doune	sailing
03	Thoroughe the daunger and streytes of Marrokk,	straits of Gibraltar
	Passing the parayllous currant of Arragoun;	perilous; Aragon (i.e., Spain)
	So foorthe by Spaygne goyng envyroun,	Spain; around
	Thorougheout the Raas and rokkes of Bretaygne,	Brittany
70	The Brettyssshe See til that he did atteyne	English Channel
	Thoroughe thilk sakk, called of Poortland;	Portland
	And towardes Caleys holding his passage,	Calais
	Left Godwyn sandes, by grace of Goddes hand —	
	Havyng his wynde to his avauntage,	

¹ There were no fish, since the drawing of the net was hindered

75	The weder cleer, the stormes left hir raage — Entryng the see of Brutes Albyon,	weather
	Nowe called Themse thoroughe al this regyon.	Thames [River]
80	And in a feeld, that droughe in to the eest, Besyde an ylande, he saughe a shippe unlade Which hade sayled ful fer towarde the West;	that lay towards island; unloaded
	The caban peynted with floures fresshe and glaade And lettres Frenshe, that feynt nyl ne faade: Taunt haut e bas que homme soyt, Touz ioures regracyer dieux doyt.	delightful did not dim or fade
85	And in a boote on that other syde Another fissher droughe his nette also,	boat drew
90	Ful of gret fisshe (Neptunus was his guyde), With so gret plentee, he nyst what til do. And ther were lettres enbrouded not fer froo, Ful fresshly wryten this worde: <i>grande peyne</i> ; And cloos acording with this resoun: <i>grande gayne</i> . ²	did not know what to do embroidered nearby great pain
95	The noble yllande, where he saughe this sight, Gaf unto him a demonstracion, Taught him also by the poolys light, He was not fer frome Londones towne.	island the pole's (i.e., lodestar's) light
30	And with a floode the pursuyaunt came downe, Left the water, and at Thems stronde, With owte aboode, in haaste he came to lande,	Thames' shore delay
100	Where certayne vesselles nowe by the anker ryde. Hem to refresshe and to taken ayr, Certein estates, wheche purveye and provyde For to vysyte and seen the noble Mayr	anchor To refresh themselves visit
	Of this cytee and maken theyre repayr	make their way
105	To his presence, or that they firther flitte, Under supporte, that he wol hem admytte.	before they go further With his permission; will admit them

OF THE SODEIN FAL OF PRINCES IN OURE DAYES

[Here followen seven balades made by Daun John Lydegate of the sodeine fal of certain Princes of Fraunce and Englande nowe late in our dayes.

¹ Lines 83–84: However high or low a man may be, / He should always be grateful to God

² And closely linked with this phrase: great gain

Beholde this gret prynce Edwarde the Secounde, Which of divers landes lord was and kyng, But so governed was he, nowe, understonde, By suche as caused foule his undoying, wickedly 5 For trewly to telle yowe without lesing, lying He was deposed by all the rewmes assent, realm's In prisoun murdred with a broche in his foundament. poker; rectum Se howe Richard, of Albyon the kyng, Which in his tyme ryche and glorious was, 10 Sacred with abyt, with corone, and with ring, habitYit fel his fortune so, and eke his cas, fate That yvel counseyle rewled him so, elas! For mystreting lordes of his monarchye, He feyne was to resigne and in prysone dye. was obliged to Lo Charles, of noble Fraunce the kyng, 15 Taken with seknesse and maladye, Which left him never unto his eonding, deathWere it of nature or by sorcerye, Unable he was for to governe or guye guide20 His reaume, which caused such discencyon, realm; strife That fallen it is to gret destruccion. So nowe this lusty Duc of Orlyaunce, Which floured in Parys in chivallerie, flourished Brother to Charles, the kyng of Fraunce: His yong hert thought never to dye, 25 But for he used the synne of lecherye, sinHis cosin to assent was ful fayene, glad That he in Parys was murdred and foule slayne. Of Edward the Thridde Thomas his sone, 30 Of Gloucestre Duc, Constable of England, Which to love trouth was ever his wone, custom Yet notwithstonding his entent of trouthe, He murdred was at Caleys, that was routhe, a pity And he to God and man moste acceptable, 35 And to the comune profit moste favorable. Lo here this Eorlle and Duc of Burgoyne bothe, Oon of the douspiers and deen of Fraunce, One; twelve peers; dean Howe fortune gan his prosparité to loothe, And made him putte his lyf in suche balance That him n'avayled kyn nor allyaunce, 40 That neither kinfolk nor alliances could help him That for his mourder he mortherd was and slayne, (i.e., of Louis, duke of Orléans) Of whos deth th'Ermynakes were fayne. the Armagnacs; happy PAGEANT OF KNOWLEDGE

This Duc of Yrland, of England Chaumburleyn. Which in plesaunce so he ledde his lyf, Tyl fortune of his welth hade disdeyn, That causeles he parted was frome his wyf, Which grounde was of gret debate and stryf, And his destruccion, if I shal not lye,

For banned he was, and did in meschef dye.

pleasure

67

without just cause Which was ground for

affliction

PAGEANT OF KNOWLEDGE

45

5

10

15

20

[Septem sunt gradus magnatum.

There are seven levels of magnates

Thys world ys born up by astates sevyn, Prynces ordeynyd to susteyn the ryght, Prestes to pray, the justyces to deme evyn, Marchauntes in sellyng to do trouthe in weyght, For comon profyte fyghte shal the knyght, Plowman in tylthe, the laborer in travayll. Artyfycers diligent day and nyght. The ryche her almes to parte with the porayll.

judge impartially weigh honestly common profit tilling Craftsmen

seven estates

their; share with the poor

[Officia dictorum magnatum.

Duties of the said magnates

Pryncys. To us longeth prestys to governe, belongs [the right] **Presthode**. And we be bounde to lyve in parfytnes. **Juges**. Betwene ryght and wrong our office doth dyscerne. **Merchantes**. In bying and sellyng we shall do no falsnes. **Knyghthode**. We shull defende trouthe and ryghtwysnes. **Plowman**. Our occupacion to tyll and sowe the lond,

Werkemen. And by our labour we voyden idylnes. Rycheman. We delyver our almes with our hond.

avoid hand

past

perfection

righteousness

[Explicit.

[Septem Pagine sequntur sapiencie.

Here follow seven pageants on wisdom

[Prima de Prudencia.

The first is about Prudence

Thynges passyd remembre and well dyvyde, Thynges present consider and well governe, For thynges commyng prudently provyde, Peyse matyrs or thou deme or dyscerne, Lat right in causes holde the lantern, Twene frende and foo stond evyn, and be egall, And for no mede be nat parciall.

Ponder matters before you judge

Between; foe reward (i.e., bribe)

40

[Secunda	de	Justicia.

The second is about Justice

Furst in thy mesure loke ther be no lak,
Of thy weyghtes hold justly the balaunce,
Be trew in rekenyng, set no som abak,
And in thy worde lat be no variaunce;
Of chere be sad, demure of governaunce,
Set folk at rest, and apese all trouble,

Be honest in accounting; sum

demeanor; serious appease

look; lack

30 Beware of flaterers and of tongys double.

[Tercia de Temperancia.

The third is about Temperance

desire

By sapience tempre thou thy corage, Of hasty ire daunt the passion; Dyfer vengeance tyll thy wrathe aswage, Reverence the good for theyr condicion; Punyssh pacyently the transgression

Defer; anger passes

Punyssh pacyently the transgression Of men disrewlyd, redressyng errour, Mercy preferryng or thou do rygour.

disobedient before you act harshly

[Quarta de Discrecione.

The fourth is about Discretion

Discrecion, modyr and pryncesse, Of all vertues to governe hem and gye, And elumyneth with lyght of hygh noblesse Crownes of kynges, hold up theyr regaly, Conserveth reames, by prudent polycy, Causeth provinces and every gret cyté To contynew in long prosperyté. mother them; guide illuminate sovereignty realms

[Quinta de Racione.

The fifth is about Reason

Thys emperesse, verrey celestiall,
Most aungelyk of contenaunce and chere,
To rewle man he be nat bestiall,
God gave hym reson, hys owne doughter dere,
Princesse of princesses, most sovereyn and entere,
To brydell in man the froward volunté
That he not err by sensualyté.

truly manner

perfect bridle; willful desire

[Sexta de Placencia et Bona Voluntate.1

Thys fayre lady, whyche callyd ys Plesaunce, And eke Good Wyll, her owne doughter dere,

¹ The sixth is about Happiness and Good Will

martial

battle

Beseke all folk, aftyr theyr suffysaunce, according to their ability 55 With all theyr hert, to make ryght good chere, With suche disport as they fynden here, And that hem lyst benygnely advertyse, graciously show Who that ys welcom hathe all that may suffyse. [Septima de Fasetia et Nurturia. The seventh is about Courtesy and Nurture Thys goodly lady callyd Curtesy, 60 And her sustyr, whos name ys Nurture, sister By theyr offyce longyng to gentry belonging Lowly requyryd to every creature, As ferre as myght and power may endure, far With hoole herte, body, wyll, and mynde, 65 To be content with suche as they here fynde. [Explicit. [The fynders of the sevyn Sciences artificiall. inventors Jubal was fadyr and fynder of song, father; inventor Of consonantes, and of armony, harmony By noyse and strooke of hamors that were strong. hammers Fro Jubal came furst the melody 70 Of sugryd musyk, and of mynstralsy, So procedyng down fro man to man from Practyke of concorde, as I have told, began. Craft of harmony [Saturne. Saturne taught furst the tylthe of londe, cultivationHys doughter Ceres made men ere and sowe. plow 75 The goldyn worde he compassyd with his honde, world (i.e., of the golden age) Of sede and grayne the difference to knowe, Of trees, herbes, growyng hygh and lowe; Somer seson, there bawme above moste swote, balm; sweet And in cold wynter ther vertu in the rote. root[Mars. 80 Though myghty Mars be callyd god of werres, wars Prudent Pallas founde out furst armure, discovered: armor Thys godde, thys goddes, syt among the sterres, stars Tubalcaym of stele founde the temprure, steel; temper

Forgyd plates, longe to endure,

And thus these thre, by marciall apparayll,

Be callyd in bokes patrones of batayll.

85

105

[Minerva.

Crafte of wolles and of cloth wevyng Found Minerva, of spynnyng chief goddesse; And Delbora of lynen clothe makyng The practyke sought, bokes bere wytnesse; In all suche craft was a chief masteresse;

method; books

wool

But Semiranus, as bokes specyfy,

Fonde out furst breche, myn auctor lyst nat ly.

breeches; my source doesn't lie

[Diana.

Lo, here Diana, princesse of venery,

In forest walkyng lyke an hunteresse,
Havyng her paleyce ferre above the sky,
Callyd Lucina there shewyng her bryghtnes,
Of huntyng, hawkyng, fysshyng, chefe goddesse,
Every moneth her cours she dothe renew,

Now full, now wane, now bryght, now pale of hewe.

hunting
hunting
hunting
hunting
hunting
hunting

[Mercurius.

Mercury, callyd for mannys gret avayle
God of eloquence, and merchandyse;
Argon fond furst craft of shyp and sayle,
And Neptunus the saylyng gan devyse
To passe the see, in many sondry wyse,
Whyche to merchauntes ys full necessary,
Theyre stuff, theyr bales, fro londe to londe to cary.

man's great help
man's great help
discovered; sail
began to design
sea; different ways
from

[Phebus.

Phebus fond furst craft of medicine,
By touche of pounce veyne, and inspeccions.

Esculapius taught the doctrine
To knowe the qualytees of foure compleccions,
Of letuaryes, drogges, and pocions;
And among all there ys nothyng more mete
To helthe of man then temperat diete.

To description

**artery (see note); examinations*
*

[Explicit.

[The sevyn sciences callyd lyberall.

Of sevyn sciences, callyd lyberall, Gramer techeth congruité and wrytyng, Philosophy in especiall

correctness

war

Telleth natures of every maner thyng, Ars metryk craft of proporcionyng, Arithmetic 120 Musyk concord, rethoryk eloquence, Astronomy by diurnall mevyng daily movement The world governeth, by hevenly influence.

[Auctors of sevyn sciences.

Auctor of gramer was whilom Precian, grammar Ewclyd excellyd in craft of geometry, Euclid 125 Tully in rethoryk was a famous man, Hermogines fadyr of phylosophy, Boys wrote of musyk and of melody, **Boethius** Of methephysyk wrote Aristotyles, metaphysics Albimazar of astronomy, 130 Founders of sciences and vertuos encrese. beneficial knowledge

[Explicit.

[The Dysposicion of the sevyn planettes.

Saturne disposeth a man to melancoly,

Jubiter reyseth man to gret nobles, raises; nobility And sturdy Mars to stryfe, were, and envy, Phebus to wysdom and to hygh prowes, Mercurius to be changeable and dowbylnes, deceitfulnessThe moone mutable, now glad, and now drypyng, misty (dripping) And gere Venus, full of new fangylnes, fickle; changeability Makyn men unstable here in her lyvyng.

[Explicit.

135

150

[The dysposicion of the twelve sygnes. signs [of the zodiac]

Aries ys hoot, and also coleryk hot; quick-tempered 140 And in the hede kepeth hys dominacion; Taurus in the throte, be man hoole or seke, healthy or sick That part hath he in supportacion; Geminus eke by revelucion revolution Hathe in armes hys influence and werkyng, 145 How shuld a man than be stedfast of lyvyng?

Cancer hathe the brest in hys demayne, domainOf the hert lordshyp hathe the Lyon, Lion (i.e., Leo) Virgo the governaunce hathe of twayne, Of novell and wombe, and Libra lower downe. navel The membres of man governeth the Scorpioun,

155

By thys reson the philsofyrs seyng Ys that man cannat be stedfast in lyvyng.

Of all the sygnes rekenyd here toforn, The thyes of man governeth the Sagyttary

thighs; Sagittarius

And knees and legges hathe the Capricorn, Eke the calfe downeward perteyneth to Aquary And fro the feete, I wyll nat longer tary, Piscis hath theym in hys kepyng; Howe shuld a man than be stedefast of lyvyng?

Aquarius

changeable

virtuous

constant

changeable

Pisces

[Explicit.

[The disposicion of the foure elementes.

The world so wyde, the ayre so remevable,
The sely man so lytell of stature,
The greve and the ground of clothyng so mutable,
The fyre so hote and subtyle of nature,
Watyr never in oon, what creature

Made of these foure, whyche be so flyttyng May stable be, here in hyr lyvyng?

Man of the erthe hathe slouthe and hevynes,

Flux and reflux by water made unstable,

sloth instability [of human nature] Thanks to air fire; mad; reasonable

Kyndely of ayre he hath also swetnes,
Be fyre made hasty, wode, and not tretable;
To erthe agene, by processe comparable
Selde or never in oon poynt abydyng,
Howe shuld he than be stable in lyvyng?

Seldom then

earth

Fyre resolveth erthe to be watery,

And watery thynges fyre turneth in eyre,
Maketh harde thynges nesshe, and fyre eke naturally
Maketh nesshe thynges harde by his soden repeyr,
Though harde he ys that shone bryght and feyre,
Whyche element hathe in man gret workyng,

fiery; air soft sudden return

180 How shuld he than be stable in lyvyng?

Ayre of kynde geveth inspiracion To mannys hert thyng most temperatyf, And kyndly hete geveth respiracion, Of subtyll, rare, and a gret medegatyf,

Air by nature gives breath
man's heart; beneficent
natural heat
palliative
by promoting vigor
since; at work

To tempre the spyrytes by vertew vegetatyf; And syth that ayre in man ys thus mevyng, How shuld he than be stedfast of lyvyng?

Watyr somwhyle ys congeyled to crystall, sometimes; ice Colde and moyst as of hys nature, 190 Now ebbeth, now floweth, whyche in speciall The myght of the mone dothe her course recure, moon; regain And syth thys element by recorde of scripture, Ys oon of the foure compact of our makyng, one; elements I wold enquere, what maner creature, 195 Made of these foure, were stedfast of lyvyng? [Explicit. [The disposicion of the foure complexyons. The sanguyne man of blood hathe hardynes, Wrought to be lovyng, large of dyspence, generous in spending The fleumatyk man slow, oppressyd with dulnes, phlegmatic Whyte of vysage, rude of elloquence, 200 And syth ther ys in man suche difference, By complexions diversely workyng, Answere herto, concludyng thys sentence, How that man myght be stedfast of lyvyng. The coleryk man, subtyle and dyssevable, choleric; cunning; deceitful 205 Sclender, lene, and cytryne of hys colour, Slender, lean, and yellowish Wrothe sodenly, wood, and nat tretable, Becomes angry And full of envy, malyce, and rancour, Dry, thursty, and gret wastour, spendthrift Dysposyd to many a sondry thyng, 210 With pompe and bost hasty to do rygour, boast; act harshly Ben soche men stable here in theyr lyvyng? suchMelancolyk of hys complexioun, Dysposyd of kynde for to be fraudulent, Predisposed by nature Malicious, froward, and be decepcioun unruly; by 215 Forgyng discordes, double of hys entent; deceitful in his intent Whyche thynges peysyd by good avysement, considered thoughtfully I dar conclude, as to my felyng, in my opinion By confirmacion as in sentement, in effect Few men byn here stabyll in her lyvng. their

[Explicit.

[The dysposicion of the foure tymes of the yere.

220 Man hath in somer drynesse and hete, In theyr bok as auctors lyst expresse, And when Phebus entreth the Ariete

heat as authors say enters Aries (i.e., March to April)

	Dygest humours upward done hem dresse,	Digestive
225	Porys opyn that seson, of swetnesse And exaltacions, diverse wyrkyng, How shuld man than be stable in lyvyng?	Pores open giving off of heat
	Autumpne to Veer foundyn ys contrary, As Galien seyth in all hys qualytees, Disposying a man that season to vary,	Spring exists in opposition
230	To many uncouthe straunge infirmitees, Of canyculer dayes takyng the propertees, By revelacion of manyfold changyng, How shuld man than be stable in lyvyng?	dog days (July to September)
235	Man hathe in wynter in this present lyfe, By disposicion, colde and humylyté, Whyche season ys to fleume nurtrytyfe, Spoyleth herbe and tre of ther fresshe beauté, Closeth, constreyneth, the poores, men may se,	productive of phlegm pores
240	Causeth kyndly hete, inwarde to be wyrkyng, How shuld man then be stable in lyvyng?	natural heat
245	By Veere man hathe hete and eke moystour, Atwene bothe a maner of temperaunce, On whyche tweyne gret lust he doth recover, Yef colde not put hym in dystemperaunce. Thus meynt with drede ys mannys governance, Ay in no certeyn, by recorde of wrytyng, Howe shuld he than be stable in lyvyng?	moisture Between; moderation out of balance kept in uncertainty is man's
	[Explicit.	
	[The Dysposicion of the World.	
250	The monthes vary, everyche hath his sygne And harde hit ys all wedyrs for to know, The tyme somewhyle ys gracious and benygne, And uppon hilles and valeys that ben low The foure wyndes contrariosly do blow In every storme man ys here abydyng, Som to release, and som to overthrow,	[zodiacal] sign weather
255	How shuld man than be stedfast of lyvyng?	
	The worldly answer, fortune transmutable, Trust of lordshyp a feynt sekernes, Every seson varyeth, frendshyp ys unstable,	futile security
260	Now myrthe, now sorow, now hele, now sekenes, Now ebbe of povert, now flodys of ryches,	health; sickness poverty; floods

	All stont in chaunge, now losse, now wynnyng, Tempest in see and wyndes sturdynes Maketh men unstable and ferefull of lyvyng.	stands
265	Tytan somwhyle fresshly dothe appere, Then commeth a storme and doth hys lyght deface, The soile of somer with floures glad of chere	Titan (i.e., the sun)
	Wynters rasure dothe all awey rase; All erthely thynges sodenly do passe	erasure
270	Whyche may have here no seker abydyng, Eke all astates false fortune doth manase, How shuld a man than be stedfast of lyvyng?	certain menace
275	Beholde and see the transmutacion, Howe the seson of grene lusty age, Force of Juventus, strong, hardy as a lyoun, Tyme of manhode, wysdom, sad of corage, And howe Decrepitus turnyth to dotage, Cast all in a balance, and forgete nothyng, And thow shalt fynd this lyfe a pylgremage, In whyche ther ys no stedfast abydyng.	(i.e., Youth), strong sober of heart
280	Then lyft up thyne ey unto the hevyn, And pray thy Lord, whyche ys eternall, That syt so ferr above the sterres sevyn, In his palace most imperyall,	far
285	To graunt thee grace, here in thys lyfe mortall, Contricion, shryft, and howsyll at thy departyng, And, er thou passe hense, remyssion finall Towarde the lyfe, where joy ys everlasting.	good luck hence; forgiveness of sin

[Amen.

[Explicit.

5

A PROCESSION OF CORPUS CHRISTI

[And now here followethe an ordenaunce of a precessyoun of the feste of Corpus Cristi made in London by daun John Lydegate.

This hye feste nowe for to magnefye,

Feste of festes moost hevenly and devyne,
In goostly gladnesse to governe us and guye,
By which al grace doothe uppon us shyne;
For now this day al derkenesse t'enlumyne,
In youre presence fette out of fygure,

holy feast; celebrate

spiritual; guide

to illuminate
fashioned out of likenesses

	Schal beo declared by many unkouthe signe Gracyous misteryes grounded in scripture.	strange signs
10	First, that this feste may more beo magnefyed,	· n
10	Seothe and considerthe in youre ymaginatyf	mind's eye
	For Adams synne how Cryst was crucefyed Uppon a crosse, to stinten al oure stryf.	to end
	Fruyt celestyal hong on the tree of lyf,	to ena
	The fruyt of fruytes, for shorte conclusyoun,	
15	Oure helpe, oure foode, and oure restoratyf	
	And cheef repaste of oure redempcioun.	
	Remembrethe eeke in youre inwarde entente	thoughts
	Melchysedec, that offred bred and wyne,	
	In fygure oonly of the sacrament,	
20	Steyned in Bosra, on Calvarye made red,	Dyed
	On Sherthorsday tofore er he was ded,	Maundy Thursday
	For memoryal mooste sovereyne and goode,	
	Gaf hees appostels, takethe hereof goode heed,	take special note of this
	His blessid body and his precyous bloode.	
25	Chosen of God this patryarch Abraham,	
	Example pleyne of hospitalytee,	
	Recorde I take, whan that the aungel came	I make mention of
	To his housholde, wheeche were in noumbre three,	
	In figure oonly of the Trynyté,	
30	Sette to hem brede with ful gladde chere,	
	Of gret counforte, a token who list see,	
	The sacrament that stondethe on the awter.	altar
	To Yssake God list His grace shewe	chose to show His grace
	Lyneally adowne frome that partye,	
35	In eorthes fatnesse, and in hevenly dewe	
	Frome the Olly Gooste descending to Marye;	the Holy Ghost
	That braunche of Gesse God list to glorefye,	Jesse
	This Roos of Jherico fresshest on lyve,	Rose; alive
40	Blest among wymmen, Luc doothe specefye,	[the apostle] Luke
40	Whos name is fygurde here with lettres fyve.	
	Jacob saughe aungels goyng up and doune	saw
	Uppon a laddre, he sleeping certeyne	
	Lowe on a stoone for recreacyoun,	
4 5	The whete glene crowned above the greyne,	
45	Forged of golde an Hoost thereinne eseyne;	Host (i.e., eucharistic wafer); seen
	This Crystes bred, delicyous unto kynges,	
	With goostly gladnesse, gracious and sovereyne,	spiritual
	Gayve forreyne damage of alle eorthely thinges.	public compensation for

50 55	This noble duc, this prudent Moyses, With goldin hornes lyche Phebus beemys bright, His arche so ryche, his vyole for t'encresce, With the manna to make oure hertes light; Figure and liknesse, who so looke aright, This goostly manna being here present To us figurethe in oure inwarde sight	Moses like Phebus' (i.e., the sun's) beams ark hearts
	A symilitude of the sacrament.	image
	This chosen Aaron bering a liknesse, In hoolly writte as it is clerly founde,	having the quality of
60	Of trewe preesthode and goostly parfytnesse, This innocent, this lambe with large wounde, The founder over grown puttrays and confounder.	spiritual perfection
	The feonde, oure enemy, outtraye and confounde, Is token and signe of Crists passyoun, Spirituel gladness and mooste fer to habounde,	devil; vanquishes Christ's passion
	This day mynisterd til oure reffeccion.	spiritual refreshment
65	Thou chose of God, David that sloughe Golye, With slyng and stoone called the Chaumpyoun Of al Isrel, as bookis specefye,	chosen; killed
	That sloughe the bere and venqwysshed the lyoun, Figure of Jhesu, that with his passyoun	bear; lion
70	And verraye victorie of hees woundes fyve Brought Philisteys unto subjectyoun, Whan Longeus spere did thorgh his herte ryve.	true; his Philistines
75	Ecclesiaste, myrrour of sapience, With cloose castel besyde a clowde reed, That same token by virgynal vydence	wisdom fortified; red cliff manifestation
	Sette in Marye flouring of maydenhede, Which bare the fruyt, the celestial bred, Of oure counfort and consolacyoun,	bread
80	Into whos brest the Hoolly Gooste, tathe heede, Sent to Nasareth gracyously came doune.	take heed Nazareth
	Beholde this prophete called Jeremye, B'avisyoun so hevenly devyne Tooke a chalyce and fast cane him hye	By prophetic dream quickly went to work
85	To presse owte lykoure of the rede vyne Greyne in the middes, which to make us dyne, Was beete and bulted floure to make of bred, A gracyous fygure that a pure virgyne	dinner beaten and sifted
	Should bere manna in which lay al our speede.	good fortune
90	This Ysayes, in token of plentee, A braunche of vynes mooste gracious and meete	fitting

95	At a gret feest him thought that he did see, And therewithal a gracyous glene of whete, Token of joye frome the hevenly seete, Whan God above list frome Jessyes lyne To make his grace as golde dewe doune to fleete, To stanche oure venymes wheeche were serpentyne. ¹	sheaf of wheat seat chosen from Jesse's lineage flow
100	Holly Helyas, by grace that God him sent, The noble prophete benigne and honurable, Made strong in spirit fourty dayes wente In his journey, the brede made him so stable, Cristallyne water to him so comfortable, Al his vyage boothe in brede and lenkethe, A blessid fygure verray coumfortable,	Holy resolute breadth and length inspiring
	Of the sacrament komethe oure goostly strenkethe.	spiritual strength
105	Zacharye holding there the fayre sensier, With goostely fumys as any bawme so swoote, Beo meditacyouns and grete preyer	censer balm; sweet By
110	That uppe ascendithe frome the hertes roote, Goostely tryacle and oure lyves boote, Ageynst the sorowes of worldely pestylence, Alle infect ayres it puttethe under foote Of hem that take this bred with reverence.	medicine; protection infectious airs
115	Blessed Baptyst, of clennesse locke and keye, Mooste devoutly gan marken and declare With his fingur, whan he seyde Agnus Dei, Shewing the lambe which caused oure welfare On Good Frydaye was on the crosse made bare, And offred up for oure redempcyoun On Eestre morowe, to stinten al oure care,	purity began to point out Lamb of God Easter morning to put an end to
120	Ageynst seeknesse oure restauracyoun.	sickness; restoration
125	This holly man, th'evangelist Saint Jehan Th'appocolips wrote, and eke dranke poysoun, In Cristes feyth als stable as the stoone, Aboode with Jhesu in his passyoun; And for to make a declaracyoun, O the chalyce patyn a chylde yong of age Shewed after there the consecracyoun This brede is he that dyed for oure outrage.	The Apocalypse as solid as a rock Stayed with chalice cover sins

¹ To put an end to our sins, which were diabolical

130 135	This blessed Mark, resembling the lyoun, In his gospel parfyte, stable and goode, Of bred and wyn for confirmacion On Sherthorsday remembrethe howe it stoode; Seyde at his souper with a ful blessed moode To hees discyples, aforne er he arros: "This bred, my body, this wyne, it is my bloode Which that for man dyed uppon the crosse."	perfect Maundy Thursday spirit arose
140	Hooly Mathewe this elate gospeller, Stable, parfyte, and truwe in his entente, He wrote and seyde, of holy herte and entiere, Touching this blessed gloryous sacrament: "This is the chalyce of nuwe testament That shal beo shadde for many and not for oon, For Cryste Jhesu was frome his fader sent, Excepcion noon, but dyen for ech oone."	exalted sincere new shed
145	Lucas confermethe of this hooly bloode, T'avoyde aweye al ambeguytee:	To ward off all doubt
150	"This is my bodye that schal for man beo ded, Him to delyver frome infernal powstee; To Jherusalem, th'emperyal citee, Him to conduyte eternally t'abyde, Adam oure fader and his posteritee, By Cryst that suffred a spere to perce his syde."	power the imperial city safeguard; to abide spear; pierce
155	Paulus doctor wrytethe in his scripture, The which affermethe and seythe us truly: "Yif there beo founden any creature Which that this bred receyvethe unworthely, He etethe his doome moste dampnabully, For which I counseyle, and pleynly thus I mene,	St. Paul; writes affirms; says eats his fate; damnably
160	Ech man beo ware to kepe him prudently, Not to resceive it, but yif he beo clene."	unless he is free of sin
165	He that is cleped maystre of sentence, Sette in a cloude holde here a fresshe ymage, Remembrethe eeke by gret excellence, In this mater avoyding al outrage, Given to man here in oure pilgrymage, This sacrament after his doctryne Is Crystis body, repaste of our passage,	called master of doctrine sin
	By the Hooly Gooste take of a pure virgyne. The noble clerc, the doctour ful famous,	taken from cleric
170	Wrytethe and recordethe, remembring truly	cern

	Geyns heretykes, hoolly Jeronimus, Howe that this hoost is hole in ech partye Bothe God and man, Cryste Jhesus verraily, In eche partycle hoole and undevyded,	Against heretics complete
175	This oure byleve and creance feythfully, Oute of oure hertes alle errours circumcyded.	belief and doctrine purged
180	Moral Gregore, ful weele reherce he can In his wryting and vertuous doctryne, This glorious doctour, this parfyte hooly man, Touching this bred dothe thus determyne, Howe it is flesshe toke of a pure virgyne. Geynst al seeknesse our cheef restoratyf, Oure helth, welfare, richchest medisyn,	recount bread (i.e., the eucharistic wafer) Against; sickness; chief medicine
	This sacrament this blessed bred of lyf.	
185	Blessed Austyne rehersethe in sentence, "Whan Cryste is ete or resceyved in substaunce, That lyf is eten of hevenly excellence,	Augustine explains in [his] teaching eaten
190	Oure force, oure might, our strenkethe, oure suffi Qwykenyng oure herte with al goostly plesaunce, Repast ay lasting, restoratyf ternal, And remedy geynst al oure olde grevaunce Brought ine by byting of an appul smale."	isaunce, strength; livelihood spiritual joy ever; eternal apple
195	Ambrosius, with sugerd elloquence, Wrytethe with his penne and langage laureate, With Crystis worde substancial in sentence, "The sacrament is justely consecrate Oure daily foode, renuwyng oure estate,	sweet rhetoric weighty in meaning renewing; condition
200	Recounseylling us whan we trespas or erre, And mathe us mighty with Sathan to debate To wynne tryumphe in al his mortal werre."	makes
205	Maistre of storyes, this doctour ful notable, Holding a chalys here in a sonne clere, An Ooste aloft gloryous and comendable, A pytee pleyning with a ful hevy cheere, With face doune caste, shewing the manere Of hir compleynte with her pytous looke, Ellas, she bought hir sones dethe to deere, Whan he for man the raunsoun on him tooke.	chalice; bright Host (i.e., the eucharistic wafer) A pietà (sorrow) lamenting; sad mien too dear
210	This hoolly Thomas, called of Algwyne, By hie myracle that sawghe persones three, An ooste ful rounde, a sunne about it shyne, Joyned in oon by parfyte unytee,	saw one

	A gloryous liknesse of the Trynitee,	
	Gracyous and digne for to beo comended,	worthy
215	With feyth, with hope, with parfyte charitee,	faith
	Al oure byleeve is thereinne comprehended.	belief

With theos figures shewed in youre presence, By divers likenesses you to doo plesaunce, Resceivethe hem with devoute reverence, This bred of lyfe yee kepe in remembraunce Oute of this Egipte of worldely grevaunce, Youre restoratyf celestyal manna, Of which God graunt eternal suffysaunce Where aungels sing everlasting Osanna.

220

plenty

[Shirley kouthe fynde no more of this copye.

could

SOTELTES AT THE CORONATION BANQUET OF HENRY VI

[This was the first cours at his coronacion, that is to say, first, furmentie, with venyson. Viande Royal² plantid with losenges of golde. Borehedes in castelles of earmed with golde. Beef. Moton. Signet (swan). Capon stued Heron. Grete pike. A redde lech with lions corven therryn of white. Custade Rooial (a pastry) with a leparde of golde sittyng therryn. Fritour like a sonne with a flour de lice therrynne. A sotelté, Seint Edward and Seint Lowes armed in cote armours (coats of arms) bryngyng yn bitwene hem the Kyng in his cote armour with this scripture suyng:

Loo here twoo kynges righte perfit and right good, perfect Holy Seint Edwarde and Seint Lowes: Louis And see the braunch borne of here blessid blode; their; blood Live, among Cristen, moost sovereigne of price, 5 Enheretour of the floure de lice! Inheritor; fleur-de-lys God graunte he may thurgh help of Crist Jhesu throughThis sixt Henry to reigne and be as wise sixth And hem resemble in knyghthod and vertue. him (i.e., Henry V)

[Here foloweth the second course: that is to wite: Viande blank, barrid of golde. Gely partid (particolored jelly) writen and notid Te Deum Laudamus. Pigge endored (roasted and glazed). Crane. Bitore (Bittern). Conyes. Chikyns endored. Partrich. Pecok enhakyll. 5 Greate

¹ frumenty, made of boiled grain with sweetened milk (or almond milk)

² a sweetened, jellied dish

³ Boars heads in pastry castles decorated with gold

⁴ a slice of red jelly with white lions carved into it

⁵ roasted peacock served in its plumage

breame. Leches white¹ with an antelop of redde corven theryn, a crowne about his neck with a cheyne of golde. Flampayne poudred with lepardis and floure de lices of golde.² Fritour (fritter), a lepardis hedde with ii ostrich fethers. A sotelté, th'emperour and the kyng that ded is, armed, and here mantelles of the garters;³ and the kyng that nowe is, knelying bifore hem with this reasoun:

Ageinst miscreauntes th'emperour Sigismound

Against infidels the emperor

Hath shewid his might which is imperial;
Sithen Henry the Fifth so noble a knight was founde
For Cristes cause in actis martial;
Cherisshying the Chirch, Lollardes had a falle,
To give exaumple to kynges that succede

And to his braunche in especiall descendant (i.e., Henry VI) especially
While he dothe regne to love God and drede.

descendant (i.e., Henry VI) especially
dread

[The thrid course sueth (follows); that is to say: Blaunde Surrey⁴ poudrid with quatrefoilis gilt. Venyson rostid. Egrettes. Curlewe. Cokkes. Plover. Quailis. Snytes (Snipes). Grete birdes. Larkes. Carpe. Crabbe. Lech of three colours. A colde bakemete (a cold meat pie) like a shelde quarterly redde and white, set with losenges and gilt, and floures of borage. Fritour crispes. A soltelté of Our Lady sittyng and hir Childe in hir lappe, and she holdying in hir hand a crowne and Seint George knelyng on that oo (one) side and Seint Denyse on that other side, presentyng the Kyng, knelyng, to Our Lady, with this reason folowyng:

O blessid Lady, Cristes moder dere,
And thou Seint George, that callid art hir knight;
Holy Seint Denyse, O martir moost entier,
Denis; perfect
The sixt Henry here present in your sight,
Shewith of grace on hym your hevenly light,
His tendre yougth with vertue doth avaunce,
Bore by discent and by title of right
Justly to reigne in England and in Fraunce.

¹ A jelly-like dish prepared from various ingredients — fruits, meats, and white sauce — and cut into thin slices

² Pork pie ornamented with leopards and gold fleur-de-lys

³ their mantles of the Order of the Garter

⁴ a dish of chopped eels or fish, here served white

EXPLANATORY NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS: BD: Chaucer, Book of the Duchess; BL: British Library; CA: Gower, Confessio Amantis; CT: Chaucer, Canterbury Tales; FP: Lydgate, Fall of Princes; MED: Middle English Dictionary; MP: Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. MacCracken; OED: Oxford English Dictionary; PP: Langland, Piers Plowman, B text; PPC: Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council; PRO: Public Record Office; RP: Rotuli Parliamentorum; TB: Lydgate, Troy Book.

BYCORNE AND CHYCHEVACHE

Bycorne and Chychevache tells the satiric story of two legendary beasts, one of whom dines on patient men, the other on submissive women. Like the *Disguising at Hertford*, the poem is part of a misogynist tradition of complaints about unruly women and of advice on marital behavior, as is underscored by one manuscript of the poem, Trinity R.3.19, which also includes the conduct poems How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter and How the Wise Man Taught His Son. Bycorne also echoes Chaucer's Wife of Bath's and Clerk's tales, with explicit references to patient Griselda and the question of sovereignty in marriage. While no direct source has been traced, Lydgate might have known French versions of the story, such as the Dit de la Chincheface (printed by Jubinal, 1:390). Pearsall notes that the story of Bycorne and Chychevache, already well known by Chaucer's time, became popular in murals and tapestries of the fifteenth century, the most famous example being the mural paintings in the castle of Villeneuve-Lembron in France, where the verses are written on scrolls between the pictures (John Lydgate, pp. 179–80). Lydgate's poem consists of nineteen stanzas written in rhyme royal: the first three stanzas are narrated by an ymage in poete-wyse, while the following stanzas consist of direct speech from Bycorne, a group of husbands, a woman who is being devoured by Chychevache, and, finally, Chychevache and an old man whose wife has been eaten. Prose headings between stanzas describe what is being portrayed by the verses. Like the identity of the worthy citizen of London for whom Shirley says it was written, the poem's date is unknown, although it may plausibly be dated to 1427-30, the period of Lydgate's other London poems (Pearsall, Bio-Bibliography, p. 31).

Shirley's headnote identifies *Bycorne and Chychevache* as "the devise of a peynted or desteyned clothe for an halle a parlour or a chaumbre," suggesting that the verses were meant for a wall-hanging or tapestry, although a note at the end of the version found in Trinity R.3.19 identifies the verses as having "been Compilyd by John Ludgate . . . to be paynted in a parlor" (fol. 159r), which may point to a wall-painting or mural (see Gerould, "Legends of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin," pp. 333–35). Kipling believes that Shirley uses the term "device" in the technical sense of written directions to guide an artisan, and that Lydgate is envisioning six painted cloth panels for which he gives iconographical descriptions in prose ("histories" or instructions to the painter) and verse scriptures ("reasons," which represent the words that are to be inscribed by the painter along with each image) ("Poet

as Deviser," p. 82). Others have argued that the poem may have been intended for dramatic presentation, perhaps as a pantomimed mumming (see Schirmer, *John Lydgate*, pp. 98–100, and Wickham, *Early English Stages*, 1:191 and 1:205), a claim encouraged by the running titles in Trinity R.3.20, which identify the text as being in "the fourome of desguysinges . . . the maner of straunge desgysinges . . . the gyse of a mumynge," as well as by the direct speeches of the poetlike figure and characters in the poem. The impression that the text points to some sort of performance was shared by its first editor, Isaac Reed, who added the version found in BL MS Harley 2251 to his 1780 edition of Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays*; it was also included on a list made c. 1820 of pre-1700 plays reputedly owned by John Warburton (1682–1759) that were destroyed by his cook (see Folger Library MS W.a.234 and the discussion in Freehafer, "John Warburton's Lost Plays").

The poem survives in three fifteenth-century manuscripts . The base text for this edition is Trinity R.3.20 (1450–75), pp. 10–15 (*MP*, 2:433–38), collated with Trinity R.3.19 and BL MS Harley 2251.

running titles: the fourome of desguysinges / contreved by daun Johan Lidegate / the maner of / straunge desgysinges / the gyse of a mumynge. The word daun, derived from the Latin dominus, was a title of respect used broadly for priests and monks as well as authors, classical gods, and historical figures.

headnote *Loo* is an interjection, meaning "look" or "behold," often used to attract attention. The terms *devise* and *devised* had a range of late medieval meanings, including "plan" or "design" (*MED*, n. 3[a] and v. 4[a]). The phrase *werthy citeseyn* suggests an established resident of the city and a person of status.

rubric First there shal stonde . . . seying thees thre balades. Kipling assumes that this and the following rubrics were part of Lydgate's original text and constituted his instructions to the painter ("Poet as Deviser," p. 82), but they may also have functioned as stage directions. A balade was a poem or stanza in rhyme royal (seven lines in iambic pentameter, rhyming ababbcc); as used here, it refers to the three following stanzas, which introduce the story. The use of seying here and of similar verbs in some of the subsequent rubrics may indicate that the verses were spoken aloud.

- 1 *takethe heed*. An injunction to the audience to pay attention, this phrase links the poem to a tradition of advice literature.
- 6 *derrain.* From *dereinen*, here meaning "to decide the outcome of (a battle)" (*MED*, v. 3[b]). Lydgate also uses this word in the *Disguising at Hertford* to describe the conflict between the wives and their husbands (lines 165–66).
- 7 ff. rubric *purtrayed*. The Middle English verb *portraien* had a range of meanings, including to draw, to paint, to depict, or to create a mental image or verbal description. Pearsall thinks that the use of *purtrayed* (in contrast with the words *showeth*, *kometh*, and *demonstrando*, which Shirley uses in the rubrics to the mummings and disguisings) may point to painted images, although there is no way to be certain (*John Lydgate*, pp. 179–80 and 191n34).
- 8 Chichevache . . . Bycorne. From Old French Chiche Vache ("Lean Cow"; the Middle English word chiche or chinche had the meanings of "miserly," "stingy," or "greedy"), a monster in a French fable who is said to feed on virtuous women;

Chaucer's Clerk's Tale refers to Chychevache when wives are warned not to be "pacient and kynde" lest they be swallowed by Chychevache (*CT* IV[E]1188). According to the *MED*, *Bycorne* comes from the Latin *bicornis* and as used here means "fabulous (two horned) beast," and in his *Troy Book* Lydgate describes *Bycornys* as one of the gods of the forest (2.7702). For further discussion of the two names, see Hammond, *English Verse*, pp. 113–18; Denny-Brown, "Lydgate's Golden Cows," pp. 39–41; and Menner, "Bycorne-Bygorne."

- 32 Theyre tunge clappethe. In misogynist literature and conduct books, women were often castigated for talking excessively.
- Maken maystresses of theyre wyves. The theme of men's ceding of mastery in marriage is a staple of medieval misogynist literature. Chaucer's Wife of Bath represents the most vigorous Middle English defense of the woman's right to mastery in marriage, but Lydgate here follows the more traditional line that men who allow their wives undue power will pay a penalty (in this case, by being devoured by Bycorne, an action that suggests that they have been cuckolded).
- 67 Griselda is the patient wife in Chaucer's Clerk's Tale and numerous other fourteenth-century sources who uncomplainingly endures her husband's torments.
- 92 a dere yeere. The envoy to the Clerk's Tale similarly laments the scarcity of submissive women (CT IV[E]1164–65). For discussion of the themes of appetite and avarice in *Bycorne* and of its connection to the Clerk's Tale, see Denny-Brown, "Lydgate's Golden Cows."
- Lynkeld in a double cheyne. The final line sums up men's dilemma: if they submit to their wives, they will be eaten by Bycorne; if they stand up to their wives, they will live in fear. Compare Lydgate's description of the treatment of Diomede by Criseyde, who will "lynke hym in a cheyne" (TB 3.4859).

DISGUISING AT HERTFORD

Shirley says that the Disguising at Hertford was written at the request of the "Countré Roullour Brys slayne at Loviers"; John Brice, Henry VI's cofferer (not controller), was probably killed at the siege of Louviers in 1431 (see Renoir, "On the Date of John Lydgate's Mumming at Hertford," and Green, "Three Fifteenth-Century Notes"). If he is the Brice to whom Shirley refers, 1431 would be the end limit for the disguising, and, following Green's suggestion that it is unlikely to have been performed for a child younger than four, 1425 would be its earliest possible date. Since the Christmas season of 1429/30 is the likely date of the Windsor mumming, and since the king and queen spent the Christmasses of 1425/26 and 1428/29 at Eltham (see the explanatory notes for the Mumming at Eltham), with Henry in Rouen in 1430 and in Paris in 1431, then 1426/27 and 1427/28 would seem to be the possible dates for the Hertford disguising. Given that Henry VI was in Hertford during Easter in 1428, which suggests that he may have stayed on there after the Christmas season, and given that the accounts of Henry's treasurer, John Merston, show payments for transportation from Windsor to Eltham and on to Hertford during the Christmas season (October to January 12) of 1427/28 (Foedera 10.387), 1427/28 is perhaps the likeliest date for the disguising. Lydgate wrote another poem that was perhaps also intended for that holiday season: the balade "On a New Year's Gift of an Eagle" was composed, Shirley tells

us, for presentation to Henry and his mother on New Year's day at Hertford Castle and may have accompanied the gift of "une Eyer d'Or," which Catherine gave to her son that year (Foedera 10.387). As cofferer, Brice was the chief deputy to the household controller and would have been in charge of the ordering of the hall and the meals and entertainments in it, including during the Christmas season of 1427/28.

While the details of the performance are unclear, critics have stressed the originality of the Hertford disguising, noting how Lydgate uses the Chaucerian themes of unruly wives and good governance to create a secular comedy that comes close to containing actual dialogue and that looks ahead to the Tudor masque (see Reyher, Les masques Anglais, p. 113; Wickham, Early English Stages, 1:221; and Withington, English Pageantry, 1:111). In organization, the disguising shows the influence of French débats, presenting first the complaint of the six peasant husbands about their wives' tyranny, then turning to the wives' response, and concluding with a noncommital decision by the king allowing the wives to continue dominating their husbands for another year while further investigation is undertaken. Apparently six actors impersonated the husbands, although they do not speak in their own voices; actors may also have played the six wives, who speak in the first person plural (with occasional slippage into the singular), perhaps through a presenter who "ventriloquizes" them, thus creating female impersonation of the sort found in the Bessy character of Plough Day festivities; Clopper believes that the contest between the men and the women "reflects a Hocktide game like that at Coventry, where the women capture and beat the men" (Drama, Play, and Game, p. 163) and Epstein notes that it is similar in some ways to vernacular plays, including the Second Shepherds' Play and the Towneley Noah ("Lydgate's Mummings," pp. 341–46). The king's response was also probably spoken by a presenter, or perhaps a herald as Wickham suggests (Early English Stages, 3:195). We do not know who acted the parts of the husbands and wives, although payments for services during the 1427/28 holidays were made to heralds, minstrels, Jakke Travaill and his London players (for performing "diverses Jeuues & Entreludes"), and players from Abingdon, who also performed interludes (Foedera, 10:387). It is possible, although unlikely, that the performers were local men (see the explanatory note to line 1) or members of the household: Crane notes that charivaris, aimed at the topic of unsuitable marriages or remarriages, could be found in courtly as well as rural contexts and cites evidence for participation by household members (*Performance of Self*, pp. 143-55).

Whether or not the anti-matrimonial sentiments of the Hertford mumming were a covert reference to Catherine of Valois' amorous liaison with Owen Tudor (Green, "Three Fifteenth-Century Notes," pp. 14–16, thinks they were, but Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, p. 28, disagrees), the disguising would have been relevant for its sophisticated parody of royal supplication aimed at flattering and instructing young Henry by casting him in the role of arbiter. The disguising reshapes the problem of wifely disobedience as a problem of royal rule, thus setting up the king's response, which exhibits those virtues of deliberation, seeking of counsel, and following of reason that all present must have hoped Henry would eventually practice (see Watts, *Henry VI*, pp. 24–29, for these and other ideals of kingship).

Merston's accounts provide a short list of possible spectators who may have been present, including Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (who gave Henry a gift on January 1, 1428); William Pope, esquire (who presented Henry with a gift from Catherine); various noblemen as well as "Varlettz, Garcions, and Pages"; Alice Boutiller (Henry's governess); and others (Foedera 10.387–88). The same accounts indicate that Shirley himself received a gold livery collar that year raising the interesting possibility that Shirley was at Hertford with the earl

of Warwick during the Christmas season, in which case he may have seen the disguising. (For other possible spectators, based on known members of Henry's household in the late 1420s, see Forbes, *Lydgate's Disguising at Hertford Castle*, pp. 49–51).

The *Disguising at Hertford* survives in Trinity R.3.20 (1450–75), pp. 40–48, as well as in Stow's copy of it, now Additional MS 29729. Trinity R.3.20 is the base text for this edition (*MP*, 2:675–82), collated with Additional 29729.

running titles: A desgysinge to fore the kynge / At cristmisse in the castel of hertforde / A desguysinge to fore the kyng / In cristemasse in the castell of hertford / the desgysinge for the kynge / At cristemasse at hertford / A desguysinge to fore the kynge / And qwene. Not noted in MP.

headnote Shirley seems to be using the term "bille" in the sense of a formal written petition to the king or parliament (see MED n. 3[a]). Hertford castle was twenty miles north of London on the river Lea; it was given to Catherine of Valois by Henry V on their marriage and was one of her principal residences in the 1420s. Shirley mistakenly identifies Brice as the Controller of the Royal Household, but between 1422 and 1452 that office was held by John Feriby and Thomas Stanley; Privy Council minutes for March 16, 1431 mention a John Brice who as the king's Cofferer was the Controller's deputy and most likely the man Shirley has in mind (PPC, 4:79). Louviers was near Rouen on the route to Paris; after being seized by the Dauphin in 1430 it was recaptured by the English in 1431, during which siege Brice was apparently killed. The last four words of the headnote are in slightly darker ink (although Hammond, "Lydgate's Mumming at Hertford," p. 365, mistakenly describes them as paler), perhaps suggesting Shirley added those words after he learned of Brice's death. In his verse preface, copied by Stow into Additional 29729, Shirley echoes the phrase "the rude upplandisshe people," this time applying it to himself ("my rude vplandishe wise") while asking his readers to pardon any flaws in his copying efforts (see Connolly's transcription, John Shirley, p. 209, line 14).

- with support of your Grace. These words stress that the disguisers are invited guests, not unwelcome intruders, and along with lines 6–7 (Certeyne sweynes . . . comen) may possibly suggest performance by local men, although there is no other evidence for that conjecture.
- 5 *the vigyle of this nuwe yeere.* If taken literally, this phrase suggests that the disguising was performed on 31 December.
- 25 ff. Latin marginalia: *i. demonstrando vi. rusticos* [six rustics for the showing]. This apparent stage direction seems to indicate the entrance of the men impersonating the husbands. The mark before *demonstrando* is printed as an *i* by MacCracken (*MP*, 2:676), but Forbes (*Lydgate's Disguising at Hertford Castle*, p. 36, note to line 25) notes that it could also be a mark like a tilde (~), which sometimes appears in later manuscripts after stage directions in the right margin.
- 28 Karycantowe. The MED cites this as the only example of karicantoue (n.), which it defines as a nonce word for "the dance of hen-pecked husbands." Forbes imagines that Karycantowe is one of the rustics (Lydgate's Disguising at Hertford Castle, p. 47), but the text does not readily support that interpretation.

- 30 *Obbe the Reeve*. A reeve was a manorial officer or bailiff, charged with overseeing the lord's demesne farm. Hobbe is later called Robyn (line 44).
- *jowsy*. Lydgate seems to have been the only writer to use this adjective; see *MED*, *iousi*, adj.
- 40 pouped. Apparently adopted from Chaucer: the only other instances of this word noted by the MED are in the Nun's Priest's Tale (CT VII[B²]3399) and the Manciple's Prologue (CT IX[H]90).
- 52 distaff. A tool used in spinning, traditionally associated with women.
- 55 Colyn Cobeller. Compare the French farce of a cobbler who quarrels with his wife over who should shut the door (the Farce nouvelle très bonne des drois de la Porte Bodès et de Fermer l'huis, in Recueil de farces françaises, pp. 159–64, discussed by Enders, Rhetoric, pp. 210–16).
- 55 ff. Latin marginalia: *demonstrando pictaciarium*. A second apparent stage direction, pointing to the entrance of the cobbler.
- 65 *qwytt*. Another Chaucerian echo (e.g., *CT* I[A]4324: "Thus have I quyt the Millere in my tale").
- Cicely's actions are doubly reprehensible: not only does she drink away her husband's pay but she does it on a Sunday.
- 72–73 The reference to "game" and "play" here and in line 161 echoes the Merchant's Tale: "it is no childes pley / To take a wyf withouten avysement" (*CT* IV[E] 1530–31); see Nolan, *John Lydgate*, pp. 166–67, for a discussion of Lydgate's response to the Chaucerian dichotomy of "earnest" and "game."
- Compare the Merchant's Tale, in which Justinus warns January about wifely "purgatorie" (CT IV[E]1670).
- 91 ff. Latin marginalia: demonstrando carnificem [a butcher for the showing].
- 93 Berthilmewe. St. Bartholomew was martyred by flaying and thus came to be associated with butchers; compare Berthylmew the Bochere in the N-Town "Trial of Joseph and Mary," line 16.
- 95 holde chaumpartye. To engage in a dispute or contest with (MED, champartie, n. 2[b]); Lydgate uses the phrase in a number of his other works, including TB 2.5681 and FP 1.6334.
- 101 *Pernelle*. A name often given to a proud woman; a prostitute or concubine (*MED*). Compare *PP*, passus 5, line 26.
- 106 Bid him goo pleye him a twenty devel wey. See note to line 161 below and compare Chaucer's Miller's Tale, CT I(A)3713.
- 111 *no taylle, but qwytt him.* Compare the Shipman's Tale, in which the wife punningly tells her husband to "score it upon my taille" (*CT* VII[B²]416).
- Thome Tynker. Compare PP, passus 5, line 310.
- 115 ff. Latin marginalia: demonstrando the Tynker [a tinker for the showing]

- wyres of Banebury. Forbes (Lydgate's Disguising at Hertford Castle, pp. 13–14) thinks this means "wire-work" from Banbury, but wyres is probably a variant spelling of wares.
- 118 Bare up his arme. A gesture of self-defense to ward off blows.
- 126 Phelyce. Compare PP, passus 5, line 29.
- sauf-conduyt. The husbands are seeking a safe-conduct from the king and ask to be granted franchise and liberty (line 138) as well as the king's protection (line 142).
- The Olde Testament for to modefye. The husbands ask the king to use his power to amend the "old law" of matriarchal custom claimed by wives as a "right" of women ruling over men. Also see lines 213–14, where the wives ask the king to uphold the *statuyt of olde antiquytee*.
- 156 ff. *i. distaves*. [The distaffs, i.e., the wives.]
- 161 It is no game with wyves for to pleye. A pun on ple (meaning complaint or lawsuit) and pleie (play). For the meanings of pleie in relation to drama, see Clopper, Drama, Play, and Game, pp. 12–17, and Coldewey, "Plays and 'Play,"). Also see the note to lines 72–73 above.
- Twycross and Carpenter note that despite the appearance of direct speech, the wives' answer "is also a 'bill' by way of *replicatio*, which could be delivered by a representative" (*Masks and Masking*, p. 160n44). Nolan argues that Lydgate lets the wives speak to show that like Chaucer's Wife of Bath "they are by nature *compelled* to speak" (*John Lydgate*, p. 65); the dramatic innovation of direct speech arises from the gender dynamics of the piece, when men are unable to voice the women's subjective claims. Crane (*Performance of Self*, p. 141) notes that Charles d'Orléans on one occasion writes in the voice of a company of women and may have read the poem himself to accompany women's mumming (see ballad 88, in his *Poésies*, 1:128–29).
- the worthy Wyf of Bathe. A reference to Chaucer's Wife of Bath.
- make hir housbandes wynne heven. Compare Justinus' observation in the Merchant's Tale that such wives of Bath may be "Goddes whippe; / Than youre soule up to hevene skippe / Swifter than dooth an arwe out of a bowe" (CT IV[E]1671–73).
- 176 Gresyldes story. A reference to Chaucer's Clerk's Tale.
- These lines echo the Wife of Bath's Prologue (*CT* III[D]217–18) and refer to the custom at Dunmow, Essex, of awarding a side of bacon to spouses who lived a year and a day without quarreling.
- *prescripcyoun*. Title or right acquired by virtue of uninterrupted possession or use.
- rubric Clopper (*Drama, Play, and Game*, p. 163) sees the king's decision to postpone judgment for a year (line 239) as a parody of Chaucer's Lady Tercelet, but slowness to judge is part of the serious advice given to kings and is recommended to Henry VI in Lydgate's *Ballade to King Henry VI on His Coronation (MP*,

2:624–30, line 133). Parry ("On the Continuity of English Civic Pageantry," p. 225) notes that the device of flattering a monarch by making him or her the arbiter in a dispute was used in Elizabethan entertainments, including in Elizabeth's visit to the manor house of the earl of Leicester in 1578, where in the earl's garden someone dressed like "an honeste mans wyf of the Countrie" appeared and asked the queen's advice as to which of two suitors would be the better match for her daughter.

- I. The shift from description of the king's judgment to the first-person pronoun is not explained in the text. Note the similar slip from we to I in line 186 of the wives' reply. One often finds this appropriation of voice in Chaucer, particularly with the Wife of Bath.
- with asure or with golde. Azure and gold were the colors of the French royal arms, and the image of a marital prison painted in those colors may refer to Queen Catherine's affair with Owen Tudor and the 1427–28 parliamentary act, presumably inspired by her earlier liaison with Edmund Beaufort, imposing strictures on her remarriage (see Green, "Three Fifteenth-Century Notes," p. 16, although Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, p. 28, argues that since Catherine was a member of the king's household until 1430 Lydgate would have been unlikely to make "sly digs at her").

DISGUISING AT LONDON

Shirley describes the *Disguising at London* as being made "for the gret estates of this lande, thanne being at London," which has led to the supposition that Lydgate wrote it for a gathering of Parliament, possibly the one that opened at Westminster on October 13, 1427 (see Schirmer, *John Lydgate*, p. 186). Parliament also met at Westminster from September 22, 1429, to February 23, 1430, although Pearsall aptly comments that a disguising for that session would probably have mentioned the coronation of Henry VI on November 6, 1429 (*Bio-Bibliography*, p. 47n65). The disguising need not, however, have been associated with this or any other Parliament (see A. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 122–23n33), and the reference to Henry V (at lines 267–76) coupled with no mention of Henry VI may argue for an earlier date. Whatever the precise date or occasion, the text makes clear that the disguising was designed for household performance (lines 335 and 337) during the long Christmas season (line 280) that ran from October through early January; the hope expressed in line 334 that the virtues bestowed by the disguising will last "al this yeer" may possibly allow us to locate the performance more precisely on the last day of December or sometime in early January.

The disguising opens with the appearance of Dame Fortune, whose dangerous mutability sets the stage for the introduction of four protectors — Dames Prudence, Righteousness, Fortitude, and Temperance — who promise to defend any who serve them. The disguising's 342 lines of rhyming couplets consist of lengthy descriptions of each of the Virtues; it ends with a song by the Four Virtues and the banishing of Fortune. A central concern of the disguising is good governance, which is seen as a remedy for Fortune's dangerous instability; the gift-giving associated with mumming here takes the abstract form of gifts of virtue, which will reside "in this housholde" (line 335) for the year. As Benson notes, although the disguising was apparently intended for a national, not a municipal, occasion its values "are practical and bourgeois": the tone is optimistic, emphasizing "the

sort of pragmatic, decent, and well-regulated communal behavior advocated by medieval London citizens" ("Civic Lydgate," p. 160). Nolan argues that the disguising aims "to develop a notion of virtue fit for the public realm of politics, a secularized (though hardly secular) code of behavior particularly suited to the governing classes" (John Lydgate, p. 143).

There are several clues to performance in this "script-like" text (Kipling, "Poet as Deviser," pp. 97–98). Entrances are marked by brief stage directions, the narrator interacts with the audience and the actors (by drawing attention to the arrival of each new character, banishing Fortune, and commanding the Four Virtues to sing), and the text specifies some props (Prudence's mirror, Righteousness' balance, Fortitude's sword). The lack of dialogue suggests that a presenter probably read the text aloud, as Fortune and the Four Virtues made their appearances. Although there is no indication of any actions they might have performed, Twycross and Carpenter think the Virtues may have presented the "gift" of their attributes to the presiding dignitaries (*Masks and Masking*, p. 158n39). The final lines of the disguising command the four protectors to sing "Some nuwe songe aboute the fuyre" (lines 338–40), which hints that the disguising ended with music.

The *Disguising at London* survives in Trinity R.3.20 (1450–75), pp. 55–65, as well as in Stow's copy of it, now Additional MS 29729. Trinity R.3.20 is the base text for this edition (*MP*, 2:682–91), collated with Additional 29729.

running titles: A desguysing made by Lydgate / of the foure cardynale virtues / the foure / cardynale vertues / the foure / cardinale virtues / the foure cardinale / virtues / of the foure cardinale / virtues. Not noted in MP.

- headnote Kipling argues that Shirley's use of *devyse* here refers to a device (or plan) covering the entire performance that other artisans costumers, actors, prop makers used to shape their own contributions ("Poet as Deviser," p. 98). The stage direction in the last sentence (*Loo, firste komethe in Dame Fortune*) and elsewhere may be Shirley's additions rather than part of Lydgate's text, but the text itself indicates the entries of the various characters too (e.g., *Loo here this lady that yee may see*, line 1).
- 1–13 Lydgate's lines closely follow the *Roman de la Rose* (which is explicitly mentioned in line 9), in which Fortune's dwelling is described as being on a rock in the sea, where the weather is changeable; Lydgate's description of the "instability" of her house, which is ugly on one side and beautiful on the other (lines 40–51), echoes her own nature. Lydgate's fullest examination of the theme of Fortune is in his *Fall of Princes*.
- 20–35 Compare *BD*, lines 287 ff., where the birds make heavenly melody, some high, some low, while Zephyrus and Flora temper the air.
- 48 Ay in poynt to falle adoun. Compare BD, line 13.
- Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.), king of Macedonia, was well known in the Middle Ages from both romances and histories (see Cary, *Medieval Alexander*). His story also appears in Chaucer's Monk's Tale (*CT* VII[B²]2631–70) and in several places in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.
- 67–70 Marginalia: *Sesar a bakars seon*. [Caesar was a baker's son.] Julius Caesar (c. 100–44 B.C.) became emperor of Rome before being slain at the Capitol. Following the

- *Chessbook* of Jacob de Cessolis, Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*, lines 3513–21, identifies Julius Caesar as a baker's son. Caesar also appears in Chaucer's Monk's Tale (*CT* VII[B²]2671–2726).
- Maugrey the Senaat and al theyre might. Nolan (John Lydgate, p. 138) notes that Lydgate adds this line, which is not found in Chaucer's Monk's Tale.
- According to the legend first mentioned by Plato in the *Republic* (2.359a–2.360d), Gyges of Lydia was a shepherd, who stole a golden ring from a corpse he found in a cave. Using the power of invisibility given him by the ring, Gyges seduced the queen and murdered the king of Lydia.
- Croesus, Gyges' descendant, was the last king of Lydia, reigning c. 560–546 B.C. The story of Croesus' dream is found in the *Roman de la Rose*, lines 6489–6630, and is the concluding story of Chaucer's Monk's Tale (*CT* VII[B²]2727–60), which Lydgate follows in detail, except that in Chaucer, the king's daughter is called "Phanye." Lydgate changes her name to *Leryopee*, which comes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, book 3 line 342, where "Liriope" is the name of Narcissus' mother. Nolan speculates that Lydgate may have made the change to stress the theme of prophecy (*John Lydgate*, p. 177n48).
- Marginalia: *Ecclesiaticus xxvi °cap* °. [Chapter 26 of Ecclesiasticus deals with good and bad women.]
 - Juvo is Juno. The name is spelled this way in Harley 2251, fol. 249b, as well.
- 109 Jupiter (or Jove) was chief of the Roman gods.
- Phoebus Apollo, the classical god and mythological figure, who was associated with the sun, thus his drying power.
- 115 Leryopee. See note to line 102.
- For Lydgate's view of tragedy and comedy, see *TB*, 2.850 ff.; also see Nolan (*John Lydgate*, pp. 124–31).
- hir double face. Fortune was often described as having two faces; see Patch, Goddess Fortuna, pp. 42–43.
- 140 ff. Prudence was traditionally depicted with three eyes for viewing past, present, and future; see *TB*, 2.2308, and Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, 5.743–45. She is also the central protagonist of the Tale of Melibee. Lydgate cites Seneca as his source, but the idea of the cardinal virtues derives from Cicero's *De Inventione* and Macrobius' *Somnium Scipionis*, and appeared in the work of many medieval authors (see Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, pp. 57–88). The king's bedroom at Westminster contained a painting of the virtues battling the vices and the rebuilt London Guildhall, 1411–30, included statues of Fortitude, Justice, Temperance, and Discipline (see Binski, *Painted Chamber*, pp. 41–43, and Barron, *Medieval Guildhall of London*, p. 27 and plates 9a, 9b, and 10). When Henry VII entered Bristol in 1486, he was greeted by Prudence and Justice (Parry, "On the Continuity of English Civic Pageantry," pp. 226–27). Watts notes that the four cardinal virtues were urged on the late medieval king and took precedence over

- the "theological" virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, since they were seen as more socially useful (*Henry VI*, p. 23).
- Latin marginalia: *i. providencia* [providence]
- 173 ff. The scales of balance of Righteousness signify her unbiased deliberativeness that can't be bought; she had neither hand (so as not to receive gifts) nor eyes (so as to treat all equally).
- 193 ff. For a similar exemplum of an incorruptible judge, see St. Erkenwald.
- See Tuve (pp. 57–60) for the identification of Fortitude with the quality of magnificence, as in Skelton's *Magnyfycence*. Edwards (*TB*, p. 428) notes that as Aristotle explains in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (4.2), "magnificence is a moral virtue akin to generosity but differing from generosity by being on a larger scale and directed toward public display." She carries a sword to maintain the common good.
- 247 Presumably a reference to Diogenes of Sinope (c. 404–323 B.C.), the best known of the cynic philosophers.
- I.e., the Greek philosophers Plato (c. 427–348 B.C.) and Socrates (c. 469–399 B.C.).
- I.e., Scipio Africanus (c. 236–183 B.C.). This line seems to suggest that Scipio was from Carthage, when in fact he was a Roman who defeated the Carthaginians in battle during the Punic Wars. Compare *Henry VI's Triumphal Entry*, line 520, where Lydgate correctly identifies Scipio as the conqueror of Carthage.
- Latin marginalia: *i. republica*. [Republic]. Middleton ("Idea of Public Poetry," p. 96) notes that "common profit" is the usual Middle English translation of *res publica*; see Nolan (*John Lydgate*, p. 146) for the emphasis on common profit in this disguising.
- In Greek mythology, Hector is the Trojan prince who valiantly fought for Troy before being killed by Achilles.
- The Nine Worthies comprised three groups of chivalric heroes: Hector, Julius Caesar, and Alexander the Great (Gentiles); Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus (Jews); and Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon (Christians). In the "Envoy" to *TB*, Lydgate praises Henry V as equal to the Nine Worthies (line 4).
- 267 ff. The reference to Henry V (king of England from 1413–22) in the past tense provides an earliest possible date for the disguising. Nolan argues that mention of Henry V introduces a note of historical contingency and instability as did Chaucer's use of four modern examples in Monk's Tale (*John Lydgate*, pp. 151–53).
- to more and lasse. Suggests a socially mixed audience for the disguising.
- 280 *this Cristmasse*. Suggests the disguising was performed during the holiday season, which stretched from October to early January.

- 283 ff. Lydgate's longest discussion of Temperance comes in *Mesure Is Tresour*, which argues for the value of temperance or moderation the "roote of al good policye" (line 9) for all social classes.
- Twycross and Carpenter (*Masks and Masking*, p. 158n39) think this is the moment in the performance when the virtues might have presented their attributes to the dignitaries at what they take to have been a feast.
- 334 *abyde here al this yeer.* Perhaps suggests a performance date of December 31 or shortly thereafter; Wickham (*Early English Stages*, 3:50) thinks the *Disguising at London* was prepared for January 1, given its concern with Dame Fortune.
- 335 In this housholde. Suggests indoor performance.
- 338 *yee all foure*. I.e., the Four Virtues.
- nuwe songe aboute the fuyre. For the use of music in medieval performances, see Rastall, Music in Early English Religious Drama.

HENRY VI'S TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO LONDON

After two years in France where he had been crowned king, Henry VI landed at Dover and made his way to Blackheath where on February 21, 1432 he was met by the mayor, aldermen, and other Londoners, and led past seven pageants that had been set up at various locations in the city. The pageants included a giant at London Bridge, who was flanked by two antelopes bearing the arms of England and France, with an inscription declaring that the giant would protect the king from foreign enemies; a tower erected in the middle of the bridge, featuring Nature, Grace, and Fortune along with seven maidens representing the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, who sang a roundel of welcome to the king; a tabernacle at Cornhill, with Dame Sapience and the seven sciences; at the conduit a child-king on a throne surrounded by Mercy, Truth, and Clemency; at the conduit in Cheapside, a well at which Mercy, Grace, and Pity offered wine and a paradise of fruit trees near which stood Enoch and Elias; a castle of jasper, with a pedigree showing Henry's lineage and a Jesse tree; and at the conduit in St. Paul's, an image of the Trinity with angels. When Henry reached St. Paul's, he dismounted and entered the church, where he was greeted by the archbishop and other clerics, then continued on to Westminster, where the abbot and monks met him with the scepter of Saint Edward. On the following Saturday, the mayor and aldermen solidified their welcome to the king by offering him a golden hamper filled with a thousand pounds of gold. As Henry VI processed through London, he was enveloped in the qualities of the ideal king on a kind of pilgrimage that ended at the celestial city at St. Paul's. The pageantry conveyed the hopes of Londoners for their king, advice to him about the qualities needed for good rule, and an attempt to demonstrate London's prestige and importance.

Lydgate's poem is a versified account in English of the entry, which appears to have been based on an informal Latin letter from John Carpenter, who as the town clerk of London probably organized the event and entered his letter in the city's letter book (see Barron, London, p. 21). Although some scholars have suggested that Lydgate helped plan the pageants (see Ebin, John Lydgate, p. 83, and Schirmer, John Lydgate, pp. 139–43), it seems unlikely that he devised any of the pageants. Lydgate probably witnessed the entry, however, since he offers information not given in Carpenter's letter, such as the presence of the figures of Mercy, Grace, and Pity, as well as an explanation for the allegorization of the

mayor's name in one of the displays, among others. Carpenter's letter (a copy of which survives in Guildhall Letter Book K, fols. 103b–104b, printed by Riley in *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, 3:457–64), is addressed to a "reverende frater et amice praestantissime," presumably Lydgate, suggesting that the letter was designed to assist Lydgate in crafting an official commemoration (see MacCracken, "King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 11, and Kipling, "Poet as Deviser," pp. 87–89). Another Latin account, which differs somewhat from Carpenter's, can be found in Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth MS 12 (see Osberg, "Lambeth Palace," for a discussion of its political differences from both Carpenter and Lydgate). Pearsall has aptly described Lydgate's poem as a kind of souvenir program (*Bio-Bibliography*, p. 170), and Nolan (*John Lydgate*, p. 235) notes that Lydgate's verses, with their introduction of poetic set pieces, offer a reinterpretation of the public event of the entry that transformed the spectacle into poetry. The praise for London in the final stanzas of the poem underscores the attempt to craft an enduring poetic representation of the event.

Henry VI's Triumphal Entry survives in six manuscripts and in three prose paraphrases, which might be independent accounts, in one case possibly by an eyewitness (see McLaren, London Chronicles, pp. 53–54, and Osberg, "Lambeth Palace") and a 1516 printing by Pynson; the base text for this edition is BL MS Cotton Julius B.ii, fols. 89r–100v (MP, 2:630–48), collated with BL MS Cleopatra C.iv, fols. 38r–48r and BL MS Harley 565, fols. 114v–124r.

- 2–4 The astrological conceit in these lines, not present in Carpenter's letter, is typical of the flourishes Lydgate adds to his fairly straightforward source. For a stanzaby-stanza comparison of Lydate's poem to the Latin letter, see MacCracken, "King Henry's Triumphal Entry."
- Henry VI lived from 1421 to 1471, reigning from 1422 to 1461, and again in 1470–71. His coronation as king of England took place on November 6, 1429, at Westminster, and as king of France on December 16, 1431, at Paris. See Bryant, "Configurations of the Community," for a discussion of the political context of the 1432 entry.
- See Kipling (*Enter the King*, pp. 15–16 and pp. 143–44) for the significance of the comparison of Henry to the biblical King David and of London to Jerusalem. Andrew Horn, city chamberlain of London, described London as the "new Jerusalem" in writing of the reception of Edward II and Isabella in 1308 (*Annales Londinienses*, p. 152). Ganim notes that in medieval literature, the city "was always being filtered through the ways in which the city of God was visualized" ("Experience of Modernity,"pp. 86–87).
- The mayor of London in 1432 was John Welles, grocer and alderman of Langbourn Ward, five times member of parliament for the city between 1417 and 1433, sheriff in 1420–21, and mayor in 1431–32 (*Chronicles of London*, p. 303, note to p. 109, line 15).
- The Londoners wore white, with guilds adding their own distinctive insignia (devyses).
- The list of "aliens" present at the entry is Lydgate's substitution for the minstrels and servants mentioned by Carpenter. MacCracken suggests that Lydgate may have made the change to suit the mayor, but adds that Lydgate's "own interest

- accounts well enough" for the substitution ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 79).
- Blackheath was the customary place at which the mayor and citizens welcomed royalty entering London: Henry V was greeted there in 1415, Emperor Sigismund in 1416, Catherine of Valois in 1421, and Margaret of Anjou in 1445.
- 54–55 The moste princypall among the Londoners (e.g., the aldermen) wore red.
- After 63 The mayor's speech is recorded in English by Carpenter, with slightly different wording; MacCracken ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," pp. 80–81) suggests that Lydgate's changes, which improve the speech, were made with the help of the mayor.
- 64 ff. Lydgate omits a paragraph in which Carpenter describes 120 clergy assembled at Deptford to sing praises to the king, going straight to description of the pageants arranged by the city. The *Noble devyses* and *dyvers ordenaunces* refer to those pageants while the phrase *Conveyed by scripture* refers to the biblical quotations that accompanied the pageants as written mottoes.
- The first of the pageants Henry encountered was at the entrance to London Bridge, where a giant stood with raised sword; on either side was a scripture (which Carpenter gives in Latin and Lydgate renders in English) explaining that he is the king's protector. A giant, a champion of the city, seems to have been standard for pageants at this location; in 1415, a giant held an axe in one hand and the keys to the city in the other, and was accompanied by a giantess, the two in Kingsford's view representing "the medieval ancestors of Gog and Magog" (*Chronicles of London*, p. 302, note to p. 100, line 4). The 1432 giant was flanked by two antelopes, one of the heraldic devices associated with the Lancastrians (an antelope atop a pillar and wearing a shield of the royal arms around its neck was one of the figures on London Bridge in the entry of Henry V in 1415; see *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, pp. 60–67).
- gan manace. Lydgate's description suggests that the giant was rigged for movement, as apparently were the giants who bowed in the pageants for Catherine of Valois in 1421 (see Redman, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, pp. 297–98).
- Latin marginalia: *Inimicos eius induam confusione*. [His enemies I will clothe with confusion (Psalm 131:18).] MacCracken notes that there is no evidence that Lydgate's "scriptures," such as this one written near the giant, are anything other than translations of the Latin Vulgate Bible mottoes supplied by Carpenter ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 98). The 1392 show for Richard II included a *custos* or expositor who traveled with the king and made formal speeches explaining each pageant, while the actors who were costumed as angels and saints sang songs and delivered gifts for the king to the *custos* (see Kipling, "London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou," p. 25n8), but there is no mention of a similar translator for Henry in 1432 and Lydgate assumes in lines 265–68 that at least some of the mottoes were meant to be readily legible by the king and other spectators.

- 99 ff. The second pageant, located in the middle of the bridge, featured a tower out of which came three empresses — Nature, Grace, and Fortune — who gave the king gifts of various strengths and virtues, intended to ensure his long reign. They were accompanied, on the right, by seven angelic maidens dressed in white, who presented the king with seven gifts of the Holy Ghost in the guise of seven white doves (which Carpenter's letter makes clear were actually released [per emissionem septem albarum columbarum]) and a scripture, which Lydgate has them saying, and, on the left, by seven virgins, who also presented symbolic gifts to the king and sang a roundel of welcome. The 1431 Paris entry included the gift of three hearts to the king, which opened to release birds and flowers (see Wolffe, Henry VI, p. 60). The account of the 1432 entry found in Trinity MS 0.9.1 says Henry was given actual objects by Nature, Grace, and Fortune: a crown of glory, scepter of meekness and piety, sword of might and victory, mantle of prudence, shield of faith, helm of health, and girdle of love and perfect peace (see The Brut) which as McLaren (London Chronicles, p. 54) notes, resembles metaphorical dressing of a knight in Caxton's Boke of the Ordre of Chyualry and the garbing of the king in coronation. Although MacCracken ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 100n1) asserts that the whole entry is more "monkish than civic," Benson notes that the second pageant had a domestic message that emphasized bourgeois values of comfort and prosperity ("Civic Lydgate," p. 156).
- 113 Marginalia: *Nature*.
- 119 Marginalia: Grace.
- 129 Marginalia: Fortune.
- 133 *crounes tweyne*. A reference to the dual monarchy.
- 134 Marginalia: *Nature, Grace, and Fortune*.
- The *goostly giftes* presented by Nature, Grace, and Fortune are consistent with the pageantry's emphasis on portraying the king, as Straker puts it, "in a state of potentiality and as an object of instruction" ("Propaganda, Intentionality, and the Lancastrian Lydgate," p. 119).
- 143 ff. Latin marginalia: *Intende, prospere [procede] et regna*. [Set out, proceed prosperously, and reign (Psalm 44:5).]
- 181–86 Lydgate changes Carpenter's account by describing actors who seem to speak in English to the crowds, while Carpenter's hold placards in Latin; although Carpenter records the English speech of the mayor when he greeted the king and the song of the seven virgins offering gifts to the king, he usually emphasizes that the verses were written, using *rescribere* and *subscribere*, since he also uses *recitata*.
- 183 ff. Latin marginalia: *Impleat te Deus spiritu sapiencie et intellectus, spiritui consilij et fortitudinis et sciencie et pietatis et spiritui timoris Domini*. [God send you the spirit of wisdom, and of understanding, the spirit of counsel, and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and of godliness (Isaiah 11:2).]

- 197 ff. Latin marginalia: Induat te Dominus corona glorie, gladio iusticie, septro clemencie, palio prudencie, scuto fidei, galea salutis et vinculo pacis. [The Lord clothe you with the crown of glory, the sword of justice, the scepter of mercy, the mantle of prudence, the shield of faith, the helmet of health, and the girdle of peace.] McLaren (London Chronicles, p. 54 and p. 54n10) reads these gifts as a "manifestation of the metaphorical dressing of a knight in Caxton's Boke of the Ordre of Chyualry and of the king in coronation."
- The roundel of the seven virgins is written in English in Carpenter's letter, and, in MacCracken's view, is both a good example of a fifteenth-century lyric and the one that was actually sung, while Lydgate's version offers "an artistic revision" of the roundel ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 98). We do not know who played the roles of the seven virgins and sang this roundel, but the boys of St. Magnus the Martyr, located at London Bridge, sang for the entry of Elizabeth Woodville some forty years later (I. Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records* no. 942 [wrongly dating the entry to 1464]).
- 223 ff. At Cornhill, the king encountered the third pageant, a tabernacle built for Dame Sapience and the seven liberal sciences and their classical practitioners. Benson ("Civic Lydgate," p. 156) notes that the third and fourth pageants, both of which are in Cornhill, emphasize the law and justice in a part of the city in which commercial abuses were punished by the pillory. Saygin argues that Gloucester asked for the Sapience pageant as part of his educative plans for Henry VI ("Humphrey," p. 57).
- Latin marginalia: *Septem sciencie liberales*. [Seven liberal sciences.] The *trivium* (grammar, dialectic [logic], and rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy) formed the core curriculum of medieval universities.
- 239 Precian. Priscian (fl. 500 A.D.) was a Latin grammarian whose Institutiones grammaticae was the standard text for the study of Latin in the Middle Ages.
- 243 Tulyus. The Roman statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) was known for his oratorical skill.
- Boece. Boethius' *De institutione musica* was from the ninth century on considered to be the chief authority for music.
- 256 Albunisar. Albumazar (Abu-Mashar Jafar ibn Muhammed) was an influential ninth-century Persian astronomer, whose works were translated into Latin in the twelfth century.
- Latin marginalia: Per me reges regnant et gloriam sapiencie possidebunt. [Through me kings reign and possess the glory of wisdom (Proverbs 8:15).] Sapience has a scripture before her, which she reads aloud (signaled by use of the word quod, a word that indicates direct quotations (see MED, s.v. quthen) and then presents another scripture in English, one that can be read with-oute a spectakle (in large enough letters for viewers to see them without artificial assistance). Nolan argues that by having Sapience read aloud, Lydgate transforms Carpenter's Latin mottoes, which would have been legible to only a few, into direct address to the English people (John Lydgate, p. 238). Kipling ("London Pageants for Margaret

- of Anjou," p. 6) argues that Lydgate's manner of referring to the scriptures suggested the use of actual speeches to the designers of the 1445 entry into London for Queen Margaret.
- 265 ff. Latin marginalia: Et nunc reges intelligite et erudimini qui iudicatis terram. [And now, kings, understand and receive instruction, you who judge the earth (Psalm 2:10).]
- MacCracken notes that Lydgate uses phrases like "the matere doth devyse" when following a source ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 88).
- 274 ff. The fourth pageant was at the conduit in Cornhill and featured a child on a throne, dressed like a king, accompanied by Mercy, Truth, and Clemency, as well as two judges and eight sergeants-at-arms with a scripture emphasizing equity and justice. MacCracken notes that the phrase the matere doth devyse with which Lydgate begins the description of this pageant is one he uses when following a source ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 88). The child-king pageant was clearly designed with an eye to Henry as its chief spectator, a tactic adopted in other royal entries, including Henry's Paris entry of the previous year (*Parisian Journal*, p. 270).
- the Conduyte made in cercle wyse. Kingsford (Chronicles of London, p. 303, note to p. 106, line 28) notes that the castellated conduit in Cornhill was built in 1282 as a prison for nightwalkers and in the fifteenth century still featured a timber cage used for that purpose, with stocks and a pillory for fraudulent bakers. The conduit was called the Tun (since it resembled a tun standing on one end) and in 1401 was made into a cistern for water carried by lead pipes from Tybourn. Wickham discusses the importance of conduits as locations for stages (Early English Stages, 1:55–58).
- Latin marginalia: *Domina misericordia a dexteris et Domina veritatis a senistris cum clemencia roborabitur thronus eius*. [Lady Mercy to the right and Lady Truth to the left, with Clemency his throne shall be strengthened (see Proverbs 20:28).]
- Latin marginalia: *Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem*. [Mercy and Truth preserve the king (Proverbs 20:28).]
- Latin marginalia: *Iudicium et Iusticiam* [Judgment and justice (compare Psalm 88:15)]. Osberg ("Lambeth Palace," pp. 258–59) believes that this gloss points to a "scripture" for the fourth pageant that is missing in Carpenter and Lydgate.
- 296 Latin marginalia: *Honor Regis Iudicium diligit* [The king's honor loves judgment (Psalm 98:4)].
- Latin marginalia: *Deus iudicium tuum Regi da et iusticiam tuam filio Regis* [Give to the king thy judgment, O God, and to the king's son thy justice (Psalm 71:2)].
- 307 ff. The fifth pageant was in Cheapside, at its conduit, where a Wells of Paradise scene depicted the water from the fountains being miraculously turned into wine. For lines 314–63, Lydgate's account is independent of Carpenter's letter: he adds a description of three virgins who draw up the wine (Mercy, Grace, and Pity) and points out the pun linking the name of the mayor (John Welles) to the

fountains (thes welles) while describing the elaborate fruit trees that had been arranged there. MacCracken argues that Lydgate added these details at Welles' instigation to underscore the mayor's efforts in arranging the pageants ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," pp. 90–91). Kipling, however, argues that Lydgate may have seen the Wells of Paradise pageant himself ("Poet as Deviser," pp. 87–89, and Enter the King, pp. 142–69). But Welles punned on his own name on other occasions; see Chronicles of London, p. 303, note to p. 109, line 15. Kipling argues that the fifth pageant enacts Henry VI's capacity to "transform the city into a holy place" (Enter the King, p. 163), but Benson observes that it is a distinctly earthly paradise in which the commercial heart of London becomes a place of pleasure and abundance ("Civic Lydgate," pp. 156–57); see also DeVries, "And Away Go Troubles," for the urban problem of clean water.

- a place of alle delycys. Cheapside was a busy section in the middle of London, known for its market, Goldsmiths' Row, and the Mercers' shops; as the widest street in medieval London, it was a prime location for processions, civic ceremonies, and even tournaments (see A. Lancashire, London Civic Theatre, p. 28). The Great Conduit stood at the intersection of Poultry and Cheapside; Stow (Survey of London, 1:17 and 1:264) says it was built around 1285.
- 312 Archedeclyne. The master of the feast at Cana (John 2:1–10), used both as a common noun and a proper name. See MED arch(i)triclin (n.), which cites this line, along with the Towneley Plays and five other instances from the midthirteenth century on.
- Latin marginalia: *Verba translatoris*. [The translator's words.] The same phrase appears at the opening of Lydgate's *Dance of Death*.

turned into wyne. The first reference to the practice of having the conduit in Cheap flow with wine for all to drink comes in descriptions of the coronation of Edward I in 1274 (Barron, *London*, p. 19).

- Latin marginalia: *Thetes est dea aquarum*. [Thetis is the goddess of the sea.]
- 319 Latin marginalia: Bachus vere est deus vini. [Bacchus is really the god of wine.]
- 328 ff. Kipling thinks that Mercy, Grace, and Pity were introduced by the pageant maker to solve the problem of a disorderly scrambling for the wine, while also adding allegorical significance and ceremony to the dispensing of wine to the king when he approached this pageant ("Poet as Deviser," p. 87); Carpenter's letter doesn't include them, because he is working from the original device for the entry, which didn't envision that problem or solution.
- Latin marginalia: *Nomen Maioris Iohannes Welles*. [The name of the mayor is John Welles.]
- 349–62 Lydgate translates Carpenter's reference to "stallatum floribus et arboribus fructiforis" into two full stanzas, which Nolan (*John Lydgate*, p. 137) describes as a "poetic set piece" that takes the reader out of the world of the pageant into the world of poetic composition that substitutes for historical reality. For Lydgate's use of the orchard, see Wickham, *Early English Stages*, 1:91.

- For the meanings of the names of these fruits, see the MED: Blaunderells were a kind of especially prized apples; quenings and costards were kinds of apple (costards were described in the nineteenth century as having five prominent ridges); wardouns were a variety of pear; pomewaters and ricardouns were varieties of apple.
- Enoch and Elijah were known as the guardians of Paradise. In the Hebrew Bible, they are also lawgivers, suggesting that an earthly paradise requires law and order.
- Latin marginalia: *Nichil proficiat Inimicus in eo. Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ei.* [The enemy shall have no advantage over him: nor the son of iniquity have power to hurt him (Psalm 88:23).]
- Latin marginalia: *Dominus conseruet eum et uiviticet eum et beatum faciet eum.* [The Lord preserve him and give him life, and make him blessed (Psalm 40:3).]
- Latin marginalia: *Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus Salvatoris*. [Thou shall draw waters with joy out of the savior's fountains (Isaiah 12:3).]
- 391 ff. The sixth pageant featured a castle made of jasper (at the Cross in Cheapside, according to Carpenter, though Lydgate omits the location), with, in Lydgate's but not Carpenter's account, a pedigree showing Henry VI's descent from two trees springing from Saint Edward and Saint Louis (patron saints of England and France, respectively). On the other side of the castle is a Tree of Jesse, showing David's descent from Jesus. See Osberg ("Jesse Tree") for a discussion of the Jesse tree in this entry.
- 419–25 MacCracken ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 93) argues that Lydgate's defense of the Jesse-tree pageant at the Cross in Cheap, which is absent from Carpenter's letter, may be evidence that he devised the pageant himself or that it may have been added because the mayor had been criticized for its inclusion.
- 426 ff. The final pageant, at the Little Conduit in Paul's, showed a likeness of the Trinity on a throne surrounded by angels, and had a precept in scripture written at the front of "the hyhe stage" (suggesting that the pageant was elevated on a stage). In lines 440–46, Lydgate adds a second set of verses not found in Carpenter, which he describes as being written on the front of the pageant, and concludes with an additional stanza offering wishes of good will to the king as well as to the mayor and the city.
- 435 ff. Latin marginalia: *Angelus eius mandavit de te*. [For he hath given his angels charge over thee (Psalm 90:11).]
- *nyne sperys*. In the Ptolemaic system, the planets and stars revolve around the earth in nine concentric spheres.
- 454 ff. In Carpenter's letter the description of the proceedings at St. Paul's is brief and there is no account of events inside the church at Westminster, perhaps because he did not see them firsthand or had no source for them. MacCracken believes that Lydgate witnessed the two church processions and elaborates on them from memory ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 95).

- I.e., Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury from 1414 to 1443, and Chancellor John Kemp, a supporter of Henry Beaufort, who as a concession to Gloucester was forced to resign the chancellorship on February 28, 1432.
- 458–61 I.e., the bishops of Lincoln (William Gray), Bath (John Stafford), Salisbury (Robert Neville), Norwich (William Alnwick), and Ely (Philip Morgan). The bishop of Rochester in 1432 was John Langdon.
- The scepter of St. Edward was a relic of Edward the Confessor; it was housed in Westminster and used for coronation ceremonies until it was destroyed in 1649 along with other royal regalia.
- 484 Te Deum. The Te Deum laudamus (We praise Thee, Lord) is one of the most familiar hymns of praise, sung at the end of matins when the Gloria has been said, and on special occasions such as the election of a pope, consecration of a bishop, or canonization of a saint. The friar in Chaucer's Summoner's Tale claims that he and his confreres sang one to accompany heavenward the soul of the son of Thomas and his pretty wife; the child had died a couple of weeks earlier (CT III[D]1866). The hymn is often sung in the cycle plays.
- Latin marginalia: *Ex duabus arboribus Sancti Edwardi et Sancti Lodowici*. [From two trees, Saint Edward and Saint Louis.]
- 490 Unto his paleys. I.e., Westminster palace.
- 496 ff. Carpenter describes the Saturday gift-giving and quotes the mayor's speech in English; Lydgate's version follows it closely. The hamper filled with gold brought by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London to the king was a *lytyll gifte*, as the mayor modestly says in his speech, designed to make the king look favorably on the city and remind him of his obligations toward it. Kingsford notes that in 1415 Londoners presented Henry V with 1000 pounds in gold in two gold baskets (*Chronicles of London*, p. 303, note to p. 114, line 21).
- 510 ff. Lydgate here adds three stanzas of praise to London, not found in Carpenter's letter. In BL MS Cotton Cleopatra C.iv and BL MS Harley 565, these stanzas are prefaced by the Latin marginalia *Verba translatoris*.
- Newe Troye. According to the legendary history of England recounted by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his Historia Regum Britannorum, Brutus, a descendant of Aeneas, with other exiles from the Trojan war came to the island of Albion and built a capital city called Trojanova or Troynovant (New Troy). The notion of translatio imperii, that Troy was the original of later cities, was a medieval commonplace.
- Lydgate's Serpent of Division, probably written in the crisis of rule just after the death of Henry V, retells the life of Caesar as a lesson in the consequences of political and social divisiveness, and presents Caesar as a virtuous pagan. Nolan (John Lydgate, pp. 186 and 233) argues that the comparison of Henry VI's entry to Caesar's triumph is the first explicit forging of a connection between medieval royal entries and Roman practices and reveals Lydgate's ambivalence about Lancastrian propaganda.

- 530 The Kyngis Chambre. The notion that London is the king's chamber recognizes the city's special relationship with the king and suggests that London is his dwelling place (see McLaren, London Chronicles, p. 55n13).
- The envoy contains a conventional humility *topos* addressed to the mayor, asking forgiveness for the poet's efforts (his *symple makyng*, line 535); for a discussion of the fifteenth-century uses of this *topos*, see Lawton, "Dullness and the Fifteenth Century," p. 762. The last line offers the only explicit evidence that the poem was written at the mayor's request. Lydgate was presumably paid by Londoners for his efforts, as in all likelihood was Richard Maidstone for his Latin poem describing the four pageants in the reconciliation ceremonies between London and Richard II; see Barron, *London*, p. 20.
- Nolan (*John Lydgate*, p. 239) notes that Lydgate's real and imaginary audience has expanded from the "wyse governours" of the 1422 *Serpent of Division* to "alle that duelle in this citee" (an illusory expansion, of course, since there is no documented increase in the number of Lydgate's readers).

THE LEGEND OF ST. GEORGE

Shirley describes *The Legend of St. George* as "the devyse of a steyned halle" made by Lydgate for the armorers of London and seems to suggest that Lydgate came up with ("ymagyned") both the pictorial scheme and the verses. Although Stow's note, written at the top of page 315 in Trinity R.3.21 ("The lyfe of saynt gorge compyled by John lidgate monke of bery at the request of the armerers of london to peynt about ther haulle") implies that the verses were for a mural, the term *steyned halle* more likely refers to a painted wall-hanging (see Floyd, "St. George," pp. 145–48). A. Lancashire (*London Civic Theatre*, p. 124) notes that there might also have been an accompanying mimed performance, perhaps one similar to that recorded in 1585 at an election feast of the armorers and brasiers where an armed boy representing St. George and a lady leading a lamb accompanied by drum and flute marched around the hall and gave a speech. Textual evidence may support the possibility that Lydgate's verses were read aloud as the armorers and their guests looked at the images (or watched possible mimed action) (see lines 1–3 and 32).

The verses, which draw on material from the *Legenda Aurea* (see Schirmer, *John Lydgate*, p. 157n1), tell two stories: St. George's rescue of a king's daughter from a dragon and the subsequent conversion of her city, and his encounter with the tyrant Dacian, who tortures the saint for his beliefs (George escapes all harm, destroys the pagan temple, and converts Dacian's wife, before finally being beheaded, after which Dacian is stricken and dies). Pearsall makes the point that "as befits the occasion and the audience," the poem "is remarkably straightforward and free of the amplification that Lydgate generally introduced in purely literary treatments of saints' lives" (*John Lydgate*, p. 181). Its thirty-five rhyme-royal stanzas are lively, full of action, and move smoothly to the saint's final prayer.

St. George's chivalrous protection of women, his piety, his generosity to the poor, and his military prowess — all attributes noted by Lydgate — made him popular among the knightly classes and in the 1340s, Edward III dedicated his Order of the Garter to St. George (as the second stanza of Lydgate's poem mentions). By the end of the fourteenth century St. George had become the patron saint of England, and in 1415, after the English victory at Agincourt, where troops had carried the banner of St. George (see *Chronicle of*

London, p. 228), Archbishop Chichele raised St. George's day (April 23) to the status of a Great Feast and ordered it to be celebrated on a par with Christmas. St. George was the armorers' patron saint and Lydgate's verses may have been commissioned for one of their feasts in his honor, perhaps the one that coincided with completion of construction on a new hall for their guild, in other words, April 23, 1430 (see Floyd, "St. George," p. 144).

The Legend of St. George survives in four fifteenth-century manuscripts; the base text for this edition is Trinity MS R.3.20 (1450–75), pp. 74–81 (MP, 1:145–54), collated by MacCracken with Trinity College Cambridge MS R.3.21 and Bodleian Library MS 2527 (Bodley 686).

running titles: A story made of Saint / George by Lidegate / A story of Saint / George / A story of / Saint George / A storye of / Saint George.

headnote *ymagyned*. The most pertinent meaning of the the verb *imaginen* given by *MED* is "3.(a) To plan (sth.), intend, plot; devise (a scheme)."

th'armorieres. The armorers of London made and repaired armor and weapons. For discussion of the activities, status, and patronage of St. George, see Floyd, "St. George," pp. 144–45.

- rubric The poete first declarethe. This phrase may refer to a painted representation similar to the ymage in poete-wyse of Bycorne and Chychevache, or may imply that the verses were read aloud, as Pearsall suggests (John Lydgate, p. 181). Schirmer, John Lydgate, p. 157, believes Lydgate himself recited them.
- O yee folk that heer present be. This opening line may hint at recitation to a group of people assembled in the armorers' hall or may address viewers of the wall hanging.
- 2–3 *inspeccion . . . beholde and see*. These lines imply that the representation included one or more visual images or mimetic representations which the audience could *inspect* (contemplate) and *beholde* (discern) *and see* while hearing or reading Lydgate's verses.
- 8–14 Edward III founded the Order of the Garter c. 1349. Membership was limited to twenty-five plus the king, although a sorority of women, the Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George and the Society of the Garter, was also established (see Gillespie, "Ladies of the Fraternity"). The feast day of Saint George (*his day*) was April 23.
- Here and in lines 23, 26, 148, 211, and 218, Lydgate invokes his sources for the life of St. George, chiefly the *Legenda Aurea*.
- 32 whoso list to looke. Possibly a reference to the painted images in the hall, but more likely a nod towards Lydgate's sources.
- 72 *no meede*. Literally, "no reward" (i.e., nothing could spare the princess from her doom).
- 85 Oure Ladyes owen knight. I.e., the Virgin Mary's knight.
- 96 Chaumpyoun. Someone who engages in battle for another's sake (MED n. 2[a]). The term was also used to refer to judicial duels or trials by battle, in which under

English law representatives (champions) of the two parties would fight to determine the case, with divine intervention assigning victory to the rightful side. Its use here is consistent with Lydgate's depiction of St. George as a model of chivalry.

- 162 ff. Pearsall (*John Lydgate*, pp. 277–78) notes that Lydgate's treatment of George's martyrdom contrasts with the colloquialism and violence of the version in the *South English Legendary*: the torture scene in this and the next stanzas avoids the physical detail and appeal to emotions of the *Legendary* and "deflects the edge of suffering" through the use of conventional literary phrasing, such as the absolute constructions of lines 174–75, which make the actions seem preordained not humanly planned.
- 169 ff. Wylie and Waugh (*Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 2:117) note that these lines shed light on contemporary methods of hanging men.
- George's poisoner is converted, then martyred; compare the conversion of St. Cecilia's jailor in Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale (CT VIII[G]400–05).
- 232–38 The saint's prayer on behalf of those who venerate him is a conventional motif; Pearsall (*John Lydgate*, p. 278) observes that Lydgate's "abstraction and generality" in this stanza contrast with the "homely practicality" of the *South English Legendary*.
- A voyce was herd downe frome the hye heven. Compare The Man of Law's Tale (CT II[B¹]673–76).

MESURE IS TRESOUR

These verses elaborate on the proverbial saying that "measure is treasure" and argue that moderation should be the guiding principle for all estates, both high and low. *Mesure* is seen as the "roote of al good policye" (line 9) that should shape the actions of every social group from popes and prelates to emperors, kings, and knights, and on to judges, mayors, merchants, ploughmen, and other commoners that are "alle set here in portrature" (line 108). Examples from ancient myth and history (Alexander, Cambises, Hercules) underscore the dangers of overreaching. The poem expresses a number of Lydgate's typical concerns: defense of the Church against heretics, the dangers of division, and the virtues of hierarchy for common profit (see Schirmer's discussion of *Mesure* alongside Lydgate's other moral and didactic poems, *John Lydgate*, pp. 198–205). The last two stanzas are explicitly in the voice of a shepherd, who is compared to the biblical examples of Isaac and Jacob and is described as being "set here to stondyn at dyfence" (line 138) to "kepe in sekirnesse / This hows in sewyrté" (lines 149–50), that is, to guard the household.

Lines 108, 134, and 142 indicate that the various estates described in the poem were present in some visual form; Pearsall (*John Lydgate*, p. 181) believes that the verses were intended to be read aloud alongside a painting. The use of the first-person pronoun by the shepherd in the last two stanzas may possibly have provided an opportunity for mimicry or impersonation, although that is by no means certain. In any event, the shepherd appears as some sort of visual representation.

The unique copy of the poem is in MS Harley 2255 (1448?–49?), the base text for this edition; Harley 2255 is an anthology of some forty-five lyrics, most or all of which appear to be by Lydgate. The manuscript belonged to Lydgate's abbot at Bury, William Curteys (see Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, p. 82) and was perhaps assembled at Bury St. Edmunds, possibly

under the supervision of Lydgate himself. The poem has been edited by Halliwell and by MacCracken, in MP, 2:776–80.

- 1 mesour is tresour. A proverbial saying; see Whiting, Proverbs, M461 and Duschl, Sprichwort, p. 20, on its classification. Compare Lydgate's "Song of Just Mesure" (MP 2:772–75).
- 33–40 The story of the victory of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.) over Porrus and his search for the Earthly Paradise were well known from various French and Middle English Alexander romances (see Bunt, *Alexander the Great*).
- The Roman Scipio defeated the Carthaginian force led by Hannibal in a decisive battle during the Second Punic War in 202 B.C.
- 52 comoun profight. See note to Disguising at London, line 251.
- The story of Cambises, king of Persia (529–522 B.C.), derives from Herodotus. He was commonly taken as an example of an unjust tyrant and an admonitory figure against anger and pride, whose death in a hunting accident was seen as fitting punishment for his crimes. Compare Chaucer's Summoner's Tale (*CT* III[D]2043–78).
- Among yoursilf suffre noon extorcioun. Compare the envoy to Chaucer's "Lak of Stedfastnesse," where Richard himself is exhorted to "hate extorcioun" (line 23).
- 110 ff. Compare Mumming at Bishopswood, lines 50 ff.
- The plowman was a traditional symbol of the ideal Christian (see Barney, "Plowshare of the Tongue").
- The biblical patriarchs Isaac and Jacob were shepherds (see Genesis 22:27 and 24:28).

MUMMING AT BISHOPSWOOD

Shirley describes the Mumming at Bishopswood as a balade made by Lydgate for a May Day dinner of London's sheriffs and their bretherne being held at Bishop's Wood, a place owned by the bishop of London outside London in what is now Stepney (see I. Lancashire, Dramatic Texts and Records, no. 1414). MacCracken calls Bishopswood a mumming (MP, 2:1668), but Shirley does not, and, unlike most other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century mummings, it did not take place during the Christmas season, although it does feature the visit of outsiders bearing gifts (in this case, seemingly just abstract ones, but see Norton-Smith, John Lydgate: Poems, p. 123) that is characteristic of the genre. No presenter is identified, but the messenger (poursyvant) who brought the balade may have read it aloud while silent characters impersonated Ver (Spring) and possibly Flora (although the text implies that she is not present), as well as May (if May is a figure distinct from Ver); there may also have been a musical interlude by figures from classical mythology (Venus, Cupid, and Orpheus, at lines 99–105), although these lines are probably meant merely as a poetic description. If Bishopswood had four performers (a presenter and three silent actors) it would match the size of the usual London performing company of the period (A. Lancashire, London Civic Theatre, pp. 120 and 262n27).

Bishopswood is undated, but Pearsall (Bio-Bibliography, p. 51) places it in May of 1429, arguing that it might have accompanied the mummings for the Mercers and Goldsmiths earlier that year in honor of William Estfeld; if Pearsall is correct, the actual date would have to be May of 1430, since as Anne Lancashire has pointed out Estfeld was mayor from October 29, 1429, to October 29, 1430. Noting that the coronation of Henry VI in London on November 6, 1429, might have raised ordinary festivities to a higher level in the next six months, Lancashire (London Civic Theatre, pp. 121–22) posits May Day of 1430 as a likely date for a special commission from Lydgate for the sheriffs' dinner, especially since he had provided entertainments for the coronation ceremonies and had written the mummings for the mercers and goldsmiths for performance in early 1430 as well. A wider range of dates for the mumming cannot be ruled out, however, since the sole extant copy is in Bodley Ashmole 59, which Shirley compiled in 1447-49 while resident in the close of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London (see Connolly, "John Shirley," p. 152); Shirley's inclusion of Bishopswood while he did not recopy any of the mummings from Trinity R.3.20, which he used as a partial exemplar for Ashmole 59, perhaps suggests that he did not have a copy of the mumming when he made Trinity R.3.20 in the early 1430s. Stow included the first two stanzas, derived from Ashmole 59 which passed through his hands, in his Survey of London (1598), as an example of the "great Mayings and maygames made by the gouernors and Maisters of this Citie" (p. 99), although the earliest recorded May game in London dates to 1458 (in the parish of Saint Nicholas Shambles) (see Clopper, Drama, Play, and Game, p. 160n57).

The poem consists of sixteen rhyme-royal stanzas that offer political and social commentary embedded within praise of the coming of spring, in the guise of Flora's daughter Ver, who bids flowers to bloom and birds to sing, as signs that winter has fled. Ver also ushers in prosperity, peace, and unity after the adversity and troubles of winter, and the nature imagery soon develops into a social and political commentary that imagines all estates united, with each fulfilling its proper duties so that righteousness destroys the "darkness" of extortion and leads to a joyful summer (see Wickham, Early English Stages 3:50, and Ebin, John Lydgate, p. 87). While much of this commentary deals with conventional themes of the proper roles of the various estates, it may also address real contemporary concerns, especially in its references to discord and dissension. Like many of Lydgate's other poems for Londoners, Bishopswood speaks to the concerns and aspirations of the city's elites, particularly for order and prosperity. The poem ends with a four-stanza envoy addressed to all the estates who are present, proclaiming that May has now come to bring them "joye and fresshnesse." By adding an elevating classical note in the description of Parnassus and the muses, the envoy also seems designed to make clear to the audience the values of the poetic conceits to which they have listened.

Critical opinion on the aesthetic qualities of *Bishopswood* has been mixed. While Pearsall admires the learned philosophical and scientific description of spring, he finds the verses to be "cumbersome and awkward" (*John Lydgate*, p. 186). Norton-Smith (*John Lydgate: Poems*, pp. 123–24) points out, however, that while the poem may seem diffuse and repetitive there is a progression from Ver (who presides over March and April) to May (whom he takes to be a separate figure), with verbal repetition of words such as *lusty*, *swote*, *ermonye*, and *lustynes*, which builds to the core of the poem in stanza fifteen where earthly harmony and unity are related to heavenly Parnassus. And Schirmer (*John Lydgate*, p. 104) argues for its innovative blending of pantomime-type pageants such as those found in royal entries and didactic scholastic drama such as the *Pageant of Knowledge*.

The base text for this edition is Ashmole 59, fols. 62r–64r (*MP*, 2:668–71). In Ashmole 59, Shirley does not separate the verses into stanzas but does include a mark (which resembles an "m" or an "n" with a front tail) to the left of the first line of each stanza. See the discussion of this mark in the Introduction; I have followed MacCracken in creating stanza divisions.

running titles: Lydegates balade sente / to the Shirrefe dyner / At the Shirreve dyner / Lidegates balade; not noted by MP.

headnote A poursyvant was a messenger, an attendant on a herald, or a junior heraldic officer attached to a royal or noble household. Besides administering tournaments, heralds also made announcements and proclamations, carried letters, and served as masters-of-ceremonies; in wardrobe accounts they are often grouped with minstrels and other performers, underscoring the confusion between heralds and minstrels. According to Shirley, the Mumming for the Mercers was also brought by a pursuivant "in wyse of mommers desguysed" while the Mumming for the Goldsmiths was "brought and presented" by a herald called Fortune. Schirmer (John Lydgate, p. 103) thinks the occasion was a kind of picnic, and that the balade was "presented by a page who steps out of the wood into the clearing" and then reads the poem or hands it to a narrator to read while Ver dances and panto-mimes, but the dinner was almost certainly indoors (see Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 186). Stow identifies Bishopswood as being in the parish of Stebunheath [Stepney], further elaborating: "Bishops wood / Bishops hall / by Blethenhall greene" [Bethnal Green] (Survey of London, 1:99). Barron notes that Londoners claimed their principal hunting rights on the lands of the bishop of London in Stepney (London, p. 192). On May Day in 1430 the two sheriffs were a goldsmith and a merchant taylor (A. Lancashire, London Civic Theatre, p. 276n32).

- Flora was the Roman goddess of flowering plants and fertility. The syntax of the first stanza is confusing and apparently led Shirley to make a mistake in copying the verb in line 2 (see Textual Notes) and caused MacCracken (*MP*, 2:668) and Ebin (*John Lydgate*, p. 87) to think that Flora is a character in the mumming (sent by her mother Ver, Ebin says); but the correct reading, corroborated by repeated mentions of Ver later in the verses, seems to be that Flora has sent her daughter Ver to the sheriffs' feast.
- 5 *entent*. I.e., [hir] (Flora's) intention.
- 6 th'estates wheoche that nowe sitte here. A reference to the occasion and to the assembled audience. Here and in other lines, Lydgate presents an inclusive, if hierarchical, view of society, one in which all estates are supposed to perform their roles properly and to treat even the lowliest as "truwe comunes" (line 55).
- 7 *Veere*. Ver, or springtime personified. Although Norton-Smith (*John Lydgate: Poems*, p. 124) claims that Ver is an uncommon personification in Middle English verse, with only one reference to her in Gower (*CA*, 7.1014, where Ver is not gendered female) and in Chaucer (*Troilus and Criseyde*, 1.157), the *MED* cites a number of other examples. In *FP*, Lydgate imagines Ver as male (5.1509).

- 9 *vertue vegytable*. Animating, or life-giving, force (see *MED*, *vegetable*, adj. a.). Norton-Smith (*John Lydgate: Poems*, p. 125) notes that Lydgate often shows "a scientific interest" in botanical processes, as in this stanza; compare *TB*, 2.3915 ff. and *Reson and Sensuallyte*, line 2747.
- 15 swaged. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 125) notes that this is a term used to describe frost, as in TB 2.5067 ff.
- 17–18 For the notion that birds choose their mates in the springtime, see Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowles*.
- 27 *proygne*. "Preen"; usually used of birds, as here, but occasionally applied to humans (*MED*, proinen v.).
- This stanza introduces the idea that Ver offers an escape from the adversity and troubles of winter by bringing not only springtime but also prosperity, peace, and stability.
- 35 youre hye renoun. A form of honorific address, similar to those in lines 80 and 111. It is unclear in these three instances precisely who is being addressed. Although the phrase could be directed to the two sheriffs, it may be that the mayor, or another high-ranking person, was present; see A. Lancashire, London Civic Theatre, p. 71, for prominent guests, including royalty, at company feasts and compare the Mumming for the Goldsmiths, in which the mayor is addressed as "youre Hyeghnesse" (line 75).
- The dangers of discord and division are explored at length in Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*. Compare with lines 47 ("for to exyle duplicytee"), 63 ("That noone oppression beo done to the pourayle"), 70 ("Represse . . . al extorcyoune"), and 72 ("Troubles exylinge").
- 51 *the hede*. Oblique reference to the notion of the body politic; see *FP* 2.827–903 for a fuller version of the same conceit.
- *truwe comunes.* Compare the language of commonalty found in the *Disguising at London* and *Mesure Is Tresour*.
- 75 *mynistre of lustynesse*. Ver was often viewed as the season of youth, regeneration, mating, and procreation; see *MED*, n. 1(c).
- These lines possibly refer to the presence of someone actually impersonating Ver, but they are too vague to let us say for sure.
- May. The introduction of May, who has not been mentioned up to this point, is somewhat confusing. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 124) argues that there is a progression from Ver (who presides over March and April) to May, who presides over the day and the following season, but it seems odd that Lydgate would devote eleven stanzas to Ver and just one to May before turning to the envoy (in which May, but not Ver, is mentioned); May is possibly a synonym for Ver, rather than another character. Perhaps Shirley's age at the time of copying the mumming (he would have been over eighty) explains this and other confusion that crops up elsewhere in Ashmole 59 (see Connolly, "John Shirley," p. 152).

- 80 *youre Hye Excellence*. See note to line 35.
- 84 ff. *L'envoye to alle th'estates present*. This rubric may perhaps have been misplaced by Shirley, as it makes better sense following line 105.
- This Princesse. A reference to May; see also line 78. The MED notes that the word princes(se) (n. [d]) is often used with personifications of fortune, nature, wisdom, and so forth, particularly by Lydgate.
- 92 *motleys.* From the noun *motle*, meaning "variegated cloth," here used in the sense of a multicolored blanket of flowers covering the hills; see *FP*, 6.183.
- 95 Tytane. Titan, a name for the sun.
- The muses were the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne. Lydgate's description of Parnassus here and in the *Mumming for the Mercers* echoes Chaucer's in *Anelida and Arcite*, lines 15 ff., and derives from Servius' commentary on Virgil and Isidore's *Etymologiae*, 14.8, lines 11–12 (see Norton-Smith, *John Lydgate: Poems*, p. 126). While this stanza introduces new imagery to the poem (Schirmer, *John Lydgate*, p. 103, describes it as "a touch of humanistic fantasy"), its linking of earthly harmony and unity with heavenly Parnassus is typical of Lydgate's tactics of elevation that both flatter and instruct his audiences.
- 100 *Citherra*. An alternate name for Venus, derived from the name of the island of Cythera.
- wellis. As Norton-Smith (*John Lydgate: Poems*, p. 126) notes, this is a reference to the rivers Helicon and Hippocrene, sacred to the Muses.
- 103 hem. Refers to Venus and her son, Cupid.
- Norton-Smith (*John Lydgate: Poems*, p. 126) observes that Lydgate here combines two passages from Chaucer on Orpheus' music, from *Hous of Fame*, 1201 ff., and the translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione*, III.M.2.21 ff.
- to fore yow. Perhaps a reference to the presence of someone who is impersonating May; compare with lines 76–77.
- 111 *youre Hyenesse*. See note to line 35.

MUMMING AT ELTHAM

Shirley calls this a balade made by Lydgate for a Christmas mumming at Eltham for the king and queen, presumably Henry VI and his mother, Catherine of Valois. It consists of twelve rhyme-royal stanzas that describe the meaning of the gifts Bacchus, Juno, and Geres send to the king and queen — via merchants that are present (line 5) — gifts of wine, oil, and wheat betokening peace, plenty, and gladness. While the mumming touches on the legitimacy of the dual monarchy, its chief concern, emphasized in the final line of each stanza, is to offer reassurances that troubles and discord will be banished and that mother and son will enjoy peace, prosperity, and happiness.

Various dates between 1424 and 1429 have been proposed for the mumming, but contemporary sources place Henry VI at Eltham for Christmas in only two of those years: 1425/26 and 1428/29. Privy Council records mention a ring that was given to Henry VI by

the duke of Bedford "a Noel tenu a Eltham l'an de votre graciouse regne quarte," i.e., during the Christmas season of 1425/26 (PPC, 3:284-86) and London companies were at Eltham then (PRO, E404/44/334; Griffiths, Reign of King Henry VI, p. 64n17). Amundesham (Annales monasterii S. Albani, 1:32) claims that Henry was at Eltham for the Christmas season of 1428/29, a date Pearsall argues fits best with Lydgate's career (Bio-Bibliography, p. 29). As for the other possible dates, 1424/25 cannot be ruled out and is the date given by I. Lancashire (Dramatic Texts and Records, no. 636, citing no source) and Schirmer (John Lydgate, p. 101n1, based on an unnamed citation in Kingsford that I have been unable to locate). The holiday season of 1426/27 may also be a possibility, but 1427/28 is probably not: I. Lancashire (Dramatic Texts and Records, nos. 637 and 638) follows Wolffe (Henry VI, p. 37) in claiming that Jack Travaill's players and four boys of Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, were at Eltham at Christmas in 1426 and that Travaill was back at Eltham for Christmas of 1427 along with players from Abingdon, but Wolffe's dates seem to be based on a misinterpretation of the accounts of Henry VI's chamber treasurer, John Merston (PRO E404/42/306; E404/44/334; printed in Foedera 10:387-88): Merston's entries were recorded in February of 1428 for the 1427/28 holiday season, which seems to have been spent at Hertford (see the Explanatory Notes for the *Disguising at Hertford*).

Shirley's phrasing seems to suggest that Lydgate was at Eltham when he made the balade, which perhaps encouraged Schirmer (John Lydgate, p. 101) to imagine that the verses might have been read aloud by Lydgate himself, especially since there is no mention of a herald or presenter. Lydgate's text may have been an explanatory speech that introduced the mummers who then performed the gift-giving (see Welsford, Court Masque, p. 54) or may have accompanied their mimed action. Pearsall (John Lydgate, p. 184) thinks there may have been two groups of actors — the three deities in a tableau and the merchants who presented the actual gifts. A. Lancashire (London Civic Theatre, pp. 102–03) notes that judging by records of payments acting troupes in the fifteenth century usually consisted of four adults, which means that Travaill's players (or Exeter's four boys or the Abingdon company) could have played the parts of the speaker and three deities. Kipling suggests that after being read aloud, Lydgate's verses might have been presented in commemoration of the event, thus heightening the ceremony of gift-giving ("Poet as Deviser," p. 93).

Surviving records tell us of earlier mummings at Eltham. The first was on January 6, 1393 when citizens of London entertained Richard II with music, dancing, and costumes (the Londoners came with "glorioso apparatu"), and brought gifts (a dromedary and a great bird; see Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, pp. 106–07); fines owed by the city to the king were negotiated then, too (see *Westminster Chronicle*, pp. 510–11; discussed by Barron, "Quarrel of Richard II with London"). The second was in 1400–01 when Londoners dressed as twelve aldermen and their sons performed a mumming for the visiting emperor of Constantinople, Manuel II (see A. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p. 42). A third, less friendly one was planned for Twelfth Night in 1414 by Lollards who "hadde caste to have made a mommynge at Eltham, and undyr coloure of the mommynge to have destryte the kyng and Hooly Chirche," but the plot was discovered before the mumming could be undertaken (*Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, p. 108).

Who commissioned the *Mumming at Eltham*? Although we can only speculate, the reference to "marchandes that here be" may indicate some collaboration between Londoners (Eltham lies just outside the city) and Henry VI's controller or his staff (who would normally be responsible for overseeing household entertainments) in asking Lydgate to write verses to accompany the presentation of the merchants' gifts. It is possible to see

traces of what Benson has called a "civic voice" ("Civic Lydgate," pp. 148–49) in the mumming, particularly in the emphasis on the bourgeois values of stability and prosperity. But if there is a civic voice in this mumming, it shares space with courtly concerns of peace, unity, and control of rebels and infidels, as well as what seems to be genuine solicitousness for Catherine's happiness in the four stanzas addressed to her (see Pearsall, *Bio-Bibliography*, p. 30, for other poems to Catherine that might date to the same period, in which Lydgate had "comparatively close contact with the court").

The *Mumming at Eltham* survives in Trinity R.3.20 (1450–75), pp. 37–40, as well as in Stow's copy of it, now Additional MS 29729. Trinity R.3.20 is the base text for this edition (*MP*, 2:672–74), collated with Additional 29729.

running titles: R.3.20 contains running titles that identify the verses as the maner of a momynge / to fore the kynge at Elthame / A desgysinge to fore the kynge / At cristmesse in the castel of eltham; not noted in MP.

headnote *Eltham in Cristmasse*. The palace at Eltham, located two miles southeast of Greenwich, was fortress-like, with ditches, battlements, an inner courtyard, and forty-six large rooms, as well as a banqueting hall in which parliament occasionally met and which was well suited to dramatic performances (Schirmer, *John Lydgate*, p. 101; descriptions of Eltham palace and the plan of the great hall can be found in Hasted, *History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 1:463–68). A. Lancashire (*London Civic Theatre*, p. 276n31) points out that the Christmas season at court ran at least through the twelve days of Christmas, from December 26 to January 6 (Twelfth Night), but the reference to *This hyeghe feest* in line 80 suggests that the mumming dates to Christmas day.

- 1–2 Bacchus was the Roman god of wine and fertililty; Juno, sister and wife of Jupiter, was the Roman goddess of marriage, the home, and childbirth; Ceres was the Roman goddess of grain.
- theyre giftes. Parry ("On the Continuity of English Civic Pageantry," pp. 224–25) notes that Queen Elizabeth's visit to Kenilworth in 1575, like the Eltham mumming, featured deities, including Ceres and Bacchus (in this case apparently not impersonated), who presented gifts of produce on seven posts spanning a bridge, while a poet pointed to each post and described the gifts. The choice of wine, wheat, and oil all of which were imported goods suggests that the merchants in question were probably from London and may indicate that they were mercers (who traded in such goods), but Shirley's lack of a specific trade name may point to a more diverse group of merchant gift-givers on this occasion. It may have been that the merchants gave Henry and Catherine token gifts of wine, wheat, and oil in containers of precious metal, thus increasing the monetary value of the gifts, or the gifts may have been in sufficient quantity to be provender for the feast (see Merston's accounts for payments for kids and pheasants during the Christmas season of 1427–28, in Foedera 10:387).
- 5 *marchandes that here be.* Nolan (*John Lydgate*, p. 85) thinks that the appearance of merchants is "perhaps a gesture toward the civic origin" of mummings, but that the real issue is the dual monarchy; the text, however, shows little concern with that issue.

- 15 *Ysaak*. For Isaac's three gifts to Jacob, see Genesis 27:28; here, as elsewhere in his writings, Lydgate blends classical and biblical imagery, turning to two examples of biblical tripartite gifts to amplify the significance of the gifts brought by the three pagan deities. An effigy of Isaac was among the pageants that Londoners designed to greet the duke of Bedford and his duchess on London Bridge when he entered London in 1426 on his return from France (A. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 136–37 and 285n54; I. Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, no. 929, misdated to 1427).
- 24 rebelles. Brotanek (Englischen Maskenspiele, p. 305) claims that the rebelles are the French, and Nolan (John Lydgate, p. 85) agrees, suggesting that the reference links the mumming to 1428, when the Dauphin and the French army had threatened the English to such an extent that the stability of the two reaumes (line 27) was in doubt; as Jacob (Fifteenth Century, pp. 243–47) shows, however, the entire strife-filled period from the battle of Verneuil (August 1424) to the siege of Orléans (1428) could form a possible context for the strife and disobedience mentioned in this stanza.
- 25 *cruwel werre*. Schirmer (*John Lydgate*, p. 101) thinks that Mars may have also been represented in the mumming and then driven away by the uniting of Henry's two realms, although it seems more likely that Lydgate refers to Mars merely to introduce the topic of the *cruwel werre* and that only Bacchus, Juno, and Ceres were impersonated (see line 80).
- 39 *mescreantes in actes marcyal.* Brotanek (*Englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 305–06) believes this is a reference to Henry Beaufort's attempt at a Hussite crusade.
- 45 *Provydence, hir sustre.* Schirmer's argument about Mars (see line 25) could also apply to Providence, although once again Lydgate is probably simply describing her attributes.
- Latin marginalia: Ad reginam Katerinam mother to Henrie the VI. [To Queen Catherine, mother to Henry VI.]
 - borne of Saint Lowys blood. Catherine was the daughter of Charles VI of France, and thus descended from St. Louis.
- The banishing of *sorowe* and *hevynesse* here and in line 65 may refer to Catherine's inconclusive affair with Edmund Beaufort, which seems to have begun in 1425 or 1426, and which may have been a source of the crisis of 1425–26 and the quarrel between Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, Edmund's uncle, although that can only remain conjectural (see Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, pp. 143–44).
- The topic of Fortune's *varyaunce* is one Lydgate takes up in a number of his poems; see Lerer (*Chaucer and His Readers*, p. 13) for the pervasive Boethianism Lydgate shares with other fifteenth-century writers, which Lerer views as a response to the upheavals of the period that defined the writer's social role as being "to offer counsel in a fickle world."
- 80 This hyeghe feest. I.e., the feast of Christmas.

81, 84 In these two lines the envoy repeats the refrain of the two parts of the mumming, thus bringing together its hopes for Henry and Catherine.

MUMMING AT WINDSOR

The Mumming at Windsor tells the story of the conversion of Clovis by St. Clothilde and the miraculous appearance of the fleur-de-lys and the golden ampoule from which French kings were traditionally anointed at Rheims. Since the mumming mentions that the sacred oil kept at Rheims will soon be used to anoint Henry VI, it presumably dates to the Christmas season of 1429/30, after Henry's coronation on November 6 at Westminster in 1429 and before his departure for France early in 1430; this date gains some slight additional support from Schirmer's claim that Windsor was Henry's permanent winter residence from 1428 onward (John Lydgate, p. 106). The mumming, which is addressed to Henry, adroitly combines instruction, entertainment, and propaganda, using French history to shore up Henry's claims to the dual monarchy (see Wickham, Early English Stages, 3:50, who notes its educative aspect but thinks it "exists simply to pass time agreeably;" Nolan [John Lydgate, pp. 86-87], who discusses the mumming's topical instrumentality; and Green [Poets and Princepleasers, p. 189], who describes this as one of Lydgate's "apologist" poems for the Lancastrian dynasty). The mumming is concerned with lineage and hereditary rights, the ever-present worries of Henry's minority, but the mumming also contains a strong subcurrent of praise for women (Clothilde is called the "floure of wommanhede," constant in word and deed), which draws a bantering marginal comment from Shirley and reminds us that Henry's mother Catherine, who is directly addressed in Lydgate's two other royal mummings and who was Henry's most visible link to the French crown, was probably present.

Shirley's description of the poem as "the devyse of a momyng" has led to a number of hypotheses about the nature of the performance to which the text relates, with most scholars agreeing that Lydgate's verses served as a kind of preface for "the story" of the fleur-de-lys that was subsequently "shewed" before the king and were recited by a presenter ("almost certainly Lydgate himself," according to Pearsall [John Lydgate, pp. 185–86], a view seconded by Westfall [Patrons and Performance, pp. 35–37], who notes that Shirley doesn't mention a herald or pursuivant). There is no consensus as to the precise nature of the ensuing show. Kipling follows Wickham (Early English Stages, 1:205) in thinking that Shirley's description of Windsor as a mumming is a mistake given the lack of a visit by strangers and the absence of gift-giving and argues that Windsor resembles a disguising, not a mumming ("Poet as Deviser," p. 97).

To enact the events described in Lydgate's verses would seem to call for mechanical effects to make the angel and the dove descend from heaven, a font for the baptism scene, and height for heavenly characters; Westfall suggests that the costuming would have been extravagant, special effects of a flash of light would have accompanied Clovis' conversion (as in the Digby *Conversion of St. Paul*), and harmonic singing would have been used to imply heaven. Westfall also argues that chapel members participated in Lydgate's three mummings for the royal household, noting that as a monk, Lydgate would have been familiar with the capabilities of choristers and thus in a position to employ them in his mummings; *Windsor*, in particular, seems to have required the participation of the chapel, Westfall believes, given its staging demands (*Patrons and Performance*, pp. 35–37).

The *Mumming at Windsor* survives in Trinity R.3.20 (1450–75), pp. 71–74, as well as in Stow's copy of it, Additional MS 29729. Trinity R.3.20 is the base text for this edition (*MP*, 2:691–94), collated with Additional 29729.

running titles: *Howe th'ampoule and the floure delyce came to the kynges of fraunce / of the Ampoull / And the flour delyce*. Not noted in *MP*.

- headnote Windsor Castle was originally built by William the Conqueror as a fortress and was expanded under later kings into a royal residence. In the 1360s, Edward III built the St. George Chapel at Windsor for the use of the Knights of the Order of the Garter. The hall was repaired and rebuilt by Richard II, under the supervision of Chaucer, then clerk of the king's works.
- Cloudovee. Clovis I (c. 466–511) was king of the Franks, who, according to a legend that arose in the ninth century, in a battle against the Alamans vowed that he would convert to Christianity if he were victorious. On the day of Clovis' baptism, the crowds were said to have prevented the priest with the chrism from reaching the baptistry and so a white dove appeared holding in its beak an ampoule with the chrism for completing the ceremony. Thus the first Christian king of the Franks was anointed through a divine miracle (see Oppenheimer, Legend of the Ste. Ampoule, pp. 23–24 and 173–77). At Christmas in 1430, Henry VI received a book of hours with a miniature depicting St. Clothilde bestowing the fleur-de-lys on Clovis, given to him by Anne of Bohemia, wife of the duke of Bedford; the book had been commissioned by Bedford in 1423 as a gift for Anne (see McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy," p. 155 and plate 28a).
- 21 Cloote. Clothilde (475–545) was the Burgundian Christian wife of Clovis.
- 34–35 The royal arms of France since 1376 consisted of an azure shield with three fleur-de-lys of gold.
- 49 Marginalia: A daun Johan, est y vray? Brotanek (Englischen Maskenspiele, p. 318) translates what is apparently Shirley's question as "Lieber Freund Johan, ist das auch wahr?" [Dear friend John, is that really true?] but Brusendorff (Chaucer Tradition, pp. 460–61 and 466) claims that yvray is the Old French synonym for ivrogne and translates the line as "Oh, Dan John must have been in his cups when he wrote that!" claiming that bantering remarks such as this indicate a close relationship between Lydgate and Shirley. For similar scribal outbursts against clerical misogyny, see Hammond, "Reproof."
- 66 *three crepaudes*. Clovis' heraldic device had included three black toads, which he abandoned on his conversion, replacing them with the fleur-de-lys.
- 69 Reynes. From the Carolingian period on, Rheims was the traditional place for the anointing of French kings and queens (see Oppenheimer, Legend of the Ste. Ampoule, p. 245 ff.).
- 50 Saint Remigius. St. Remi (c. 437–533), a Gallo-Roman of noble birth, was bishop of Rheims; he converted Clovis to Christianity (see Oppenheimer, Legend of the Ste. Ampoule, p. 155).
- 71 Th'aumpolle. Ampoules were small glass phials used since Roman times for oils and ointments; the Ste. Ampoule was described in the seventeenth century as being the size and shape of a fig (Oppenheimer, Legend of the Ste. Ampoule, pp. 149–51).

- T'annoynte. During the anointing, a small particle of the sediment in the Ste. Ampoule was extracted by the archbishop and mixed with chrism. Using his right thumb, the archbishop anointed the king in seven places (head, chest, between the shoulders, on both shoulders, and the jointures of both arms) and in later years, on the palms (Oppenheimer, Legend of the Ste. Ampoule, p. 268).
- 85 ff. Charles VII had been crowned at Rheims on July 17, 1429, and it was initially the plan to crown Henry there as well, but the English were not able to secure the area and the coronation was moved to Paris instead (see Jacob, *Fifteenth Century*, pp. 248–50).
- 91 By tytle of right. A reference to Henry's right to the French crown; compare Lydgate's *Title and Pedigree of Henry VI*, translated at the command of the earl of Warwick, according to Shirley (MP, 2:613–22).
- 92 Saint Lowys. Louis IX (1226–70), king of France, also known as Saint Louis. The point here is to link Henry VI (through his mother, Catherine of Valois) to the lineage of St. Louis.
- 94–98 These lines imply that the miracle of the fleur-de-lys will now be presented (*shewed*), suggesting that the preceding verses served as a kind of prelude to the performance.

MUMMING FOR THE GOLDSMITHS OF LONDON

According to Shirley, the *Mumming for the Goldsmiths of London* was performed on Candlemas for Mayor Estfeld; Estfeld was mayor in 1429–30 and again in 1437, but it must be the earlier date that is meant here because the manuscript in which the mumming is copied was completed well before 1437. Since Estfeld was elected on October 13, 1429, the mumming would have been performed on February 2, 1430. Although there is no reference to this mumming in their records, the goldsmiths had a tradition of entertainments on their annual St. Dunstan's Day feast and in mayoral processions; they owned musical instruments as well as a "summer-castle" that (equipped with "virgins" throwing silver leaves) was used in the entry of Richard II in 1377 and again in 1382, and on occasion they hired minstrels and choristers from St. Paul's (see A. Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, pp. 45–46; Robertson and Gordon, "Calendar of Dramatic Records," p. 139; and Osberg, "Goldsmiths' 'Chastell'"). The goldsmiths' pageantry was well enough known for Henry VI to refer to it in a letter of 1444–45, in which he requested a lavish display for Queen Margaret's entry (see *Wardens' Accounts*, pp. 178, 196, and 532–34).

We do not know how the goldsmiths came to commission these verses from Lydgate, but the goldsmiths' prestige would have brought at least some of them into orbit with Lydgate's circle. London goldsmiths, who in 1404 numbered 102 men in the livery company (the elite group) plus another eighty out of livery, were substantial citizens, involved in London's government and with an international reputation as skilled craftsmen (see Reddaway and Walker, *Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company*, pp. 79 and 139). As makers of luxury goods, goldsmiths had contacts with the wealthy and powerful: John Orewell, for example, who was the king's engraver, made a silver-gilt crozier for the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds in 1430 (Barron, *London*, p. 72), and in 1379–80 Edward III's daughter Isabella, the mayor, Lord Latimer, the Master of St John of Clerkenwell and others were invited to one of the goldsmiths' feasts (*Wardens' Accounts*, pp. 186–91).

Like the verses Lydgate wrote for the mercers, the *Mumming for the Goldsmiths* takes the form of a letter in the style of a balade that a herald named Fortune presents to the mayor. No speaker is identified, but Fortune probably read the fourteen rhyme-royal stanzas aloud to introduce the mummers, who are costumed as David and the twelve tribes of Israel and who bring an ark, which in a twist on the biblical Ark of the Covenant contains a writ instructing the mayor in the performance of his duties. The mumming is striking for its mixing of the chivalric (e.g., the herald; "royal gyftes" [line 6] for the mayor), the biblical (with an emphasis on lineage via the Jesse tree, Mary, and Christ, and Samuel's anointing of David), and the mercantile (stressing good governance). It also deftly combines flattery of the mayor with an assertion for the need for humble and responsible governance, thus demonstrating Lydgate's ability to craft entertainments for London's wealthy and politically influential establishment that celebrate London and its values, while also subtly voicing concerns about civic government and urban power (see Benson, "Civic Lydgate," p. 164, and Sponsler, "Alien Nation").

The Mumming for the Goldsmiths survives in Trinity R.3.20 (1450–75), pp. 175–78, as well as in Stow's copy of it, Additional MS 29729. Trinity R.3.20 is the base text for this edition (MP, 2:698–701), collated with Additional 29729.

running titles: A desguysing to the mayre by the Goldsmithes / A desgysing to the meyre / By the Goldsmythes. Not noted in MP.

headnote Candlemas was the Feast of the Purification of Mary, and the occasion perhaps suggested to Lydgate the Marian themes of the Ark and lineage that appear in the mumming. The *Mumming for the Goldsmiths* may have been performed either in the goldsmiths' hall or in the mayor's. *Welych* (line 3) comes from the adjective "welch," meaning "Welsh," and by extension "strange," "foreign," or "alien" (see *MED welch*, adj 2a).

- 2 The Jesse tree was associated with the lineages of Christ and Mary and makes sense for the Feast of Purification.
- The image of Samuel anointing David comes from 2 Samuel 16. Nolan (*John Lydgate*, p. 88) notes that the reference to Samuel raises the problem of succession, which in the mumming leads to emphasis on the need for humility on the mayor's part.
- of humble wille. David was traditionally taken to represent humility and patience (see Isidore of Seville, *De ortu*, chap. 33 and Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 17.20), and was viewed as a shepherd of the people of God (1 Chronicles 11–29), both of which Lydgate makes relevant to Mayor Estfeld.
- The Ark was associated with both Mary, as a vessel carrying precious cargo, and Christ, whom David prefigures; Kipling thinks that the ark brought by the "Levites" was probably a chest or coffer richly made by the Goldsmiths ("Poet as Deviser," pp. 95–96n30).
- According to 1 Paralipomenon (1 Chronicles) 16:4, Levites were appointed to minister before the Ark.
- 34 *Syngethe*. The instruction to the Levites to sing suggests that music accompanied the mumming, but presumably only after the whole letter had been read aloud.

- Marginalia: Palladyone was a relyk and an ymage sent by the goddes into the cytee of Troye the which kept hem in longe prosperité ageynst alle hir enemys. Shirley's gloss explaining this reference perhaps reveals his concern with making sure readers understand Lydgate's references.
- 37 *Ebdomadon*. While transporting the Ark to Zion, David temporarily left the Ark in the house of Obededom the Gittite (2 Samuel 6:1–11; 1 Chronicles 13:1–13), whose house was blessed by its presence.
- 39 Palladyone of Troye. The Palladium was a sacred image kept in the temple of Athena at Troy and was believed to confer protection on the city so long as it remained there. Shirley's gloss explaining this reference perhaps reveals his concern with making sure readers understand Lydgate's allusions.
- For David's dance before the Ark, see 2 Samuel 6. This passage was taken as a defense of festivity on holidays and feast days (see *A Treatise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, lines 724–25) and the connection of David's dancing with performance goes back at least to Bernard of Clairvaux. Nolan (*John Lydgate*, pp. 91–94) notes that while the dance compliments the mayor it also invites interpretation by any reader who notices the absence in Lydgate's version of the part of the story in which Saul's daughter Michal scornfully rebukes David.
- *ephod.* For his dance, David girded himself with a linen ephod, a ritual garment worn by the Jewish high priest (2 Samuel 6:14; 1 Chronicles 15:27).
- 64 ff. Latin marginalia: Surge domine in requiem tuam, tu et archa santificacionis tue. [Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place: thou and the ark, which thou hast sanctified (Psalm 131:8).] This psalm often appeared in primers and books of hours and was linked to Marian devotion.
- 69 *Nuwe Troye*. According to legend, Brutus called his capital Trojanova (New Troy), later Trinovantus and eventually London.
- Nolan argues that in this stanza the ark trumps the mayor's authority and "places him in his proper relation both to God and to the Goldsmiths" thus stressing the need for humility during his term of office (*John Lydgate*, p. 97).
- As Clopper notes, the gifts of "konnyng, grace, and might" conveyed by the ark are the attributes of the Trinity, which are here linked to the ideals of proper civic governance: wisdom, peace, and right (*Drama, Play, and Game*, p. 162).
- 85 wrytt. The written document is a kind of Ten Commandments, relating who shall be punished and who rewarded. Nolan notes that the gift of a writ is more complex than simple gifts of wine or wheat, and demands "an active and engaged response" (John Lydgate, p. 89).
- 98 Duryng youre tyme. A reference to Estfeld's first term as mayor, which ran from October 29, 1429, to October 29, 1430; see A. Lancashire, London Civic Theatre, p. 121.

MUMMING FOR THE MERCERS OF LONDON

Shirley claims that the *Mumming for the Mercers of London* was presented to Mayor Estfeld on Twelfth Night, the Feast of the Epiphany, that is, on January 6, 1430 (for the year, see the Explanatory Notes to the Mumming for the Goldsmiths). The verses, which appear to have been devised by Lydgate to assist the mercers in entertaining the mayor, consist of a long introductory speech that was probably spoken by a presenter (a poursuyaunt) and seems designed to usher into the hall three ships, possibly with mummers disguised as merchants from the Far East aboard them. As Wickham notes, Lydgate "allegorizes" this visual spectacle by combining the idea of the Magi with the miraculous draught of fishes to enhance the presentation of gifts to Estfeld (Early English Stages, 3:49). The text is a kind of geographic, mythological, and literary grand tour that describes how Jupiter's messenger travels from the Euphrates to the Thames, passing various mythic sites, including those important for the origins of poetry, and encountering along the way three ships with slogans on their sides. The messenger finally reaches London, coming ashore where the mercers have gathered to honor the mayor. The actual performance, which probably followed the reading of the letter and which the running titles refer to as a disguising, seems to have been as elaborate as Shirley's comment that it was "ordeyned ryallych" (i.e., royally arranged) suggests: the verses imply that three pageant ships, disguised Orientals, music, dancing, action in which the first ship casts its nets and draws nothing while the third draws a full harvest, and gift-giving were part of the entertainment.

As first in precedence among London's companies, with many members becoming mayor or sheriff, the mercers certainly possessed the means for an elaborate mumming like this one. By the fifteenth century, the mercers had a hall, a chapel, and at least one other room (as well as a chest for keeping records) in the church of St. Thomas of Acre in Cheapside, near the birthplace of Thomas à Becket in an area once occupied by prosperous Jews (Keene, intro. to Imray, Mercers' Hall, pp. 1–13); while their hall would have been suitable for feasts and entertainments, this mumming was probably performed in the mayor's hall, as line 102 suggests. Estfeld was an especially illustrious mercer, serving as alderman, sheriff, mayor, and member of Parliament for the city. He built the conduits at Aldermanbury and at the Standard in Fleet and was a benefactor of St. Mary Aldermanbury, where he was buried (Chronicles of London, p. 312, note to p. 146, line 13). He appears to have been knighted in the 1430s (Barron, London, p. 144). Unfortunately, although the Mercers' accounts show payments toward royal mummings in the 1390s and in 1400/01 (see A. Lancashire, London Civic Theatre, p. 42), and although the mercers seem to have had an interest in the short-lived London puy, as records from a case in 1304 show (see Keene, intro. to Imray, Mercers' Hall, pp. 12 and 438n29), there is no record of this performance.

The mumming may make reference to contemporary events, perhaps commercial transactions involving Mayor Estfeld, as Welsford has suggested (*Court Masque*, p. 55), but its larger function appears to have been to enhance the cultural capital of Londoners by envisioning the city as a cosmopolitan trading hub capable of assimilating exotic visitors and its elites as sophisticated consumers of aristocratic culture (see Nolan, *John Lydgate*, pp. 101–03). We cannot say whether or not the mercers and Mayor Estfeld grasped all of that cultural material, but Shirley seems to have assumed that readers in the Beauchamp household would need help and supplied extensive glosses to explain Lydgate's references.

The *Mumming for the Mercers* survives in Trinity R.3.20 (1450–75), pp. 171–75, as well as in Stow's copy of it, Additional MS 29729. Trinity R.3.20 is the base text for this edition (*MP*, 2:695–98), collated with Additional 29729.

running titles: Desgysing made to Estfelde thane / mayre of London made by Lidgate / desgysinge to the mayre.

- headnote See McLaren (*London Chronicles*, pp. 57–58), for the use of the term *ryallych* in London chronicles to emphasize majesty and to appropriate royal privilege. Clopper notes that the sudden appearance of the pursuivant at the feast "recalls the romance conventions of other courtly revels" and that the journey is through "an allegorical romance landscape" (*Drama, Play, and Game*, p. 161).
- Latin marginalia: *Iubiter i. omnia iubens*. [Jupiter is the ruler of everything.] Jupiter was the supreme deity in Roman mythology.
- 3 Latin marginalia: *Phebus i. sol.* [Phebus is the sun.]
- Marginalia: Eufrates is oon of the foure floodes of Paradys. Here and in lines 43–49 Lydgate introduces biblical topography into a landscape of classical mythology and European poetry; Nolan suggests that the "biblical geography [serves] as a kind of gateway to Europe" (John Lydgate, p. 104), although the Christian references seem overwhelmed by the other geographies (see Sponsler, "Alien Nation").
- 8 Marginalia: *Mars is god of batayle*.
- 8–14 Lydgate's sources for the description of Parnassus were Virgil and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*; see Norton-Smith, *John Lydgate: Poems*, p. 126.
- Marginalia: Venus is called the goddesse of love. She is called Cytherea after Cytheron, the hill wher she is worshiped.
- 12 Marginalia: Perseus is a knight which that rood upon an hors that was called Pegase.
- Marginalia: The nyen Muses dwelle bysyde Ellycon, the welle; wheeche beon the nyen sustres of Musyk and of Eloquences and Calyope is oone of hem. Shirley's gloss makes the same mistake as Chaucer (House of Fame, line 522) and other medieval writers in identifying Helicon as a well; see Norton-Smith, John Lydgate: Poems, p. 126. Helicon was actually one of the ridges of Parnassus. Nolan claims that Lydgate's is a literary, rather than a "real," geography, and his interest is in linking the landscape with the origins of poetry (John Lydgate, pp. 101–02).
- Marginal gloss: Bacus is cleped god of wyne and Thagus is a ryver of which the gravelles and the sandes been of golde. In Ovid's Metamorphoses (11.84 ff.), Bacchus gave Midas the golden touch, and it was removed by the river Thagus.
- While it is tempting to imagine that use of the first-person pronoun in this line hints that Lydgate himself may have read the verses aloud, as Schirmer suggested (*John Lydgate*, p. 108), there is no other evidence to support that assumption; see the notes to lines 43 and 96 for the pursuivant's role.
- Marginalia: Tulius a poete and a rethorisyen of Rome.
- 29–35 Lerer views the lists of "poets laureate" as examples of Lydgate's tendency to construct historical space between great writers of old and his own age (*Chaucer and His Readers*, p. 36). Nolan argues that the omission of Chaucer from this list stresses an unmediated relation to a European poetic tradition and Lydgate's

- "own centrality to the didactic project of the text and performance" (John Lydgate, p. 103).
- 30 Marginalia: Macrobye an olde philosofre.
- Marginalia: Ovyde and Virgilius were olde poetes, that oon of Rome, that other of Naples afore the tyme of Cryst.
- Marginalia: Fraunces Petrark was a poete of Florence. So were Bochas and Dante withinne this hundrethe yeere; and they were called laureate for they were coroned with laurer in token that they excelled other in poetrye.
- 34–35 aureate. Lydgate's coinage, probably from the late Latin aureatus, to refer to eloquence. Here Lydgate associates the spoken sound of eloquent language with botanical "baum" (i.e., "fragrance"); see the discussion of Lydgate's aureate diction in Norton-Smith, John Lydgate: Poems, pp. 192–95. Lerer notes that "laureate" and "aureate" tend in Lydgate's poetry to rely on sound rather than sense for their force and to serve as general terms of praise, often being used, as here, in rhyming pairs, devoid of specific meaning (Chaucer and His Readers, p. 45).
- Marginalia: Poetes feynen that the gret god Jupiter came downe from heven for to ravisshe a kynges doughter cleped Europa, after whame alle the cuntreys of Europ berethe the name.
- See note to line 5. The reference to Jupiter's pursuivant in line 43 (and again in line 96) perhaps suggests that the pursuivant was a participant in the mumming and that someone else read the verses aloud.
- 46 valeye of the Drye Tree. Latin marginalia: In baculo isto transivi Jordanem istum [On his staff he passed over the Jordan].
- 51 Marginalia: Phebus in Aquario is als miche to seyne as thanne the sonne is in that signe.
- Marginalia: Cyrsees is a goddesse of the see, which turnethe men into liknesse of bestis, and nymphes ben goddesses of smale ryvers.
- Grande travayle . . . Nulle avayle. [Much labor, no result.] The mottoes or "reasons" on the ships echo the practice of providing "scriptures" on pageants or subtilties to explain their meaning. Wickham thinks that the lines describing the ships refer to three pageant ships in which the mercers, disguised as Orientals, enter the hall (Early English Stages, 1:201–02), but Kipling ("Poet as Deviser," pp. 94–95) doubts that ships were there, since Lydgate doesn't use the rhetorical "Loo here . . . that yee may see" strategy that he uses elsewhere for introducing characters. While it is unclear whether or not ships were depicted in the mumming, other entertainments in halls used such devices (compare Chaucer's Franklin's Tale: "For ofte at feestes have I wel herd seye / That tregetours withinne an halle large / Haue maad come in a water and a barge / And in the halle rowen up and doun" [CT V[F]1142–45]).
- sakk. A geographical formation thought to be in the shape of a sack; see MED, sak, n. 3(b). The Isle of Portland lies in the English Channel just south of Weymouth and was an important harbor in Lydgate's day.

- The French town of Calais, located at the narrowest part of the Channel, was for English merchants an important gateway to the Continent, especially for trade in such staples as tin, lead, cloth, and wool. It was assigned to English rule in 1360 by the Treaty of Brétigny and remained an outpost of England until the middle of the sixteenth century.
- 73 The Godwin (Goodwin) Sands, a series of sand banks in the English Channel near Dover, were the frequent site of shipwrecks.
- Although he is not mentioned in any classical texts and is presumably not a historical figure, according to legend Brutus of Troy, a descendant of Aeneas, was known in medieval England as founder and first king of Britain; see Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.
- 87 Marginalia: Neptunus is also a goddesse of the see.
- 90–91 grande peyne . . . grande gayne. [Great effort, great gain.]
- 101 A reference to the mercers.
- The phrasing implies that the mercers/mummers have come to visit the mayor and deferentially hope that they will be admitted.

OF THE SODEIN FAL OF PRINCES IN OURE DAYES

Although Shirley's headnote describes Of the Sodein Fal of Princes as "seven balades made by Daun Iohn Lydegate" and does not mention any performance context, internal evidence ("Beholde . . . Se howe . . . Se nowe . . . Lo here") suggests that the verses were designed to accompany a visual display, possibly a tapestry or wall-painting (Hammond, "Two Tapestry Poems," p. 11, and Gerould, "Legends of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin," p. 323), a processional (Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 180), or a mumming (Robbins, Secular Lyrics, p. 110, and Historical Poems, p. 342). Pearsall (John Lydgate, pp. 180-81) notes that the medieval technique of isolating figures in a series of "stills" that pass before the reader or viewer — common in glass- and panel-painting — was readily transferable to verbal narrative and can be found in various of Lydgate's compositions including the mural-poem, The Dance of Death (in which Death addresses in turn thirty-five representatives of secular and religious society from pope to child), the Fall of Princes, and even parts of the Troy Book. Parry observes that genealogical pageants of this sort are common in Tudor and Stuart pageantry, as in the pageantry featuring six kings named Henry who welcomed Henry VII at York in 1486 or in the pageant alluded to in the "shew of eight Kings, and Banquo," which greets Macbeth in Macbeth ("On the Continuity of English Civic Pageantry," pp. 231–32).

The seven stanzas of *Sodein Fal* are an offshoot of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* and represent a condensed updating of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, extending that poem's wheel-of-Fortune theme to contemporary English history, perhaps in imitation of Chaucer's Monk's Tale. While there is no descriptive headnote indicating provenance, the snapshot portraits of Edward II, Richard II, Charles VI of France, the duke of Orléans, Edward III's son Thomas of Gloucester, John of Burgundy, and the duke of Ireland, who are brought low because of evil counsel, sickness possibly brought on by sorcery, lechery, murder, the failure of kin and allliances to offer protection, and divorce, would have had relevance for the young Henry VI (whom the council in 1428 had instructed the earl of Warwick to teach with historical exempla [*PPC*, 3:299]) or his uncle Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, who had com-

missioned the *Fall of Princes*, divorced his first wife, and long been at odds with his brother and uncle over the governance of England. Schirmer (*John Lydgate*, p. 226) sees *Sodein Fal* as a kind of epilogue to the *Fall of Princes*, but notes that Lydgate's adoption of a pro-Burgundian, anti-Armagnac attitude combined with a "comparatively immature" approach make it likely that *Sodein Fal* was written before the *Fall of Princes*. Mention of the death of Charles VI of France, who died in 1422, provides a *terminus a quo* for dating the poem.

Of the Sodein Fal of Princes survives in Trinity College Cambridge R.3.20, folios 359r–361r; Harley 2251, folio 254r–v; and Stow's copy of R.3.20, Additional 29729, folios 169v–170r; R.3.20 is the base text for this edition (MP, 2:660–61), collated with the other two manuscripts. The poem has also been edited by Robbins, Historical Poems, pp. 174–75.

running titles: the fale of prynces / of the fal of prynces / the fal of prynces.

headnote Here followen seven balades made by Daun John Lydegate of the sodeine fal of certain Princes of Fraunce and Englande nowe late in oure dayes.

- Marginalia: *Kyng Edwarde of Carnarvan*. Edward II (1284–1327), king of England from 1307–27, was known as Edward of Carnarvon for his birthpace in Wales. Edward's reliance on first Piers Gaveston and later the Despensers angered the barons, and in 1326–27 Edward's queen, Isabella, forced the execution of the Despensers and Edward's abdication. He was imprisoned in Berkeley Castle, where he was probably murdered according to some accounts by having a hot soldering iron thrust up his rectum so as to leave no trace of wounds and thus allowing his murderers to escape being charged with treason (see Stow, *Annales*, p. 227). Unlike the *FP*, which contains no modern examples of victims of Fortune's wheel, *Sodein Fal* features seven contemporary men who were brought low. Lydgate's great men fall because they bring it upon themselves, a vision of agency and morality that differs from Chaucer's complex narrative of the role of personal responsibility in the downfalls described in the Monk's Tale.
- Marginalia: *Kyng Richard the Seconde*. Richard II (1367–1400) came to the throne in 1377 at the age of ten and ruled for twenty-two years before being deposed. While notable for its encouragement of a flourishing literary and artistic culture, Richard's reign was marked by serious political difficulties, including the uprising known as the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and various conflicts with the barons, which (after Richard confiscated the Lancastrian estates on the death of his uncle John of Gaunt in 1399) culminated in a military invasion led by the previously exiled duke of Hereford (Henry IV), who forced Richard's abdication and imprisoned him in Pontefract Castle, where he died in 1400, probably from murder.
- Marginalia: *Kyng Charlles*. Charles VI (1368–1422) was king of France from 1380 to 1422. He suffered from bouts of insanity that earned him the nickname "Charles the Mad" and left him unable to govern effectively. In 1420, he was forced to accept the Treaty of Troyes, which designated Henry V of England as his successor.
- Marginalia: *the Duc of Orlyence*. Louis, duc d'Orléans (1372–1407), was the brother of Charles VI. After 1392, when Charles' attacks of insanity began, Louis became involved in a struggle for influence with his uncle, Philip the Bold of Burgundy, and with his cousin, John the Fearless; he was killed by John's

supporters in 1407. Louis was rumored to have had sexual relations with several noble women, including his sister-in-law, Isabella of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI (see Robbins, *Historical Poems*, p. 343, note to line 26).

- 27 Marginalia: i. Duc of Burgoigne John. See note to line 36 below.
- Marginalia: *Thomas Duc of Gloucestre*. Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester and son of Edward III, was arrested for treason against Richard II in 1397, after being betrayed by the earl of Derby, and was sent under arrest to Calais. He could not be produced by his keeper, the earl of Nottingham, the next year, when his case was considered by Parliament, suggesting that he had been quietly murdered. Thomas falls in spite of his *trouthe* (line 32) and devotion to *comune profit* (line 35) because of Fortune's unexpected blows.
- Marginalia: *John Duc of Bourgoyne*. John the Fearless (1371–1419) was duke of Burgundy from 1404–19. He undertook a series of popular governmental reforms but his rivalry with supporters of Louis, duc d'Orléans, whom he had assassinated, led by 1411 to civil war between his side (the Burgundians) and the Armagnacs. While negotiating with the English invaders under Henry V and with the Dauphin (leader of the Armagnacs and later King Charles VII), John was assassinated.
- douspiers. The twelve great peers of France consisted of six spiritual lords (the archbishop of Rheims and the bishops of Laon, Langres, Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyon) and six temporal lords (the dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, and the counts of Toulouse, Flanders, and Champagne). In romances the twelve peers were often taken as representing the bravest of knights; compare the tapestry cited in an inventory in 1423 (2 Henry VI) of goods owned by Henry V (*RP*, 4:214–41), described as "ung pece d'Aras, de xii duszeperes, saunz ore, qui comence en l'estorie 'Diue vous doit'" (*RP*, 4:229).
- Marginalia: *The Duc of Yrland*. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford (1362–92), was one of Richard II's favorites and was made duke of Ireland in 1386. In the Merciless Parliament of 1388, he was among the supporters of Richard who were accused of treason by the five Lords Appellant. Sentenced to death in 1388, he fled to Louvain and was killed by a boar in 1392 while hunting. De Vere was married to Philippa de Coucy, the king's cousin, and had an affair with one of the queen's ladies in waiting, Agnes de Launcekrona (see next note).
- Marginalia: *i. laumerrane*. This marginal gloss (in BL MS Additional 29729: *loomcerean*) is an error for *Launcecrona*, which is described by Walsingham, *Historia anglicana*, 2:160, as a vulgar term: "et aliam duceret, quae cum Regina Anna venerat de Boemia, ut fertur, cujusdam sellarii filiam, ignobilem prorsus atque foedam; ob quam causam magna surrepsit occasion scandalorum: cujus nomen erat, in vulgari idiomate 'Launcecrona'" ["and took another woman, who had come with Queen Anne of Bohemia and who was said to be a saddler's daughter, low-ranking and ugly; for which reason there was great occasion for scandal to spread: her name in the common idiom was 'Launcecrona'"]. See Robbins, *Historical Poems*, pp. 343–44, note to line 46.

PAGEANT OF KNOWLEDGE

The Pageant of Knowledge does not survive in a manuscript copied by Shirley and lacks headnotes or other information about possible performance. It does, however, contain the Latin rubric "Septem Pagine sequntur sapiencie" ("Here follow seven pageants on wisdom"), which suggests that at least part of it was meant to be performed. MacCracken (MP, 2:724-34) prints the Pageant of Knowledge as one complete 287-line text, but in Trinity R.3.21 on which his edition is based, the verses are punctuated by "explicits" that divide the text into ten parts, or perhaps indicate ten separate texts, some of which appear individually in other manuscripts. The Pageant starts with a description of the seven estates plus the ryche," all of whom are in the next stanza given a line each that may have been spoken; the pageant then moves to description — which was perhaps recited by a presenter — of various allegorical and mythological figures and signs of the zodiac, finally becoming what seems to be a nondramatic didactic poem. As its layout suggests, the *Pageant* may be a compilation of poems, of which only one or two were meant for performance; a thread of continuity is provided, however, by variants of the tag line "How shuld a man than be stedfast of lyvyng," which unites stanzas 20 through 38, with stanza 39's advice to aim for heavenly stability serving as the answer to that repeated question. Although Trinity R.3.21 does not specify an author, Stow's annotations in that manuscript attribute five of the ten groupings to Lydgate, and MacCracken ascribes the entire 287 lines to Lydgate based on "the uniform style of the entire piece" (MP, 1:xxiii, no. 90); Bühler has also noted that some of the poem's stanzas are repeated in Lydgate's other works ("Lydgate's Horse, Sheep and Goose," p. 563).

MacCracken takes his title from the use of the word pagine (pageant) in the heading to one of the groups of stanzas, which he believes points to performance of the whole as a school play, like Ausonius' Ludus septem sapientum, which MacCracken thinks is its model (MP, 1:xxiii, no. 90; see Ausonius, Works, pp. 184-92 for the Latin text of the Ludus, which features seven wise men who give brief expositions of their apothegms); Ausonius was not widely known in the Middle Ages until the fourteenth century and beyond, when copies showed up in the hands of Petrarch, Boccacio, and Salutati, among others (Ausonius, Works, p. 597). Schirmer likewise believes that the pageant was a scholastic drama in which performance would have enlivened the dry instructional material (John Lydgate, p. 104), while Pearsall views the first part of the text (through the signs of the zodiac) as a tableaupresentation, with some parts of this performance section being "obviously more pantomimic than others" and with one stanza (the tableau-group of the seven estates plus Rycheman) even including "speech-prefixes as in a play" before each character's line (John Lydgate, p. 183). The word "pageant" had various meanings, not all of them pointing to mimesis: it could refer to a representation or device carried in display or even something as simple as a banner or tapestry (OED, s.v. Pageant sb., no. 3; also 1. [d] "A scene represented on tapestry; or the like"). In the contents list on fol. 2r of Ashmole 59, the *Pageant* is described as "A comedye of the fyndinge of success." Part of the Pageant also survives in a fifteenthcentury commonplace book that includes the Brome Abraham and Isaac (The Book of Brome).

The date and auspices of the *Pageant* are unknown. A. Lancashire (*London Civic Theatre*, p. 125) considers it briefly in her discussion of London drama, but notes that without fuller information it is difficult to say whether or not it had civic associations. Trinity R.3.21 was written sometime during or after the reign of Edward IV, by scribes who had access to Shirley manuscripts (see Hammond, "Two British Museum Manuscripts," p. 27), which provides a last possible date for the composition of the *Pageant*. Its appearance in a London manuscript, owned at one point by the well-to-do London mercer Roger Thorney (c.

1450–1515) and later by the Londoner Stow (see *Manuscript Trinity R.3.19*, p. xxx), perhaps argues for a London context for the *Pageant*.

The *Pageant of Knowledge* survives in complete form in just one manuscript, Trinity R.3.21 (1461–83), fols. 287a–289b, although parts of the poem were copied in various other manuscripts. Trinity R.3.21 is the base text for this edition (*MP*, 2:724–34). The whole of the undertaking bears similarities to Gower's *Confessio Amantis* book 7 and portions of books 4 and 5, with their pageant-like lists of inventors, Greek and Roman gods, the humors, and the seven liberal arts, especially astronomy.

- 1–8 The notion of a social order composed of seven estates was an expansion of the old idea of the three orders of society: those who fought, those who prayed, and those who labored. In contrast with the notion of orders, the estates model emphasized ranks rather than functions and allowed for a broader categorization of social groups.
- 5 "Common profit" is the usual translation of *res publica*; for its importance as a social and poetic ideal, see Middleton, "Idea of Public Poetry."
- 9 This assertion of the right of princes to govern priests may have had special force in the wake of Henry V's attempts to reform the monastic orders and of ongoing struggles between the crown and monasteries, including Bury St. Edmunds.
- rubric sapiencie. In scholasticism, sapientia (heart thinking) was distinguished from scientia (head thinking).
- 17–37 Compare the descriptions of Prudence, Rightwysnesse (Justice), and Temperance in the *Disguising at London*.
- Of thy weyghtes. An allusion to Justice's scales, with a plea that judges make sure that their reckoning is fair.
- There was an extensive body of courtesy literature in Latin (the *facetia* tradition) and in English, devoted to advice about bodily comportment and behavior. Compare Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and *Dietary*.
- 64 herte, body, wyll, and mynde. Compare BD, lines 116 and 767.
- Jubal, a descendant of Cain and the ancestor of all who play the lyre and pipe; see Genesis 4:21 and Chaucer: "Tubal, / That found out first the art of songe; / For as hys brothres hamers ronge / Upon hys anvelt up and doun, / Therof he took the firste soun" (*BD* 1162–66). See also *CA*, 4.2416–18. Medieval writers often confused his name with that of his brother Tubal, who was the first to work the forge for iron and steel crafts. See lines 83–86.
- The Roman god Saturn (from *satus*, "sowing") was credited with inventing agriculture. See *CA* 5.1221–31.
- Ceres is the goddess of grain, also known for inventing the craft of tilling. Lydgate follows tradition in identifying her as Saturn's daughter, but she is described as his wife in the *Third Vatican Mythographer*, book 2. See *CA* 5.1231–44.
- Mars was the Roman god of war.

- In the *Iliad*, 5.733–37, Homer describes how Athena removed the robe she had made for herself and armed herself. She was known as a patron of the crafts and as a goddess of war, who created armor.
- Tubalcain, brother of Jubal, was identified as the maker of steel and was associated with artificers who used brass and iron (see Genesis 4:22). See note 66, above.
- The Roman goddess Minerva was associated with weaving (see Trevisa, *Polychronicon* 2, cap. 11, p. 297 and *CA* 3.2435).
- Lydgate follows Gower (*CA* 2.2437) in assigning the discovery of linen to Delbora. Gower's source is uncertain, but Peck notes that the invention of linen, supposedly the purest of cloth, may have become linked to her through the purity of Seth's line in the ancestry of Christ; see *CA*, notes to 2.2437.
- 92 Semiramis, the legendary Assyrian queen, was often depicted wearing men's breeches; see Samuel.
- 93 myn auctor. Lydgate's sources in the *Pageant* have been identified as Isidore of Seville, Vincent of Beauvais, Chaucer (see Gattinger, *Lyrik Lydgates*, pp. 17, 39, 41, and 66), and Gower.
- Diana, the Roman goddess of the wood and hunting, was identified with the moon and thus also known as Lucina (as in line 97). Compare *TB*, Prol.132, and *CT* V[F]1045 ff.
- 101–03 Compare Lydgate's description of Mercury in *TB*, 2.2486 ff., and Edwards' note (*TB*, p. 373).
- Neptune was the Roman god of the sea; see Chaucer's Franklin's Tale for his rule over the sea (*CT* V[F]1047).
- Phoebus Apollo, the classical god, was linked to medicine; see Godfrey of Viterbo, 6, col. 157: "Apollo etiam citharam condidit et artem medicinalem invenit" (*Pantheon*, 2.508) [Apollo invented the harp and the art of medicine].
- 109 pounce veyne. An artery where the pulse can be felt. See MED pous(e) (n.).
- 110 Aesculapius, the Greco-Roman god of healing, was the legendary founder of medicine. See *CA* 5.1059–82. Also see Chaucer's description of the Physician (*CT* I[A]429) as knowing the standard medical authorities, including Aesculapius.
- 114 ff. After the explicit, the word *Lidgatt* appears in Stow's hand.
- The basic curriculum of undergraduate education was the Trivium (grammar, rhetoric, logic), which could be supplemented by the Quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music), whose study led to the master of arts.
- Priscian (fifth–sixth centuries) was the most important of the late Latin grammarians, author of the *Institutiones*, a summary of Greco-Roman grammatical theory and practice.
- Euclid, the Greek mathematician (fl. 300 B.C.), was known as the author of the *Elements*, the standard textbook of elementary mathematics in medieval Europe.

- Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) was known for his oratorical skills; he was the author of the *De inventione*, a treatise on rhetorical argument.
- Hermogenes of Tarusus (second century) wrote a set of textbooks on rhetoric.
- Boethius' treatise *De musica* was standard reading in medieval universities and formed the basis for medieval musical theory; compare *CT* VII(B²)3293–94, where the fox compares Chauntecleer's skill at singing to Boethius.
- The *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, the Greek philosopher (384–322 B.C.), strongly influenced the development of medieval philosophy.
- Abu-Mashar Jafar ibn Muhammad (787–886) was the leading astrologer of the Arab world. See *CA* 7.1237–70, on Albumazar and the founding of astronomy.
- It was a convention of medieval cosmology that the planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the sun, Venus, and Mercury) controlled the human body and human behavior. See John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 2.18–19, and the Wife of Bath's description of herself in terms of planetary influence (*CT* III[D]609–19).
- The signs of the zodiac were thought to correspond to and govern parts of the body. See *CA* 7.955–1270 on the signs of the zodiac, and 7.1291–1438 on the fifteen stars and their relationship to the seven planets and various herbs. See also Chaucer's "Treatise on the Astrolabe" 1.21.70–73, which links each sign to a part of the body as does the drawing of the anatomical man in Jean duc du Berry's *Trés Riches Heures* plate 14 (New York: George Braziller, 1969), one of the greatest of the books of hours which is in and of itself a kind of pageant.
- 160 ff. After the explicit, the words *John Lidgat* are written in Stow's hand.
- This stanza appears alone in somewhat different form in seven manuscripts (see *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* XVI, p. 2142) and in *Debate of the Horse, Goose, and Sheep*. Medieval Europe inherited from the Greeks a model of the physical world in which the four elements earth, fire, air, and water joined with the four qualities moistness, aridity, heat, and cold as the building blocks of life. The elements and qualities were assumed to correspond to the four bodily humors melancholy, choler, blood, and phlegm. These correspondences were set out in a number of written texts, such as *CA* 7.393–462, and the widely-read pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta secretorum*, and in pictorial images as well.
- 195 ff. After the explicit, the words *John Lidgatt* are written in Stow's hand. Complexions, or temperaments, were thought to derive from the humors and thus physiological traits were assumed to have a physical basis. The sanguine person, for example, is dominated by the blood and is cheerful and outgoing; compare Chaucer's description of the Franklin as sanguine (*CT* I[A]333) and the jolly Wife of Bath with her "reed of hewe" face (*CT* I[A]458).
- 219 ff. Written in Stow's hand after the explicit: John Lydgatt.
- 247 ff. Written in Stow's hand after the explicit: By Lydgatt.

282 *sterres sevyn*. A reference to the seven regularly visible stars of the Pleiades, the seven Ptolemaic planets, or the seven stars of Ursa Minor.

287 ff. Written in Stow's hand after the Amen: John Lydgat.

A PROCESSION OF CORPUS CHRISTI

The *Procession of Corpus Christi* is described by Shirley as "an ordenaunce of a precessyoun of the feste of corpus cristi made in london by daun John Lydegate." Although Shirley's headnote does not make clear whether it was the procession that took place in London or the writing of the poem, the verses are usually taken to refer to a procession in that city (but see Gibson, "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the *N-Town Cycle*," pp. 60–61, who notes that late medieval Bury had both an *interludium* and a procession of Corpus Christi, and Clopper, *Drama, Play, and Game*, p. 164, who thinks the verses are "a sermon, or 'process,' centered on imagined *figurae* or pictures of them" not a description of a procession).

The first stanza, which functions as a kind of introduction, announces that "Gracyous misteryes grounded in scripture" shall be "In youre presence fette out of fygure" and "declared by many unkouthe signe," and the final stanza repeats that "theos figures" were "shewed in youre presence," suggesting that the verses describe or usher in a series of tableaux of mostly biblical figures and Fathers of the Church. The remaining stanzas take up one figure each, giving a brief description and exhorting listeners to reflect on the meaning of each figure ("considerthe in youre ymaginatyf," line 10) the better to appreciate the significance of the feast day. Some of the stanzas contain what may be instructions for or descriptions of the figures and their tableaux (e.g., Ecclesiastes with his castle enclosed by a red cloud; Zacharia holding a censer), but it is difficult to say much about what the procession, if indeed that is what it was, looked like. The verses end with a note stating, "Shirley kouthe fynde no more of this copye," but whatever is lacking was probably brief, since the verses seem complete as is.

If the verses were linked to a London procession, the most likely candidate is the annual Corpus Christi procession of the Skinners' Company, which is referred to in Skinners' 1392 Company Charter and continued into the sixteenth century (A. Lancashire, London Civic Theatre, p. 277n43). Stow claimed that the procession passed through the main streets of the cities and included the skinners carrying wax torches, with more than 200 clerks and priests singing, followed by sheriffs, the mayor, aldermen, and others, accompanied by minstrels outfitted with wings (Survey of London, 1:230–31). A. Lancashire (London Civic Theatre, pp. 59-60) suggests that Stow may have been right in his assertion that the Skinners were connected with the Clerkenwell/Skinners' Well biblical play referred to in late fourteenthand early fifteenth-century records, and that their involvement turned at some point in the 1390s into their annual Corpus Christi procession. While Schirmer thought that the Procession was probably commissioned by Lydgate's monastery (John Lydgate, p. 175), A. Lancashire (London Civic Theatre, p. 126) raises the stronger possibility that the Skinners at some point asked Lydgate to record their procession, a possibility that gains additional weight from the fact that the Skinners' fraternity of Corpus Christi had links to royalty and nobility, including Lydgate's patrons Henry V, Henry VI, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (see Lambert, Records of the Skinners, p. 54). If the Skinners did make such a commission, it must have been before 1430, the completion date of Trinity R.3.20 in which the Procession appears.

A Procession of Corpus Christi survives in Trinity R.3.20 (1456?), pp. 349–56; Harley 2251, fols. 224b–227b (a manuscript based in part on R.3.20); and Stow's copy of R.3.20, Additional 29729, fols. 166r–168r; R.3.20 is the base text for this edition (*MP*, 1:35–43), collated with Harley 2251.

running titles: A procession of corpus christi by Lidegate / A procession of corpus / cristi / procession of corpus / christi feste by Ledegate / processione of corpus / cristi feste; not noted in MP.

- headnote *MED*, n. 10(a) defines *ordenaunce* as preparations or arrangements, but the meaning seems closer to "device" or even pageant; compare *Henry VI's Entry*, which Shirley describes as *ordenaunces* and Lydgate's reference to the pageantry of the 1432 entry as including *Noble devyses*, *dyvers ordenaunces / Conveyed by scripture* . . . (lines 66–67).
- 1 feste. I.e., the Feast of Corpus Christi, established by the Church in the early fourteenth century. The feast commemorates the institution of the Holy Eucharist and falls on the first Thursday following Trinity Sunday (anywhere from late May to late June). Corpus Christi was an important force in the development in the fourteenth-century of English cycle plays; see Mervyn James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body."
- 3 to governe us. While addressing his audience with the familiar and informal "you" and "youre," Lydgate also liberally uses "us" and "oure" to imagine a religious community into which he inserts himself as a member.
- In youre presence fette out of fygure. The meaning of this phrase is open to interpretation; it may refer to images or likenesses (fygure) brought forth (fette out; see MED, fetten v. 3) or, as Clopper believes, figures in the technical sense of figurae "demonstrated" for the audience (Drama, Play, and Game, p. 164n67). The references to Figure and liknesse (line 53) and divers likenesses (line 218) along with the insistence that these "figures" will be explained and shown in youre presence (lines 6 and 217) would seem to point to actual representations of some sort.
- Seothe and considerthe in youre ymaginatyf. A commonplace of meditational instruction; Clopper (*Drama, Play, and Game*, p. 164n67) notes that Lydgate stresses the role of memory in this meditation. Compare lines 17 (in youre inwarde entente), and 55 (oure inwarde sight).
- 11 Marginalia: Adam.
- Marginalia: *Melchisedech*. Melchizedek, who in Hebrews 7:3 is called is a king "without father or mother or genealogy," was seen as a type of Christ. In Genesis 14, he brings bread and wine to Abraham when Abraham returns from his battle with the four kings who besieged Sodom and Gomorrah; see the painting of the "Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek" (1464–67) by Dieric Bouts the Elder.
- 20 Steyned in Bosra. Literally, "dyed red in Bosra," a reference to Isaiah 63:1–7, where God returns from battle in a blood-stained robe; the passage was often interpreted as applying to the crucified Jesus.
- 25 Marginalia: Abraham.

Latin marginalia: Marcus.

Latin marginalia: hoc est corpus meum. [This is my body.]

129

135

29	Latin marginalia: ponam bucellam panis / Genesis xliii e . [And I will set a morsel of bread / Genesis 18(:5).]
33	Marginalia: Isaake.
35	Latin marginalia: <i>In pinguedinis terre et rore celi</i> . "In the fatness of the earth and the dew of heaven" (Genesis 27:28).
38–40	These lines refer to the Virgin Mary. The Rose of Jericho marked the spot where the Holy Family stopped to rest during their flight; in the Middle Ages, roses became associated with the Virgin, whose name (Maria) has five letters.
41	Marginalia: Jacob.
42	Latin marginalia: pinguis est panis Christi / Genesis xl. ix ^e . [The bread of Christ shall be fat / Genesis 49(:20).]
49	Marginalia: Moyses.
50	With goldin hornes. The Latin Vulgate's mistranslation of the Herbrew word qaran in Exodus 34:29 as "horns" rather than "rays" led to the Christian representation of Moses with a ram's horns.
51	<i>arche</i> . When Moses received the Ten Commandments, he also received instructions to build an ark in which to carry them; it was covered with gold and two cherubim were placed on top.
57	Marginalia: Aaron.
65	Marginalia: David.
73	Marginalia: Ecclesiaste.
73–74	<i>Ecclesiaste</i> / <i>With cloose castel besyde a clowde reed</i> . These lines seem to be instructions for or a description of the image of Ecclesiastes.
81	Marginalia: <i>Jeremye</i> . On the significance of depicting Jeremiah as carrying a chalice with "Greyne in the middes," see Aston, who notes that Christ was sometimes linked to grain, milling, grinding, flour and bread, especially in Corpus Christi rituals ("Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni," p. 28).
89	Marginalia: Ysayes.
97	Marginalia: Helyas.
105	Marginalia: <i>Zacharye</i> . As in the case of the image of Ecclesiastes, this line seems to be an instruction for or a description of the representation of Zacharia.
113	Marginalia: Baptist.
121	Marginalia: John Evangelist.
128	Latin marginalia: is est Jesus. [He is Jesus.]

- 137 Latin marginalia: Matheus.
- 145 Latin marginalia: *Lucas*.
- These lines refer to stipulations regulating who may receive the communion Host (i.e., only the pure). See 1 Corinthians 11: 27–29.
- Latin marginalia: *Paulus doctor gencium et apostolus* [Paul was a teacher of men and an apostle.]
- 161–62 Latin marginalia: Magister historiarum [Magister historiarum ("master of stories") usually refers to Peter Comestor, who appears later in the procession (see note to line 201 below); the gloss here should read Magister sententiarum, i.e., Peter Lombard (c. 1100–60), the scholastic theologian and author of four books known as the "Sentences."]
- Latin marginalia: *Jeronimus*. I.e., St. Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate.
- Here and in lines 210–16, Lydgate stresses the orthodox doctrine of transubstantiation (the belief that the substance of the bread and of the wine changes into the body and blood of Christ in the celebration of the Eucharist).
- 177 Latin marginalia: *Gregorius*.
- 185 Latin marginalia: Augustinus.
- Whan Cryste is ete.../ remedy geynst all our olde grevaunce / Brought ine by ... an appul smale. I have been unable to locate the precise passage in Augustine, though the idea is akin to On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism, where we are told that newborn infants bear the sins of Adam and "will not have life if they eat not the flesh of the Son of Man" (ch. 27); see also ch. 33 on remission of sin by drinking Christ's blood, or On the Psalms 49.3–6, where he argues that mankind is redeemed from the sins of Adam and Eve through the Eucharist.
- byting of an appul smale. A reference to the story of Adam and Eve's eating of the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden.
- 193 Latin marginalia: *Ambrosius*.
- langage laureate. Lerer (Chaucer and His Readers, pp. 47–48), noting Lydgate's tendency to use the French proclitic article before vowels (e.g., Lenvoy), suggests that sometimes laureate is probably l'aureate and that here the phrase should be langage aureate.
- 196–200 See Ambrose's De sacramentis, Patrologia Latina 16.
- Marginalia: *Maistre of storyes* [i.e., the French theological writer Peter Comestor (died c. 1178), author of the *Historia scholastica*, an important source of biblical history and Christian legend; see Harley MS 1704 (Halliwell, *Selection from the Minor Poems*, p. 268, note to p. 102)].
- 204 *pytee pleyning*. The lines suggest that the host contains within it a pietà, or image of the Virgin Mary lamenting the death of her son.
- 209 Latin marginalia: Thomas de Alquino.

- By divers likenesses you to doo plesaunce. While arguing that "shewed" (line 217) need mean nothing more than "presented" or "demonstrated," Clopper, Drama, Play, and Game, pp. 164–65, admits that "diuers likenesses" may suggest "something more tangible."
- 220 This bred of lyfe. I.e., the Eucharistic wafer.

SOTELTES AT THE CORONATION BANQUET OF HENRY VI

Sometime before November 6, 1429, Lydgate was apparently commissioned to write verses to accompany the subtleties served at the coronation banquet of Henry VI. Although the verses are not attributed to Lydgate in the surviving manuscripts, MacCracken thinks they are "certainly" by Lydgate, although he dates them to 1432 (MP, 1:xxviii and 2:623) on the grounds that they fit with the other poems Lydgate wrote for the coronation (the Prayer for King, Queen, and People; the Roundel for the Coronation of Henry VI; and the Ballade to King Henry VI upon His Coronation). There were three subtleties (miniature pageants made of confectionary) at the banquet: the first showed Saints Edward and Louis with Henry VI between them; the second featured Henry VI kneeling before Emperor Sigismund and Henry V; the third depicted the Virgin with child, holding a crown in her hand, flanked by Saints George and Denis, who present the kneeling king to her. Lydgate's verses probably accompanied each subtlety as a written text to explain the meaning of the image; A. Lancashire thinks the verses would probably also have been recited aloud so that everyone in the hall could hear them (London Civic Theatre, p. 125; for a subtlety with dialogue, at Ely in 1479, see I. Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records*, no. 642). Lydgate's verses seem to have been special expansions on the short "reasons" that typically accompanied subtleties, and were perhaps requested to enhance the effect, given the importance of the occasion. It is possible that Lydgate was responsible for the design of the subtleties (the "device"), but Kipling believes someone else decided on the emblematic subject matter that the artisans and cooks created and Lydgate was merely assigned the task of writing the accompanying verses or "scriptures" ("Poet as Deviser," p. 83).

While the occasion was royal, civic and religious leaders would have been present for the banquet (according to one chronicler, Queen Catherine's coronation banquet in 1421 was "opyn to alle pepull" [*The Brut*, p. 427]), and Lydgate's verses touch on themes that would be of concern to all, particularly the vexed issue of the legitimacy of the dual monarchy (see McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy," p. 157) and Henry's youth. Lydgate stresses the king's French heritage and his father's friendship with Emperor Sigismund, which as Griffiths notes was a reminder of "the Lancastrian *imperium* into which Henry VI was now entering" (*Reign of King Henry VI*, p. 190), while also advocating a tough line against heretics and invoking various protectors for the young king, including the patron saints of England and France.

Soteltes survives in six manuscripts and in an altered version in Fabyan's New Chronicles (1516). BL MS Cotton Julius B.i., fols. 79r–80r is the base text for this edition (MP, 2:623–24), collated (Lydgate's stanzas only) with BL MS Lansdowne 285, fols. 5v–7v.

headnote This manuscript version is a chronicle that preserves the description of the courses and subtleties as well as Lydgate's eight-line verses. John Russell, who was usher to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in his *Boke of Nurture* (lines 719–94) describes how to serve meals that include subtleties. Subtleties were presumably

- meant to be eaten: at Windsor in May of 1416, during the visit of Emperor Sigismund, three elaborate subtleties were served to Henry V and the emperor, while the other lords were served subtleties suited to their rank (see BL MS Cotton Julius B.i, fol. 39a). See the recent discussion of the verses and banquet by Epstein, "Eating."
- The appearance of the monarch-saints Edward and Louis underscores Henry VI's supposed hereditary right to the thrones of both England and France. Compare Lydgate's "Title and Pedigree" (*MP* 2:613–22).
- The claim that Henry VI is the inheritor of the fleur-de-lys is an attempt to assert the legitimacy of his rule over France.
- Lansdowne 285 (1450–75) substitutes "N" (presumably for the Latin word "nomen") for the name of Henry VI in this line and for Henry V in line 20, possibly as a way of recycling the verses for other use. Compare the *Prayer for King, Queen, and People*, which in some manuscript versions has been altered to use for Edward IV (*MP* 1:215).
- 9–13 The reference is to Sigismund's actions against the Hussites and to Henry V's against the Oldcastle Lollard plot of of 1413, both instances in which heterodox threats were suppressed. Also see the *Ballade to King Henry VI on His Coronation*, lines 81–88, for the use of the same figures and theme. For Lydgate's attitude towards heretics, see Brie, "Mittelalter und Antike bei Lydgate," p. 275.
- 18–19 Saints George and Denis were the patron saints of England and France, respectively. During the first course, Philip Dymmock rode into the hall costumed like St. George and declared himself the king's champion (see *PPC*, 3:6–7, and *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, p. 168).
- 22 His tendre yougth. Henry was barely eight years old at his coronation.
- The last lines stress Henry VI's claim by birth and "title of right" to rule over England and France.



ABBREVIATIONS: A: Additional 29729 (Stow's copy of R.3.20); B: Bodley Ashmole 59, copy text for the *Mumming at Bishopswood*; Bo: Bodley 2527 (Bodley 686); C: Trinity R.3.19; CC: Cotton Cleopatra C.iv; F: Bodley Fairfax 16; H: Harley 2251; Ha: Harley 565; Hb: Harley 2255; Ji: Cotton Julius B.i, copy text for the *Sotelles*; Jii: Cotton Julius B.ii, copy text for *King Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London*; L: Lansdowne 285; M: MacCracken's 1934 edition; R: Trinity R.3.21, copy text for the *Pageant of Knowledge*; T: Trinity R.3.20, copy text for all of the disguisings and mummings except *Bishopswood*, and for *Bycorne and Chychevache*, the *Procession of Corpus Christi*, and *Of the Sodein Fall of Princes*.

BYCORNE AND CHYCHEVACHE

headnote	Omitted in C and H; headings of stanzas omitted in C and poem is
	untitled, but is laid out with indented stanzas and marginal notes
	supplied by Stow. M claims that C contains the running titles the
	couronne of disguysinges contrived by Daun Iohan Lidegate / The maner of
	straunge desguysinges, the gyse of a mummynge, but no such titles are
	visible on the manuscript today.
5	C and H omit of in phrase of theyre stryves.
6	derrain. C reads durayne.
8-21	T transposes these two stanzas, but uses a and b notation in the margin
	to indicate that they should be in the order shown here and in M. C
	also transposes the two stanzas, without noting any correction.
10	us. Omitted in C; here. Omitted in H.
	to forne. C reads beforne and H, beforn.
13	sentence. M's emendation; T reads setence.
14	or thorughe. C reads and thorough.
15	For. C reads Furst.
16	Wil noon other. C reads Wyll have noon.
17	men. M claims H reads husks, but the manuscript omits men and inserts
	above the line something that may be husbandes.
20	Be. C reads Byn.
	not. M erroneously claims T omits.
21	lak. M's emendation, as well as the reading in C and H; T reads luk.
28	nat. M's emendation; T omits.
33	I beshrewe. C reads I theym beshrew.

136	LYDGATE'S MUMMINGS AND ENTERTAINMENTS
35	nought. C reads nat to.
36	foode. M's emendation; T reads foote.
37	not tarye. C and H read nat to tarye.
38	whiche ther living. C reads whyche beth here lyvyng.
46	no gayne. C reads nothing.
	us may. C and H read may us.
48	which theyre lyves. C reads of her lyfes.
67	no maner. C and H read in no maner.
75	voydethe. C reads and voyde.
76	Or. C reads For.
79	sklendre. M erroneously says that H reads tendre, but it is C.
91	Amorowe. C reads To morow.
97	sought. C omits and inserts goo above the line.
98	yit oone. C reads oone lyke.
100	go. C and H read ago.
102	no more. C reads any more.
109	beest. C omits.
111	a. C reads another.
114	ful. C reads suche.
115	of. C reads by .
116	In T, a later hand inserts forever before Pacyence. H reads forever pacience.
118	fayle. C reads to fayle.
120	longe. C reads full long.
132	bytwixen. M's emendation; T reads bytwix.
133	Lynkeld. C reads lynked.
explicit	After the explicit, C includes the note: Compilyd by John Ludgate monke of berye at the request of a worthye cyttesyne of London to be paynted in a parlor (fol. 159r).

DISGUISING AT HERTFORD

Before 1, s.d.	compleyning. M reads compleynyng.
5	vigyle. A reads begyninge.
6	froward of ther chere. Missing from T (torn leaf); M supplies from A.
7	fallen on ther kne. Missing from T (torn leaf); M supplies from A.
11	endured. A reads endued.
14	unremuwable. A reads vuneriable.
17	yonge. M's emendation; T reads yong.
35	hungry. A reads hugely.
42	hir. A reads his.
43	hir. A reads he.
53	bloode. M's transcription; T reads blood.
63	felt. M reads felte.
116	wyres. A reads wynes.

133	dotardes. A reads dastardes.
157	Seothe. A reads Soth.
166	darrein. Not clear in A.
169	or. M's emendation based on A; T reads of.
184	strowtethe. A reads straweth.
186	bakoun. M claims that A reads babeenu, but it looks like bakoun to me.
195	sory. A reads sorowe.
215	mooste. M reads moost.
223	stryf. M reads stryffe.
239	nexste. M's emendation; T reads nexst.
rubric	herde, the kyng givethe. A reads hard the kynge and gave.

DISGUISING AT LONDON

11	pleyne. A reads pleynly.
30	fordoothe. A reads for dereth.
86	manny. M's emendation; T and A read mannys.
102	eeke of. A reads of all.
115	was. Omitted in T and A; added by M.
118	his pruyde. T and A read: hir pruyde.
169	at. Omitted in T and A; added by M.
170	hir. M's emendation; T and A read his.
178	al kyns meede. A reads all hines nede.
183	yore agoone. A reads thor agone.
190	bothen. A reads boden.
261	chaumpyounes. M's emendation; T and A read chaumpyouns.
266	I. M's emendation; T and A read $In.$
278	not. A reads it.

HENRY VI'S TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO LONDON

headnote	Omitted in Ha; CC reads Pur le Roy. Ordynauncez.
2	eronne. Ha reads ronne (not noted by M); CC reads croune.
6	shewed. Ha reads shed.
8	reyne. Ha reads reynes.
	hevynesse. CC reads highnes.
9	olde. Omitted in Ha.
12	dissent. Ha reads assent.
13	hevene. Ha reads even.
19	eyre. Ha reads erthe.
26	the. CC and Ha read this.
32	colour. Ha reads colour of.
34	well. Ha reads were wel.
	made. Ha reads and mad.

138	Lydgate's Mummings and Entertainments
40	dyde. M's emendation; Jii reads dyd .
45	the. Omitted in CC and Ha.
46	gladde. Ha reads clad.
55	theire. Ha reads the.
56	the kyng. Omitted in CC.
62	konnyngly abrayde. CC reads knouyngly abbarayd.
prose	God. Ha reads Almyghty god.
prose	arenyng. Ha reads athenyng.
	Beseching. Ha reads besechynge of; not noted by M.
65–66	These lines are reversed in Jii.
66	dyvers. Jii reads dyverser.
69	shall yt. Ha reads it schal.
71	he passed was. Ha reads they passyd (M: passed) was.
72	town. M's emendation as well as the reading in Ha; Jii reads Citee.
82	a scripture. Ha reads a long scripture.
84	Some of the marginal rubrics are positioned above stanzas in Ha.
85	Alle tho that ben. CC reads Also that beth.
91	of the. Ha reads of this.
96	and. Ha reads of mis.
97	mow ryde or. Ha reads myghte ryden and; CC reads mowgh ride and.
102	yitt. M's emendation; Jii reads yutt.
103	velvettes. CC reads welvettes. Ha reads velwetty.
106	beauté. M mistakenly claims that Ha reads Benygne.
109	here. Ha reads his.
111	gaf. Jii reads yaf.
113	called was. Ha reads was callyd.
116–17	These lines are transposed in Jii; M mistakenly claims they are transposed in Ha.
119	komyth. Ha reads com.
120	of grete. CC reads of the grete.
123	to. M mistakenly claims omitted in CC.
124	holdeth. CC reads haldith; Ha reads halt.
127	shulde. Ha reads shal.
	contune. M's emendation, following Ha; Jii reads continue. MacCracken notes that contune is Lydgate's regular spelling (see "King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 83n4).
130	Apperyng to hym. CC reads To apperyng him; M claims Ha reads Tokyne aperyng, but it actually reads To hym aperyng.
132	Grace lyst to. Ha reads lust.
134 ff.	Rubrics in left margin in Jii not noted by M: Nature / Grace and / Fortune.
137	hyhnesse. Ha reads hignesse.
138	termyne. Ha reads determyne.
144	this. Omitted in CC.
146	joyfully. So Jii. M emends to ioyfully.

148	undirstonde. Ha reads understondith.
155	thes emperesses. CC reads this Empresse.
158	cornall. Ha reads crownall.
164	an. CC reads in.
168	at komyng of. Ha reads at the comyng; CC reads at comyn.
169	of. Ha reads on.
172	theym thouht. Ha reads thei thought.
	unto hem. Ha reads to hem.
175	include. Ha reads includyd.
	thes giftes. Ha reads the gyftes.
183	unto thy moste vaylle. Ha reads to thi moost availe.
185	of strenth. CC reads a strength.
186	and. Ha reads and of.
192	attendaunce. CC reads attendaunt.
196	theire. CC reads thre.
198	septre. Ha reads a septre.
199	swerde. Ha reads sheld.
	myht. Ha reads right.
202	encrees. CC reads encreses.
206	othir. CC reads ther; Ha reads here.
216	of herte. CC reads offte hert.
217	ye be. Ha reads oure joye.
219	now. Ha reads newe.
222	Line omitted in Ha, but indicated in margin by the words <i>Soverayn Lord</i> .
232	callyd. Omitted in CC.
236	hire. Ha reads his.
240	hire. Ha reads here ek.
241	moste clerkely. Ha reads so clerkly.
244	voyde. Ha reads royde.
248	scolers. Ha reads clerkes.
249	eke. Ha reads we.
250	at komyng of the. Ha reads at the comynge of oure.
255	stode. CC reads tooke.
258	called. Ha reads callyd dame.
270	hyh. Ha reads highe.
273	upon. M's emendation; Jii reads on.
279	figured. Ha reads asgnyd.
281	shall nat feyne. CC reads schuld not fayle.
283	Clemens. CC reads clennes.
287	kepyn. CC reads kepyng.
288	kepte. Ha reads kepit.
291	sayde. Omitted in Ha.
292	prosperytee. Ha reads felicite.
293	afore. Ha reads afore also.

297–98	M's emendation following Ha; Jii and CC read Honour of kyng which I shall expresse / With this scripture in every mannes siht. Ha omits I; CC
201	transposes 297–98.
301	geve. Ha reads gif us.
302	and thy. M claims H inserts and thi, but H follows Jii.
303	The. Ha reads To the. his. M's emendation; Jii reads hie.
306	in lawe. CC reads in the lawe.
307	Chepe. M's emendation, following Ha; Jii and CC read into Chepe. anoon. Omitted in CC.
309	the. CC reads to.
313	was. CC and Ha read were.
314	that. Omitted in CC.
315	welle. CC reads well.
316	Bachus. CC reads bochous.
320	Shewed. Ha and CC read shedde.
321	of recreacioun. M's emendation, following Ha; Jii reads of grete recreacioun.
322	alle. Omitted in Ha.
323	Unto the Kyng of famous and hyh. Ha reads Into the kyngges famous high. and. CC reads of.
324	us. Omitted in CC and Ha.
329	wyn up. CC reads of wyne up; Ha reads up wynes of.
332	hire. CC reads the.
335	by. Ha reads of.
337	cristallyne. M's emendation, following CC (as he notes in "King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 90n1); Jii reads cristall.
339	blymsith. CC reads blemeshith (M transcribes CC's reading as blemishith).
340	Convenable. Ha reads Conable.
342	take. Ha reads tok.
350	of yeer. Ha reads of the yeer.
356	the fruytes which. Ha reads othere frutis whiche (M transcribes as whice).
357	and. MacCracken notes that CC reads <i>etiam</i> (abbreviated), perhaps pointing to a copy of this list in Latin, which Lydgate used ("King Henry's Triumphal Entry," p. 90n2); note, however, that elsewhere CC employs the same abbreviation for <i>and</i> .
364	Alle. CC reads And.
366	of. Omitted in Ha.
372	in. Ha reads on.
373	that. Omitted in Ha.
378	Seyde well devoutly. Ha reads wel devoutly seyde.
380	in erthe levyng. Ha reads in erthe here.
382	specially. Ha reads special.
384	at fronteur. Ha reads at the frontour.

388	curen. M claims that CC reads ouryn, but it appears to me to be curen.
	langour. CC reads langures.
390	avoydyng. M's emendation; Jii reads avoydoying.
392	clene. Ha reads clere.
396	notable. CC reads noble.
397	This. Ha reads The.
398	upriht. M emends to up-[a]riht.
401	by lynes. Omitted in Ha.
402	and. Omitted in Ha.
405	pedegree. M's emendation, following Ha; Jii reads degree.
412	on the tothir. CC reads unto the thoder.
415	crounyd first. Ha reads first crounyd.
416	myht. So Jii. M emends to myhte. Ha reads myghte.
417	in. Omitted in Ha.
423	of. CC reads be.
424	to excuse. Ha reads for to excuse.
428	Conduyt a liht. Ha reads the conduyt he light; CC reads a lytell.
432	wern. Ha reads was; CC reads were.
433	goven. Jii reads yoven.
434	Wrete. M claims that Ha reads Wrethe, but it is actually Wreten.
	hyhe. M's emendation; Jii reads hyh; Ha reads highe (M transcribes as
	hize).
436	M, following Ha and CC, inserts <i>sure</i> after <i>kyng</i> ; omitted in Jii.
438	sprede and shyne. Ha reads shyne and sprede.
439	And. Omitted in Ha.
	his. CC reads these.
440	CC contains the Latin marginalia: Longitudinorem repletem et ostendet illi
	saltare imem (not noted by M).
442	M, following Ha, inserts many after lengthe off.
445	And. Omitted in Ha.
446	thurh. CC reads thorow oute; Ha reads thorugh out.
448	pees. CC reads Pees and.
450	contune. M's emendation; Jii reads cotune.
451	Meire. CC reads mayer; Ha reads mair.
453	With how good will. M's emendation, following Ha; Jii reads Heer good wille; CC reads Here god woll.
455	Entryng. CC reads Entered.
463	CC reads For of dewete (M misnumbers the line [to 462] and mistakenly
	claims that CC reads dew os).
475	alle. M's emendation; Jii deletes al.
478	septre. Ha reads scripture.
479	it. Ha reads he .
481	the Kyng. CC reads he.
483	Tyl. Ha reads Til that.

142	Lydgate's Mummings and Entertainments
485	the. Ha reads all the.
486	Thanked. Ha reads Thankynge.
489	this ys. Ha reads this it; the omitted in Ha.
491	M, following Ha, inserts anon after kyng.
494	this. Ha reads this thing.
499	Kyng. So Jii. M emends to King.
500	theire asking. Ha reads there a thyng.
502	to. Omitted in CC and Ha.
505	yclosyd. CC and Ha read $closyd$.
prose	otherwyse cleped. Ha reads otherwise callid.
	to youre. CC reads unto youre.
	a goode wille. Ha reads as good awille.
	of trouthe. of omitted in Ha.
510	In margin of CC and Ha: Verba translatoris.
514	thy. Ha reads the.
517	nevere. CC reads nat; omitted in Ha.
518	surplusage. M's emendation; Jii and Ha read surpluage.
522	the. Ha reads his; omitted in CC.
530	thee. CC reads it.
530a	L'envoye. Omitted in CC.
531	unto. Ha reads into.
532	to. Ha reads unto.
536	in. Ha reads in the.
537	yow. Omitted in Ha.
	There is no colophon in Jii. CC reads <i>Deo gracias</i> ; Ha reads <i>Here endith</i> the makyng of the comynge of the kyng out of fraunce to London, Be the monk of Bery. Deo Gracias.

THE LEGEND OF ST. GEORGE

headnote	R lacks headnote and line The poete first declarethe (an omission not noted
	by M). T reads thee poete.
1	yee folk that heer present be. R reads Ye folke all whyche here in presence; Bo
	reads folkes.
2	story shal. R reads history shull.
4–5	These lines are transposed in R.
4	His. R reads Of hys.
	and his. R reads and of hys.
	passyoun. M reads passyon.
5	is. R reads ys oure.
7	Englisshe. R reads englysshe.
8	sithen goon ful yoore. Bo reads sithen gon ful yoore; T reads goon sithen ful
	yoore; R reads syth ago (M: agon) nat full yore.
10	b'assent. Bo reads by assent; R reads by lordys assent.

	W. J D and b W. J
1.1	Wyndesore. R reads Wyndsore.
11	th'ordre. Bo reads the ordre; R reads the Ordre.
	first. Omitted in R.
10	gartier. R reads Gartere.
12	ay. R reads euer; Bo reads fro.
13	Foure and twenty. Bo reads xxiiii ^{le} .
14	ther. Bo reads the; R reads hys.
15	interpretacioun. Bo reads interupcioun.
16	Is sayde. M's emendation; Bo reads Is seid; R reads Ys seyde; T omits Is.
	of tweyne. R reads for tweyne.
	the first. M's emendation, following Bo; the omitted in T and R.
17	And the secound. Bo reads So the secound; R reads The secund. M mistakenly claims T reads And of secound.
18	As. R reads And as.
	that. Bo reads one; M mistakenly claims R reads one.
	for. Omitted in Bo and R.
19	feond. Bo reads devel; R reads devyll.
	manhoode. R inserts hys before manhoode; Bo reads maydynhode.
20	Crystes. R reads hys; Bo reads kristes.
	knyght. M reads knight.
21	bright. R inserts full before bryght.
23	story. R reads history.
	to. Omitted in Bo.
	endyte. R reads endure.
24	to. Bo reads in.
25	And. R reads And he.
	he gaf. R reads gan (M, mistakenly: gaf); Bo reads he gan.
	himself. R omits self.
26	Frome. Bo reads Fro.
27	so gynnyng. R reads he gan.
31	noblesse. Bo reads nobelnesse; R reads nobyles.
34	swerd. R reads the swerd.
35	The. Omitted in Bo.
	and of. Bo reads and.
rubric	At the top of p. 315 in R is written in Stow's hand: The lyfe of saynt gorge compyled by John ludgate monke of bery at the request of the armerers of london to peynt about ther haulle.
36	aventure is falle. Bo reads adventure is byfalle.
38	whiche. Bo reads which that.
30	Lybye. R reads lyby; Bo reads lybie.
20	
39	a. R reads the.
41	Lysseene. R reads lysene; Bo reads lessene. monstruous. Bo reads monstrous.
41	
43	qweene. M reads queene.

	taken. M's emendation, following the reading in Bo. T and R read takyng.
44	sodeyne wooful. Bo reads sodeyne ooful; R reads wofull and sodayne.
45	aventure. R reads adventure.
45	fellen. Bo reads fallyng; R reads fyll.
46	that. Omitted in Bo and R.
4 =	stonde. Bo reads stode; R reads stood.
47	As. R reads And.
4.0	not. Omitted in R.
48	assaute. Bo reads the assent.
	felle. R reads foule.
49	theyre. R reads that.
50	But. R reads Then.
	theyre. Bo and R read the.
51	that. Omitted in Bo and R.
53	this beest foule and abhomynable. R reads thys foule beest that was so abhomynable.
54	staunche. R reads withdrawe.
	which. M reads whiche.
	which was. Omitted in R.
56	nuwe. R reads nede.
	more. Bo and R read for more.
57	ne. Bo reads nor.
59	Thane. Bo reads When.
	tooke. Bo reads token.
	other. Bo and R read or.
60-61	These lines are transposed in R.
61	Lyche. Bo and R read Like.
	by. Bo reads ther.
	chaunce. M claims T reads launce and so emends following Bo, but T
	actually reads <i>chaunce</i> .
62	to. Omitted in R.
63	that citee. R reads the cyte.
66	Touchant. Bo reads Touching; R reads Towchyng.
	that foule. R omits that.
67	Eche. Bo and R read Every.
	maner. Omitted in R.
68	devoured. M reads devoured.
69	at the last. Bo reads atte last.
70	right. Omitted in Bo and R.
71	she. M reads sche.
	nexst. Omitted in Bo and R.
72	so. Omitted in Bo and R.
_	helpe. Bo reads ther helpe; R reads ther help. M reads helpe.

73	But to beo sent. R reads And by oon assent.
73	to. Omitted in Bo.
74	quakyng. R reads stondyng.
, 1	hir. R reads gret.
75	Upon. R reads In.
13	shee did. R reads dyd she.
76	hir. R reads and hir.
70 77	so. Omitted in Bo and R.
78	
78 79	oute goyng. R reads goyng out. al. Omitted in R.
80	In. Bo reads with.
80	
81	with stoones. R reads with preciouse stoones.
83	ful sheene. Omitted in R.
63	frome. Bo reads fro. In Pathis line reads Prought the day by god for her defence (M transcribes as
	In R this line reads Brought thedyr by god for her defence (M transcribes as
0.4	hyr diffence).
84	Ageynst. Bo reads Agayn; R reads Agayne.
85	owen. Omitted in R.
86	knight. M reads knyght.
87	a ryal. Bo reads ariol.
07	Which. R reads The whyche.
88	mayde. M reads mayden.
00	Of. R reads With gret.
80	grete. M's emendation, following the reading in Bo; T reads gret.
89	quod. R reads seyde.
00	takethe. Bo reads toke; R reads tooke.
90	And. Omitted in Bo and R.
	fleen. R reads fle in hast.
09	hir. Bo reads his.
93	eeke. Omitted in Bo; R reads gret.
95	cheekys. Bo reads chekyns.
o.c	reyne and royle adowne. R reads royall and so ren a downe.
96	Thought. R reads And thought.
07	beon. Bo and R read be.
97	nor. R reads ne; Bo reads for.
0.0	to. Omitted in Bo and R.
98	jupart. R reads gepart; Bo reads inparte.
99	smote on. M's interpolation from Bo and R; T is indeciperable.
101	And towardes. R reads Then toward.
102	with outen. Bo reads withoute.
103	Avysyly of witt he tooke. R reads Avysydly with all wyt and toke.
104	kene. R reads kenely.
105	egrounde. Bo and R read grounde.
105	the body. Bo reads his body.

	the feonde. M's interpolation from Bo and R; the is faded in T.
107	maked. Bo and R read makyng.
109	debonayre. Bo and R read a benyngne.
112	in thyn hande. Bo reads on the grounde.
115	she gan. Bo reads gan she.
116	
110	ouggely. Bo reads Owgle. For this line R reads With thys vyle monstre whyche durst nat abrey.
117	mayden. Bo and R read mayde.
117	gan. R reads dyd.
118	That whane. R reads Of the whyche.
110	hade. Bo reads hed.
119	banner. Bo reads laurer.
113	goothe. Bo and R read goth a.
120	Giving. T reads Yiving.
140	him. Bo reads hem.
	the. Omitted in R.
	of this. Bo reads of his; R reads and the.
122	his. R reads theyre.
123	a swerde. Bo reads aswere.
124	alwey taking ful goode heed. R reads awayted and sawe thys gret dede.
141	goode. M reads good.
126	thorughe. Bo reads thorgh.
129	hem. Omitted in R.
131	th'errour. Bo reads there erroure; R reads errour.
131	conversyoun. R reads conversacioune.
132	hem. R reads theym.
134	the kyng and the cyté. R reads kyng and cyte.
134	in honnour. Bo reads in the honnour.
137	and. Omitted in R.
138	For this line, Bo reads Mydde of the which ther sprong up anon right; R
130	reads Mydde of the churche there sprang anon right.
	up. M's emendation from Bo; omitted from T and R.
140	seek. Bo reads sike.
110	For this line, R reads Every day to her servyce whych ys dyvyne.
141	thanne. Omitted in Bo.
111	gan the. R reads gan then.
143	above al other. Bo and R read over al.
144	have ever. Bo reads have; R reads to have.
146	on poore, and first. R reads the poore and furst.
110	first. Omitted in T; M's emendation, following Bo's reading.
147	For this line, Bo and R read Every day to here service which is devyne.
11/	here. M's emendation, following the readings in Bo and R; T reads hir.
148	This. Bo and R read The.
110	telle. Bo and R read tell.
	iono. Do ana K icaa ion.

149	Ageynst. Bo reads Agayn.
150	Theodacyan. R reads Aras Dacian; Bo reads Dacian.
151–52	These lines are transposed in T.
151	paynyme. R reads paynyms.
101	a. Omitted in R.
152	to. Omitted in Bo.
153	Cryst. R reads the churche.
100	his. R reads the.
154	With. R reads By.
101	his. Omitted in R.
155	that. Omitted in Bo and R.
100	hereof. R reads therof.
157	of. Omitted in T and Bo; M's emendation, following R.
107	knightly. R reads knightes.
160	he. Omitted in Bo.
161	Oon. Bo reads O.
101	on. Bo reads on thi.
162	false. M's emendation, following R; T and Bo read fals.
163	Comaunded. M reads Commaunded.
100	hathe. Omitted in R.
	be. R reads were.
164	broughte. M reads brought.
165	that. Omitted in Bo.
166	he ne liste noo delayes maake. R reads he lyst nat any delayes to make.
	liste. M's emendation, following Bo; T reads list.
167	Aunswerd. R reads Assuryd.
168	lawe. R reads feythe.
	declyne. M's emendation, following Bo and R; T reads enclyne.
171	upon. Bo and R read on.
172	scowrges beet. Bo reads skorged; R reads be scourged.
	ful feele. R reads foule.
174	sydes. M reads sides.
	not hees. R reads with.
	hees. M reads hes.
175	opende. Bo reads open; R omits (M mistakenly claims R reads our).
	salt. R reads with salt.
176	For this line, Bo reads The nyght after criste dede him appere and R reads
	The nyght after cryst dyd to him appere.
177	to. Omitted in R.
	coumfort. R reads recomforte.
178	And beed. Bo reads Bad; R reads Bade.
	with goode. Bo reads with ful gode.
180	victor. R reads vyctory.
	schal. R reads shuld.

	report. Bo reads resorte.
181	and. Omitted in R.
	wynnen. R reads wynnyng.
184	venyme. R reads poyson.
	b'enchauntement. Bo reads by ente; R reads by enchauntement.
188	Saughe ageyne. R reads Sy that ayenst.
190	Axethe. Bo reads And axeth; R reads And askyd.
191	bytwix. Bo and R read betwyxt.
192	false. M's emendation, following R; T and Bo read fals.
	voyde. Bo reads fals.
193	shuld. M's emendation, following R; omitted in Bo and T.
194	roose. M's emendation. T reads roos; R reads roose; Bo reads ros.
196	that. R reads whyche.
197	cruwel. R reads full cruell.
198	For this line, R reads Thought hym on a new wyse in Angor and tene.
199	Reysed. R reads And reysed.
	aloft. Bo reads on lofte.
200	grounden. Bo reads grounde; omitted in R.
201	moost. R reads ful.
202	Tourned. R reads Was turnyd.
	that. R reads theyr.
	rage. T reads raige?
203	tobraake. R reads braste.
204	Eeke. R reads Also.
205	eplounged. Bo reads plunched; R reads ploungyd.
206	withouten. R reads without; Bo reads withoute.
208	This line is omitted in T; M's interpolation, following Bo and R.
	liche. R reads lyke; Bo reads lych.
	bath. R reads bathe
	consolacioun. Bo reads consulacioun.
210	al. R reads that.
211	eeke. Omitted in R.
	the story. R reads as the hystory.
213	Of. R reads And of.
	have. Omitted in R.
214	theyre. Bo reads hir.
	can. Bo reads hath; R reads dyd.
215	oure. R reads youre.
216	frome. Bo reads of.
217	till. Bo and R read to.
220	Alexandrea. Bo and R read Alexandria.
	of. Omitted in R.
221	al hir fals creaunce. R reads all myscreaunce.
224	starf. R reads hyng.

225	thanne. Omitted in R.
	by ful mortal. Bo reads a ful mortal; R reads by a mortall.
227	be. M's emendation, following Bo and R; T reads he.
229	Line omitted in T.
	He to ben heveded. R reads For to behedyd.
	cruwel. Bo reads cruel.
230	thus. Bo reads this.
231	hem. R reads theym.
232	Bo contains the marginal note Qualiter Georgius oravit.
	quod. R reads quoth.
	thou. Omitted in Bo and R.
233	unto thee. R reads to thy.
234	That alle. R reads All the (M: tho); Bo reads That alle the.
238	Al. Omitted from Bo and R.
240	frome. Bo reads fro. M reads from.
	the hye. Omitted in R.
241	that. Omitted in Bo and R.
244	unwarly by. R reads merveloulsy by a .
245	hoome. R reads hem.
	Colophon in Bo reads Here endeth the lyfe of seynt George; in R it reads Explicit vita sancti Georgii Martiris. In T: Explicit.

MESURE IS TRESOUR

3	<i>lyfe</i> . M's emendation. Hb reads <i>lyf</i> .
6	hyh. M reads $hyll$.
21	with cost. Hb reads with with cost.
24	there. M reads ther.
25	emperours. M's emendation; Hb reads empours
45	devisioun. M reads divisioun.
50	folk. M reads folke.
55	bryngen. M's emendation; Hb reads brynge.
91	<i>hom</i> . M's emendation; Hb reads <i>hem</i> .
131	Isaak. M reads Isaac.
132	shepperdys. M reads shepperdws.

MUMMING AT BISHOPSWOOD

- 2 hast. Stow silently emends to hath (Survey, p. 100); Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 124) notes that Shirley has misread p in his exemplar as long st, on the assumption that Flora is in the vocative and the verb should thus be second person singular.
- 4 sonne. M's emendation; B reads sonnes.

10	trascende. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 124), emends to transcend, on the assumption that B has omitted the stroke over the a, and following Stow (Survey, 100), who silently expands to "transcends." Under transcenden v., the MED lists trascender as a variant form and suggests that "it may show the influence of ME ascenden," but since Bishopswood is the sole example it cites, Norton-Smith's conjecture may be correct.
23	payne. M prints as payne, but B reads peyne, as Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 7), agrees.
24	sugre. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 7) emends to sugred, a favorite past participial adjective of Lydgate's, on the grounds that if sugre is correct, this attributive use of the noun would be unique (125). But the MED cites several examples of the adjectival use of sugre, as here (see sugre, n. [i]).
27	morwenyng. M's emendation; B reads morowneydge.
44	Flowres. M's emendation; B reads fowers.
46	blosme. M's emendation; omitted in B.
53	constreynen. M's emendation; B reads consteynen.
55	beo. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 125) emends to have to suit
	the sense of the line that judges protect the commons.
58	parseveraunce. M's emendation; erasure in B.
59	vertue. M's emendation; B repeats parseveraunce from the preceding line, with something written over it that seems to end in [tu]; Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 8) emends to hir [vertu].
70	Represse the derknesse. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 8) omits the.
73	hert. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 9) emends to herte.
87	And foolis. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 9), inserts [smale] before foolis.
88	ermonye. My emendation; M follows B's reading of enemye, which is written over an erasure. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 125) also emends to ermonye, reasoning that Shirley's exemplar probably read "ermonye" but that the contraction for r disappeared from the first e, the second e is a misreading of o, and m and n have been transposed.
91	shoures. M's emendation; B repeats odoures from the preceding line.
92	Topyted. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p.125) emends to Tapyted; compare Troy Book 1659 ff. and 1.2611, where Lydgate imitates Chaucer (see the Book of the Duchess, 258 ff.). The MED cites this line from Bishopswood as the sole example under the verb topiten.
95	And. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p.10) emends to Whan, and prints the whole line as: Whan firy Tytan shews h[i]s tresses sheene.
104	heos. Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 10) prints as h[i]s.
-01	1. of con officer Lyagare. I be me, p. 10) printe de mejo.

MUMMING AT ELTHAM

13	youre. M reads Houre.
14	with. A reads and.
16	Gaf. A reads of (the G is struck through).
23	lordshipethe. A reads lorshipe.
25	stint. A reads stinte.
28	and. A reads with.
45	hir. A reads his.
	A miscopies line 48 here, strikes it out, and renumbers lines in correct order; not noted by M.
	T reads <i>This God, this Goddesse, also theyre gyfftes dresse / In goodely wyse of entent ful goode</i> , marked by <i>b</i> and <i>a</i> corrections indicating the phrases should be transposed; not noted by M. A copies the incorrect version, then corrects.
57	theyre. A reads gyve; not noted by M.
60	remuwe. M's emendation; T reads renuwe and A reads renewe.
	hir. A reads ther; not noted by M.
65	T reads <i>texyle al hevynesse awaye</i> , with a superscript <i>b</i> after <i>texyle</i> and superscript <i>a</i> after <i>hevynesse</i> , indicating that the two words should be reversed. A reads <i>texyle</i> .
66	awaye. Not noted by M. eeke. Not in T or A; added by M.
68	grounded in. Now missing in T (torn leaf), but supplied by A (from
00	another manuscript, according to M).
69	refrete, yif yowe list. Missing in T (torn leaf), but supplied by A (from another manuscript, according to M).
70	encresse joye and gladnesse of hert. Missing in T (torn leaf), but supplied by A (from another manuscript, according to M).
76	yif yee. A reads give.
77	and. Omitted in T and A; added by M.
82	Ceres. T reads Cerces.
84	and. Omitted in T and A; added by M.

MUMMING AT WINDSOR

5	mescreaunce. A reads mestraunce.
23	wacche. A reads wacchinge; not noted by M.
53	Whas. A reads was.
71	Th'aumpolle. M reads Pampolle.
78	yit. A reads ther.

MUMMING FOR THE GOLDSMITHS OF LONDON

headnote	In A, the headnote reads: Here followythe a lettar made by John Lidgat for a momanynge, whiche the goldsmythes of london shewyd before Eestfyld the mayr on candylmas [M: Condylmas] day at nyght. this letar was presentyd by an harold callyd fortune.
3	the bookes. A reads as boks.
10	Fro. M's emendation; T reads for.
27	eure. A reads ende.
68	citeseyns. A reads shreves; not noted by M.
87	as. A reads at; not noted by M.
96	awey. A reads all ways; not noted by M.

MUMMING FOR THE MERCERS OF LONDON

headnote	And now. A reads <i>Here</i> ; not noted by M. A has marginalia as in T, but Stow also notes that William Estfeld was mayor in 1430 and 1478.
	Daun Iohan. A reads daun John Lydgat.
	poursuyvaunt. M reads poursuyaunt.
4	swyft. A reads swyfte.
6	coosteying. A reads costynge.
42	Europe. A reads erope.
67	currant. T reads currant.
71	thilk sakk. A reads that lakk.
88	til. A reads to; not noted by M.
91	And. T and A lack nd; added by M.

OF THE SODEIN FAL OF PRINCES IN OURE DAYES

headnote	Omitted in H; A includes same marginalia as in T.
	folowen. A reads foloweth
15	In the margin of A next to stanza three: Kynge Charlles (M: Charlle).
23	M's note to this line is confusing; H follows T's reading.
25	yong hert thought. M emends to yonge herte thoughte; A follows T's reading.
27	assent. M emends to assente.
28	he in Parys. H reads he in parice; A reads themferys.
31	was. T and A read it was.
33	that. H reads and that.
42	th'Ermynakes. H reads the Armynakes.
44	he ledde. M claims H reads he edde, but it actually reads he ledde.
46	i. laumerrane (in margin). Omitted in H; A reads loomcerean.
49	banned. A reads bourned; M claims H reads dlanned, but it actually reads
	banned.

PAGEANT OF KNOWLEDGE

2	Prynces. M's emendation; R reads Prynce.
4	the. Missing from R; added by M.
5	fyghte. M's emendation; R reads fyght.
3	shal the. M's emendation; R reads shalbe.
17	Thynges. Blank space left in R for large T.
21	R omits entire line; supplied by M.
56	fynden. M's emendation; R reads fynde.
64	herte. M's emendation; R reads hert.
66	Jubal. Blank space left in R for large J.
69	Jubal. M's emendation; R reads Tubal.
84	longe. M's emendation; R reads long.
115	Of. Blank space left in R for large $\overset{\circ}{O}$.
131	Saturne. Blank space left in R for large S.
139	Aries. Blank space left in R for large A.
	coleryk. M's emendation; R reads coloryk.
157	longer. M's emendation; R reads long.
161	<i>The</i> . Blank space left in R for large T .
	sely. R reads 3ely.
176	naturally. M's emendation; R reads naturall.
180	than be stable. M's emendation; R reads than stable.
196	The. Blank space left in R for large T .
204	coleryk. M's emendation; R reads coloryk.
218	sentement. M's emendation; R reads centement.
220	Man. Blank space left in R for large M .
226	man than be. M's emendation; R reads man be.
242	maner. M's emendation; R reads man.
248	The. Blank space left in R for large T .
251	valeys. M's emendation; R reads valeyce.
261	All. M's emendation; R reads All.
266	with. M's emendation; R reads whyche.
274	hardy. M's emendation; R reads harde.
280	unto the hevyn. M's emendation; R reads unto hevyn.
283	palace. M's emendation; R reads place.

A PROCESSION OF CORPUS CHRISTI

1	nowe for to magnefye. In T, nowe is missing but there is an insertion mark
	for it; A reads for to magnefye nowe; H omits nowe.
2	Feste. H reads Now fest.
3	guye. M's emendation, following A; T reads guyde; H reads guy.
5	t'enlumyne. H reads to enlumyne.
7	many. H reads many an.

I VDCATE'S	MUMMINGS AND	ENTERTAINMENTS
LIDGAILS	IVI U MUMUUNGO AIND	ENTERTAINMENTS

131	LIDGATE 5 MUMMINGS AND ENTERTAINMENTS
9	more. H reads the more.
21	er. H reads that.
23	takethe hereof. H reads take herof.
27	that. Omitted in H.
30	Sette. M reads Set.
33	Yssake. H reads Isaac; A reads Ysake.
35	and. M transcribes as aud.
36	the Olly. H reads the holy; A reads holly.
37	Gesse. H reads lesse.
40	Whos. M's emendation; H reads Whas.
45	eseyne. H reads I seyne; A reads esene.
62	Crists. M reads Cristes.
68	and. H reads that.
00	
70	venqwysshed. M's emendation; H reads venqwysshde. victorie of. H reads victor with.
70	Philisteys. H reads the Philistes.
71 79	
82	M mistakenly claims H reads <i>falseth</i> .
02	B'avisyoun. H reads Be avisyoun.
89	hevenly. H reads hevenly and.
91	Ysayes. H reads Isaye (M: I saye). that. Omitted in H.
96	oure. M reads our.
90	were. H reads was.
102	
104	lenkethe. H reads length.
104	strenkethe. H reads strength.
107	swoote. M's emendation, following H; T and A read swete.
107	This line follows line 112 in T, but the lines are correctly numbered a b d e f g h c; H and A follow the order of T; A adds the renumbering, but H omits it.
119	stinten. H reads stynte.
120	oure. M reads our.
126	O. H reads On; M's note "of the S." (which suggests that an unnamed
	manuscript S has the variant of the) is unclear to me.
133	ful blessed. H reads blisful.
139	holy. Omitted in A.
141	nuwe. H and A read the newe.
142	shal. M reads schal.
157	doome. H reads brede.
158	I mene; M adds I, following H; I omitted in T and A.
175	This. H reads This is.
176	circumcyded. A reads circumsised.
177–84	In T, written a b e f g h c d and so lettered; A corrects according to the lettering, while H does not.
183	Omitted in H.

	medisyn. In a later hand in T.
185–92	In T, written a b c e f d g h and so lettered; A corrects, but H does not.
190	ternal. H reads eternal.
198	Recounseylling. H reads Reconsilyng.
199	mathe us mighty. H reads makith us myght.
201	Maistre. H reads Maister; A reads Master.
201	notable. A reads notabell.
202	Holding. A reads holdinge; H reads holdyng.
	chalys. H reads chalice.
	sonne. A reads sone.
	clere. H reads cliere.
203	Ooste. H reads host; A reads oste.
	aloft. A reads alofte.
	gloryous. H reads glorious.
	comendable. A reads comendabell.
204	pytee. H reads pitee; A reads pite.
	pleyning. H reads playeng; A reads pleyninge.
	cheere. H reads chiere.
205	caste. A reads cast.
	shewing. H reads shewyng; A reads shewinge.
206	compleynte. A reads compleynt.
	pytous. H reads pitous.
207	dethe. H reads deth.
	deere. H and A read dere.
209	hoolly. H reads holy; A reads holly.
	called. H reads callid.
210	hie. H reads high; A reads hye.
011	sawghe. A reads sawethe; H reads sawgh.
211	ooste. H reads ost; A reads hoste.
	sunne. A reads sune; H reads sonne.
010	about. A reads aboute.
212	oon. A reads one.
	parfyte. H reads parfite.
019	unytee. H reads unite (M: uynite); A reads uynte.
213	gloryous. H reads glorious; A reads gloryus.
	liknesse. A reads likenesse.
014	Trynitee. H reads Trynite; A reads Trinite.
214	Gracyous. H reads Gracious; A reads Gracyus. beo. H and A read be.
915	comended. H reads commendid.
215	feyth. A reads faythe.
	parfyte. H reads parfite.
916	charitee. H reads charite; A reads charyte.
216	byleeve. H reads beleeve; A reads beleve.

	comprehended. H reads comprehendid.
217	theos. H reads there; A reads thos.
	figures. A reads fygures.
218	likenesses. H and A read liknesse.
	doo. H and A read do.
219	Resceivethe. H reads Receyvith.
	devoute. H reads devout.
220	This. A reads Thys.
	bred. H reads brede.
	<i>lyfe</i> . H reads <i>lyf</i> .
221	Egipte. H reads Egipt.
	worldely. H and A read worldly.
222	Youre. A reads Your.
	restoratyf. A reads restoratyffe.
	celestyal. H and A read celestial.
223	graunt. A reads graunte.
	suffysaunce. H reads suffisaunce.
224	aungels. A reads angelles.
	sing. H reads syng; A reads singe.
	everlasting. H and A read everlastyng.
Colophon	of. H reads for.

SOTELTES AT THE CORONATION BANQUET OF HENRY VIL simply lists in two columns the dishes served in each of the three courses.

3	see. Omitted in L.
4	moost sovereigne of price. L reads of moost soveraigne prynce.
6	help of. Omitted in L.
	Crist. L reads grace.
7	sixt Henry. L reads seide harry.
8	hem. Omitted in L.
9	Ageinst. L reads Geyn.
10	which is. L reads with his.
11	Sithen Henry the Fifth. L reads And with N.
14	that succede. L reads that shulde succede.
18	that. Omitted in L.
	art. Omitted in L.
20	The. L reads To .
	Henry. L reads N .
	your. L reads oure.
21	of grace on hym. L reads on hym of grace.
23	by title. L omits by.
24	in Fraunce. L omits in.



MUMMING OF THE SEVEN PHILOSOPHERS

Robbins (Secular Lyrics, pp. 110–13) prints the verses from Trinity R.3.19, fols. 1r–1v, which are unattributed. According to a headnote, they were written for "Festum Natalis Domini" and address the "kyng of Crystmas" (line 11), who is later invoked as "noble prince" (line 78). In the course of the mumming, the seven philosophers appear, each speaking a verse of conventional advice (rule your body, be generous, balance work with leisure, imitate good examples, don't do anything you can't handle, etc.) in order to help the Christmas king rule properly. The last verse is spoken by a messenger, who advises the king to heed their advice as he grows up and who ushers in a song by the seven mummers. Although it has gone virtually unnoticed, the poem has recently been discussed by Mortimer in his study of The Fall of Princes (Lydgate's Fall of Princes, pp. 225-26). It is the first item in Trinity College MS R.3.19, a manuscript produced in the London area c. 1478-83, and is in the hand of the same scribe who wrote fols. 1r-45v and 55r-213r (Manuscript Trinity R.3.19, pp. xv and xxvi). It stands at the beginning of a number of extracts from Lydgate's Fall of Princes and other Chaucerian and pseudo-Chaucerian texts; at the top of fol. 1r, written in a later hand is the note "Poemata of daun Jaun Anglice Lidgati." The verses seem designed for a Christmas entertainment at court or in a school, perhaps an inversionary one similar to boy bishops' ceremonies. While there is no evidence linking the verses to Henry VI's court, the advice offered by the seven philosophers would be consistent with the advisory agenda adopted by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in the early 1430s; much of its advice could have been culled from a number of places in *The Fall of Princes*, as Mortimer notes (p. 225), and would have been appropriate for Henry at any point in the late 1420s and 1430s. The verses below follow Robbins' edition, checked against the manuscript.

[Festum Natalis Domini

Tronos celorum continens,
Whos byrthe thys day reiterate,
Bothe god and man in exystens,
Borne of a mayde immaculate;
Preserve your dygne and high estate,
Syth ye preferre thys most high feste,
In quo Redemptor natus est.

Senek the sage that kyng ys of desert, Regent and rewler of all wyldernesse,

- 10 Sendeth gretyng with all entier hert
 Unto yow hys brother, kyng of Crystmas;
 Lettyng yow wete with hertly tendyrnes
 What longeth now unto youre astate royall
 That ye be now to so sodenly call.
- 15 Hyt ys perteynyng to every prynce and kyng
 That pepyll shall have under governaunce,
 That he have prudent and wyse counselyng,
 And to her counseyll geve attendaunce;
 And that your reame shall nat fall perchaunce
 20 Unto rewen for defaute of good counsell,
 Take hede herto, hit mayest avayle.

For oute of olde feldes, as men sayth,
Cometh all these new cornes from yere to yere;
So oute of olde expert men in feyth
Cometh all these good rules, as ye shall here;
And by theire age they have in thys matere
The good rewle of verrey experience,
Wherefore he sendeth hem to your hygh presence.

[Primus Philosophus

Attempt nothyng surmountyng your myght,

Ne that to finissh that passeth your power;
For than ye stand foule in youre owne lyght,
And whoso doth, hymsylf shall foule a-dere
With shame, and therefore thys wysdom ye lere:
That hyt ys foly a man suche to begyn

Which to performe hys wyttes be to thyn.

[Secundus

When that tyme ys of grete and large expence, Beware of waste and spende ay be mesure; Who at suche tyme can fynde no dyfference, Hys goodes may nat with hym long endure; The olde ys that "Mesure ys tresure," For in short tyme the good may slyp away That was gotyn in many a sondry day.

[Tercius

40

45

Of elther men ye shall your myrrour make, Conforme yow to that that may most yow avayle, What ye shall do and what shall forsake; A bettyr thyng ne may ye not contryve Than to other mennys dedys to releve; To all that perteyneth yow eny thyng, Make other men rule of your levyng.

[Quartus

Take good hede to youre owne estate,
To rule your body with a good diete;
Loke with tyme be nat at debate,
Though thurgh youre owne mysrule and surfete
Sekenes or sorow have yevyn yow an hete,
The tyme ys good, and no dysemable there ys,
But men hit make for they do amys.

[Quintus

To preve youresylf take deliberacion
Be lycly conjectour what may betyde;
Advertyse and here thys informacion
How soone owre lord can set a state asyde;
Folowe hym, therfore, and let hym be your gyde
That all thyng hath in hys regement,
Future and past and youre estate present.

[Sextus

Into a gret age when ye be crept,
Havyng gret ryches and habundaunce,
Be lyberall of the good that ye have kept;
Thynke that ye have ynough and suffisaunce;
Let nat youre good of yow have governanuce,
But governe hit and part hit with your frende;
When ye go hens hit may nat with yow wende.

[Septimus

75

Who that lakketh rest may nat long endure;
Therefore among take your ease and dysport,
Delyte yow never in besynes ne cure
But that other whyle ye may eft resort
To play, recreacion, and comfort;
Ye may the better labour at the long,
When ye have myrthe your besynes among.

80

[Nuncius

Lo, noble prince, ye here the counseyll
Of the vii phylosophyrs sage,
Whyche to advertyse hit may hap to avayle
To let these wysdoms grow up in your age,
And in your presence afore her passage,
They purpos all afore yow for to syng,
Yef to your hyghnes hit myght be plesyng.

[Explicit.

MARGARET OF ANJOU'S ENTRY INTO LONDON, 1445

On May 28, 1445, Henry VI's new wife, Margaret of Anjou, entered London in preparation for her coronation at Westminster two days later. As she made her way through the city from Southwark, she was greeted by eight pageants that emphasized peace and the hope that the Anglo-French conflict would soon end. The verses for the pageants, which are no longer attributed to Lydgate, were probably the work of someone hired by Mayor John Chichele and London's city council. Kipling ("London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou," p. 6) believes that Lydgate's way of describing the scriptures for the 1432 entry, which recast written texts as spoken, may have given the devisers of the 1445 entry the idea to use actual speech for the first recorded time in English entries. MacCracken omitted the 1445 entry from his edition of Lydgate's minor poems on the grounds that it was not by Lydgate, who in 1445 was apparently in retirement in Bury. Griffiths (Reign of King Henry VI, pp. 487–89) discusses the Entry as well as the wedding ceremonies. An imperfect version of the verses has been printed by Brown, and in even less complete form in Withington, "Lydgate's Verses." Kipling ("London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou") has reconstructed the verses from a manuscript (Harley 3869) of Gower's Confessio Amantis, where they were copied onto some blank leaves at the front of the manuscript, and presents a strong argument against Lydgate's authorship of them. The verses, following Kipling's reconstruction and checked against the manuscript, are as follows.

[Atte the Brigge foot in Suthwerke

[Pees and Plenté

Moost Cristen Princesse, by influence of Grace¹ Doughter of Jherusalem, oure plesaunce And joie, welcome as evere princesse was, With hert entier and hool affiaunce, Causer of welth, joie, and abundaunce, Youre cite, youre poeple, youre subgites alle,

-

5

¹ Ingredimini et replete terram (Genesis 8:17)

With herte, with worde, with dede at youre entraunce, "Welcome, welcome, welcome" unto you calle!

[Pees

So trusteth youre poeple, with affiaunce,

Through youre grace and highe benignité,
Twixt the reawmes two, Englande and Fraunce,
Pees shal approche, rest and unité,
Mars sette aside, with alle hys cruelté,
Whiche to longe hath troubled the reawmes tweyne,
Bydynge youre coumfort in this adversité,
Moost Cristen Princesse, oure lady sovereyne.

[At Noes Shippe upon the [Draught] Brigge

[Expositor:]

Moost Cristen Princesse, oure lady sovereyne,
Right as whilom, by Goddes myght and Grace,
Noe this Arke didde forge and ordeyne,
Wherein he and hys myght escape and passe
The flood of vengeaunce caused by trespasse,
Conveied aboute, as God liste hym to gye,
By moiean of mercy founde a restyng place
After the Flood uppon this Armonie.

Unto the Dove that brought the braunche of pees Resemblynge youre symplenesse columbyne,
 Tokyn and signe the Flood shulde cesse;
 Conducte by Grace and Pure Divine,
 Sonne of comfort gynneth faire to shyne
 By youre presence, wherto we synge and seyne,
 Welcome of joie, right extendet lyne,
 Moost Cristen Princesses, oure lady sovereyne.

[At Leden Halle

[Madame Grace, Chauncelere de Dieu

Oure benigne Princesse and lady sovereyne, Grace conveie you forthe and be youre gide In good life longe, prosperously to reyne.

¹ Iam non ultra irascar super terram (Genesis 8:21)

45

60

Trouth and Mercy togedre ben allied,1 Justice and Pees; these sustres schal provide Twixt reawmes tweyn stedfast love to sette. God and Grace the parties han applied.

Now the sustres have hem kiste and mette. 40

> Prenostike of pees, ferme and infenite, Dame Grace, Goddes Vicarie Generalle, Foure patentes, faire, fressh, and legible, Conteynyng iiii preceptes imperialle, Sealles impressed for memorialle, To these sustres foure thus be directe, Whiche as mynystres further proclamen shalle, T'encresen pees, werres to correcte.

Clergie, Knyghthode, the Lawes commendable 50 Assentyng all this matere to ratefie, Conseile of Grace, haldyng ferme and stable; George and Dionise for here poeple crie Uppon the Lorde that alle schall justefie This tyme of Grace. Thus wolde the storie seyne, 55 Trustynge that pees schall floure and fructifie By you, Pryncesse and lady sovereyne.

[At the Tonne in Cornehille

[Expositor:]

"Aungeles of pees shall have dominacioun," Sentence yeven from the hevenes highe, Siewed by Grace and good mediacioun, Pees graunted to growe and multeplie, Exiled th'angeles of wrecched tirannye, Werre proscribed, pees shal have hys place; Blesside be Margarete makyng this purchace.

Conveie of Grace, Virgyne most benigne, 65 Oo blessid Martir, holy Margarete, Maugre the myght of spirites maligne To God above hire praier pure and swete Maketh now for rest, pees, and quiete, Shewed here pleynly in this storie, 70 Oure Queene Margarete to signifie.

¹ Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi; Iustitia et pax osculate sunt (Psalm 84:11)

God in hevene comaundynge abstinence, Noo wicked aungel schall do more grevaunce; Erthe, see, and trees shal ben in existence Obeisant to mannes wille and plesaunce, Desired pees bitwixt Englande and Fraunce, This tyme of Grace by mene of Margarete, We triste to God to lyven in quiete.

[At the Grete Conduite in Chepe

[Expositor:]

75

95

Grace in this lyf and aftirwarde Glorie, ¹
David in the psalme he saith thus expresse,

"How plesaunt be thy tabernacles highe,
Lorde," he saith; this psalme by short processe
Of oure Lorde concludeth high goodnesse:
Noo man to lacke reward when he goth hens
That lyveth here in parfite innocens.

85 Ensaumpled pleynly by faire parable:²
Ten virgynes ayens the Spouse they yede,
Fyve necligent refused, founde unable;
And of the Spouse five prudent had mede
For contynence in thoght, worde, and dede.
90 Noo mannes laude sechyng in thaire entent
To serve the Spouse hire hertes onely brent.

The Spouse is sought; Sponsus with hire is mette. After laboure He wille she take hire rest,³ So moche He hath Hys herte uppon hire sette. Now hath the turtle founde a plesaunt nest. "Come on," she saith, "I wil yeve thee my brest.⁴ Who seketh rest with feithfull, trewe corage Shalle dwelle atte last in Goddes heritage.

Sponsus Pees the Kynge will make hys feste;
100 Alle thing is redy; plentie and suffisaunce.
Praied for to come, gestes moost and leste,
Unto the Spouses, full of hevenly purveaunce.
Milke and honye flowyng in habundaunce

¹ Gratiam et gloriam dabit Dominus. Non privabit bonis eso qui ambulant in innocentia (Psalm 83:12–13)

² Parabola decem virginum (Matthew 25:1–13)

³ Quaesivi quem diligit anima mea (Canticles 3:1)

⁴ Dabo tibi ubera mea (Canticles 7:12)

110

130

Aboute the londe whither He hath us brought;

Right ferre and wide gestes clept and sought.

"Eteth and dryncketh, my frendes, of the beste, Moost chered frendes, dryncketh inwardly; After the feste take ye youre reste," Thus seith the Spouse, Hys feste to magnifie. This joious Canticle dothe signifie A pees shall be where as now trouble is, After this lyfe, endely in blys.

[At the Crosse in Chepe

[The angels sing:] Sacris solempniis iuncta sunt gaudia, etc.

[Expositor:]

Oo blissful psalme and song celestialle,

"Letatus sum;" for thynges that I here,

115 Noon erthely joie compared nor egalle
May ben here to this blys, may not dispeire,
But schyneth amydde the hevenly spere,
Th'orient Sonne, that noon eclipse may fade;
To Goddes house now schall we goo right glade.

120 Many mansioun bilt in that paleis
Of that Cité, thynges right gloriouse
Been saide. O Lorde, who can Thy paleis preise
So is it faire and inly speciouse.
All holynesse besemeth the Lordes house;

125 Sanctus is songe in every Ierarchie, Praisyng the Lorde of eternall Glorie.

> Oo declared Pryncesse, unto youre noble Grace, How God hath made this conducte and conveye Thus through youre Cité from place to place, More hertly welcom then youre folk can seie, Enioieng entierly youre highe nobleye, This pagent wold mene, youre Excellence,

Where is rejoiced all felicité
Withouten ende eternally t'endure,
Contemplacioun of the Deité,

That ther is ioie in verrey existence.

¹ Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi: In domum Dominum ibimus (Psalm 121:1)

Which noon erthely langage may discure, God behalden of hys creature, Whiche aperteneth to gostly suffisaunce, Whan from the worlde is made disseveraunce.

From vertu to vertu men shall up ascende;
Than shall God be seyn in the Mount Sion.
Thus you gide unto youre lyves ende,
We praie the Lorde that gideth al alloon,
So that with yow we may atteigne ecchon
To the faire Cite of Iherusalem,
Bisette aboute with many a precious gemme.

[At Seynt Michaeles in Querne

[Expositor:]

140

145

160

Assumpt above the hevely Ierarchie,
Cristes Modre, Virgyn immaculate,
150 God Hys tabernacle to sanctifie
Of sterres xii the croune hath preparate,
Emprise, Queene, and Lady Laureate.
Praie for oure Queene that Crist will here governe
Long here on lyve in hire noble astate,
155 Aftirward crowne here in blisse eterne.

This storie to your Highnes wolde expresse
The grete Resurccioun generall,
Wherof oure feith bereth pleyn witnesse:
The ferefull sowne of Trumpe Judiciall
Uppon the poeple yt sodeynly shall calle,
Eche man to make acompte and rekenynge
Right as hys consciencie bewreien shalle,
All be it Pope, Emperour, or Kynge.

Who hath wel doon, to lyf predestinate:

What joie, what blis, how greet felicité
Unto the saved of God is ordinate,
Noo tunge can telle, noon erthly igh may see.
Joie, laude, rest, pees, and parfite unité,
Triumphes of eternalle victorie,

¹ Ibunt de virtute in virtutem, / Videbitur Deus deorum in Sion (Psalm 83:8)

² Signum magnum apparuit in caelol mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus eius, et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim (Apocalypse 12:1)

170 With fruicioun of the Trynite, By contemplacioun of Hys Glorie.

[Deos Gracias Amen.

MANUSCRIPTS

- Bycorne and Chychevache. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.19; London, British Library MS Harley 2251.
- Disguising at Hertford. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; London, British Library, MS Additional 29729.
- Disguising at London. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; London, British Library, MS Additional 29729.
- Henry VI's Triumphal Entry into London. London, British Library MS Cotton Cleopatra C.iv; London, British Library MS Cotton Julius B.ii.; London, British Library, MS Harley 565; London, Guildhall, MS 3313; Longleat House 257, at end of MS (stanzas 1–23 only); Rome, English College Library, MS1306 (also numbered 127 and A.347). Printed by Pynson, 1516.
- Legend of St. George. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 686; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.21; Manchester, Chetham Library MS 6709.
 Mesure Is Tresour. London, British Library, MS Harley 2255.
- Mumming at Bishopswood. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 59.
- Mumming at Eltham. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; London, British Library, MS Additional 29729.
- Mumming at Windsor. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; London, British Library, MS Additional 29729.
- Mumming for the Goldsmiths. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; London, British Library, MS Additional 29729.
- Mumming for the Mercers. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20. London, British Library, MS Additional 29729.
- Of the Sodein Fal of Princes in Oure Dayes. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; London, British Library MS Harley 2251; London, British Library MS Additional 29729.
- Pageant of Knowledge. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.21; extracts, not meant for performance, in several other manuscripts.
- Procession of Corpus Christi. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.20; London, British Library MS Harley 2251; London, British Library MS Additional 29729.
- Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI. Oxford, St John's College Library, MS 57; London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius B.i.; London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 285; London, British Library, MS Egerton 1995; London, Guildhall, MS 3313; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.775.

In Appendix:

- Margaret of Anjou's Entry into London, 1445. London, British Library, MS Harley 3869. Transcribed by Stow, British Library, MS Harley 542.
- Mumming of the Seven Philosophers. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.3.19.

SOURCES AND CONTEMPORARY WORKS

- Amundesham, John. *Annales monasterii S. Albani, 1421–40*. Ed. Henry Thomas Riley. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1870–71.
- Annales Londiniensis. In Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II. Ed. Williams Stubbs. 2 vols. London: Longman, 1882–83. 1:1–251.
- The Anonimalle Chronicle: 1333 to 1381, From a Manuscript Written at St. Mary's Abbey, York. Ed. V. H. Galbraith. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1927.
- Augustine. De civitate Dei. Ed. and trans. P. G. Walsh. Oxford: Oxbow, 2005.
- Ausonius, Decimus Magnus. Works. Ed. R. P. H. Green. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
- Boethius. *De Consolatione*. With a trans. by S. J. Tester. Loeb Classical Library 74. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- The Book of Brome. New Haven, Yale University Library, MS 365.
- *The Brut.* Ed. Friedrich W. D. Brie. 2 vols. EETS o.s. 131, 136. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1906–08.
- Charles d'Orléans. Poésies. Ed. Pierre Champion. 2 vols. Paris: H. Champion, 1923-24.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. "A Treatise on the Astrolabe." In *The Riverside Chaucer*. Pp. 661–83.
- -----. "The Book of the Duchess." In *The Riverside Chaucer*. Pp. 329–46.
- -----. "The Canterbury Tales." In *The Riverside Chaucer*. Pp. 3–328.
- -----. "The House of Fame." In *The Riverside Chaucer*. Pp. 347–73.
- ——. "Troilus and Criseyde." In *The Riverside Chaucer*. Pp. 471–585.
- A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483. Ed. Nicholas H. Nicolas and Edward Tyrrell. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1827.
- Chronicles of London. Ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford. Oxford: Clarendon, 1905.
- Fabyan, Robert. The New Chronicles of England and France. Ed. Henry Ellis. London: F., C., and J. Rivington, 1811.
- Foedera. Ed. Thomas Rymer. 10 vols. The Hague: Joannem Neulme, 1739–45.
- Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth. Trans. Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell. Oxford: Clarendon, 1975.
- Godfrey of Viterbo. Pantheon, sive, Universitatis. Basil: Iacobi Parci, 1559.
- Gower, John. *Confessio Amantis*. Ed. Russell A. Peck, with Latin translations by Andrew Galloway. 3 vols. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000–06.
- Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. *Le Roman de la Rose*. Ed. Félix Lecoy. 3 vols. Paris: H. Champion, 1965.
- The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century. Ed. James Gairdner. Westminster: Camden Society, 1876.
- Hoccleve, Thomas. *The Regiment of Princes*. Ed. Charles R. Blyth. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999.
- Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiae sive originum*. Ed. W. M. Lindsay. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911.
- John of Salisbury. *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*. Ed. and trans. Cary J. Nederman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Jubinal, Achille, ed. Mystères inédits du quinzième siècle. 2 vols. Paris: Téchener, 1837.
- Lambert, John J. Records of the Skinners of London, Edward I. to James I. London: The Company, 1933. Langland, William. Piers Plowman. A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions. Volume I. Text. Ed. A. V. C. Schmidt. London: Longman, 1995.
- Lydgate, John. The Dance of Death, Edited from MSS. Ellesmere 26/A.13 and B.M. Lansdowne 699, Collated with the Other Extant MSS. Ed. Florence Warren. EETS o.s. 181. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.
- ——. "A Dietary, and a Doctrine for Pestilence." In The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Pp. 702–07.

- ——. Fall of Princes. Ed. Henry Bergen. 4 vols. EETS e.s. 121–24. London: Oxford University Press, 1924–27.
- The Minor Poems of John Lydgate: Edited from All Available Manuscripts, with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon. Part II: Secular Poems. Ed. Henry Noble MacCracken. EETS o.s. 192. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.
- -----. "Stans puer ad mensam." In The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Pp. 739-44.
- ———. "Title and Pedigree of Henry VI." In The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Pp. 613–22.
- ——. Troy Book: Selections. Ed. Robert R. Edwards. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1998.
- Manuscript Trinity R.3.19, Trinity College, Cambridge: A Facsimile. Intro. Bradford Y. Fletcher. Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1987.
- Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn. Ed. Henry Thomas Riley. 4 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859–62.
- The N-Town Plays. Ed. Douglas Sugano. With assistance by Victor I. Scherb. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007.
- Ovid. Metamorphoses. Trans. Frank Justus Miller. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976–77.
- A Parisian Journal: 1405-1449. Trans. Janet Shirley. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- Plato. The Republic. Trans. R. E. Allen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England. Ed. Harris Nicholas. 7 vols. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1834–37.
- Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum. Ed. Albert Way. 3 vols. London: Camden Society, 1843–65. Recueil de farces françaises inédites du XV* Siècle. Ed. Gustave Cohen. Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1949.
- Redman, Robert. Vita Henrici Quinti. In Memorials of Henry the Fifth, King of England. Ed. Charles Augustus Cole. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858. Pp. 1–59. Rotuli Parliamentorum. 6 vols. London, 1767–77.
- Russell, John. The Boke of Nurture. Bungay: J. Childs, 1867.
- St. Erkenwald. Ed. Ruth Morse. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1975.
- Stow, John. Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England. London: Ralfe Newbery, 1592.
- ——. A Survey of London: Reprinted from the Text of 1603. Ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1908.
- A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge. Ed. Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993.
- Vatican Mythographers I and II. Mythographi Vaticani I et II. Ed. Péter Kulcsár. Turnholt: Brepols, 1987.
- Walsingham, Thomas. *Historia anglicana*. Ed. Henry Thomas Riley. 2 vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863–64.
- Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mistery of London, 1334–1446. Ed. Lisa Jefferson. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003.
- *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381–1394.* Ed. and trans. L. C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.

EDITIONS

- Brown, Carleton. "Lydgate's Verses on Queen Margaret's Entry into London." *Modern Language Review* 7 (1912): 225–31. [Margaret's Entry]
- Dodsley, Robert. A Select Collection of Old Plays. 2nd ed. Ed. Isaac Reed. 12 vols. London: H. Hughs, 1780. [Bycorne]
- Forbes, Derek. Lydgate's Disguising at Hertford Castle: The First Secular Comedy in the English Language. West Sussex: Blot Publishing, 1998. [Hertford]

- Halliwell, James Orchard, ed. A Selection from the Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate. London: C. Richards for the Percy Society, 1840. [Bycorne; Henry VI's Entry; Mesure is Tresour; Procession of Corpus Christi]
- Kingsford, Charles L., ed. Chronicles of London. Oxford: Clarendon, 1905. [Entry]
- Kipling, Gordon. "The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou: A Medieval Script Restored." Medieval English Theatre 4 (1982): 5–27. [Margaret's Entry]
- The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Ed. Henry Noble MacCracken. 2 vols. EETS o.s. 192, e.s. 107. London: Oxford University Press, 1911–34. [Vol. 2 contains all but Bishopswood, Margaret's Entry, St. George, and Seven Philosophers]
- Malcolm, James P. Londinium Redivivum, or an Antient History and Modern Description. London: J. Nicholas, 1803. [modernization of Entry]
- Nicolas, N. H., and Edward Tyrrell, eds. A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483. London: Longman, 1827. [Entry]
- Norton-Smith, John, ed. John Lydgate: Poems. Oxford: Clarendon, 1966. [Bishopswood]
- Robbins, Rossell Hope. Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. [Sodein Fal]
- ——. Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955. [Seven Philosophers]

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

- Edwards, A. S. G. "Additions and Corrections to the Bibliography of John Lydgate." *Notes and Queries* 230 (1985): 450–52.
- ——. "A Lydgate Bibliography, 1926–68." Bulletin of Bibliography and Magazine Notes 27 (1970): 95–98.
- —... "Lydgate Scholarship: Progress and Prospects." *Fifteenth-Century Studies: Recent Essays.* Ed. Robert F. Yaeger. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984. Pp. 29–47.
- Lee, Sidney. "Lydgate." In *Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. London: Oxford University Press, 1921–22. Pp. 306–16.
- Reimer, Stephen R. "The Lydgate Canon: A Project Description." *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 5 (1990): 248–49.
- Renoir, Alain, and C. David Benson. "John Lydgate." In *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English,* 1050–1500. Ed. J. Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung, and Peter G. Beidler. 11 vols. to date. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967–. 6:1809–1920, 2071–2175.

SELECTED CRITICISM

- Anglo, Sydney. "The Evolution of the Early Tudor Disguising, Pageant, and Mask." *Renaissance Drama* n.s. 1 (1968): 3–44.
- ——. Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.
- Aston, Margaret. "Corpus Christi and Corpus Regni: Heresy and the Peasants' Revolt." *Past and Present* 143 (1994): 3–47.
- Barney, Stephen A. "The Plowshare of the Tongue: The Progress of a Symbol from the Bible to *Piers Plowman*." *Medieval Studies* 35 (1973): 261–93.
- Barron, Caroline M. London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- ——. "The Quarrel of Richard II with London 1392–7." In *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*. Ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron. London: Athlone Press, 1971. Pp. 173–201.
- Beadle, Richard. The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

- Bennett, H. S. Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century. Oxford: Clarendon, 1947.
- Benson, C. David. "Civic Lydgate: The Poet and London." In Scanlon and Simpson, pp. 147-68.
- Bergeron, David M. English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971.
- Binski, Paul. The Painted Chamber at Westminster. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986.
- Boffey, Julia. "Lydgate's Lyrics and Women Readers." In Women, the Book and the Worldly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda's Conference, 1993. Ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995. Pp. 139–49.
- ——. "Short Texts in Manuscript Anthologies: The Minor Poems of John Lydgate in Two Fifteenth-Century Collections." In *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*. Ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996. Pp. 69–82.
- Brie, Friedrich. "Mittelalter und Antike bei Lydgate." Englische Studien 64 (1929): 261-301.
- Brotanek, Rudolf. Die Englischen Maskenspiele. Vienna: Wilhelm Braunmüller, 1902.
- Brown, Carleton. "Lydgate's Verses on Queen Margaret's Entry into London." *Modern Language Review* 7 (1912): 225–34.
- Brusendorff, Aage. The Chaucer Tradition. London: Oxford University Press, 1925.
- Bryant, Lawrence M. "Configurations of the Community in Late Medieval Spectacles: Paris and London during the Dual Monarchy." In *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. Pp. 3–33.
- Bühler, Curt. "Lydgate's *Horse, Sheep and Goose* and Huntington MS. HM 144." *Modern Language Notes* 55 (1940): 563–70.
- Bunt, Gerrit H. V. Alexander the Great in the Literature of Medieval Britain. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1994
- Cary, George. The Medieval Alexander. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956.
- Chambers, E. K. The Mediaeval Stage. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903.
- Christie, Mabel E. Henry VI. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922.
- Clopper, Lawrence M. Drama, Play, and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Coldewey, John C. "Plays and 'Play' in Early English Drama." Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama 28 (1985): 181–88.
- Connolly, Margaret. John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
- Cornell, Christine. "'Purtreture' and 'Holsom Stories': John Lydgate's Accomodation of Image and Text in Three Religious Lyrics." *Florilegium* 10 (1988–91): 167–78.
- Crane, Susan. *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Crow, Brian. "Lydgate's 1445 Pageant for Margaret of Anjou." *English Language Notes* 18 (1980–81): 170–74.
- Davidson, Clifford. *Technology, Guilds, and Early English Drama*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996.
- Denny-Brown, Andrea. "Lydgate's Golden Cows: Appetite and Avarice in Lydgate's *Byrcorne and Chychevache*." In *Lydgate Matters: Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century*. Ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Pp. 35–56.
- DeVries, David N. "And Away Go Troubles Down the Drain: Late Medieval London and the Politics of Urban Renewal." *Exemplaria* 8 (1996): 401–18.
- Dobson, R. B. "The Religious Orders, 1370–1540." In *Late Medieval Oxford*. Ed. J. I. Catto and Ralph Evans. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992. Pp. 539–79.
- Doyle, A. I. "Book Production by the Monastic Orders in England (c. 1375–1530): Assessing the Evidence." In *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence*. Ed. Linda L. Brownrigg. Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson-Lovelace, 1990. Pp. 1–19.
- ——. "More Light on John Shirley." *Medium Aevum* 30 (1961): 93–101.

- Duschl, Joseph. Das Sprichwort bei Lydgate nebst Quellen und Parallelen. Weiden: Nickl, 1912.
- Ebin, Lois A. *Illuminator*, *Makar*, *Vates: Visions of Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.
- ——. John Lydgate. Boston: Twayne, 1985.
- Edwards, A. S. G. "John Lydgate, Medieval Antifeminism and Harley 2251." *Annuale Mediaevale* 13 (1972): 32–44.
- ——. "John Shirley and the Emulation of Courtly Culture." In *The Court and Cultural Diversity:* Selected Papers from the Eighth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, The Queen's University of Belfast, 26 July–1 August 1995. Ed. Evelyn Mullally and John Thompson. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997. Pp. 309–17.
- ——. "Lydgate Manuscripts: Some Directions for Future Research." In *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study*. Ed. Derek Pearsall. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983. Pp. 15–26.
- ----. "Lydgate's Attitudes to Women." English Studies 51 (1970): 436-37.
- -----. "Middle English Pageant 'Picture'?" Notes and Queries 237 (1992): 25-26.
- Edwards, A. S. G., and Carol M. Meale. "The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England." *The Library*, sixth series, 15 (1993): 95–124.
- Enders, Jody. Rhetoric and the Origins of Medieval Drama. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992. Epstein, Robert. "Eating Their Words: Food and Text in the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI." Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 36 (2006): 355–77.
- ——. "Lydgate's Mummings and the Aristocratic Resistance to Drama." *Comparative Drama* 36 (2002): 337–58.
- Fisher, John H. "A Language Policy for Lancastrian England." PMLA 107 (1992): 1168-80.
- Floyd, Jennifer. "St. George and the 'Steyned Halle': Lydgate's Verse for the London Armourers." In *Lydgate Matters: Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century*. Ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Pp. 139–64.
- Forbes, Derek. Lydgate's Disguising at Hertford Castle, the First Secular Comedy in the English Language: A Translation and Study. Pulborough: Blot Publishing, 1998.
- Freehafer, John. "John Warburton's Lost Plays." Studies in Bibliography 23 (1970): 154-64.
- Ganim, John M. "The Experience of Modernity in Late Medieval Literature: Urbanism, Experience and Rhetoric in Some Early Descriptions of London." In *The Performance of Middle English Culture: Essays on Chaucer and the Drama in Honor of Martin Stevens*. Ed. James J. Paxson, Lawrence M. Clopper, and Sylvia Tomasch. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998. Pp. 76–96.
- Gattinger, E. Die Lyrik Lydgates. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1896.
- Gerould, Gordon H. "Legends of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin at Stone Priory." *PMLA* 32 (1917): 323–37.
- Gibson, Gail McMurray. "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the N-Town Cycle." Speculum 56 (1981): 56–90.
- Gillespie, James L. "Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George and of the Society of the Garter." *Albion* 17 (1985): 259–78.
- Green, Richard Firth. Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- ——. "Three Fifteenth-Century Notes." English Language Notes 14 (1976): 14–17.
- Griffiths, Ralph A. *The Reign of King Henry VI: The Exercise of Royal Authority, 1422–1461*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Hammond, Eleanor Prescott. "Ashmole 59 and Other Shirley Manuscripts." Anglia 30 (1907): 320-48.
- -----. English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1927.
- ——. "Lydgate's Mumming at Hertford." *Anglia* 22 (1899): 364–74.
- ——. "Two British Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Add. 34360): A Contribution to the Bibliography of John Lydgate." *Anglia* 28 (1905): 1–28.

- ——. "Two Tapestry Poems by Lydgate: The *Life of St. George* and the *Falls of Seven Princes*." *Englische Studien* 43 (1910–11): 10–26.
- Hanna, Ralph, III. "Some Norfolk Women and Their Books, ca. 1390–1440." In *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*. Ed. June Hall McCash. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996. Pp. 288–305.
- Hardman, Phillipa. "Lydgate's Uneasy Syntax." In Scanlon and Simpson, pp. 12–35.
- Harriss, G. L. Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.Hasted, Edward. The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent. 12 vols. Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1797–1801.
- Herbert, William. *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*. 2 vols. London: J. and C. Adlard, 1836–37.
- Horrox, Rosemary. "Urban Patronage and Patrons in the Fifteenth Century." In *Patronage, the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England*. Ed. Ralph A. Griffiths. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1981. Pp. 145–66.
- Imray, Jean. The Mercers' Hall. London: Mercers' Company, 1991.
- Jacob, E. F. The Fifteenth Century: 1399-1485. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
- James, Mervyn. "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town." *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 4–29.
- James, M. R. "Bury St. Edmunds Manuscripts." English Historical Review 41 (1926): 251-60.
- Kipling, Gordon. Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- ——. "Grace in this Lyf and Aftirwarde Glorie': Margaret of Anjou's Royal Entry into London." Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama 29 (1986–87): 77–84.
- ——. "The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou: A Medieval Script Restored." *Medieval English Theatre* 4 (1982): 5–27.
- ——. "Lydgate: The Poet as Deviser." In *Chaucer and the Challenges of Medievalism: Studies in Honor of H. A. Kelly*. Ed. Donka Minkova and Theresa Tinkle. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003. Pp. 73–101.
- Lancashire, Anne. London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Lancashire, Ian. Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Lawton, David. "Dullness and the Fifteenth Century." ELH 54 (1987): 761-99.
- Lerer, Seth. Chaucer and His Readers: Imagining the Author in Late Medieval England. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- MacCracken, Henry Noble. "King Henry's Triumphal Entry into London, Lydgate's Poem, and Carpenter's Letter." *Archiv* 126 (1911): 75–102.
- McFarlane, K. B. Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
- McKenna, J. W. "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422–1432." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965): 145–62.
- McLaren, Mary-Rose. The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing, with an Annotated Edition of Bradford, West Yorkshire Archives MS 32D86/42. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002.
- McNamer, Sarah. "Female Authors, Provincial Setting: The Re-Versing of Courtly Love in the Findern Manuscript." *Viator* 22 (1991): 279–310.
- Menner, Robert J. "Bycorne-Bygorne, Husband of Chichevache." *Modern Language Notes* 44 (1929): 455–57.
- Middleton, Anne. "The Idea of Public Poetry in the Reign of Richard II." *Speculum* 53 (1978): 94–114. Mooney, Linne R. "John Shirley's Heirs." *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 182–98.
- ——. "Scribes and Booklets of Trinity College, Cambridge, Manuscripts R.3.19 and R.3.21." In *Middle English Poetry: Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of Derek Pearsall.* Ed. A. J. Minnis. York: The University of York, 2001. Pp. 241–66.

- Mortimer, Nigel. John Lydgate's Fall of Princes: Narrative Tragedy in Its Literary and Political Contexts. Oxford: Clarendon, 2005.
- Nolan, Maura. John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Oppenheimer, Francis. The Legend of the Ste. Ampoule. London: Faber and Faber, 1953.
- Ord, C. "Account of the Entertainment of King Henry the Sixth at the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's." *Archaeologia* 15 (1806): 65–71.
- Osberg, Richard H. "The Goldsmiths' 'Chastell' of 1377." Theatre Survey 27 (1986): 1-15.
- ——. "The Jesse Tree in the 1432 London Entry of Henry VI: Messianic Kingship and the Rule of Justice." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 16 (1986): 213–32.
- ——. "The Lambeth Palace Library Manuscript Account of Henry VI's 1432 London Entry." Mediaeval Studies 52 (1990): 255–67.
- Pantin, William Abel, ed. Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215–1540. 3 vols. London: Camden Society, 1931–37.
- Parry, P. H. "On the Continuity of English Civic Pageantry: A Study of John Lydgate and the Tudor Pageant." Forum for Modern Language Studies 15 (1979): 222–36.
- Patch, Howard R. The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Patterson, Lee. "Making Identities in Fifteenth-Century England: Henry V and John Lydgate." In *New Historical Literary Study: Essays on Reproducing Texts, Representing History*. Ed. Jeffrey N. Cox and Larry J. Reynolds. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993. Pp. 69–107.
- Pearsall, Derek. John Lydgate. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970.
- ——. John Lydgate (1371–1449): A Bio-Bibliography. Victoria: University of Victoria, 1997.
- Rastall, Richard. Music in Early English Religious Drama. 2 vols. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996–2001.
- Reddaway, T. F., and Lorna E. M. Walker. *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company, 1327–1509, Including The Book of Ordinances 1475–83.* London: Edward Arnold, 1975.
- Renoir, Alain. "On the Date of John Lydgate's Mumming at Hertford." Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen 198 (1961): 32–33.
- ——. The Poetry of John Lydgate. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.
- Reyher, Paul. Les masques Anglais: étude sur les ballets et la vie de cour en Angleterre (1512–1640). Paris: Hachette, 1909.
- Robbins, Rossell Hope. Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries. Oxford: Clarendon, 1959.
- Robertson, Jean, and D. J. Gordon, eds. "A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485–1640." *Collections III*. London: Malone Society, 1954.
- Samuel, Irene. "Semiramis in the Middle Ages: The History of a Legend." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 2 (1944): 32–44.
- Saygin, Susanne. *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390–1447) and the Italian Humanists*. Leiden: Brill, 2002. Scanlon, Larry, and James Simpson, eds. *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.
- Scattergood, V. J. Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century. London: Blandford Press, 1971.
- Schirmer, Walter F. John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century. Trans. Ann E. Keep. London: Methuen, 1961.
- Scott, Kathleen L. Later Gothic Manuscripts: 1390-1490. 2 vols. London: Harvey Miller, 1996.
- Sponsler, Claire. "Alien Nation: London's Aliens and Lydgate's Mummings for the Mercers and Goldsmiths." In *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*. Ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. Pp. 229–42.
- ——. "Drama in the Archives: Recognizing Medieval Plays." In *Redefining British Theatre History*. Ed. Stephen Orgel and Peter Holland. New York: Palgrave, 2004. Pp. 111–30.
- Straker, Scott-Morgan. "Propaganda, Intentionality, and the Lancastrian Lydgate." In Scanlon and Simpson, pp. 98–128.
- Streitberger, W. R. Court Revels, 1485–1559. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Strohm, Paul. Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

- Thomson, R. M. "The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Speculum* 47 (1972): 617–45.
- Tiner, Elza, Shirley Carnahan, and Anne Fjestad Peterson. "Euer aftir to be rad & song': Lydgate's Texts in Performance [Parts I and II]." *Early Drama, Art and Music Review* 19.1 (1996): 41–52; 19.2 (1997): 85–92.
- Trapp, J. B. "Verses by Lydgate at Long Melford." Review of English Studies n.s. 6 (1955): 1-11.
- Tuve, Rosemond. Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Twycross, Meg, and Sarah Carpenter. Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Watts, John. Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Welsford, Enid. *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship Between Poetry and the Revels*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927.
- Westfall, Suzanne R. Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990. Whiting, Bartlett Jere, with the collaboration of Helen Wescott Whiting. Proverbs, Sentences, and
- Proverbial Phrases: From English Writings Mainly before 1500. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1968. Wickham, Glynne. Early English Stages 1300–1600. 3 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959–81.
- Withington, Robert. English Pageantry: An Historical Outline. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918–20.
- ——. "Queen Margaret's Entry into London, 1445." Modern Philology 13 (1915–16): 53–57.
- Wolffe, Bertram. Henry VI. London: Eyre Methuen, 1981.
- Wylie, James Hamilton, and William Templeton Waugh. *The Reign of Henry the Fifth.* 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–29.

GLOSSARY

aboode delay accove soothe acorde accord, agreement advert attend to; notice advertence attention aforne before agens against ageyne again agoon ago alight descended almesse charity ampoulle phial apperteyning pertaining appul apple armes warfare, weapons armonye harmony armys arms arsmetrike arithmetic artificer craftsman asselen approve attempre temperate auctor author auctorysed honored avaunce increase, enhance avayle be helpful, benefit, help aventure fortune, chance avisyoun vision, prophetic dream avoydinge avoiding avysely carefully, shrewdly awter altar ay ever

b'assente by assent batayll battle bating beating bawm balm be(e)mys beams beestis beasts beheestes commands benignely graciously benignytee grace, good will **beo** is. are beshrew curse blenchethe flinches; turns aside **bodekyns** daggers borde table bountee virtue, goodness bour cottage bowes boughs breche breeches **bridde** bird bulted sifted **byforne** before, previously byleeve belief

cas fate, fortune **cely** saintly or virtuous; unfortunate cesse cease chaumbre chamber, room chaumpartye battle, contest chawf warm cheer look; face, mien chefe chief cherisshing nourishment circumsyde exterminate, purge citeseyn citizen citrine yellowish clene pure clepen call clere bright **clerk** member of the clergy; scholar, university student; writer clouten strike colorik choleric, quick tempered

colver dove compaignye company comune common **condycyouns** dispositions consaylle counsel consistorye consistory, court contune contain conversacyoun manner of life coosteying coasting, going past coroune crown co(u)rage heart, feelings; sexual desire coustume custom crabbed spiteful **creance** doctrine, belief **crepaudes** heraldic toads Cristen Christian **cronycles** chronicles, histories cruwel cruel cruweltee cruelty

cuntree country

double deceitful

cyte(e) city darrein (derrein) decide the outcome of debate dispute debonaire courteous **deeme** judge **defye** scorn delite delight demayne domain departed multicolored **depeynted** painted, decorated derknesse darkness descryve describe desguysee decked out; disguised desobeyssaunce disobedience desteined stained **devoyre** duty devynayle meaning devyne divine devyse plan devysyoun dissent difer defer **digne** worthy discent descent disrewyld disobedient doome justice, judgment

doute uncertainty, fear
dreed, drede dread, fear, apprehension
dresse direct to; offer
dured lasted; resided
dyamandes diamonds
dyspence spending
dyssevable deceitful
dytes verses
eche each
echoon each one
eek(e) also

elate exalted
emperesse empress
encresse increase, intensify, grow
enfourmen instruct
enhaunce advance; exalt
enlumyne illumine
en(m)pryses deeds
ennoyt annointed
ensaumple example
entent(e) intent
entier entire, complete; perfect
envyroun around, round about
ere plow

ermonye harmony
erst earlier, before
eschuwing avoiding
esse ease, comfort
estate rank, social group; condition
eure fortune
evermoore always
eyeghe eye

fade withered, faded
fader father
fayre (feyre) pleasant, attractive
felicytee happiness
felle evil
felnesse treachery
feonde devil, fiend
fer(re) far, remote
fest feast
feyth faith
filowethe follows
flaterye flattery
fleete overflow

GLOSSARY 179

flitten go floure flower floure de lys fleur de lys flytting changeable; fleeting **foo** foe **foole** bird, fowl **for** because forsook forsook **foule** wickedly **foulsome** plentiful foulsomenesse satiety fraunchise freedom fredame freedom fressh(e) young, unfaded, vigorous **fresshly** afresh, with continued vigor **fro** from frowarde unruly **ful(ly)** fully, completely fury fiery gadre gather geaunt giant gentilesse gentility, nobility gere fickle geve gave gif give glade jolly, happy glene sheaf glose gloss

haboundance plenty, abundance
happe good fortune, luck
hardy bold, daring
heet heat
helthe health
hem them; themselves
herp harp
hert heart
heven heaven

hevynesse sluggishness; sadness

hir her; their

goostely spiritual

gramer grammar

greable suitable

gre(e)t(e) great

gruchche complain

honurable honorable
hool whole, complete
hoolde building; stronghold, castle
ho(o)lsome wholesome, healthful
howsyll good luck
hure fortune
hyeghe, hye high, lofty, noble; divine
hyenesse high rank, highness

imaginatyf imagination importable unbearable in on inbringethe ushers in indifferent impartial innosentes innocent people

ilke same

lak lack

joustely justly, by right juparten put at risk

kan can konnyng knowledge kynde kind; nature; race; disposition kynrede kindred

large generous lat let, permit laurier laurel **lawde** praise **leere** teach leete let, permitted lene lean lengest longest lenkethe length L'envoye epilogue lesing lying **letting** hindrance **lettres** writings leven flash, lightning bolt lieges subjects **list** desire, wish

loke look
lond land
longen belong
loore lure

lordshipethe rules over

lousty lusty, pleasant, mirthful, vigorous lowly humbly lowlyhede humility, humbleness lowten bow lustynesse pleasure lyche like lyf life lykour liquid, sap lynaage lineage

magnefye magnify, increase makes mates manase threaten manly manly, nobly marchandes merchants mater reason maugrey despite mawmetrye *idolatry* mayde virgin maystre master maystrye mastery mede meadow medegatyf palliative meede profit, reward meene companionship meete pleasant; fitting mene mean, intend, signify merciable merciful meryte merit meschaunce misfortune meschef affliction; misfortune mescreaunce unbelief mescreauntes pagans, heathens mette dreamed miche much mischefe misfortune moder mother momyng mumming, dumbshow mone moon moo more mo(o)ste most, greatest morwenyng morning mourdre murder mynistre administer myrour mirror **nature** nature, natural instinct, character

ner nor

nesshe soft
neven name
newfangylnes changeability
noblesse nobility, highness
noisaunce annoyance
nolle head
noman no one
noon not
noone no
notable remarkable
nuwe new
nys is not

obeyssance homage
of of, with, about
oon one, one and the same
oonys once
ordenaunce plan
orysouns prayers
ougly ugly
outrage excess; act of violence, criminal
act
outraien banish

paganymes pagans paleys palace parayllous perilous parfyt (perfite) perfect parfytnesse perfection, perfect life parllement assembly passing excellent payne (peyne) pain paynyme (paganim) pagan, heathen pees peace **peisen** consider, ponder perseveraunt steadfast, continued **pertourbe** harm perturbaunce disturbance plein (pleyne) full pleinly fully plenté abundance plesaunce pleasure **pleynethe** complains pourayle poor people poursy(v)ant messenger powstee power practyk craft; method

GLOSSARY 181

predicacioun preaching ryal royal prees crowd ryallych royally preost priest ryche rich, splendid prescyence foreknowledge ryte rite **prouesse** *might, courage* sad sober **prowe** benefit proygne preen salve greet sapyence wisdom pruyde pride sate sat **prys** fame; nobility puissance power sayle sail purveiaunce providence sayso(u)n season see seat, throne, kingdom **qweeme** satisfy, please seke sick qweene queen semblabully similarly qwytt repay sentence meaning; precept serche search reaume realm, kingdom sette put, placed recure regain sevlen to sail recuvre recover shadde shed rede wisdom shadwe cover reed red **sheene** bright, brightly refeccion refreshment **shent** exhausted; harmed **refrete** donation **shew** show, demonstrate, display regallye power; royalty; sovereignty shoures showers rejoye rejoyce sikernesse (sekerness) security **reklesse** heedless of rules **sith(en)** since, afterwards remevable changeable **sklendre** slender remission forgiveness smote struck remuve remove so such renommed renowned socour relief renoun fame, renown **sodeynly** suddenly repayre return some some, a certain resemblable similar somwhile sometimes resoun sentiment; statement sondes sands restoratyf medicine sondry different, varied rethorycyens rhetoricians sonne sun revelucyoun revelation soore soar richesse riches, wealth **sort** *lot, chance; turn* rightwys righteous **soteltes** subtleties (confectionary rightwysnesse righteousness decorations) roche rock souffisaunce sufficiency rote root soustene sustain roundel short poem, often meant to be **soveraine** *excellent*, *superior* spede protection sung routhe pity stabulnesse stability rude rough, crude steede war horse ruwe consider ste(e)(r)re star

ston jewel unto for straunge exotic, strange, unknown, unytee unity foreign strenkethe strength varyaynce fickleness, change, mutability **strif** quarrel, strife **venery** hunting vengeable vindictive, vengeful stronde shore **stynt** stopped verray genuine substance substance; essence vertu power, ability; moral excellence subtyle cunning victayle (vitaille) food, provisions suen follow **suffisaunce** sufficiency wacche watch, vigil surquydous haughty wastour spendthrift sustre sister weder weather swaged assuaged weede clothes swerd sword weel well sweynes commoners, rustics weene hope wende believed swo(o)te sweet werre war tabyde to abide wex increase ta(e)rrage taste; quality, characteristic whame whom tebreken break apart whane when teene pain wheoche which temperd harmonious wherfore therefore, for which reason texyle takes whoo so whoever, whomever thilke the same whylom formerly; once thridde third wellis springs thyes thighs werke deed til to will wish, desire tofore before withseien resist toforne first; ahead wol will tonnys casks wone custom toun town wont accustomed trascende ascend, rise up wo(o)d(e) angry, mad tresore treasure woodness madness tretable reasonable wynnen conquer trouthe truth wyse manner trowe trust, believe ydooles idols unccyoun consecration **yf** if underfong undertake yit yet unkouthe unknown yoore long ago, formerly

unremuwable unremovable