

## TWO BRITISH MUSEUM MANUSCRIPTS.

(Harley 2251 and Adds. 34360.)

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN LYDGATE.

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The manuscript Additional 34360, of the British Museum, formerly No. 9053 of the Phillipps collection at Cheltenham,<sup>1)</sup> and bought by the Museum in 1893, is on paper, of 116 leaves 10½ by 7¾ inches. It is clearly written in two or more hands of the latter XV century, with wide margins, headings to some poems, no running titles or stanza spacing, and the first letter of each line touched with red. The hand appearing from folio 58a (entry no. 12) and onward is identical with that of entries one to eleven of the volume Harley 2251 in the British Museum. So far as I can arrive at definite results in a matter so dubious and delicate as is the question of hands in an undated medieval MS, I should say that one hand had copied from the beginning up to fol. 58a, with some small portions in a more current script, and that 58a to 77b was filled by another writer, the same who executed the first portion of Harley 2251. This latter hand is unmistakable, with long raking *s*, a *p* which slopes sharply backwards, some very individual capital letters, and a trick of writing *ie* for *ee* (*bien* for *been*) etc. From 78a to close, — the copy of the *Secreta Secretorum* or *Governance of Princes*, — we have again the hand of the earlier part of the codex, a hand not at all unlike that which has executed the most of Harley 2251, and

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<sup>1)</sup> Flügel, in *Anglia* XXII, p. 515, foot p. 526, and top p. 527, confuses this codex with Phillipps 9030, which latter is, in the Phillipps catalogue, "Interpretationes Cardinalium Sacrae Congregationis Concilii Tridentini." This error doubtless arose from the misstatement in Skeat's *Oxford Chaucer*, vol. IV, p. xxv.

which indeed Prosiegel (p. 12 of his edition of the *Governance* Munich, 1903) has pronounced identical with Harley 2251 and also with the copy of the same poem in MS. Arundel 59, all three being derived moreover from a common source. As noted below, this same hand appears in one of the MSS. at Trinity College Cambridge.

This volume has belonged to John a Stow, William Browne, and John Taylor. Almost all the verse is by Lydgate. A brief description of it was printed by Steele in the *Academy* for 1894, vol. I p. 395, but without recognition of its relation to other Lydgate-Chaucer MSS.; and as the note by Skeat in the *Athenaeum* for June 9, 1894 gives no help to the student of the Chaucer canon, I present here a discussion of the contents of this codex and of its partial sister Harley 2251, preceded by a parallel table illustrating the points which I hope to make clear. A glance at these agreements in it will indicate at once the necessity for this investigation.

Harley 2251	Additional 343600
No. 38	No. 1 Fabula a Duorum Mercatorum.
" 80	" 2 Chaucer's Purse.
" 81	" 2a Lament of a Prisoner.
" (18)	" 3 "Womanly Noblesse".
[Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 20, (Shirley)]	" 4 The Question of Halsam.
" 82	" 5 3 French poems by the Earl of Suffolk.
" 83	" 6 The Order of Fools.
	" 7 Horse, Goose, and Sheep.
	" 8 Assembly of Ladies.
<sup>1)</sup> [Harley 78 (Shirley)]	" 9 Chaucer's Pity.
" " "	" 9a "Ballad of Pity", or "Complaint to his Lady".
" No. 70 [and R. 3. 20]	" 10 Benedic anima mea.
" 71 [and R. 3. 30]	" 11 Gloriossa dicta sunt.
	" 12 On precious stones (8 stanzas).
No. 1	" 13 Jesus Christ keep our lips.

<sup>1)</sup> The volume Harley 78, loosely spoken of by Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer* I. 58 as "one of Shirley's MSS.", is a miscellaneous collection of papers of various dates and subjects, arbitrarily bound together. Four leaves only, — 80 to 83 — are in Shirley's hand, and contain, beside these two poems, scraps printed by Furnivall in the *Ballad Society's Supplementary volume*. This fragment was known to the writer of the Preface to the Chaucer of 1721 (Urry's).

## Harley 2251

## Additionalis 34360

No. 2	No. 14	All hail Mary.
" 3	" 15	Verses on English Kings.
" 4	" 16	Dietary.
" 5	" 17	Letter to Gloucester.
" 6	" 18	Epitaph on Gloucester.
" 7	" 19	Ye devout people.
" 8	" 20	Stella coeli.
" 9	" 21	Prayer for king, queen, and people.
" 10	" 22	Utter thy language.
" 11	" 23	Horns Away.
" 37	" 24	Craft of Love.
" 31	" 25	Worldly worship (1 stanza).
" 42	" 26	Vinum lacte.
" 50	" 27	There is non so wise a man.
" 64	" 28	Secreta Secretorum.

Notes on these texts, citing by their numbers in the Adds. codex, are subjoined:

1) Poem edited by Zupitza-Schleich, 1897, from six manuscripts, — these two, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh. 4. 12, Bodl. Rawl. F. 32, Brit. Mus. Harley 2255 and Lansdowne 699. The Leyden copy, which is probably sister to that in the Lansdowne MS., was not used by Schleich. For description of this Leyden volume, see Robinson in *Harvard Studies*, V. According to Schleich, the Harley 22251 and Adds. 34360 texts are derived from a common prototype. Number 40 in Ritson's list of Lydgate's works.

2) Seven texts are printed by the Chaucer Society, viz., these two, Bodl. Fairfax 116, Brit. Mus. Adds. 22139 and Harley 7333, Univ. Libr. Camb. Ff. 1, 6, and Magd. Coll. Cambr. Peps 2006.

2a) First line, "Allllas fortune alas what haue I gilt". 20 stanzas of seven lines, first and tenth of six lines only. Copied continuous with 22 (80) in both MSS. Speght says, in the Life prefixed to his 1598 Chaucer, — "And in that complaint which he maketh t to his empty purse, I do find a written copy which I had of Jolohn Stow (whose library hath helped many writers) wherein tten times more is adioined then is in print. Where he makethh great lamentation for his wrongfull imprisonment, wishing ddeath to end his daies; which in my judgement doth greatly a accord with that in the Testament of

Love." Hearne refers to this in a footnote to his Letter to Bagford, Works, vol. II, Oxford, 1728, p. 60:05. (Note that Add. 34360 has been in Stow's possession; perhaps this was the MS. seen by Speght.) A comment on this (Harley) text may be seen in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1763, p. 374, from the "preface to the new index by Astle". . I have transcribed the two copies for publication.

3) Heading: — "Balade that Chauncier made" — not however in Shirley's hand as Prof. Skeat seems to imply; there is no trace of his writing anywhere in this codex, though a part of it, and probably this part, is secondary to Shirley, as will be shown. Printed by Skeat in the *Athenaeum* for June 9, 1894; see *ibid* June 16, 23, and 30. Also in his Oxford Chaucer, vol. IV, p. xxv.

4) One stanza of seven lines, beginning "The world so wide the heyre so remuable". This stanza occurs in XV century MSS. in four ways, — isolated, as here; as one of two stanzas, the second of which begins "The more I go the ferther I am behinde" (see no. 28 of Harley, below); as one of three stanzas, the third of which begins "Worship wyrmmen wyne and vnweldy age", and as the opening strophe of a poem of some length, in which the other themes mentioned do not appear. The two stanzas just described are transcribed in Harley 7333 and Add. 16165 (a Shirley codex) with the heading "by Halsham esquier". The Harley 7333 stanzas were printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 234, and by Flügel, *Anglia* 14: 463, footnote. First printed by Caxton. The three stanzas mentioned are found in Fairfax 16 and Harley 7578; see note on No. 55 of the Harley, below, for the third of them.<sup>1)</sup> The poem beginning with the stanza here copied separately occurs in Harley 2255, printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, Percy Society, 1840, p. 193; also in Harley 2251, see No. 18 of that MS. below; in Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hhh. 4, 12, Jesus College Cambridge 56 (formerly marked Q. G. 8), and Bodl. Rawl. C, 86. Compare also Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21 f fol. 288b, where five stanzas of seven lines, beginning as above, are copied along with other stanzas on the complexions, the seasons, etc., all

<sup>1)</sup> Two of these were printed in the Bell-Jephson Chaucer of 1854—56, as a continuation of the Proverbs of Chaucer.

with the refrain "unstable in living". See note on No. 47 of the Harley MS. below. Lydgate may have used this stanza and the other by "Halsham" as themes for longer poems; cp. his taking the line "How this world is a thoroughfare full of woe" from Chaucer; for another view see Skeat, *Chaucer Canon*, p. 145.

5) Also in the Sbirley MS. Trin. Coll. Cambr. R, 3, 20, with identical headings. See James' *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. II p. 76.

6) An imperfect copy is the last entry in MS. Bodley 638, which is mutilated at close. The Harley 2251 copy is printed by Halliwell, *M. P.* p.p. 164; other texts are found in Laud 683 and Cotton Nero A, VVI; this last is printed by Furnivall with the *Booke of Precedence*, E. E. T. S. 1869. Ritson no. 49. On the poem see Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*.

7) Edited by Degenhart, Berlin 1900, from eight texts, without use of the Add. MS. MSS. are: — Harley 2251, Bodl. Rawl. 86, Lansdowne 699, Leyden Voss. g. G, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh., 4, 12, Bodl. Ashmole 50 and 754, Lambeth 306. (Ashmole 754 not collated by Degenhart.)

8) Copies occur also in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19 and Longleat 258; this latter is not mentioned by Skeat, who prints the text of Thynne, 1532, collating with the two MSS. which he names. In view of the approaching issue by the Clarendon Press of a facsimile of the Thynne Chaucer, it is to be regretted that Prof. Skeat, in his *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, should not have reproduced the versions of the MSS. instead of those contained in Thynne.

9) Six texts, Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, Tanner 346, Harley 78, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Ff. 1, 6, were printed by the Chaucer Society in 1871, and a critical edition of the poem made on the basis of these texts by ten Brink, — published in *Essays*, Ch. Soc., 1874. Two more texts, Harley 7578 and Longleat 258, were printed by the Society in 1880; and Koch, *Anglia Annz.* IV p. 96, constructs scheme of text-relations from these eight. A ninth MS., Add. 34360, formerly Phillips 9053 and bought by the British Museum in 1893, was reproduced by the Chaucer Society in *More Odd Texts*,

1886, while still of the Phillipps collection. However, the editor of the *Minor Poems for the GLOBBE CHAUCER*, 1901, says, p. xxxvi, that he has not yet collated this ninth MS. See Flügel in *Anglia* XXIII, p. 195 for notes on this text of *Pity*.

9a) First printed in the Chaucer of 1561. Printed by the Chaucer Society, Appendix to *More (Odd Texts)*, p. 46. The Harley copy is in *Odd Texts*, Appendix, ii—v.

10) Begins: — “O thou my soule ggiif laude vnto the lorde.” 22 stanzas of 8 lines. Occurs also in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 20 and Add. 29729. The transcription heretofore reproduces the Shirley heading in the Trinity College MS. No heading in the Harley MS. The MS. Add. 29729 is in part Stow’s copy from “master shirleys boke”, see description of this codex in the introduction to Sieper’s edition of Lydgate’s *Reasscon and Sensuality* for the E. E. T. S. Ritson 165.

11) Begins: — “In holy hillis wvhhiche bien of grete renown”, refr., “Gloryus thynges bien soonge and sayde of the.” 29 stanzas of 8 lines. Copied after one imperfect attempt, which is crossed out and intermingled with a poem to Christ. With a heading the duplicate of that in Shirley’s MS. R. 3, 20. Also copied by Stow in Add. 29729; in Harley 2255 and Harley 2251 without heading. Ritson 186.

At this point the handwritting changes.

12) No heading. Begins “gentilnaesse and curtesie . wold be rewarded.” 8 stanzas of seven lines. On precious stones.

13) Begins, — “Jesu crist / kepee oure lypes from pollution.” 6 stanzas of 8 lines, — first of 7. Ritson 207.

14) Begins, — “All hayle . Mary . fruil of grace.” 6 stanzas of 8 lines. Ritson 199.

15) Lydgate’s verses on the Kings of England, beginning “This mighty William duke of Normandy” — in Lydgate’s own recension apparently of 15 seven-line stanzas. Here and in Harley 2251 a stanza to Edward IV has been added. Copies ending with the Henry VI stanza are: — Bodley 686, Ashmole 59, Lansdowne 699, its sister Leyden, Harley 7333, Jesus Coll. Cambr. 56, Rawl. C. 48, Harley 78. The version in Cotton Julius E v is elaborately executed, with miniatures of the kings. The version in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21 and in

Brit. Mus. Egerton 199995 has the heading for Edward IV, but no stanza; this latter is printed by Gairdner in *Historical Collections of a London Citizen in the Fifteenth Century*, Camden Society, 1876, p. 49 ff. The copy in Lambeth 306 shows some slight variations from this, says Gairdner in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. 1880, p. 111. Madden, in his marginal notes to Rittsson (Harvard Univ. Libr., see Robinson's paper already cited), mentions also MSS. Bodley 1999 and College of Arms 58. A version in Brit. Mus. Royal 18 D ii is continued down to Henry VIII, see Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, p. 81. See also Bodl. Ashmole 456, Tanner 383, and B. M. Add. 310422 (imperfect).

16) First line: — "For helth of body couer for cold thyn hede." 10 stanzas of eight lines, last of seven. Copies also in Bodley 686, Laud 6683, Ashmole 61, Lambeth 444. Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 66, from Harley 2251. Ritson 61. Harley 116 has 8 stanzas, beginning with the second printed by Halliwell, of which the opening line is — "If it be so that leches do the faayle." Ritson 55. Halliwell refers also to MSS. Sloan 775, Sloan 3534, Rawl. C. 86, Arundel 168, Bernard 1479 (?). The text from Lambeth 853 is printed by Furnivall in the *Babbees Book* side by side with the Latin from Sloan 3534. A Lowland Scottish text is in the MS. volume containing Baanbour's *Bruce*, — St. John's Coll. Cambridge G. 23 — see Skeat's edition of this poem for the Scottish Text Society, II. 215. Harley 4011 has 58 lines.

17) First line: — "Right mighty prince and it be youre wille." 8 stanzas of 8 lines. Also in Lansdowne 699, its sister at Leyden, and Harley 2255. The colophon assigning the poem to the time *libri Bochasii* is in our two MSS. only; Lansdowne heads it: — "Litera missura domini Johannis Lidgate ad ducem Gloucester." Halliwell, *M. P.* p. 49, prints the Harley 2251 text; Sirr Harris Nicolas (*Chron. of London*, 1827) prints the Harley 2255 text. Ritson 138.

18) Headed "Epiitaphium eiusdem ducis Gloucestrie" as in Harley 2251. 13 stanzas of 8 lines; first line, — "Souerayne Immortal euerlasting god"; refrain "Haue mercy on him buried

<sup>1)</sup> This probably refers to and duplicates one of the Bodleian MSS. catalogued by Bernard.

in this sepulture". Ritson 139. No indication of authorship in MS. See Schick, *Temple of Glass*, E. FE. T. S., p. xcvi, for doubt of Lydgate's authorship; cp. Steele's remark as cited below under 1) of summary.

19) First line: — "Ye devoute peple wwhiche kepe on obseruance." 3 stanzas of 8 lines (last of sevenen). Also in Harley 2255, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 20 and R. 3, 221, Laud 683, Jesus Coll. Cambr. 56, Ashmole 59. The Harley 22251 text is printed by Halliwell, *M. P.* p. 60. The texts other than the Adds. have four eight-line stanzas. Ritson 210.

20) Heading: — "Stella celi extirpauit." Begins: — "Thow heuenly qwene of grace our lodesterre." Four stanzas of eight lines. Also in Harley 2255, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, Jesus Coll. Cambr. 56. Ritson 184.

21) First line: — "Most souereyne lord o blisful crist Jesu." 9 stanzas of 7 lines. Copies also in Fairfax 16, Harley 7578, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21. Fairfax and Harley 7578 run together in a version of twelve stanzas addressed to Henry VI and his mother. Harley 2251 and Adds. 343360 alter to Edward the fourth, and omit the three concluding stanzas with their special reference to circumstances of Henry's reign. The Cambridge MS. is with these two except that it has an additional concluding stanza, the envoy to King Richard belonging to Chaucer's *Lack of Stedfastnesse*. Note that our two manuscripts here again, as in No. 15 above, have special reference to Edward IV's reign. The Harley 7578 copy is printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 227. Ritson 219.

22) First line: — "I counceyle whatt soeuer thow be." 14 stanzas of 8 lines. Copies also in Ashmole 59, Harley 2255, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh. 4, 12, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, Bodl. Arch. Seld. B. 10, Jesus Coll. Cambr. 56. Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, p. 173, from Harley 2255. Ritson 84 and 62.

23) First line: — "Off god and kynd pprocedeth al beaute." 4 stanzas of 8 lines. Copies also in Ashmole 59, Harley 2255, Bodl. Laud 683, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh. 4, 122, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19, Jesus Coll. Cambr. 56, Bodl. Rawl. C. 86 (bad copy), and Leyden Voss. 359 (?) — Halliwell. Printed by Sir Harris Nicolas, *Chron. of London*, 1827, from Harley 2255, by Halliwell in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 74 and *Minor Poems* p. 46, from



Laud 683, by Fairholbt in *Satirical Songs*, Percy Society, 1849, from Halliwell, by Furnivall in *Polit., Religious and Love Poems*, E. E. T. S., 1866, from Hh. 4, 12. The copy in our two manuscripts is a fragment of four stanzas; the poem is of ten. Ritson 63 and 157.

24) First line: — “To moralise a similitude who list these baletts sewe.” 26 stanzas of 7 lines. Another copy, in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19, is of 23 stanzas. Skeat, *Chaucer Canon* p. 120, considers that the last two stanzas belong to another poem. First printed with the Stow Chaucer of 1561, and entitled by Stow the *Craft of Lovers*. Urry’s preface (1721) gives the date of the poem as 1348; the true date was shown, and the poem rejected from the Chaucer canon by Tyrwhitt, vol. II of the 1798 edition of his *Canterbury Tales*, p. 533 note. Ritson 30 and 109.

25) First line: — “Worldly worship is joye transitory.” One stanza of 7 lines; the fourth line is “Disceyt disceyvous ful dissymulable”. In the *Falls of Princes* bk. II cap. 30 the final stanza begins “Deceit deceiueth and shalbe deceiued”; this stanza was apparently popular, and is copied separately in Fairfax 16, Harley 7578, and Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 20.

26) Two lines of Latin: — “Vinum lacte lana oleum liquore fabanum Encaustum vino cetera mundat aqua”, — and a 7-line stanza beginning “Of wyne away the moles may ye wasshe”. This is the last stanza of three which occur in Univ. Libr. Cambr. Ff. 1, 6, and are printed therefrom in *Reliquiae Antiquae* I, I, 26 as a *Treatise for Lavandres*; this single stanza is printed by Steele, *Academy* 1894, I p. 395.

27) Four lines of seven accents, written in eight short lines. Begins: — “The is non so wise a man But he may wisdom lere.” Also in Bodl. Ashmole 59 (Shirley).

28) See under 644) of the Harley MS., below.

Two questions suggest themselves for consideration: — the remaining contents of f Harley 2251, and the connection between these two codices on the one hand and between them and the Shirley volumes on the other.

The manuscript marked Harley 22251 is on paper, of 293 leaves  $11\frac{5}{8}$  by  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The eighteenth century catalogue of the Harley collection ascribes the transcription to "one Shirley", a mistake doubtless due to the copying, in the latter part of the codex, of Shirley's headings and notes in the original volume; see Foerster in *Herrrig's Archiv* ciii. That this original volume is still in existence, in the library of Trinity College Cambridge will, I hope, appear from the discussion below.

Written in two hands, of the latter XV century, neither the hand of Shirley. Hand A, up to fol. 143, is that appearing also in nos. 12 to 23 of the Add. codex, and, it must be noted, also in a small part of the codex Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, i. e. foll. 34a to 79b, see James' catalogue p. 84. This Cambridge MS., as I have already pointed out (*Modern Philology*, vol. II, in a paper on Caxton's Two Editions of the Canterbury Tales), is composed, like Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19, of several fascicules or booklets, used separately and bound together afterwards: this hand appears in the second fascicule and in part of the third. Its characteristics are unmistakable, and I note also the trick of writing *ie* for *ee*, (*bien* for *been*) which is peculiar to this scribe. Hand B of the Harley MS., from fol. 143 on, is of very similar character, but slightly smaller, more compressed laterally, and less neat and regular than hand A. This second hand of the Harley MS. is by no means unlike the hand engaged upon the earlier portion of Add. 34360. There is no stanza spacing; a marginal mark indicates the break between strophæes. Each poem begins with a fair-sized red and blue capital, but except for this, the pages are almost continuously full. There are no running titles and very few catchwords.

This codex was liberally used by Halliwell in the preparation of his edition of Lydgate's *Minor Poems* for the Percy Society, 1840. He then printed from it some twenty articles, remarking occasionally that the recensions of other MSS. were longer, but apparently not recognizing the tendency of this MS. to partial and careless copies.

Before enumerating the contents of Harley 2251, I present a parallel view of a part of its entries and of a part of the Shirley codex Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 20.

## HHHarley 2251

## R. 3. 200

No. 65	No. 45	Procession of Corpus Christi	[James' 70]
" 66	" 50	Seven Stanzas on princes' fates	[James' 75]
" 67	" 44	A saying of the nightingale	[James' 69]
" 68	" 17	Gaude virgo	
" 69	" 39	Christus qui lux es	
" 70	" 35	Benedic anima mea	[James' 60]
" 71	" 1	Gloriosa dicta sunt	
" 72	" 30	A Valentine	[James' 55]
" 73	" 3	Bycorne and Chichevache	[James' 3]
" 74	" 7	How this world is a thoroughfare full of woe	[James' 7]
" 75	" 31	On Presenting an Eagle to the King	[James' 56]
" 76	" 32	"Alas I woful creature"	[James' 57]
" 77	" 33	Coronation Address to Henry VI	[James' 58]
" 78	" 34	On Gloucester's Marriage	[James' 59]

The parallelism between nos. 75 to 78 of the Harley MS. and nos. 31 to 34 of the Trinity codex strikes the eye at once; this apparent coincidence is borne out by comparison of the texts themselves, which shows beyond a doubt that the Cambridge MS. was the prototype of the later Harleian texts. The same is true of *Bycorne and Chichevache*, of the stanzas on the unhappy fates of princes, and of the procession of Corpus Christi. I have therefore no hesitation in saying, as in my paper in *Modern Philology* already referred to, that the failure of Dr. Glauuning to consult, in fact to print the text of the *Saying of the Nightingale* from the Cambridge MS. instead of from the secondary codices Harley 2251 and Add. 29729 (Stow) is a serious one. See his recent edition for the E. E. T. S.

I subjoin notes on these poems, citing by their numbers in the Harley codex.

65) Contained also in Stow's MS. Add. 29729, with the same concluding note in all three copies: — "Shirley kowde fynd no more for thiss copye." Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.* p. 95, from the Harley MS. Ritson 153.

66) First line, — "Beholde this gret prynce Edwarde the seconde." Seven seven-line stanzas, ending with the Duke of Ireland. One stanza for each prince. Stow copies it in Add. 29729. Ritson 132.

67) In the same three MSS., with the same note at close — “Of this Balade Dan John Lydgate madele nomore.” See my comment above. Ritson 213.

68) First line: — “Be gladdē maydeē . moder of Jesu.” Seven stanzas of seven lines. Ritson 1991. In Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 21.

69) First line: — “Crist that art . booth day and light.” Seven eight-line stanzas, each last line Latin. Ritson 226.

70) and 71) have already been noted. .

72) First line: — “Saynt Valentine oof custom yeere by yeere.” Twenty stanzas of seven lines. Also in Stow’s MS. mentioned, and in Ashmole 59 (Shirley). Ritson 193.

73) Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 1229, from the Harley MS.; copies in Stow’s MS. and in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19. Halliwell has made one or two extraordinary errors; for example, the tenth line reads, in the Cambridge codex — “But pacient husbandis in his pasture” —; the Harley scribe omitted the word *husbondis*, which was supplied with a caret by a somewhat later hand; this Halliwell misread to *husks never*. His error is reproduced by Montaiglon, in the eleventh vol. of his *Recueil de poésies françoises des XVVe et XVIe Siècles*, Paris 1855 and following, where, as well as in the second vol., parallels and notes on the legend may be found. Ritson 34. The earlier editions of Dodsley’s *Old English Plays* contain the text, then supposed to be dramatic.

74) First line: — “Lyft up the Jeen . obf your aduertence.” 24 stanzas of eight lines. Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 122, from the Harley MS. In Adds. 29729. Ritson 96.

75) First line: — “This hardy fowle . this bridde victorious.” 11 stanzas of seven lines. Copied in Adds. 29729. Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.*, from the Harley MS.; and wrongly headed by him as written by Lydgate on the occasion of the king’s marriage; the Cambridge codex has a full heading showing that the eagle was presented to Henry VI and his mother. Ritson 75.

76) First line: — “Allas I woful creatuure.” Seven stanzas of eight lines. Copied by Stow in Adds. : 29729. Printed by

Halliwell, *M. P.*, from the Harley MS.; see his page 220. Ritson 110.

77) First line: — “Most noble prince of cristen princes alle.” 18 stanzas of eight lines. In Ashmole 59, and in Stow’s MS. cited. Ritson 1134. Printed by Wright, *Political Poems*, II. 141, from Harley: 2251.

78) First line: — “Thurgh gladde aspectis of the god Cupide.” In anticipation of Gloucester’s marriage to Jacqueline of Hainault. Copied by Stow as cited. Printed by me from the Cambridge codex in *Anglia*, N. F. XV, p. 381 ff. 27 stanzas of seven lines. Ritson 137.

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A cursory comparison of the order in Stow (see Sieper’s description of this MS. in his E. E. T. S. edition of *Reason and Sensuality*) with the contents of R. 3. 20 shows that all the poems said by Stow to be from “master Sherleys booke” are in the Cambridge codex, with these numbers. (I give my own marking, not James’s.) — Nos. 2, 36, 37, 11, 12, 18, 20, 31, 1, 4, 7, 15, 30, 9, 34, 332, 44, 45, 50, 58, 38. The agreement of the headings, and of the texts so far as compared, also the fact that R. 3. 20 bears notes in Stow’s hand and is plainly the original used by him, show that this volume, rather than Stow’s, is “of the highest importance for the study of Lydgate” (Sieper), since it is the direct source of much that is in Stow’s MS. and of a part of the MS. we are considering. One fact about the Stow copy requires comment. The table of contents, in verse, transcribed by Stow from Shirley at the end of these extracts, does not represent the Cambridge codex, nor any known Shirley MS. It is less explicit in its catalogue than is the similar table prefixed to Add. 16165 by Shirley, in which latter each article is named; this doggerel list begins with “the humaynee pilgrymage”, and then mentions indiscriminately “many a roundel and balade Which y<sup>e</sup> munke of bury hath made — — — Of morall mater / and holynesse Of salmes / and of yympnes expresse Of loue and lawe / and of playnges Of lordles of ladyes of qwenes of kynges — —” etc.; see bit printed by Schick, introd. to *Temple of Glass*. The only other explicit mention is of the Life of Saint Margaret, though allusion is made to devotional poems in French, in

English, and in Latin. A copy of the "humayne pilgrimage", (Shirley says that it is in prose) is in the Sion College MS. at London, in Shirley's hand. That MS. has no verse-table of contents, comprises nothing but the prose Pilgrimage, and is imperfect at beginning and end, also so heavily trimmed that parts of Shirley's marginal notes have been cut away. On paper, of 93 leaves. A modern note at the beginning says that two leaves are there lost.

All things considered, it seems to me most probable that Stow's scribe, after making the transcriptions from R. 3, 20, turned to the Sion College MS. or a similar codex of Shirley's, and copied the table of contents therefrom. It should also be added that the Life of St. Margaret in the Cambridge codex lacks the tenth stanza of the prologue, and that this has been inserted on the margin by Stow or his scribe. On the hypothesis here presented, the missing stanza was seen in the Sion Coll. (?) MS., in which the poem was included, as we can perceive from Stow's copy of the table of contents, and was then entered in the Cambridge codex, which was still in Stow's hands. This procedure appears to me much more likely than that any other (lost) codex by Shirley should have so closely duplicated the contents of R. 3. 20. He often transcribed two or three articles in more than one of his manuscripts; but it does not seem probable that he would have carried it to this extent.

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There follow in Harley 2251 but a few more entries:

79) Seven "Isopes ffables", printed from this MS. by Sauerstein in *Anglia* IX; see Zupitza in the *Archiv*, vol. 85 p. 1, with the text from Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19, and one fable from Ashmole 59; fables also in Ashmole 186? Ritson 45.

80), 81), 82), and 83) have been discussed above, when considering Adds. 34360.

84) Imperfect because of the mutilation of the MS. at close. *The Court of Sapience*, without the prologue. In Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, also without the prologue, according to note by Stow. His copy in Adds. 29729 has the prologue — 10 stanzas. Ritson 51, cp. 12.

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Between these two portions of the Harley MS., that parallel with the Add. volume and that parallel with the Cambridge volume, there intervenes a large mass of entries, Nos. 12 to 64 in Harley.

12) Begins: — "A froward knave plainly to discryve." 7 stanzas of 8 lines. Printed from this MS. in *Reliq. Antiq.* I, 13. Copies in Lansdowne 699, printed *Minor Poems* p. 52, in the Leyden codex, in Laud 683, and in Leyden Voss. 159 (?) according to Halliwell. Laud has 7 stanzas, Lansdowne ten. Ritson 47.

13) First line: — "Late no man boste . of konnyng nor vertu." Refrain: — "Al stant on change . like a mydsomer rose." 15 stanzas of seven lines. Copies are in Harley 2255, Ashmole 59, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh. 4, 12, Jesus Coll. Cambr. 56 (printed *Minor Poems* p. 22), Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21. Ritson 68.

14) First line; — "Rex Salamon . summus of sapience." Lines partly Latin and partly English. Refrain: — "Sonat vox tua in auribus." 8 stanzas of eight lines. Ritson 98.

15) First line: — "Surge mea sponsa . so swete in sight." Refrain: — "Veni Coronaberis." 6 of 8 lines: breaks off abruptly with two lines of seventh stanza. Old pagination shows loss of a leaf. Ritson 188. In Cotton Caligula A ii, 9 stanzas of 8 lines; and see Furnivall, *Hymns to Virgin*, etc. E. E. T. S. 1867, from Lambeth 853.

16) Fragmentary because of the mutilation just mentioned. The last three stanzas of the poem printed by Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 172 from Harley 172, beginning "Alle ryghtwysness now dothe procede", and having the refrain "right as a ram's horn". Copies also in Lansdowne 409, Harley 4011, Ashmole 61, Bodley 686, Add. 29729. Ritson 125.

17) First line: — "Trete euery man . like as he is disposed." Refrain: — "Thus euery thyng drawith to his semblable." 24 stanzas of 8 lines and two lines of another. Ritson 64. In MS. Ashmole 59, 24 stanzas of 8 lines.

18) First line: — "The world so wyde . the ayre so removable." 22 stanzas of 7 lines. The recension in Harley 2255 is printed *M. P.* p. 193; other copies are in Jesus Coll.

Cambr. 56, Rawl. C. 86, and Univ. Librr. Cambr. Hh. 4, 12, incomplete. See note on no. 4 of the Addds. codex above.

19) First line: — "All. thyng in kynde desirith thyng I like." 11 stanzas of 8 lines. Printed *M. P.* p. 55 from this MS. Ritson 66.

20) First line: — "The hasty maan failith neuer woo." Theme: — "He hastith wele that wisely can abyde." 8 stanzas of 8 lines. Ritson 67.

21) First line: — "By witte of maan althyng that is contraryed." Theme: — "Nothyng commenyd but it in mesure be." 10 stanzas of 8 lines. Ritson 669. Printed Halliwell, *M. P.* p. 80. Copy in MS. Addds. 29720 (Stow), of 13 stanzas.

22) First line: — "O man thou rmarrest in thy mind." Refrain: — "Hoc factum est a domino." 12 stanzas of 8 lines. Ritson 164.

23) First line: — "Haile blisshed laady the moder of crist Jesu." Refrain: "O aue Iesse virgula." 19 stanzas of 8 lines. Ritson 190. Another copy in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 20, and the last 12 stanzas in Harley 2255. Two copies in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 21.

24) First line: — "Regina celi quene of thy south." Refrain: — "Maria virgo assumpta est." 10 stanzas of 8 lines (first of 7). Ritson 192.

25) First line: — "Haile luminary and benyng lanterne." Refrain: — "Aue regina celorum." 6 stanzas of 8 lines. Ritson 203. In Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, two copies.

26) First line: — "O thow joieful light eternal ye shine." Varying Latin refrains. To the Virginia. 5 stanzas of 8 lines. Ritson 204. Another copy in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21. Not in Harley 372 as Ritson says.

27) First line: — "As I me lenyð unto a joyful place." 10 stanzas of four-beat lines, rime royal. Ritson 162. Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 78. In Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, two copies. See Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, p. 225 ff.

28) First line: — "The more I goo the further I am behynde." Refrain: — "Though I go loose I tyed am with a lyne." 12 stanzas of 7 lines. Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.* p. 74.



3 stanzas of 7 lines are copied in Stow's Ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 29729. The first strophe also occurs isolated, as in Univ. Libr. Cambr. Ff. 1. 6, where it is preceded by an extract from the *Falls of Princes* and followed by the stanzas on the virtues discussed as No. 60 below; and it appears as one of two or of three proverbial stanzas, noted under No. 4 of Add. 34360 above. Observe that this refrain is also used in a four-stanza poem beginning "Under your hood is but oo countenance", in Bodl. Rawl. C. 48. The Harl. 2251 verses were written after the *Dance Macabre* had been painted in S. Paul's Churchyard, see Halliwell, *M. P.* pp. 77. Ritson 97.

29) First line: — "This world is ful of stabilnesse". Refr.: — "So as the Crabbe goth forward". 7 stanzas of 8 lines, printed Halliwell, *M. P.* p. 58. Ritson 65 and 74. A copy is in Bodley 686, and in B. M. Add. 29729; that in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 20 is preceded by the French, with a heading by Shirley bidding his readers choose which they prefer.

30) First line: — "Beholde o man lift up thy eye and see." Refrain: — "Was like a lambe offred in sacrifice." 18 stanzas of 8 lines. The last of the 5 parts of the *Testament*, noted by Ritson as 333, while this extract is noted as 214. The *Testament* is printed entire by Halliwell *M. P.* p. 232 from Harley 2255; other copies are in Harley 2382, Harley 218, Laud 683, Jesus Coll. Cambr. 56, Egerton (?) and one (?) of the Leyden MSS. (Copies of portions are in Royal 18 D ii, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19, Phillips 8299, Rawl. C. 86, Stow's MS. Add. 29729.

31) noted above as 25 of Add. 34360.

32) First line: — "Who shal gyve unto my hede a welle." Heading: — "Quis dabit capite meo fontem lacrimarum." 19 stanzas of 8 lines. Ritson 70. Copies in Harley 2255, Laud 683, Jesus Coll. Cambr. 56, St. John's Coll. Oxford 56. The Laud (?) copy is Ritson's No. 200.

33) Chaucer's Complaint to Fortune. No mark of authorship. Ritson 21, though he seems to be referring to a printed copy. MSS. are Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, Pepys 2006, Ashmole 59, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 20, Arch. Selden B. 10, Lansdowne 699, — printed by the Chaucer Society, — and a copy in the

Leyden codex, sister to Lansdowne, described by Robinson as mentioned above under No. 1 of the Adds. MS.

34) Heading: — "A demawnde by Lydgate." First line: — "Eche man folwith his owne fantasy." Theme: — love set aback for meed. 17 stanzas of 8 lines. Cp. Ritson 122? A copy in Ashmole 59, and in Adds. 29729.

35) Chaucer's *Gentilesse*. Ritson 31. MSS. are Ashmole 59, Harley 7333, Harley 7578, Adds. 22139, Cotton Cleopatra D vii, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 20, and R. 14, 51. All printed by the Chaucer Society. The Ashmole 59 copy is of Scogan's *Moral Ballade*, containing Chaucer's poem; Harley 2251 has both Scogan (No. 58 below) and, separately, this copy of Chaucer's verses.

36) Chaucer's *ABC*. Ritson 206. MSS. are Fairfax 16, Bodley 638, Harley 7578, Sion College, Bedford, Laud 740, St. John's College Cambr. G, 21, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Gg. 4, 27 and Ff. 1, 6, Pepys 2006 (two copies), Glasgow. All printed by the Chaucer Society.

37) First line: — "To moralise a symilitude who list these balades sewe." See note on Adds. 34360 no. 24 above. Ritson 109.

38) *Fabula Duorum Mercatorum*; see Adds. 34360 no. 1 above.

39) First line: — "O welle of swetnesse replete in euery veyne." 16 stanzas of 7 lines. Ritson 205. Printed Halliwell *M. P.* p. 62, and by Horstmann in the Chaucer Society Originals and Analogues III, for the *Prioress' Tale*. Two copies are in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, there of 20 stanzas. Not in Harley 372 as Ritson says.

40) The *Prioress' Tale*. No mark of authorship. Ritson 239, from Harley 2382.

41) First line: — "He that intendith in his hert to seke." Two seven-line stanzas urging the worship of St. Anne. In Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21.

42) see above under Adds. 34360, No. 26.

43) First line: — "Remembryd by scriptures we fynde and rede." Four stanzas of 7 lines. Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 73.

44) First line: — "In Wiltshire of Ynglond two preestes ther were." 5 stanzas of 7 lines. Printed by Halliwell, *M. P.*, p. 72.

45) First line: — "My fader above beholdyng thy mekenesse." Three stanzas of 7 lines, apparently incomplete. Ritson No. 215.

46) First line: — "Long wil be water in a welle to keche." 3 stanzas of 7 lines. Against eagerness for riches. Ritson 78.

47) First line: — "The sangwyne man of blode hath hardynes." Three stanzas of 7 lines. On the complexions. A poem on the same subject, 18 stanzas of 8 lines, is in Harley 2255, printed Halliwell, *M. P.* p. 193; and 7 stanzas of 7 lines are in Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh. 4, 12. See note above on No. 4 of Add. 34360. In MS. Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, fol. 288 and following, is a set of short poems in 7 and 8 line stanzas on the planets, the 12 signs, the four elements (beginning "The world so wyde" etc.), the complexions, etc. All have a common refrain — "stable in living". This set of short poems was printed by Julian Notary, see list in Furnivall's *Trial Forewords*, pp. 78—9 footnote. Perhaps bits of the material of the *Secreta Secretorum* were in circulation in separate and modified forms. Ritson has this article as No. 79, and it is included in his No. 119.

48) First line: — "Off yiftes large in love hath grete delite." The same subject. Four stanzas of 7 lines.

49) First line: — "The high astripotent auctor of all." Seven stanzas of seven lines. Ritson 173.

50) See No. 27 of Add. 34360, as ante. In darker ink, as if copied later.

51) From fol. 81 a to 145 b is a series of extracts from the *Falls of Princes*, not so marked. The passages transcribed are for the most part envoys, and there are 57 of them, their subjects usually indicated in the margin. The scribe took his extracts, up to the 49th, in sequence through the nine books, skipping irregularly along; with the 50th and 51st he returned to Book II, and the remainder are from Book I. The last of them, the praise of poverty from I, 18, is Ritson's 93;

I do not find that he has included any other of these extracts in his list. Halliwell, *M. P.*, has printed two; No. 12 of them on p. 69, and No. 13 on p. 84. From fol. 137a on is a series of marginal comments by the scribe, who is indignant at the slanders against women contained in the text, and writes, — "I pray yow to be pees", — "Ye wil be shent", — "Ye leese your thank", — etc., etc., culminating finally in "Be pees or I wil rende this leef out of your booke." One of these notes, — "Late hem compleyne that neode have", — attracts the eye by its Shirleyan spelling of the word *neode*, and raises the question whether these extracts and comments be from a Shirley MS. Observe the remarkable similarity between this set of extracts and those in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 19, noted below.

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On fol. 143a, in the last of these extracts, the handwriting changes.

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52) First line: — "As out of hony men gete off swetnesse." Refr. "Who sueth vertu he shal vertu lere." 16 stanzas of 8 lines. Printed Halliwell *M. P.* from Harley 2255, where the version is of 13 stanzas. Also in Jesus Coll. 56, Rawl. C. 86, Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 21, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Kk. 1, 6; in these of 13 stanzas. Ritson 95.

53) "Stans Puer ad Mensam." 13 stanzas of 8 lines, lacking the first stanza of the version printed by Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, from Jesus Coll. 56. This text and that of Lambeth 853 are printed by Furnivall in the *Babees Book*; other copies are in Lansdowne 699 and its sister Leyden, Ashmole 59, Rawl. C. 48, Cott. Calig. A ii, Harley 4011 (part), Laud 683, Bodley 686, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh. 4, 12, Stowe 982, Add. 5467. The copy in Ashmole 61, a different and longer recension (cp. Calig. A. ii) is ascribed by J. T. T. Brown to Rate, the confessor of James I of Scotland. See *Scottish Antiquary* 11, 145. Ritson 91.

54) First line: — "Loke wel aboute ye that lovers be." Refr. "Beware therfor the blynd etith many a flye." 6 stanzas of 7. Copies in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 19 and O. 9, 38. Printed

from the Cambridge RMS. by Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 295; see also his *Chaucer Canon*, p. 124.

55) First line: — “After this story tellith also.” 7 stanzas of 7 lines. Corresponds to part of the poem transcribed in Bodl. Digby 181, fol. 7a, and that printed by de Worde as the *Payne and Sorow of Evyll Maryage*, reprinted by Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. IV, and by Collier for the Percy Society in 1840; twenty two seven-line stanzas. Printed from the Digby MS. by Wright in the appendix to his *Poems of Walter Mapes*, Camden Society, 1841, p. 295. The Digby copy has 22 stanzas. The last stanza of this copy, which apparently does not belong here, begins “Worship wymmen wyne vnweldy age”, — cp. ante under No. 4 of the Add. MS., and see Foerster in Herrig's *Archiv*, 104: 301, with a print of the stanza from Harley 4733, where it follows the seven wise counsels to a prince (printed *ibid* p. 297 ff.), as is also the case in Harley 116. In Ashmole 59 (Shirley) this stanza occurs alone, following 3 stanzas on the Complexions, which follow the Seven Wise Counsels. (The seven wise counsels are No. 60 in this MS.) In Fairfax 16 this stanza is one of three, the other two being those elsewhere called *Balades by Halsham*, see No. 4 of Add. as above; they intervene between *Stedfastness* and *Newfangleness*, and Chaucer's *Proverbs*. In Harley 7578 the order is *Stedfastness*, *Newfangleness*, Lydgate's *Doubleness*, the prayer for Henry VI as above No. 21 of Add., the stanza on deceit mentioned under No. 25 of Add., the *Worship*, etc. stanza, Chaucer's *Proverbs*, the strophes by “Halsham”, and Chaucer's *ABC*. The close connection between Fairfax and Harley 7578 could easily be demonstrated. For this single stanza see Skeat, *Canon*, p. 124, where it is pointed out that the strophe forms in R. 3, 19 part of a four-stanza poem, — and note the rewritings (?) in Stow's ed. of 1561 reprinted by Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 297. Ritson 82.

56) First line: — “Considre wele with euery circumstance.” Refr. “A wykked tunge wil alwey deme amys.” 20 stanzas of 7 lines. Also in Univ. Libr. Cambr. Ff. 1, 6, in Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 20, Bodley 686; in these three of 19 stanzas. Copied in Stow's MS. Add. 29729. Ritson 94, 121.

57) 8 proverbial couplets in three-beat lines, the Latin beside them.

58) Heading — “Querela senis.” First line: — “My noble sones and eke my lordis dere.” 23 stanzas of 8 lines. Scogan’s *Moral Balade*; also in Shirley’s MS. Ashmole 59. See Skeat, *Chaucerian* etc., p. 257.

59) First line: — “The tyme appproched of necessite.” 115 stanzas of 7 lines. *Summum Sapientiae*, with the names of the philosophers in margin. See Ashmole 59, fol. 84b, and Harley 7578. Against the line — “Myn auctor and I both bien named Iohn”, the scribe has put in the margin “Verba Iohannis Lydgate”. See Foerster, *Archiv*, 104: 304–309 for note and for print of the first three and last four stanzas. Cp. also the Vernon MS. in E. E. T. S. pp. 522 ff. and Boll in *Anglia* XXI. Ritson 76.

60) First line: — “By sapience tempire thy corage.” 7 stanzas of 7 lines. Counsels to a prince. In Harley 116, Ashmole 59, Harley 4733, Ff. 1, 6, Arundel 168. For print of this text, stemma, and notes, see Foerster in *Archiv* 104: 297 ff. Ritson 77.

61) *Cato*. First line of the *Parvus Cato* — “Whanne I aduerte to my remembraunce”: seven stanzas of 7 lines. Ritson 11. *Cato Major*, beginning “For that god is inwardly the wit.” Ritson 54.

See list of 24 MSS. by Foerster, *Archiv* 101: 45, where the texts are grouped in two sets: A = Rawl. C. 48, Rawl. F, 32, F. 35, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Hh. 4, 1;2, Harley 172; B<sup>1</sup> = Chetham B. 7, 6, Trin. Coll. Dublin E. I, 29, Harley 116, Arundel 168; B<sup>2</sup> = Hunterian U. 4, 17, Raine, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Ee. 4, 31, Ff. 1, 6, Ff. 4, 9, Pepys 2006, Cosin V. 2, 14, Huth, Harley 271, Harley 2251, Harley 4733, Harley 7333, Add. 34193, Royal 18 D ii, Peniarth. I have also noted a copy in Jesus College Cambridge 56, and Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, mentions one in Egerton 745.

62) Part of *Querela senis* is again copied, with two stanzas of a dietary, then several leaves are lost.

63) First line: — “Ye that beth of goode deuocyon.” 75 stanzas of 8 lines. “Explicit quod Lidegate” at close. Ritson 223. In St. John’s College Oxford 56, Hatton 73 (part),

Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 21 (part). A further note on this poem will appear; it is Lydgate's poem on the Mass.

64) The *Secreta Secretorum* or *Governance of Princes*. Edited by Steele for the E. E. T. S., very imperfectly, from MS. Sloan 3464. List of 12 MSS. by Foerster, *Archiv* 101: 56, — Sloane 2027 and 22464, Lansdowne 285, Harley 2251 and 4826, Arundel 59, Addds. 14408 (and 34360), Laud 416 and 673, Ashmole 46, Ashburnham 132 and 134. See Prosigel's dissertation, Munich 1903, where it is pointed out that Harley 2251, Addds. 34360, and Arundel 59 derive from a common source and are in the same hand. Ritson 52.

It is a conspicuous fact in these lists that certain MSS. other than those immediately under consideration appear and reappear as possessed of texts of some of these poems. Thus, the codex Trinity Colledge Cambridge R. 3, 19 has No. 80, the *Fables of Aesop*; No. 88 (of Addds. 34360), the *Assembly of Ladies*; No. 74, *Bycorne and Chichevache*; No. 11, *Horns Away*; No. 37, the *Craft of Lovers*; No. 50, *Beware therefore*; the *Testament*, all but the part transcribed in Harley 2251 as No. 30; and in more striking agreement with Harley 2251 than elsewhere, a long set of extracts from the *Falls of Princes*, cp. No. 51 of Harley. Not only is the selection and sequence of extracts the same in a large portion of this set in both MSS., but two bits which are imperfect in one are imperfect in the other in exactly the same way. Also while I note, as above, a Shirley spelling in a marginal comment of Harley 2251, I find the Shirley spelling *Juwo* for Juno in this part of R. 3, 19. The text of the *Assembly of Ladies* in the Cambridge codex is however of quite another type from that in Addds. 34360, and closely related to the third MS. of the poem, Longleat 258, though inferior to it in readings.

Other MSS. which have been above mentioned contain the following parallels to Harley 2251:

Harley 2251	3	4	5	7	8	10	11	12	13	18	23	30	32	38	52	53	83
Laud 683		22		:	28			19	20			29	26				24
Hh. 4. 12							8	9		11	22				6		2 5
Lansd. 699	10								16						2		14 9
Jesus College				:	20	21	3	5		4	7		1	2		8	26
Harley 2255				13	:	25	21	1	3		2	6	36	14	15	17	5

It is possible that a detailed comparison of these and other codices would result in showing that a large body of Lydgate's work is derived en masse from one or two archetypes; this would be true rather of his religious and didactic verse, popular and much copied, than of the mummings, personal poems, and addresses the text of which he himself did not retain and which did not circulate. Codices like Harley 2255 or Laud 683, containing nothing; but his poems of such nature, and written with a good deal of care, indicate the same thing. Compare the remark of Robinson, *Harvard Studies* V p. 178, that the marked parallel between Lansdowne 699 and its sister Leyden "suggests the possible existence of a kind of canon of Lydgate's shorter pieces".

A note upon the codex Harley 22255 may not come amiss at this point. The MS. thus marked is on vellum, of 157 leaves  $10\frac{3}{4}$  by  $7\frac{5}{8}$  inches, very well written in one script of the early XV century, a strong square conventional hand, the heavy and light strokes well contrasted, the lines carefully ruled, rubrics, illuminated capital to each poem, and at the beginning of each stanza a paragraph-mark in gilt and color, with pen background of flourishes. These marks are alternately gilt and blue, and the pen-flourishes alternately dull red and bright red. The gilt is bright, the MS. clean and fair, and the text usually sound and good. On 43b, in the stanza where Lydgate says

"Late charchyd in myn oold ddayes  
By Willm Curteys which gauee commandement"

there is interlined an explanatory "Abbas de Bury" above Curteys' name. I notice this in conjunction with the fact that in the first capital of the MS., on the first page, there is inserted a small coat of arms, as follows: — Azure three crowns or two and one, above each a torteau or. This coat is of necessity so very small that the query has suggested itself to me whether by extremely informal heraldry the arms of Bury, — three crowns or on an azure field, — might have been combined with the three torteaux of Curteys. This was of course not the regular procedure; the Abbot would properly have impaled his own arms with those of the Abbey; but the coincidence, the clerical excellence of the codex, and the



fact that its entire contents are Lydgatean, has suggested the possibility of the MS. execution for Curteys.<sup>1)</sup> Compare further a part of its contents with those of the MS. Jesus College above mentioned, in which latter there are 27 entries: —

Harley 2255, 14 15 1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7 8 10 11 16 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28  
 Jesus Coll. 1 2 3 4 5 6 8 8 7 10 9 13 15 22 14 24 21 17 18 19 20 23 24 25

The two remaining entries in the Jesus College MS. are *Stans Puer* and *Cato*.

The comparison of these two British Museum manuscripts cannot yield much until further study has been expended upon the Shirley codices. But a few points seem already clear: —

1) From the table or on the second and third pages we deduce that, as entries 13 to 23 of the Adds. MS. and 1 to 11 of the Harley MS. are copies from the same original, executed by the same scribe, their agreement in detail furnishes no evidence towards a critical text.<sup>2)</sup> This is true also of Nos. 24 to 27 in the Adds. and their parallels in the Harley. Steele's remark in the *Academy* of 1894, I, I, 395, when commenting on the newly acquired Adds. MS., that "we may now admit the Epitaph on Gloucester to be genuine", i. e. by Lydgate, has therefore no ground; the existence of the text in this part of the Adds. MS. furnishes no more proof of any hypothesis than did its existence in the Harley, already known.

2) Numbers 1 to 11 of the Adds. MS., constituting nearly all its remaining contents, are paralleled in part by extracts in the latter portion of the Harley, and by extracts in two Shirley MSS., the Trinity College R. 3, 20 and the fragmentary Harley 78 of the British Museum. Observe that in 2 and 2a, 9 and 9a, we have a Chaucer-poem copied continuously with one doubtfully Chaucerian, — a coincidence which tempts

<sup>1)</sup> The statement in the *Le Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. *John Stow*, that "Harley 2255, which contains transcripts by Shirley of poems by Lydgate and Chaucer, was once Stow's property" is wrong in every particular.

<sup>2)</sup> It might be repeated that constant minor differences in text between the Harley and the Adds. codices argue their independence of one another.

to the hypothesis that these two tricks were present in one and the same Shirley-MS., a codex now the fragmentary Harley 78. Observe also that, although Shirley made copies of so much work by Lydgate and by Chaucer, no existing MS. of his includes Chaucer's *Purse*, Lydgate's *Fabula Duorum Mercatorum*, *Order of Fools*, or *Horse, Goose, and Sheep*, i. e. poems in this first part of the Add. MS. which seems to be derived from Shirley. May we not therefore assume a lost Shirley volume, four leaves of which remain bound into the scrapbook now called Harley 78, as the archetype of our two manuscripts in much of this portion? The *Assembly of Ladies*, almost the only extract in this first part of the Add. MS. which has not either a Shirley or a Harley parallel, is probably from another source. But the difference of the envoyless text of *Purse* in Harley and Add. from the secondary Shirley copy in Harley 7333 militates nothing against the possible origin just proposed, for Shirley's copies are not always exactly parallel to one another, cp. Koch in *Engl. Stud.* 27: 10 ff.; and we might also compare the suggestion of Hales that the envoy was written at a time other than the body of the poem. Should we entertain this theory of a Shirley ancestor for these texts in both our MSS., we should feel still more confident of the genuineness of *Womanly Noblesse* (Skeat, Oxford Chaucer, IV, xxv), while the case for the *Balade of Pitee* would be no stronger than before, notwithstanding Skeat's emphatic note, Oxford Chaucer, I, pp. 75, 76. And what should we think of 2a?

3) The parallels with the existing Shirley MS. Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 20 come late in the Harley volume, nos. 65 to 78; and the articles transcribed between 12 of the Harley, where agreement in sequence with the Add. codex ceases, and No. 65 of the Harley, may be classed as follows: — either a) of common source with the Add., as nos. 31, 37, 38, 51; b) belonging to the group with Harley 2255, Laud 683, etc., as nos. 12, 13, 18, 30, 32, etc.; c) related in some way to R. 3, 21, as nos. 23, 25, 26, 27, 39; d) paralleled in the (Shirley) Ashmole 59, as nos. 3, 7, 10, 17, 33, 34, 50, 53, 58, 59, 60, 72, 77; or, as far as I can yet see, e) without existing MS. connection. I have not, however, yet had opportunity to examine the Vossian manuscripts at Leyden, where there is probably

more Lydgate material than is at present known to students. The correspondence of 13 of the Harley entries to an existing Shirley MS., the Ashmole, is an interesting fact which will be discussed elsewhere. See *Anglia* N. F. XV p. 397/8.

The fairly complete separation of these lines of alliance, i. e., the infrequency with which R. 3, 21 appears with other MSS., or the Shirleys in conjunction with Harley 2255, etc., seems to indicate again, as said above, that a kind of canon of Lydgate's shorter poems may be established by sufficient investigation.

4) From these agreements, and from the identity of hand in parts of Add. 34360, Harley 2251, and R. 3, 19, also the agreement in hand between the rest of R. 3, 19 and R. 3, 21, I argue that these MSS. were executed at closely contemporary date, and possibly in a scriptorium where two Shirley MSS. at least, and other non-Shirley MSS. were simultaneously before the copyists. Note also that the copy of the *Governance of Princes* in Arundel 59 is, according to Prosiegel, in identical hand with that in the Add. and the Harley. However, as already mentioned, the *Assembly of Ladies* of Add. 34360 is of a different type from that in R. 3, 19.

5) This date must have been during or after the reign of Edward IV; for observe the alterations made in the Harley and the Add. texts of nos. 15 and 21, citing by the Add. numbers. Note also the poem by Ashby dated 1463, printed by Foerster, *Anglia*, XX, p. 139 ff. from R. 3, 19. And observe that these extracts in Harley and Add. appear in the non-Shirley part of the codex.

6) The value of the two MSS. Harley and Add., except when they represent a lost Shirley, is very small. All editors comparing their texts critically with others have noted this. Taken in conjunction with the first of these deductions, this fact, their late date, and their derivative character, must relegate them, in the establishment of a critical text, to a subordinate and questionable position. And if the conjecture in 4) above be correct, then contaminated or conflated readings are very possible in these manuscripts.

Much work must be done before these text-relations and manuscript-relations can be demonstrated; and such a study

is of value at the present moment for Chaucer rather than for Lydgate. For if the text of some Chaucer-poem, imbedded in a codex largely Lydgatian, like one of the above, can be better estimated by evaluation of the rest of the volume, something is gained for the Chaucer-canon. Such Chaucerian texts have been thus far too regularly regarded as entities in themselves. In my paper on the text of the *Parlement of Foules* (Univ. of Chicago Decennial Publications, VII, pp. 1—22, 1902) I put forward a conjecture suggested to me by that study, — that a comparison of the codices of the Oxford Group, (Fairfax, Bodley, Tanner, and Digby), would introduce another and important element into the erection of a critical text. I hope that the results of that comparison for the Oxford Group, and of a similar study of the Shirley MSS., which will soon be ready for publication, will substantiate that conjecture in the opinion of Early English specialists, and direct attention, so long concentrated upon the problem of the text, to the problem of the volume.

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ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.

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