

THE RHETORIC OF YORKIST POLITICAL
WRITING DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES

A Dissertation

by

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Submitted to the Office of Graduate and Professional Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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May 2017

Major Subject: English

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the rhetoric of political writing in late medieval England and particularly the ways in which Yorkist writers established their own form of rhetoric for political ends. I argue that Yorkist writers distanced themselves from their Lancastrian predecessors while creating their own form of political rhetoric. I identify four major aspects of Yorkist rhetorical practice. One, several Yorkist poets work within or create a “network” of textual connection through direct quotations and references to politically relevant and contemporary texts. Two, Yorkist writers, for the most part, rejected the genre of prophecy and some offered alternatives. Three, Yorkist writers worked to emphasize the role of women and their importance in England. Four, Yorkist writers highlighted the heraldic identity of noblemen. The most important of these elements of Yorkist rhetoric is their treatment of women in short poetry and their historical writing. I examine the ways in which women were included and excluded from the historical and literary record in order to advance political discourses. The texts I focus on have been neglected by modern scholars, and many have not been edited. As such, I also offer an edition of the Middle English commonplace book found within Trinity College Dublin Manuscript 432. The manuscript is a unique collection of Yorkist writing and represents a major text for those interested in Yorkist political poetry. This project helps us see the roots of our own rhetorical political practices particularly the ways in which what looks like gender inclusivity can reinforce patriarchal political constructs.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mom and dad who, for some reason, supported my decision to go to graduate school to read medieval literature. Thank you for always being behind me and pushing me forward.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be impossible to acknowledge all those who influenced me while working on this project. It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge Nancy Warren and Britt Mize who helped steer me toward fifteenth-century political writing and provided support and feedback as I sent them draft after draft of this dissertation. I would also like to thank Amy Earhart for introducing me to Digital Humanities and the highs and lows of wrestling with texts in TEI.

Many thanks as well to my fellow graduate students who looked at chapter drafts and were forced to hear more about fifteenth century politics than they probably cared for: Bryan Tarpley, Kathy Torabi, Caitlin Brenner, and Nigel Lepianka.

Thanks, of course, go to the librarians at both Texas A&M University and Trinity College Dublin for their help in finding books and handling medieval manuscripts.

CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

Chapter V of this dissertation represents the first steps of creating a digital edition of a manuscript. This project was possible thanks to the Texas A&M Summertime Advanced Research Award and the Vision 2020 Dissertation Enhancement Award, which provided funding for a research trip to Trinity College Dublin.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION:

POLITICAL WRITING AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES

Plantagenet: Since you are tongue-tied and so loath to speak,

In dumb significant proclaim your thoughts:

Let him that is a trueborn gentleman

And stands upon the honor of his birth,

If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,

From off this brier pluck a white rose with me.

Somerset: Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,

But dare maintain the party of the truth,

Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me. (*1 Henry VI* II.iv.25-33)¹

In 1337, Edward III “set a precedent in England by creating a dukedom for his first-born son.”² Following this, all of Edward III’s sons who lived past infancy became royal dukes. Edward, the Black Prince, became duke of Cornwall; Lionel became duke of Clarence; John became duke of Lancaster; Edmund became duke of York; and, Thomas became duke of Gloucester. It is in this multiplication of royal dukedoms that Chrimes identifies as the seeds of the dynastic conflict that spanned 1455 to 1485 and

¹ William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 5th ed., David Bevington, ed., (New York: Pearson Longman, 2004).

² S.B. Chrimes, *Lancastrians, Yorkists, and Henry VII*, 2nd ed., (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1966): 6.

became known as the Wars of the Roses. If it was the large number of royal sons that planted the seeds for the conflict, it was the long minority of Henry VI following the death of his father Henry V in 1422 that made the conflict a reality.

Henry VI was not yet one year old when his father, Henry V, died. Henry VI became King of England on 31 August 1422, and what followed was the longest minority rule in English history. Henry V's eldest surviving brother, John Duke of Bedford, became regent in France. Meanwhile, a council was established to rule in Henry VI's name in England. It was led by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Henry V's youngest brother, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. The two did not see eye to eye, and unsurprisingly did not govern well in Henry VI's name. In the late 1430s, as a teenager, the responsibilities of kingship were foisted onto the young king. However, the young king ruling in his own name did not stabilize the government as many had hoped. Henry was highly susceptible to any request and "council minutes began to include notes suggesting that the king was signing off requests which were not just ill-advised but actively damaging to the crown."³ The king's disastrous rule continued up to his marriage with Margaret of Anjou in 1445. From this point forward, Margaret began to establish herself as a political force within England. While she began to flex her power in her new royal court, the English position in France was deteriorating with continuing losses and mismanagement casting a dark mark on Henry's reign.

In 1453, following the English loss at the Battle of Castillon and the loss of Bordeaux, Henry VI fell into his first bout of insanity. This was the last thing Henry

³ Dan Jones, *The Hollow Crown: The Wars of the Roses and the Rise of the Tudors*, (London: Faber and Faber, 2015), 75.

VI's disastrous reign needed, as Michael Hicks notes: "Henry VI lost the Hundred Years' War. He lost his thrones of both England and France. He was disastrously in debt and lost his credit. A whole succession of principal councilors were discredited as corrupt."⁴ Richard Duke of York returned from Ireland and began to reorganize the council that advised Henry VI and was to rule in his infirmity. York butted heads with Margaret of Anjou and had Somerset imprisoned, but at this point he did not seek the crown for himself, only to put the country on what he saw as the proper track. In December of 1454, however, Henry VI regained his senses, restored Somerset, and reversed many of the policies of York. It is at this point that the forces involved in the Wars of the Roses began to move inexorably towards open conflict. With Somerset back at the king's side, Richard Duke of York and his close allies were stripped of their positions, authority, and dignity.⁵ With Somerset advising the king, York recognized that he would be excluded from what he saw as his rightful place on the king's council. In May 1455, Richard Duke of York raised an army to remove the traitors from the king's council and marched towards London. A royal army was raised and marched North to meet the Duke of York. The two met on 22 May 1455 in the city of St. Albans. Negotiations failed and after half an hour of fighting, the Yorkists had killed Somerset and captured Henry VI. With this noble blood spilled, the Wars of the Roses had begun.

It was not until 1460, however, that Richard Duke of York made a claim to the English throne. Significantly, his claim to the throne could be traced through two of the

⁴ Michael Hicks, "The Yorkist Age" *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium*, Hannes Kleineke and Christian Steer, eds., (Donington: Shaun Tyas and Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2013), 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

sons of Edward III. Edward IV was descended from Edward III's second and fourth sons, Lionel of Antwerp and Edmund of Langley. His claim of descent through Lionel, a stronger claim than Henry VI whose ancestor was John of Gaunt, Edward III's third son, relied on women at two points: Lionel's only issue, his daughter Philippa, and Edward IV's grandmother, Ann Mortimer.⁶ The issue of York's descent through the female line became a touchstone for Yorkist writers

This dissertation examines literary works created by supporters of the Yorkist cause during this period of civil war in England. Specifically, I am interested in the writings which can be considered propaganda produced during the reign of or in support of the Yorkist faction.⁷ This period of English history witnessed a bounty of political writing as successive kings were quick to use any means available to legitimize their rule and right to the throne. In examining these Yorkist writing, I argue that we can identify the elements of Yorkist political rhetoric. The most important aspect of this Yorkist rhetorical practice was the way in which Yorkist writers emphasized the role of women in English history. These writings took many forms from chronicles to romance and from quasi-dramatic pieces to almost straight political propaganda.

"Propaganda" as a term appropriate for discussing the political activity of the Middle Ages has been the subject of some debate. There are two trends in scholarship addressing the use of the term "propaganda" in the study of Medieval literature: those

⁶ See Figure 2 below for a chart of Richard Duke of York and Edward IV's genealogical claim to the English crown.

⁷ I use the terms "Wars of the Roses," "Lancastrian," and "Yorkist" with the full understanding that we use them as terms of convenience for the dynamic and quickly changing state of politics in the late fifteenth-century. These complexities are well described by S.B. Chrimes in *Lancastrians, Yorkists, and Henry VII*. 2nd ed. New York, St. Martin's Press. 1966.

who deem the term anachronistic and unsuitable for describing political writing and those who have no trouble slightly expanding our understanding of “propaganda” for discussions of Medieval texts. Scott-Morgan Straker writes that we should not look for propaganda in the Middle Ages because “it implies continuity between modern and medieval forms of political persuasion, whereas modern propaganda analysis defines propaganda as the product of twentieth-century technologies of communication.”⁸ These critics tend to take at face value the definition of propaganda given by Richard Alan Nelson who defines it in terms of mass communication:

Propaganda is neutrally defined as a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions, and actions of a specified target audience for ideological, political or commercial purposes through the controlled transmission of one-sided messages (which may or may not be factual) via mass and direct media channels.⁹

Other writers, such as Maura Nolan see no issue with the term. Nolan notes the diversity of Lancastrian propagandistic production, writing, “the regime during the minority experimented with a wide variety of forms of propaganda, including coins, pictorial images, royal spectacles, and written texts.”¹⁰ These scholars see the term “propaganda” as the best way to describe the kind of political action that some Medieval texts are trying to achieve.

⁸ Scott-Morgan Straker, “Propaganda, Intentionality, and the Lancastrian Lydgate,” *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England*, Larry Scanlon and James Simpson, ed., (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 98.

⁹ Richard Alan Nelson, *A Chronology and Glossary of Propaganda in the United States*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 232-33.

¹⁰ Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-2.

It is this second group of scholars that offer a productive approach for theorizing the types of political writing and activity that took place during the Wars of the Roses. If not as propaganda, how should we understand the activity of John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, John Lydgate, and an unknown Yorkist propagandist? In 1423, in the very first year of Henry VI's minority, Bedford "commissioned a poster or placard, to be displayed at Notre Dame (and no doubt copied elsewhere), whose object was to explain and justify diagrammatically Henry VI's title to the French crown."¹¹ A version of this poster, or one very similar to it, is preserved in BL MS Royal 15 E VI and can be seen in Figure 1 below. This broadside took the form of a visually dazzling genealogy of the French and English thrones combining in the figure of Henry VI. The genealogy showed three different lineages. In the center, Saint Louis IX and his descendants are depicted. On the right-hand side of the genealogy, the Plantagenet dynasty appears beginning with Edward I and continuing to Henry V. On the left, the French house of Valois is lineated from Philip VI to Catherine of Valois. At the bottom of the genealogy, Catherine and Henry V meet, producing Henry VI who concludes the genealogy as he is crowned by two angels carrying the crowns of France and England. Accompanying this pictorial genealogy was a poem in French by Lawrence Calot describing Henry VI's claim and title to the French crown. Three years later, Lydgate was tasked with translating the French poem for an English audience.

¹¹ Maurice Keen, "Introduction," *Heraldry, Pageantry, and Social Display in Medieval England*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 5-6.



Figure 1: The genealogical claim of Henry VI to the crown of England and France, BL MS Royal 15 E VI, 3r.

Lydgate's translation makes explicit reference to the genealogy, and he repeatedly pauses the explanation of Henry VI's ancestors to turn the audience's attention to the image:

Verily, liche as ye may se,
The pee-degre doth hit specifie,
The figure, lo, of the genelagye,
How that God list for her perchace
Thurgh his power and benigne grace,
An heir of peas by iust successioun,
This ffigure makith clere demonstracioun (123-29)¹²

Years later as the Wars of the Roses grew more violent an unknown Yorkist propagandist placed a broadside on the gates of the city of Canterbury.¹³ The poem critiques the Lancastrian government, praises Richard Duke of York and his allies, and promises that the Yorkists are returning to England to right the wrongs done by Henry VI's advisors. The genealogy with its accompanying verse and the "Ballad Set on the Gates of Canterbury," which will be discussed in detail in chapter two below, both seek to influence the political opinions of particular, and identifiable, audiences. This activity follows Nolan's definition in every aspect but the medium of modern mass

¹² Henry Noble MacCracken, ed., *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate Edited from All Available MSS., with an Attempt to Establish the Lydgate Canon: Part II Secular Poems*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

¹³ The poem is preserved only in the Davies Chronicle which describes it as a response to the demands of an oppressed populace:

Whan the erles knew the trew hertes of the peple, they disposed theyme dayly for to com in to thys londe. And nat longe before theyre commyng, thys balat that folowethe was sette vpon the Yates of the cyte of Caunterbury. (86/21-24)

communication. However, Bedford, Lydgate, and the Yorkist writer were using the technology of the time to spread their message to as wide an audience as possible.

The majority of scholars who have been interested in fifteenth century political writing have focused on the early Tudors or John Lydgate. Scholars, for the most part, have widely ignored the production of Yorkist writers. Few articles or books appear which focus solely on Yorkist writing during the Wars of the Roses. Lydgate studies have experienced something of a boom in recent years, and the poet's reputation has shifted from a negative counterpoint to Chaucer's greatness to being considered the "central English poet of his own century" who was unfairly pushed to the margins by early antiquarians and Victorian philologists.¹⁴ In recent years, Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*, *Troy Book*, *Fall of Princes*, and dramatic works have received renewed interests. Maura Nolan's recent monograph is indicative of recent Lydgate studies. She sees Lydgate as consciously participating in the tradition left by Chaucer and Gower and using his literary works to actively engage in important political questions of his time. Nolan situates her study following the death of Henry V, which created a vacuum of political leadership in England and threatened Lancastrian authority. Lydgate stepped into this void and, as Nolan argues, created poems "that insist upon their status as parts of a vernacular poetic tradition emerging ... as a privileged form of social commentary and political reflection."¹⁵ Lydgate simultaneously produced "texts designed to bolster and support the authority of the child on the throne" and which insisted on their own

¹⁴ Larry Scanlon and James Simpson, *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture, and Lancastrian England*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 1.

¹⁵ Maura Nolan, *John Lydgate and the Making of Public Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 72.

ability to occupy a special position in political discourse.¹⁶ Lydgate's dramatic works have also received a renewed interest and appreciation. Sponsler argues that Lydgate's dramatic pieces express a kind of vernacular cosmopolitanism, and writes, "The mummings and other performance pieces he wrote in a flush of activity in the late 1420s and early 1430s form possibly the most important body of dramatic work by a known author in English before the sixteenth century."¹⁷ The texts Lydgate created were not simply following along in the Chaucerian tradition, but were also suggesting new ways of understanding politics and good governance. In introducing new trends in English political language in the fifteenth century, Paul Strohm notes:

Emergent in fifteenth-century England is, however, an alternative possibility, in which the prudent prince can effectively Fortune-proof himself by exercise of foresight and qualities of *vertue* -- this trait remarkably anticipatory of its Italian and Machiavellian counterpart, *virtú*. This view is introduced to England by a poet not known for his innovativeness, John Lydgate, and flourishes in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁸

Lancastrian writers, expressed mostly in the figure of John Lydgate, were innovating and expanding what texts could do in the fifteenth century. It is this rich heritage of complex political language that Yorkist writers drew upon when they began to write in favor of Richard, Duke of York, and his son Edward in the mid fifteenth century.

¹⁶ Ibid., 1.

¹⁷ Claire Sponsler, *The Queen's Dumbshows: John Lydgate and the Making of Early Theater*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 7.

¹⁸ Paul Strohm, *Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer and Shakespeare*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 2.

The Yorkist writers, though, have largely been ignored or overlooked by literary critics in the twentieth century. Derek Pearsall, in the history focused *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium*, rhetorically asks, “‘Was there such a thing as Yorkist literature?’ the answer is obvious. There was. It was the propagandist writing of a faction in the Wars of the Roses, and there is quite a lot of it.”¹⁹ From here, however, Pearsall does not offer any new insights into what might characterize Yorkist literature. He instead follows the example of Rossell Hope Robbins and John Scattergood in offering a broad overview of the surviving examples of Yorkist literature. Pearsall does make sure to point out the often overlooked fact that Caxton’s printing press and printing in England began under the rule of Edward IV. As Caxton began to print books, “it was Edward’s tastes and those of his family for Burgundian romances and histories that he shared and catered for and that drove his production.”²⁰ Curiously though, Pearsall mischaracterizes much of the Yorkist propaganda that he calls the basis of Yorkist literature: “The Yorkist poems of the 1460s are the work of educated men, and are not at all raucous, and not even very partisan.”²¹ It is difficult to imagine that he looked at poems like “The Battle of Towton,” written soon after June 1461, which includes lines like:

All þe lordes of þe northe þei wrouzt by oon assent,
ffor to stroy þe sowth cuntre þei did all hur entent

...

¹⁹ Derek Pearsall, “Was There a ‘Yorkist Literature’?” *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium*, Hannes Kleineke and Christian Steer, eds., (Donington: Shaun Tyas and Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2013), 221.

²⁰ Ibid., 233.

²¹ Ibid., 223.

The norþen men made her bost, whan þei had done þat dede,

“We will dwelle in þe southe cuntrey, and take al þat we nede;

These wifes and hur doughters, our purpose shul þei spede. (14-15; 23-25)

I am not sure how one would describe these lines, describing the Lancastrians sweeping down from their stronghold in the North to destroy the South of England and to kidnap the wives and daughters of proper Englishmen, other than highly partisan and quite raucous.

Megan Leitch directly addresses the literature of the Wars of the Roses in her 2015 book, *Romancing Treason*. She explores the “divisions, reversals, and rebellions of the Wars of the Roses” and the “breakdown of social and political faith expressed in the idea of treason.”²² Leitch does not examine just Yorkist or Lancastrian texts in her exploration of literature from the Wars of the Roses. Rather, she chooses, for the most part, prose romances of the period. She discusses the prose *Siege of Thebes* and *Siege of Troy*, Malory’s *Morte Darthur*, and the prose romances printed by Caxton. Leitch argues that these romances, “especially in their questioning of divine intervention through representations of treason, made the genre interrogative in a way that it had not been.”²³ Leitch does not address treason in particular but rather in an abstract and theoretical manner. She writes that in the textual culture of the fifteenth century, “treason shapes contemporary mentalities as both a source of anxieties about community and identity, and a way of responding to those concerns.”²⁴ These romance writers of

²² Megan G. Leitch, *Romancing Treason: The Literature of the Wars of the Roses*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2).

²³ Ibid., 11-12.

²⁴ Ibid., 14.

the fifteenth century established “a rhetoric that demonstrates not only a fixation on a certain lexicon and concerns about treason, but also anxieties about the instability surrounding what could be construed as treason.”²⁵ Leitch’s monograph is useful for thinking about the concerns of romance writers affected by the Wars of the Roses, but there is still no scholarly project which seeks to explore particularly Yorkist writing in the fifteenth century.

These projects are the exception, however, as scholars tend to tangentially address Yorkist political writing as they explore the broader trends in political writing at the end of the fifteenth century or as they discuss a particular known author such as Osbern Bokenham. Sheila Delaney discusses Bokenham’s *Legend of Holy Women* and argues that Bokenham’s work had a “controversial Yorkist political alignment” and that authors like Bokenham held “an acute awareness of audience.”²⁶ Bokenham’s strong Yorkist leaning was unusual as he was writing well before Richard, Duke of York, began to overtly vie for the English crown. Later in her book, Delaney argues that the hagiography of Bokenham’s text practices “distinctive representational strategies” which express distinctive Yorkist politics and comment on the body politic of England.²⁷ Delaney also emphasizes the importance that women had for the Yorkists, noting the all-female nature of Bokenham’s *Legend of Holy Women* and arguing that his “legendary emphasizes the capacities and effectiveness of women at a moment when these qualities

²⁵ Ibid., 14.

²⁶ Sheila Delany, *Impolitic Bodies: Poetry, Saints, and Society in Fifteenth-Century England, The Work of Osbern Bokenham*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4.

²⁷ Ibid., 129.

had particular political importance.”²⁸ Delaney sees the selection of saints as helping to lend credibility to Richard’s claim to the throne.

In exploring the nature of political language between Chaucer and Shakespeare, Paul Strohm makes the important note that in mid-to-late fifteenth century these political writings were “competitors for, rather than secure possessors of, an emergent political language.”²⁹ It is crucial to our understanding of these texts that we acknowledge the type of risks the writers made when they composed their poems, chronicles, and genealogies. These writers were not secure. Each, to the others, was a traitor, deserving of death, keeping the rightful monarch from the throne. As Strohm notes, the poets and their poems are not simply observers of history, but active participants in the process. Though they were participants in history, these writers were also keenly aware of their role in writing and creating history.

Though much of Joanna Bellis’ article focuses on the Hundred Years War, her commentary is easily applicable to the Wars of the Roses; in fact, Bellis concludes her article by discussing Lydgate and the circumstances leading to the Wars of the Roses. Bellis writes:

It contends that the conflict prompted a particular self-awareness among its narrators about the idea of ‘writing history’: a realization that it was a constitutive as much as it was a representative exercise; that writing an account

²⁸ Ibid., 144.

²⁹ Strohm *Politique*, 12.

was a process of transposing record into event, and deed into word, in the perilous progression from ‘victorouse’ to the ‘cronicable’.³⁰

The Yorkists writing during the Wars of the Roses were acutely conscious of the writing of history they were performing as well as the creation of a space for and new kind of political discourse. These writers emphasize the deliberate nature of this kind of political poetry and the self-consciousness with which it was crafted.

In the following chapters, I explore Yorkist poetry in the form of occasional poems and chronicles, as well as in a fifteenth-century commonplace book, arguing that there are four main elements of Yorkist rhetoric. This dissertation is divided into three sections: one, critically examining Yorkist occasional poetry and chronicles in order to identify the aspects of Yorkist rhetoric; two, using Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur* as a test-case for the identified tenets of Yorkist rhetoric; and three, an edition of Trinity College Dublin MS 432, a unique collection of Yorkist poetry. The second chapter focuses on Yorkist occasional poetry. There are three main collections of Yorkist poetry: Cotton Rolls ii.23, Lambeth 306, and Trinity College Dublin MS 432. These three manuscripts contain less than two dozen poems representing Yorkist political views, and “considering the potential use of lampoons, rimed reports, tags, and personal paeans or invectives as war propaganda, more should have survived.”³¹ The poems contained in these manuscripts have been described as not revealing “any profound truths about [the late fifteenth century] beyond that it was an age of turmoil following an

³⁰ Joanna Bellis, “Rymes Sette for a Remembraunce: Memorialization and Mimetic Language in the War Poetry of the Late Middle Ages,” *The Review of English Studies* 64,264 (2012): 183-84.

³¹ Albert E. Hartung, ed., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, vol. 5, (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1975), 1473-74.

earlier period of hope.”³² I, however, believe that there is a richness in these poems deserving of critical attention. One of the major features of these poems is the complex intertextuality between these occasional poems. Of particular interest is the “Ballad Set on the Gates of Canterbury.” This ballad does not come from any of these Yorkist miscellany manuscripts. Rather, the ballad is preserved in the pro-Yorkist Davies chronicle. The poem must have enjoyed substantial circulation during its time, however, as quotations from the poem appear in two items from Trinity College Dublin MS 432. This chapter examines Yorkist rhetoric as seen in the complex interconnection between the poems of Trinity College Dublin MS 432 and the “Ballad Set on the Gates of Canterbury.” I argue that Yorkist writers looked back to Lancastrian forms of propaganda and worked to reform and renew Lancastrian poetic forms. Yorkist and Lancastrian writers were both working to establish an effective political rhetoric which could influence their audience. Yorkist poets looked back to Lancastrian writers such as John Lydgate and selected elements from that earlier poetry which they found effective while also departing from earlier types of political discourse and creating their own form of political writing. I focus on three Yorkist poems from the period of Richard Duke of York’s invasion of Kent to the crowning of Edward IV, 1459-1461. These poems, preserved within the Davies chronicle and Trinity College Dublin MS 432, engage with each other and previous Lancastrian writing in order to develop a uniquely Yorkist form of political writing. The poems quote from one another and form a network of

³² Ibid., 1475.

references which allowed the Yorkist writers to build layers of meaning and develop textual network around their poetry.

Next, the third chapter explores Yorkist chronicles and their use as propaganda in Edward IV's court. The way in which Yorkist writers engage with and write history differs markedly from their Lancastrian predecessors. In this chapter, I focus on two long and two short chronicles in order to show that the Yorkist's rhetorical approach to writing history was consistent. The two long chronicles are the English prose *Brut* chronicles and Hardyng's chronicle. The English prose *Brut* was immensely popular in the fifteenth century, surviving in at least 172 manuscripts and only being outstripped by the Wycliffite bible in terms of manuscript survival. The chronicle was also "almost as partisan as [political] verses."³³ Hardyng's chronicle became part of the "propaganda campaign of the reign of Edward IV, when the legitimacy of the Yorkist claim de iure to the throne was an urgent political issue."³⁴ The first version of this chronicle, however, was presented to Henry VI in 1457.³⁵ Hardyng significantly revised his chronicle for his Yorkist audience, and his changes highlight the areas of interest for his Yorkist audience. The two short chronicles are *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV*, produced in the first few years of Edward IV's reign, and *The History of the Arrival of King Edward IV*, an official account of Edward's return from exile in March 1471. All of these chronicles

³³ V.J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*, (New York: Blandford Press Ltd., 1971), 11.

³⁴ Felicity Riddy, "John Hardyng's Chronicle and the Wars of the Roses," *Arthurian Literature*. 12 (1993): 92.

³⁵ This first version of Hardyng's chronicle "survives in only one manuscript, London, British Library, Lansdowne 204, which is generally assumed to be the presentation copy for Henry VI. It is a large, handsome, decorated, parchment manuscript with a map of Scotland at the end of the text, and instructions in verse about the best route for an invading army to take" (Riddy 96).

were immensely popular and widely distributed at the time and most of them encompass hundreds of years of English history up to and including the period of conflict during the Wars of the Roses. I argue that the Yorkist chroniclers worked to highlight the role of women in England's history and, in effect, feminized history. This is not, however, a kind-hearted attempt at gender inclusivity in Yorkist writing. This move to emphasize the role of women in English history was a calculated rhetorical and political choice. Edward IV, the first Yorkist King of England, relied on women at two crucial moments in his genealogy for his claim to the throne. With Lancastrian writers like John Fortescue pointing to the Salic laws of France it became politically important for women to be active and important figures in English history.³⁶ As a reaction to this, Yorkist writers highlight the presence of women in English history and female figures appear in their chronicles as patrons, saints, mediatrixes, heirs, and rulers.

Following this, in the fourth chapter I turn to one of the fifteenth century's most well-known author, Sir Thomas Malory and his *Le Morte Darthur*. Critics have long noted that Malory's style is a fusion of the Romance and Chronicle styles.³⁷ It is also

³⁶ In the early years of Edward IV's reign, Fortescue "composed several English and Latin treatises upholding the Lancastrian succession, trying to demolish the York claim by proving the invalidity and impropriety of female rule or transmission of rule" (Delany 154). Fortescue describes women's incapacity to rule at length in his *De Natura Legis Naturae*. A few of the chapter headings will suffice to show the nature of the text's attitude towards women: Chapter V: Women had never the right of succeeding in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah; Chapter VIII: He shows, in the first place, the reason why a Woman succeeds not to a kingdom as to any other property; Chapter X: He now proves that the Son cannot succeed to the kingdom by his Mother's right; and Chapter XXI: The Woman is by nature subject to the Man (Fortescue x-xi). As the tides of the dynastic conflict shifted, Fortescue was "required to write a refutation of the treatises he had written" once Edward IV had secured his throne in 1471 (Delany 196).

³⁷ For Malory's prose style see: P.J.C. Field, *Romance and Chronicle: A Study of Malory's Prose Style*, (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1971); Mark Lambert, *Malory: Style and Vision in Le Morte Darthur*, (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1975); and Jeremy Smith, "Language and Style in Malory," *A Companion to Malory*, Elizabeth Archibald and A.S.G. Edwards, eds., (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996): 97-113.

widely accepted that Malory used the intensely partisan second version of Hardyng's Chronicle as a minor source for the *Morte Darthur*.³⁸ Thomas Malory famously fought on both sides of the Wars of the Roses and died in prison after being excluded from a general pardon by Edward IV. This political conflict and Malory's time in prison left an indelible mark on his Arthurian epic. In the closing explicit, Malory tells us:

For this book was ended the ninth yere of the reygne of Kyng Edward the fourth, by Syr Thomas Maleoré, knyght, as Jesu helpe hym for hys grete myght, as he is the servaunt of Jesu bothe day and nyght. (940/26-30; 726/19-22)

I sift through the long critical history of attempting to determine where Malory's true allegiance lay during the conflict and turn to the *Morte* itself to examine the ways in which Malory might conform to Yorkist writing practices. The previous chapters of the dissertation work to establish the elements of Yorkist rhetorical practice: working to establish networks of textuality through their writing; rejecting political prophecies and offering alternatives such as astrology; increasing the visibility and emphasizing the role of women in English history; identifying important political figures by their heraldic badges. Malory's *Morte* conforms strongly to two of these rhetorical patterns. The two areas in which Malory's text does not conform to Yorkist rhetorical practice is in the relative lack of emphasis on heraldic images and in the type of textual networking which Malory's work exhibits.

Finally, my dissertation offers an edition of the relevant section of the commonplace book found in Trinity College Dublin MS 432. Trinity College Dublin

³⁸ P.J.C. Field, *Malory: Texts and Sources*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1998).

Manuscript 432 represents a unique expression of Yorkist sentiment in the early 1460s. The Middle-English section presented here contains twenty-two items, all but three of which are unique to this manuscript. The nature of this manuscript as the sole witness to a great number of particularly Yorkist works makes it well suited for this study of Yorkist political expression.³⁹ Beyond this political distinction, the manuscript is also the only Middle-English romance manuscript which also contains a dramatic work.⁴⁰ The manuscript contains unique poems celebrating the Battle of Northampton and the Battle of Towton, an acrostic poem in honor of the Earl of Warwick, a poem urging the Yorkist lords to be careful in how they interact with those who may still support Henry VI, and the poem “The Twelve Letters that Saved England.” These poems make up a significant portion of the surviving political poems which are identifiably Yorkist. The work presented in my dissertation represents the first stage of a multi-stepped, scaffolded digital edition of the manuscript which takes into account modern editorial approaches and best-practice digital methods of editing. The chapter presents an edited version of the text with the TEI marked-up transcription of the manuscript offered as an appendix.

³⁹ The *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* identifies 19 poems as Yorkist. This means that TCD 432 is a manuscript which holds over a quarter of the surviving Yorkist poetry.

⁴⁰ Trinity College Dublin MS 432 contains both the romance “King Robert of Sicily” and an *Abraham and Isaac* play.

CHAPTER II

YORKIST OCCASIONAL POETRY: REFORM AND RENEWAL

The latter half of the fifteenth century saw an outburst in the production and distribution of political writing from both sides of the Wars of the Roses. Charles Ross describes the period as “marked by a vastly increased use of propaganda of all kinds, much of it more sophisticated than that which had gone before”.¹ Much writing on political topics took the shape of ballads and poems, an “essential feature” of the landscape of fifteenth-century English historical literature.² The dynastic conflict was an obvious topic for writers at the time and their verses were used as another kind of weapon in the battle for the throne.³ The production of this type of political verse tended to coincide with periods of direct armed combat.⁴ This chapter focuses on the tumultuous period between 1459 and 1461 which began with the Yorkists raising arms against Henry VI and his advisors and fleeing the country and ended with Edward IV on the English throne. This period saw an explosive production of political material by the Yorkists on the eve of their return to England and throughout the campaigns of 1460-

¹ Charles Ross, “Rumor, Propaganda, and Popular Opinion During The War of The Roses,” *Patronage, The Crown, and The Provinces in Later Medieval England*. Ed. Ralph A. Griffiths, (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Humanities Press, 1981), 15.

² Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1962), 11.

³ On the number of surviving poems from this period, Scattergood writes, “many pieces, both pro-Yorkist and pro-Lancastrian, must have been written by commissioned partisans” (21). Robbins’ *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* contains 18 poems split between the Lancastrians and Yorkists. Hartung’s *Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* gives 30 items in its section covering the Wars of the Roses.

⁴ In his biography of Richard, Duke of York, Johnson notes the various boosts in propaganda production throughout the duke’s career (86, 201-204).

1461.⁵ By this time in English history, “the conscious manipulation of public opinion was widely practiced” with writers viewed as a kind of skilled worker employed to write political messages “to serve and promote the special interests of those classes with power or money.”⁶ An industry developed around the writing of propaganda does not mean, however, that it was a fixed form and that there was one way to write an effective political message. Nor does it mean that this type of political writing was a risk-free activity. In this conflict which saw large portions of the English nobility killing each other and fortunes changing overnight, it was not always a safe activity to write political verse. Many of the poems which appeared at this time can be “viewed as competitors for, rather than secure possessors of, an emergent political language.”⁷ Yorkist and Lancastrian writers were both working to establish an effective political rhetoric which could influence the audience. The two sides share and borrow from each other, but also depart from one another in key areas. One connection between the two sides of the conflict was the target of the propaganda.⁸ The main audience for much of this political

⁵ Ross succinctly describes the extent of the Yorkist output leading up to their return to England: The dynasty itself came to power in the wake of a veritable flood of propaganda, used in the preparations for the Yorkist invasion of 1460. This was maintained up to and beyond the Victory of Edward IV at Towton in April 1461. The campaign of 1460-61 included all the then known propaganda devices: political songs and poems, ballads and rhymes, broadsheets pinned up in public places advertising the many virtues of the Yorkist leaders and the righteousness of their cause, the harnessing of the papal legate to invest them with clerical blessing, addresses to convocation, political sermons at St. Paul’s Cross, the use of every possible ceremonial precedent in the ceremonies of accession and coronation to emphasize their proper title to the throne, and finally, since they claimed the throne on a basis of legitimacy, the production of a number of genealogical rolls taking their supposed descent right back through the earlier kings of England and the Roman emperors to the Kings of Israel, at least as far back as Jehosophat. (23)

⁶ Rossell Hope Robbins, ed., *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), xx, xxxvi.

⁷ Paul Strohm, *Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer and Shakespeare*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 12.

⁸ Another key similarity between the two factions was that writers on both sides were keenly aware of their own place as writers of history. Bellis argues that “the conflict prompted a particular self-awareness

writing was the nobility and gentry as well as the burgeoning middle class which was slowly gaining power in England. These writers aimed to influence “those whose support was of greatest practical importance” to their side.⁹ This chapter examines the Yorkist response to Lancastrian writing and public sentiment, as well as ways in which Yorkist writers engaged with one another to create a kind of Yorkist rhetoric for political poetry. Yorkist poets looked back to Lancastrian writers such as John Lydgate and selected elements from that earlier poetry which they found effective while also departing from earlier types of political discourse and creating their own form of political writing. This can be seen in the complex connections between “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury,” recorded in the Davies Chronicle, and two poems from the pro-Yorkist manuscript Trinity College Dublin 432.

Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury

In September 1459, following what they characterized as the gross misconduct of the Queen and the Henry VI’s advisors, Richard Duke of York and his supporters gathered an army and desired to meet with the King in order, as the Davies Chronicle reports, “forto haue excused theym of certayne articles and fals accusacions touchyng thair ligeaunce layde agayns theym maliciously by their enemies” (79/2-4).¹⁰ The King’s advisors assembled a force and attacked the Yorkist party at Blore Heath. After

among its narrators about the idea of ‘writing history’: a realization that it was a constitutive as much as it was a representative exercise” (183-184).

⁹ Alison Allan, “Yorkist Propaganda: Pedigree, Prophecy, and the ‘British History’ in the Reign of Edward IV.” *Patronage, Pedigree, and Power in Later Medieval England*. Ed. Charles Ross, (Gloucester, UK: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1979), 189.

¹⁰ References to the Davies Chronicle come from William Marx, ed., *An English Chronicle 1377-1461: A New Edition Edited from Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21068 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34*, (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2003).

repelling the Lancastrian forces, Richard, Warwick, and Salisbury composed a letter to the King in which “they justified their assumption of arms with a plea of self-defence against those lords about the king” and argued that “those same lords were motivated primarily by their desire for the lands, offices, and goods which would be forfeit to the King.”¹¹ Following this, the King sent an offer of pardon. Not wanting to admit being in the wrong, the Yorkist leaders rejected the pardon, but this was not the case for all of the army. Andrew Trollope and many of the men from the Calais garrison defected. This led to the Yorkist defeat at the Battle of Ludford Bridge on 12 October 1459. Richard fled to Ireland while his son Edward, Warwick, and Salisbury went across the channel to Calais. With this Lancastrian victory, Parliament was held, and according to the Davies Chronicle, “they that were chosen knyghtis of the shyres and other that had interesse in the parlement were nat dyfferent but chosen a denominacion of thaim that were enemyes to the forseide lordes so beyng oute of þe reame” (81/4-7). York and his followers were attained, an act which brought all of York’s property into the King’s hands.¹² While this was happening, the Yorkists were shoring up the defenses of Calais and Ireland as well as preparing to return to England. While the Lancastrian Parliament

¹¹ P. A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 188.

¹² The Davies Chronicle names all those who were attained by the Parliament:

The names of the lordes and other that were atteynt in the foreseyde parlement bythe these: Richard Duk of York, Edward Erle of March, his sone and heyre, Richard Erle of Warwyk, Edmund Erle of Rutlond, Richard Erle of Salesbury, Iohn Lorde Clyfford, Lorde Clynton, Ser Thomas Haryngton, Ser Iohn Wenlock, Thomas Nevyle, Iohn Nevyle, sones of the Erle of Salesbury, Iames Pykryng, Iohn Conyers, Thomas Par, Wyllyam Oldhall, and Harry Ratford, knyghtes, Iohn Bowser, Thomas Cook, Iohn Clay, Richard Gyton, Robert Browe, Edward Bowser, Thomas Vaughan, Iohn Roger, Richard Gray, Watier Deuoros, Watier Hopton, Roger Kynderton, Wyllyam Bowes, Fook Stafford, the Lorde Powys, and Alys Countesse of Salesbury. (81.22-31)

“did little that was constructive”,¹³ the Yorkists were beginning a propaganda war. The Yorkists effectively used propaganda to prepare for their return to England:

Auf der anderen Seite wußten die verbannten Yorkisten durch geschickt abgefaßte und namentlich Südengland verbreitete Aufrufe für sich Stimmung zu machen; es wird zu zeigen sein, daß unser Gedicht manchmal wie ein Widerhall dieser Werbeschriften klingt.

[On the other hand, the exiled Yorkists knew how to create the right atmosphere for themselves by cleverly worded appeals in southern England; it will be shown that our poem sometimes sounds like an echo of promotional literature.]¹⁴

Along with letters and manifestos, “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” was one of the texts distributed in order to pave the way for the return of the Yorkists who intended to land in Kent.

The ballad, as the *Davies Chronicle* notes, was nailed to the gates of the city of Canterbury, and sets itself, as well as the eventual return of the Yorkist lords, as a response to the demands of an oppressed populace:

Whan the erles knew the trew hertes of the peple, they disposed theyme dayly for to com in to thys londe. And nat longe before theyre commyng, thys balat that folowethe was sette vppon the Yates of the cyte of Caunterbury. (86/21-24)¹⁵

¹³ V. J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*, (New York: Blandford Press Ltd., 1971), 182.

¹⁴ Rudolf Brotanek. *Mittelenglische Dichtungen aus der Handschrift 432 des Trinity College in Dublin*, (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1940), 204. Many thanks to Jacqueline Koch for her assistance with the German translations.

¹⁵ Though not actually a part of the verse, the two sentences preceding the poem often appear printed along with the ballad proper, e.g. Strohm 197.

The “nat longe before theyre commyng” would be in the days before 26 June 1460, when Warwick, Salisbury, and Edward landed in Kent and began to raise an army. The poem was most likely written at the end of May or the beginning of June 1460,¹⁶ and judging by the Latin and liturgical references, was probably written by a member of the local clergy sympathetic to the Yorkist cause.¹⁷ Though the ballad has been characterized as “quite dry,”¹⁸ it engages in sophisticated ways with previous Lancastrian writing, its intended audience in Canterbury, and the ballad genre. As we shall see, the poem points out elements of Lancastrian propaganda in order to push them aside while also using the generic elements of the ballad form in order to gain an audience and address what it sees as the complaints of that audience.

The “Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” is self-consciously a ballad and uses elements of the ballad form in order to further its political objective. It uses the stanza form, repetition, and multiple refrains as well as allusions to other literary works. In his discussion of the poem, Paul Strohm notes that the author passed over a number of

¹⁶ Brotanek argues, and Robbins agrees, that the poem was written on Whitsun Eve, May 31st, pointing to the opening of the poem “zu beachten ist der Sing. *in the day of faste*, nicht *in the days of faste*, den gemeint ist nicht die vorösterliche Fastenzeit, sondern, da die Ballade nicht lange vor dem 26. Juni geschrieben wurde, der einzige volle Fasttag der Pfingstzeit ... nämlich die Pfingstvigil am 31. Mai [Note the line ‘in the day of faste,’ not ‘in the days of faste,’ Lent before Easter is not meant, but, as the Ballad was written not long before 26 June, only the full fast of Pentecost]” (206; Robbins 369). I however, do not take this as excellent evidence on which to base a dating of the poem for two reasons. First, as the poem was supposedly copied from a broadside nailed to the city doors, a transcription error may have occurred which could change the first line from “day” to “days.” Secondly, the bulk of the first stanza is in the past tense, “I reduced to mynde” and “This texte I fonde” (5, 7), suggesting that it was written after the day(s) of fast. Instead of trying to give a concrete date for the poem, it would be better to argue that it was written in the Easter / Pentecost season in 1460 before the Yorkist landing on the 26th of June.

¹⁷ Brotanek, 205.

¹⁸ Brotanek writes, “Im Ton ist die Ballade von Canterbury ziemlich trocken [The Ballad of Canterbury is quite dry in tone]” (205). Stepping further than Brotanek, Pearsall describes these types of occasional poetry as “not very stirring, in fact not stirring at all, and the malign influence of Lydgate’s aureate style is often present” (225). Of the Canterbury Ballad Pearsall writes, “It sounds like Lydgate on a bad day” (225).

genres which would have been suitable for a work of writing whose aim was to raise support for the Yorkist cause. Strohm writes:

Eschewed are such obviously eventful genres as letter, ‘excusation,’ accusation, article, or proclamation, in favor of the ultra-stylized and ‘literary’ register of the *balade* tradition ... Analytical account must, in other words, be taken of this text’s own formal autonomy--an autonomy that, in any case, its hyper-literariness would hardly allow us to forget.¹⁹

The ballad form of the poem is very much a part of what makes it effective as a political message. The ballad consists of ten eight-line stanzas and a seven line conclusion. With a few variations, the rhyme scheme of the ballad is *ababbcbc*. The ballad employs two separate refrains. The refrain for the first seven stanzas is “Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!” “the entire head is feeble and the entire heart is faint” from Isaiah 1:5. The poet uses this refrain, taken from the Bible, in order to couch the specific Yorkist complaints against the Lancastrians in biblical allusions. What follows in the next several stanzas are biblical allusions which build from the theme of the Isaiah refrain and also refer to both specific and general complaints the Yorkists levied against the Lancastrian government. In the first stanza, the speaker tells us he is meditating on Isaiah, “I reduced to mynde the prophete Isay, / Consideryng Engeland to God in greuous offence” (5-6). The poem aligns England with the wayward Israelites who will be punished if they continue to go against God and introduces the first refrain to the

¹⁹ Strohm *Politique*, 178.

ballad.²⁰ The second stanza builds off of the refrain and explicitly describes England as the kingdom of God: “Regnum Anglorum regnum Dei est” (9). The third stanza continues to strengthen the comparison between England and the Israelites with a reference to the next verse of Isaiah: “A planta pedis, fro the pore tylyer of the lond / Ad verticem of spirituelle eke temperalle ennoynted crown / Grace ys withdrawe and Goddys mercyfulle hand” (17-19).²¹ The whole body politic is sick and God has withdrawn himself from it. From here, the poet cautions of the dangers of a divided kingdom, ““Omne regnum in se divisum,” sayeth dyuyne Scrypture, / ‘Shall be desolate,’ than folewethe translacione” (25-26).²² In the summer of 1460 with a Yorkist army preparing to invade from Calais, England was certainly a divided and weakened country, and the Yorkists laid the blame for the state of the country at the feet of the queen and the king’s advisors.²³ In the sixth stanza, the poet makes allusions to critique both the

²⁰ For a full discussion of the view of England as the inheritors of Israel’s favored position in the eyes of God, see Staley:

The description of Britain as an island garden with which Gildas, and countless historians after him, begins constitutes not a uniform way of conceiving of Britain but a trope with a set of available ideas or anxieties that include fears for safety, fears of isolation, Edenic bounty, Edenic fall, the garden, the wasteland, history as a record of rupture, history as a record or reparation--a set of ideals and anxieties that thread their way through medieval and early modern histories of England and that are expressed using the language of place. (17)

²¹ Isaiah 1:6 “A planta pedis usque ad verticem non est in eo sanitas: vulnus, et livor, et plaga tumens, non est circumligata, nec curata medicamine, neque fota oleo.” Biblical quotations are taken from Angela M. Kinney, ed., *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, 6 vols., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

²² Matthew 12:25 “Iesus autem sciens cogitationes eorum dixit eis, ‘Omne regnum divisum contra se desolabitur, et omne civitas vel domus divisa contra se non stabit’”; Mark 3:24 “Et si regnum in se dividatur, non potest stare regnum illud”; Luke 11:17 “Ipse autem, videns cogitationes eorum, dixit eis, ‘Omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur, et domus supra domum cadet.’”

²³ The danger of a divided kingdom was a popular theme for writers on both sides of the conflict. Lydgate’s “Serpent of Division” takes the same theme to show the dangers of civil strife, as illustrated by the life of Julius Caesar. The text has been called “one of the very earliest political pamphlets in English History” (MacCracken 2), and Lydgate wastes no time in outlining the theme of his text:

And thus all þe while they weren of oon herte and of oon assente, and voide of variaunce withinne hemselfe, the noblesse of Rome flovred in prosperite; but als sone as fals covitise brought Inne pride and vayne ambicion, the contagious Serpent of Division eclipsed and appalled

church and the advisors of the king. The first half of the stanza accuses the church of doing nothing for fear of losing its position in the realm:

Jonathas ys ded that Daudid schulde restore

To the presence of the kynge, vnyte to make

Murum pro domo Israel, presthode dar no more

Put himself for the, his fat benefyce he shuld forsake. (41-44)

This refers to Ezekiel 13:5, a passage which critiques the prophets of Israel who have not done the proper job in the House of Israel.²⁴ The remainder of the stanza turns to John 10:13 and the “Mercenarius” who can do nothing but flee in the face of adversity (46). This critiques the advisors and hangers-on of the king and queen, and can also refer to, as Robbins points out, the soldiers hired by the Lancastrians who often were not useful in actual combat.²⁵ The final stanza which uses the Isaiah refrain also makes use of a great deal of repetition within the stanza. Almost every line uses the formula “Tempus X.” One cannot help but think of Ecclesiastes 3, and line 52 directly links to Ecclesiastes 3:2, “Tempus evellendi the fals hunter with his horne.” This stanza also marks the end of the major biblical allusions and the end of the “Omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens” refrain.

theire worthines; concluding sothely as in sentence that every kingdome be division is conveied to his distrucion. (49/25-50.3)

The text takes the same biblical theme to address an urgent political situation of 1422: the precarious position of the English throne following the death of Henry V and the succession of the nine month old Henry VI.

²⁴ Brotanek suggests that this could refer, specifically, to Archbishop John Kempe (d. 1454) or Bishop William Lyndwood (d. 1446).

²⁵ Robbins, 370.

The refrain for the last three stanzas of the ballad comes from a “well-known hymn by Bishop Theodulphus,”²⁶ and this new refrain marks a turning point in the poem, from biblical allusions used to complain about Henry VI to verses of praise for the exiled, and soon to return, Yorkist lords. Like the first refrain of the ballad, this matches neatly to the content of the stanzas it concludes. The final three full stanzas each end with “Gloria, laus, et honor tibi sit, Rex Christe Redemptor!” and do their best to sing the glory, praise, and honor of Richard Duke of York, his son Edward, Salisbury, and Warwick. Stanzas eight and ten praise the “trew blode” of Richard and pray for Jesus to return the prince who contains “alle thing requysyte to a kynges excellence” to England (58, 74). Stanza nine contains the praise for the other major Yorkist lords in exile and also asks for Jesus to restore their honor. The hymn finds its scriptural basis in Jesus’ triumphal entry into Jerusalem and depicts Jesus as being welcomed into the city as the recognized King of Israel. This hymn was often used during the Palm Sunday processional, and given how recently they would have heard it, the audience could reasonably be expected to associate the ballad with the seasonal processional.²⁷ The poet uses the ballad form, especially the refrain and repetition, in order to create associations specific to each refrain and stanza. The poem relies on the “capture and redeployment of familiar materials ... [practicing] a form of what may be called

²⁶ Ibid., 370.

²⁷ Of the Palm Sunday processional, Eamon Duffy writes:

During the singing the procession moved round the east end of the church to the south side, where a high scaffold had been erected. Seven boys stood on this scaffold and greeted the Host with the hymn “Gloria, Laus et honor.” In a further elaboration of the prescribed ritual, flowers and unconsecrated Mass-wafers (“obols” or “singing-cakes”) were usually strewn before the Sacrament from this scaffolding, to be scrambled for by the children. (24-25)

The connection between the hymn and free food for children would proved extra strength to the association of the hymn with Palm Sunday.

ideological bricolage.”²⁸ Using the strength of the ballad form, the poet places together many referents to form a cohesive message about the abuses of the Lancastrians and the hope that the Yorkist lords retain.

One of the many associations the poem makes, especially in the last several stanzas, is with the procession. Strohm suggests that the ballad “would have summoned its audience’s experiences of the ‘royal entry’ as a frame for its reading experience,”²⁹ but I argue that it was not a royal procession that would be in the minds of the reader but a religious procession or a sermon instead.³⁰ Royal processions focus on the spectacle of the king moving through a city and the visual elements that accompanied the journey. Two contemporary examples, from both pro-Lancastrian and pro-Yorkist writers, show that royal processions and their audience focused on the visual spectacle associated with a king parading through a city. Lydgate’s “King Henry VI’s Triumphal Entry into London, 21 Feb., 1432” provides a detailed account of Henry VI’s procession through London after returning from France in 1432. There are very few biblical allusions and no Latin speeches are reported. However, we do hear about the “noble Meire cladde in reede velvette” and the Archbishop and other priests who are “In pontyficall arrayed richely” (30, 460). The clothes, though, are not the focus of the poem, but rather the pageantry of Henry VI’s journey through the city. Just crossing London Bridge, Henry VI encountered a champion with a sword holding a tower (71-77), a giant who challenges any enemies of the king (78-91), two antelopes carrying the arms of England

²⁸ Strohm *Politique*, 171.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.

³⁰ Strohm goes on to argue that royal processions co-opt the liturgical experience and that royal processions themselves can be seen as quasi-liturgical (179-181).

and France (92-98), and at the middle of the bridge the king encountered three empresses (Nature, Grace, and Fortune) who grant the king science and cunning, strength and fairness, and prosperity and riches (99-154). Henry encountered all this before the half-way point of London Bridge.³¹ Though he would later be criticized by the Yorkists for his mismanagement of his finances, Henry VI's 1432 entry into London was a visual spectacle designed to showcase the wealth and power of the King of England and France.

The London Chronicles record another of Henry VI's royal processions, this one during his brief restoration to the throne in 1470. Henry parades through the city in order to raise support, but this procession does not seem to have had the pomp of the earlier one described by Lydgate:

Beyng accompanied wyth the archbysshop of york whych held hym alle that way by the hand and the lord sowch an old & Inpotent man which þt day beyng Shere thursdaye abowth IX of the clok bare/ the kyngys sword and soo wyth a small company of Gentyllmen goyng on ffoot beffore, and oon beyng on horsbak & beryng a pool or long Shafft with ii foxe taylys ffastenyed upon the said Shafft ys eennde, held-wyth a small company of servyng men ffoluyng, the progresse

³¹ There are religious references within the procession. One reference which links Lydgate's poem with the ballad:

And lyke ffor Dauyd, affter his victorie,
Reioyssed was alle Ierusalem,
So this Citee with lavde, pris, and glorie (22-24)

This seems a reference to the same Theodulphus hymn. For the most part, however, the appearance of the biblical material of the procession fits more within the context of pageant plays, mummings, or masques. Seven maidens clad in all white present Henry VI with the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; three virgins representing Mercy, Grace, and Pity offer drinks of wine to the weary party; two old men dressed "lyke ffolkes off ffeyrye" (366) appear as Enoch and Elijah to offer the king gifts and wisdom; St. Paul's is converted into a green castle upon which a pedigree of Henry VI and a Jesse-tree appear; and finally a likeness of the Trinity and a multitude of angels who do homage to the king.

beffore shewid, The which was more lyker a play then the shewyng of a prynce
to wynne mennys hertys, ffor by this mean he lost many & wan noon or Rygth
ffew, and evyr he was shewid In a long blew gounne of velvet as thowth he hadd
noo moo to chaunge wt.³²

Like the first procession, the intent is to inspire awe and respect in the citizenry of the city, and as in the procession reported by Lydgate, the focus is on the appearance and action of the king and his retinue. The only religious reference in this account of the procession is that Henry VI was accompanied by the Archbishop of York who, it is reported, looks “old & Inpotent.” McLaren argues that the chronicler’s portrayal of this procession as a kind of play indicates an “acknowledgment that the two forms of public show are dependent on the projection of images.”³³ McLaren goes on to argue that the London chroniclers, mostly the lay people who lived in London and would have been the primary audience for these events, were interested in royal processions as a presentation of reality, and as opposed to theater, saw processions as concerned “not with suggesting what is real, but with showing what is real.”³⁴ The ballad, in fact, has few elements in common with royal procession and far more similarities with liturgy and religious procession. In particular, the ballad associates itself with Palm Sunday and the procession associated with it. Duffy describes the importance of the event thus: “The Palm Sunday procession was by the end of the Middle Ages the most elaborate and

³² Guildhall 3313 MS of the London Chronicles quoted in Mary-Rose McLaren, *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), 60.

³³ McLaren, 61.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 60. For further discussion of how royal processions were by the people of London see McLaren 51-63.

eloquent of the processions of the Sarum rite.”³⁵ The Palm Sunday procession involved walking around the church with specific verses from the Gospels read aloud at fixed points around the building.³⁶ These readings would most likely been in Latin. In the Canterbury ballad, the Latin refrains and the various biblical quotations would have been similar to the procession on Palm Sunday. Another connection between the Canterbury Ballad and liturgy can be found in John Mirk’s *Festial*. The beginning of the ballad, “This texte I fonde in his story” (6) links closely to many of the sermons collected in Mirk’s primer for priests. In the narration portion of many of Mirk’s homilies begin with the speaker declaring that, as he read, he found the verse or story that will be discussed. To give just a few examples: “Then, as I rede, I fynde,” “In þe lyfe of Saynt Edward I fynd,” and “I fynde yn þe lyfe of Seynt Remus” (145.7; 148.10; 158.11).³⁷ The phrase was a familiar formula which would strengthen the association between the Canterbury ballad and religious material. The scriptural prompt as a spring-board for discussion; the refrain, in one instance actually the refrain of a hymn which was well known; and the frequent Latin quotations all align the ballad with a religious context. This fits well within the kind of political activity in which the ballad participates. It is a message deliberately designed to influence its audience. While some of the ballad’s audience in Canterbury may have witnessed a royal entry or procession, virtually every reader of the ballad would be familiar with the elements of the liturgy. The links

³⁵ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-1580*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 23. Duffy describes the events of Holy Week in great detail in his first chapter, especially 22-37.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁷ References to Mirk’s *Festial* are taken from Thomas Erbe, ed., *Mirk’s Festial: A Collection of Homilies*, (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1987).

between the refrain and the lead-up to Easter in the ballad would be further reinforced by the Easter season in which the poem appeared.

Many critics have commented upon the many biblical quotations and Latin refrains which link the ballad to the liturgy. The macaronic nature of the poem has been seen by many critics as a difficult element of the poem for its medieval audience³⁸.

Brotanek laments that the poet's highly Latinate language would have prevented the ballad from reaching and influencing a wider audience:

“Im Ton ist die Ballade von Canterbury ziemlich trocken; zwei lateinische Kehrreime und reichlich eingemischte Brocken derselben Sprache erschweren das Verständnis eines Gedichtes, das sich doch mit seinen Ansichten und Wünschen an weitere Kreise richten möchte.” [The Ballad of Canterbury is quite dry in tone; two Latin refrains and plenty of blended chunks of the same language complicate the understanding of the poem, which nevertheless would like to address wider circles with its views and wishes.]³⁹

I, however, argue that the Latin portions of the poem and the frequent biblical quotations and allusions work to reinforce the link to the liturgical context. It is quite common to find portions of Latin in an otherwise vernacular work of Middle English. In the morality play *Mankind*, the vice-characters Nought and Myscheff hold a mock court.

³⁸ The critical consensus has been that the ballad would have performed poorly as propaganda because of the Latin portions of the poem. Robbins writes, “The presence of numerous biblical quotations in Latin raises a question of the poem’s effectiveness as a popular handbill” (369). Johnson argues that the ballad “is a difficult piece, which, as has been pointed out, probably passed over the heads of most of its readers” (203). Ross suggests that the majority of the audience of the ballad would not be able to understand the overall argument of the poem: “the well-known ‘Ballad on the Gates of Canterbury’ of 1460, for example, is highly sophisticated in its appeal, at least if it were to be fully understood” (16). Scattergood and Marx both note the frequent biblical quotation and the numerous Latin portions and suggest that these would have been barriers for the ballad’s audience (Scattergood 183, Marx 147).

³⁹ Brotanek, 205.

This court is signaled by a writ scribbled by Nought which makes heavy use of Latin in order to create the impression of a real court:

Carici tenta generalis

In a place þer good ale ys,

Anno regni reitalis Edwardi nullateni

On 3estern day in Feuerere -- þe 3ere passyth fully,

As Nought hath wrytyn; here ys owr Tulli,

Anno regni regis nulli! (687-93)

This scribal activity by Nought “mimics the production of a legal writ and constitutes a generic intrusion into the generally conversational mode of the play.”⁴⁰ The legal language of the “writ” is markedly different from the majority of the play and serves to signal the important nature of the court proceedings. A Yorkist poem celebrating the Battle of Barnet in 1471 also makes use of a number of Latin phrases. The poem begins with an exhortation for the Yorkists to rejoice: “Gaudete iusti in domino, / For now regneth ryghtwyslyoure souerayn” (1-2)⁴¹. From this beginning, the poem makes use of a mixed Latin-English refrain, “Conuertimini, ye comons, & drede your kyng” (8), and ends with a couplet which makes a pun using Latin and English: “Homo proponit, oftymes in veyn, / But deus disponit, the boke telleth pleyn” (33-34). In his *Instructions for Parish Priests*, John Mirk writes that a baptism is valid even if the Latin is not exactly correct:

⁴⁰ Jessica Brantley and Thomas Fulton, “Mankind in a Year without Kings,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36,2 (2006): 329.

⁴¹ “The Battle of Barnet (1471)” number 94 in Robbins.

Þe folghþe ys gode wythoute drede

So þat here entent & here wyt

Were forto folowe hyt;

Ay whyle þey holde þe fyrste sylabul,

Þe folghþe ys gode wythouten fabul, As þus,

Pa of patris. fi of filij. spi of spiritus sancti. Amen. (574-579)

This allowable lapse is an outcome of “the authoritative status of clerical discourse” in Latin.⁴² In these instances, the high status of Latin as a language reserved for serious and holy matters allows multiple layers of meaning and multiple readings for the poems⁴³. Members of the audience who understand the Latin would have access to biblical quotations or an understanding of Latin phrases. Those in the audience who did not understand Latin would know it by sound from a lifetime immersed in a system where it was a privileged language and associate it with the liturgy or other serious matters. The Latin that appears throughout the “Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” is not a significant enough portion of the poem to prevent a non-Latin reader from understanding the complaint against the Lancastrians and the appeal in favor the exiled Yorkists.

⁴² Liliana Sikorska, “‘*þef thow be not grete clerk, loke thow moste on thys werk*’: Religious and Secular Guidance in William Caxton’s *Book of Curtesye* and John Mirk’s *Instructions for Parish Priests*,” *The Propur Langage of Englishe Men*, Marcin Krygier and Liliana Sikorska, eds., (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 71.

⁴³ Latin does not always appear in Middle English texts as a signifier for serious material. It appears often in texts with a wide audience as a humorous element. In short poetry, Latin can be used to appeal to segments of the audience as in “Of all creatures women be best: / *Cuius contrarium verum est*” (1-2). Latin appears frequently in the cycles plays for humorous effect. One example should suffice. In the Chester “Shepherds,” an angel appears to the shepherds and sings “Gloria in excelsis Deo.” The shepherds are dumbfounded and spend nearly one-hundred lines in an attempt at “expounding” (388) the Latin before breaking out into a popular song.

The ballad is a “‘state of England’ poem, concerned with matters of good rule” and as such, is very interested in setting at the forefront the Yorkist complaints against the Lancastrian regime.⁴⁴ Scattergood identifies the main complaints of the ballad as the “impoverishment of the King by his councillors” and the “suspicion, encouraged by the Yorkists, that the heir to the throne, Prince Edward, was not really Henry VI’s son.”⁴⁵ Strohm, meanwhile, describes the ballad as a “creative response to a variety of expository demands”⁴⁶ and lists many of the main issues he sees the poem as addressing.⁴⁷ Here I will discuss some of these complaints, focusing on those which appear explicitly in the Davies Chronicle, the location of the only surviving copy of “Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury,” as well as “Battle of Northampton” and “Twelve Letters that Saved England,” two poems which are closely tied to the ballad and which will be discussed in more detail below. Two of the main complaints, which appear throughout Yorkist writing, are the supposed illegitimacy of the Lancastrian line and the oppression of the Queen and the King’s advisors.

Since Richard II’s deposition in 1399, accusations of illegitimacy were used by both sides in order to undermine the other. It is an easy rhetorical move, and “Any competitor for a hereditary position can clear the ground fastest by leveling an

⁴⁴ Strohm writes, “This being a ‘state of England’ poem, concerned with matters of good rule, the ‘iujements sensuelle’ that dog the speaker’s memory presumably involve that inescapable situation attested by direct (‘sensuelle’) observation: the incumbency of Henry VI” (173). Strohm goes on to argue that much of the ballad seeks to address the nearly 40-year tenure of Henry VI’s reign.

⁴⁵ Scattergood, 183, 184.

⁴⁶ Strohm *Politique*, 178.

⁴⁷ Strohm writes that the poem seeks to deploy “terms, experiences, and beliefs already current in its audience’s experience” and “stake its own successful claim upon them” (*Politique* 182-183). Strohm’s discussion of these shared concerns include: a tainted lineage, perjury, oppression, exile, treason, heresy, and community (*Politique* 182-192).

accusation of genealogical impropriety against a rival.”⁴⁸ Illegitimacy and cuckoldry are common themes in Middle English literature and work as well in propaganda as they do in drama, Romance, or verse. Illegitimacy, and the inherent dishonesty of someone without “true” blood on the throne, is one of the main concerns of the “Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury.” From the first refrain, the ballad raises the issue of the weakened body politic weakened. As discussed above, the first refrain of the ballad comes directly from the beginning of Isaiah and focuses on the weakness and frailty of the kingdom. It is not long before the poet identifies the source of this malady. The second stanza of the ballad is devoted to the issue of illegitimacy and the lies associated with it:

Regnum Anglorum regnum Dei est,

As the Aungelle to seynt Edward dede wyttensesse;

Now regnum Sathane, it semethe, reputat best,

For *fili scelerati* haue brought it in dystresse.

This preuethe *fals wedlock and periury expresse*,

Fals heryres fostred, as knowethe experience,

Vnryhtewys dyssherytyng with false oppresse,

Sic “*omne caput languidum, et omne cor merens!*” (9-16; emphasis added)

According to the poet, what was once the kingdom of God is now the Devil’s realm as a result of the “*fili scelerati*,” the sons of the wicked. These children come from false wedlock, perjury, and the raising of false heirs. This complaint is directed at Henry VI’s

⁴⁸ Ibid., 183.

son, Edward the Prince of Wales, and the Davies Chronicle records this rumor surrounding the queen.⁴⁹ In the thirty-eighth year of Henry VI's reign, 1459, the chronicler writes, "The quene was defamed and desclaudered that he that was called prince was nat hir sone but a bastard goten in avoutry" (78.25-26). From this point, the Chronicle describes how Margaret, for fear that her son will not become king, begins to gather support for her son amongst the lords of Cheshire.⁵⁰ The ballad continues this line of assault until seventh stanza. In the final stanza which uses the first refrain, the poem turns and announces that it is time to put an end to the destructive path that the kingdom is on. In a stanza which makes rhetorically effective use of repetition, the poet writes, "Tempus ys come falshede to dystroy" and "Tempus ponendi falsnes in perpetuelle absence" (49, 54). The remainder of the ballad shifts markedly in tone to praise the Yorkists, and the section begins with a notable remark about Richard's genealogy. The poet prays for Jesus to "Sende hoom thy trew blode vn to his proper veyne, / Richard duk of York" (58-59). The final stanzas of the poem create a juxtaposition between what it characterizes as the illegitimacy and dishonesty of the Lancastrian lineage with the inherent truth of Richard's blood.

⁴⁹ Brotanek and Robbins both see this as directed at Edward, but Strohm suggests that this could be a more general complaint about Lancastrian impropriety: "Its reference is somewhat unclear. The falsity is to be traced to Henry's great-grandfather, or to the taint of usurpation clinging to his line, or some more particular allegation bearing on his mother's conduct, or, as is most likely, the matter of his own marriage and the succession of his son Edward" (183).

⁵⁰ According to the chronicle, the queen won over many of the households of Cheshire and "made her sone called the prince yeue a lyuerey of swannys to alle þe gentilmen of the contre, and to many other thorough the lande, trustyng thorough thayre streynght to make her sone kyng" (78/29-32). During the description of the Battle of Bloreheath, 23 September 1459, the chronicler seems to enjoy pointing out that many of these liveried knights were killed: "And there was the Lorde Audeley sleyne, and meny of the notable knyghtis and squyers of Chesshyre that had resceued the lyuerey of the swannes" (79.12-14).

The second major complaint raised in the “Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” is the oppressiveness of Henry’s reign. The poem begins with the general complaint that Henry’s government is guilty of “Vnryghtewys dyssherytyng with false oppresse” and that “Exalted ys falsehood, trowthe ys layde adoune” (15, 20). Following the broad complaints at the beginning of the poem, the ballad turns to express specific grievances. Complaints of specific forms of oppression take two major forms in the ballad: first, critique of the mismanagement of the King’s household finances, and second, complaint about the exile of the Yorkist lords. Throughout his reign, Henry VI’s government faced financial difficulties.⁵¹ The ballad is quick to highlight this complaint against the king: “What prynce by thys rewle may haue long enduryng, / That also in most pouert hath be long whyle?” (35-36). We do not have to look far in the Davies Chronicle to discover concrete examples of the ballad’s exact complaints. Again in the thirty-eighth year of Henry’s reign, the chronicler complains, “In this same tyme, þe reame of Englonde was oute of all good gouernaunce, as it had be meny dayes before, for the kyng was simple and lad by couetous counseyll, and owed more then he was worthe” (78/10-12). But the king’s poverty was not the only facet of this complaint. The misrule of Margaret and the advisors she had placed around the king also appears in the chronicle: “The quene with suche as were of her affynyte rewled the reame as her lyked, gaderyng ryches innumerable” (78/21-22). After the turn in the ballad in the

⁵¹ Richard Duke of York suffered personally because of the mismanagement of the government finances, especially during his Lieutenancy in France. For a full discussion of Richard’s time in France, see Johnson chapter 2 “France.”

eighth stanza, we once again see Richard held up as a desirable alternative to Henry.

The ballad describes Richard thus:

No prynce, all thing consydered, wythe honoure

In alle thyng requysyte to a kynges excellence

Better may lyue, serche any worthy predecessoure (73-75)

Unlike Henry, Richard has all things required for a king to be excellent. Robbins links this stanza to a petition sent to the Commons from Richard, Edward, Warwick, and Salisbury during their exile following the Battle of Ludford Bridge.⁵² The petition is recorded in the Davies chronicle, and the fourth point of the letter addresses the King's finances:

Item, that it woll please his sayde good grace to lyve vppon his owne lyuelode, whereopon hys noble progenytures haue in dayes heretofore lyued as honorably and as worthyly as any Crystyn prynces, and nat to suffre the destroyers of the sayde londe and of his trewe sugettis to lyue thereopon, and therefore to lacke the sustenauncis that sholde be bylongyng to hys sayde estate, and fynde hys sayde householde oppon his pore communes withoute payment, whyche nouthur accordeth wyth Goddes nor mannes lawe. (83/17-23)⁵³

The letter itself was a kind of propaganda and was distributed throughout southern England before the Yorkists returned.⁵⁴ The letter contains twelve complaints or charges

⁵² Robbins, 370.

⁵³ The full letter appears in Marx from 82.38-85.20. The letter's twelve complaints fall generally into the following categories: four items on bad advisors; three on the poverty of the king; two on oppressive taxation; one lamenting the diminishment of England's foreign holdings; one complaining about general treachery in England; and one general complaint concerning the church.

⁵⁴ For further discussion of this Yorkist letter see Johnson 201-203.

against Henry VI's rule the majority of which point to the poverty of the king, unfair taxation, and the greed and treachery of Henry's advisors. The ballad again does an excellent job of juxtaposing the shortcomings of Henry's government with the promise of effective Yorkist rule under Richard.

The second element of Lancastrian oppression which the ballad addresses is the mistreatment and exile of the Yorkist lords. The topic is first approached in the ballad in the fifth stanza with the complaint that Henry has exiled his "trew bloode" (34). From here, the ballad prays for Jesus' help in restoring the exiled Yorkist lords (57-72). While it may seem a poor rhetorical move for effective propaganda to start with the Yorkists in this weakened position, "Referencing exile in a poem of imagined return is a way of enlisting a powerful narrative expectation in its own right."⁵⁵ The motif of exile and return is a powerful one in romance, and the ballad's author uses it to great effect in this poem. Following the assertion that Jesus can help the Yorkist lords return, the ballad promises the audience that "Thay shalle com agayne and rekene for the score" (78). The ballad plants the seeds of the motif and creates, in its Yorkist audience, an anticipation in the audience for the return of Richard and the other Yorkist lords. As we shall see, this narrative expectation of return following exile will be used in many pieces of Yorkist propaganda.

The "Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury" also, in part because of its nature as a focal point of references and as a collection of Yorkist complaints against the Lancastrian government, works to create a sense of solidarity and community in its

⁵⁵ Strohm *Politique*, 187.

audience. It works to find a common ground amongst the people in Kent. We can see this search for a collective audience in the ballad in the poet's use of pronouns. The ballad begins in the first person singular with the speaker saying "I reduced to mynde" and "This texte I fonde" (5, 7). After the speaker establishes the biblical text at the center of and the specific complaints of the poem, however, the ballad exclusively uses first person plural. After the second stanza, every stanza, with the exception of the coda at the end of ballad, uses a form of the first person plural. Each of these stanzas uses "we," "us," or "our" in order to create a sense of community within the audience of the ballad, and the ballad structure is well suited for this task. Paul Strohm writes, "By appealing to buzzwords, familiar structurations, and other shared elements, the Canterbury verses aim to bridge possible differences among and between members of their own audience."⁵⁶ The ballad gathers many familiar complaints including the oppression of the Lancastrian government and the rumors of the illegitimacy surrounding Henry VI. The ballad structure was a common one for political writing. So much so that they have been called "the most natural form for popular historical narrative, and verse is the commonest vehicle not only for political satire, but for political controversy as well."⁵⁷ Using the form of the ballad and the buzzwords of complaint, the ballad creates a sense of a collective audience for the political message of the ballad. The Yorkist poems which proceed from the "Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury" respond to this sense of community in the poem and take the ballad as a focal text upon which to build their own political message through the creation of textual

⁵⁶ Ibid., 190.

⁵⁷ Kingsford, 228.

networks. The poem resonated with its early audience in Canterbury and elsewhere in England: “The Battle of Northampton” and “Twelve Letters that Saved England” both copy lines directly from the Canterbury ballad in an effort to renew the ballad for their own historical and political context.

Battle of Northampton

The Battle of Northampton took place soon after “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” appeared. On 26 June 1460 Edward, Salisbury, and Warwick, Yorkist lords in Calais, had crossed the channel and landed at Sandwich. There they were joined by a number of Yorkist sympathizers and began their march towards London. They arrived at London on 2 July, and the city was opened to the Yorkist army.⁵⁸ Here, the Yorkist force split into two groups. Salisbury remained in London to besiege Thomas de Scales and his supporters who had closed themselves into the Tower. Edward and Warwick left London to seek the King at Northampton.⁵⁹ Henry VI and his supporters had taken a fortified position outside of the city, south of the River Nene. The actual battle took place on 10 July 1460 at two o’clock in the afternoon.⁶⁰ The battle was over quickly as a heavy rain rendered the Lancastrian guns inoperable, and Lord Grey de

⁵⁸ Brotanek writes that the Yorkist army “wandten sich gegen London, dessen Tore ihnen am 2 Juli geöffnet wurden [looked toward London, whose gates were opened to them on 2 July]” (121). This agreement to open the city gates to the Yorkist lords may seem to indicate that London had become a Yorkist city, but the reality is more complex. Johnson does an excellent job of describing the complex political situation of the city (204-206).

⁵⁹ The Davies Chronicle lists “the Lorde Facombrege, Lorde Clynton, Lorde Bourser, priour of Seynt Iohannes, Lorde Audeley, Lorde Bergeveny, Lord Say, Lord Scrop, Tharchebysshop of Caunterbury, the Popes legat, the Bysshop of Excetre, the Bysshops of Ely, Salesbury, and Rouchestre” among those who went to Northampton to seek the King (89/28-32).

⁶⁰ The Davies Chronicle adds a bit of Romance to the negotiations before the battle. The Duke of Buckingham speaks for the King and refuses to talk with Warwick. After repeated requests to speak with Henry are denied, Warwick sends a herald with the following message, “And the ij^{de} tyme he sent to the kyng and sayde that at ij howres after none, he wolde speke with hym, or elles dye in the feild” (90/27-28).

Ruthyn defected to the Yorkist army, allowing the Yorkists easy access to Henry VI's tent where the king was found.⁶¹ Overall, the battle had relatively few casualties, but it was devastating for the Lancastrian high command. By the end of the battle the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Beaumont, and Lord Egremont were dead. This was an excellent outcome for the Yorkists, and "for all practical purposes the administrative system was at the disposal of the victors."⁶² Henry was captured, but Margaret and their son managed to escape to Scotland. Henry was led back to London and arrived on 16 July. Shortly thereafter, Lord Scales and the defenders of the Tower surrendered.⁶³ It was not until early September, though, that Richard Duke of York returned to England.⁶⁴ This victory gave the Yorkists a great deal of influence, and it was at this point that Richard made his ambitions clear and sought to depose Henry. Parliament, however, would not agree to the deposition of Henry and by the end of October, had reached the decision that Henry would be king while he lived with York and his heirs inheriting the crown.

The dating for this poem is far simpler than for "The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury." The poem recounts not only the events of the Battle of Northampton but also the result of the siege at the Tower of London which was not resolved until 19 July 1460. The poem also ends with a prayer for the safe return of Richard into England.

⁶¹ Brotanek suggests that Henry may have relapsed during this period, and points to line 119 of the poem and writes, "*heuinness* ist eine euphemistische Bezeichnung für die Wahnsinnsanfälle Heinrichs VI [*heuinness* is a euphamism for the attacks of insanity of Henry VI]" (127).

⁶² Johnson, 206.

⁶³ Lord Scales "attempting to escape from the Tower, was recognized by London boatmen and murdered" (Robbins 371), and according to the Davies Chronicle, some of his followers "were drawe and beheded" (91/33).

⁶⁴ Brotanek and Robbins give 8 September for the date Richard returned from Ireland, but Johnson gives the approximate "on or about 9 September" for Richard's return.

The poem, therefore, was written between 19 July and 8 or 9 September 1460. The majority of the poem uses the *ababbcbc* rhyme scheme, but two stanzas switch to “das im Mittelenglischen sehr seltene [the very rare in Middle English]” *ababbaba* rhyme scheme.⁶⁵ Throughout the whole poem, concatenation occurs so that the final rhyme of one stanza is the first rhyme of the next. The poem is a celebration of the Yorkist victory, and “The author uses the familiar methods of referring to those involved in the major events by means of puns on their names, or by references to either their badges or to features of their coats of arms. In addition the Battle of Northampton is described in terms of an extended metaphor of a hunt.”⁶⁶ Throughout the poem the various lords on both sides take on the roles of animals involved in a hunt. Edward is a bearward while Warwick is a bear. The “dogges” are Shrewsbury, Beaumont, and Egremont. Buckingham is, appropriately, a buck. Back at the Tower, Salisbury is an eagle who engages with the fish of Lord Scales and his supporters. The King, meanwhile, is the hunter. The poem is more than a celebration, “It is also shrewdly aimed propaganda” which seeks “to emphasize the reconciliation between the Earls and the King and to establish the Yorkists as the King’s natural councilors.”⁶⁷ This poet seems not to have known about Richard’s ambitions when writing the poem and focuses on the importance of returning the king’s natural advisors, the Yorkist lords, to their proper place of power and influence.

⁶⁵ Brotanek, 123. Lines 17-24 and the final stanza of the poem 153-160 use this rare *ababbaba* rhyme scheme.

⁶⁶ Scattergood, 184-85. Brotanek gives a brief overview of the hunting motif in Middle English literature as well as examples of how the motif carried on through Shakespeare’s time and into the 18th century (122-123).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 185, 186.

One of the major concerns of the poem is the question of what is natural or proper, and the poet explores this question through the hunting metaphor. Early in the poem we see the bearward and bear begin to chase the hunter's dogs:

þe bereward and þe bere þei did þe dogges chace,

And put þeyme to flight, to gret confucioun,

þus, a gayne all naturall disposicioun,

To se a bere to seke his owne game (27-30)

Throughout the poem, the poet makes constant references to how natural or un-natural the actions of the members of the hunt are. From the Yorkist point of view it should have been proper for Richard and his supporters to be the close advisors of Henry VI. When the bear and bearward drive the dogs from the hunter, he acknowledges that the dogs and buck were working against his interests:

þe dogges wrought a gayne all kynde,

þei labored to bryng me in distresse;

I was þeire mayster and speciall frende.

The buk ran before, þe dogges be hynde.

I folowed affter, I wist neuer why;

In no place game kowde I fynde,

þe buk and þe dogges played by and by. (82-88)

Here, the hunter reports that the dogs and the buck, which should be opposed to one another, have been working together in order to take advantage of the hunter and promote their own interests. This is exactly how the Yorkists saw those who were in

positions to advise Henry in the Lancastrian government. The poem casts the Yorkists as loyal subjects to the king who are simply doing their utmost to remove those lords who are harmful to the king and the welfare of the realm. The Yorkists are only in conflict with the king because those false advisors have deceived the king. The poem even ends with a prayer in support of Henry VI:

Saue þe kyng and his ryalte,
And illumyn hym with þe holy goste,
His reme to set in perfyt charite. Amen. (158-160)

The poem ends with a statement in support of Henry and his ability, with the help of God, to make things right within England. This does not mean, however, that the poem chooses to overlook the abuses of the Lancastrians, as the Yorkists saw them. Instead, the poem does include many of the Yorkist complaints, but it lays them solely at the feet of those who it sees as taking advantage of the king.

“The Battle of Northampton” links to “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” not only in direct quotations from the ballad but also in the way it handles the same complaints which appear in the ballad. The Northampton poem is keenly interested in the same themes as the ballad, specifically those of Lancastrian oppression and exile. Over the course of the poem, we learn the reason the bear and bearward give chase to the dogs and buck:

Where of god, of his speciall grace,
Heryng þe peple crying for mercye,
Considering þe falsehode in euery place

Gaue infleweinz of myrþe into bodyes on hye.
The which in a berward lighted preuelye,
Edward, yong of age, disposed in solace,
In hauking and huntyng to begynne meryly,
To Northampton with þe bere he toke his trace. (17-24)

The unusual behavior of the bear and bearward is due to God taking notice of the despair of the common people in England and the falsehood that rules the kingdom. The poem sees the source of this falsehood in the Lancastrian lords surrounding the king. The bearward explains to the hunter:

We haue desired to com to your presence,
To oure excuse we might not answe;re;
All þinges were hyd from your audience (65-67)

The poem describes Buckingham and the other Lancastrians as throwing the wool over Henry VI's eyes, hiding important matters of state from the king and lying about his true supporters. Like the Canterbury ballad, this poem also holds up the Yorkists as exemplary subjects of the king. Richard is described as a man "whom treson ne falshod neuer dyd shame" but who is beset on all sides by traitors: "ffalsehod euer more put hym in blame, / And lay awayte hym to haue sleigne" (145, 146-147). The poem sets up Richard and his supporters as the solution, with God's help, to the problems in England at the time. The poem is also quick to remind its reader of the mistreatment of the Yorkist lords.

This poem, like the Canterbury ballad turns to the motif of exile and return as a way of making meaning of course of events leading up to the Battle of Northampton. The writers of “Yorkist propaganda now proceeded to establish the kind of providential narrative structure, used thereafter by Shakespeare and others, that cast the Lancastrian usurpation as an injury to England itself and the cause of subsequent misrule.”⁶⁸ After describing the wheel of fortune, that sometimes men’s fortune is happiness and other times heaviness, the poet writes:

And ensauple here of, I take witness
Of certeyn persones þat late exiled were,
Whos sorow is turned into ioyfulnesse,
þe rose, þe fetyrlök, þe egle, and þe bere. (9-12)

The wheel of fortune adds an extra layer to the providential motif of exile and return in this poem, and the increase in the fortunes of Richard, Edward, Salisbury, and Warwick is used as evidence, throughout the poem, that the Yorkists are in the right. That God is returning these exiled lords to their rightful place in England is a major element of the exile and return motif in the Northampton poem. We hear repeatedly that the events recounted by the poem are “Allonly þorough godes ovne prouysion” (26). And though the return from exile has been accomplished by Edward, Salisbury, and Warwick, the poem ends with a prayer for God to bring Richard back into England:

Now god þat madest both nyght and day,
Bryng home þe mayster of þis game,

⁶⁸ Matthew Woodcock, “England in the Long Fifteenth Century,” *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, Corinne Saunders, ed., (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 506.

þe duke of yorke, for hym we pray,

þat noble prynce, Richard be name (141-144)

Though Richard has not yet returned from Ireland, the poet sees his ultimate return from exile as part of God's providential plan for England and as a response to the demands of the common people of England. Hand in hand with this providential plan is the support of the people of England. According to the poet, Henry VI was blind to the real concerns of the realm because of his evil advisors:

Tyl now þe trewe comynerys of kent

Be comyn with you, falsehed to destrewe,

And truþe long exiled now to renewe. (99-101)

The poem shows the return of the Yorkist lords as part of God's providential plan and as response to the complaints of the people of England.

In addition to the links between the themes of the poems, the "Battle of Northampton" contains near direct quotes from "The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury."⁶⁹ The closest quotation comes from the transitional seventh stanza of the

⁶⁹ The "Battle of Northampton" poet seems to have been very well read and the poem includes references to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* as well as *Piers Plowman*. Brotanek links lines 39-40, "Amonge all oþer a buk he founde / þe which was hye, and fat of greese" to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* line 1154, "Thay let the herttes haf the gate, with the hyghe hedes" (Brotanek 125). Line 127, "Nede haþe no lawe, þis all men say" is a colloquial saying which appears in Passus 20 of *Piers Plowman*: "And nede ne hath no lawe, ne nevere shal falle in dette" (20.10). Appropriately for a poem which is structured on the theme of a hunt, there may also be a reference to an early fifteenth century hunting manual. Near the end of the poem, the writer prays for God to "Bryng home þe mayster of þis game" (142). Woodcock writes, "A contemporary poem recounts the battle using an extended hunting conceit that alludes back to *The Master of Game* (c. 1406-1413), a treatise translated by York's father" (506). This is not entirely correct, as the manual was translated by Edward, the Second Duke of York, not Richard's father, Richard Earl of Cambridge. Brotanek describes the book thus, "Eduard, der zweite Herzog von York, hatte um 1410 ein französisches Jagdbuch übersetzt und mit Zutaten versehen unter dem Titel *The Master of Game* [Edward, the second Duke of York, had translated a French hunting book around 1410 ... under the title *The Master of Game*]" and goes on to suggest that if this is an allusion to *The Master of Game* it would have been quite agreeable to Richard (127).

Canterbury ballad and is a fulfillment of the promise of the ballad. The ballad announces, “Tempus ys come falshede to dystroy” (49), and in the Northampton poem we see the result of this, “Be comyn with you, falsehed to destrewe” (100). The poems are linked together, with the later serving as a kind of response or answer to the first. To further reinforce the links between the poems, the two start in a very similar manner. Brotanek writes, “Der Eingang des Gedichtes erinnert deutlich an eine im Juni 1460 an die Tore Canterburys angeschlagene Ballade [The beginning of the poem is clearly reminiscent of the June 1460 ballad hung on the gates of Canterbury].”⁷⁰ Both poems begin by establishing the appropriate context for their understanding. The Canterbury ballad begins by pushing aside prophecy in favor of the influence of the heavenly bodies:

In the day of faste and spirituelle afflixion,
The celestialle influence of bodyes transitory,
Set aside alle prophecyes, and alle commixtione (1-3)

The Northampton poem begins in very much the same manner, with the poet emphasizing the power of the celestial bodies:

Of all mennys disposicion naturall,
Philisophys wryten in euery place,
That affter the bodyes celestiall
The Erthely body his wirkyn hase (1-4)

⁷⁰ Brotanek, 123.

From here, the Northampton poet emphasizes the role of God in moving the heavenly bodies and his role in governing actions on Earth. The poet writes that God “Gauē infleweinz of myrþe into bodyes on hye” (20). Brotanek argues that this line forms another link to the Canterbury ballad.⁷¹ “The Battle of Northampton” looks back to the recent past, at most a few months and at least a handful of weeks, to “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” as a way to keep up the rhetorical and narrative momentum of the earlier ballad through the summer. “The Battle of Northampton” engages with the same themes as the Canterbury ballad and works to keep the earlier poem alive in its own audience. As we shall discuss below, the ballad remained in the Yorkist collective memory as a powerful piece of political writing which was seen as being effective in moving an audience.

Twelve Letters that Saved England

Establishing the historical context for “Twelve Letters that Saved England” is slightly more difficult than for the previous two poems discussed. The oddities of the poem, referencing both York and Salisbury in the present tense while describing Edward as “kyng most ryall” (67), have caused difficulties for scholars trying date the poem. Madden, the first scholar to print the poem, argues that the poem was most likely written in the propaganda mills of Calais before the Yorkist invasion of 1460 and writes that an appropriate date for the poem is May 1460.⁷² On the other hand, G.E. Adams suggests

⁷¹ Ibid., 124.

⁷² Frederic Madden, “Political Poems of the Reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV, Communicated by Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., in a Letter to John Gage Rokewode, Esq. Director S.A.,” *Archaeologia* 29 (1842): 330.

the death of Warwick in 1471 as the terminus for the possible dating of the poem.⁷³ Brotanek and Robbins fit between these two extremes. Brotanek argues that the poem would necessarily have to be written after “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” because of the quotations from that ballad and before Warwick switched sides beginning in 1467.⁷⁴ Brotanek ultimately suggests a date of around July 1461, shortly after Edward IV’s coronation on 28 June 1461.⁷⁵

While only a year from the Battle of Northampton, much had changed in England between July 1460 and 1461. This was one of the more active periods of the Wars of the Roses in terms of campaigning and the Yorkists’ fortunes rose and fell repeatedly over the course of the year. Four major battles took place during this period, the final result of which was Edward crowned as king and secure on the throne. Following the Battle of Northampton, Henry VI and Margaret fled into the north of England where the Lancastrian forces worked to destroy Richard’s property and destabilize the new Yorkist government. In response to this threat, Richard, his son Edmund, and Salisbury marched north in order to restore order.⁷⁶ This resulted in the

⁷³ Brotanek notes, “G.E. Adams zieht nur das Todesjahr des Königsmachers (1471) zur Datierung [G.E. Adams takes only the death of the king-maker for dating]” (167).

⁷⁴ Brotanek, 167-68.

⁷⁵ Robbins follows Brotanek and dates the poem “soon after July, 1461” (379). Edward was effectively ruling as King of England at the beginning of March 1461, but it would be difficult to consider March “in a somer tyde” (1).

⁷⁶ The rhetoric of conquest and north versus south can be seen throughout the *Davies Chronicle*, but becomes especially prevalent at this point. In describing the Battle of Wakefield, the chronicler writes that York, his son Edmund the Earl of Rutland, and Salisbury “before Crystynmas, wyth a fewe personnes, went into the north also, forto repress the malyce of the northermen” (97/8-9). After the 2nd Battle of St. Albans, the chronicler describes the destruction wrought by the northerners:

Thanne Kyng Harry, with Margarete his quene and the northermen, went and retorned howewarde toward the north ayene, the whyche northurnemen as they went homwarde dyd harmes innumerable, takyng mennys cartis, waynes, horses, and bestis, and robbed the peple and lad theyr pylage into the north contre, so that men of the shyres that they past by, had almoste lefte no bestys to tyle theyre londe. (99/16-21)

Battle of Wakefield in the final days of December 1460. The battle was a resounding Lancastrian victory and Richard, his son, and Salisbury were all captured and executed. Bolstered by this victory, the Lancastrians raised troops and marched south. In the meantime, Edward raised an army, and on 2 February 1461 his army defeated a Lancastrian and Welsh force at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross. Shortly after this, however, was the 2nd Battle of St. Albans. On 17 February 1461, the Lancastrians were victorious at St. Albans and were able to recover Henry VI. They did not, however, push south to London. This allowed for Edward and Warwick to recover, and on 29 March 1461 at the Battle of Towton, the Yorkists won a decisive victory over the Lancastrian forces. Edward was declared king at the beginning of March but it was not until the end of June that he was crowned king with all due ceremony.

“Twelve Letters that Saved England” also appears in Lambeth MS 306, but the Lambeth version of the poem is considered “much inferior” to that which appears in the Trinity College Dublin MS 432. Brotanek suggests that the missing stanza after line 28, the confusion of the introduction, and the mistake in the number of letters, “lassen fast den Eindruck aufkommen, L sei aus unvollkommener Erinnerung, nach dem Gedächtnis niedergeschrieben [give rise to the impression that Lambeth was written down from

The Davies Chronicle is not the only place where this rhetoric of north versus south appears. “The Battle of Towton, a poem appearing solely in Trinity College Dublin MS 432 and printed in Brotanek, also makes use of this trope. The poet writes that “All þe lordes of þe northe þei wrouzt by oon assent, / ffor to stroy þe sowth cuntre þei did all hur entent” (14-15). The poet goes on to describe the outrageous boasts of the Lancastrian party:

The norþen men made her bost, whan þei had done þat dede,
 “We will dwelle in þe southe cuntrey, and take al þat we nede;
 These wives and hur daughters, our purpose shul þei spede. (23-25)

Many of the pieces of Yorkist propaganda make use of this trope of the northerners descending upon the south of England and bringing chaos and destruction. Much later and across the Atlantic, Herman Melville references this aspect of the Wars of the Roses in his poem, “Battle of Stone River, Tennessee.”

imperfect memory].”⁷⁷ Robbins goes further and argues that the state of the Lambeth version of the poem is due to “scribal illiteracy or miscopying.”⁷⁸ There are key differences between the two versions of the poem; most notable is the missing stanza starting at line 29 in the Dublin MS, which is discussed below in chapter five. The poem begins with the speaker walking through London in the summer and coming across a woman in Cheapside who is embroidering a garment.⁷⁹ The speaker sees that the woman is setting twelve letters in order on the material and assures the audience that it is possible to understand what these letters mean. Brotanek argues that this use of various letters connected to a deeper meaning fits within the style and legacy of Lydgate:

Damit stellt er sich zunächst in die Tradition der Lydgate-Schule, deren Meister es liebt, Wörter Jesus oder Pax in Buchstaben zu zerlegen und diese auf bestimmte Begriffe zu beziehen, deren Bezeichnung eben mit jenen Buchstaben anlautet. [He puts himself in the Lydgate-school, whose master loves to disassemble words like *Jesus* or *Pax* and relate them to certain terms, whose description guides each letter.]⁸⁰

Brotanek then gives examples of Lydgate’s acrostic poems from the *Testament* and *Praise of Peace*. While not an acrostic poem in the traditional sense, “Twelve Letters that Saved England” fits well within the context of Lydgate’s poetry.⁸¹ The poem

⁷⁷ Brotanek, 159.

⁷⁸ Robbins, 379.

⁷⁹ Brotanek briefly discusses embroidered cloth in medieval legal disputes, statues, portraits, coats of arms, and literature (162-163).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 159-60.

⁸¹ Trinity College Dublin Ms 432 also contains a true acrostic poem dedicated to Warwick:
W. Wisdome monstat.
et aduentus. A. bene constat,

celebrates the four main Yorkist lords who made it possible for Edward to rule as king. The end of the introduction gives us the twelve letters which the poet uses to describe the names, titles, and arms of Richard of York, Salisbury, Warwick, and Edward.⁸² This is a common kind of framing device, and in this case, is dropped completely after line 20 when the explication of the letters begins.

During the description of the twelve letters, there are numerous links to previous Yorkist propaganda pieces as well as a major direct quotation from the Canterbury ballad. “Twelve Letters that Saved England” returns to the mainstay of Yorkist complaint: oppression and illegitimacy. In describing Edward, the poet writes that he is “Conseived in wedlock, and comyn of blode ryall” (35). This mirrors the same concern that appears in both the Canterbury ballad and “Twelve Letters that Saved England.” Even in a poem celebrating the Yorkist victory and a Yorkist king, the poet returns to the familiar complaints against the Lancastrian government as a way to maintain the community which the “Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” worked to build. Along with the rumors of impropriety in the Lancastrian line, the poet turns to the complaints about the oppression of the Lancastrian government. Both the overall oppression of the Lancastrian government towards the people and the many tribulations suffered by the Yorkist lords are addressed in the poem. The poet reminds the audience

R. rightwisnes legi.
W. willing prospera regi,
I. Iust antique.
K. Kynd est hic et vbique.

⁸² The twelve letters listed in the opening of the poem are as follows: in Trinity College Dublin MS 432 V R R R 3 E R E M S R F (the “V” should be read as a double v “vv” or a “W”); in MS Lambeth 306 R W E E F M 3 S (the Lambeth version of the poem opens with only eight letters and introduces the missing four as they come up in the poem).

of the difficulties experienced by the Yorkist lords when the three Rs are explicated, “The arris for thre Richard þat be of noble fames, / þat for þe riȝt of englond haue suffred moche wo” (21-22). The poet reminds the audience of the exile and mistreatment of Richard, Salisbury, and Warwick. From here, the poet contrasts the new government with the previous Lancastrian rule. Unlike the Lancastrian government, the new rulers are described as “Reynyng with rules resonable and rightfull” (27). Again, this poem makes use of the familiar Yorkist complaints to remind the audience of the reason for overthrowing Henry VI.

“The Twelve Letters that Saved England” also quotes directly from “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury,” creating a link in the audience between the historical and rhetorical situation of both poems. The most important link between the two poems is the stanza starting on line 29, what Robbins calls “the essential stanza” of the poem.⁸³

The four lines celebrate Edward:

E for Edward whos fame þe erþe shal sprede,
Be cause of his wisdom named prudence,
Shal saue all englond by his manly hede,
Wherfore we owe to do hym reuerence. (29-32)

The poet has taken almost an entire stanza from the Canterbury Ballad and placed it in this poem. This four-line stanza links almost exactly to the opening of the ninth stanza of “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury”:

⁸³ Robbins, 379. Other links between the two poems include the somewhat formulaic description of Warwick: “Twelve Letters,” “W for Warwik, goode with sheld and oþer defence” (41); “Ballad” Richard erle of Warrewyk sheelde of oure defence” (68). Though modified slightly, it is clear that this stanza of the Canterbury Ballad stood out for the “Twelve Letters that Saved England” poet.

Edward Erle of Marche, whos fame the erthe shalle sprede,
Richard Erle of Salisbury named prudence,
Wythe that noble knyghte and floure of manhode
Richard erle of Warrewyk sheelde of oure defence,
Also lytelle Fauconbrege, a knyghte of grete reuerence; (65-69)

The poet takes this stanza which praises Edward, Salisbury, Warwick, and Fauconberg and removes all the Yorkist lords except for Edward. The stanza turns into a praise of Edward in which the new king is seen as the epitome of the noble qualities of all the Yorkist lords. This quotation by the poet actively links this celebratory verse to the political events and poetry of the previous summer. That one year saw the Yorkists in very different situations, politically and rhetorically. In 1460, the Yorkists were planning a return to England in order to remove their political enemies from positions of power in Henry VI's court. By the next summer, Richard's son had become Edward IV. Despite this clear difference in political context, the poet of "Twelve Letters that Saved England" still saw the Canterbury ballad as being relevant for the Yorkist audience in 1461. The same complaints, oppression and rumors of illegitimacy, still resonated for the audience, and the shared nature of these complaints allowed for the various Yorkist poets to create a collective audience and a sense of community in the various groups that supported the Yorkists. The urgency of the Canterbury ballad is reshaped into the joy for a celebration for the Yorkist lords, past and present.

Reform and Renewal

Yorkist writers departed from Lancastrian forms of political rhetoric and often pointed back to the Lancastrian forms to indicate that they were being left behind. One of the major Lancastrian genres at the beginning of Henry VI's reign was the political prophecy. Strohm describes the kinds of Lancastrian prophecies which appeared around Henry's accession to the throne:

The text of 'Lilium regnans,' in which a king will free the Holy Land; a purported letter from the Sultan of Syria predicting the advent of a hero-ruler; a prophecy that Henry will invent the Holly Cross; Henry as a 'Lion's Cub' under whom the church will prosper; the substantial (though finite) victories of 'Rex Henricus'; the Henrician prophecies gathered by John Shirely in MS Ashmole 59 -- all represent an auspicious surge during the first decades of Henry's reign.⁸⁴

These types of political prophecies surrounding Henry VI remained in circulation throughout the 1450s. For the Yorkists, these prophecies were something to fight against or attempt to discredit. Both the Canterbury Ballad and the "Battle of Northampton" work to push aside Lancastrian prophecies. The Canterbury Ballad begins with the assertion that:

The celestialle influence of bodyes transitory,
Set aside alle prophecyes, and alle commixtione
Of iujementys sensualle to ofte in memory (2-4)

⁸⁴ Strohm *Politique*, 174.

The poet argues that astrology, and not prophecy, is the only way to properly predict what the future holds.⁸⁵ The Yorkist response to the Lancastrian prophecies was to suggest a superior alternative.⁸⁶ The Canterbury Ballad argues that the movement of the heavenly bodies can set aside prophecies, and the “Battle of Northampton” follows this by asserting that all men are controlled by the heavenly bodies:

Of all mennys disposicion naturall

Philisophys wryten in euery place,

That affter the bodyes celestiall

The Erthely body his wirkyn hase (1-4)

Strohm suggests that “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” eschews prophecy and praises astrology only to turn to prophecy in the coda to the ballad.⁸⁷ Marx, however, offers a more compelling reading of the end of the ballad. He suggests that “The deede man” of line 81 “refers to Christ, that is, one who as man is dead.”⁸⁸ This

⁸⁵ Unfortunately for the king, “astrology was widely understood to have raised grave questions about Henry VI’s continuance in office and to supersede other discourses bent on maintaining the status quo” (Strohm 175). Carey elaborates and describes that “a horoscope cast by two expert astrologers predicted [Henry VI’s] imminent death” (144). For more on astrology and the Henry VI’s reign see Carey, *Courting Disaster*, 138-153; for astrology and the court in the later half of the fifteenth century see Carey 154-164.

⁸⁶ This is not to suggest that the Yorkists collectively decided to give up prophecy all-together. Prophecy was still a powerful rhetorical device that was employed by Yorkist writers. Robbins’ *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* contains a version of “The Cock in the North” (115-117) which comes from a “decidedly Yorkist” manuscript (Robbins 310). The poem prophesies “Then shall saxons chese theym a lord, / þat shall rewle hem rightfully and bryng hem vndere” (53-53). These lines, and others throughout the poem, suggest that the English people will choose a new king who is more fit to rule. The difficulty of interpreting prophetic poetry is that they are often intentionally obscure and the meaning can change drastically based on the historical context. “The Cock in the North” appears in manuscripts dating from the mid-fifteenth century through the end of the sixteenth century (Robbins 309). For more on Yorkist prophecy and especially the Arthurian connections which Edward IV cultivated, see Hughes, *Arthurian Myths and Alchemy*.

⁸⁷ Strohm *Politique*, 172-77.

⁸⁸ Marx, 148. Strohm connects the “deede man” of the Canterbury Ballad to “The Cock in the North” and the lines: “He that is ded and buried in sight, Shall ryse agayn, and lyve in lond” (57-58). This, however,

fits well within the Yorkist poems' view of God keeping a watchful eye over England and supporting the Yorkist conflict against the Lancastrians.

One area in which the Yorkist poets stepped away from their Lancastrian predecessors without looking back is in the way the writers refer to the Yorkist lords. Repeatedly in their political poetry, Yorkist writers refer to the Yorkist lords by their heraldic badges. As we saw in "The Battle of Northampton," "þe rose, þe fetyrlok, þe egle, and þe bere" participate in an unusual hunt (12). In "Twelve Letters that Saved England," the poet spends sixteen lines describing the heraldic badges and arms of Edward, York, Salisbury, and Warwick.⁸⁹ This focus on heraldic devices is almost completely absent from Lancastrian political writing. An admittedly incomplete sample, but, of Robbins' seven Lancastrian poems, none contain a reference to heraldic badges or arms while six of Robbins' eleven Yorkist poems make explicit reference to badges and arms. This aspect of medieval culture was clearly important to many of the Yorkist poets who wrote political pieces. This armorial interest was widespread in England at the time. The Paston family's library included a book of arms, and Margaret Paston's will included provisions for an armorial display on her tomb, "and vpon that stoon I wulle have iiij scochens sett at the iiij corners, werof I wulle that the first scochen shalbe

also seems most likely to be a reference to the risen Christ rather than to a mystic harbinger or Richard's and then Edward's kingship.

⁸⁹ In an extreme example, the poem "The Battle of Towton" references twenty-five different badges as being present at the battle in support of the Yorkists, several of which are still unidentified. Brotanek (144-150) and Robbins (374-378) attempt to identify as many of the arms as possible, though Robbins disagrees with several of Brotanek's assignments. Derek Pearsall suggests that "in the English poems, this cryptic naming is motivated not by the need for secrecy but by the literary pleasure of enjoyably easy cipher-mongering" (224).

of my husbondes armes and myn departed” (I.383/17-19).⁹⁰ From this point, she describes what each shield should bear and the other decorations which should appear on the tomb. The Pastons were not the only family that had an interest in their family arms. Sir Thomas Malory is famous for his celebration of “jantyllumen that beryth olde armys” (293/19; 232/15).⁹¹ Though there is little direct evidence of Malory’s own arms, his grandson Nicholas “had the coats of arms of his and his wife’s families displayed in a parlour window at Newbold Revel.⁹² The window was designed to make a statement about Nicholas’s place in the world.”⁹³ It is very likely that this is the same type of impulse which led the Yorkist poets to focus on the arms of the Yorkist lords. By showing the reader the arms repeatedly, the poet established a type of armorial pedigree for the Yorkist lords which shows the “olde armys” of those lords. Interest in the old arms of the Yorkist lords could easily turn to interest in the genealogy of those lords. The ancient heraldic badges on display serve to legitimize the Yorkist lords and establish a long tradition of their leadership in England.

Beyond this, several Yorkist poems work together to renew an “older” poem for current issues and to maintain the rhetorical and political moment of an earlier poem which writers found useful. “The Battle of Northampton” and “Twelve Letters that Saved England” proceed from “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” and take

⁹⁰ References to the Paston letters come from Davis, *Paston Letters and Papers* and appear as (Vol.page.line-number).

⁹¹ Quotations Malory’s *Morte Darthur* come from Field, *Sir Thomas Malory: Le Morte Darthur* for ease of reference, a citation to Vinaver’s 2nd edn version of the text follows the first..

⁹² Field describes the window as “now destroyed, but which in the seventeenth century were sketched and annotated by Sir William Dugdale, a Warwickshire landowner, a notable historian, and also, as Garter Knight at Arms, the most senior herald in England” (*Sir Thomas Malory* 859).

⁹³ P.J.C. Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 167.

that earlier ballad as a kind of focal text upon which they can build their own political message.⁹⁴ The Canterbury Ballad resonated with audiences in Canterbury and throughout southern England, and the latter poems copy directly from the ballad. “The Battle of Northampton” looks back to the political rhetoric of the months before the Yorkist invasion as a way to preserve the rhetorical and narrative momentum of the earlier ballad. The poem engages with the same themes as the Canterbury ballad as a way to keep the earlier poem alive for its own audience. “The Twelve Letters that Saved England” goes further and quotes from the Canterbury ballad at length, setting itself up as the fulfillment of the promises of the ballad that “Thay shalle com agayne and rekene for score” (78). The poem links the celebration filled summer of 1461 to the previous year, a very different political situation for the Yorkists. From exile to the throne, the Canterbury ballad continued to be a useful tool for Yorkist political poets and remained relevant for the Yorkist audience of those poems. The complex connections between these poems show how the Yorkist poets looked back to Lancastrian writers to pick and choose effective elements while creating their own meaningful forms of political writing.

⁹⁴ In his discussion of “The Battle of Northampton,” “On the Policy of the Yorkist Lords,” and “The Battle of Towton,” Kingsford writes, “These last three pieces are all of a high degree of merit, and have a certain similarity of form which suggests that they may be the work of one writer” (247). Robbins, as well, suggests that “The Battle of Northampton,” “The Battle of Towton,” and “The Twelve Letters that Saved England” are connected in the same way (371). Kingsford’s suggestion seems to rest on the supposed “similarity of form” between these poems, but the three poems are quite different in form and style. This assertion seems to be due to the sole appearance of these poems in the same manuscript, and in the case of Northampton and Twelve Letters, the shared links to the Canterbury ballad. Being a kind of commonplace book, it is not unusual for Trinity College Dublin MS 432 to contain several poems dealing with the same subject matter. There does not appear to be enough material to suggest a shared authorship between these poems.

CHAPTER III
FEMINIZING HISTORY:
CHRONICLE WRITING IN THE YORKIST AGE

Introduction: Chronicles and Historical Writing

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Yorkist and Lancastrian writers had a number of genres available through which they could attempt to deliver their message. One of the most important of these genres was the chronicle. Chronicles and the type of historical writing they represent were “fundamental to medieval English experience and thought”.¹ By the fifteenth century, historical writing was one of the most popular forms of literature, second only to biblical translations.² Bernard Guenée argues that medieval rulers were keenly aware of the power of propaganda, and that whoever wanted firm power needed active propaganda.³ The most popular genre would have been an easy choice for writers with political objectives. Ostensibly a chronologically organized list of historical events, chronicles in the Middle Ages were used quite effectively for political purposes. Chronicles produced during the Wars of the Roses were produced for

¹ Andrew Galloway, “Writing History in England.” *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, David Wallace, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 255.

² Kennedy in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, writes that the prose *Brut* “judging from the 172 manuscripts and transcripts that have so far been discovered, appears to have been outranked only by the two versions of the Wycliffite Bible as the most popular work written in English before 1500” (2598).

³ Guenée writes:

Mais à y bien réfléchir, dans un monde où les pouvoirs disposaient de si faibles moyens de contrainte, le souci de diffuser des idées sur quoi s’appuyer et par quoi se justifier, de convaincre les esprits, de “faire de la propagande” devait être, chez tout gouvernant avisé, fondamental. Tout au long du Moyen Age, à qui voulut un pouvoir solide, il fallut une active propagande. (332)
But to really think there, in a world where the powers possessed such low means of constraint, the concern to disseminate safe ideas what to support and justify was, in any advised ruler, fundamental. Throughout the Middle Ages, whoever wanted firm power needed active propaganda.

a wide variety of reasons. Motivations ranged from the somewhat mercenary in the case of John Hardyng, who wrote versions of his chronicle for both Lancastrian and Yorkist kings in an attempt to curry favor and maintain his livelihood, to the chronicles written for personal interest such as the various London Chronicles which found their beginning in a combination of civic pride and a desire from the London merchant class to tell their own history. I argue that the Yorkist chroniclers worked to highlight the role of women in England's history and, in effect, feminized history. This was not, however, a kind-hearted attempt at gender inclusivity in Yorkist writing. This move to emphasize the role of women in English history was a calculated rhetorical and political choice which went against the long history of historical writing in England on which these could look back as they began to write their own versions of history.

Historical writing in England begins in the eight-century with the Venerable Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, which tells the story of where the people in England came from and how Christianity spread throughout the land. Written in Latin, Bede's chronicle participated in the popular continental form of scholastic history writing. It was not long, however, before writers turned to the vernacular to write their histories and that those writings began to have political goals. Around 890, the Anglo-Saxon chronicle appeared as an element of King Alfred of Wessex's plan for improving education. The chronicle was copied and continued in a number of different locations throughout England. The longest running of these copies is the Peterborough Chronicle which continues up to 1154. This version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle continued, in English, from one side of the Norman Conquest to the other and witnessed

the end of historical writing in Old English.⁴ Old English had been displaced by Anglo-Norman as the privileged language of authority and power, and yet, the scribe who continued the Peterborough Chronicle chose to write in English. This was undoubtedly a conscious political and rhetorical decision. Edward Donald Kennedy argues, “The continued writing of the Peterborough version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in English when other versions of the *Chronicle* were being translated into Latin and Anglo-Norman for England’s new rulers was an attempt to keep English historical writing alive”.⁵ Gabrielle Spiegel writes, “Language games, Lévi-Strauss insists, are essentially power games, and it follows that disputes over language domains and usage are contests of power”.⁶ While many writers chose to translate works into Latin and Anglo-Norman, the Peterborough chronicler resisted the changing tide of the English political landscape. It was not to be, however, as Anglo-Norman and Latin became increasingly the languages of power while vernacular English declined in prestige.

This is not to say that historical writing in English died out completely. Kennedy describes the state of English Chronicle writing following the conquest:

After the Peterborough *Chronicle* and *Lazamon’s Brut*, a verse chronicle probably written in the early thirteenth century, the next chronicle written in English was the one attributed to Robert of Gloucester at about 1300. After that,

⁴ Kennedy writes, “While historical writing in English was a result of the Danish invasions during the Anglo-Saxon period, it almost died out as a result of the Norman Conquest of 1066” (“Romancing” 15).

⁵ Edward D. Kennedy, “Romancing the Past: A Medieval English Perspective,” *The Medieval Chronicle*, Erik Kooper, ed. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999) 17.

⁶ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 65,1 (1990): 82.

only ten other historical works in English verse or prose appeared in the fourteenth century.⁷

In his *Brut*, Laȝamon followed the example set forth by Geoffrey of Monmouth and included Arthurian material. The inclusion of King Arthur in an otherwise historical chronicle seems to have taken root in the English imagination and marks a key difference between English chronicle writing and continental forms.⁸ Robert of Gloucester was mildly popular during the Middle Ages. Seven manuscripts of both the long and short versions of his chronicle survive. He has not, however, been popular amongst modern critics. William Wright, a nineteenth-century editor of the chronicle describes it as “worthless as twelve thousand lines of verse without one spark of poetry can be”.⁹ English historical writing was surviving but not with the same measure of popularity it had enjoyed before the Norman Conquest.

The fifteenth-century, however, saw a resurgence in the popularity of historical writing in English. At the beginning of the fifteenth-century, a prose English adaptation of the Anglo-Norman *Brut* appeared and completely captured the English imagination. The text firmly established English as a viable language for history writing. The Prose *Brut* survives in at least 172 manuscripts and seems to have been one of the most popular works in the fifteenth-century. The Prose *Brut* “shows, along with works like

⁷ Kennedy, “Romancing” 15.

⁸ Denys Hay discusses the differences between English and French forms of historical writing, noting that “The fifteenth century--although it was a time of intense mutual involvement, especially down to the fourteen-sixties--sees surprising differences in the historiography of the two countries” (111). Kennedy also notes that “after the twelfth century the use of the Arthurian legend for propaganda in England marks another difference between French and English historiography” (“Romancing” 13).

⁹ William Aldis Wright, *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887) lx.

the London chronicles and Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*, that English by the fifteenth century was firmly established as a medium for historical writing".¹⁰ The English Prose *Brut* was based on the Anglo-Norman *Brut* which begins with the legendary settling of Albion and continues up to the death of Henry III in 1272. Many manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman *Brut*, however, are continued up to the English victory over the Scots at Halidon Hill in 1333. This early continuation is the one from which the English Prose *Brut* was developed, and the English chroniclers followed the example of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle which lead to a proliferation of versions of the Prose *Brut* continuations. In these continuations, chroniclers worked to bring the Prose *Brut* up to their present, and in doing so they began to increase the political content of the chronicle and to make it more relevant to their own time. Kennedy notes that "some of the major sources for the continuations of the *Brut* after 1377 were the London chronicles, and it at times presents the mercantile, as well as pro-Yorkist views of these works".¹¹ The English Prose *Brut* was also the first English chronicle to be printed. Caxton published his *Chronicles of England* in 1480, and the work was so popular that it appeared in thirteen editions between 1480 and 1528.¹²

It is in this context of chronicle writing that writers for the Lancastrians and Yorkists worked on their own stories of the history of their dynasties. The chroniclers for the two sides of the conflict had very different aims in producing their chronicles and

¹⁰ Albert E. Hartung, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, Vol. 8, (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1989) 2629.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2629.

¹² Scholars have suggested that Caxton himself was responsible for the 1419 – 1461 continuation. Matheson argues that "there are strong reasons for considering Caxton to be the author of the 1419-61 continuation" (598). Takagi furthers this argument and discusses how Caxton's *Chronicles of England* may have influenced his work in revising the Roman War section of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*.

histories. In this chapter I argue that Yorkist chroniclers largely worked to discredit the Lancastrian regime and, more importantly, to emphasize the role of women in history. This was a paramount concern for Edward IV whose claim to the English throne could be traced two different ways. Edward IV was descended from Edward III's second and fourth sons, Lionel of Antwerp and Edmund of Langley. His claim of descent through Lionel, a stronger claim than Henry VI whose ancestor was John of Gaunt, Edward III's third son, relied on women at two points: Lionel's only issue, his daughter Philippa, and Edward IV's grandmother, Ann Mortimer. Yorkist chroniclers worked to emphasize the nobility and importance of women as well as their right to pass titles and possessions to their offspring.¹³

Rollo

The *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* is a brief Yorkist chronicle written to establish Edward IV's legitimacy and outlines his claims to the crowns of "England and of Fraunce of Castell and of Legeons and to the Duchie of Normandie".¹⁴ The chronicle concludes by explaining Edward IV's claim to the French crown. The chronicle begins with the foundation of the Duchy of Normandy and works its way genealogically through William the Conqueror up to Edward III. At this point, the structure of the chronicle shifts and it traces the descendants of Edward III's many children. It is in this

¹³ These chronicles are not the first place where we can find Yorkist writers emphasizing the importance of women. Osborn Bokenham was an ardent supporter of Richard Duke of York, even before the outbreak of open hostilities of the Wars of the Roses. He composed the first all-female legendary in English and practiced "a partisan Yorkist politics that he expressed in his hagiography" (Delany 129). His collection of saints lives "displays a gendered politics in service of the house of York" (Delany 159). For more on Bokenham's *Legends of Holy Women* and its commentary on the body politic of England see Delany *Impolitic Bodies*.

¹⁴ Raluca Radulescu, "Yorkist Propaganda and *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV*," *Studies in Philology* 100,4 (2003): 412. Subsequent references to the text of *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* will be given parenthetically.

complex period of English history where the chronicle becomes decidedly Yorkist. Raduca Radulescu writes, “The Yorkist bias of both the scribe and the reader of the chronicle is evident in the underlining of the Yorkist claims to the crown of England ... and the Yorkist claim to the crowns of France and Castile”.¹⁵ The chronicle does little to hide its bias. In summing up Henry IV through VI, the chronicler writes:

Thies thre Harryes hath kepte the Crowne and occupied the Crowne of England
fro[m] the rightfull hheires this iij^{xx} yeres and thre. And blissed be god it is nowe
the moste partie knowe with the Spiritualte and also with the Temp[or]al[i]te.
(421)

The Lancastrian kings were often characterized as usurpers who interrupted the legitimate line of succession, and the *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* follows suite.¹⁶ The brief text would have been ideal for use as propaganda. Kennedy dates the text between 1461 and 1483, up to the death of Edward IV. However, it is possible to narrow that window considerably.¹⁷ The chronicler notes that Edward IV is now “most rightfull kyng of Englande” (418). This sets the earliest date of composition in March 1461. Later, the chronicler gives the descendants of Richard, Duke of York:

The which Richard begate kyng Edward the fourte nowe being most rightfull
kyng of England and Edmond the Erle of Routeland that was slayn at Wakefeld
and George the Duke of Clarence, and Richard the Duke of Gloucestre, and

¹⁵ Ibid., 405.

¹⁶ Sheila Delany notes that “the notorious baronial violence of the era was deplored as another symptom of the injustice of Lancastrian rule” (136).

¹⁷ Noah Peterson argues for a more precise dating of the poem in “New Dating for *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV*” *Notes and Queries* (Forthcoming 2017).

daughters the Duches of Excet[er], [and] the Duchies of Soffolke and Margaret that is vnmarried. (422)

Margaret of York eventually became the Duchess of Burgundy, but the chronicle explicitly says that she is currently un-wed. Because of this, it is not unreasonable to assign the latest date of composition to 1468 when Margaret married Charles the Bold of Burgundy or, possibly even earlier, to 1465.¹⁸ Negotiations for Margaret's marriage began in early 1466 and quickly became "a focus for domestic rivalries between the Woodvilles and Warwick".¹⁹ These were not secret disputes hidden away from the public, with the outside powers of both Burgundy, supported by the Woodvilles, and France, supported by Warwick, vying for Margaret. If the writer had known of these negotiations it would seem odd not to mention them while describing Richard, Duke of York's offspring. For this reason, I would argue that this chronicle can be dated between 1461 and 1465.²⁰

¹⁸ As discussed below, Saint Anne was a particularly important figure for Edward IV's family, and here she served to legitimize the marriage between Margaret and Charles. Warren writes, "the apparition of the thrice-married St. Anne and her offspring was easily connected to the marriage of Charles and Margaret, since the marriage was his third" (34).

¹⁹ Christine Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1503* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 37.

²⁰ It is highly likely that the *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* was written in the very early days of Edward IV's reign. Only two battle from the Wars of the Roses are mentioned in the text: the Battle of Northampton once (422) and the Battle of Wakefield (420, 422). Wakefield and the death of Richard Duke of York seem to be fresh wounds in the mind of the writer. In describing the Battle of Wakefield, the chronicler writes of the treachery of Henry VI and his supporters:

And the said Harry and his counsell for because the Comons of England found that Richard Plantagenet othirwise called Richard late Duke of Yorke hadde more right and more title vnto the Crowne of England than the saide Harry, he innocent goyng towarde Yorke at Wakefeld sette vpon hym oute of array and kelled hym and his sonne the Erle of Routeland, the Erle of Salusbury and Lord Harington with othir diuers gentills and comoners. (420-21)

The death of Richard is a fresh wound and betrayal by the Lancastrians. It is also unusual for the chronicle to make no mention of the Yorkist victory at the Battle of Towton, the largest battle of the Wars of the Roses and one which firmly established Edward IV position on the English throne.

The primary manuscript witness to the *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* is Harley MS 116, a miscellaneous manuscript which also contains texts from Lydgate and Hoccleve.²¹ Radulescu writes, “it is clear that its owners’ interests lay with the issues of royal inheritance, descent, and the governance of the realm, which were widespread concerns among an increasing audience”.²² It is this focus on royal inheritance and descent that is particularly interesting in this chronicle. This chronicle has such an interest in descent and genealogy that it would be easy to think about it in terms of the many genealogical chronicles and rolls which were being produced by the Lancastrians and Yorkists as part of their propaganda projects. Genealogical chronicles or rolls in England predominantly follow the *Brut* tradition and work to legitimize a claim to the throne through linking that claimant to Brutus. The *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* diverges from this trend in beginning with Roland and the founding of the Duchy of Normandy. This is not the only way in which this chronicle differs from other English chronicles. The *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* consistently argues that women are capable of passing on royal inheritance to their children.

Before reaching the volatile descendants of Edward III and the period of the Wars of the Roses, the chronicler works to establish precedent for inheriting the English crown through one’s mother. These appear quickly after William and the Norman Conquest. The chronicler takes care to note that William had two daughters, including “Adlayre the Countesse of Boleyne” (415). After William’s two sons, William II and

²¹ In volume eight of *A Manual of the Writings*, Kennedy writes that the *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* is found only in BL MS Harley 116. Recently, however, Raluca Radulescu has described another manuscript witness to this chronicle, BL MS Harley 326. She describes this second manuscript in “Yorkist Propaganda and *The Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV*,” (401-02 and 404-06).

²² Radulescu, 402.

Henry I, die without male issue, the crown passed to Stephen. The chronicler notes that it is because of his mother that Stephen gains the crown. He is “begoten of Adlayre harry sust[er]” (415). In this same area of the text, we see that women can not only pass on a claim to the throne but also wield power themselves. Henry I married Matilda of Scotland “on whome he gate Malde that was Emp[re]se” (415). After King Stephen dies, it is the Empress Matilda’s son who becomes the King of England: “In the yer of oure lorde god m.c.lv. Harry son of Geffrey the Erle of Angeoy and of Mald that was Emp[re]se was crowned at Westmynst[er]” (415). Matilda remains the “Empress” despite her marriage to Geoffrey of Anjou, and it is through her that Henry II can claim the English throne. With these precedents established, the chronicler can move on to Edward III and complex relationships and conflict between his sons’ descendants for the English throne.

It is at this point that the *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* changes form. Instead of numbering dukes or kings, as it has for the Dukes of Normandy and later the Kings of England, the chronicle organizes itself around numbering the children of Edward III. Here, we see the dual claim to the English throne which Richard Duke of York and Edward IV could claim. The section of the chronicle discussing Lionel of Antwerp, the second surviving son of Edward III, and his descendants is worth quoting in full:

Tercius filius. Sir Leonell was the third son of Kyng Edward the third. And he was Duke of Clarence and wedded the Countes of Vlst[er] and of hir he begate a dought[er] called Philipp[a] which was wedded vnto Edmond Erle of March and

he begate a son of hir that aftirward was Erle of Marche and a dought[er] called Alys that was maryed vnto Sir Harry Percy Knyght. Roger Erle of Marche heire vnto Philipp[a], doughter and Eire vnto the said Sir Leonell was lawful and rightful heire of Englonde and of Fraunce aftir the decease of Kyng Richard the secund. And he hadde sonnes Edmond and Roger the whiche decesed and had none issue of their bodies. And Anne than the first dought[er] married vnto Richard Erle of Cambridge the sone of Edmond the Duke of Yorke had issue aftire Richard Plntagenet othirwise called Richard late Duke of York and Issabell married vnto the vicounte Bewsser and Elenor the secund sustir decesed and had none issue of hir bodie begoten. Richard sone and heire vnto the said Anne the first doughter of the said Rog[er] Erle of March aftir the Duke of Yorke right heire vnto the Roialmes of England anf of Fraunce, of Castell and of Legeons begate Kyng Edward the foute now being most rightfull kyng of Englande. (417-18)

The chronicler had firmly established the right of women to pass on a royal inheritance and uses that here to establish a strong claim to the English throne for Edward IV.

Philippa is the “doughter and Eire vnto the said Sir Leonell” (418). At the end of the section, Richard Duke of York is the rightful heir of the English crown because of his link to Lionel through two women. His mother, Ann Mortimer, connects him to Roger Mortimer who is the heir of Lionel of Antwerp through Philippa. On each step on this side of his family, Edward IV’s link to Lionel rests on a female relative, and for this

chronicler there is no question of the legitimacy of relying on female connections for a claimant to the English throne.

The chronicle also supports Edward IV's claim to the thrones of Castile and Leon, and, once again, this claim relies on the ability of women to pass royal inheritance to their children. This claim originates in Edward IV's second link to Edward III: Edmund of Langley, the fourth son of Edward III. Edmund married Isabella of Castile the second daughter of Peter King of Castile and Leon.²³ When Peter died, the chronicler insists that the rightful claim to the throne of Castile and Leon passed to Isabella's children: "The which Edmond²⁴ aftir the decese of Petre the kyng of Castell and of Legeons was right heire vnto the said kyngdam by Issabell his moder doughter of the saide kyng Petre" (421). When Edward 2nd Duke of York died, the chronicler is adamant about Richard Duke of York's inheritance, writing, "Richard son and heire vnto the saide Erle of Cambrigge aftir the decese of Edmond his vncler was verye the Duke of Yorke and heirte of Castell and of Legeons" (422). Once again, the chronicler has no problem suggesting that Edward IV can rely on his great-grandmother to make a claim to a throne.

The *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* takes the form of a genealogical chronicle and consistently supports the ability of women to wield power and for those women's descendants to receive that power or make claim to it as part of their inheritance. The chronicle and genealogical form contribute to this position. Radulescu

²³ Peter's first daughter married John of Gaunt but had no male children.

²⁴ Both BL MS Harley 116 and BL MS Harley 326 consistently refer to Edward 2nd Duke of York as Edmund.

notes that “genealogical rolls and narrative functioned primarily as propaganda but had a didactic use as well”.²⁵ Chronicles promise to tell the truth about the history of a country or people, and it is precisely because of this that they are effective at performing the action of propaganda. The *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV* begins by calling itself a brief treatise intended to spread information:

This brief tretys compiled for to bringe people oute of doute that haue not herd of the Cronicles of the lineall descenste vnto the Crowne of England and of Fraunce of Castell and of Legeons and to the Duchie of Normandie sith that it was first conquest and made. (412)

If the audience accepts that Rollo founded the Duchy of Normandy and that William the Bastard had three sons and two daughters and that Edward III had seven sons, it becomes more difficult for them to disagree with Edward IV’s proposed claim to various thrones which rest on female relatives. The chronicle tacitly asks its audience to remember when King Stephen and Henry II claimed the throne through their mothers and asks why England should change now. The chronicle establishes the historical law of the land and shows that Edward IV was justified in taking the throne back from the usurping Henrys.

²⁵ Radulescu, 407.

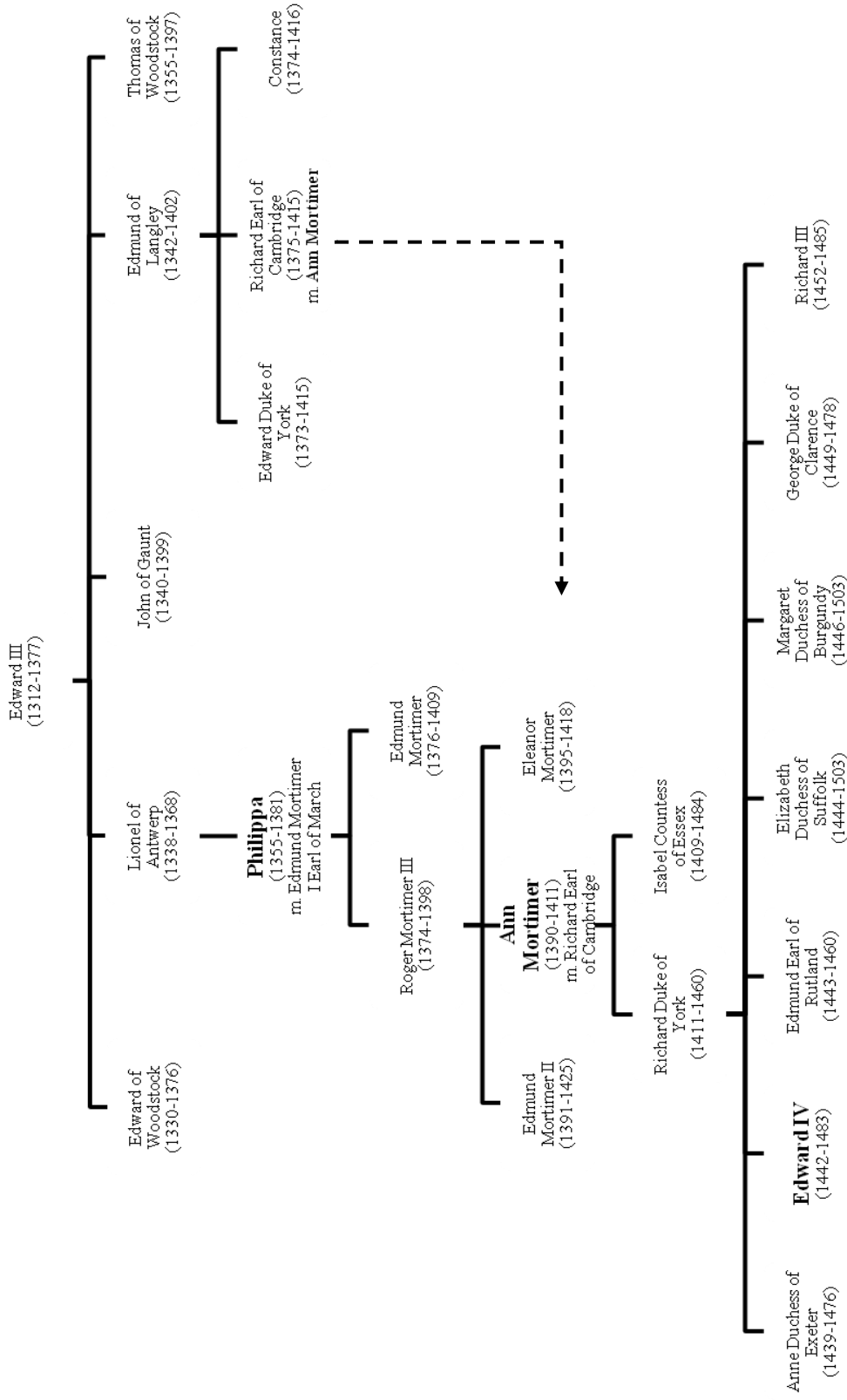


Figure 2: Edward IV's descent from Edward III

Arrival

The *History of the Arrival of King Edward IV* is an official account of Edward IV's return from exile in March 1471, and exists in three distinct versions. The chronicle recounts Edward IV leaving Zeeland and arriving in the northern part of England where the city of York is opened to him. From there, Edward IV challenged those who have "vsyd and vsurped the kinges auctoritee royall" (Green 327/41-42).²⁶ The chronicle describes the standstill between Edward IV and the "great Rebell, th'Erle of Warwike" at the city of Coventry (Bruce 8). Edward then leaves the city and takes control of London and captures Henry VI. This move forced Warwick to leave Coventry and meet Edward IV outside of the city of Barnet on 14 April 1471. In the aftermath of the battle, Warwick and many of his supporters lay dead. This left only Margaret of Anjou and her son, Edward Prince of Wales, to challenge Edward IV's throne. He met their army at Tewkesbury in May, capturing Margaret and killing Edward. Following these actions, the chronicle tells us that Henry VI died in the Tower of London after the news of the recent events "caused hym to haue suche sorrowe of displeasour and malyncooly that he dyed" (Green 331.152-3). Thus, as the chronicle tells us, with the help of God and all the saints, Edward IV was able to regain his rightful crown and eliminate his enemies within the realm.

²⁶ Richard Firth Green, "The Short Version of *The Arrival of Edward IV*," *Speculum* 56,2 (1981): 327.41-42. References to the short version of the "Arrival" come from Green. Quotes from the long version of the *Arrival* come from John Bruce ed. *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Finall Recoverye of His Kingdomes from Henry VI A.D. M.CCCC.LXXI*, (London: Camden Society, 1838). Quotations to the separate versions of the chronicle will be given in text and differentiated by Green and Bruce.

The chronicle appears to have been written by a Yorkist herald within days of the events described within it.²⁷ Details such as the chronicler writing that the text was “Compiled and put in this forme suinge, by a servaunt of the Kyngs, that presently saw in effect a great parte of his exploytes” (Bruce 1), and Margaret of Anjou yet remaining in Edward IV’s custody make the chronicle easy to date.²⁸ In fact, it is possible to more precisely date the composition of the original version of the chronicle. On 28 May 1471, Edward IV wrote a letter to the duke of Burgundy thanking the duke for his hospitality during Edward IV’s exile and informing him of Edward IV’s successes in England. The letter was accompanied by a short French version of the *Arrival*.²⁹ The chronicle closes on 26 May 1471 and a French version of it was sent to Burgundy two days later: the *Arrival* was an up-to-the-minute account of the current events in England intended for a foreign audience. Shortly after it first appeared, however, it was translated and expanded into English for an English audience. The long and short English versions of the chronicle appeared soon after with a *terminus ad quem* of April 1472 when the Archbishop of York was arrested for treason. In the chronicle, the Archbishop of York, Warwick’s brother, is seen as a loyal follower of Edward IV.³⁰ Green suggests that the

²⁷ Richard Firth Green suggests that the chronicle may have been the work of Yorkist herald. Green notes the details of the focus on the Trent, “the traditional boundary between the two heraldic kingdoms of Norroy and Clarencieux” (335) and the attention to banners being displayed during the meeting between George, Duke of Clarence, and Edward IV.

²⁸ Margaret of Anjou was captured shortly after the Battle of Tewkesbury, 4 May 1471, and did not leave England until 1475.

²⁹ Bruce discusses the letter from Edward IV on vi-viii. Green discusses the letter and a probable timeline for the difference versions of the *Arrival* on 334-336.

³⁰ The *Arrival* reports the bishop’s actions upon learning that Edward IV is marching towards London: Th’ Archebyshope of Yorke, undarstondyng the Kyngs commyng, and approchinge nere to the cite, sent secretly unto hym desyringe to be admittyd to his grace, and to be undar good appoyntement, promittyng therefore to do unto hym great pleaswre for his well and swertye; whereunto the Kynge, for good cawses and considerations, agreed so to taky hym to his grace.

short version was completed first and used independently of the French as the source for the longer, official account. While the short English and French versions are mostly interested in establishing the facts of Edward IV's restoration, the long English version, a more leisurely composition, is part of the Yorkist propaganda machine, and as such, is keenly interested in emphasizing the role of women and their importance in Edward IV's return to the English throne.

The emphasis on women begins early the text with the reconciliation between Edward IV and George Duke of Clarence. George had joined Warwick in rebelling against Edward IV and was made next in line to the throne after Prince Edward. In the short "Arrival," the reconciliation between the brothers happens quickly and without many details. Once Edward IV has besieged Warwick at Coventry:

And after, from the same toune of Warwicke the kinge issued oute to receiue his brother the duke of Clarence, whiche with a faire compeny came to yelde and submytte hym vnto the kinge, and with whome the kinge appointed upon the felde with banners displaid. (327/24-27)

This is a very straightforward version of the events: Edward IV returns to England and George meekly accepts that he is in the wrong and yields himself to his brother. The longer *Arrival* goes into far more detail concerning how the reconciliation was brought about and highlights the work of the "mediatrici" who endeavored to bring the two brothers together again (Bruce 10). The chronicler lists the women who worked to

Th' Archbyshope, therof assuryd, was ryght well pleasyd, and therefore wele and trwlye acquite hym, in observynge the promyse that he had made to the Kynge in that behalf. (Bruce 16-17)
It is highly unlikely that the chronicler would write so kindly of the Archbishop if his arrest for treason was known.

reconcile the two: “the highe and myghty princis my Lady, theyr mothar; my lady of Exceter, my lady of Southfolke, theyre systars; my Lord Cardinall of Cantorbery; my Lord of Bath; my Lord of Essex; and, moste specially, my Lady of Bourgoigne” (Bruce 10). These ladies would be the mother and sisters of Edward and George, and the lords listed are strongly connected to the royal family through women.³¹ It is the royal, Yorkist women who are able to accomplish this seemingly impossible task of reconciling a king and his brother who helped to overthrow him. Edward IV’s sister, Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, is singled out for her determination and effectiveness in reconciling the brothers. During the entirety of Edward IV’s exile, Margaret was working to create an accord between him and George. The chronicler writes, “the high and mighty princesse, the Duches of Bowrgine, which at no season ceasyd to send hir sarvaunts, and messengars, to the Kynge, wher he was, and to my sayd Lorde of Clarence, into England” (Bruce 10). The result of Margaret’s efforts is such that “a perfecte accord was appoyntyd, accordyd, concludyd, and assured, betwixt them” (Bruce 10). When Edward IV and George, Duke of Clarence, meet in the field outside of Coventry there “was right kynde and lovyng language betwixt them twoo, with parfite accord knyght togethars for evar here aftar, with as hartyly lovyng chere and countenance, as might be betwixt two bretherue of so grete nobley and astate” (Bruce 11).³² Margaret did not only work to reconcile her brothers, but she also labored to

³¹ Cecily Neville was Edward and George’s mother. Their sisters were Anne, Duchess of Exeter, Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk, and Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. The Cardinal of Canterbury would have been Thomas Bourchier. His brother was Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, who was married to Isabel of York, Richard Duke of York’s sister. The Lord of Bath was Robert Stillington, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the only mediator listed without a strong female link to the brothers.

³² This chronicler certainly did not foresee the downfall and death of George seven years later in 1478.

maintain the Yorkist-Burgundian alliance.³³ Margaret wrote often to Isabella and her husband Charles the Bold in order to reassure them that the Yorkist cause was just and that her brother, Edward IV, would recover the throne.³⁴ It is through female action and power that the Yorkist brothers are reunited and Edward can regain his throne.³⁵

It is not only the powerful women of Edward IV's family and their role in united the Yorkist brothers that the chronicle celebrates. The *Arrival* also points out that divine feminine figures are lending their support to Edward IV. On the Palm Sunday before the Battle of Barnet, Edward IV stops at a parish church to hear the service. It is here "wher God, and Seint Anne, shewyd a fayre miracle; a good pronostique of good aventure that aftar shuld befall unto the Kynge by the hand of God, and mediation of that holy matron Seynt Anne" (Bruce 13). The chronicler tells us that while Edward IV was in exile, he prayed especially to Saint Anne, promising that when he next sees an image of Saint Anne he would stop and make special prayers and give offering there. In the church there is an alabaster icon of Saint Anne shut in a small enclosure. As the service continues, the alabaster is miraculously revealed to Edward IV and the gathered congregation:

And even sodaynly, at that season of the service, the bords compassynge the ymage gave a great crak, and a little openyd, whiche the Kynge well perceyveyd

³³ Margaret of York, the Duchess of Burgundy, was incredibly active within the political realms of both England and Burgundy. For a discussion of her use of saints and diplomatic devotion, see Warren *Women of God and Arms*, especially 36-57.

³⁴ Weightman discusses the period of Edward IV's exile and return to power in her chapter "The Duchess of Burgundy," especially p88-96.

³⁵ The role of women as mediatrices and intercessors in this Yorkist chronicle is in line with the trend of queens holding intercessory power which Strohm describes beginning a century earlier. For a thorough description of this see Strohm *Hochon's Arrow*, especially 95-119.

and all the people about hym. And anon, aftar, the bords drewe and closed
togethars agayne, withowt any mans hand, or touching, and, as thowghe it had
bene a thinge done with a violence, whith a gretar might it openyd all abrod, and
so the ymage stode, open and discovert, in sight of all the people there beyng.

(Bruce 14)

Edward IV immediately recognizes this as a sign from God, and, remembering his
promise, he and the congregation pray and give offerings to God and Saint Anne. All
those gathered see this as a sign that God, through the intercession of Saint Anne, will
give Edward IV the power to achieve his goals in England.³⁶ Once again, it is through

³⁶ Though historians tend to remember Edward IV's keen strategic mind and his vigor both on and off the battlefield (Anne Crawford discusses Edward's womanizing in *The Yorkists: The History of a Dynasty*, especially in the chapter on Edward as King 49-62), by many accounts, in his own time he was quite a devout Christian, or at least knew how to effectively use religion to shape the public perception of his kingship. This is not the only miracle which Edward IV was witness to in his lifetime. Before the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, 2 February 1461, Edward's army famously encountered a parhelion, an atmospheric phenomenon which creates the appearance of multiple suns. The English Prose *Brut* records this encounter:

And the Monday before the daye of batayle, that ys to say, in the feest of Puryficacion of Oure Blessed Lady, abowte x atte clocke before none, were seen iij sonnys in the fyrment shynyng fulle clere, whereof the peple had grete meruayle, and thereof were agast. The noble Erle Edward thaim comforted and sayde, 'Beeth of good comfort, and dredeth not; thys ys a good sygne, for these iij sonnys betokene the Fader, the Sone, and the Holy Gost, and therefore late vs hawe a good harte, and in the name of Almyghty God, go we agayns oure enemyes.' (Marx 99/31-38)

Edward IV glosses the three suns for his army as a sign which represents the Holy Trinity and God's support for his cause. Shakespeare would later include this detail in *3 Henry VI*. Richard describes the event:

Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun,
Not separated with the racking clouds,
But severed in a pale clear-shining sky.
See, see! They join, embrace, and seem to kiss,
As if they vowed some league inviolable.
Now are they but one lamp, one light, one sun.
In this the heaven figures some event. (2.1.26-32)

In Shakespeare's context, Edward interprets the triple suns as signifying the three surviving sons of Richard, Duke of York, who are joined together in this moment in support of their father's cause. For more on the "public piety" of Edward IV see Charles Farris, "The New Edwardians? Royal Piety in the Yorkist Age," *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium*. Hannes Kleineke and Christian Steer, eds. Donington: Shaun Tyas and Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2013. Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XXIII. 44-63.

the mediation of a female figure that Edward IV has the power to regain the English throne and defeat his enemies. Edward here makes us of the “ready transformability and multi-faceted usefulness of female holiness”.³⁷ Edward’s devotion to Saint Anne would, throughout his political career, serve a number of useful political ends.

The *History of the Arrival of Edward IV* repeatedly emphasizes the important position of women as mediators who can bring discordant parties together or, in an intercessory manner, bring God’s blessing to a cause. These two episodes of female mediation appear shortly before the Battle of Barnet suggesting that without the help of these women, specifically Margaret of York and Saint Anne, Edward IV’s climactic confrontation with Warwick would have a far different ending. The chronicle, in its series of events, suggests that it is through the political cunning and mediation of mortal women and the intercession of a divine woman that Edward is able to successfully return to the throne of England.

English Chronicle

The English Chronicle, also known as the English Prose *Brut*, was one of the most popular pieces of historical writing in England in the Middle Ages. Second only to the Wycliffite Bible, the English Chronicle survives in at least 172 manuscripts. The chronicle was based on the Anglo-Norman *Brut* which tells the story of the legendary settling of Albion by Brutus, the descendant of Aeneas, and continues tracing English history up to the death of Henry III in 1272. Like earlier chronicles, the Anglo-Norman *Brut* had several continuations, many of which continue the history up to the English

³⁷ Warren, 33.

victory at Halidon Hill in 1333. It is from this early continuation that the English Prose *Brut* was drawn, and from this early English version, other chroniclers upheld the practice of continuing the chronicle. This led to a large number of versions of the English Prose *Brut*. In these continuations, chroniclers worked to bring the Prose *Brut* up to their present, and in doing so they began to increase the political content of the chronicle and to make it more relevant to their own time. It is these later, partisan, versions of the chronicle which are relevant to this discussion. The continuations of the chronicle written in the fifteenth century continue the Yorkist historiographic project of highlighting women and their position in the annals of English history.

The version of the English Prose *Brut* which I will discuss here is known as the *Davies Chronicle*. This version of the English Prose *Brut* is perhaps the best known of the English continuations of the *Brut*.³⁸ This version was first published in 1856 by John Silvester Davies as part of the Camden Society's first series, and was originally titled *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI*. This initial edition of the chronicle was based on Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34.

Recently another manuscript containing the *Davies Chronicle* was discovered:

Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21608.³⁹ The chronicle covers the years 1377 to 1461 and "forms a separate and distinct continuation of the *Brut*, and for this

³⁸ Kennedy calls it "one of the best known versions of the *Brut*" (2633), while Marx notes that "the *Davies Chronicle* is a widely consulted source" (xiii).

³⁹ Marx's uses the Aberystwyth manuscript as the basis for his critical edition of the text. This manuscript is undamaged at the beginning of the reign of Richard II and contains several episodes missing from the Bodleian manuscript.

reason has a special claim on our attention”.⁴⁰ The *Davies Chronicle* is a part of this distinct continuation which runs from 1377 to 1437, but it also contains within it a unique continuation for the dates 1440 to 1461. The chronicle’s “narrative for 1440-1461 is a separate continuation and a strongly Yorkist text composed probably soon after 1461”.⁴¹ It is in this final portion of the text that is particularly partisan. Marx calls the 1440 to 1461 continuation “a carefully constructed piece of Yorkist propaganda or, more accurately, myth making”.⁴² This portion of the chronicle was of far more interest to the compiler and chronicler than the earlier sections, and this can be seen in the space spent on each year. The final two years of Henry VI’s reign occupy over %50 of the continuation.⁴³

This final two year section of the 1440 to 1461 continuation marks itself immediately as separate and distinct from the chronicle which has come before it. It does so in the form of a brief prologue to the thirty-eighth year of Henry VI’s reign. This prologue establishes the Yorkist complaints against the Lancastrian government. The chronicler succinctly states the grievances before going into detail about the corruption of the Lancastrian government: “In this same tyme, þe reame of Englonde was oute of all good gouernaunce, as it had be meny dayes before, for the kyng was simple and lad by couetous counseyll, and owed more than he was worthe” (78/10-12).

⁴⁰ William Marx, ed. *An English Chronicle 1377-1461: A New Edition Edited from Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21068 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34*, (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2003), xiii. References to the chronicle come from this edition and appear parenthetically.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, xiv.

⁴² *Ibid.*, xci.

⁴³ The 1440-1461 continuation, in Marx’s edition runs from 61.9-100.9. Within this section of the text, the period of September 1459 to March 1461, the last two years of Henry VI’s first reign, occupy pages 78.6 to the end of the text.

These are the common complaints of the Yorkists. The rule of law is not upheld in England, the King is unable to conduct his own business, the King's advisors and councilors are corrupt, and the King's household expenses are too extravagant. The complaints go on by suggesting that Margaret of Anjou's son is not a legitimate heir to the throne: "The quene was defamed and desclaudered that he that was called prince was nat hir sone but a bastard gotten in avoutry" (78/25-26). These are the commonplaces of the Yorkist complaints against the Lancastrian regime which I discussed above in "Yorkist Occasional Poetry: Reform and Renewal." Particularly of note is the way in which this prologue to the final two years of the chronicle begins.

The prologue to the final two years of this version of the English Prose *Brut* begins with one of the important structural devices of the Yorkist continuation for 1440 to 1461: descriptions of signs, omens, and portents. The chronicler offers these signs and portents without comment, usually at the beginning of regnal years, before continuing to the activity of that year.⁴⁴ The chronicler "does not impose meaning on

⁴⁴ Signs and portents in the 1440 to 1461 continuation of the *Davies Chronicle*:

65/29-30 – "In the xxv yere of Kyng Henry in the monethe of Nouembre and Decembre fell grete thondres and laytes with grete and huge wyndes."

66/38-67/2 – "The xxvij yere of Kyng Henry on Symon day and Iude, and other dayes befor and after, þe sonne in his risynge and goynge dovne appered as redde as bloode as men sawe, wherof the peple hadde grete wondur and demed þat yt shuld betokene sum harme sone afterwarde."

73/25-28 – [Anno xxxiv] "And this same yeer, in þe moneth of Iuyn was seen *stella comata*, betwene þe northe and the est, extending her bemes towards the sowthe."

73/30-74/37 – In the thirty-fifth year of Henry VI, a shipman recently returned from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. In his lodging in Weymouth, Dorset, he is visited by the spirit of his uncle who is in purgatory. The uncle says that in order for his soul to be freed, the shipman must return to St. James' shrine and have mass said for the uncle.

74/38-75/4 – In the thirty-fifth year of Henry VI, in the Isle of Portland, "was sey a cocke comyng oute of the see, hauyng a grete creeste vpon his hede and a greete rede beerde and legges of half a yerde long, and stood in the water and crew iij tymes" (74/39-41). The rooster turns as it crows, facing North, South, and West. After crowing three times it vanishes.

78/7-9 – "The xxxvij yere of Kyng Harry, in a lytyll toune in Dedfordshyre, there fylla a bloody rayn, whereof the rede dropys appered in shetes þe which a woman had honged oute forto drye."

the portent but includes it as a pointer to the views of the people”.⁴⁵ These signs are juxtaposed with the history of the year and it is up to the reader to establish the connection between the two events. Often, the connection between the signs and the proceeding events is quite clear. After describing terrible lightning and wind storms, the chronicler writes about how the advisors of Henry VI conspire to murder the Duke of Gloucester. After describing the sun turning as red as blood for several days, the chronicler discusses English losses in France and Cade’s rebellion. Significantly, the final two years of this continuation, which occupy over fifty percent of the 1440 to 1461 continuation, begins and ends with descriptions of signs and portents. It begins with a blood rain and ends with the parhelion which appears before Edward IV’s army immediately before the Battle of Mortimer’s Cross.

In beginning this section, this compiler and chronicler continues the Yorkist project of emphasizing women in their history writing. Of the blood rain, the chronicler writes:

The xxxviiij yere of Kyng Harry, in a lytyll toune in Bedfordshyre, there fylle a blody rayn, whereof the red dropys appered in shetes þe whiche a woman had honged oute forto drye. (78/7-9)

99/31-40 – In the thirty-ninth year of Henry VI, before the Battle of Mortimer’s Cross (2 February 1461), a parhelion appears before Edward IV’s army:

And the Monday before the daye of batayle, that ys to say, in the feest of Puryficacion of Oure Blessed Lady, abowte x atte clocke before none, were seen iij sonnys in the fyrmament shynyng fulle clere, whereof the peple had grete meruayle, and thereof were agast. The noble Erle Edward thaym comforted and sayde, ‘Beeth of good comfort, and dredeth not; thys ys a good sygne, for these iij sonys betokene the Fader, the Sone, and the Holy Gost, and therefore late vs haue a good harte, and in the name of Almyghty God, go we agayns oure enemyes.’

⁴⁵ Marx, xcvi.

This report of the blood rain omen is significant in the inclusion of the reference to the woman who is hanging clothes out to dry. This same portent is recorded in other chronicles of the same period and appears in one of the Latin chronicles of St. Albans at the beginning of the entry for the year 1460:

Ostendit etiam, secundo, deprope nos, in partibus Bedforiae, pluviam cadentem de coelo, ita sanguineam, ut rubricaret et intingeret pannos et vestes plures, causa exsiccationis pendentes in hortis, causaretque intuentibus admirationem non parvam, in evidentem conjecturationem sapientibus, quod Dominus in proximo effusus esset sanguinem, tanquam aquam, in circuitu circa typicam nostrum Jerusalem; ita ut, per non paucum tempus, inter viventes nullus inventus esset, qui mortician occisorum sepelire vellet: et quemadmodum prius in verbo auspiciatum fuerat, ita cito posterius in facto continebat.

[It also shows, secondly, we hasten, in the parts of Bedford, the rain falling from the sky, just as blood, that rubricated and colored many cloths and garments, because of their drying hanging in the gardens, causing the viewers to wonder not a little, wise men in clear reason, it was the blood which the Lord will pour out in the near future, as water, in a typical circle around our Jerusalem; so that, in not a short time, none were found amongst the living, mortician who wanted to

bury the slain: and just as before auspices were in the word, thus quickly after in fact it came to pass.]⁴⁶

This Latin version of the portent makes no mention of the woman and also spends a great deal of space providing a gloss for the omen. The inclusion of the woman doing laundry fits well within the Yorkist practice of including and highlighting the importance of women in their historical writings. It is, significantly, a woman in the English Prose *Brut* who serves as witness to the bloody portent and who can provide physical evidence of the omen. Instead of the word of the chronicler, here we are given outside evidence of the event in the form of this laundry woman. She serves as a legitimate and important witness to the history which the chronicle records. The inclusion of this woman shows that women are significant observers of history and that they can accurately convey that history. Beyond this female figure serving as a witness to history, her presence drastically changes the image presented by the chronicle. Adding a woman to the image of bloody sheets creates a striking image which evokes concerns over women's sexuality, the loss of virginity, or menstruation. It is a powerful and striking image, one which conjures concerns surrounding women and the issue of lineage and genealogy, for

⁴⁶ Henry Thomas Riley, ed., *Registra Quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani: Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, Vol 1, (London: HMSO, 1872), 386. This chronicle, the *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede*, dates to the latter half of the 1460s, and though it is a chronicle focused on the location of St. Albans and John Whethamstede's tenure as abbot, the chronicle is notably Yorkist in its political leanings. The chronicle references the parhelion seen by Edward's army, "solem triplicatum in aethere" (386) and provides the same gloss as that of the English Prose *Brut*. Following this, the chronicle discusses the 2nd Battle of Saint Albans and its aftermath, referring to the Lancastrian forces, in the same manner as several of the occasional poems from the period of the Wars of the Roses, as "Northern men" who have come to pillage the south. The Lancastrians are depicted as terrors from the North who "nec pepercerunt locis sacris [spared no sacred places]" (390). A Latin poem is also included which offers a description of the character of the Northern troops (399-401). The *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede* also reports how Edward IV avenges the treacherous death of his father and offers a description of Edward IV's claim to the throne (405-07) following which Edward is proclaimed "justus, juridicus, et legitimus Rex [the just, legal, and legitimate King]" (407).

the chronicler to include in the year leading to Edward IV's gaining the crown of England.

The importance of women in transmitting history continues later in the chronicle when Richard Duke of York's genealogical claim to the throne is described. Beginning with Henry III, the chronicle traces the ancestors of Richard, and, like the *Chronicle from Rollo to Edward IV*, Richard is linked through his mother, Anne, and great-grandmother, Philippa, to Edward III. After listing all the sons of Edward III and the brief rule of Richard II, the chronicle turns to Lionel, Duke of Clarence:

Leonell, the iij^{de} gotten sone of the sayde Edward, kyng, Duke of Clarence, had yssew and lawfully gat Phyllyppa, his comely doughter and heyre, whyche by sacrament of matrymony cowpeled vnto Edmond Mortymer, Erle of March, had yssew and lawfully beere Roger Mortymer, Erle of Marche, her sone and heyre. Whiche Roger, Erle of march, had yssew and lawfully begate Edmund, Erle of March, Roger Mortymer, Anne and Alianore, whyche Edmund, Roger, and Alyanore, dyed without yssew. And the sayde Anne, vndre þe sacrament of matrymony cowpeled vnto Richard, Erle of Cambrege, the sone of the sayde Edmond Langley, the fyfth gotten sone of the sayde Kyng Edward, as yt ys afore specyfyed, had yssew and bare lawfully Richard Plantagenet, commonly called Duk of York. (93/39-94/6)

Richard Duke of York, and later his son Edward IV through him, traces his connection to Edward III through Anne and Philipa. The English Prose *Brut* concentrates here on presenting Anne and Philippa as honorable, upstanding women who have the capacity to

serve as heirs to the kingdom. Both Philippa and Anne are “lawfully gat” and described as heirs to their fathers. The repetition within this section continues when the two bear children. They themselves are lawfully begotten and they in turn “lawfully beere” their own children. This lawful childbearing happens within the repeated frame of the “sacrament of matrymony.” Both women are shown as existing within the proper framework of the Church’s sacraments and do not stray from that lawfulness when they bear children. The chronicler compounds the elements of lawful, proper marriage in Anne and Philippa in order to show that they can properly serve as heirs.⁴⁷ This is in stark contrast to Margaret of Anjou who the chronicle repeatedly suggests has been unfaithful to Henry VI. She is the exemplum of the “fals wedlock and periury expresse” of the “Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” (86/38). She serves as the negative example in the ballad and is countered by the “trew bloode” (87/18) of Richard Duke of York and the compounded rightfulness of Anne and Philippa.

Hardyng

John Hardyng’s *Chronicle* is the most suited chronicle for the purposes of this study on Yorkist historical writing. The *Chronicle* exists in two distinct forms: one written for Henry VI and the second written for both Richard Duke of York and Edward

⁴⁷ The *Davies Chronicle* also points out the female inheritance in the case of the Earls of Warwick. For the twenty-fourth year of Henry VI’s reign, 1446, the chronicle notes the death of Henry Beauchamp, the Duke of Warwick:

The same yere in the monethe off Iuyll died the forseide Duke off Warwicke without heire male, and soo in hym sesed and failed the noble lyne off the erles off Warwicke as to the heire male, and remeyned in woman. (65/25-27)

Following his death, the title of Earl of Warwick passed to his daughter, Anne Beauchamp, who became the 15th Countess of Warwick. When she died three years later, the title passed to her aunt, Henry Beauchamp’s sister, Anne Beauchamp who was married to Richard Neville. It was at this point, through his wife, that Richard Neville became the 16th Earl of Warwick.

IV. In both versions, the *Chronicle* is “intensely partisan,”⁴⁸ and Hardyng was highly conscious of the differences between the Lancastrian and Yorkist audiences for which he wrote. By comparing the two versions of his *Chronicle*, it is possible to clearly see the different rhetorical strategies and themes which separated Lancastrian and Yorkist writers. The major difference between the two versions of the chronicle, and what marks the second version as particularly Yorkist, is the manner in which women are included and discussed in the second version.⁴⁹

The two versions of Hardyng’s *Chronicle* were composed at two very different moments in Hardyng’s life, and other than interest in the Arthurian section of his text, “much of the criticism concerning the *Chronicle* has been prejudiced by the factual details known about Hardyng, the man, rather than with providing an assessment of the value of his text in the wider context of fifteenth-century literature and politics”.⁵⁰ He has been described as “peculiarly self-serving” and “mercenary” in writing his chronicle.⁵¹ Throughout his life, 1378-1465, Hardyng served as a soldier, esquire, spy, forger, chronicler, and cartographer.⁵² Much of Hardyng’s early life saw him participating in the Hundred Years War as well as various battles along the Scottish

⁴⁸ Felicity Riddy, “John Hardyng’s Chronicle and the Wars of the Roses,” *Arthurian Literature*, 12 (1993): 92.

⁴⁹ Delany describes the second version of Hardyng’s Chronicle as a “distaff-loaded history, replete with women heirs, women military leaders, wise women lawgivers, women peacemakers, women strategists, and women rulers” (158).

⁵⁰ Sarah Louise Peverley, “John Hardyng’s *Chronicle*: A study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464,” Diss., (The University of Hull, 2004), 5. C.L. Kingsford writes, “Hardyng’s Chronicle is not a work of first importance, but what value it possesses turns largely on the personal view of the author,” and goes on to say that the quality of the *Chronicle* depends “on the character and career of the author” (462).

⁵¹ Riddy, 94.

⁵² Sarah Louise Peverley gives a thorough biography of Hardyng based on contemporary documents in “John Hardyng’s *Chronicle*: A study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464” specifically pages 9-47.

border. In 1418, he was sent to Scotland as a spy by Henry V in order to discover the most effective way to invade the country as well as to find documentary evidence for English sovereignty over Scotland. Hardyng spent three years in Scotland at great financial expense and personal risk. He opens the first version of his *Chronicle* by describing his costs and a wound he has received in the course of his work in Scotland:

Thre ȝere and halfe amonge the enmyte,
On lyfes peryle, maymed in grete distresse,
With costages grete, as was necessite (44-46)⁵³

Hardyng continues his complaint about his personal danger and expense as he requests recompense from Henry VI for service done to his father:

Whiche euydence in þis afore comprised,
With oþer mo whiche I shal to ȝow take,
Foure hundre mark and fyfty ful assised
Cost me treuly for ȝoure fadir sake,
With incurable mayme that maketh me wake.
Wherefore plese it of ȝoure magnificence
Me to rewarde as pleseth ȝour excellence. (148-54)⁵⁴

The evidence which Hardyng claims to have purchased for 450 marks is a collection of sixteen documents which he periodically released to the king.⁵⁵ Though he seems to

⁵³ References to Hardyng's *Chronicle* are from Peverley's "John Hardyng's *Chronicle*: A study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464."

⁵⁴ Hardyng's rhyme royal has not won him many supporters amongst critics. Kennedy notes that Hardyng's verse has had few admirers: "modern scholars have generally dismissed Hardyng's verse as doggerel with no literary merit" (*Manual* 2644). Kennedy also writes, "That Hardyng would have written verse is somewhat surprising, for he was not even a remotely competent poet" ("Visions" 44).

have been unappreciated during Henry V's life, when Hardyng presented documents to Henry VI in 1440 he received a grant of £10 a year. However, Hardyng had difficulty actually receiving that money, and, as Peverley notes, "the problems surrounding Hardyng's annuity are indicative of the reign of Henry VI".⁵⁶ It is shortly after the granting of this annuity and the difficulties surrounding it that Hardyng began the first version of his *Chronicle*. Begun in the 1440s, Hardyng presented his *Chronicle* along with more documents to Henry VI in 1457.⁵⁷ Shortly after presenting this copy of his *Chronicle* to Henry VI, Hardyng began composing the second version of his chronicle. The second version of the *Chronicle* is dedicated to Richard Duke of York, "My lord of York" (29), and thus must have been composed before Richard's death at the end of December 1460. The second prologue also references Richard's wife Cecily as the lady elect of the land. If this is the case, the second prologue must have been written after 25 October 1460, the Act of Accord which made Richard the heir to Henry VI's throne. The two versions are significantly different from one another, as Felicity Riddy notes:

The second version is a good deal shorter than the first; it is about two-thirds the original length. Nevertheless it is not merely an abridgement, but a recomposition, sometimes introducing new material. The differences between

⁵⁵ Kennedy gives a timeline for the distribution of these documents in volume 8 of *Manual*:

Although he supposedly found most of these on the journey to Scotland begun in 1418, he did not release all of them at one time but doled them out over the next 39 years: three documents were given to Henry V in 1422; seven more to Henry VI in 1440; six more to Henry VI in 1457; and in 1463 he presented to Edward IV two of the documents he had originally given to Henry V and Henry VI in 1422 and 1440. (2646)

These documents were forged, presumably by Hardyng himself. Kingsford provides a list of the sixteen documents and their content (467). This is another detail of Hardyng's life which has been distasteful to scholars, with some referring to him as "the old forger" in their writing (Riddy 96).

⁵⁶ Peverley, *Chronicle* 34.

⁵⁷ Peverley describes this elaborate manuscript, Lansdowne 204, and its probably cost in *Chronicle*, 38-40.

the two texts are at times so great that it seems unlikely that Hardyng could have had a complete copy of the first version in front of him when he wrote the later one.⁵⁸

While the first version of the chronicle ends around 1437, the second version continues past that point and addresses events of the Wars of the Roses up to the year 1464.⁵⁹ The chronicle ends with Hardyng urging Edward IV to adopt a more aggressive policy towards Scotland and a description of how an army might advance into Scotland.

Hardyng's *Chronicle* tells the legendary history of England beginning with the Albion sisters engendering a race of giants in England and of how Brutus conquers the island. From here, Hardyng follows other *Brut* chronicles until he reaches Arthur.

Hardyng was particularly interested in King Arthur and poured his energy into telling the story of the legendary king. Hardyng includes elements of the Grail quest from the Vulgate Cycle, references the Round Table as being historically located in Winchester, and has Arthur defeat the Romans and be crowned as Emperor.⁶⁰ Because of his evident interest in Arthurian material and contemporary writers such as Thomas Malory using

⁵⁸ Riddy, 91. The first version of the chronicle is about 19000 lines long while the second version is closer to 12600 lines long. For differences between the versions, see Kingsford, Riddy, and Peverley, *Chronicle*.

⁵⁹ The second version of Hardyng's *Chronicle* was far more popular during his own time. It survives in twelve complete manuscripts, three fragments, and two printed editions. Peverley thoroughly describes the surviving manuscripts and their relationship to one another, 47-132.

⁶⁰ Kennedy suggests that including the legendary figure of King Arthur in an otherwise historically accurate text is a powerful rhetorical move for an English audience:

The story of Arthur might have been dismissed as fiction fairly early on had it remained an isolated history of the British as it was in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and Layamon, but it became more believable when it was incorporated into chronicles that told of Anglo-Saxons, Normans, and post-Conquest English. A fifteenth-century reader of a chronicle that began with the history of the British and continued up to his own time would know that there had been a Henry V and a Richard II and a William Conqueror and an Alfred, and if he could believe that these rulers had lived, he could also believe that there had been a Brutus and an Arthur, who, like Henry V, had achieved great victories on the Continent. ("Romancing" 25)

Hardyng as a source for their texts, for many scholars “only the Arthurian sections of the *Chronicle* were ever considered to be worthy of research”.⁶¹ Hardyng’s *Chronicle*, however, is more than the Arthurian section, and in both versions, the chronicle continues up to the near present in support of a political agenda. Although the two versions of the chronicle were composed with two very different audiences in mind, Hardyng’s own political agenda shines through the partisan politics of the Wars of the Roses. Hardyng’s message throughout the chronicle is that England should bring Scotland under English control. Hardyng works throughout his chronicle “to demonstrate how division within a kingdom, particularly late fifteenth-century England, is unprofitable for both the king and his people”.⁶² Hardyng would have the English nobility put aside their conflict for the throne and work together to conquer Scotland. Hardyng “employs the predetermined languages of political complaint to censure *all* English ‘lordes’ and remind them of the duties adjunct to their privileged positions”.⁶³ In the second version of his chronicle, the anti-Scottish message becomes rhetorically easier for Hardyng to present. Following the Battle of Towton in March 1461, Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou, and their son Edward fled to Scotland. This would have been a double affront for the anti-Scottish, now-Yorkist writer. Hardyng recommends that Edward IV retrieve the Lancastrian family from Scotland before they can marshal the enemies of England against the ruling Yorkists:

His wiffe and sone gete home bi ordinaunce,

⁶¹ Peverley, *Chronicle* 6.

⁶² Peverley, *Chronicle* 195.

⁶³ Sarah Louise Peverley, “Political Consciousness and the Literary Mind in Late Medieval England: Men ‘Brought up of Nought’ in Vale, Hardyng, *Mankind*, and Malory,” *Studies in Philology* 105,1 (2008): 12.

...

For bettir were to haue hem surte,
Thanne lette hem bene with youre aduersite,
With Scottes or Frenssh that wolde se your distresse
And help to hit with all thaire businesse. (3310; 3315-18)

Hardyng here collects all of Edward IV's enemies surrounding the person of Henry VI in his exile in Scotland. Hardyng suggests that an invasion of Scotland by Edward IV would not only allow him to gain control of Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou, and Edward, but it would also put him in control of Scotland and remove an avenue which France might use to harm English interests.

One of the major ways in which Hardyng conforms to Yorkist rhetorical strategies and forms of historical writing is his inclusion of a genealogy of Richard Duke of York. Like other Yorkist genealogies, Hardyng traces Richard's descent from Edward III through Lionel of Antwerp.⁶⁴ In this genealogy, Hardyng repeatedly emphasizes women's ability to inherit titles and pass those on to their children. Hardyng goes further than many contemporary chroniclers and genealogy writers and includes biblical proof from both the old and new testaments for inheritance through women. Hardyng begins the genealogy by explaining Edward III's claim to the French crown which would, of course, be passed down to Richard:

Edward the thrid, that was kyng of this land

⁶⁴ Hardyng follows other Yorkist chroniclers and is highly critical of the three Henrys. Henry VI, still living at the time of the second version's composition, is described as "of suche symplenesse and disposicion / As men may seen by his discrecion" (104-105). This is in sharp contrast to many Lancastrian genealogies which outright exclude Lionel (Delany 142)

By iuste title and verray right descent,
And kyng of Fraunce, as I can vnderstand,
By his moder Quene Isabell the gent,
Sister and heire to Charles by hool entent;
For Charles died withoute any child,
The right descent vnto his moder mylde.

Why sholde þe Frenshe forbarre him of hir right,
Sith God of heuen in libro Numeri,
Gauf to Moyses this lawe that nowe is light,
In þe chapitre seuen and twenty
By these wordes: ‘the doughters rightfully
Of Salphaat aske their faders heritage,
Geue them possessioun among their cosynnage?’ (43-56)

From the beginning of the genealogy, Hardyng is emphasizing the right of women to inherit titles and pass them on to their children. Hardyng even goes so far as to provide biblical evidence for this practice. Hardyng refers to Numbers 27:1-11 and the story of the daughters of Salphaad. As the families of the Israelites are being numbered for dividing the land, the daughters of Salphaad approach and demand that they be included as the heirs of their father as he had no male children. Moses brings this question before the Lord, and God responds by assuring Moses of the justice of their claim and goes on to proclaim that if a man should die without a son his inheritance should pass to his

daughter.⁶⁵ If this were not enough, Hardyng continues in this vein once he has traced Richard's decent from Philippa to Roger Mortimer to Anne:

Why sholde ye nought than be hir verray heire
Of alle hir lond, and eke of alle hir right?
Seth Ihesu Crist, of Iudee land so faire,
By very meen of his moder Mary light
To be þe kyng claymed title right
And so did name himsilf 'Kyng of Iewes':
So by youre moder the right to you accrewes. (78-84)

Hardyng argues here that Jesus claims the title "King of the Jews" through his mother Mary. In referencing the Holy Family, Hardyng subtly acknowledges Edward IV's devotion to Saint Anne. His mother's name saint was the female founder of the "Holy Kindred" and is particularly relevant in this discussion about the legitimacy of inheritance through the female line. With this accumulation of evidence, no one could deny that it should be lawful for Richard to make a claim to the throne based on his descent from Lionel through his mother Anne and grand-mother Philippa. In addition to providing biblical precedent for female inheritance, Hardyng steps rhetorically further than many of his contemporary chroniclers and genealogy writers. When he arrives at Edward III's fourth son, Edmond of Langley, Hardyng does not once mention Richard Duke of York. It was common for genealogists and chroniclers to hedge their bets or

⁶⁵ Numbers 27:6-8 "Justam rem postulans filiae Salphaad: da eis possessionem inter cognatos patris sui, et ei in haereditatem succedant. Ad filios autem Israel loqueris haec: Homo cum mortuus fuerit absque filio, ad filiam ejus transibit haereditas."

double down on Richard's descent from Edward III. They would often repeat Richard's descent starting at Anne's marriage to Richard Earl of Cambridge under both Lionel and Edmund. The effect of this is a double-claim to the throne through two of Edward III's sons. However, for members of the audience who looked to France and the Salic law, this may have weakened the argument as it shows that Richard's descent in the male line came through Edmund, the fourth son of Edward III. Hardyng avoids this completely by only giving Richard's descent from Lionel. Of Edmund of Langley, Hardyng only writes that he was a renowned warrior and that he had a son named Edward. Hardyng chooses to not mention Richard Earl of Cambridge at this point in the genealogy. He is only mentioned in relation to Anne. Of Anne, Hardyng tells us that she is the sister of Edmond of Mortimer, the son of Richard Mortimer, the son of Phillipa. Anne and Phillipa are both explicitly noted as heirs in Hardyng's text. Phillipa is Lionel's "doughter rife, / And also his heire whom he loued as his life" (67-68). Anne is the sister of Edmund Mortimer and "vnto his lande / Was verry heire" (75-76). In this section on Richard Duke of York's genealogy, Hardyng compounds references to women as heirs, using both historical and biblical examples. Hardyng writes the second version of his *Chronicle* for a Yorkist audience, and as such, he produced a text that would fit within the aims and goals of the Yorkist propaganda machine.⁶⁶

It is not just the inclusion of a genealogy of Richard Duke of York that makes Hardyng's *Chronicle* fit within the rhetoric of Yorkist political writing. The second

⁶⁶ Riddy contemplates the idea that Hardyng may have been commissioned to produce the second version of the *Chronicle* and that it was not just his "self-serving" nature that led him to produce the revised chronicle, 101-108.

version of Hardyng's chronicle is suffused with important female figures. As Peverley notes:

One of the most striking differences between the two versions is the additional emphasis on women in the second version; female patrons, intercessors, heirs, rulers, lawmakers, peacemakers and saints, women as objects of desire and inspiration, fill the pages of the *Chronicle* as characters such as Lady Godiva, Saint Ebba and Scota, the eponymous founder of Scotland, are added to Hardyng's history.⁶⁷

This emphasis on women in the second version of the *Chronicle* begins in the prologue and does not end until the epilogue to the text. The first version of Hardyng's text briefly mentions Margaret of Anjou only once, while the majority of the prologue and text depicts a world of and for men, a world of chivalry and heroes. In the second version, however, women "receive far more attention than Margaret because they play an integral role in accentuating the general significance of women in this version".⁶⁸

Richard Duke of York's wife Cecily, at the beginning, and Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, at the end, form the bookends of Hardyng's *Chronicle*, and, according to Hardyng, are the reason for the composition of the chronicle. After announcing that he will remember the history of England "in balade" (256) to please both God and man, Hardyng further elaborates his purpose in writing the *Chronicle*:

And eke to please the god femynitee,
Of my lady, youre wife Dame Cecilee,

⁶⁷ Peverley, *Chronicle* 199.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 200.

That in Laten hath litle intellecte
To vnderstonde the grete nobilite
Of this ilke londe to whiche she is electe,
Tyme commyng like to haue þe souerainte
Vnder youre rule, as sholde femynitee,
Whiche if it may ought please hir ladiship,
My hert reioyse of hir inward gladship. (258-66)

Hardyng writes similarly of Elizabeth, hoping that his text will please her femininity and that she will learn the great nobility of Edward IV's ancestors and the grand history of the land over which she is the lady elect. Hardyng presents the entire project of the chronicle as for the entertainment and education of women. Cecily and Elizabeth are figured as the primary audience for the text. Hardyng offers an explanation for this, writing:

For women haue feminine condicion
To know all thinges longing to thaire husband:
His high worship, and his disposicion,
His hertis counceil also, I vnderstond (4275-78)

The status of both Cecily and Elizabeth is explicitly noted by Hardyng in both the prologue and epilogue of the text. Both are "Vnder youre rule" (265; 4266). Though this may seem to be identifying Cecily and Elizabeth by their constraints, the two are in positions of power. They seek to "know all thinges longing to thaire husband" not out of

idle curiosity but because they are important political figures within the realm. As proof of that, Hardyng has revised his chronicle, rewritten his history of England, so that it better aligns with the views of these two powerful women and their family.⁶⁹ They are serving as patrons for Hardyng and are shaping a history in which they are reflected; a history full of women who serve as patrons, saints, mediatrixes, heirs, and rulers.

Conclusion

For the writers who formed the Yorkist propaganda machine during the Wars of the Roses the historical genre of the chronicle was an invaluable resource for producing texts in support of the Yorkist cause. Chronicles were a well established genre in fifteenth-century England, and it was easy for chroniclers to adapt the genre to political purposes. Political chronicles enjoyed the privileged rhetorical position of historical writing which allowed the political argument of the texts to be more powerful. Coming after the report of the accepted history of England, the sections of chronicles addressing the Wars of the Roses period capitalized on the ethos developed in the earlier portions of the text. For Yorkist chroniclers, unlike Lancastrian writers, it was of utmost importance to emphasize the role of women in the storied history of England. These women play an important role in shaping history as well as serving as one of the important audiences for these chronicles. Women in Yorkist chronicles are active as patrons, saints, mediatrixes, heirs, and rulers. They are active participants in and influencers of English history. This is in stark contrast to Lancastrian history writers who present their readers with a man's

⁶⁹ Andrew Galloway briefly discusses the role of women in patronizing historical writing in an effort to “emphasize how important noblewomen, especially members of the royal family, were for writing history in England” (261-62).

world. The move to emphasize women in the history of England is a result of the necessities of the Richard Duke of York and Edward IV's claim to the English throne. For Yorkist writers, it is important to show that the male descendants of Edward III's second son should be the kings of England and not the "usurping" Henries. This claim of descent from Lionel of Antwerp rests on daughters at two points: Lionel's daughter Philippa and Roger Mortimer's daughter Anne. It is the aim of these Yorkist chroniclers to point their audience to the places in English history where women were vitally important. By doing so, they force their audience to acknowledge that women can rightly and justly serve as heirs, and that the sons of these women should maintain the rights of their forefathers. Though, at this point, the Yorkist chroniclers were not actively arguing that women should hold the throne, they worked to widen the areas in which women could actively wield power and influence the events of the country. Whether they were mediators who were able to intercede between embattled brothers, saints who could intercede on behalf of the Yorkist rulers, or proper mothers, daughters, and wives who kept up to date on the affairs of their husbands and could serve as wise counselors, women in Yorkist chronicles find themselves in positions of power and can use that power to steer the realm in the correct, Yorkist, direction.

CHAPTER IV

YORKIST RHETORICAL STRATEGIES

AND THOMAS MALORY'S *LE MORTE DARTHUR*

Up to this point, this dissertation has been concerned with examining easily identifiable Yorkist texts with the aim of identifying the kinds of rhetorical patterns which the Yorkist poets and propagandists found particularly useful and which distinguished them from their Lancastrian counterparts. In the preceding chapters, I have identified four major tenets of Yorkist political writing which differentiate it from Lancastrian propaganda.

First, Yorkist poets work to create and foster a network of textual connection through direct quotations and references to other contemporary political texts. This can be seen in the poetic response to “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury.” The ballad first appeared in Canterbury shortly before the Yorkists returned to England in 1460 following their exile after the defeat at the Battle of Ludford Bridge. The ballad caught the attention of several Yorkist writers and served as a crucial text during the early 1460s as the Yorkist armies fought to win the throne for Richard, Duke of York, and his son Edward. The Canterbury ballad resonated with Yorkist writers and served as a rhetorical focal point for Yorkist propagandists. “The Battle of Northampton” and “Twelve Letters that Saved England” followed the Canterbury ballad and worked to maintain the rhetorical power and momentum of the earlier poem. “The Battle of Northampton,” written shortly after the battle which took place on 10 July 1460, addresses the same themes and quotes directly from Canterbury ballad in a rhetorical

move which keeps the earlier ballad and its promises alive in the minds of the reader. The later poem, “Twelve Letters that Saved England,” goes further, and in a powerful rhetorical move, takes an entire stanza from “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury.” “Twelve Letters which Saved England” sets itself up as the fulfillment of the promises of the earlier ballad. Written after the Yorkists took the throne and Edward IV was crowned, “Twelve Letters that Saved England” joins the textual network of the embattled “The Battle of Northampton” in looking to “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” as a poem which continued to be a useful rhetorical tool and remained relevant to the Yorkist audience of those poems.

Second, Yorkist poets rejected outright or worked to lessen the importance of the genre of political prophecy. This is not to say that Yorkist writers completely gave up the genre to the Lancastrians. There exist several Yorkist political prophecies. Robbins’ *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* includes “The Cock in the North,” a “decidedly Yorkist” political prophecy “referring to events about 1450 to 1451.”¹ Robbins also includes a version of the “Prophecy of the Dice” in his description of Yorkist political writing. Scattergood calls this prophecy enigmatic but a poem that “clearly has a political significance.”² Kingsford describes BL MS Cotton Ross ii. 23 as the collection of a Yorkist partisan and lists four prophecies among the other Yorkist

¹ Rossell Hope Robbins, ed., *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 310.

² V. J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*, (New York: Blandford Press Ltd., 1971), 360. It would be difficult to determine one fixed meaning for the prophecy as it exists in at least eleven manuscripts.

verses.³ However, Yorkist writers produced fewer political prophecies and several Yorkist poems work to discredit prophecies. This rhetorical move on the part of Yorkist writers was a direct response to Lancastrian political writers. One of the major genres which Lancastrian writers employed at the beginning of Henry VI's reign was that of political prophecy. These prophecies focused on the young king and the prosperity that many hoped he would bring to England. These types of propaganda initially appeared early in Henry VI's reign but still circulated at the dawn of the Wars of the Roses in the 1450s. Yorkist writers reacted against this element of Lancastrian writing by working to discredit the kinds of political prophecy which circulated around the king or to suggest an alternative to prophecy. Both "The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury" and "The Battle of Northampton" look to the science of astrology and suggest casting aside prophecy.

Third, Yorkist writers worked to increase the visibility of and emphasize the role of women in England. For Yorkist writers it was of vital importance to present women as active in and influencers of English history. Yorkist writers show women as patrons, saints, witnesses, mediatrixes, heirs, and rulers. Presenting women as legitimate actors in English history was a paramount concern for Edward IV whose claim to the English throne could be traced two different ways. Edward IV was descended from Edward III's second and fourth sons, Lionel of Antwerp and Edmund of Langley. His claim of descent through Lionel, a stronger claim than Henry VI whose ancestor was John of

³ The prophecies within Cotton Rolls ii. 23 are as follows: "Cocke in the Northe," "S. mysed in myndes and marke þer a P.," "The prophecy professid and I-pight, of maiden Sibille and many mo.," and "When Sunday goop by E., D., and C." (Scattergood 358). In her dissertation, Alison Allan lists the following manuscripts as containing Yorkist political prophecies: Bodley MS 623, Ashmolean Roll 26, and Vespasian E VII. See Allan *Polital Propaganda*, chapter viii especially 228-252.

Gaunt, Edward III's third son, relied on women at two points: Lionel's only issue, his daughter Philippa, and Edward IV's grandmother, Ann Mortimer. Yorkist chroniclers worked to emphasize the nobility and importance of women as well as their right to pass titles and possessions to their offspring. As a result of this, Yorkist writers work to emphasize the role of women and to increase their visibility.

Fourth, Yorkist writers repeatedly choose to identify Yorkist lords by their heraldic badges. This is a significant departure from Lancastrian poets who almost never make reference to heraldic devices. There are two results of this rhetorical move on the Yorkist poets' part to emphasize heraldic devices. First, by referring to bears, eagles, and roses Yorkist poets can establish a plausible deniability. Writing during the Wars of the Roses was not a risk-free exercise, and there could be real and dangerous results to overtly writing about what could be construed as a group of traitors. Historical figures did not carry a monopoly on any specific heraldic animal, which can occasionally make it quite difficult to accurately identify who is appearing in a poem.⁴ Second, this kind of armorial interest was widespread in England at the time. This aspect of medieval culture was clearly important to many of the Yorkist poets who wrote political pieces. It is very likely that this is the same type of impulse which led the Yorkist poets to focus on the arms of the Yorkist lords. By showing the reader the arms repeatedly, the poet established a type of armorial pedigree for the Yorkist lords which shows the "olde armys" of those lords. The ancient heraldic badges on display serve to legitimize the Yorkist lords and establish a long tradition of their leadership in England.

⁴ This is certainly true in a poem like "The Battle of Towton" which includes over 25 heraldic devices but not a single historical figure's name.

From these four major aspects of Yorkist political writing, we turn to Thomas Malory. Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* was finished, as Malory tells us, "the ninth yere of the reygne of Kyng Edward the Fourth,"⁵ 1469-1470, and was published for the first time by William Caxton on June 30 1485 (940/27; 726/19-20). It is a text marked significantly by the rule of Yorkist kings. Scholars have argued that Malory began the *Morte Darthur* in the closing years of the 1460s.⁶ The *Morte Darthur*'s early appearances sit at very important moments in fifteenth-century English history. The text was completed less than a year before Edward IV was temporarily overthrown and the Lancastrian government momentarily restored, and Caxton printed the *Morte* two months before the Battle of Bosworth Field and the rise of the Tudor Dynasty⁷. Scholars and historians are, rightfully, convinced that the bloody context in which the *Morte* was written and printed must have left some impact on the text itself⁸. However, it has been a more difficult job actually finding evidence in the text which concretely favors either the Lancastrian or the Yorkist factions of the Wars of the Roses. Based on little

⁵ Quotations Malory's *Morte Darthur* come from Field, *Sir Thomas Malory: Le Morte Darthur* for ease of reference, a citation to Vinaver's 2nd edn version of the text follows the first. Differences between the texts exist as Vinaver's text is based on the Winchester Manuscript, British Library Add. MS 59678, while Field's volume aims to be a critical edition of Caxton's texts and the Winchester Manuscript.

⁶ Field, *Life and Times* 131-132.

⁷ Derek Pearsall writes that Malory may be brought into conversations on the topic of Yorkist literature "even if maybe Edward's main role was to make sure he stayed in prison so that he could keep up with his writing" (232). This seems a gross misrepresentation of Malory's engagement with Edward IV and the politics of the Wars of the Roses. In the closing months of 1462, Malory accepted a general pardon from Edward IV and joined the Yorkist army in besieging Lancastrian holdouts in the North of England. It was not until the break between Warwick and Edward IV at the end of the 1460s that Malory was excluded by name from the general pardons of Edward IV.

⁸ Examining the supposed political bias of the author of the *Morte Darthur* has been a minor but consistent concern for scholars, and judging by recent publications, Lexton *Contested Language in Malory's Morte Darthur* and Leitch *Romancing Treason*, the politics of the *Morte Darthur* is still fertile ground for scholarly discussion.

evidence, scholars have argued that Malory⁹ was a staunch Lancastrian, a Yorkist who was unfortunate in following the Earl of Warwick, carefully politically neutral, or even apolitical altogether. The examination, in earnest, of the connections between Thomas Malory and the Wars of the Roses began with Nellie Aurner's "Sir Thomas Malory--Historian?" in which she argued, based on supposed similarities between Malory's Arthur and Henry IV and Henry V, that the *Morte Darthur* "has caught and holds not only the atmosphere and spirit but an essentially accurate picture of Lancastrian England."¹⁰ For the next fifty years, Malory as Lancastrian became the accepted theory for scholars. In response to this unchallenged criticism, Richard Griffith wrote "The Political Bias of Malory's *Morte Darthur*" in an effort to show that the evidence presented by previous scholars for a Lancastrian basis was not as ironclad as it first appeared and argues that "a much larger body of evidence, both internal and external, favors the view that Malory the author, if he had strong political convictions at all, was a Yorkist."¹¹ Recently, Edward Donald Kennedy has argued that the *Morte* is carefully politically neutral, that it is "a new uniquely English account derived from stories that

⁹ The identity of the author of the *Morte Darthur* has been somewhat contested as different scholars have proposed a number of fifteenth-century Thomas Malorys as the author of the text. For a brief overview of the candidates see Kim *The Knight without the Sword*, 1-6. Matthews *Ill-Framed Knight* is a book-length examination of the identity of the author of the *Morte Darthur*. Field accepts the Newbold Revel Malory as the author of the *Morte Darthur* and his *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* collects all available documents pertaining to this Malory and works to create a biography of that Malory. For this study of the political and historical references and allusions within the *Morte Darthur*, the true identity of the author is immaterial. All of the proposed authors of the text lived in fifteenth-century England and would have been touched by the upheavals caused by the Wars of the Roses.

¹⁰ Nellie Slayton Aurner, "Sir Thomas Malory--Historian?", *PMLA* 48,2 (1933): 389.

¹¹ Richard R. Griffith, "The Political Bias of Malory's *Morte Darthur*," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1974): 386.

had previously been known only in French.”¹² Kennedy argues that the text, in the context of the politically uncertain early-1470s, is careful not to offend either side of the conflict and to offer a pleasing English Arthurian story to whatever faction might be ruling England. Elizabeth T. Pochoda dismisses the Yorkist and Lancastrian conflict entirely, writing, “To read *Le Morte Darthur* as a political allegory of contemporary conditions is to miss the really significant issues of the book.”¹³ She instead argues that Malory is holding up the institution of Chivalry as a model political system. Field has also argued that Malory was not purposefully being political in the *Morte*, writing, “Malory’s main concern was to retell the received Arthurian story as he understood it, although events from his own time may occasionally combine with and reshape the legendary events of his story.”¹⁴ In this chapter I am not concerned with proving where on the political spectrum of the Wars of the Roses we should place Thomas Malory. Rather, I will examine the *Morte Darthur* in light of the major aspects of Yorkist writing in order to argue whether or not Malory was writing within the discursive community of Yorkist writers: that is, whether or not Malory follows the rhetorical patterns that emerge in Yorkist writing. I argue that Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur* closely matches two out of these four Yorkist rhetorical patterns.

Textual Networks

As the occasional Yorkist poetry discussed in the above chapter shows, Yorkist poets responded to one another’s poems in a rhetorical move that created networks of

¹² Edward Donald Kennedy, “Malory’s *Morte Darthur*: A Politically Neutral English Adaptation of the Arthurian Story.” *Arthurian Literature* 20 (2003): 167.

¹³ Elizabeth T. Pochoda, *Arthurian Propaganda: Le Morte Darthur as an Historical Ideal of Life*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 27.

¹⁴ P.J.C. Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 123.

textual connection between their works. Malory certainly fits within a network of romance and chronicle writers. Like all writers, Malory was writing within a specific rhetorical community, that of the Arthurian romance and chronicle tradition. As previous scholars have shown, Malory's whole book of Arthur responds to and incorporates a great deal of Arthurian material.¹⁵ It would be an exaggeration, however, to argue that Malory's interaction with his source material functions in the same way as the textual networks found in some Yorkist poetry. Malory's references to other texts and historical moments does not carry the same kind of political significance seen in Yorkist writing, but Malory does create and participate in rhetorical networks beyond writing within the mode of Arthurian literature. Malory's *Morte Darthur* can be seen as participating in a number of contemporary communities, both literary and historical.

The primary place to look for Malory's involvement in a type network of textual connections would be in other Arthurian literature. There are strong connections between Malory's *Morte Darthur* and two minor Arthurian Romances which take Gawayne as their primary hero. *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* and *The Turke and Sir Gawain* are both linked to Malory's text. Both P.J.C Field and Ralph Norris have discussed the link between the *Morte Darthur* and *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell*, arguing that Malory could have been the author of both. Norris outlines Field's argument for a shared authorship:

Field's most powerful argument is that because [the *Morte Darthur* and *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell*] are alone in having a character called

¹⁵ For Malory and the way he interacts with his sources see: Field, *Malory: Texts and Sources* and *Romance and Chronicle*; Lumiansky, *Malory's Originality*; and Norris, *Malory's Library*.

by the extraordinary name of Gromer Somer Joure they must be related in some way. Further, because Gromer Somer Joure appears only once in the whole of the *Morte Darthur*, a work of roughly 340,000 words, and is there merely as a name in a list of knights associated with Sir Gawain's family but is integral to the story of the *Wedding*, the *Wedding* is more likely to be the donor and the *Morte Darthur* the debtor.¹⁶

This is not quite true as Gromer appears in *The Turke and Sir Gawain*, which I will discuss below, but Field is correct in suggesting that it is unlikely that the author of the *Wedding* singled out this unknown character in Malory and chose him for the antagonist of the *Wedding*. Gromer is not the only character that is shared between the two texts.

In the *Wedding*, the narrator tells us that Gawain and Ragnell have a son:

Syr Gawn gatt on her Gyngolyn
That was a good knyght of strengthe and kynn
And of the Table Round. (799-801)

Gyngalyne appears in the *Morte* alongside Sir Gromer as one of the knights following Aggravayne and Mordred in catching Launcelot with Guenevere.¹⁷ There are other similarities beyond characters shared between the texts.

¹⁶ Ralph Norris, *Malory's Library: The Sources of the Morte Darthur*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), 82-83.

¹⁷ Gyngalyne may be better known in the French *Le Bel Inconnu* or the Middle English *Lybeaus Desconus*, but he does appear in Malory's *Morte* as Gawayne's son. He is included in the twelve knights accompanying Mordred and Aggravayne:

And thes were theire namys: Sir Collgrevaunce, Sir Mador de la Porte, Sir Gyngalyne, Sir Mellyot de Logris, Sir Petipace of Wynchylsé, Sir Galleron of Galoway, Sir Melyon de la Mountayne, Sir Ascomore, Sir Gromore Somer Joure, Sir Curselayne, Sir Florence, and Sir Lovell. (873/9-13; 675/14-18)

This list of knights is original to Malory.

The *Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* ends with its narrator asking for prayers and help as he is currently imprisoned. As the tale concludes, the narrator prays for the soul of the departed Ragnell before praying to Jesus for aid:

And Jhesu, as thou were borne of a virgyn.

Help hym oute of sorowe that this tale dyd devyne,

And that nowe in alle haste,

For he is besett with gaylours many

That kepen hym full sewerly,

With wyles wrong and wraste.

Nowe God, as thou art veray Kyng Royalle,

Help hym oute of daunger that made this tale

For therin he hathe bene long.

And of greatt pety help thy servaunt,

For body and soull I yeld into thyne hand,

For paynes he hath strong. (841-852)

Malory's narrator, as well, repeatedly asks for deliverance from danger, hardship, and the prison in which he finds himself: "for this was drawyn by a knyght presenor, Sir Thomas Malleorré, that God sende hym good recover. Amen" (144/2-4; 110/12-13); "And I pray you all that redyth this tale to pray for hym that this wrote, that God sende hym good delyveraunce sone and hastely" (288/10-12; 226/11-13); "I praye you all jentylmen and jentylwymmen that redeth this book of Arthur and hisknyghtes from the begynnyng to the endynge, praye for me whyle I am on lyve that God sende me good

delyveraunce” (940/21-24; 726/14-17). The narrator of the *Wedding* does not identify himself as a knight, as Malory does in almost every explicit in which he asks for prayers or support, but, as Norris notes:

The coincidence of two imprisoned English authors writing Arthurian romances within thirty years of each other who choose to end their romances with similar pleas for deliverance is not so improbable as to constitute proof of common authorship, but it would be a surprising coincidence nevertheless.¹⁸

Beyond the almost unique inclusion of Sir Gromer and the similar imprisoned state of both writers, it would seem that Malory and the author the *Wedding* has similar tastes in literature. The *Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* and the *Morte Darthur* have several sources in common.¹⁹ Both texts use the following as minor sources: *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, “The Wife of Bath’s Tale,” “The Tale of Florent,” *Erec et Enide*, and *L’Atre périlleux*. Some of these sources, Gower, Chaucer, and Chretien, should come as no surprise, but “for two fifteenth-century English Arthurian authors to use both of the relatively unknown romances *Awntyrs off Arthur* and *L’Atre périlleux* would be a remarkable coincidence.”²⁰ If Malory and the author of *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* are not one and the same, they share a remarkably similar taste in literature and were both composing Arthurian literature at virtually the same time. It seems certain that Malory knew the text and took the name for Sir Gromer Somer Joure

¹⁸ Ralph Norris, “Sir Thomas Malory and *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* Reconsidered,” *Arthuriana* 19,2 (2009): 84.

¹⁹ For a full discussion of the similar sources and use of sources between the texts see Norris “Malory and the *Wedding*,” especially 83-94.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 94.

from the *Wedding*. This however is not the end of this small community centered on Sir Gromer.

Though neither Field nor Norris acknowledges it in their discussion of Malory and the *Wedding*, Sir Gromer also appears in *The Turke and Sir Gawain*. This is a short, fragmentary poem from the Percy Folio Manuscript which dates to around 1500. The romance focuses on an exchange-of-blows game between Gawayne and a “Turk.” About half of the poem is missing due to the mutilation of the pages of this section of the manuscript, but it is still possible to determine the action of the romance thanks to “the poem’s narrative energy, and to its saturation in traditional plots and motifs.”²¹ The poem begins with the titular “Turk” arriving at and challenging Arthur’s court to an exchange of blows:

Is there any will, as a brother,
To give a buffett and take another?
And iff any soe hardy bee? (16-18)

After an un-courteous outburst by Kay, Gawayne steps forward to strike the blow. Instead of returning the stroke, the “Turk” leads Gawayne on a series of adventures culminating in challenging the giant inhabited court of the “heathen soldan” who is the king of the Isle of Man (130). With the help of the “Turk,” Gawayne defeats the king and rescues countless prisoners from the castle. With this accomplished, the “Turk” returns to the exchange of blows game. He does not seek to strike Gawayne but instead

²¹ Thomas Hahn, ed., *Sir Gawain: Eleven Romances and Tales*, (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), 337.

asks Gawayne to behead him. Gawayne reluctantly agrees to do so, and when he strikes that blow:

And when the blood in the bason light,
He stood up a stalwortht Knight
That day, I undertake,
And song “‘Te Deum Laudamus’ -
Worshipp be to our Lord Jesus
That saved us from all wracke! (289-294)

Once beheaded, the “Turk” is resurrected as a proper Christian knight who is indebted to Gawayne. When they return to Arthur’s court, this newly formed knight’s name is revealed as he kneels before Arthur, “Sir Gromer kneeld upon his knee” (320). Gromer and Gawayne both suggest that the other should be made King of Man, and Arthur ultimately accepts Gawayne’s desire not to be burdened with kingship and gives the kingship to Gromer. Like Gomer Somer Joure in Malory and the *Wedding*, this Gromer becomes linked to Gawayne through adventure. These three texts form a textual network based on the rhetorical focal point of the knight named “Sire Gromer.” While knights like Launcelot and Gawayne have dozens, if not hundreds, of their stories and romances told, Gromer has only these three, all composed at the end of the fifteenth century. Even if Malory was the author of the *Wedding*, this could still be seen as a community centered on the literary figures of Gawayne and Gromer as there is nothing to link Malory to *The Turke and Sir Gawain* other than the appearance of Gromer. This textual connection focused on Sir Gromer Somer Joure is not political in nature like

those formed by the authors of Yorkist political verse discussed above. This kind of textual network is not the only type of community in which we can perhaps place Malory.

Throughout the *Morte Darthur* there are a number of references to England and France in the fifteenth century. These seem to be inserted into the *Morte* because of a private interest to Malory or because they may have been of interest to the social circles in which Malory expected his text to circulate. While most of the historical references within the *Morte* seem to be to Malory's contemporary England, not all of the historical references within the *Morte Darthur* are to England in the fifteenth century. Malory includes several references to French figures as well; the first of which appears in the "Tristram" section of the text. In a parallel to the final section of the text and the relationship between Launcelot and Guinevere, Tristram and Isolde are found in bed by Tristram's cousin, Sir Andret, and twelve other knights. Unlike Launcelot, Tristram is captured by the thirteen knights and taken to a chapel on the sea to face judgment. Once there, however, he is able to free himself and barricade the chapel against Andret's followers. Unarmed and faced by hundreds of Andret's supporters trying to break into the chapel, Tristram desperately breaks a window and leaps into the sea:

And so at that tyme Sir Andret nothir none of his felowys myght nat gete to hym. But whan they were departed, Governayle and Sir Lambegus and Sir Sentrayle de Lushon, that were Sir Trystrames men, sought sore aftir theire maystir whan they herde he was ascaped. And so on the rokkys they founde hym, and with towels pulde hym up. (346/9-14; 271/35-38)

In Malory's source for this episode, the French *Prose Tristan*, "Tristram's first two rescuers have the same names but the third is called Nicorant le pauvre."²² There is no Sir Sentrayle known in any other Arthurian romance and he only appears again in the *Morte* during the "Healing of Sir Urry."²³ In listing place names which appear in the *Morte Darthur*, Matthews notes that Lushon is most likely Luchon in southern Gascony and suggests that Malory's Sir Sentrayle de Lushon may be a reference to Jean Poton de Xantrailles, a Gascon noble.²⁴ Xantrailles served King Charles VII of France "energetically in almost every field of conflict in the wars between France and England" and was recognized for his service by being made Marshal of France in 1454.²⁵ Field suggests that Malory may have encountered Jean Poton de Xantrailles in the 1440s near the end of the war in Gascony. Malory's cousin, Sir Philip Chetwynd, was mayor of Bayonne and was commissioned to gather soldiers; he may have called upon his kinsman.²⁶ It is also possible that Malory may have met the Gascon knight in England. Xantrailles was a lieutenant of Joan of Arc, and following her capture and martyrdom, Xantrailles was captured by Henry Beauchamp.²⁷ Following Henry VI's coronation in

²² P.J.C. Field, *Malory: Texts and Sources*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1998), 58.

²³ Sentrayle de Lushon's only other appearance in the *Morte Darthur* is glossed by quickly in a list of the knights who attempt and fail to heal Sir Urry with no comment from Malory (865.18; 666.38).

²⁴ William Matthews, *The Ill-Framed Knight: A Skeptical Inquiry into the Identity of Sir Thomas Malory*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 148.

²⁵ Field *Texts and Sources*, 59.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 59-60. Field *Life and Times*, 86-87.

²⁷ Joan of Arc is rarely mentioned in contemporary English sources, but some scholars argue that there is a link in Malory's *Morte* to Joan. Ann W. Astell argues that Malory re-imagines Joan of Arc as Guenevere, and "when Lancelot rides to Guenevere's rescue, he does for her what Charles VII failed to do for Joan of Arc" (145). Astell goes on to argue that there are parallels between Joan of Arc, Margaret of Anjou, and Guenevere. Astell suggests that, through Joan of Arc, "Arthur's condemnation of Guenevere reflects Edward's enmity against Margaret, whereas Arthur's ardent, youthful choice of Guenevere recalls Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Wydville in 1464" (149). If this is the case, Malory's reference to Jean Poton de Xantrailles, one of Joan of Arc's lieutenants, would reinforce the pro-Yorkist reading suggested by Griffith.

Paris, 26 December 1431, Xantrailles was taken to England while negotiations began for his exchange for John Talbot who had been captured at the Battle of Patay, 18 June 1429. In all, Xantrailles spent over a year in England before the exchange took place.²⁸ Xantrailles appearance may be “a reference private to Malory and perhaps an immediate circle of friends.”²⁹ It seems that Malory admired the Gascon knight as he inserts him into the text as one of the rescuers of Tristram from his treacherous uncle and cousin. He also makes Xantrailles a knight of the Round Table, the fellowship of the greatest knights in the world according to Malory.

The second of these historical references which may be evidence of a community of readers is found in the “Sir Launcelot and Queen Guenevere” section of the *Morte Darthur* and comes in the form of another reference to French history. On the first day of the Great Tournament, Launcelot and Lawayne arrive disguised as Saracens and begin to perform mightily in the jousts. Launcelot takes part in the tournament against other knights of the Round Table and unhorses a great deal of them. Seeing this King Arthur organizes a group of knights to challenge Launcelot. Knowing that it is Launcelot beneath the disguise, Gareth announces his attention to aid Launcelot against Arthur’s group. Before rushing to Launcelot’s side, though, Gareth searches for a disguise:

“Sir, ye shall se me sone disgysed,” seyde Sir Gareth.

²⁸ Christina Hardyment discusses Xantrailles’ capture by the English and his appearance in the *Morte Darthur* briefly, 165-168.

²⁹ *Field Texts and Sources*, 60.

And therewithall he had aspyed a Waylshe knyght where he was to repose hym, for he was sore hurte before of Sir Gawayne. And unto hym Sir Gareth rode and prayde hym of hys knyghthode to lende hym hys shyld for hys.

“I woll well,” seyde the Waylshe knyght.

And whan Sir Gareth had hys shyld – the booke seythe hit was gryne, wyth a maydyn whych semed in hit – than Sir Gareth cam dryvyng unto Sir Launcelot all that ever he myght, and seyde, “Sir knyght, take kepe to thyselff, for yonder commyth Kynge Arthur with ten noble knyghtes wyth hym, to put you to rebuke. And so I am com to beare you felyshyp for the olde love ye have shewed unto me.” (836/30-837/7; 646/6-14)

Once again, “the booke” says no such thing. The description of the green shield with a maiden on it is added by Malory. Field notes that human figures are a rare heraldic charge in the middle ages and suggests that Malory may have had the chivalric order founded by Jean le Meingre, Maréchal Boucicaut in mind³⁰ Boucicaut founded the order of “l’escu vert à la dame blanche” in 1399 with twelve other knights. The order was founded for the defense of women and faithful, chaste love and won Boucicaut the praise of Christine de Pisan.³¹ Like the reference to Xantrilles, this allusion to a seventy-year old French chivalric order seems to have been added to the text because of Malory’s personal interest in that chivalric order and what its members stood for. These references to French chivalric figures and orders are divorced from the political concerns

³⁰ Ibid., 62.

³¹ J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954), 74-75.

of Malory's England, but they do provide evidence that Malory was composing his *Morte Darthur* with a particular reading community in mind, one who would have recognized these references to French figures and institutions.

Malory, like the Yorkist poets, created, or at least worked within, textual networks of readers and other writers. Unlike the Yorkist writers though, Malory's textual networks are not connected to political concerns. Malory was part of a textual network focused upon Gawayne and the unusually named Sir Gromer Somer Joure. He appears in Malory as a friend and supporter of Gawayne's family. He follows Aggravayne, Mordred, and Gawayne's son Gyngalyne in their effort to catch Launcelot and the Queen. In *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell*, Gromer is linked to Gawayne by the marriage of Dame Ragnell, his sister, and Gawayne. In *The Turke and Sir Gawain*, Gawayne breaks a magical spell which has been put upon Gromer, transforming him from a heathen, outsider "Turk" into a courteous, Christian knight. Ultimately, in that text, Gromer becomes a king thanks to the actions of Gawayne. In all three of these texts, the only three in which Gromer appears, he is linked closely with the noble knight Gawayne. Beyond the literary links of this "Gromer" network, Malory inserts into his text several historical references which seem to expressly for his own interest or the interest of his imagined readers. Malory does not follow the Yorkist pattern of direct quotes and references for political purposes as he engages with the various rhetorical communities in which the *Morte* is situated.

Political Prophecy

One of the elements of Yorkist rhetorical practice was a direct response to a prominent Lancastrian genre of political writing: political prophecy. The genre was quite popular during the early years of Henry VI's reign, and Lancastrian prophecies continued to circulate well into the king's reign. A number of Yorkist writers worked to discredit or reduce the importance of prophecies. This was a rhetorical move on the part of Yorkist writers who offered alternatives to prophecy or who cast it aside altogether. At the beginning of "The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury," the poet urges the reader to "Set aside alle prophecyes, and alle commixtione" (3). The later Yorkist poem celebrating the Battle of Northampton offers astrology as an alternative to prophecy:

Of all mennys disposicion naturall
Philosophys wryten in euery place,
That affter the bodyes celestiaall
The Erthely body his wirkyn hase (1-4)

While Malory does not discount prophecy completely, he does work throughout the *Morte Darthur* to diminish its importance.

Prophecy in Malory's *Morte Darthur* is confined almost exclusively to Merlin in the first section of the work and to the hermits and priests of the Sankgreal section.³²

³² In this discussion of prophecy in Malory's *Morte*, I will confine myself mostly to the first tale. The Grail Quest does contain a great deal of prophecy, but much of it appears only as it is completed or is contained to the search for the Grail. While Vinaver calls Malory's handling of the Quest "to all intents and purposes a translation of the French *Queste del Saint Graal*," there is more going on in the tale than "omissions and minor alterations" (758). For the ways in which Malory's Grail Quest connects to other sections of his text see Charles Moorman's chapter in *Malory's Originality*. In terms of prophecy within the tale, Malory actually does cut a great deal from the hermits, monks, and priests which the Grail knights encounter (Norris 114-118).

Scholars who discuss prophecy in Malory's text look primarily to this early part of the *Morte*. Jane Bliss argues that "In Malory's *Morte Darthur*, prophecy is a principle of narrative structure" and that it serves as a thematic device showing the conflict between human and divine will.³³ Lesley Kordecki, similarly, suggests that as readers are placed in the ambiguities of Romance time prophecies in the *Morte* can serve as guideposts for understanding the story:

Romances deal similarly with references to the future. Distant battles, the deeds of as yet unborn children, and Merlin's (as well as hermits' and strange ladies') straightforward prophecies all contribute to story focal points which we use to formulate meaning.³⁴

Bliss further argues that in this first section of the *Morte*, Malory frames the entire text with three major prophecies. The first of these three prophecies is Merlin's prophecy that Arthur's incestuous coupling with his sister will destroy his kingdom. Merlin disguises himself sequentially as a child and an old man and speaks to Arthur:

"Yes," seyde the olde man, "the chylde tolde you trouthe, and more he wolde a tolde you and ye wolde a suffirde hym; but ye have done a thyng late that God ys displeasid with you, for ye have lyene by youre syster and on hir ye have gotyn a childe that shall destroy you and all the knyghtes of youre realme." (36/13-17; 29/32-36)

³³ Jane Bliss, "Prophecy in the *Morte Darthur*," *Arthuriana* 13,1 (2003): 1.

³⁴ Lesley Kordecki, "Prophecy, Dragons and Meaning in Malory," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 1 (1984): 65.

Following Arthur sleeping with Morgause and his marvelous dream, Merlin appears to the king in order to deliver this prophecy that the child of that incestuous union will destroy Arthur's realm. The second of these three key prophecies is actually a set of two prophecies which appear in "The Tale of Balin" which both point forward to the Quest of the Holy Grail. Early in the tale, Balin is unable to prevent the suicide of Lady Columbe. Soon after Columbe and her knight, Launceor, are buried, Merlin arrives to begin the prophecies surrounding the Round Table's quest for the Holy Grail. He admonishes Balin and prophesies:

Because of the dethe of that lady thou shalt strike a stroke moste dolerous that ever man stroke, excepte the stroke of Oure Lorde Jesu Cryste. For thou shalt hurte the trewyst knyght and man of moste worship that now lyvith, and thorow that stroke thre kyndgomys shall be brought into grete poverté, miseri and wrecchednesse twelve yere. And the knyght shall nat be hole of that wounde many yerys. (57/19-25; 45/31-37)

This knight that Balin will strike with the Dolorous Stroke is King Pellam, who will lay wounded until Galahad heals him during the course of the Quest for the Holy Grail. The second part of this prophecy comes after Balin and Balan have slain one another. Merlin takes Balin's sword and Galahad will wield the sword during the Quest. Following this, Merlin causes the sword to be placed into a marble stone which hovers over the waters before appearing at Winchester when Galahad arrives to signal the beginning of the Grail Quest. The final of the three key prophecies identified by Bliss is Merlin's

prophecy that Guenevere will not be true to Arthur. When Arthur sets his heart on Guenevere, Merlin warns the king as the narrator tells the reader:

But Marlyon warned the kyng covertly that Gwentyvere was nat holsom for hym to take to wyff. For he warned hym that Launcelot scholde love hir and sche hym agayne (76/25-27; 59/36-38)

While these are key prophecies for the overall structure and themes of the *Morte Darthur* they are also the facts of the Arthurian legend as received by Malory. While Malory does combine a wide variety of Arthurian material to make his own version of Arthur's life, he does not change these major elements of Arthur's story. The prophecies which appear in this early section of the *Morte* come from Malory's sources; sources which Malory changes significantly. Malory cuts liberally from the *Suite du Merlin*, his source for this section. After remarking on Malory's character's indifference to prophecy, Rachel Kapelle writes, "these absences are even more startling when we consider the tale in relation to Malory's source. Characters in the *Suite* constantly respond to and remember predictions. Prophecy weighs heavily on their minds."³⁵ Bliss even acknowledges this difference between Malory and his source: "In the *Suite*, his main source for Part I, are a large number of prophecies—far larger than in Malory and of a very different kind."³⁶ Malory not only cuts prophecies from his source, but he handles them differently as well. These key prophecies are not representative of the

³⁵ Rachel Kapelle, "Merlin's Prophecies, Malory's Lacunae," *Arthuriana* 19,2 (2009): 60.

³⁶ Bliss, 4.

majority of the prophecies in this section of the *Morte*, and many of the prophecies within this section of the text do not go anywhere or are never fulfilled.³⁷

The characters of Malory's text not only ignore completely some prophecies, but they also outright fight against the definitive future created by prophecies. Knights resist prophecies, "which confront them with the limits of their power,"³⁸ instead choosing to trust to "aventure" or their own power to prevent the foretold future. King Arthur frames the entire *Morte* with his defying of fate and prophecy. The May Day Massacre is a direct result of Merlin's prophecy that Arthur's incestuous child will be the cause of his destruction:

Than Kynge Arthure lette sende for all the children that were borne in May Day, begotyn of lordis and borne of ladyes, for Merlyon tolde Kynge Arthure that he that sholde destroy hym and all the londe sholde be borne on May Day.

Wherefore he sente for hem all in payne of dethe, and so there were founde many lordis sonnys and many knyghtes sonnes, and all were sente unto the kynge. And so was Mordred sente by Kynge Lottis wyff. And all were putte in a shyppe to the se; and som were foure wekis olde and som lesse. And so by fortune the shyppe drove unto a castell, and was all to-ryven and destroyed the moste party,

³⁷ In discussing these incomplete or ignored prophecies, Jane Bliss argues:

Uncompleted adventures, unfulfilled prophecies, or Malory's mistakes, they are important because they contribute to what one might call a habit of prophecy; together with the true prophecies they add significance to events as they unfold, they give the sense of an unexplained hinterland in which more goes on than is ever recounted or made explicit, and events are framed in a prophetic structure which frees narrator and audience (though not characters) from the normal constraints of time. (2)

Rachel Kapelle continues this line of argument suggesting that "prophecies like these are tendrils which reach out of the tale and link it to the greater Matter" (59). That is, seeds of other Arthurian stories are left as a way to connect Malory's tale to the greater body of Arthurian literature.

³⁸ Kapelle, 61.

save that Mordred was cast up, and a good man founde hym and fostird hym tyll he was fourtene yere of age, and than brought hym to the courte, as hit rehersith aftirward and towarde the nede of the *Morte Arthure*.

So, many lordys and barownes of thys realme were displeased for hir children were so loste; and many putte the wyght on Merlion more than on Arthure. (46/7-22; 37/10-25)

I quote at length to show Arthur's determination to overthrow the prophecy of Merlin. He summons the children of everyone in the realm. From knights to barons, none are exempt. To be sure, Arthur does not just take children born on May Day, but he also summons children born near May Day "som were foure wekis olde and som lesse." Arthur is so resolute in his attempt to cast aside Merlin's prophecy that he is willing to risk the ire of his entire realm when he has only just secured the throne and there are still rebel elements working against his rule. Tellingly, many of the lords of the realm blame Merlin more than Arthur. For delivering his prophecy that a child born on May Day will be the destruction of Arthur, Merlin is held responsible for the death of the children.

At the end of the *Morte*, Arthur also chooses to fight against prophecy with deadly results. The night before the assigned day of battle with Mordred, the dead Gawayne appears to Arthur in a dream to warn him. Gawayne tells Arthur:

Thus much hath God gyvyn me leve for to warne you of youre dethe: for and ye fyght as to-morne with Sir Mordred, as ye bothe have assygned, doute ye nat ye shall be slayne, and the moste party of youre people on bothe partyes. (921/5-9; 711/44-712/3)

Gawayne goes on to urge Arthur to talk with Mordred and delay the battle for a month so that Launcelot can return to England and assist Arthur. On the Day of Destiny, however, Arthur is determined to kill Mordred. Despite Sir Lucan's exhortation to "remember ye of your nyghtes dreame and what the spyryte of Sir Gawayne tolde you tonyght" (923/17-18; 713/35-36), Arthur demands his spear and charges at Mordred. Arthur casts aside the prophecy from God delivered to him from Gawayne and shouts, "Now tyde me dethe, tyde me lyff" as he charges at Mordred (923/24; 713/41). Arthur places his trust in his own hands and in "aventure." He acts as a knight, accepting what Fortune brings.

Arthur is not the only knight to act this way, eschewing prophecy in favor of Fortune, or God, or their own prowess. Balin also repeatedly ignores prophecy, choosing to trust his own prowess or God to save him. At the beginning of Balin's tale, a young damsel approaches Arthur's court carrying a sheathed sword. She tells Arthur that she has been cursed with carrying the sword and that only a noble knight free of treachery and treason can remove the sword from her. After Arthur and most of his court try to remove the sword, Balin steps forward and easily removes the sword from its sheath. The damsel asks for Balin to return the sword, but he refuses. At this point, the damsel prophesies that if Balin keeps the sword he shall be cursed to kill his best friend:

"Well," seyde the damesell, "ye are nat wyse to kepe the swerde fro me, for ye shall sle with that swerde the beste frende that ye have and the man that ye moste love in the worlde, and that swerde shall be youre destruccion."

“I shall take the aventure,” seyde Balyn, “that God woll ordayne for me. But the swerde ye shall nat have at thys tyme, by the feythe of my body!” (50/1-7; 39/43-40/5)

In spite of the damsel’s warning, Balin insists that he will meet whatever adventure that God puts before him. It is not just that Balin believes himself capable of meeting whatever trail God sends to him: Balin expressly does not believe in prophecy.

Following Merlin’s prophecy, quoted above, that Balin will strike a Dolorous Stroke, injuring the truest and most noble knight and bringing three kingdoms into poverty, Balin outright tells Merlin that he does not believe the prophecy:

“Nay,” seyde Balyn, “nat so; for and I wyste thou seyde soth, I wolde do so perleous a dede as that I wolde sle myself to make the a lyer.” (57/27-29; 45/39-41)

Balin assures Merlin that if he did believe in the prophecy that Merlin has just told him, he would kill himself to prevent it from coming true. Balin defies the prophecy and casts it aside in an instant.

Also within this first section of Malory’s *Morte*, Sir Pellinore treats prophecy in much the same way as Arthur and Balin. Before the Pentecostal Oath is established, Pellinore ignores a lady calling for help while on a quest from Arthur’s court. This results in the woman killing herself. At the end of his quest, Pellinore is admonished by Guenevere and greeted by Merlin who reveals that the woman was Pellinore’s own daughter and that Pellinore’s failure to save her will result in his death:

“And because ye wolde nat abyde and helpe hir, ye shall se youre beste frende fayle you whan ye be in the grettist distresse that ever ye were othir shall be.

And that penaunce God hath ordayned you for that dede, that he that ye sholde truste moste on of ony man on lyve, he shall leve you there ye shall be slayne.”

“Me forthynkith hit,” seyde Kynge Pellynor, “that thus shall me betyde, but God may well fordo desteny.” (97/16-22; 75/26-32)

Pellinore partially accepts the prophecy, but suggests that Merlin is wrong and that God can change the consequence of this failure. The knights of Malory’s *Morte* routinely seek to diminish the importance and validity of prophecy. They choose instead to trust to their own prowess or believe that God will provide a better outcome for them.

The knights are not the only figures of the text that resist prophecy. The narrator of the entire *Morte* works against one of the final prophecies found within the text. In the final moments of Arthur’s life, three queens and the Lady of the Lake arrive to take him away from Bedivere.³⁹ In the morning, Bedivere comes across an hermitage where a group of ladies have recently buried a dead person. Bedivere believes this to be King Arthur and commits to spending the rest of his days as a hermit praying for Arthur. Following this, the narrator tells us that he can find no more written about the death of Arthur, but that there is a prophecy concerning Arthur circulating in England:

For thys tale Sir Bedwere, a Knyght of the Table Rounde, made hit to be wrytten; yet som men say in many partys of Inglonde that Kynge Arthure ys nat dede, but had by the wyll of Oure Lorde Jesu into another place; and men say that he shall

³⁹ The three queens are Morgan le Fay, the Queen of North Galis, and the Queen of the Waste Lands. Nynive also accompanies Arthur as the chief Lady of the Lake.

come agayne, and he shall wyne the Holy Crosse. Yet I woll not say that hit shall be so, but rather I wolde sey: here in thys worlde he chaunged hys lyff.

And many men say that there ys wrytten uppon the tumbre thys vers: “Hic iacet Arthurus, Rex quondam Rexque futurus.” (928/21-28; 717/27-35)

Here the narrator of the *Morte Darthur* explicitly casts aside prophecies about the return of Arthur. The narrator’s response to these rumors, which are spread throughout England, is to use the rhetorically privileged position as a writer of history to discount the prophecy of Arthur’s return⁴⁰. “In this world he changed his life” is an unambiguous statement that King Arthur died a human death; that he will not return and bring a new golden age to England. As a chronicler, Malory raises these rumors and prophecies in order to discredit them. Malory is producing an authoritative “Hoole book of Kyng Arthur” and that does not include prophecies of Arthur’s return (940/17; 726/10).

Here Malory fits within the Yorkist rhetorical practice of pushing aside and diminishing the importance of prophecies. Malory cuts prophecies that are in his sources and changes the emphasis of the ones that he keeps. Beyond this, Malory’s *Morte* is full of characters who refuse to accept prophecy. King Arthur himself works against prophecy and refuses to believe in them, trusting instead to God and his own abilities. Malory’s narrator, as well, casts aside what should be a wildly optimistic prophecy. The narrator does not buy into the return of Arthur and confirms that the noble king died a human death in this world.

⁴⁰ For a description of the way that Malory blends chronicle and romance styles see Field, *Romance and Chronicle*.

Women

Yorkist writers worked in their texts to emphasize the role of women in society and their importance as political figures in England. Because of Edward IV's reliance on Ann Mortimer and Philippa for his claim to the English throne, Yorkist writers were invested in showing women as critical figures in English history. Malory's *Morte Darthur* is full of questing knights aiding women in distress, princesses, queens, sorceresses, and all manner of female characters. These women crisscross the forests of adventure and inhabit the castles dotting Arthur's England. Malory, far more so than his sources, emphasizes the female presence in Arthur's England, and in the *Morte Darthur*, women are necessary and vital to the chivalric activity with which much of the text is concerned. Women are central to the foundation of the Round Table fellowship and its central oath; they are necessary for the repeated construction of masculine chivalry and knighthood; and they inhabit and imbue meaning into the numerous castles throughout the Arthurian landscape.

The Pentecostal Oath, sworn each year by all members of the Round Table fellowship, first appears near the end of "The Tale of King Arthur," and the oath acts as a set of guidelines for knightly behavior which is tested throughout the remainder of the narrative.⁴¹ The oath is original to Malory and does not appear in any of his sources for

⁴¹ Dorsey Armstrong, *Gender and the Chivalric Community in Malory's Morte d'Arthur*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), describes the Pentecostal Oath as the 'master signifier' of the text:

In other words, I contend that the Pentecostal Oath acts as a "master signifier" throughout the *Morte d'Arthur*. The Oath produces and mediates the movement of the text, functioning as the master trope to which all the actions of the characters refer. This act of chivalric legislation early in the *Morte d'Arthur* sets in motion an ideal of knightly behavior; the rest of the text tests that code in a variety of circumstances, revealing the tensions, shortcoming, and blind spots of the chivalric project. (29)

this section of the *Morte*. One of the results of this oath is that Malory's *Morte* "produces and depends upon a certain model of gender identity that not only creates much of the narrative action but also heightens the significance and impact of many episodes and events drawn from his source material."⁴² During a Pentecostal feast in this early section of the text, Arthur makes his knights swear the following oath:

than the kynge stablysshed all the knyghtes and gaff them rychesse and londys, and charged them never to do outrage nothir mourthir, and allwayes to fle treson, and to gyff mercy unto hym that askith mercy, uppon payne of forfiture of their worship and lordship of kynge Arthure for evir more; and allwayes to do ladyes, damesels, and jantilwomen and wydowes soccour, strengthe hem in hir ryghtes, and never to enforce them uppon payne of dethe. Also that no man take no batayles in a wrongfull quarell for no love ne for no worldis goodis. So unto this were all knyghtis sworne of the Table Rounde, both olde and yonge, and every yere so were they sworne at the hyghe feste of Pentecoste. (97/27-98/3; 75/36-76/2)

The oath is split almost evenly between a code of conduct for knightly encounters and rules governing knightly interactions with women. The code is the result of the quests of Torre, Pellinor, and Gawayne which immediately follow the marriage of Arthur to Guenevere. And the oath is tested at the end of "The Tale of King Arthur" by the quests of Gawayne, Ywain, and Marhalt. In the first set of triple quests, we see the cause of each element of the Pentecostal Oath, and in the second set of triple quests the oath is

⁴² Armstrong, 7.

tested. Malory traces the development of the Round Table community “through a series of episodes that are significantly punctuated by a feminine presence.”⁴³

On the day of Arthur’s wedding to Guenevere, the young knight Torre is introduced. He is the son of Pellinor, conceived “half be force” with the wife of Aryes the farmer (80/6-7; 62/21). Shortly after this revelation, Merlin prepares Arthur and his newly-formed Round Table community to witness a “straunge and a mervailous adventure” (81/16-17; 63/23-24). A white deer runs through the hall chased by a pack of dogs led by a white brachet. As the chase circles the Round Table, a knight sitting at a side table is knocked over. He recovers himself, picks up the white brachet, and leaves Arthur’s hall. Immediately following this, a woman rides into the hall and demands that Arthur do something to return her brachet. The king refuses to act and the lady is subsequently abducted:

So with thys there com a knyght rydyng all armed on a grete horse, and toke the lady away with forse wyth hym, and ever she cryed and made grete dole. So whan she was gone the kyng was gladde, for she made such a noyse. (81/32-35; 63/38-41)

This is an unusual reaction from Arthur, and Merlin tells the king that he must act to bring the adventure to an end. In response to this, Arthur orders Gawayne to go and bring back the head of the white deer, Torre to return with the brachet and the knight (alive or dead), and Pellinor to rescue the woman and return with her abductor or kill

⁴³ Ibid., 27.

him. The Round Table fellowship begins with an adventure centered on a female figure and prepares us for the Pentecostal Oath to come.

Gawayne, accompanied by his younger brother Gaheris, follows the trail of the deer closely and soon lets loose his own hounds to chase the deer. The hounds corner and kill the deer in a castle. Unfortunately, the owner of the castle and deer attacks Gawayne's hounds and kills several of them. Gawayne and the knight fight, and Gawayne quickly gains the upper hand. The knight asks for mercy and promises to make amends, "But Sir Gawayne wolde no mercy have, but unlaced hys helme to have strekyn of hys hede. Ryght so com hys lady oute of a chambir and felle over hym, and so he smote of hir hede by myssefortune" (84/30-33; 66/6-8). Gawayne immediately recognizes that he has performed a shameful action and sends the knight to Arthur's court without killing him. As Gawayne and Gaheris prepare to rest for the night, they are attacked by four knights who quickly overcome the two knights of Arthur's court. Before the Orkney brothers can be killed, though, four fair ladies intervene and are able to convince the four knights to spare Gawayne and Gaheris. Gawayne is sent back to Arthur's court with the head of the woman he killed tied around his neck and her body before him in the saddle. Significantly, when he returns to the court, Gawayne is judged by Guenevere and not King Arthur:

Than the kyng and the queene were gretely displeased with Sir Gawayne for the sleynge of the lady, and there by ordynaunce of the queene there was sette a queste of ladyes uppon Sir Gawayne, and they juged hym for ever whyle he

lyved to be with all ladyes and to fyght for hir quarels; and ever that he sholde be curteyse, and never to refuse mercy to hym that askith mercy. (87/1-6; 67/34-40)

It is the queen and a panel of women who judge Gawayne, and they are primarily concerned with his treatment of women. Arthur is silent during this scene of judgment, and once again Gawayne's fate is left in the hands of a group of women. In Gawayne's first quest, Malory shows that women can be vulnerable to knights, but that they are also able to exert a tremendous amount of power upon those knights in turn.

Following Gawayne's quest, Malory turns to Torre's first knightly endeavor as he chases down the white brachet. After defeating two knight-errants and gaining a dwarf follower, Torre discovers a pavilion containing a lady, her three damsels, and the white brachet. Despite the lady's protests, Torre takes the brachet and leaves the pavilion. During the journey back to Arthur's court, Torre encounters Sir Abelleus, who demands the return of his lady's dog. The two fight until they are both "passynge wery" (90/2; 69/44), but Torre finally overcomes Abelleus. As Torre is demanding Abelleus yield a young woman approaches the scene and asks Torre for "the hede of thys false knyght Abelleus, for he ys the moste outerageous knyght that lyvith, and the grettist murtherer" (90/17-19; 70/14-16). Torre is initially hesitant to grant this lady her request, suggesting that the knight can make amends for the wrongs he has committed. The damsel, however, refuses to change her request and challenges Torre, "Wherefore I requyre the, as thou arte a trew knyght, to gyff me my gyffte, othir ellis I shall shame the in all the courte of Kynge Arthure" (90/29-30; 70/24-25). It is this threat of the lady shaming him in Arthur's court that causes Torre to act and to behead the fleeing Sir

Abelleus. Following this, the lady and her aged husband provide lodging for Torre who enjoys “passynge good chere” with them (91/9; 70/39). Unlike Gawayne, Torre succeeds in his quest and is comforted when he chooses to honor this woman’s request.

The final quest of this triplet, Pellinore’s quest to return the kidnapped damsel to Camelot, is also suffused with important female characters. Almost as soon as Pellinore leaves Arthur’s court, he encounters a young woman caring for a mortally wounded knight. The lady cries out to Pellinore for help:

But Kynge Pellynore wolde nat tarry, he was so egir in hys queste; and ever she cryed an hondred tymes aftir helpe. Whan she saw he wolde nat abyde, she prayde unto God to sende hym as much nede of helpe as she had, and that he myght feele hit or he deyed. So, as the booke tellith, the knyght there dyed that was wounded, wherefore for pure sorow the lady slew hirselff with hys swerde. (92/10-15; 71/28-34)

Pellinore refuses to delay his quest in order to help this young woman and the wounded knight, and instead he rides on searching for the lady who was abducted from Arthur’s court. Pellinore finds this damsel as two knights are fighting for her: the knight who took her by force from Arthur’s hall and Sir Meliot de Logrus, the lady’s cousin.

Pellinore interrupts this duel and kills the lady’s abductor. Seeing Pellinore’s strength, Sir Meliot agrees to let his cousin go back to Arthur’s court with Pellinore. During the return journey, Pellinore and the now identified Nynive discover the corpses of the couple Pellinore ignored which have now been mutilated by wild animals. Nynive advises Pellinore to “Take this knyght and lette hym be buryed in an ermytage, and take

this ladyes hede and bere hit with your unto Kyng Arthure” (96/20-22; 74/41-43).

While the young knight is buried immediately, the dead woman continues to be a part of Pellinore’s quest, and one which he must take with him to Arthur’s court. Once again, as Pellinore is reunited with the Round Table fellowship it is Guenevere who judges Pellinore’s success. She does not respond to his having quickly returned Nynive to Arthur’s court, but she instead criticizes Pellinore for his failure to aid the young lady saying, “ye were gretly to blame that ye saved nat thys ladyes lyff” (97/1-2; 75/12-13). At this point, Merlin interjects to reveal that the lady was Pellinore’s own daughter and that his failure to save her will result in his own death.

Immediately following this prophecy from Merlin that Pellinore’s failure to save his daughter will result in his own death, the text turns to link the forthcoming oath with the results of the tri-part quest:

Thus whan the queste was done of the whyght herte the whych folowed Sir Gawayne, and the queste of the brachet whych folowed Sir Torre, Kyng Pellynors son, and the queste of the lady that the knyghte toke away, whych at that tyme folowed Kyng Pellynor, than the kyng stablysshed all the knyghtes and gaff them rychesse and londys, and charged them (97/23-28; 75/33-38)

The oath which follows is a direct response to the successes and failures of Torre, Pellinore, and Gawayne in the first quest which the Round Table fellowship undertakes. The resulting oath contains a code of knightly conduct, offer mercy, do not commit murder, and flee treason, and the “ladies clause.” This ladies clause of the Pentecostal Oath seems to have the unintended side-effect of women being read “as vulnerable,

helpless, and ever in need of the service of a knight—in short, the object through and against which a knight affirms his masculine identity.”⁴⁴ This, however, “is revealed to be a fiction, in that the masculine subcommunity is utterly and deeply dependent upon the feminine for definition.”⁴⁵ This is seen shortly after the formation of the Pentecostal Oath in a second tripartite quest.

Following the attempted assassination of Arthur by his sister, Morgan le Fay, King Arthur banishes Morgan’s son Ywain from court. Gawayne, upset that his first cousin has been exiled from court, joins Ywain in leaving Arthur’s court. It is not long before the two find a companion in the form of Marhalt, the son of the King of Ireland. Following a battle between Gawayne and Marhalt, the three travel together seeking adventure. Once they arrive at the Forest of Arroy, the three knights encounter three damsels by a stream. The damsels announce that they are there to lead knights to adventure:

“We be here,” seyde the damesels, “for this cause: if we may se ony of arraunte knyghtes to teche hem unto straunge aventures. And ye be thre knyghtes adventures and we be thre damesels, and therefore eche one of you muste chose one of us; and whan ye have done so, we woll lede you unto thre hygheways, and there eche of you shall chose a way and his damesell with hym. And this day twelve moneth ye muste mete here agayne, and God sende you the lyves, and thereto ye muste plyght your trouth.” (127/16-23; 97/35-42)

⁴⁴ Ibid., 36.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 37.

The three ladies stand not in a subjugated position but as guides to adventure for Gawayne, Ywain, and Marhalt. The success of the knights, as well, is dependent upon their ability to follow the damsel they have chosen. As in the first quest, and despite the charge to be a champion for women, Gawayne is unable to live up to the requirements of the Pentecostal Oath. Not only does Gawayne lose the damsel he is traveling with because he refuses to take her advice to aid Pelleas, but he also betrays the trust of Pelleas. Gawayne promises to help Pelleas win the love of the lady Ettard. Gawayne, however, chooses to seduce Ettarde himself and spends several days sleeping with her before Pelleas discovers his treachery. The ultimate result of Gawayne's attempt at this quest is Ettard's untimely death and "lytyll worshyp" from the young damsel he was supposed to be traveling with (142/25; 109/13). This is in stark contrast to Marhalt and Ywain who both diligently follow their chosen damsel and keep the Pentecostal Oath in mind. Marhalt passively follows the damsel and is led to place after place where he wins worship and gains knightly followers for Arthur's court. First he encounters a Duke and his sons who hold against the Round Table fellowship. Marhalt effortlessly overcomes the six knights and sends them to Arthur's court. Following this, his damsel leads him to a tournament called by the Lady Vawse where Marhalt takes the prize. Next, Marhalt is led to an Earl's court whose land is harassed by a giant. Marhalt kills the giant and rescues twenty knights and a dozen ladies. The damsel acts as a witness to all of these accomplishments and Marhalt wins a great deal of worship. Ywain, in his quest, is unique in explicitly referencing the ladies clause and the Pentecostal Oath. Like Marhalt, Ywain allows the damsel to lead him through the land. During the course of

their travels, Ywain and the damsel meet the Lady of the Roche who complains that two brothers, Sir Edward and Sir Hew, have disinherited her of her lands. In response to this, Ywain exclaims, “they are to blame, for they do ayenste the hyghe order of knyghthode and the oth that they made” (140/33-34; 107/42-43). Ywain recognizes that these knights are acting contrary to the Pentecostal Oath which should govern their behavior. Ywain fights for the right of the lady, killing Sir Edward and ordering Sir Hew to appear at Arthur’s court during the next feast of Pentecost. This order from Ywain to appear during the feast of Pentecost makes explicit his earlier reference to the knightly oath as the reader cannot help but be reminded of the earlier appearance of the feast and the oath that was sworn then. Central to that oath and the double tri-part quests are the female figures that prompt, take part in, and ultimately judge those quests. Here, as Armstrong notes:

The feminine operates as either instigator of quest, mediator of quest, or witness to completion (and thereby validation) of the quest. The ubiquitous and seemingly necessary presence of female characters who ask favors, bestow gifts, intercede for, and pass judgment on knights, points to the importance of the feminine in establishing, shaping, and confirming masculine knightly identity.⁴⁶

These women are vital for the questing process, and though some of them do appear in a subjugated position, abducted, kidnapped, besieged by an unwanted suitor, others have much more agency. Women like Guenevere and the three damsels who guide Gawayne, Ywain, and Marhalt exert their power over knights and their quest to gain worship. This

⁴⁶ Ibid., 38.

focus on women is not relegated to the first section of the *Morte Darthur* but can be seen throughout the whole book.

For much of the *Morte Darthur*, the knights of the Round Table are primarily concerned with gaining and maintaining worship. This is primarily performed through the single combats and tournaments in which the knights attempt to prove themselves. These tournaments serve as unique locations for knights to establish and reinforce their masculinity. In examining the efforts of knights to prove their masculinity and worship, Molly Martin argues:

This model of male gender production demands that the successful knight - and the successful romance - become a spectacle of masculinity, and that layers of audiences participate in the valuation of masculine identity and the construction of gender.⁴⁷

Throughout the text, various Round Table knights work to construct their masculine, knightly identity and they rely on a specifically female audience to accomplish that goal. The “Tale of Gareth,” begins with Gareth’s masculinity being called into question by Sir Kay, but once Gareth leaves the kitchen he quickly gains an audience before which he can construct his knightly identity. Lyonet and Lyones serve as the initial audiences for Gareth’s prowess and masculinity, and when they return to Arthur’s court the two women can act to confirm the great worship that he has won. Tristram and Launcelot complicate this straightforward pattern of the female audience recognizing and validating knightly identity. Each involved in their own adulterous relationship,

⁴⁷ Molly Martin, *Vision and Gender in Malory’s Morte Darthur*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010), 2.

Tristram and Launcelot “suffer from simultaneous desires and needs to be seen and the constant threat that being seen imposes on their relationships with both their beloved queens and the entire community of knights.”⁴⁸ It is essential for the two knights to have the queens as an audience, and their own identity is contingent upon the presence of Isolde and Guenevere.

This reliance on knights in Malory’s *Morte* for women to validate and even create their knightly identity even extends to that most ubiquitous feature of the Arthurian landscape: the castle. Castles in the *Morte Darthur* are spaces of “contested gender identity.”⁴⁹ They are centers of masculine identity. Knights begin and end their quests at castles, and their journeys through the forests of adventure are incomplete without stopping at a castle afflicted by a strange custom or adventure. Castles are centers of military and chivalric power. However, in Malory’s text, “castles depart almost entirely from the battlefield and become the realm of queens, and proprietresses, female captives, inhabitants, and guests.”⁵⁰ Apart from Uther’s siege of the Castle of Tintagel and Arthur and Gawayne’s siege of Benwick, castles throughout the *Morte* are mostly divorced from their military context and instead serve as locations where knights and ladies interact, where women perform the function of establishing and affirming knightly identity. This is especially true in the episode of “The Knight of the Cart.” This episode begins with one of Malory’s famous “May Passages” and the action starts with Guenevere selecting ten knights and ten ladies to ride Maying through the forests

⁴⁸ Ibid., 86.

⁴⁹ Molly Martin, “Castles and the Architecture of Gender in Malory’s ‘The Knight of the Cart,’” *Arthuriana* 22,2 (2012): 40.

⁵⁰ Susan L. Murray, “Women and Castles in Geoffrey of Monmouth and Malory,” *Arthuriana* 13,1 (2003): 22.

and fields near Westminster. Mellyagaunt seeing his opportunity lays an ambush for the Queen and her knights, arriving with nearly two hundred men at arms and archers to capture Guenevere and bring her to a nearby castle. Though they are unarmed, the Queen's Knights fight valiantly to defend the queen⁵¹. When she sees that they are about to be overcome and killed, Guenevere begins to take command:

Sir Mellyagaunte, sle nat my noble knyghtes and I woll go with the, uppon thys covenante: that thou save them and suffir hem no more to be hurte, wyth thys, that they be lad with me wheresomever thou ledyst me. For I woll rather sle myself than I woll go wyth the, onles that thes noble knyghtes may be in my presence. (844/32-845/2; 651/36-41)

⁵¹ This description of the Queen's Knights is original to Malory and may be a reference to the historical figure of Margaret of Anjou. Following the description of Mellyagaunt's love for the Queen, his fear of Lancelot, and how he waits for a moment where Guinevere is vulnerable so that he may kidnap her, the narrator intrudes to discuss an order of knights devoted to the queen:

And that tyme was such a custom that the queene rode never without a grete felyshyp of men of armys aboute her. And they were many good knyghtes, and the moste party were yonge men that wolde have worship, and they were called the Quenys Knyghtes. And never in no batayle, turnement, nother justys they bare none of hem no maner of knowlecchyng of their owne armys but playne wyght shyldis, and thereby they were called the Quenys Knyghtes. And whan hit happed one of them to be of grete worship by hys noble dedis, than at the nexte feste of Pentecoste, gyff there were ony slayne or dede (as there was none yere that there fayled but there were som dede), than was there chosyn in hys stede that was dede the moste men of worship that were called the Quenys Knyghtes. And thus they cam up firste or they were renowned men of worship, both Sir Lancelot and all the remenaunte of them. (843/8-21; 650/22-35)

The ten knights that Guinevere takes Maying with her, however, are full Knights of the Round Table and have no connection to the Queen's Knights: Sir Kay, Sir Aggravayne, Sir Braundyles, Sir Sagramour, Sir Dodynas, Sir Ozanna le Cure Hardy, Sir Ladynas, Sir Persaunte of Inde, Sir Ironsyde, and Sir Pelleas. The ten knights that accompany Guinevere as well as the order of the Queen's Knights are original to Malory. It is an unusual insertion in the text which is immediately dropped. Field suggests that Malory may have had Margaret of Anjou in mind when he composed this passage. She ruled England during Henry VI's bouts of madness and had military power herself. This power came in the form of a "band of knights and squires from Cheshire and elsewhere known as 'the queen's gallants', who became conspicuous at the battle of Blore Heath on 23 September 1459" (*Texts and Sources* 64). Margaret distinguished these knights by giving them the Prince of Wales' livery, the white swan. Field cautions against seeing this as proof of a pro-Lancastrian bias in the *Morte*. After all, "defending a lady against violence can be seen as the quintessential chivalrous act" and the Queen's Knights in Malory represent youth and chivalry opposing Mellyagaunt's treachery (Field *Texts and Sources* 64).

Mellyagaunt accepts the Queen's restrictions and takes her and the ten knights to his nearby castle. Once in the castle, Guenevere becomes a commanding presence and wields a great deal of authority. Once Launcelot arrives, the knight who derives and constructs his identity from the Queen, Guenevere becomes an even more powerful force in the confines of the castle. Mellyagaunt, the knight who has abducted the Queen and holds her against her will, becomes a slave to Guenevere, offering her his body and all his goods:

“A, madame,” seyde Sir Mellyagaunte, “all thys that ys amysse on my party shall be amended ryght as youreself woll devyse, and holy I put me in youre grace.”

“What wolde ye that I ded?” seyde the quene.

“Madame, I wolde no more,” seyde Sir Mellyagaunt, “but that ye wolde take all in youre owne hondys, and that ye woll rule my lorde Sir Launcelot. And such chere as may be made hym in thys poure castell ye and he shall have untyll to-morn, and than may ye and all they returne ayen unto Westmynster; and my body and all that I have I shall put in youre rule.” (849/12-21; 655/11-20)

With Mellyagaunt under her control in the castle, Guenevere waits patiently for Launcelot to arrive. When he does so, Guenevere greets and comforts Launcelot, removing him from his masculine, knightly position and making him submissive:

Ryght so the quene toke Sir Launcelot by the bare honde, for he had put of hys gauntelot, and so she wente wyth hym tyll her chambir, and than she commanded hym to be unarmed. (850/24-26; 656/13-15)

Martin argues that “all three acts hint at his submission to her and also remind us that Meleagant has likewise acquiesced to her—and further suggest that the space itself has changed.”⁵² Once inside the castle, Guenevere dominates the space, figuratively enslaving the two men who would fight to the death for her.

Malory fits within the Yorkist rhetorical practice of emphasizing the presence and importance of women. The Yorkist project to strengthen Edward IV’s claim through Ann Mortimer and Philipa resulted in texts that worked to place women alongside men as important figures. Malory’s *Morte Darthur* fits well within this rhetorical move. Malory presents a version of knighthood and masculinity which is impossible without women and which is codified in the Pentecostal Oath’s “Ladies Clause.” Beyond the Oath, women are in a privileged position as the ones who are able to witness and report upon a knight’s deeds. Knights require a specific, female audience for the construction of their knightly identity. The landscape and architecture of Malory’s *Morte* also emphasizes women. Castles in the text, which one might expect to represent bastions of masculinity, become centers of female agency and power. These examples of the Pentecostal Oath, women as audience of chivalric identity, and the ways in which the landscape emphasizes women just touch upon the many ways in which Malory works to increase the importance of female figures in his text. Malory moves beyond his sources to emphasize the female characters of Arthurian legend in a way that corresponds with Yorkist rhetorical practice.

⁵² Martin “Architecture,” 43.

Heraldic Badges

The final element of Yorkist rhetorical practice which this chapter looks for in Malory is the very common Yorkist practice of referring to nobles as their heraldic figure. This aspect of Yorkist practice is incredibly common in Yorkist writing and almost entirely absent from Lancastrian works. Unlike the previously discussed elements of Yorkist writing, Malory's *Morte* does not as closely mirror this aspect of Yorkist rhetorical practice. Malory's prose style is too closely linked to chronicle writing for him to obscure the identity of his heroic knights⁵³. This is somewhat surprising if one considers Malory's own personal interest in heraldry. As Field notes, "the late mediaeval Malorys of Newbold Revel were a flourishing family with a keen interest in heraldry."⁵⁴ In fact, Malory's grandson constructed an armorial window at the estate in Newbold Revel which included the arms of Sir Peter Malory, an important judge eight generations dead. This would have not been possible without the family taking good care of their heraldic records. Heraldic interest is much reduced, however, within the text of the *Morte Darthur*. This is not to say that heraldry is completely absent from the text. Gareth's identity is discovered in a tournament when a herald rides close enough to see his name engraved on his yellow armor. Launcelot routinely rides disguised or with a blank shield so that he will not be recognized. Though not a major element of the *Morte*, a heraldic interest can be seen in the Gareth section of the book and in the ways that Caxton changed Arthur's dream in the Roman War episode.

⁵³ For more on Malory's prose style see Field *Romance and Chronicle*.

⁵⁴ Field ed., *Sir Thomas Malory: Le Morte Darthur*, 2 vols, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), vol 2 859.

During the course of Gareth's proof of knighthood, he overcomes a number of knights who are identified almost solely by the color of their armor. Gareth fights knights of the following color: black, green, blue, two red knights, and one brown. Kenneth J. Tiller argues persuasively that the sequence of colors over the course of Gareth's adventure can be understood as reference to contemporary heraldic manuals. A theory of heraldic color was of great importance to these fifteenth century writers. In examining several heraldic manuals, Tiller proposes three general rules of color in heraldry. One, the primary heraldic colors are black and white. Black is the inferior of the two colors. Two, secondary colors can be understood as mixtures of black and white and can be ranked according to their degree of whiteness. Three, the different colors represent knightly traits.⁵⁵ Tiller argues that as Gareth defeats the variously colored knights he is proving that he has the qualities symbolized by that heraldic color and that he is qualified to continue on his knightly quest.⁵⁶ Malory's use of meaningful colors from heraldic manuals "transforms his narrative of Gareth's quest into a progression through a symbolically charged landscape that signifies virtues and values of knighthood as the hero reveals himself as one of the four 'great knights' of the world."⁵⁷ In the "Tale of Gareth" the meanings associated with heraldry form a structural element of the narrative.

⁵⁵ Kenneth J. Tiller, "The Rise of Sir Gareth and the Hermeneutics of Heraldry," *Arthuriana* 17,3 (2007): 75.

⁵⁶ Tiller gives the following gloss on the armor color of Gareth's opponents: Black indicates patience, prudence, and constancy; Green is associated with the vegetative cycle, armor, and amorousness; the color Red rests half-way between black and white and is linked to ferocity and the martial qualities of knighthood; Blue represents the heavens, loyalty, and good rulership; finally, the color Brown rests "outside the spectrum of acceptable heraldic colors" and "represents conduct beyond the bounds of acceptable knightly behavior" (85).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 86.

One of the changes which Caxton introduces into the *Morte* in his printed edition seems to be centered on heraldic imagery and politics around 1485. While sailing to the Continent Arthur has a terrible dream in which he witnesses a marvelous dragon fly from the west and encounter a grimly bear that comes out of the east. The dragon and bear fight until the dragon gains the upper hand and burns the bear, flesh and bone, to powder. Arthur wakes from this terrible vision and sends for a wise philosopher to interpret the dream for him. The philosopher tells Arthur, “the dragon thou dremyste of betokyns thyne owne persone that thus here sayles with thy syker knyghts” (153/29-31; 119/10-11). The philosopher then turns to describe the meaning of the bear, “and the beare that the dragon slowe above in the clowdis betokyns som tyraunte that turmentis thy people, other thou art lyke to fyght with som gyaunte boldely in batayle be thyself alone” (154/1-3; 119/14-17). This is Arthur’s dream on his journey to fight Emperor Lucius and immediately after landing in France, Arthur fights the Giant of Mont St Michel in single combat. Field describes this as one of the clearest references to the fifteenth-century in the *Morte Darthur*:

None is as clear-cut as Caxton’s ingenious alteration to Arthur’s dream in the Roman War story, where by altering a single letter five times, so changing *bere* to *bore*, he equated Henry Tudor with King Arthur, and Richard III with that monstrous cannibal, rapist, and child-molester, the Giant of Mont St Michel.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Field *Texts and Sources*, 50.

The dragon was one of Henry VII's heraldic badges and the boar was Richard III's primary badge.⁵⁹ Field slightly simplifies Caxton's action in editing Malory's version of Arthur's dream. Caxton actually changes the word six times throughout the dream and philosopher's interpretation, and the change was greater than simply replacing an "e" with an "o." The scribe of the Winchester Manuscript consistently spells bear as "beare." Caxton's version of the text consistently gives the spelling as "bore."⁶⁰ This is more than a simple single letter substitution, which could be an unintentional error, and makes the theory that this was an intentional change by Caxton more credible. We should be careful, however, in assigning meaning to animals in Arthur's dream based on heraldic identifications. It was not uncommon for a person to have a variety of heraldic identifications. In the case of Caxton's alteration to Malory's text, it seems clear that the edit was intended to reference Henry VII and Richard III. In Malory's version of the dream, however, it would be difficult to confidently identify a historical person to match the dragon and bear. When Malory completed the *Mote Darthur*, Henry Tudor was too young to be politically active and the most prominent "bear" was Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. Though Malory may have been commenting upon the recent turn in relations between Edward IV and Warwick, it is easier to see this dream as Malory closely following his source. The *Alliterative Morte Arthure* is Malory's source for this section of the text, and the Winchester version follows the alliterative poem's description

⁵⁹ Field offers a reason for Caxton's enmity towards Richard III: "one of Richard's first acts on seizing power had been to have Caxton's principal patron, Anthony Wydeville, Earl Rivers, executed" (*Texts and Sources* 50 n.9).

⁶⁰ Facsimiles of the Winchester Manuscript and Caxton's book viewed on *The Malory Project*. Arthur's dream appears on 75r and 75v in the Winchester Manuscript. In Caxton's book the dream appears on Sig. i2r and i2v.

of Malory's dream and the interpretation closely. In the *Morte Darthur*, Malory does not express the same kind of interest in heraldry as Yorkist writers.

Conclusion

In the first two chapters of this dissertation, I identified four major aspects of Yorkist rhetorical practice. One, several Yorkist poets work within or create networks of textual connections between writers and readers through direct quotations and references to politically relevant and contemporary texts. Two, Yorkist writers, for the most part, rejected the genre of prophecy and some offered alternatives. Three, Yorkist writers worked to emphasize the role of women and their importance in England. Four, Yorkist writers highlight the heraldic identity of noblemen. This chapter sought to examine Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* against these four elements of Yorkist writing in order to see how well Malory's text fits within the rhetorical practices of Yorkist writers. Malory's *Morte* conforms strongly to only two of these rhetorical patterns. The *Morte* forms a textual network with *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell* and *The Turke and Sir Gawain* which focuses on the character of Sir Gromer Somer Joure and his close relationship with Gawayne. Malory also changes and inserts characters into his Arthurian text with the seeming purpose of pleasing a known community of readers. The networks surrounding these references to Sir Gromer and French chivalry are not political in nature. Malory's characters routinely reject and ignore prophetic messages. The knights of the *Morte* choose to trust to "aventure" or God to guide them. Malory's narrator, as well, outright rejects the prophecies which suggest that Arthur will return again to usher England into a golden age. The *Morte Darthur* certainly emphasizes the

role of women, and it is no exaggeration to say that they are crucial to the formation of the Round Table fellowship and necessary for the formation of masculine knightly identity. Malory's text also does not conform to Yorkist rhetorical practice in the relative lack of emphasis on heraldic images, but this seems to be a function of the chronicle style. I do not intend to determine which side of the Wars of the Roses Malory supported. Aurner or Griffith may be correct in arguing that Malory was a Lancastrian or a Yorkist. Or perhaps Kennedy is correct in suggesting that the text is carefully designed to be politically neutral. Whichever side of the conflict Malory supported, his *Le Morte Darthur* fits partially within Yorkist rhetorical patterns.

CHAPTER V

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN MS 432

Introduction

Trinity College Dublin Manuscript 432 represents a unique expression of Yorkist sentiment in the early 1460s. The Middle-English section presented here contains twenty-two items, all but three of which are unique to this manuscript. The nature of this manuscript as the sole witness to a great number of particularly Yorkist works makes it well suited for this study of Yorkist political expression. Beyond this political distinction, the manuscript is also the only Middle-English romance manuscript which also contains a dramatic work.¹ The manuscript contains unique poems celebrating the Battle of Northampton and the Battle of Towton, an acrostic poem in honor of the Earl of Warwick, a poem urging the Yorkist lords to be careful in how they interact with those who may still support Henry VI, and the poem “The Twelve Letters that Saved England.” These poems make up a significant portion of the surviving political poems which are identifiably Yorkist.²

This chapter offers a description of and methodology for editing the Middle English portion of Trinity College Dublin MS 432. Several of the poems from this manuscript have been published before, but these editions of the poems divorce them

¹ Gisela Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances*, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1976), 118.

² The *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* identifies 19 poems as Yorkist. This makes TCD MS 432 a manuscript which holds over a quarter of the surviving Yorkist poetry.

from their manuscript context.³ Rudolf Brotanek's 1940 *Mittelenglische Dichtungen aus der Handschrift 432 des Trinity College in Dublin* presents many of the works from Trinity College Dublin MS 432 together, however it is incomplete and contradicts several of the other published versions of the poems. In this chapter, I work to prepare the groundwork for an up to date edition of the Middle English portion of Trinity College Dublin MS 432 which offers the historical and politically engaged poems within their larger manuscript context.

The work described here represents the first stage of a multi-stepped, scaffolded digital edition of the manuscript. At this point, a tentative transcription of the Middle-English third portion of the manuscript has been completed as well as initial TEI markup of the text. This allows for a bare-bones edited form of the text. The next step for the project is stage two markup of the text, a more in-depth approach to the TEI markup of the text with detailed notes and references, as well as the creation of an interface for viewing the text. Ultimately, the project should have an interface similar to that of the English Broadside Ballad Archive which allows for three views of the text: one, a facsimile of the manuscript page; two, a diplomatic view of the text, a transcription of the text free from most editorial intervention super-imposed over the facsimile image; three, the edited version of the text, a critical edition with a higher degree of editorial work, notes, and references. This chapter gives the edited version of the poems with the TEI available in Appendix 1. This project was possible thanks to the Texas A&M

³ Madden, Robbins, and Furnival offer a selection of the historical and political poems while Davis presents the manuscripts version of *Abraham and Isaac*.

Summertime Advanced Research Award and the Vision 2020 Dissertation Enhancement Award which provided funding for a research trip to Trinity College Dublin.

Manuscript

Trinity College Dublin Manuscript 432, formerly in the library of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, is a composite manuscript composed of at least five unrelated manuscripts bound together. The first two sections of the manuscript contain French and Latin works of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. The fourth and fifth sections of the manuscript contain Middle-English prose tracts as well as Latin texts. Of interest here, is the third section of the manuscript, 59r to 88v. This section contains Middle-English texts including the unique Yorkist poems. The contents of this section are as follows:

1. A partial copy of Chaucer's "Ballad of Steadfastness" – 59r
2. "Peace Maketh Plenty" – 59r
3. "Palamon and Arcite" – 59v
4. "King Robert of Sicily" – 60r-61v
5. "The Seven Schools" – 61v-62r
6. "A Story of King Palaam" – 62r-63r
7. "A Miracle of Our Lady" – 63v-64r
8. "A Story of an Unhappy Boy" – 64v
9. "Carmentis, Cubal Cain, Saturnus" – 65r
10. "A Lamentation of Our Lady for Swearing" – 65r-66v
11. "For the Cramp" – 66v
12. "The Battle of Northampton" – 67v-69r

13. “On the Policy of the Yorkist Lords” – 69v-70r
14. “Songs to Saints Catherine, Mary, and Margaret” – 70r-70v
15. “Warwick (Acrostic)” – 70v
16. “The Battle of Towton” – 70v-72r
17. “The Twelve Letters that Saved England” – 72r-73v, (cf. MS Lambeth 306)
18. “The Christian Kings that Reign under God” – 74r-75r
19. *Abraham and Isaac* – 75r-76r, 77v-81r
20. *Duodecim pares francie* – 76v-77r
21. *Hic sunt maiores et balliui de Northampton* – 82v-85v
22. Fragment of a Calendar – 87

This section of the manuscript can be dated, based on historical references within the texts, to the first half of 1461. “The Battle of Towton” refers to Edward as the crowned king of England. Edward IV was declared king before the battle in March 1461, but not crowned until June 1461. The list of mayors and bailiffs of Northampton makes references to several battles, the latest of which is the Second Battle of St. Albans which occurred in February 1461. The list also notes the coronation of Edward IV and ends “in anno primo regni sui [in the first year of his reign].”

The pages of the third section of the manuscript are fifteenth-century laid paper measuring approximately 13x19cm. Folios 26, 70, 71, 80, and 86 carry a watermark similar to Briquet’s 9026, a stylized letter “S,” in the gutter of the pages. Though it has been restored, the paper remains slightly soiled and stained throughout with minor damage in a number of places in the manuscript. There are numerous holes in the pages

up to one centimeter across. These, however, seldom obscure the text. There are, in fact, instances in the manuscript, such as the hole on folio 61, in which the scribe has written around holes in the paper. A tear on the top left of 59r obscures the first words in lines 1-2 of Chaucer's "Ballad of Steadfastness." There are other small tears and the edges of many of the pages are frayed and tattered, but these largely do not obscure the text. The major exception to this is the damage on folio 87. Several large tears obscure almost the entirety of the calendar on that page. Davis suggests that the pieces from this page may have been used for as a wrapper when the manuscript was initially unbound.⁴ The manuscript was rebound in 1820 and currently exists in the form of three separate volumes. At this point, page numbers and titles for some of the items in the manuscript were added in pencil. The rebinding, and the mistakes which occurred during that process, make it impossible to determine the original disposition of the quires and gatherings. All previous editors of this manuscript have noted that folios 70-76 are miscollated. This is no longer the case as the manuscript was restored in 1986 by Raymond Jordan. Jordan corrected the miscollated pages and added correct pagination for the misplaced leaves.

The margins vary greatly throughout the manuscript, but the texts usually begin at the very top of each page and the scribe leaves two to five centimeters of space at the bottom of each page. The pages have 30 lines on average. The fewest number of lines on a page occurs on 59v with only 25 lines, and the highest number of lines on a page occurs on 88r with 36 lines. Most of the pages in this section are ruled straight across.

⁴ Norman Davis, *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), xlvii.

The exception is *Abraham and Isaac* and the list of mayors and bailiffs of Northampton. In *Abraham and Isaac*, the tail rhymes appear in the right half of the page bracketed with one another. *Hic sunt maiores et balliui de Northampton* follows the form regularly used by these types of documents. Each page contains three columns: in the first, the name of the mayor; the second, the names of two bailiffs written one over the other; and in the third, the regnal year. This list form is interrupted occasionally by straight lines across the page with commentary on important events. These usually record the change in king or important battles. Two colors of ink are used in the manuscript: black, which has faded to brown in most of the manuscript, and red. The red ink is used for touching of initial letters, underlining, bracketing rhymes, and in some titles and explicits. Red ink is also used for pilcrows, some initial lettering, and corrections. The decoration within the manuscript consists mainly of this red ink as well.

One scribe is responsible for the text in the third section of the manuscript, folios 59-87, though a second, and perhaps third, hand appears on 75r to continue the list of English kings. The hand is fifteenth-century small secretary, but the scribe is inconsistent throughout this section. In some areas, the scribe appears to have performed their work in a hasty or informal manner. The scribe uses a wide variety of abbreviations and letter forms:

[e] appears in three forms: opened, closed, and reversed

[r] appears in three forms: normal “r,” rotund, and continental

[s] appears in four forms: long, closed, double compartment, and normal “s”

[i] and [y] appear in both dotted and non-dotted forms

[u] and [v] are used interchangeably

This scribe makes the majority of corrections by inserting letters, almost always in red ink, above the line usually accompanied by a small caret or arrow to indicate the proper place. When a word has been repeated or the wrong word has been written, the scribe strikes through the offending word with a single line. The first hand which continues the list of English kings is early sixteenth-century and appears non-professional. There is much less noticeable variation in this hand as only eleven lines appear in this hand. The “e” appears closed and reversed, “r” appears only in the rotund form, and “s” appears in the long and closed form. The final phrase of the list seems to be a separate hand again, giving the phrase “Rayned xxxviiij yeres” in a more legible, professional sixteenth-century hand.

xxxi yere at Westmynstre lythe 75
 King Henry the fourth & son of the Duke of Lancastre reigned
 xii yere and a half at Stamfordbury lythe 74
 King Henry the fyfth & son to King Henry the fourth reigned
 .v. yere and a half at Westmynstre lythe
 King Henry the sixte & son to King Henry the fyfth
 yod Henry the King
 the son of King
 King Edward the fourth reigned 22 yere & moneth & dyed
 buried at Windsor
 King Edward the fyfth not crowned ij moneth & dyed
 King Richard the thrid reigned ij yere & moneth
 buried at Leicester
 King Henry the sixth reigned xij yere & moneth
 & dyed crowned the xxij day of October a.
 1486 & dyed the xxij day of April a. 1509. / buried
 at Westmynstre
 King Henry the seventh crowned the xxij day of
 June a. 1509. reigned xxxij yere

Figure 3: Detail of three hands writing in TCD MS 432, 75r.

Editorial Policy

The TEI markup of the text at this stage of the project seeks to provide an accurate transcription and description of the manuscript and encodes variant letter forms, original punctuation, manuscript damage, and identifies names and places. The three forms of “r,” four forms of “s,” and the two forms of “y” with and without a dot are all encoded in the TEI markup. The ligatures and symbols which indicate abbreviations within the manuscript are also conserved in the TEI encoding. The rubrication of initial letters, underlining, and some headings is noted in the TEI markup. The decorations in the manuscript, like the red-ink chain on 74r, are noted in the TEI but left out of the edited text. The figures included in the section *Duodecim pares francie*, 76v-77r, showing the coats of arms of the six ecclesiastical and six lay peers of France: Reims, Langres, Laon, Beauvais, Noyon, Chalons, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Normandy, Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse are described in detail the TEI but left out of the edited text. The little marginalia of the manuscript, such as the Latin note on 64r “*hic postea per w* *Wale*,” is recorded in the TEI and given as footnotes in the edited text. Detailed encoding of the TEI has begun with the encoding of personal and place names. Detailed notes are provided for “The Battle of Northampton,” “On the Policy of the Yorkist Lords,” “The Battle of Towton,” and “Twelve Letters that Saved England.” These items have been selected for detailed notes at this point in the project because of their close relationship to the topic of this dissertation.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Yerly be þe morowe in a somer tyde,
I saw in a strete, in london as I went,
A gentyl woman sitting in chepe syde
Syt wirkyng vpon a vestiment.¹

This dissertation has argued that there are four elements which characterize Yorkist rhetorical practice. Three of these are discussed Chapter two: “Yorkist Occasional Poetry: Reform and Renewal.” First, Yorkist poets work to create and foster networks of textual connection through direct quotations and references to other contemporary political texts. This can be seen in the poetic response to “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury.” The ballad first appeared in Canterbury shortly before the Yorkists returned to England in 1460 following their exile after the defeat at the Battle of Ludford Bridge. The ballad caught the attention of several Yorkist writers and served as a crucial text during the early 1460s as the Yorkist armies fought to win the throne for Richard, Duke of York, and his son Edward. The Canterbury ballad resonated with Yorkist writers and served as a rhetorical focal point for Yorkist propagandists. “The Battle of Northampton” and “Twelve Letters that Saved England” followed the Canterbury ballad and worked to maintain the rhetorical power and momentum of the earlier poem. “The Battle of Northampton,” written shortly after the battle which took

¹ “The Twelve Letters that Saved England,” 1-4.

place on 10 July 1460, addresses the same themes and quotes directly from Canterbury ballad in a rhetorical move which keeps the earlier ballad and its promises alive in the minds of the reader. The later poem, “Twelve Letters that Saved England,” goes further, and in a powerful rhetorical move, takes an entire stanza from “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury.” “Twelve Letters that Saved England” sets itself up as the fulfillment of the promises of the earlier ballad. Written after the Yorkists took the throne and Edward IV was crowned, “Twelve Letters that Saved England” rhetorically joins the embattled “The Battle of Northampton” in looking to “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” as a poem which continued to be a useful rhetorical tool and remained relevant to the Yorkist audience of those poems.

Second, Yorkist poets rejected outright or worked to lessen the importance of the genre of political prophecy. Yorkist writers produced fewer political prophecies and several Yorkist poems work to discredit prophecies. This rhetorical move on the part of Yorkist writers was a direct response to Lancastrian political writers. One of the major genres which Lancastrian writers employed at the beginning of Henry VI’s reign was that of political prophecy. These prophecies focused on the young king and the prosperity that many hoped he would bring to England. These types of propaganda initially appeared early in Henry VI’s reign but still circulated at the dawn of the Wars of the Roses in the 1450s. Yorkist writers reacted against this element of Lancastrian writing by working to discredit the kinds of political prophecy which circulated around the king or to suggest an alternative to prophecy. Both “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury” and “The Battle of Northampton” look to the science of astrology and

suggest casting aside prophecy. The Canterbury ballad begins by pushing aside prophecy in favor of the influence of the heavenly bodies:

In the day of faste and spirituelle afflixion,
The celestiale influence of bodyes transitory,
Set aside alle prophecyes, and alle commixtione (1-3)

The Northampton poem begins in very much the same manner, with the poet emphasizing the power of the celestial bodies:

Of all mennys disposicion naturall,
Philisophys wryten in euery place,
That affter the bodyes celestiall
The Erthely body his wirkyn hase (1-4)

Both these poems push aside prophecy in favor of astrology, and “The Battle of Northampton” connects the action of these celestial bodies to the work of God. The Northampton poet writes that God “of his speciall grace ... Gaue infleweinz of myrþe into bodyes on hye / The which in a berward lighted preuelye” (17, 20-21). God, through the influence of heavenly bodies, rather than an obscure prophecy, is seen as legitimizing the actions of the Yorkists in their return to England.

Third, Yorkist writers repeatedly choose to identify Yorkist lords by their heraldic badges. This is a significant departure from Lancastrian poets who almost never make references to heraldic devices. There are two results of this rhetorical move on the Yorkist poets’ part to emphasize heraldic devices. First, by referring to bears, eagles, and roses Yorkist poets can establish a plausible deniability. Writing during the

Wars of the Roses was not a risk-free exercise, and there could be real and dangerous results to overtly writing about what could be construed as a group of traitors.² Historical figures did not carry a monopoly on any specific heraldic animal, which can occasionally make it quite difficult to accurately identify who is appearing in a poem. Second, this kind of armorial interest was widespread in England at the time. “The Battle of Towton” includes twenty-five heraldic devices but not one historical figure’s name. In that poem, the Rose of Rouen arrives to help the people of the England. He is joined by a ragged staff, fish hook, water bucket, a key, a boar’s head, a feather, and the George, just to name a few. The elaborate hunting metaphor of “The Battle of Northampton” is built upon the heraldic devices of those involved. Edward guides Warwick, “the Bear,” as they chase Buckingham as a buck. The Earl of Salisbury, “the Eagle,” hunts the fish of Lord Scales. “The Twelve Letters that Saved England” is divided almost evenly between celebrating the men and their heraldic emblems responsible for putting Edward IV on the throne. This aspect of medieval culture was clearly important to many of the Yorkist poets who wrote political pieces. It is very likely that this is the same type of impulse which led the Yorkist poets to focus on the arms of the Yorkist lords. By showing the reader the arms repeatedly, the poet established a type of armorial pedigree for the Yorkist lords which shows the “olde

² Derek Pearsall disagrees with this reading of the use of heraldry in Yorkist poetry, suggesting instead that “in the English poems, this cryptic naming is motivated not by the need for secrecy but by the literary pleasure of enjoyably easy cipher-mongering” (224). While this is true of major political figures such as Edward “the Rose of Rouen” or Warwick “the Bear” or “the Ragged Staff,” minor figures who participated in the battles of the Wars of the Roses could hide behind their heraldic sign. Several of the devices of “The Battle of Towton” remain unidentified.

armys” of those lords. The ancient heraldic badges on display serve to legitimize the Yorkist lords and establish a long tradition of their leadership in England.

The third chapter of this dissertation identifies the fourth aspect of Yorkist rhetorical practice: Yorkist writers worked to increase the visibility of and emphasize the role of women in England. For Yorkist writers, it was of vital importance to present women as active in and influencers of English history. Yorkist writers show women as patrons, saints, witnesses, mediatrixes, heirs, and rulers. This was a paramount concern for Edward IV whose claim to the English throne could be traced two different ways, which many of the chronicles and genealogies produced by Yorkist writers were quick to point out. First, Edward could trace his ancestry back to Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, Edward III’s second son. This claim was stronger than that of Henry VI who was descended from John of Gaunt, Edward III’s third son. Edward IV’s claim through Lionel, however, relied on women at two points. Lionel’s only issue was his daughter, Philippa, who married Edmund Mortimer. Philippa’s granddaughter, Ann Mortimer, married Richard, Earl of Cambridge. Their son was Richard, Duke of York, the father of Edward IV. Edward IV’s second claim could be traced through Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, the fourth son of Edward III. York’s second son, Richard married Ann Mortimer and was the father of Richard Duke of York, who received the title after Richard’s brother, Edward, 2nd Duke of York, died without issue at Agincourt in 1415. The reliance on women for Edward IV’s stronger claim to the English crown became a touch-point for Yorkist writers. Yorkist chroniclers worked to emphasize the nobility and importance of women as well as their right to pass titles and possessions to their

offspring. As a result of this, Yorkist writers work to emphasize the role of women and to increase their visibility.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation examines the best-known author of the last half of the fifteenth-century, Sir Thomas Malory. Malory's *Morte Darthur* makes use of the highly partisan, second version of Hardyng's Chronicle, and Malory fought on both sides of the Wars of the Roses. Critics, however, have been split on determining whether the *Morte* supports the Lancastrian or the Yorkist cause. Instead of joining this conversation, I take the four elements of Yorkist rhetorical practice identified in the first several chapters and see how closely Malory conforms to these. Malory's text strongly conforms to only two of the elements of Yorkist rhetorical practice. First, the *Morte* highlights the role of women, and it is no exaggeration to argue, as Dorsey Armstrong does, that the Pentecostal Oath and its emphasis on women serves as the "master signifier"³ of the text. Women, in the *Morte*, are crucial to the formation of the Round Table fellowship and necessary for the formation of masculine knightly identity. Second, Malory's text and characters routinely reject and ignore prophecy. Knights instead trust to adventure, God, or their own strength to lead them. From Arthur ignoring Merlin's warning that Guinevere is "nat holsom for hym to take to wyff" (76/25-26; 59/36-37) to the narrator casting aside prophecies of Arthur's return, the *Morte* pushes aside and diminishes the importance of prophecy. The areas in which Malory does not conform to Yorkist practices are in the creation of a political textual network and the use of heraldic badges. There is an interesting network focused on the

³ Armstrong, 29.

character of Sir Gromer which is shared by the *Morte*, *The Turke and Sir Gawain*, and *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnelle*. However, this connection is not political in nature. Heraldic badges, as well, are almost completely absent from the *Morte Darthur*.

The final chapter offers a description of and lays the groundwork for a digital edition of the Middle English portion of the commonplace book found in Trinity College Dublin MS 432. The manuscript is a unique collection of Yorkist poetry from the early 1460s. It contains twenty-two items, all but three of which are unique to TCD MS 432. These include poems celebrating the Battle of Northampton and the Battle of Towton, an acrostic poem in honor of the Earl of Warwick, a poem urging the Yorkist lords to be careful in how they interact with those who may still support Henry VI, and the poem “The Twelve Letters that Saved England.” The work of this dissertation represents the first stage of a multi-step, scaffolded digital project. Currently, the manuscript has been transcribed and marked up in TEI.⁴ Moving forward, the next steps are to ensure the accuracy of the transcription of the Middle English and to create XSLT which can visualize the TEI in multiple formats: a straight transcription of the text and an edited form of the poems. Along with this, more advanced TEI encoding can be performed on the texts and detailed notes prepared for each item in the manuscript.

It is the final aspect of Yorkist rhetorical practice, their tendency to emphasize the role of women, that is the most interesting and worthy of continued study. It is not only the chronicles which work to highlight the importance of women in England.

⁴ The TEI for this project is available in Appendix One.

Yorkist poetry also worked to emphasize women. In the early years of Edward IV's reign, his claim to the English throne through descent in the Mortimer family through females was hotly contested. Lancastrian writers, like John Fortescue, worked to "demolish the York claim by proving the invalidity and impropriety of female rule or transmission of rule."⁵ In response to this type of writing, Yorkist propagandists produced texts which championed women. As discussed above, women in Yorkist chronicles are patrons, saints, witnesses, mediatrixes, heirs, and rulers. Yorkist writers show women rightfully occupying every role in society. This is seen in Yorkist poetry as well. In "The Twelve Letters that Saved England" the poet frames his praise of the Yorkist lords through the explication of the textile work of a woman. The praise for the Yorkists is significantly not the expressed sentiment of the speaker of the poem, but rather the meaning imbued by the woman through her sewing. She is the one praising the four Yorkist lords by sewing twelve letters into a garment. It is the poet who explains and explicates her meaning. Though it may have been in the service of political ends, Yorkist writers championed women and their role in England's history.

This was not a move to empower women, however, as the Yorkist writers were interested in exploring the ways in which an emphasis on female figures empowered men in the political realm. Ultimately, in the chronicles, the female figures are in the service of male figures. In "The Twelve Letters that Saved England," the textile work of the woman is just a frame that introduces the praise of the four major Yorkist lords. It is the familiar rhetorical shell game with a constantly moving finish line. Women are

⁵ Sheila Delany, *Impolitic Bodies: Poetry, Saints, and Society in Fifteenth-Century England, The Work of Osbern Bokenham*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 154.

allowed to have power in Yorkist texts as long as that power is in the service of a male figure. This interest in women and their position within the political processes resonates significantly in our modern time, especially considering the 2016 presidential election in the United States. Many of the critiques of Hillary Clinton focused pointedly on her gender and how it would or would not affect her ability to serve as a political leader. From the fifteenth century to the twenty-first, the role of gender in the rhetorics of politics has changed very little.

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APPENDIX 1

TEI ENCODING OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN MS 432

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        <msItem n="4">King Robert of Sicily</msItem>
        <msItem n="5">The Seven Schools</msItem>
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        <msItem n="7">A Miracle of Our Lady</msItem>
        <msItem n="8">A Story of an Unhappy Boy</msItem>

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<msItem n="9">Carmentis, Kubal Cain, Saturnus</msItem>
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<msItem n="12">The Battle of Northampton</msItem>
<msItem n="13">On the Policy of the Yorkist Lords</msItem>
<msItem n="14">Song to Saints Catherine, Mary, and Margaret</msItem>
<msItem n="15">Warwick (Acrostic)</msItem>
<msItem n="16">The Battle of Towton</msItem>
<msItem n="17">The Twelve Letters that Saved England</msItem>
<msItem n="18">The Christian Kings that Reign Under God</msItem>
<msItem n="19">Abraham and Isaac</msItem>
<msItem n="20">Duodecim Pares Francie</msItem>
<msItem n="21">Hic Sunt Maiores et Balliui de Northampton</msItem>
<msItem n="22">Fragment of a Calendar</msItem>
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<encodingDesc>

<projectDesc>

<p>The purpose of this project is to create an electronic, up-to-date edition of the Middle-English section, particularly of the material associated with the Wars of the Roses, of Trinity College Dublin MS 432</p>

</projectDesc>

<editorialDecl>

<p>This project takes for its initial editorial policy the suggestions offered by the Piers Plowman Electronic Archive (<http://piers.iath.virginia.edu/resources/transcriptionalProtocols.html>) and the Archive of Early Middle English. The ultimate goal is to provide both a diplomatic view of the text, a transcription of the text free from most editorial intervention, as well as a critical edition with a higher degree of editorial work, notes, and references</p>

</editorialDecl>

<tagsDecl>

</tagsDecl>

<profileDesc>

<creation>

<p>The Middle English portion of the manuscript can be dated to the mid-1460s</p>

</creation>

<langUsage>

<language ident="enm">Middle English</language>

<language ident="lat">Latin</language>

</langUsage>

</profileDesc>

</encodingDesc>
</fileDesc>
</teiHeader>
<!-- Trinity College Dublin MS 432; consulted July 10-17, 2015.
Proper and location names:
#bioÆthelred01
#bioÆthelstan01
#bioAbraham01
#bioAlfredtheGreat01
#bioAmery01
#bioArcite01
#bioCarmentis01
#bioCatherine01
#bioCnut01
#bioEadwig01
#bioEdgar01
#bioEdmundI01
#bioEdmundII01
#bioEdwardtheBlackPrince01
#bioEdwardtheConfessor01
#bioEdwardtheElder01
#bioEdwardtheMartyr01
#bioEdwardI01
#bioEdwardII01
#bioEdwardIII01
#bioEdwardIV01
#bioEdwardV01
#bioEmily01
#bioHaroldGodwinson01
#bioHarthacnut01
#bioHenryI01
#bioHenryII01
#bioHenryIII01
#bioHenryIV01
#bioHenryV01
#bioHenryVI01
#bioHenryVII01
#bioHenryVIII01
#bioJohnBeaumont01
#bioJohnofGaunt01
#bioJohnLackland01
#bioJohnTalbot01
#bioJohntheBaptist01
#bioIsaac01

#bioKubalCain01
#bioLucifer01
#bioMargaret01
#bioMary01
#bioPalamon01
#bioRichardDukeofYork01
#bioRichardI01
#bioRichardII01
#bioRichardIII01
#bioRichardNeville01
#bioRichardNevilleEarlofSalisbury01
#bioRobert01
#bioSarah01
#bioSaturn01
#bioStephen01
#bioThomasBecket01
#bioThomasPercy01
#bioThomastheApostle01
#bioWilliamI01
#bioWilliamII01

#locAquitaine01
#locBeauvais01
#locBurgundy01
#locCaen01
#locCaernarfonCastle01
#locCalais01
#locCanterbury01
#locCastile01
#locChalons01
#locChampagne01
#locCheapside01
#locConstantinople01
#locCoventry01
#locCyprus01
#locDenmark01
#locEngland01
#locEssex01
#locFaversham01
#locFlanders01
#locFrance01
#locGermany01
#locGlastonbury01
#locGloucester01

#locHungary01
#locJerusalem01
#locKent01
#locLangres01
#locLaon01
#locLeicester01
#locLondon01
#locMalmesbury01
#locNorthampton01
#locNorthumberland01
#locNottingham01
#locNoyon01
#locNormandy01
#locNorway01
#locPortugal01
#locReading01
#locReims01
#locRome01
#locRouen01
#locSalisbury01
#locSandwich01
#locSaverne01
#locScotland01
#locShaftesbury01
#locSicily01
#locStAlbans01
#locToulouse01
#locTowton01
#locTrent01
#locWales01
#locWestminster01
#locWinchester01
#locWindsor01
#locWindsorCastle01
#locWorcester01

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<text>

<body>

<!-- folio 59r -->

<pb n="59r"/>

<div1>

<!-- Chaucer's Ballad of Steadfastness -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.1"><damage type="tear"/>that de&slong;yre to be
honorable</l><note>A tear in the page obscures the first two words of the first line and

the first word of the second line. Brotanek supplies "Ye lordes" for the first line and "Cherisshe" for the second.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.2"><damage type="tear"/>&slong;&slong;he <gap/> you<hi rend="superscript">r</hi> folk hate exto&rrrot;cion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.3"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>uffer no thing þat may be repuuable</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.4"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o your a&slong;tate<pc>.</pc> whe&loope; ye haue correccion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.5"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>howe fo&rrrot;the your yo&rrrot;de of ca&slong;tigacion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.6"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>rede god<pc>·</pc>do lawe<pc>·</pc>love trowthe & wo&rrrot;þines</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.7"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi><sg/>knyt to<sg/>gydre your peple w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;tedfa&slong;tnes</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.8"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>rouþe is rebuked & re&slong;on is hold but fable</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.9"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o vertu hathe now no dominacion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.10"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>ety is exci&slong;ed<pc>.</pc> no man is me&rrrot;ciable</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.11"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>ho&rrrot;ow coueti&slong;e is blant di&slong;tracion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.12"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e wo&rrrot;ld hathe made a permutacion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.13"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>rom right to wrong<pc>.</pc>from t&rrrot;ouþe to fikelnes</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.14"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>at all is lo&slong;t fo&rrrot;lak of &slong;tedfa&slong;tnes</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.15"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hat cau&slong;ep the wo&rrrot;ld to be &slong;o variable</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.16"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut lu&slong;t þat folk haue in di&slong;cencion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.17"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrrot; now on dayes a man is holde onable</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.18"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut he can com be &slong;um Imaginacion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.19"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o do his neyghbo&rrrot; wrong<pc>.</pc> o&rrrot; oppre&slong;&slong;ion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.20"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hat cau&slong;ep this<pc>.</pc> but &slong;otel dowblenes</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.1.21"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi rend="superscript">t</hi> all is lo&slong;t fo&rrrot;lak of &slong;tedfa&slong;tnes</l>

<!-- Note: section ends with two lines across the width of the page; one red line

followed by one black line -->

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</div1>

<div2>
  <!-- Peace Maketh Plenty -->
  <l xml:id="TCD432.2.1"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>ees maketh plente in
eurych a place</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.2.2"><hi rend="touched-red">&amp;</hi>nd plente makeþ
pride man &slong;o haue I grace</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.2.3"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>ryde makeþ ple
þ&looper; is no mo&rrot;e to &slong;ayne</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.2.4"><hi rend="touched-red">&amp;</hi>nd ple makeþ
pou&looper;te <pc>&middot;</pc> &amp; many feble &slong;wayne</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.2.5"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>ou&looper;te makeþ
pees <pc>&middot;</pc> þ&looper; is be&slong;t to abyde</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.2.6"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or &slong;hal he
neu&looper; þryve <pc>&middot;</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> v&slong;eþ ple
o&rrot; pride</l>
  <!-- Note: section ends with two lines across the width of the page; one red line
followed by one black line -->
</div2>
<!-- folio 59v -->
<pb n="59v"/>
<div3>
  <!-- Palamon and Arcite -->
  <ab type="guideWords" place="supralinear" xml:lang="English"><hi
rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioPalamon01"><hi
rend="touched-red">P</hi>alamon</name></hi></ab>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.3.1"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>his <name
type="person" ref="#bioPalamon01">palamon</name> in his bed lay</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.3.2"><hi rend="touched-red">&amp;</hi> herd <name
type="person" ref="#bioEmily01">emlyn</name> &slong;yng &slong;o dowcetly</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.3.3"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> vnto his broþer he gan &slong;ay</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.3.4"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ar is my
love<gap/>&rrot; my lady</l>
  <ab type="guideWords" place="supralinear" xml:lang="English"><hi
rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEmily01"><hi rend="touched-
red">E</hi>mlyn</name></hi></ab>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.3.5"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>oyng merely in a
garden grene</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.3.6"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>ingyng her&slong;elf
þys lady bright</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.3.7"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>he
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ravi&slong;&slong;hed boþe þe harte I wene</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.8"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f <name type="person" ref="#bioPalamon01">palamon</name> & his brother <name type="person" ref="#bioArcite01">Er&slong;yte</name></l>
 <ab type="guideWords" place="supralinear" xml:lang="English"><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioPalamon01"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>alamon</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.9"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>yr <name type="person" ref="#bioPalamon01">Palamon</name> it is my name</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.10"><hi rend="touched-red"></hi> fo&rrrot; this lady I ber gret blame</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.11"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n pre&slong;on &slong;tronge <name type="person" ref="#bioEmily01">Emlyn</name> I che&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.12"><hi rend="touched-red">V</hi>nto my love & my may&slong;t&rrrot;es</l>
 <ab type="guideWords" place="supralinear" xml:lang="English"><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEmily01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>mlyne</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.13"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi> þou <name type="person" ref="#bioEmily01">emlyne</name> þi fayrenes</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.14"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>rovght <name type="person" ref="#bioPalamon01">palamon</name> & <name type="person" ref="#bioArcite01">Er&slong;yte</name> in gret di&slong;tre&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.15"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n a ga&rrrot;den Whan þou did&slong;t &slong;yng</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.16"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o fre&slong;&slong;hely in a may mo&rrrot;nyng</l>
 <ab type="guideWords" place="supralinear" xml:lang="English"><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioArcite01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>r&slong;yte</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.17"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> <name type="person" ref="#bioArcite01">Er&slong;yte</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> my brother lay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.18"><name type="person" ref="#bioPalamon01"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>alamon</name> who he che&slong;e þis may</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.19"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> had o&rrrot; he of her a &slong;ighte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.3.20"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>fo&rrrot;e I challenge hir be ryhte</l>
 <!-- Note: section ends with two lines accross the width of the page; one black line followed by one red line -->
 </div3>

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<div4>
  <!-- King Robert of Sicily -->
  <!-- folio 60r -->
  <pb n="60r"/>
  <head><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> &slong;tory
of kyng <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Robert</name> of <name
type="loc" ref="#locSicily01">Ce&slong;yle</name></hi></head>
  <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
red">D</hi>octo&rrot;</hi></ab>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.1"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>his riall kyng <name
type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> of <name type="loc"
ref="#locSicily01">ce&slong;ile</name> lond</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.2"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o þe churchē went on
a &slong;eynt <name type="person" ref="#bioJohntheBaptist01">Iones</name>
nyght</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.3"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>s prynce pe&rrot;eles
to here his evyn &slong;ong</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.4"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> a prowde hert a ioly &amp; a light</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.5"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut the goode lo&rrot;d
that is ful of myght</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.6"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>rom þat pride put hym
into pou&looper;te lowe</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.7"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>n&slong;amplē to
all men <pc>&middot;</pc> hem &slong;elf fo&rrot; to knowe</l>
  <ab><langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
red">R</hi>ex</hi></langUsage> <langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="red-
ink">Rex</hi></langUsage></ab>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.8"><langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="touched-
red">D</hi>epo&slong;uit potentes</langUsage> þey in þe quere &slong;onge</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.9"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e kyng wex wroþe
&amp; &slong;eid it was wronge</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.10"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>o&rrot;&slong;hip
to be put downe in ony man&looper; wi&slong;e</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.11"><hi rend="touched-red">&amp;</hi> pou&looper;te
to wo&rrot;&slong;hip by ony mene to ry&slong;e</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.12"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n that grete pride þe
kyng a &slong;lepe fell</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.13"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>od of his goodenes
&slong;ent an aungell</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.14"><hi rend="touched-red">&amp;</hi> all þe peple
þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þere were in &slong;othnes went</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.4.15"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> he had be kyng þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> from hevyn

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was &slong;ent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.16"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>han <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> woke he was nye out of wyt</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.17"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; wraþe whan he wi&slong;t þe church do&rrot;e &slong;hyt</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.18"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e &slong;exten hard hym calle & fa&slong;t þidre hyed</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.19"><name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01"><hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>o&bstrok;t</name> caught hym by þe hed & &slong;eid he &slong;huld abyed</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.20"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>tte þate <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> called <pc>·</pc> lat in youre lo&rrot;d</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.21"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e po&rrot;ter walkeþ in <pc>·</pc> to bere þe king wo&rrot;d</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.22"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þe po&rrot;ters man &slong;triveþ &slong;o fa&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.23"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi rend="superscript">t</hi> he hym hedeling into a podel ca&slong;t</l>
 <!-- folio 60v -->
 <pb n="60v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.24"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>han was <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> In arayed de&slong;pitou&slong;ly</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.25"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>rying I kyng <pc>·</pc> þe aungell &slong;eid fo&rrot; thy</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.26"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>eptur and crowne of golde þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> ha&slong;t lo&rrot;ne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.27"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>s a fole now þ&looper;fo&rrot;e þou &slong;halt be &slong;ho&rrot;ne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.28"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>very nede & hungre þis kyng mo&slong;t nedis dye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.29"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>&rrot; ete his mete w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> houndis<pc>.</pc>& in her knell lye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.30"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>o &slong;irs to you what wrechid pride avayleth</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.31"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>han a man haþe mo&slong;t nede þan þe wo&rrot;lde fayleth</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.32"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o <name type="loc" ref="#locSicily01">ce&slong;ile</name> cam me&slong;&slong;angers from þe em&pbardes;oure</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.33"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>at þe kyng fo&rrot;

his &slong;po&rrot;te & amp; his honoure</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.34"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>huld mete w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> his breþurne at <name type="loc"
 ref="#locRome01">rome</name> all thre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.35"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>ul wele þought
 <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> avengid þere to be</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.36"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he aungel to Rome
 ward rideþ rially</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.37"><name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">R</hi>o&bstrok;t</name> di&slong;gi&slong;ed as a fole renneþ
 by</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.38"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>aying to þe
 em&pbardes;o<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> when he had of hym &slong;ight</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.39"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>roþer þis fals thef
 doþe me gret unright</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.40"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he Em&pbardes;oure
 &slong;myled & amp; þe lo&rrot;dis all</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.41"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>han <name
 type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> fole <pc>·</pc> hym
 broþer gan call</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.42"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las &slong;aid
 <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> þe tyme I was
 bo&rrot;ne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.43"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>y breþurne know me
 not <pc>.</pc> Alas I am but lo&rrot;ne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.44"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he&slong;e
 lo&rrot;d&slong; to gydre gret fe&slong;tis do make</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.45"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o þe aungell
 <pc>.</pc> & amp; all was fo&rrot; <name type="person"
 ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> &slong;ake</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.46"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut <name
 type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> by hym &slong;elf þus
 &slong;o&rrot;owfully wayleþ</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.47"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y cau&slong;e he
 &slong;ethe <pc>·</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> all his purpos
 fayleþ</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.48"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi> fals wo&rrot;ld
 what haue I to þe gylt</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.49"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi> fo&rrot;tune þ<hi
 rend="superscript">u</hi> were my frend <pc>·</pc> whi am I þus
 &slong;pylt</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.50"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow is my
 &slong;o&rrot;ow doubeld þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> eu&looper; I had estate</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.51"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las dethe me þenkeþ

þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> come&slong;t all to late</l>
 <!-- folio 61r -->
 <pb n="61r"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.52"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>han þe&slong;e
 lo&rrot;d&eslong; had &slong;oe&rrot;ned as hem þought goodely</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.53"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>us þei
 de&pbardes;ted <pc>·</pc> & þe aungel lovyngly</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.54"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>oke his leue
 <pc>·</pc> but <name type="person"
 ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> a wooful
 hert</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.55"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>elle in a
 &slong;Wovnyng he might it not a &slong;tert</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.56"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>han þe aungel come
 home a gayne into <name type="loc" ref="#locSicily01">Ce&slong;ile</name></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.57"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> <name
 type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> is fully repentid in þe
 &slong;ame while</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.58"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd neu&looper;
 de&slong;ireþ he to be gretty lo&rrot;de</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.59"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut loweþ his hert
 w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> his aray to co&rrot;de</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.60"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he aungel
 a&slong;keþ <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> anone in
 his halle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.61"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>f þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> he were kyng amonges his men all</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.62"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e &slong;eid he was
 not wo&rrot;þi to haue no degre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.63"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut as a fole o&rrot;
 lower if it might be</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.64"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>herfo&rrot;e þe
 aungel by god&eslong; o&rrot;dinaunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.65"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hen he wi&slong;t
 of <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> þe gret
 repentaunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.66"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e voideþ his
 chambyr of men &slong;aue þeym two</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.67"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ym &slong;elf
 & <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> fole
 <pc>·</pc> þ&looper; lefft not on mo</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.68"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> am an aungel of gret
 renovne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.69"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>ent from hevyn to

kepe þi regiovne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.70"><name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">R</hi>o&bstrok;t</name> felle on kneis & m&looper;cy gan
 to crye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.71"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e aungel voydeþ
 w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> twynkeling of an yie</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.72"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>an <name
 type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> went dovne into his halle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.73"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> told to his
 meynye how it had befalle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.74"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f þe aungel of god
 <pc>.</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> had ben þeire kyng</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.75"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd how he was þe
 fole <pc>.</pc> þei had in &slong;co&rrot;nyng</l>
 <!-- folio 61v -->
 <pb n="61v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.76"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>o here the pope hym
 &slong;elf made a preching</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.77"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f his owne broþer
 <name type="person" ref="#bioRobert01">Ro&bstrok;t</name> þe kyng</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.78"><hi rend="touched-red">V</hi>nto þe pepyl &
 bad þeyme to fle pride</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.4.79"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hich cau&slong;ed
 <name type="person" ref="#bioLucifer01">lucifere</name> from hevyn to helle
 &slong;lyed</l>
 <!-- Note: section ends with two lines accross the width of the page; one black
 line followed by one red line -->
 </div4>
 <div5>
 <!-- The Seven Schools -->
 <head><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he <num
 value="7">vii</num> &slong;coles</hi></head>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">D</hi>octo&rrot;</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.1"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o you beholders
 cowde I &slong;ay mo&rrot; þan þis</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.2"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>e were þei þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> wol not le&looper; wold deme amy&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.3"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>owþte&rrot;yn if ye
 wol be vertuous</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.4"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>aue no tunge
 &slong;harpe ne mowþe lico&rrot;ous</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.5.5"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>e lat not youre yien be
 þe nett&eslong; of youre care</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.6"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; affter
 &rins;yat &slong;one comeþ evyl fare</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.7"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>y childre in þis
 wo&rrot;ld if ye wol be wi&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.8"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>erue ye youre maker
 as &slong;one as ye ry&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.9"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd loue comuyn
 &pbardes;fyte in eu&looper;y place</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.10"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> þan &slong;hal
 ye neu&looper; fayle of godd&eslong; grace</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.11"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>aydons lat
 ab&slong;tinence menge youre de&slong;ire</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.12"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> foule delite &slong;et not youre hert&eslong; on fyre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.13"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>l&slong;o lat
 &slong;empilnes lede you þe daunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.14"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; boldenes
 bryngeþ women offt to my&slong;chaunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.15"><hi rend="touched-red">Y</hi>e that then kyn to be
 wy&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.16"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>le þe &con9;dicion
 þe which ye halde þe gy&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.17"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f þis newe
 wo&rrot;ld þat turned is to bad</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.18"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> tru&slong;t to
 no behest behote no þing on had</l>
 <!-- folio 62r -->
 <pb n="62r"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.19"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>ones lat not Idelnes
 you en&slong;lumre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.20"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>e
 wydne&slong;&slong;e of clothes you accumbre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.21"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>e you&rrot;e louers
 p&looper;&slong;ence put you to flight</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.22"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>ast my&slong;chef
 reward you as it is right</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.23"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>e ware of flaterers if
 ye wol thryve</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.24"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>werers
 exto&rrot;cioners & &rrot;agers be lyve</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.25"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ll þei haue none
 op&looper; &slong;tudy in þeire þought</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.5.26"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut to reve &
 bryng many eyres to nought</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.27"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>aydons be war bad
 coun&slong;el & ydelne&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.28"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; wirking
 voideþ vices as I ge&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.29"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>l&slong;o prayeþ
 god to be youre defencion</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.30"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>ome all vices
 & veyne temptacion</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.31"><hi rend="touched-red">Y</hi>e that be apparent
 yo<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> goodis be dight</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.32"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>tody to
 encre&slong;e and ay to do right</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.33"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>e large and
 gou&looper;ne you by di&slong;crecion</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.5.34"><hi rend="touched-red">& </hi> lat
 &slong;traunge m&ydot;&slong;chef be youre &slong;aluacion</l>
 <!-- Note: section ends with two lines across the width of the page; one red line
 followed by one black line -->

</div5>

<div6>

<!-- A Story of King Palaan -->
 <head><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> &slong; of
 Kyng <name type="person" ref="#bioPalaan01">Palaan</name></hi></head>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">D</hi>octo&rrot;</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.1"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n token þat dethe
 &slong;huld þe lu&slong;t of man refrayne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.2"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y remembrance in
 vayne &pbardes;&slong;&pbardes;ite</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.3"><hi rend="touched-red">& </hi> fo&rrot; no
 yowthe of age &slong;huld haue di&slong;deyne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.4"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>o&rrot; lef to repreve
 a thyng þe which þat he</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.5"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e cau&slong;e ne wote
 ne fo&rrot; no man &slong;huld be</l>
 <!-- folio 62v -->
 <pb n="62v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.6"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o&rrot;rer a
 ga&slong;t of any erthely creature</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.7"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>o&rrot;e þan of

god<pc>.</pc> Lo here &slong;howith the figure</l>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name
 type="person" ref="#bioPalaan01">Palaan</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.8"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>his kyng <name
 type="person" ref="#bioPalaan01">palaam</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> all
 his rialte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.9"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>nowring yerely the
 fe&slong;te of his natyuite</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.10"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>n olde man he
 &slong;awe &slong;toding in his wey</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.11"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e which he
 ky&slong;t remebering hym &slong;elf &slong;huld dey</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.12"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi> hye di&slong;deyne
 had his lo&rrrot;des hym a bowte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.13"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;o lowe to þis begger he gan to lowte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.14"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>at bothe his brother
 & all his cheualry</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.15"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>eide vnto knighthode
 he did gret velany</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.16"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he duke his broþer
 which was his eyre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.17"><hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>e&pbardes;ued hym
 & &slong;eide it was not feyre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.18"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> kyng to lowe&rrrot;
 hym in his mo&slong;te exillance</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.19"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;ocher a
 wreche <pc>·</pc> & breke his owne &slong;entence</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.20"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he lawe was
 v&slong;ed in that regally</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.21"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hat man þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> were dempned <hi rend="superscript">and</hi> &slong;huld
 dye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.22"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>huld haue a
 trum&pbardes;e at his gate I blowe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.23"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> eche wighte fo&rrrot; a dede man myght hym knowe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.24"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>o here þe kyng his
 wrytte to veryfye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.25"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ath charged his
 trompet to blowe eerely</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.26"><hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>ight at the yate of his
 owne brother</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.27"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrrot; þe which he

sorowed &slong;o dyd many other</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.28"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>i&slong;poyled
 fo&rrrot;the the duke went</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.29"><hi rend="touched-red">V</hi>nto þe king to know
 his whole entent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.30"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>is wif
 <pc>·</pc> his children w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;o&rrrot;y
 contynauce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.31"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>raying to the kyng of
 allegeaunce</l>
 <!-- folio 63r -->
 <pb n="63r"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.6.32"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he king to hym
 an&slong;werid in audience</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.33"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>ithe ye to me haue
 done none offence</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.34"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd I a man
 mo&rrrot;talle right as ye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.35"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o&rrrot;e oweþ the
 manas of god dred to be</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.36"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>yke as the
 t&rrrot;umpe &slong;ovondes you to fare</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.37"><hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>ight
 &slong;o<pc>.</pc> dethe &slong;ovnde in myne eare</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.38"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>han þat I se so olde
 a creature</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.39"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f myne a&slong;tate
 I toke but litel care</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.40"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>o here the kyng
 fe&slong;ting his a&slong;tates</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.41"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd be
 en&slong;aumple biddeth hem algates</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.42"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>at fo&rrrot; no pryde
 no&rrrot; veyne pro&slong;perite</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.6.43"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e drede of
 god<pc>.</pc> from her hertis &slong;huld be</l>

</div6>

<!-- folio 63v -->

<pb n="63v"/>

<div7>

<!-- A Miracle of Our Lady -->

<head><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> miracle of
 oure Lady done to &slongbarslash; <name type="person" ref="#bioAmery01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">A</hi>mery knyght</name></hi></head>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">D</hi>octo&rrot;</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.1"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi> glo&rrot;ious quene
 of all floues floure</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.2"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> hert loving<pc>·</pc> replet w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> all goodenes</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.3"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hat art eu&looper;
 redy pi &slongbarslash;uand to &slong;ocoure</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.4"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>ul many a
 &slong;to&rrot; beþth þ&looper; of wytnes</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.5"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f whiche lo on in
 &slong;othe fa&slong;tnes</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.6"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>olowing by
 en&slong;aumple in purtreytüre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.7"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ffermyng pi grace
 helping pi creature</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.8"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> Knyght þat by
 fo&rrot;tuen lo&slong;t had his goode</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.9"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ldi&slong;mayed was
 & in a &slong;tody &slong;tode</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.10"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>nto a wildyrnes
 fo&rrot;the he went</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.11"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;pylle hym
 &sclose;elf was his entent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.12"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>his knyzt which
 fo&rrot;tune rafft had his riche&sclose;</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.13"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>i&slong;peyred
 wa&sclose; and in a wyldernes</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.14"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o be
 re&slong;to&rrot;yd behight his wif þe fende</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.15"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o that he riches
 wolde hym &slong;ende</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.16"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o g&rins;et riches
 a&sclose; he at home had founde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.17"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ad he not half
 <pc>·</pc> no&rrot; &slong;o gan to abounde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.18"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut to his wif of that
 &pbardes;&slong;&pbardes;ite</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.19"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>olde he
 nouzt<pc>·</pc> no&rrot; how þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;old was

&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.20"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he day wa&sclose;
 come <pc>·</pc> his wif he p<hi rend="superscript">r</hi>yed to ryde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.21"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> hym not fe&rins;&rins;e <pc>·</pc> but a litel
 þe&rins;e be &slong;yde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.22"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or which to help
 <pc>·</pc> ou&rins;e lady fa&slong;t &slong;he prayde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.23"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>t al tyme and
 fa&slong;t her deuociouns &slong;ayde</l>
 <!-- folio 64r -->
 <pb n="64r"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.24"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>t a chapel
 &slong;toding in her way</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.25"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>is lady a list &
 devoutly gan prey</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.26"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>u&rins;e lady of
 helpe & fel in &slong;lepe anone</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.27"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n hir liknes ou&rins;e
 lady &rins;ode fo&rrot;te &slong;one</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.28"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o holde his day
 wh&looper;e comen was þ<hi rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi> knyght</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.29"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e fende
 &pbardes;&slong;eyued anone ou&rins;e lady bright</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.30"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e fley away no
 long&rins;e myȝt he tary</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.31"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> &slong;eid
 fla&slong;e knyȝt whi ha&slong;t þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> brought <name
 type="person" ref="#bioMary01">mary</name></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.32"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>han þis knyȝt
 &pbardes;&slong;eyued oure lady fre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.33"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e þankid hi&rrot;
 <pc>·</pc> & hym þo &slong;hewid &slong;he</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.34"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>is wif &slong;leping
 in þe chapel a lone</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.35"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> bad hym voide
 þe fend&eslong; good&eslong; echone</l>
 <ab loc="rightMargin"><hi rend="underlined-red">hc po&slong;tea &pbardes;
 w Wale</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.36"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e knyght fa&slong;t
 to þe chapel gan hye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.37"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> woke his wif
 be con&slong;ell of ou&rins;e lady</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.38"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>raying

hir<pc>·</pc>home w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> hym to wende</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.39"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o avoide þe
 good&eslong; &rins;e&slong;&slong;eived of þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> fende</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.40"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>enyngly home this
 lady went</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.41"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o fulfyller hyr
 lo&rrot;d&eslong; comaundment</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.42"><hi rend="touched-
 red">C</hi>on&slong;ide&rins;ing þe goodnes of o<hi rend="superscript">ur</hi> lady
 b&rins;ight</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.43"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> þei we&rins;e boþe &slong;aued frome þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> wight</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.44"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd þanked hir boþe
 w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> he&rins;t ful &slong;ounde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.45"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> voyded all þe
 good&eslong; from her grounde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.46"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> by miracle of
 o<hi rend="superscript">ur</hi> lady re&slong;to&rrot;ed agayne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.7.47"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f moche mo&rrot;e
 tre&slong;ou&rins;e þan eu&looper; þei &slong;ayne</l>

</div7>

<!-- folio 64v -->

<pb n="64v"/>

<div8>

<!-- A Story of an Unhappy Boy -->

<head><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>

&slong;to&rrot;y of an onhappy boye</hi></head>

<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-

red">D</hi>octo&rrot;</hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.8.1"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>ho so can rede may
 telle be mowthe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.8.2"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ere is a
 &slong;to&rrot;y þat off is previd</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.8.3"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; fawte of
 cha&slong;te&slong;ing of children in yowthe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.8.4"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>ul many are
 lo&slong;t & foule my&slong;chevid</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.8.5"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>here fo&rrot;e this
 &slong;to&rrot;y here is mevid</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.8.6"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y a childe not
 no&rrot;i&slong;&slong;hed in v&looper;tu & grace</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.8.7"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>au&slong;ed gret
 my&slong;chef w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> In litel &slong;pace</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.8"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>here may ye &slong;e
 this yonge page</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.9"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>e tyem to
 &slong;hrewdnes can begynne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.10"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e &slong;crattes his
 modre in the vi&slong;age</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.11"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;uffer hym
 &slong;he dothe grete &slong;yne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.12"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ere &slong;huld this
 yonge &slong;hrewwe go to &slong;cole</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.13"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f Wit &
 manhode to be taughte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.14"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut evyn a
 pu&rrrot;pos as <hi rend="superscript">a</hi> fole</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.15"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e draweþ a bak
 & lovith at naughte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.16"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ere þis cur&slong;ed
 boy doþe gret &slong;yne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.17"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o do &slong;hrewdly
 he hyeth ful fa&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.18"><hi rend="touched-red">V</hi>ndre þe
 ho&rrrot;&slong;e tayle he putteþ a brynne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.19"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o cau&slong;e þe
 woman downe be ca&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.20"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ere haþe this
 &slong;hrewwe grete &slong;pyte & &slong;co&rrrot;ne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.21"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f a p&loopre;ching
 that he&rrrot;e is &slong;ette</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.22"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n myddde þe
 &slong;ermone he bloweþ his ho&rrrot;ne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.23"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e wo&rrrot;des of god
 to trouble and lette</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.24"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ere þe knaue haþe no
 drede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.8.25"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>han þe pre&slong;te
 vp þe o&slong;te doþe liffte</l>
 <!-- this poem seems incomplete; the red-ink bracketing of rhymes continues off
 the bottom of the page similar to 67r, but the rhyme and poem is not continued -->

</div8>

<!-- folio 65r -->

```

<pb n="65r"/>
<div9>
  <!-- Carmentis, Kubal Cain, Saturnus -->
  <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioCarmentis01"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>armentys</name></hi></ab>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.1"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>o <name
type="person" ref="#bioCarmentis01">karmentis</name> þis lady that ye &slong;e</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.2"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>onde fur&slong;t þe
letture of oure
<pc>&middot;</pc>a<pc>&middot;</pc>b<pc>&middot;</pc>c<pc>&middot;</pc></l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.3"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; which engyne
I put her in memo&rrot;ye</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.4"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>a wo&rrot;thy to be
rekynde in &slong;to&rrot;y</l>
  <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioKubalCain01"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ubal
Cayme</name></hi></ab>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.5"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>o <name
type="person" ref="#bioKubalCain01"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ubal
cayme</name> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> fur&slong;t fonde arte of
&slong;onge</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.6"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y &slong;oundyng of
hamo&rrot;s as þei ronge</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.7"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>herefo&rrot;e he was
by þe olde opynyoun</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.8"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>ader of &slong;onge
made by &pbardes;po&rrot;cion</l>
  <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioSaturn01"><hi
rend="touched-red">S</hi>aturnus</name></hi></ab>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.9"><name type="person" ref="#bioSaturn01"><hi
rend="touched-red">S</hi>atu&rrot;nus</name> was þe fur&slong; man</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.10"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> to Gre o&rrot; &slong;owe in Italy began</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.11"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd fo&rrot; his tylthe
was &slong;o &slong;Wete</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.9.12"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e haþe þe name of a
&slong;tronge planete</l>
  <!-- Note: section ends with two lines accross the width of the page; one black
line followed by one red line -->
</div9>

<div10>
  <!-- A Lamentation of Our Lady for Swearing -->

```


<head><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> Lamentacion
 of o<hi rend="superscript">ur</hi> lady fo&rrrot; &slong;weryng</hi></head>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.1"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las my childe how
 haue ye dighte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.2"><hi rend="touched-red">y</hi>e cu&rrrot;&slong;ed
 &slong;werere all by dene</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.3"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>is lymes are rent here
 in my &slong;ighte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.4"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las my mone how
 may I mene</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.5"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las my
 mo&rrrot;nyng is come a geyne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.6"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;e my
 chylde di&slong;membryd newe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.7"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> cur&slong;ed othes in certeyne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.8"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las on hem how
 &slong;huld I rewe</l>
 <!-- folio 65v -->
 <pb n="65v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.9"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>t dome&slong;day it
 is ful trewe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.10"><hi rend="touched-red">p</hi>e cur&slong;ed
 &slong;Werers <hi rend="strikethrough">I</hi> wol c&rrrot;y and &slong;ay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.11"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> helpe now the
 modre of ihe&slong;us</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.12"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>ha I frome hem
 &slong;hal turne away</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.13"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrrot; but you
 leve your cu&rrrot;&slong;ed lo&rrrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.14"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f othes
 &slong;Wering that is v&slong;ed</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.15"><hi rend="touched-red">y</hi>e &slong;hal be
 dampned fo&rrrot; eu&looper; mo&rrrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.16"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd frome all
 heuynly blys refu&slong;ed</l>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red">a <hi rend="touched-
 red">T</hi>ap&slong;ter</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.17"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrrot;
 godd&eslong; fote holde fo&rrrot; pis is thvs</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.18"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrrot; of on potte
 ye haue ou&looper; rekynd me</l>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">y</hi>omen</hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.10.19"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y godd&eslong;
 &slong;aluacion it is not &slong;o</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.20"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;halt þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> wete o&rrot; we
 go</l>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">d</hi>i&slong;epleyers</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.21"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>lay on þi ca&slong;t
 Why &slong;itte&slong;t þou &slong;o longe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.22"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or by godd&eslong;
 yen þou do&slong;te me Wronge</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.23"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y godd&eslong;
 body man com then&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.24"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd lat vs rekyn
 fo&rrot; oure expen&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.25"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y godd&eslong;
 fle&slong;&slong;he & his blode</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.26"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ou þrowe&slong;t
 þe di&slong;e as þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> art wode</l>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">S</hi>heters</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.27"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y godd&eslong;
 &slong;ydes ye be to blame</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.28"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hus longe to tary vs
 frome oure game</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.29"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ome þens fo&rrot;
 godd&eslong; woundes fyve</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.30"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; I wol go
 &slong;hete &slong;o mot I thryve</l>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">m</hi>archaundys</hi></ab>
 ?<l xml:id="TCD432.10.31"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> holde þe <hi
 rend="superscript">a</hi> noble þre wais to wyne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.32"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd be þe trinite I
 wol be gynne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.33"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y godd&eslong;
 hert þ&looper;to I holde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.34"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd þou wolt lay
 <pc>·</pc><num value="10">x</num><pc>·</pc> li of golde</l>
 <!-- folio 66r -->
 <pb n="66r"/>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>eny&slong;e
 pleyers</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.35"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y godd&eslong;

dethe þe chace was there</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.36"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd on a boke I dar it
 &slong;were</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.37"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ou lye&slong;t
 ho&rrot;e&slong;on by goddys face</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.38"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>als fo&rrot;
 &slong;wo&rrot;ne thef þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> was not þe chace</l>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">ff</hi>yghters</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.39"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y goddis nayles
 w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> the wol I fyght</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.40"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ough I &slong;huld
 to helle anone right</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.41"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y godd&eslong;
 pa&slong;&slong;ion lou&slong;y ho&rrot;e&slong;on</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.42"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n a bettre tyme
 mighte&slong;t þou neu&looper; come</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.43"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>ut hel&pbardes;s
 fo&rrot; godd&eslong; bones</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.44"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e&slong;e
 harlatt&eslong; fighten all at ones</l>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e paynes &
 &slong;o&rrot;ewes of þe&slong;e swerers</hi></ab>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red">be fo&rrot;e vertew<pc>.</pc> w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> here lamentacons</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.45"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; gret oþes
 fals me&slong;uris &pyde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.46"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>is fend peynefully
 on me doþe ryde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.47"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; I
 &slong;Wo&rrot;e by gode&slong; &slong;aluacion</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.48"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> am put to a
 la&slong;ting dampnacion</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.49"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;Were by
 godd&eslong; yen was my delite</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.50"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 haue I þis foule de&slong;pyte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.51"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y godd&eslong;
 body I &slong;Wo&rrot;e eu&looper; in Ire</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.52"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e I
 &slong;ko&rrot;chen &pyde in fyre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.53"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;Were by
 godd&eslong; fle&slong;&slong;h ou&looper; was I pre&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.54"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e

on þis peyneful plate am I ke&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.55"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot;
 &slong;Wering by godd&eslong; &slong;ides þ<hi rend="superscript">es</hi> payns
 haue I</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.56"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 ye &slong;Werers beWarre here by</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.57"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>e
 &slong;Wo&rrot;e by þe wound&eslong; of god almight</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.58"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 to þ<hi rend="superscript">es</hi> peyns fo&rrot;eu&looper; be we dight</l>
 <!-- folio 66v -->
 <pb n="66v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.59"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>ure othe it was be
 the trinite</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.60"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las ful
 fal&slong;ely eu&looper; &slong;Wo&rrot;en we</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.61"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>ele away ful late it
 is to crye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.62"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 be we dampned w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>out mercye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.63"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y the hert of god I
 &slong;Wo&rrot;e in vayne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.64"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e I
 &slong;uffer þis grevous payns</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.65"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> fal&slong;e
 fo&rrot;&slong;Wo&rrot;ne io&rrot;oure I was</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.66"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o kepe me frome
 boke I had no grace</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.67"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;Were be
 godd&eslong; face was myne entent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.68"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 þis peyne endles to me is &slong;ent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.69"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y þe nayles of god
 myne othe it was</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.70"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 am i payned w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> lede and bra&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.71"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o rounde &
 talke in churche v&slong;ed I</l>
 ?<l xml:id="TCD432.10.72"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd eu&looper; in
 chur&slong;e tyme to &slong;hewe my &slong;hap</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.73"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 ye getters be war here by</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.10.74"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; I am
 dampned none op&looper; was myne hap</l>

```

    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.75"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong; Wer be
godd&eslong; bones wold I not &slong;pa&rrot;e</l>
    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.76"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o cur&slong;id be
þe tyme my modre me ba&rrot;e</l>
    <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
red">D</hi>octo&rrot;</hi></ab>
    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.77"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>his
&slong;to&rrot;y in mynde &con9;&slong;eyueþ wa&slong;&slong;e</l>
    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.78"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f grevaus paynes
o&rrot;dend fo&rrot; wuked offence</l>
    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.79"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>ikel wo&rrot;s þan
man can þenk o&rrot; telle</l>
    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.80"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>e cau&slong;e þei
&slong;hul lo&slong;e gode&slong; owne p&looper;&slong;ence</l>
    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.81"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> brym&slong;tone & &slong;tyнке not
&slong;avo&rrot;ing as &slong;ence</l>
    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.82"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>&rrot;dend to þe
cur&slong;ed be god fo&rrot; her hyre</l>
    <l xml:id="TCD432.10.83"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>aying
<pc>&middot;</pc> goþe cur&slong;ed into eu&looper; la&slong;ting fyre</l>
    <trailer><hi rend="red-ink"><langUsage xml:id="lat">Hec que coluerut
dedi&slong;ti &slong;uma to&rrot;menta<pc>./</pc><hi rend="underlined-
red">Sapi<hi
rend="superscript">e</hi><pc>&middot;</pc></hi></langUsage></hi></trailer><!--
hec que coluerunt dedisti summa tormenta. sapientie -->
    <!-- Note: section ends with one red line accross the width of the page -->
</div10>

<div11>
    <!-- For the Crampe -->
    <head>ffo&rrot; þe crampe</head>
    <l
xml:id="TCD432.11.1">Baranixa<pc>.</pc>batty<pc>.</pc>baun<pc>.</pc>Gut<pc>.
</pc>Gut<pc>.</pc>hanny</l>
</div11>

<!-- folio 67r -->
<pb n="67r"/>
<div12>
    <!-- The Battle of Northampton -->
    <note>On 26 June 1460, Edward, Warwick, and Salisbury returned to England
from Calais. They were joined by a number of Yorkist sympathizers and began
marching towards London. When they arrived, the city was opened to the Yorkist army.

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Salisbury remained in London to besiege Thomas de Scales and his supporters, who held the Tower. Edward and Warwick left the city to seek Henry VI at Northampton. The actual battle took place on 10 July 1460 and was a decisive Yorkist victory: Henry VI was captured while many of York's enemies, including the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Beaumont, and Lord Egremont, were killed. Henry was brought back to London, and shortly after, the Tower's defenders surrendered.

The poem recounts not only the events of the Battle of Northampton but also the result of the siege at the Tower of London which was not resolved until 19 July 1460. The poem also ends with a prayer for the safe return of Richard into England. The poem, therefore, was written between 19 July and 8 or 9 September 1460.

</note>

<fw type="guideWords" place="topcenter" xml:lang="English">On the battle of
<name type="loc" ref="#locNorthampton01">Northampton</name><note>Title added
in pencil in a later hand</note></fw>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.1"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f all mennys
di&slong;po&slong;icion naturall</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.2"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>hili&slong;ophrys
wryten in eu&looper;y place,</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.3"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hat affter the bodyes
cele&slong;tiall</l><note>3. This line is similar to line 2 of "Ballad Set upon the Gates
of Canterbury": "The celestialle influence of bodyes transitory."</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.4"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he Erthely body his
wirkyng ha&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.5"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>ome tyme
di&slong;po&slong;id it is to &slong;olace</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.6"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>om tyme the contrary
to hevayne&slong;&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.7"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd &slong;om tyme
by en&slong;peciall grace</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.8"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o&rrrot;ow is turned
into gladne&slong;&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.9"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd en&slong;aumple
here of I take Witne&slong;&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.10"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f certeyn
&pbardes;&slong;ones þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> late exiled Were</l><note>10.

Following the Lancastrian victory at the Battle of Ludford, 12 October 1459, Richard Duke of York fled to Ireland, while Edward, Warwick, and Salisbury fled across the channel to Calais.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.11"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hos
&slong;o&rrrot;ow is turned into ioyfulne&slong;&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.12"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e ro&slong;e þe
fetyrlok<pc>·</pc> þe egle & þe bere</l><note>12. rose] Richard, Duke
of York.

fetyrlok] Edward Earl of March, later Edward IV.

egle] Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.
 bere] Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.13"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>ret gmes in Ingland
 &slong;um tyme þ&looper; Were</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.14"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n
 hauking<pc>.</pc> hunting & fi&slong;&slong;hing in eu&looper;y place</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.15"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>monge lo&rrot;des
 w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;helde & &slong;pere</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.16"><hi rend="touched-
 red">P</hi>ro&slong;&pbardes;ite in reme þan reignyng wa&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.17"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>here of god of his
 &slong;peciall grace</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.18"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>eryng þe peple
 crying fo&rrot; mercye</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.19"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>on&slong;idering
 þe fal&slong;ehode in eu&looper;y place</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.20"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>aue infleweinz of
 myrþe into bodyes on hye</l><note>20. infleweinz of myrþe into bodyes on hye]
 Once again, this poem links thematically to the beginning of the Canterbury
 ballad.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.21"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he which in a
 berward lighted preulye</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.22"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardIV01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">E</hi>dWard</name> yong of age di&slong;po&slong;ed in
 &slong;olace</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.23"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n hauking &
 huntyng to begynne meryly</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.24"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o <name type="loc"
 ref="#locNorthampton01">Northampton</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þe
 bere he toke his trace</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.25"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow &slong;hal ye
 here a m&looper;uelous ca&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.26"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>llonly
 þo&rrot;ough gode ovne &pbardes;uy&slong;ion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.27"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e berward & þe
 bere þei did þe dogg&slong; chace</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.28"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd put þeyme to
 flight to gret confucioun</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.29"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>us a gayne all
 natu&rrot;all di&slong;po&slong;icioun</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.30"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;e a bere to
 &slong;eke his owne game</l>

<!-- folio 67v -->

<pb n="67v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.31"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut if it were of
 goddis mocioun</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.32"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>at he &slong;huld
 do þe dogg&slong; &slong;hame</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.33"><name type="person" ref="#bioJohnTalbot01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">T</hi>albot</name> ontrewē was þe oon dogg&slong;
 name</l><note>33. Talbot] John Talbot, 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury.</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.34"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>auling <name
 type="person" ref="#bioJohnBeaumont01">beWmond</name> anodre I
 vnder&slong;tonde</l><note>34. bewmond] John Beaumont, Viscount
 Beaumont.</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.35"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e thrid al&slong;o
 was made ful tame</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.36"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e was called bolde
 <name type="person" ref="#bioThomasPercy01">egremonde</name></l><note>36.
 egremonde] Thomas Percy, Earl of Egremont.</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.37"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>he þe bereWard
 come to þe grunde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.38"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>Where he
 cha&slong;ed the for&slong;aid lee&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.39"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>monge all oþer a
 buk he founde</l><note>39. buk] Humphrey Stafford, Duke of
 Buckingham.</note><note>39-40. Brotanek links these lines to Sir Gawain and the
 Green Knight line 1154, "Thay let the herttes haf the gate, with the hyghe hedes"
 (Brotanek 125).</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.40"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi> which was hye
 & fat of gree&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.41"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e co&rror;iaiges
 berward put hym ferre in pree&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.42"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o þe hunt oure
 Kyng he hyed hym ful fa&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.43"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he bere for all þe
 dogges wold not &slong;ee&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.44"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut hyed hym
 &slong;one afftre &slong;Wyffty in ha&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.45"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he dogges barked at
 hem ful fa&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.46"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e buk &slong;et vp
 his ho&rror;nes on hye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.47"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e berward þei cryed
 þei wold downe ca&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.48"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he bere al&slong;o
 if that he come nye</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.49"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he bereward
 a&slong;ked no que&slong;tion why</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.50"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut on þe dogges he
 &slong;et full rounde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.51"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e bere made the
 dogges to cry</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.52"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> his pawme ca&slong;t peyme to grounde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.53"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he game was done
 in a litel &slong;tounde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.54"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e buk was
 &slong;layne & amp; bo&rrot;ne away</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.55"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>gayne þe
 bere<pc>·</pc> þan was none hounde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.56"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut he might
 &slong;po&rrot;te and take his play</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.57"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut þe hunt <hi
 rend="strikethrough">&slong;a</hi> he &slong;aued from harm þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> day</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.58"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e þou3t
 neu&looper; oþer in all his mynde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.59"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e lowted downe
 & amp; at his fote lay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.60"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n token to hym that
 he was kynde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.61"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he bereward
 al&slong;o þe hunt&slong; frende</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.62"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>ell downe on kne
 &slong;aying w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> obedience</l>
 <!-- folio 68r -->
 <pb n="68r"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.63"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>ou&looper;eigne
 lo&rrot;d thenk vs not vnkynde</l><note>63f. The speech that appears here is
 similar in theme to that which appears in the Davies Chronicle. Following their victory
 at Northampton, the chronicle has Edward and Warwick greet the king with the
 following speech:

Most noble prince, dysplease yow nat, though it haue pleased God of His grace
 to graunt vs the vycory of oure mortall enemyes, the whyche by theyre venymous
 malyce haue vntrewly stered and moued youre hyghnesse to exyle vs oute of youre
 londe, and wolde vs haue put to fynall shame and confusyone. We come nat to that
 entent forto inquyete ne greue your sayde hyghnesse, but forto please your moste noble
 personne, desiryng most tendrely the hygh welfare and prosperyte thereof, and of all
 youre reame, and forto be youre trew lyegemen, whyle oure lyfes shall endure. (91.12-
 20)

</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.64"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>o&rrot; take ye this
 in none offence</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.65"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>e haue
 de&slong;ired to com to yo<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> pre&slong;ence</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.66"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o oure
 excu&slong;e we myght not an&slong;Were</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.67"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ll þing&slong;
 Were hyd from yo<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> audience</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.68"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>here fo&rrot;e we
 fled a way fo&rrot; fere</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.69"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he hunt &slong;eid
 þo I wol you here</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.70"><hi rend="touched-red">Y</hi>e be right welcom
 bothe to me</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.71"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ll way I pray you to
 &slong;tond me nere</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.72"><hi rend="touched-red">Y</hi>e be my frendis I
 may wele &slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.73"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>tond vp berward
 welcom be ye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.74"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>am&looper;cy of
 you gentyl game</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.75"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>rom you &
 yo<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> bere I wol neuer fle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.76"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>ellipe me now what
 is yo<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> name</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.77"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardIV01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">E</hi>dward</name> of march I am þe &slong;ame</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.78"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>rewe to god and
 youre highne&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.79"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e gentyl bere
 &slong;eid w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>outen blame</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.80"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>haue be put in gret
 hevyne&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.81"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he hunt
 an&slong;Werid w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> gret mekene&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.82"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e dogg&slong;
 wrought a gayne all kynde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.83"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ei labo&rrot;ed to
 bryng me in di&slong;tre&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.84"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> was þeire
 may&slong;ter & &slong;peciall frende</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.85"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he buk ran

befo&rrot;e þe dogg&slong; be hynde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.86"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> folowed affter I
 wi&slong;t neu&looper; why</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.87"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n no place game
 kowde I fynde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.88"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e buk and þe
 dogg&slong; playde by & by</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.89"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> gentyll dogge wol
 naturally</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.90"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>is may&slong;ter
 love & dred al&slong;o</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.91"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>is kyndly game if
 he may a &slong;py</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.92"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>rom hym belyve he
 wol be goo</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.93"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he&slong;e curre
 dogg&slong; befo&rrot;e dyd not &slong;o</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.94"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e buk and þey
 played para&slong;ent</l>
 <!-- folio 68v -->
 <pb n="68v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.95"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hey lapped a wey
 the fatte me fro</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.96"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>e to
 my&slong;cheue was þeire entent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.97"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd neuer to me þei
 wold con&slong;ent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.98"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e which called you
 eu&looper; treyto<hi rend="superscript">r</hi>s vntrewe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.99"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>yl now þe trewe
 comynerys of <name type="loc" ref="#locKent01">kent</name></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.100"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>e comyn w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> you fal&slong;ehed to de&slong;trewe</l><note>100.
 falsehed to destrewe] This is another link to “The Ballad Set upon the Gates of
 Canterbury.” That ballad announces, “Tempus ys come falshede to dystroy”
 (49).</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.101"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd truþe long
 exiled<pc>·</pc> now to renewe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.102"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>eynt <name
 type="person" ref="#bioThomastheApostle01">thomas</name> I þanke in all yo<hi
 rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> right</l><note>102. right] Brotanek amends this
 to “sight.”</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.103"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> gided you þis day<pc>·</pc> & &slong;hewid

to be trewe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.104"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o fewe men
&slong;layne in &slong;o gret a fight</l><note>104. So fewe men slayne] The
battle was over quickly and had relatively few casualties, but it was devastating for the
Lancastrian high command. According to the Davies Chronicle, Edward and Warwick
ordered “that no man shuld laye hande vpon the kyng ne on the commune people, but
only on the lordes, knyghtes, and squyers” (90.40-91.1).</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.105"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>t was þe werk of
god almight</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.106"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f
manne&slong;&slong;e power it might not be</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.107"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>ram&looper;cy
favcon of þi fayre flight</l><note>107. favcon] William Neville, Lord
Fauconberg.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.108"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e bird from þe
ne&slong;t he made to fle</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.109"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o <name
type="loc" ref="#locLondon01">london</name> now þat fayre cyte</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.110"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e hunt was brought
ful reu&looper;ently</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.111"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e berward þe bere
þe fawcoun fre</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.112"><hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>ode a bouzt hym
full ioyefully</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.113"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>ho&rrot;ow þat
cyte right opynly</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.114"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e hunt rode w<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> gret gladne&slong;&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.115"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e pepil
reioy&slong;ed inwardly</l><note>115. The Davies Chronicle describes the
celebration of the London citizenry following the battle, “For the whyche vycory
London yaf to Almyghty God grete lawde and thankyng” (91.24-25).</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.116"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd þanked god of
his goodene&slong;&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.117"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hat he likeþ with
lu&slong;tyne&slong;&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.118"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o endewe þe hunt
oure noble kyng</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.119"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd to remeve his
heuyne&slong;&slong;e</l><note>119. heuynesse] Brotanek and Robbins suggest
that this “heuynesse” is a reference to the fits of madness which Henry VI suffered
(Brotanek 127; Robbins 373).</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.120"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hich to his regall
is no þyng con&slong;ervyng</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.121"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he egle from
 <name type="loc" ref="#locLondon01">London</name> Was neu&looper;
 removing</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.122"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut hovid &
 wayted vpon his pray</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.123"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ll his delite was
 eu&looper; in fi&slong;&slong;hing</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.124"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>
 fi&slong;&slong;he were clo&slong;ed in pytt&slong; al way</l><note>124. fisse]
 Thomas de Scales. The Davies Chronicle gives the names of the various Lancastrian
 lords who defended the Tower. Foremost, the chronicle lists Scales and Hungerford:
 and meny other grete men with theym, whos names both here vndrewretyn:
 Lord Vessy, Lord Louell, Lord Delaware, Lord Kendale a Gascoyn, Ser Edmond
 Hapden knyght, Thomas Broun knyght, shireve of Kent, Iohn Bruyn of Kent, Ser
 Geruays Clyfton knyght, tresorer of the kyngis hows, Ser Thomas Tyrell knyght, the
 Duchesse of Exetre, and many other. (89.37-90.1)

</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.125"><hi rend="touched-red">Y</hi>it at þe la&slong;
 vpon a day</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.126"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e
 fi&slong;&slong;he drewe nere vnto þe bayte</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.127"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ede haþe no lawe
 þ<hi rend="superscript">s</hi> all men &slong;ay</l><note>127. This is a colloquial
 saying which appears in Passus 20 of Piers Plowman: "And nede ne hath no lawe, ne
 nevere shal falle in dette" (20.10).</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.128"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e egle þ&looper;to
 eu&looper; layde goode wayte</l>

<!-- folio 69r -->

<pb n="69r"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.129"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;kape a
 way it was ful &slong;trayte</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.130"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e egyls birdes lay
 &slong;o þeyme a bowte</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.131"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>u&looper;
 beholding þe falce di&slong;&slong;ayte</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.132"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ow from þeyme
 all þei wold gon oute</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.133"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e egle lizted
 &made hem to loute</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.134"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e
 fi&slong;&slong;he was feynte &slong; litell of might</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.135"><hi rend="touched-red">Y</hi>it
 <pc>.</pc><num value="4">iij</num><pc>.</pc> there were boþe gret &
 &slong;toute</l><note>135. Thomas de Scales and three supporters attempted to flee

the Tower at night by boat. London boatmen recognized him, however, and a group fell upon him and killed him and the men assisting him.

pe which he toke all at a flight

All þei had &slong;caped vpon a nyght

Saue þeire &slong;kales were plucked away

pa had þe fi&slong;&slong;h lo&slong;t all here might

And litel ioy in watyr to play

Now god **p**^{superscript} made&slong;t both nyght & day

Bryng home þe may&slong;t&looper; of þis game

142. Bryng home] During this battle, Richard, Duke of York, was in Ireland. He did not return to Englan duntill 8 or 9 September 1460.

142. mayster of þis game] Woodcock writes, “A contemporary poem recounts the battle using an extended hunting conceit that alludes back to The Master of Game (c. 1406-1413), a treatise translated by York’s father” (506). This is not entirely correct, as the manual was translated by Edward, the Second Duke of York, not Richard’s father, Richard Earl of Cambridge. Brotanek describes the book thus, “Eduard, der zweite Herzog von York, hatte um 1410 ein französisches Jagdbuch übersetzt und mit Zutaten versehen unter dem Titel The Master of Game [Edward, the second Duke of York, had translated a French hunting book around 1410 ... under the title The Master of Game]” and goes on to suggest that if this is an allusion to The Master of Game it would have been quite agreeable to Richard (127).

pe duke of yo&rrrot;ke fo&rrrot; hym we pray

p^{superscript} noble prynce **Richard** be name

Whom tre&slong;on ne fal&slong;hod neu&looper; dyd &slong;hame

But eu&looper; obedient to his &slong;ou&looper;eigne

ffal&slong;ehod eu&looper; mo&rrrot;e put hym in blame

&lay awayte hym to haue &slong;leigne

If god be w^{superscript} vs Who is vs agayne

149. Romans 8:31, “Quid ergo dicemus ad haec? Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? [What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who is against us?]”

<l xml:id="TCD432.12.150"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e is &slong;o
 nowe ble&slong;&slong;ed mot he be</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.151"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f þis fo&rot;tune
 all men may be fayne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.152"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> right hape now his fre entree</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.153"><hi rend="touched-
 red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id be god in trinite</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.154"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>adir & &slong;on & &slong;te</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.155"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hich kepith his
 &slong;barslash;uaunt&slong; in adu&looper;&slong;ite</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.156"><hi rend="touched-red">& &slong; wold not
 &slong;uffre þeyme to be lo&slong;te</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.157"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>s þ<hi
 rend="superscript">u</hi> art lo&rot;d of might&slong; mo&slong;te</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.158"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>aue þe kyng
 & &slong; his ryalte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.159"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd illumyn hym
 w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þe holy go&slong;te</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.12.160"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>is reme to
 &slong;et in pfyte charite</l>
 <trailer place="rightMargin"><hi rend="h2 red-ink">Amen</hi></trailer>
 </div12>

<!-- folio 69v -->

<pb n="69v"/>

<div13>

<!-- On the Policy of the Yorkist Lords -->

<note>This poem takes the form of a general exhortation to the Yorkist lords to be careful of their enemies. The poem is intentionally vague, as the author is evidently concerned for their own safety: “Miche is in my mynde, no more in in my penne, / For þis shuld I be shent, might som men it kenne” (43-44). For this reason, it is difficult to date the poem precisely. It is easy to establish the latter limits of the poem’s composition. The “stafford knottis” belong to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who died at the Battle of Northampton 10 July 1460. This would exclude Madden’s first suggestion for a date of November 1460, following the Act of Accord which recognized Richard, Duke of York, as the heir to Henry VI. Madden also suggests 1455 and period of influence which the Yorkists enjoyed following their victory at the First Battle of St. Albans (340). Brotanek, on the other hand, suggests a possible date between 1457 and 1458 when it seemed that the Yorkist and Lancastrian leaders were reconciled (129-131).

</note>

<fw type="guideWords" place="topcenter" xml:lang="">On the policy to be

observed by the Yorkists<note>Title added in a later hand in pencil</note></fw>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.1"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>wake lo&rrrot;des
awake &slong; take goode hede</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.2"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or som þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;peke ful fayre<pc>·</pc> þei wolde yo<hi
rend="superscript">&rrrot;</hi> evil &slong;pede</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.3"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ou3 þei pere in yo<hi
rend="superscript">&rrrot;</hi> pre&slong;ence w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> a fayre
face</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.4"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd he&rrrot; tunge
chaunged<pc>·</pc> þe hert is as it was</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.5"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ei &slong;eyne in
þeire a&slong;&slong;emble<pc>·</pc> it is a wondre thyng</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.6"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;e þe
Ro&slong;e in wyntre &slong;o fre&slong;&slong;h fo&rrrot; to
&slong;pryng</l><note>6. Rose] The white rose was a symbol and badge used by
Richard, Duke of York. It was also used by York's son, Edward IV, who was known as
the "Rose of Rouen."</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.7"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd many barked atte
bere<pc>·</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> now be ful
&slong;tylle</l><note>7. bere] Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. Robbins notes
that there was an attempt by Somerset and Shrewsbury to kill Warwick near the end of
1456.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.8"><hi rend="touched-red">3</hi>it þei wol hym
wyrre<pc>·</pc> if þei might haue he&rrrot; wylle</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.9"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut of yo<hi
rend="superscript">&rrrot;</hi> fewe fomen no thing þat ye drede</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.10"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or þe comyns ben
yours<pc>·</pc> eu&looper; at you&rrrot;e nede</l><note>10. comyns] This
is similar to "The Battle of Northampton" which assures the Yorkists that "þe trewe
comynerys of kent" support their cause (99).</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.11"><hi rend="touched-red">3</hi>it a &slong;eege
wold be &slong;et<pc>·</pc> þe falte to take &slong; holde</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.12"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrrot; oon
&slong;cabbed shepe<pc>·</pc> may enfecte al a folde</l><note>12.

scabbed shepe] A colloquial saying.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.13"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>ru&slong;t not to
moche in the fauo<hi rend="superscript">&rrrot;</hi> of youre foos</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.14"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or þei be double in
wyrking as þe wo&rrrot;lde gos</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.15"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>romy&slong;ing
faithfully abei&slong;aunce to kepe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.16"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut pfitte loue in þeire
he&rrrot;tis is leyde for to &slong;lepe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.17"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd þou3 þei were þe
ro&slong;e<pc>·</pc> o&rrot; þe ragged &slong;taffe</l><note>17.
ragged staffe] The bear and the ragged staff are a cognizance of
Warwick.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.18"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ei &rrot;ought
neu&looper; how &slong;one in feiþe<pc>·</pc> þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> 3e &slong;tarffe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.19"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or fyre &
wat&looper; to gider in kyndeling be brought</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.20"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>t
pa&slong;&slong;eþ mannes powe&rrot; be god þat me bought</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.21"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>o&rrot; two
fa&slong;es in a hode is neu&looper; to try&slong;t</l><note>21. two faces] Cf.
Lydgate's "Ballade per Antiphrasim," "Vndir your hood is but oo contenance, /
Excludid is from you al doublnesse" (1-2).</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.22"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>eþ wele war be
fo&rrot;e & þenk of had I wy&slong;t</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.23"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or þei hopen &
tri&slong;ten to here of a day</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.24"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;e þe
ro&slong;e & þe lioun brought to a bay</l><note>24. lion] This could be a
reference to two historical persons. John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk whose symbol was
a lion. The lion was also one of the symbols of Edward IV, and on the Rous Roll he is
accompanied by a lion.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.25"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> þe egel & þe bere<pc>·</pc> þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> wo&rrot;þi be in fight</l><note>25. egel] Richard
Neville, Earl of Salisbury.

bere] Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.26"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>rom þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> info&rrot;tune p&looper;&slong;erue you god almight</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.27"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd lat not youre
&slong;auegardes be to libe&rrot;alle</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.28"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o yo<hi
rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> foos þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> be turning
eu&looper; as a balle</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.29"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd &slong;iþe
fo&rrot;tune haþe &slong;et you<pc>·</pc> hye on hir whele</l><note>29.

wheel] British Library MS Harley 7353 includes an illustration of Edward IV on
Fortune's wheel, flanked by his brothers, Richard and George, and representatives from
the clergy.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.13.30"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd in youre comyns
love<pc>·</pc> loveþ <hi rend="superscript"><hi rend="red-

ink">ye</hi></hi> he as wele</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.31"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; many þat
 were þe chayne on hir &slong;leve</l><note>31-33. chain, ragged bottis] The
 chain was an element of Warwick's badge, the bear chained to the ragged staff. "bottis"
 here seves as a synonym for "staff" and is another reference to Warwick.</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.32"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>old ful fayne youre
 lyves be &rrot;eve</l>
 <!-- folio 70r -->
 <pb n="70r"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.33"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd &slong;om þat
 were þe ragged bottis</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.34"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ad leve&rrot; were
 þe &slong;taffo&rrot;d knottis</l><note>34. stafford knottis] Insignia of
 Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.35"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut what þei mene no
 man it wottis</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.36"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e I
 counsel<pc>·</pc> e&slong;c<hi rend="superscript"><hi rend="red-
 ink">h</hi></hi>ewe þeire lottis</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.37"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o telle you
 mo&rrot;e it is no nede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.38"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>y coun&slong;el
 goode 3it take goode hede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.39"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; a
 cri&slong;tmas ge&slong;tenyng as cle&rrot;kis rede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.40"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>t on &slong;et
 &slong;tevyn is quyt in dede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.41"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>he&rrot;fo&rrot;e I
 coun&slong;el you &slong;empely as I can</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.42"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f youre
 di&slong;po&slong;icion telliþ not eu&looper;y man</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.43"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>iche is in my
 mynde<pc>·</pc> no mo&rrot;e is in my penne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.44"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>or þis &slong;huld I
 be &slong;hent<pc>·</pc> might &slong;om men it kenne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.45"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut pray we al to god
 þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> died on a &slong;pere</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.46"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &slong;aue þe
 ro&slong;e<pc>·</pc> þe lyon<pc>·</pc> þe
 egle<pc>·</pc> & þe be&rrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.47"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> al oþe&rrot; lordes<pc>·</pc> trewe to youre
 a&slong;&slong;ent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.13.48"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>er &slong;held be

eu&looper; god omnipotent</l>
 <trailer><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="red-ink">Amen</hi></hi></trailer>

</div13>

<div14>
 <!-- Song to the Saints Catherine, Mary, and Margaret -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.1"><hi rend="h2 touched-red">B</hi>e&slong;echyn
 benygnely eu&looper;y creature</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.2"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hat
 p&looper;&slong;ent ben & amp; affterward &slong;hal</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.3"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ccept &slong;oche as
 ye fynde to yo<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> ple&slong;ure</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.4"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>rely offerd w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> hert wylle and all</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.5"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n
 wo&rrot;&slong;hip of <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioCatherine01">kateryne</name></hi> þ<hi rend="superscript">s</hi> mayden
 fre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.6"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>aciently þat ye haue
 it in mynde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.7"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f what
 wo&rrot;&slong;ip ye be o&rrot; what degre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.8"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o be &con9;tent
 w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;oche as ye fynde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.9"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; no&rrot;ture
 wol & amp; al&slong;o ientylne&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.10"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he diate not replete
 on a po&rrot;e bo&rrot;de</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.11"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n
 wo&rrot;&slong;hip of <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioMary01">mary</name></hi> of hevyn þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi>
 em&pbardes;e&slong;&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.12"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>en&slong;ke ye the
 fe&slong;t w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi><pc>·</pc>wille<pc>·</pc>hert & amp;
 wo&rrot;de</l>
 <!-- folio 70v -->
 <pb n="70v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.13"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; myrthe
 hone&slong;tly v&slong;ed gladeþ þe company</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.14.14"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ontent w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> litel and me&slong;urably replet</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.14.15"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>herfo&rrot;e bep
mery I pray you he&rrot;tly</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.14.16"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd
ble&slong;&slong;e you all þis mayde <name type="person"
ref="#bioMargaret01">margaret</name></l>

<!-- Note: section ends with two lines accross the width of the page; one black
line followed by one red line -->

</div14>

<div15>

<!-- Warwick (Acrostic) -->

<head><hi rend="red-ink"><name type="person"
ref="#bioRichardNeville01">Warwyk</name></hi></head>

<l xml:id="TCD432.15.1"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><pc>.</pc>
Wi&slong;dome mon&slong;trat<pc>.</pc>et aduentus<pc>.</pc><hi rend="touched-
red">A</hi><pc>.</pc> bene con&slong;tat</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.15.2"><hi rend="touched-
red">R</hi><pc>.</pc>rightwi&slong;nes legi<pc>.</pc><hi rend="touched-
red">W</hi><pc>.</pc>willing pro&slong;pera regi</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.15.3"><hi rend="touched-
red">I</hi><pc>.</pc>Iu&slong;t antiqui<pc>.</pc><hi rend="touched-
red">K</hi><pc>.</pc>Kynd e&slong;t hic et vbiq3</l>

</div15>

<div16>

<!-- Battle of Towton -->

<note>The Battle of Towton took place on 29 March 1461 and was one the
largest battle in the Wars of the Roses and ended the period of heavy military activity
between 1459 and 1461. Following the death of Richard, Duke of York, at the Battle of
Wakefield on 30 December 1461, Margaret of Anjou's army began marching towards
London. Edward at this point was riding west to prevent Lancastrian forces led by
Owen Tudor from joining the larger Lancastrian army. Edward defeated the Welsh
army at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross on 2 February 1461 and returned to London. It
was at this battle that Edward's army witnessed the parhelion, three suns appearing in
the sky, and Edward adopted the sun in splendor as one of his heraldic insignias
following his victory. Warwick, on the other hand, was not as successful. He
encountered the Lancastrian army north of London at St. Albans on 17 February 1461
and was routed. This resulted in the Lancastrian army recovering Henry VI. London
was leaning towards the Yorkist faction at this time and fearing Margaret's northern
army, the city was closed. At this point, the Lancastrian army stalled. This gave time
for Edward to be proclaimed king of England on 4 March.

At the end of the month, Edward and Warwick's combined army marched
north to encounter Margaret and Henry VI. The two armies encountered one another at

the Battle of Towton on 29 March 1461. The battle was the bloodiest of the Wars of the Roses. It was a long-fought battle that took place in a driving snowstorm. Thanks to reinforcements late in the day from the Duke of Norfolk, the Yorkist army was triumphant. The battle resulted in the death of many Lancastrian lords and Henry VI and Margaret fleeing the country. Shakespeare includes this battle in 3 Henry VI Act 2 Scene 5, where a son mourns his murder of his own father, and a father poignantly discovers that he has killed his own son:

Thou that so stoutly hath resisted me,
 Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold;
 For I have bought it with an hundred blows.
 But let me see: is this our foeman's face?
 Ah, no, no, no, it is mine only son! (2.5.79-83)

Edward returned to London and was formally crowned on 28 June 1461. The poem references the crowning of Edward (72-77) so must have been written soon after June 1461. It is also possible that the author of the poem witnessed the battle firsthand: “þei met vs in þe feld” (64).

</note>

<fw type="guideWords" place="supralinear" xml:lang="English">On the battle of <name type="loc" ref="#locTowton01">Towton</name><note>Title added in pencil in a later hand</note></fw>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.1"><hi rend="h2 red-ink">N</hi><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>w is the ro&slong;e of <name type="loc" ref="#locRouen01">Rone</name> growen to a gret honoure</l><note>1. rose of Rone] Edward used the white rose as one of his heraldic badges. He was born in Roen on 28 April 1442.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.2"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he&rrot;fo&rrot;e&slong;yng we eu&looper;yhone I ble&slong;&slong;id be that floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.3"><hi rend="red-ink">I</hi> <hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>arne you eu&looper;yhone for &slong;huld vnde&rrot;&slong;tonde</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.4"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>here &slong;prange a ro&slong;e in <name type="loc" ref="#locRouen01">rone</name> & &slong;prad into <name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">englonde</name></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.5"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e þat moned ou&rrot;e mone þo&rrot;ough þe g<hi rend="superscript">ra</hi>ce of godd&slong;&slong;onde</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.6"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hat ro&slong;e&slong;tonte alone þe chef flo<hi rend="superscript">r</hi> of this londe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.7"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> ble&slong;&slong;id be the tyme that eu&looper; god &slong;prad that floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.8"><hi rend="red-ink">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id be þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> ro&slong;e ryall that is &slong;o fre&slong;&slong;h of hewe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.9"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>lmighty ihesu ble&slong;&slong;e that &slong;oule<pc>·</pc> þ<hi

^t þe &slong;ede &slong;ewe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.10"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd
 ble&slong;&slong;id be þe gardeyn þ&looper; the ro&slong;e grewe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.11"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ri&slong;t&slong;
 ble&slong;&slong;yng haue þei all<pc>·</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>
 to þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> ro&slong;e be trewe<pc>.</pc></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.12"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd
 ble&slong;&slong;id be þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> tyme þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> eu&looper; god &slong;prad þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>
 floure</l>
 <!-- folio 71r -->
 <pb n="71r"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.13"><hi rend="red-ink">B</hi>e twix Cri&slong;tmas
 & candelmas a litel before þe lent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.14"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ll þe lordes of þe
 no&rror;the þei wrouzt by oon a&slong;&slong;ent</l><note>14. Much of Margaret of
 Anjou's army in this campaign came from northern England and Scotland. Part of their
 payment was the promise of pillage from the south. Cf. Davies Chronicle, "the quene
 with her counsel had graunted and yeue leve to the northurmen forto spoyle and robbe
 the sayde cyte, and also the townes" (98.36-38).</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.15"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rror; to
 &slong;troy þe &slong;owth cuntre þei did all hur entent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.16"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ad not þe
 ro&slong;e <hi rend="strikethrough">be</hi> of <name type="loc"
 ref="#locRouen01">Rone</name> be al <name type="loc"
 ref="#locEngland01">englond</name> had be &slong;hent</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.17"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>
 ble&slong;&slong;id be þe tyme<pc>·</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>
 eu&looper; god &slong;prad þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> floure</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.18"><hi rend="red-ink">U</hi>pon a &slong;hrof
 tue&slong;day<pc>·</pc> on a grene leede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.19"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>e twix <name
 type="loc" ref="#locSandwich01">sandricche</name> & <name type="loc"
 ref="#locStAlbans01">&slong;aynt Albons</name> many man gan blede</l><note>19-
 20. The Second Battle of St. Albans was fought on Shrove Tuesday, 17 February
 1461.</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.20"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>n an
 a&slong;wedyn&slong;day we levid in mykel dred</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.21"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>han cam þe
 ro&slong;e of <name type="loc" ref="#locRouen01">Rone</name> downe & halp
 vs at oure nede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.16.22"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id
 be þe tyme þat eu&looper; god &slong;p&rror;ad þ<hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>
 floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.23"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e no&ro;pen men made hir bo&slong;t whan þei had done þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> dede</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.24"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>e wol dwelle in þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> &slong;outhe cuntrey & take al þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> we nede</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.25"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he&slong;e wifes & hur doughte&ro;s<pc>·</pc> oure p<hi rend="superscript">ur</hi>po&slong;e &slong;hul þei &slong;pede</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.26"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>han &slong;eid þe ro&slong;e of <name type="loc" ref="#locRouen01">Rone</name> nay<pc>·</pc> þ<hi rend="touched-red">t</hi> werk &slong;hal I fo&ro;bede</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.27"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id be þe tyme þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> eu&looper; god &slong;prad þat floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.28"><hi rend="red-ink">F</hi>o&ro; to &slong;ae al <name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">england</name> þe ro&slong;e did his entent</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.29"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi rend="superscript">t</hi> <name type="loc" ref="#locCalais01">Calys</name> & w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> leue <name type="loc" ref="#locLondon01">london</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> <name type="loc" ref="#locEssex01">E&slong;&slong;ex</name> & w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> <name type="loc" ref="#locKent01">Kent</name></l>

<note>29-30. Calais, Essex, Kent, and the south of England traditionally supported the Yorkist lords. See “The Battle of Northampton” and “Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury.”</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.30"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd al þe &slong;outh of <name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">england</name> vnto þe watyr of <name type="loc" ref="#locTrent01">trent</name></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.31"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd whan he &slong;aw þe tyme be&slong;t<pc>·</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> ro&slong;e from <name type="loc" ref="#locLondon01">london</name> went</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.32"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id be þe tyme<pc>·</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> eu&looper; god &slong;prad þat floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.33"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>he wey into þe no&ro;the cuntre þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> ro&slong;e ful fa&slong;t he &slong;ought</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.34"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi rend="superscript">t</hi> hym went þe ragged &slong;taf þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> many men dere bought</l><note>34. ragged staff] Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.35"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o þan did þe white

lyon ful wo^rthely he wrought</l><note>35. white lyon] John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. The white lion was also used by Edward IV.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.36"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>Imighti ihesu
ble&slong;&slong;e his &slong;oule þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þo armes
ought</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.37"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd
ble&slong;&slong;id be þe tyme<pc>·</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>
eu&looper; god &slong;prad þat floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.38"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he
fi&slong;&slong;he hoke cam into þe felde w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> ful egre
mode</l><note>38. fische hoke] William Neville, Lord Fauconberg. These and the
following identifications come from Brotanek (145-150) and Robbins (376-378).</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.39">So did þe co^rny&slong;&slong;h
chowghe<pc>·</pc> & brouzt fo^rthe all hir brode</l><note>39.
cornysse chowghe] John, Lord Scrope of Bolton.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.40">þ<looper; was þe blak ragged &slong;taf þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> is boþe trewe & goode</l><note>40. blak ragged
staf] Edmund, Lord Grey de Ruthyn.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.41">þe brideld ho^r&slong;e þe watyr
bouge<pc>·</pc> by þe ho^r&slong;e &slong;tode</l><note>41.
brideld horse] William, Earl of Arundel.

watyr bouge] Henry, Viscount Bouchier.

</note>

<!-- folio 71v -->

<pb n="71v"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.42"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id
be þe tyme þat eu&looper; god &slong;pred that floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.43"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>he grehound & þe
hert&slong; hede þei quyt hem wele þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> day</l><note>43.
grehound] Robbins gives Sir John Mauleverer. Brotanek notes that the
greyhound is a crest of the Mauleverer family and suggests William Maleverer or his
sons Robert and William.

herts hede] Thomas, Lord Stanley.

</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.44"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o did þe harow of
<name type="loc"
ref="#locCanterbury01">caunt&looper;bury</name><pc>·</pc> &
clynton w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> his kay</l><note>44. harow of
caunterbury] The city of Canterbury.

clynton wit his kay] Brotanek and Robbins identify this as John, Lord Clinton,
who joined the Yorkists in 1459 and was attained, but note that he bore a mullet not a
key.

</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.45"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e white &slong;hip

of bry&slong;tow he fe&rrot;y d not þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> fray</l><note>45.
white ship of brystow] The city of Bristol.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.46"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e blak ram of
<name type="loc" ref="#locCoventry01">Couentre</name> he &slong;aid not ons
nay</l><note>46. blak ram of Couentre] The city of Coventry. The arms of
Coventry are now an elephant.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.47"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id
be þe tyme þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> eu&looper; god &slong;prad þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.48"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>he fawcon & þe
fetherlok<pc>.</pc> was þ&looper; that tyde</l><note>48.fawcon] The falcon is one of
the cognizances used by the House of York and was likely carried by one of Edward's
companies.

fetherlok] Brotanek suggests Sir Robert Botyl, Prior of the Hospital of St. John
who also fought on the Yorkist side at Northampton. Robbins, on the other hand, notes
that the fetterlock, like the falcon, was one of the badges used by the House of York.

</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.49"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e blak bulle
al&slong;o hym &slong;elf he wold not hyde</l><note>49.blak bulle] The black bull
was another badge used by Edward IV, this one in reference to his descent from the
house of Clare. Madden notes that this banner was carried in the Battle of Towton by
one Ralph Vestynden, for which he received an annuity of £10 yearly.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.50"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e dolfyn cam from
<name type="loc" ref="#locWales01">Walys</name> <pc>.</pc><num
value="3">iij</num><pc>.</pc> carpis be his &slong;yde</l><note>50. dolfyn] The
dolphin and the three carps remain unidentified. Brotanek quotes Thomas Moules
Heralrdy of Fish noting that there is no suitable arms which would fit the context of the
Battle of Towton. Robbins suggests Sir James Pykryng whose badge was the
pike.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.51"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he prowde libert of
<name type="loc" ref="#locSalisbury01">Sale&slong;bury</name><pc>·</pc> he gapid his
gomes wide</l><note>51. libert of Salesbury] Richard Neville, son of Richard
Neville, Earl of Salisbury.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.52"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id
be þe tyme that eu&looper; god &slong;pred that floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.53"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>he wolf cam fro <name
type="loc" ref="#locWorcester01">Wo&rrot;etre</name> ful &slong;ore he pou3t to
byte</l><note>53. wolf] The wolf remains unidentified. Perhaps the city of
Worcester.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.54"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e dragon cam fro
<name type="loc" ref="#locGloucester01">Glowce&slong;tre</name> he bent his tayle
to &slong;myte</l><note>54. dragon] Unidentified in Brotanek. Robbins
describes this as another Yorkist badge via the Earldom of Ulster and suggests that it

was used by the Gloucester contingent of Edward's army.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.55"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he griffen cam fro
<name type="loc" ref="#locLeicester01">leyce&slong;tre</name> fle yng in as
tyte</l><note>55. griffen] John Neville, Lord Montagu, the younger brother of
Warwick who had lands in Leicestershire. This could also be the city of Leicester whose
arms carried a wyvern which might be mistaken for a griffin.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.56"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he geo&rrot;ge cam
fro <name type="loc" ref="#locNottingham01">Not yngh<hi
rend="superscript">a</hi>m</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;pere
fo&rrot; to fyte</l><note>56. The george] Perhaps from the town of Nottingham.
Robbins suggests Richard, Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III. Robbins notes that
following that Battle of Bosworth, Henry VII offered two standards, presumably
captured from Richard, a figure of St. George and a Dun Cow.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.57"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id
be þe tyme that eu&looper; god &slong;pred þat floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.58"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>he bo&rrot;is hede fro
<name type="loc" ref="#locWindsor01">Wynde&slong;over</name> w<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> tu&slong;&slong;hes &slong;harp & kene</l><note>58.
boris hede] Richard, Duke of Gloucester.</note><note>58-62. The rhyme
scheme of this stanza differs from the regular form in the poem. Except for the first two
lines and this stanza, the poem follows a regular aaaab pattern. This stanza interrupts
this with a aabbc pattern.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.59"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e e&slong;trich
fede&rrot; was in þe felde þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> many men myzt
sene</l><note>59. estrich feder] An insignia of the Plantagenets and badge of
Edward IV. It was also used at the Second Battle of St. Albans.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.60"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he wild kat fro
<name type="loc" ref="#locNorthampton01">no&rrot;h<hi
rend="superscript">a</hi>mpton</name> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> hu&rrot;
brode no&slong;e</l><note>60. wild kat] The City of Northampton.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.61"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper; Was many
a fayre pynon wayting vpon þe ro&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.62"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id
be þe tyme þat eu&looper; god &slong;pred that floure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.63"><hi rend="red-nik">T</hi>he no&rrot;þen party
made hem &slong;trong w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;pere & w<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;held</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.16.64"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>n
palme&slong;onday affte&rrot; þe none þei met vs in þe feld</l><note>64f.
palmesunday] The Battle of Towton took place on Palm Sunday. Henry VI spent
much of the day in prayer and refused to ready his army for battle, believing that it was a
day for prayer, not for fighting, and that God would bless their army if they did not fight
that day (Simons 66-67).

met vs in þe feld] This could indicate that the author of this poem was a

witness or participant in the battle. This could be proven wrong by the next line that insists the battle was over within an hour. By all contemporary accounts the battle lasted all day. The short time frame given could also be Yorkist hyperbole.

</note>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.65"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> in an owre þei were right fayne to fle & eke to yeld</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.66"><num value="27000"><hi rend="touched-
red">x</hi>xvij<pc>·</pc> thou&slong;and</num> þe ro&slong;e kyld in þe
feld</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.67"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id
be þe tyme that eu&looper; god &slong;pred þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> floure</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.68"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>he ro&slong;e wan þe
victo&rrot;ye þe feld & al&slong;o þe chace</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.69"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow may þe
hou&slong;bond in þe &slong;outh dwell in his owne place</l>
<!-- folio 72r -->
<pb n="72r"/>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.70"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>is wif & eke
his faire doughtre & al þe goode he has</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.71"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>oche menys hap the
ro&slong;e made by vertu & by grace</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.72"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>le&slong;&slong;id
be þe tyme þat eu&looper; god &slong;prad þat floure</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.73"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>he ro&slong;e cam to
leue <name type="loc" ref="#locLondon01">london</name> ful ryally rydyng</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.74"><num value="2"><hi rend="touched-
red">i</hi>j</num><pc>·</pc> erchbi&slong;&slong;hops of <name
type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">englond</name> þei crowned þe ro&slong;e
kyng</l><note>74. Edward, Earl of March, was crowned Edward IV on 28 June
1461.</note>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.75"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>lmighti ihesu
&slong;ave þe ro&slong;e and geue hym his ble&slong;&slong;yng</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.76"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd al þe reime of
<name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">englond</name> ioy of his crownyng</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.16.77"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> we may ble&slong;&slong;e þe tyme þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> eu&looper; god &slong;prad þe floure</l>
<trailer><hi rend="red-ink">Amen p<hi rend="superscript">ar</hi>
charite</hi></trailer>

</div16>

<div17>

<!-- The Twelve Letters that Saved England -->

<note>This is a poem of general praise for the Yorkist leaders, both past and present. It celebrates the men who made Edward's rise to the throne possible. The poet imagines twelve letters which are divided between the four Yorkist lords and identify their name, title, and arms in the following fashion:

Edward (29-32), Earl of March (33-36), fetterlock (45-48).

Richard (21-24), Duke of York (21-24; 25-28), rose (49-52).

Richard (21-24), Earl of Salisbury (21-24; 37-40), eagle (53-56).

Richard (21-24), Earl of Warwick (21-24; 41-44), ragged staff (57-60).

The oddities of the poem, referencing both York and Salisbury who died at the Battle of Wakefield, 30 December 1460, in the present tense while describing Edward as "kyng most ryall" (67) and saying that he "He rideþ and ruleth with ryall reputacion" (48), have caused difficulties for scholars trying date the poem. Madden, the first scholar to print the poem, argues that the poem was most likely written in the propaganda mills of Calais before the Yorkist invasion of 1460 and writes that an appropriate date for the poem is May 1460 (330). On the other hand, G.E. Adams suggests the death of Warwick in 1471 as the terminus for the possible dating of the poem (Brotanek 167). Brotanek and Robbins fit between these two extremes. Brotanek argues that the poem would necessarily have to be written after "The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury" because of the quotations from that ballad and before Warwick switched sides beginning in 1467 (167-168). Brotanek ultimately suggests a date of around July 1461, shortly after Edward IV's coronation on 28 June 1461. Robbins is more conservative, writing that the poem can only be dated to the period between Edward's coronation, June 1461, and Warwick's defection in 1467 (379).

</note>

<fw type="guideWords" place="supralinear" xml:lang="English">On the Yorkist Lords<note>Title added in pencil in a later hand</note></fw>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.1"><hi rend="red-ink">Y</hi><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>rly be þe mo&rror;owe in a &slong;ome&rror; tyde</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.2"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> &slong;aw in a &slong;trete in <name type="loc" ref="#locLondon01">london</name> as I went</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.3"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> gentyl woman &slong;ittyng in <name type="loc" ref="#locCheapside01">chepe &slong;yde</name></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.4"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>yt wirkyng vpon a ve&slong;timent</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.5"><hi rend="red-ink">S</hi>he &slong;et <num value="12">xij</num><pc>·</pc> lette&rror;is in order on a rowe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.6"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi rend="superscript">t</hi> I might right wele vnde&rror;&slong;tande</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.7"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>o&rror;ought þe grace of god it &slong;hal be knowe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.8"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e&slong;e <pc>·</pc><num value="12">xij</num> lette&rror;s &slong;hal &slong;aue all <name type="loc" ref="#bioEngland01">Inglande</name></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.9"><hi rend="red-ink">A</hi> litel while if þat ye wol
 dwelle</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.10"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>nd yeue audience all
 vnto me</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.11"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hat lette&rrot;s þei
 were I &slong;hal you telle</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.12"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ei were drawn out
 of þe <pc>·</pc>ab<pc>·</pc>c<pc>·</pc></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.13"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>here was an
 <pc>·</pc>V<pc>·</pc> and thre<pc>·</pc> arr&eslong; to
 gydre in a &slong;ute</l><note>13-16. The twelve letters given here are: V, R, R,
 R, ʒ, E, R, E, M, S, R, and F. Lambeth gives: R, W, E, E, F, M, ʒ, and S.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.14"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> lette&rrot;s oþer of which I &slong;hal
 rehe&rrot;&slong;e</l>

<!-- folio 72v -->

<pb n="72v"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.15"><hi rend="touched-
 red">ʒ</hi><pc>·</pc><hi rend="touched-
 red">E</hi><pc>·</pc><hi rend="touched-
 red">R</hi><pc>·</pc><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi><pc>·</pc>
 written affte&rrot; brute</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.16"><hi rend="touched-
 red">M</hi><pc>·</pc><hi rend="touched-
 red">S</hi><pc>·</pc><hi rend="touched-
 red">R</hi><pc>·</pc>&<hi rend="touched-
 red">ff</hi><pc>·</pc> now haue I þeyme expre&slong;&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.17"><hi rend="red-ink">S</hi>tyl as I &slong;tode
 w<hi rend="touched-red">t</hi> in a litel &slong;e&slong;oun</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.18"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> con&slong;trued
 þe&slong;e lette&rrot;s<pc>·</pc> þens o&rrot; I went</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.19"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd as I
 con&slong;eyued be my &slong;emple re&slong;oun</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.20"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> &slong;hal telle you
 what þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> woman ment</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.21"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>he arris for thre Richard
 þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> be of noble fames</l><note>21. thre Richard]
 Richard, Duke of York; Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; Richard Neville, Earl of
 Warwick. York and Salisbury were killed at the Battle of Wakefield on 30 December
 1460.</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.22"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> for þe rizt of <name type="loc"
 ref="#locEngland01">englon</name> haue &slong;uffred moche wo</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.23"><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"

ref="#bioRichardDukeofYork01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">Y</hi>ork</name></hi><pc> · </pc><hi rend="underlined-red"><name
 type="person" ref="#bioRichardNevilleEarlofSalisbury01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">S</hi>ale&slong;bury</name></hi><pc> · </pc>&<hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioRichardNeville01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">W</hi>arwik</name></hi> þe&slong;e be þ<hi
 rend="superscript">e</hi> lo&rrot;ds names</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.24"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>at all <name
 type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">englond</name> is be holden to</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.25"><hi rend="red-ink">3</hi> for <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioRichardDukeofYork01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">3</hi>ork</name></hi> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> is manly
 & my3tful</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.26"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> be grace of god & gret reuelacion</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.27"><hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>eynyng w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> rules re&slong;onable & rightfull</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.28"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e which for oure
 &slong;akes haþe &slong;uffred vexacion</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.29"><hi rend="red-ink">E</hi> fo&rrot; <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardIV01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">E</hi>dward</name></hi> whos fame þe erþe &slong;hal
 &slong;prede</l><note>29-32. This stanza is omitted in Lambeth and is a
 quotation from "The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury" lines 65-69:
 Edward Erle of Marche, whos fame the erthe shalle sprede,
 Richard Erle of Salisbury named prudence,
 Wythe that noble knyghte and floure of manhode
 Richard erle of Warrewyk sheelde of oure defence,
 Also lytelle Fauconbrege, a knyghte of grete reuerence
 </note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.30"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>e cau&slong;e of
 his wi&slong;dom named prudence</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.31"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>hal &slong;aue all
 <name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">englond</name> by his manly hede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.32"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>herfo&rrot;e we
 owe to do hym reuerence</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.33"><hi rend="red-ink">M</hi> for <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardIV01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">m</hi>arce</name></hi> trewe in eu&looper;y tryall</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.34"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>rawn by
 di&slong;crecion þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> wo&rrot;thy & wi&slong;e is</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.35"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>on&slong;eived in
 wedlock & comyn of blode ryall</l><note>35. This line represents one of
 the common complaints that appear in Yorkist literature: the supposed illegitimacy of

Henry VI's son. Edward IV is set up in opposition to the heir of Henry VI. This same concern appears in the Davies Chronicle. Of Margaret of Anjou and her son, the chronicler writes, "The quene was defamed and desclaunders that he that was called prince was nat hir sone but a bastard gotten in avoutry" (78.25-26).</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.36"><hi rend="touched-red">J</hi>oynng vnto vertu
excludyng all vi&slong;es</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.37"><hi rend="red-ink">S</hi> for <hi
rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioRichardNevilleEarlofSalisbury01"><hi rend="touched-
red">S</hi>alesbury</name></hi> w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> out any
que&slong;tion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.38"><hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>iall in his reynng
& wi&slong;e in eu&looper;y ca&slong;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.39"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e bryngeth many
mate&rrot;s to goode &con9;clu&slong;ion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.40"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>alled for his
wi&slong;dom pater familias</l>

<!-- folio 73r -->

<pb n="73r"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.41"><hi rend="red-ink">W</hi> fo&rrot; <hi
rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioRichardNeville01"><hi
rend="touched-red">W</hi>arwik</name></hi> goode w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>
&slong;held & op&looper; defence</l><note>41. sheld and oper defence] This
line is similar to line 68 of "The Ballad Set upon the Gates of Canterbury," "Richard erle
of Warrewyk sheelde of oure defence."</note>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.42"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e bolde&slong;t
vnde&rrot; bane&rrot; in batell to a byde</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.43"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; þe right of
englonde he doþe his diligence</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.44"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>oþe be londe
& watyr god be his gyde</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.45"><hi rend="red-ink">F</hi> fo&rrot; þe <hi
rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>eturlok</hi> þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> is of gret &slong;ub&slong;taunce</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.46"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>at haþe mevid many
wate&rrot;s þo&rrot;ow his mediacion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.47"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n englonde & in
walys in &slong;cotlonde & in fraunce</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.48"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e rideþ &
ruleth with ryall reputacion</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.49"><hi rend="red-ink">R</hi> for þe <hi
rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">r</hi>o&slong;e</hi> þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> fre&slong;&slong;h is in eu&looper;y &slong;tede</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.50"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>oþe þe rote &

þe &slong;talke ben gret of honoure</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.51">ffro <name type="loc" ref="#locNorway01">no&rrot;way</name> to <name type="loc" ref="#locNormandy01">no&rrot;mandi</name> þeire powe&rrot; wol &slong;prede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.52">ffrom ryland to e&slong;tland men ioy of þat flower</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.53"><hi rend="red-ink">E</hi> for þe <hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">e</hi>gle</hi> þat gret wo&rrot;&slong;hip hape wonne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.54"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>o&rrot;ow &slong;predyng of his wyng&slong; þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> neu&looper; dyd fle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.55"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper; was neu&looper; byrde þat bred vndre &slong;onne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.56"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>o&rrot;e fo&rrot;tunat in felde þan þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> birde hathe be</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.57"><hi rend="red-ink">R</hi> for þe <hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">r</hi>agged</hi> &slong;taf þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> noman may &slong;kapen</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.58"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>rom <name type="loc" ref="#locScotland01">&slong;cotland</name> to <name type="loc" ref="#locCalais01">cales</name> þere of men &slong;tond in awe</l><note>58. cales] Warwick served as Captain of Calais in 1455, and it was were he, Edward, and Salisbury spent their exile from 1459 to 1460.</note>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.59"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n al cri&slong;ten landes is none &slong;o felle a wepen</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.60"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o co&rrot;recte &slong;oche caytiff&slong; as do a gayne þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> lawe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.61"><hi rend="red-ink">N</hi>ow haue I declarede þe&slong;e <pc>·</pc><num value="12">xij</num><pc>·</pc> lette&rrot;s aco&rrot;dyng</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.62"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o þeire &con9;dicions where þei ryde o&rrot; gone</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.63"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ou3 þei be di&slong;&slong;evered þe olde from þe yinge</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.64"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>eire entent & purpos co&rrot;den all in oone</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.65"><hi rend="red-ink">T</hi>hat is to de&slong;troy tre&slong;on & make a tryall</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.17.66"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f hem þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> be fauty & hurten full &slong;o&rrot;e</l>
 <!-- folio 73v -->
 <pb n="73v"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.67"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rot; þe wyll of
<name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardIV01">edwarde</name> kyng mo&slong;t
ryall</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.68"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hat is þe
mo&slong;te purpos þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> we labor fo&rot;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.69"><hi rend="red-ink">N</hi>ow pray we to þe prynce
mo&slong;te p&loopre;cious & amp; pure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.70"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;ytyth w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> his
&slong;eyntis in blys ete&rot;nall</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.71"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ur entent & amp;
purpos may la&slong;t & amp; endure</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.17.72"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o þe
ple&slong;aunce of god<pc>·</pc>& amp; þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi>
welfare of vs all</l>

<trailer><hi rend="red-ink">Amen<pc>..</pc></hi></trailer>

<note>This poem also appears in an inferior version in Lambeth MS 306. Brotanek suggests that the missing stanza after line 28, the confusion of the introduction, and the mistake in the number of letters, “lassen fast den Eindruck aufkommen, L sei aus unvollkommener Erinnerung, nach dem Gedächtnis niedergeschrieben [give rise to the impression that Lambeth was written down from imperfect memory]” (159). Robbins goes further and argues that the state of the Lambeth version of the poem is due to “scribal illiteracy or miscopying” (379). For comparison, the Lambeth version of the poem is copied here from Furnival, Politcal, Religious, and Love Poems (1-3):

Erly in a sommeristide
y sawe in london, as y wente,
A gentilwoman of chepe-side
workinge on a vest[i]ment.

5 She sette xij let[e]rs on a Rowe,
And saide, if that y myght it vnderstond,
Thorough þe grace of god, ye schule it knowe,
This letters xij schall save mery Englund.

A litil while yf ye wille duelle,
10 And yeve avdenes vnto me,
what letters they be y shall you telle,
they were drawe oute of þe .A.b.c.

They were nether A. b. nor S.,
Of any clarke y take wittnes,
15 Hit was R. w. And ij ees
F. M. ʒ. and S.

Than stode y stille a litile Sesone,
And constred this letters or y wente thens,
And Exspoundide them after myn owne wesdone
20 After the forme of Experience.

iiij ares for iiij Richardes þat bene of noble fames;
A E. for Edward, men wote it is soo,
This ben the lettr[e]s of the iiij lordes names
The whiche all Englonde is myche bounden too.

25 A .3. for yorke that was manely & myghtfull,
The whiche Grewe be þe grace of god & grete reuelacion,
Raynyng with Rewles resenable and Rightfull,
The whiche for oure sake hathe sufferde grete vex[a]cion.

An .M. for marche, treue in eueri titell & trial,
30 Growinge be eistricion, that worthi and wis is,
Concayued in wedlocke, & comen of blode rialle,
Ioyning vnto vertu, devode of vices.

An S. for Salisbery, without any avision,
Riall in his reynyng, and riche in his Rente,
35 Brynging a man to a good conclucion,
Called for his wisdom patris Sapiente.

A Doble W. for Warwike, þat god be his gide,
Who is called with þe comens their childe & þer deffence,
The boldest vnder baner batell to a-bide,
40 for þe righte of Englonde he dothe his deligence.

An F. for þe feterlock þat is of grete Substance,
That hathe amendide many maters þorow his mediacion;
In yrlonde & in walles, in englonde and in fraunce,
He Reynyed with Rewelis of Riall Repetacion.

45 An R. for the Rose þat is frische and wol nat fade,
Bothe þe rote & the stalke þat is of grete honoure,
from normandie vnto Norway þe leues do springe,
from irlonde vnto Estlonde me reioise þat floure.

An E. for þe egile þat grete worship hath wone
50 Thorowe þe sprede of his wengis þat neuer begane to flee,
There was neuer birde brede vnder þe stone

More fortunable in a felde þan þat birde hath be.

An R. for þe Raged staf þat no man may a-Skape,
from scotlonde to Calles, þerof they stoned in Awe,
55 he is a stafe of stedfastne[s], bothe erly & latte
To Chastes siche kaytifes as don ayenst þe lawe.

Now haue y declared you this lettr[e]s all xij
Accordyng to their condisciones whereuer þei ride or goo[n];
nowe thei be declared eche lorde be him self,
60 Their entent and purpos groundeth all in oon,

That is, for to destroy tresson, & to mak a treue triall
Of theym that be-fawte & hurte vs all full sore,
And for þe welfare of Edward Rex moste riall,
That is þe verie purpos that we labure fore.

65 And nowe, my frendes in eueri cost,
The grace and goodness of þe holigost
Kepe you in sted[fa]ste charite,
And after this life, bring you & me
vnto euer-lasting Ioie; amen, for charit[e]!
EXPLICIT.

</note>

</div17>

<!-- folio 74r -->

<pb n="74r"/>

<div18>

<!-- These bene the Crysten kynges that reygne under God -->

<fw type="guideWords" place="topCenter" xml:lang=""><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he&slong;e ben the cry&slong;ten kynges that reygne vnder god and his lawes</fw>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.1"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>m&pbardes;oure of <name type="loc" ref="#locRome01">Rome</name> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locGermany01">Almayne</name></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.2"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>m&pbardes;o<hi rend="superscript">or</hi> of <name type="loc" ref="#locConstantinople01"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>on&slong;tantyne</name> noble<pc>.</pc><hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locJerusalem01">Jeru&slong;alem</name></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.3"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name

type="loc" ref="#locFrance01"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>raunce</name> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">Ing lond</name> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locScotland01">Scott&eslong;</name></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.4"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locCastile01"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>a&slong;tyle</name> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of legeanuce <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of dragou&looper;</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.5"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locPortugal01">po&rrot;tugale</name> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locDenmark01"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>enmark</name><pc>.</pc> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locSaverne01">&slong;averne</name></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.6"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locNorway01"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>o&rrot;eway</name> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locSicily01"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ecyle</name> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>Wethe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.7"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>ano&rrot;y <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <name type="loc" ref="#locHungary01">hungry</name> <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>eme</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.8"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng of <hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>rmonye <hi rend="red-ink">¶</hi><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd kyng of <name type="loc" ref="#locCyprus01"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ypre&slong;&slong;e</name></l>

<!-- blank space under this header, room for approximately three lines -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.9"><hi rend="h2 touched-red">A</hi>ffter the <hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>axons <pc>.</pc> there reigned in <name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>ng lond</name> <hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>retens <pc>·</pc> & afftire</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.10"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>reteneris <pc>·</pc> there came to <name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">Ing lond</name> mey<note>Above "mey" there are two separate corrections which are inked over so as to become unreadable</note> of <name type="loc" ref="#locGermany01">Almeyne</name> <pc>·</pc> & they the</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.11"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>retens fled ou&looper; Seidus<!-- unsure --> into <name type="loc" ref="#locWales01">Walys</name> <pc>·</pc> <hi rend="touched-

red">T</hi>hen were there</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.12">dyu&looper;&slong;e kyng&eslong; in <name type="loc" ref="#locEngland01">England</name><pc>.</pc> & the <hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>axons reigned than in the</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.13">We&slong;t & in <name type="loc" ref="#locNorthumberland01">No&rrot;theymburland</name> <hi rend="red-ink">|:</hi> <hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd in þe E&slong;t reigned Engli&slong;&slong;he<pc>/</pc></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.14"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>here her kingdome &slong;tod so diu&looper;&slong;ely by <num value="200"><pc>·</pc>ii<pc>·</pc><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi><pc>·</pc></num> yere<pc>:</pc> <hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>yl at</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.15">the la&slong;t King <name type="person" ref="#bioAlfredtheGreat01">Alfride</name> reigned a boue the <hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>axons <pc>·</pc> and all</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.16">this dyu&looper;&slong;ise <hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>as &slong;o fo&rrot;e the conqve&slong;t<pc>.</pc><note>the remaining space in this line is occupied by a decorative chain in red ink</note></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.17"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name type="person" ref="#bioAlfredtheGreat01"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>lfride</name> reigned <num value="24">xxiiij</num><pc>·</pc> yere <hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>t <hi rend="touched-red">p</hi>owlis lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.18"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardtheElder01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>dWa&rrot;d</name> reigned <num value="24">xxiiij</num><pc>·</pc> yere at <name type="loc" ref="#locWinchester01">wynche&slong;tre</name> lithe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.19"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name type="person" ref="#bioÆthelstan01"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>dil&slong;ton</name> reigned vpon þe Scott&eslong; & the Bretone</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.20"><num value="13">xij</num> yere at <name type="loc" ref="#locMalmesbury01"><hi rend="touched-red">m</hi>alne&slong;bury</name> lithe</l>

<!-- folio 74v -->

<pb n="74v"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.21"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdmundI01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>dmund</name></hi> <name type="person" ref="#bioÆthelstan01">Adi&slong;tone</name> broþ&looper; reigned <num value="6"><pc>·</pc>vi<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locGlastonbury01"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>la&slong;tenbury</name></hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.22"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEadwig01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>dwyis</name></hi> <name type="person" ref="#bioEdmundI01">Edmunds</name> &slong;on reigned <num value="5"><pc>·</pc>v<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locWinchester01"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>yneche&slong;re</name></hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.23"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi rend="underlined-red">Mark</hi> reigned <num value="52"><pc>·</pc>lij</num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locWinchester01"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>yneche&slong;tre</name></hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.24"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdgar01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>dgare</name></hi> <pc>·</pc> Ma&rrrot;k&eslong; broþ&looper; reigned <num value="16"><pc>·</pc>xvj<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locGlastonbury01"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>la&slong;tenbury</name></hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.25"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardtheMartyr01"><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>ward</hi> Martyr</name> reigned <num value="5"><pc>·</pc>v</num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locShaftesbury01"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>ha&slong;&slong;te&slong;bury</name></hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.26"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioÆthelred01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>theldrede</name></hi> <name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardtheMartyr01">Edward</name> broþ&looper; reigned <num value="38"><pc>·</pc>xxxvij</num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locWestminster01"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>e&slong;tmy&slong;ter</name></hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.27"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdmundII01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>dmund</name></hi> Holy m&looper;tyr reigned a yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locGlastonbury01"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ury</name></hi> lithe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.28"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioCnut01"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>nowthe</name></hi> king of Banes reigned <num value="20"><pc>·</pc>xx<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locWinchester01"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>yneche&slong;tre</name></hi> lithe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.29"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioHarthacnut01"><hi

rend="touched-red">H</hi>ardy</name></hi> <name type="person"
 ref="#bioCnut01">Knowthes</name> &slong;on<pc>·</pc> reigned <num
 value="2"><pc>·</pc>ij<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locWinchester01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">W</hi>yche&slong;tre</name></hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.30"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name
 type="person" ref="#bioEdwardtheConfessor01"><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi
 rend="touched-red">E</hi>dward</hi> þe &con9;fe&slong;&slong;oure</name>
 <pc>·</pc> reigned <num
 value="14"><pc>·</pc>xiiij<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locWestminster01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">W</hi>e&slong;tmy&slong;tre</name></hi> lithe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.31"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioHaroldGodwinson"><hi
 rend="touched-red">H</hi>erold</name></hi> reigned almo&slong; a yere at
 &slong;eynt <hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">C</hi>lement&eslong;</hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.32"><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="h2 touched-
 red">A</hi>nd affter the Conque&slong;t</hi></l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.33"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioWilliamI01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">W</hi>illiam <hi rend="touched-
 red">B</hi>a&slong;tard</name></hi> reigned <num
 value="20"><pc>·</pc>xx<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locCaen01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">C</hi>ane</name></hi> lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.34"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name
 type="person" ref="#bioWilliamII01"><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">W</hi>illiam</hi> Rapes</name> reigned <num
 value="24">xxiiij<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-
 red"><name type="loc" ref="#locWinchester01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">W</hi>yche&slong;tre</name></hi>lythe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.35"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioHenryI01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">H</hi>erry</name></hi> þe fur&slong;t <name type="person"
 ref="#bioWilliamII01">Rapus</name> &slong;on broþ&looper; reigned <num
 value="25"><pc>·</pc>xxv<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locReading01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">R</hi>edyng</name></hi> lithe</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.18.36"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioStephen01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">S</hi>tevyn</name></hi> reigned <num
 value="19">xix<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name
 type="loc" ref="#locFaversham01"><hi rend="touched-

red">ff</hi>evyr&slong;hale</name></hi> lythe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.37"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioHenryII01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">H</hi>erry</name></hi> the &slong;ecund that slowe <hi rend="underlined-
 red">&slong;eynt <name type="person" ref="#bioThomasBecket01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">T</hi>homas</name></hi> of</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.38"><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc"
 ref="#locCanterbury01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">C</hi>aunterbury</name></hi><pc>·</pc> reigned <num
 value="34">xxxiiij<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><hi
 rend="touched-red">&slong;&slong;</hi>oint <hi rend="touched-
 red">E</hi>ward</hi> lythe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.39"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name
 type="person" ref="#bioRichardI01"><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">R</hi>ich</hi><hi rend="superscript">ard</hi></name> þe fur&slong;t <hi
 rend="superscript">þe &slong;eid <name type="person"
 ref="#bioHenryII01">Herrys</name> son</hi> & &con9;quere reigned <num
 value="10"><pc>·</pc>x<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">&slong;&slong;</hi>oint eward</hi>
 lithe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.40"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioJohnLackland01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>ohn</name></hi><hi rend="superscript">broþ&looper; to
 <name type="person" ref="#bioRichardI01">Richard</name></hi> reigned <num
 value="17">xviiij<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name
 type="loc" ref="#locWorcester01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">W</hi>o&rrrot;ce&slong;tre</name></hi> lythe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.41"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioHenryIII01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">H</hi>erry</name></hi><hi rend="superscript"><langUsage
 xml:id="lat">filius euis</langUsage></hi> the thryd reigned <num
 value="58">lviiij<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi rend="underlined-red"><name
 type="loc" ref="#locWestminster01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">W</hi>e&slong;tmy&slong;tre</name></hi> lythe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.42"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <name
 type="person" ref="#bioEdwardI01"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>dward</name>
 the goode & &afftre the &con9;que&slong;t þe fu&rrrot;&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.43"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardI01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">E</hi>dward</name> <hi rend="red-ink">|</hi> reigned <num
 value="34"><pc>·</pc>xxxiiij<pc>·</pc></num> yere at <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="loc" ref="#locWestminster01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">W</hi>e&slong;tmy&slong;tre</name></hi> lythe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.44"><hi rend="touched-red">K</hi>yng <hi
 rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardII01"><hi

^{his son} Edward Carnarvan be &long;ecund reigned ²⁰ yere at Gloucester Gloucester Glowct&long;er L.
 K yng Edward III Edward of Windsor Wynde&long;o&long;on of prynce Edward the Black Prince Edward reigned
!-- folio 75r -->
<pb n="75r"/>
²² yere at Westminster Westminster Lythe
 K yng Henry IV Henry the fourthe &long;on of the John of Gaunt duke of Lancu&long;tre reigned
¹³ yere and a half at Canterbury Canterbury lythe
 K yng Henry V Henry the fyfthe &long;on to King Henry IV Henry be fourthe reigned
⁹ yere and a half at Westminster Westminster Lythe
 K yng Henry VI Henry the &long;yxte &long;on to

King <name type="person" ref="#bioHenryV01">Herry</name> the fyveth</l>
 <!-- here the hand changes to a non-professional, early 16th century hand
 a gap of about two cm before the chronicle resumes; in this space, in the right
 half of the page are two brief lines -->
 <ab>god &slong;auue king <name type="person"
 ref="#bioHenryVIII01">H</name> the <num value="8">viij</num><hi
 rend="superscript">te</hi> Amn</ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.53">Kyng <name type="person"
 ref="#bioEdwardIV01">Edwa&rrot;d</name> the fou&rrot;th &rrot;aynd <num
 value="20">zz</num> ye&rrot;e&sclose; <num value="i">j</num> moneth &
 <num value="8">viij</num> daye&sclose;</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.54">bu&rrot;yed at <name type="loc"
 ref="#locWinchester01">Wynch<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi></name></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.55">Kyng <name type="person"
 ref="#bioEdwardV01">Edwa&rrot;d</name> the fyfte not c&rrot;ownid <num
 value="2">ij</num> moneths & <num value="18">xviij</num> day</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.56">Kyng <name type="person"
 ref="#bioRichardIII01">Richa&rrot;d</name> the thi&rrot;d Rayned <num
 value="2">ij</num> ye&rrot;es <num value="2">ij</num> moneth&eslong;</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.57">bu&rrot;yed at <name type="loc"
 ref="#locLeicester01">Leyc&slong;ter</name></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.58">Kyng <name type="person"
 ref="#bioHenryVII01">Hen&rrot;y</name> the <num value="7">vij</num> Rayned
 <num value="23">xxiij</num> ye&rrot;es <num value="8">viij</num> monthes</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.59">& <num value="18">xviij</num> dayes
 c&rrot;owned the <date when="1458-10-30"><num value="30">xxx</num> day of
 octobe&rrot;</date> a<hi rend="superscript">o</hi></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.60"><date when="1485"><damage
 type="wear"/><supplied reason="damage">1</supplied>485</date> <pc>/</pc> &
 dyed the <date when="1509-04-21"><num value="21">xxj</num> day of apll a<hi
 rend="superscript">o</hi><pc>·</pc>1509</date><pc>·</pc><pc>/</pc>
 <pc> bu&rrot;yed</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.61">in <name type="loc"
 ref="#locWestminster01">Wi&slong;tme&slong;ti&rrot;</name></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.62">Kyng <name type="person"
 ref="#bioHenryVIII01">Hen&rrot;y</name> the <num>viij</num> c&rrot;owned the
 <num value="24">xxiiij</num> day off</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.18.63"><date when="1509-06-24">June a<hi
 rend="superscript">o</hi> dm
 <pc>·</pc>1509</date><pc>·</pc>Rayned <num
 value="38">xxxviij</num> ye&rrot;es</l>
 <!-- once again, the hand of the scribe changes; in the last line beginning at
 "Rayned" the hand changes to a more readable mid-16th cent hand -->

</div18>

<!-- folio 75v -->
 <pb n="75v"/>
 <div19>
 <!-- Abraham and Isaac -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>eus</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.1"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f all þing þ&looper;
 eu&looper; was<pc>·</pc> I am þe begynnere</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.2"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>ope hevenly & &
 erthly<pc>·</pc> & of hem þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> ben in
 hell</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.3"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>t my bidding was
 wrought boþ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> goode man & &slong;ynne&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.4"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>ll in ioy to haue
 dwellid <pc></pc> tyl adam to &slong;yn fell</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.5"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>is vnkindnes haþe
 di&slong;le&slong;id me<pc></pc> truþe fo&rrot; to tell</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.6"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; many a þing
 made I<pc></pc> fo&rrot; his ioy & daliaunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.7"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hy &slong;holde he
 di&slong;ple&slong;e me<pc></pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> I loued &slong;o
 well</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.8"><hi rend="touched-red">& </hi> comaunded
 hym but on þing<pc></pc> & zit he fo&rrot;fetid my ple&slong;aunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.9"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut zit &slong;ip he
 haþ di&slong;ple&slong;id me<pc></pc> I haue made proviaunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.10"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> anod&rins;e of his kynd<pc></pc> &slong;hal ple&slong;e
 me a yeyne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.11"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e which haþe
 eu&looper; be my &slongbarslash;uaunt<pc></pc> in al maner&rins;e
 ob&slongbarslash;uaunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.12"><name type="person" ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">A</hi>brah<hi rend="superscript">a</hi>m</name> is his
 name<pc></pc> my man þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> cannot feyne</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.13"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut evyr hathe be
 trewe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.14"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>e&rins;e
 befo&rrot;e he requyred me hye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.15"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o haue a childe of
 his body</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.16"><hi rend="touched-red">& </hi> I g<hi
 rend="superscript">ra</hi>untid<pc>.</pc> hym<pc></pc> & haþe on

&rins;edely</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.17"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name> ful fey&rins;e of hewe</l><!-- this line in the right half of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.18"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f al þing erthely<pc>/</pc> I wot wel he loueþ him be&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.19"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow he &slong;huld loue me mo&slong;te<pc> · </pc>as re&slong;on wold & &slong;kylle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.20"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> &slong; I wot well he doþe<pc>/</pc> I dyd it neu&looper; my&slong;tre&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.21"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut 3it fo&rrot; to p&looper;eue hym<pc> · </pc>þe truþe wol I fele</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.22"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>yne <pc>·</pc> angel go to Abrah<hi rend="superscript">a</hi>m <pc> ·</pc>þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> I loue &rins;i3t wele</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.23"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> &slong;ay þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> I comaunded<pc>/</pc> & charged hym aboue all þinge</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.24"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>he fur&slong;t dede þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> he doþe<pc>/</pc> ouþer mete o&rrot; mele</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.25"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o make &slong;ac&rrot;ifi&slong;e vnto me<pc>/</pc> of <name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> hi&sclose; &slong;on 3ynge</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ngelus</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.26"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>ble&slong;&slong;id lo&rrot;d I am redy at þi bidding</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.27"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>o do þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;hal ple&slong;e þe<pc>/</pc> in hevyn <pc>·</pc> erþe & helle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.28"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; all þe&slong;e owen to þe obedience aboue all þing</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.29"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi rend="superscript">is</hi> me&slong;&slong;age vnto Abrah<hi rend="superscript">a</hi>m<pc>/</pc> I wol go telle</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <!-- folio 76r -->
 <pb n="76r"/>
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>eus</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.30"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hen hye the þat þou we&rins;e on grounde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.31"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> do not but to

a&slong;&slong;ay hym</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.32"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> if he do it I
 wol not di&slong;may hym</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.33"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f his
 &slong;o&rrot;ow I &slong;hal delay hym</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.34"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> fo&rrot; on
 childe enc&rins;e&slong;e hym a m</l><!-- this line iin the right half of page adjacent
 to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>t vad<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> angelus ad t<hi rend="superscript">e</hi>ram & exp<hi
 rend="superscript">ec</hi>tat usque dum habrah<hi rend="superscript">a</hi>m
 dicit</langUsage>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><name type="person" ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">A</hi>braham</name></name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.35"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi> gret god on hye
 <pc>/</pc> þat al þe wo&rrot;lde made&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.36"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd lendi&slong;t
 v&sclose; ou&rins;e leving he&rins;e to do þi ple&slong;aunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.37"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;wete coumfo&rrot;t of þe erþe <pc>·</pc>
 all ou&rins;e he&rins;tys glade&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.38"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o þ<hi
 rend="superscript">e</hi> be honou&rins;e<pc>/</pc> to þe be ioy
 <pc>·</pc> & all dewe obe&slong;aunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.39"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> hily lo&rrot;d
 I þank þe<pc>/</pc> þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;o make&slong;t my
 purviaunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.40"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>o &pbardes;vide
 o&rrot; I dye<pc>.</pc> a childe of myne owne Body</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.41"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>o reioy&slong;e
 þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> gaue me<pc>/</pc> in
 erþe to my daliaunce</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.42"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> to
 ple&slong;e þe &slong;ou&looper;eigne lo&rrot;d <pc>·</pc> I &slong;hal
 cha&rins;ge hym &pbardes;fitly</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.43"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name> my &slong;on &slong;o de&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.44"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> haue ben out all
 day</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.45"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow &slong;hal I go
 home & to my wif <hi rend="superscript">I</hi> &slong;ay</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.46"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e&rings;e &slong;hal
 I fynde bothe tway</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.47"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">S</hi>ara</name> & <name type="person"
 ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> in fe&rings;e</l>

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>t vadit & in
 eundo obruat ei angelus & dicit</langUsage>

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">A</hi>ngely</hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.48"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><name type="person" ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">A</hi>braham</name></name> <name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01">abraham</name></l>

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>braham</name></hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.49"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>lredy who
 calleþ<pc>/</pc> lo he&rings;e I am</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.50"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>ho is þe&rings;e in
 þe hye lo&rrot;d&eslong; name</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.51"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> al þing &slong;hope of nought</l><!-- this line on the right
 half of the page adjacent to the previous two -->

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">A</hi>ngelus</hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.52"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> am he&rings;e a
 me&slong;&slong;ange&rings;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.53"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>f þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;ou&looper;eigne lo&rrot;d ente&rings;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.54"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 he&rings;kyn now & he&rings;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.55"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hat
 me&slong;&slong;age I haue brought</l><!-- this line on the right half of the page
 adjacent to the previous three -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.56"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e goode lo&rrot;d of
 al hevenes hye</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.57"><hi rend="touched-red">c</hi>omaundeþ þe to take
 & &slong;ac&rings;ifye</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.58"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name> þ<hi rend="superscript">i</hi>
 &slong;on þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi>

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loue&slong;t &slong;o he&rins;tlye</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.19.59"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>o his
&slong;ou&looper;ente &amp; ple&slong;aunce blyve</l>
  <!-- folio 76v -->
  <pb n="76v"/>
  <div20>
    <!-- Duodecim pares francie -->
    <head>Duodecim pa&rrot;e&slong; Francie</head>
    <!-- coats of arms of the six ecclesiastical and six lay peers of France -->
    <!-- folio 76v contains three rows of three shields illustrated in faded black ink
-->
    <name type="place" ref="#locReims01">Remtu&slong;is</name> <figure>
      <graphic/>
      <figDesc>Azure, with four fleur de lys or; cross argent.</figDesc>
    </figure>
    <name type="place" ref="#locLangres01">lingonev&slong;it<!-- note:
uncertain, Langres contains a saltire gules --></name><figure>
      <graphic/>
      <figDesc>Azure, charged with fleur de lys or; saltire argent.</figDesc>
    </figure>
    <name type="place" ref="#locLaon01">Laudimsi<damage
type="wear">t?</damage></name><figure>
      <graphic/>
      <figDesc>Azure, with twenty fleur de lys or; cross with staff or crosier.<!--
note; this staff, unlike the two on nouionsi blazon, is filled in with black ink --
></figDesc>
    </figure>
    <name type="place" ref="#locBeauvais01">Belvacau&slong;it</name>
<figure>
      <graphic/>
      <figDesc>Gules, with four keys or; cross argent.</figDesc>
    </figure>
    <name type="place" ref="#locNoyon01">nouionsi</name> <figure>
      <graphic/>
      <figDesc>Azure, with twelve fleur de lys or; two staffs or crosiers
argent.</figDesc>
    </figure>
    <name type="place" ref="#locChalons01">cabi&slong;oneu</name> <figure>
      <graphic/>
      <figDesc>Azure, charged with fleur de lys or; cross gules.</figDesc>
    </figure>
    <name type="place" ref="#locBurgundy01">bu&rrot;gundia</name>
<figure>
      <graphic/>

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    <figDesc>Bendy of six, or and azure.</figDesc>
  </figure>
  <name type="place" ref="#locAquitaine01">aquitaina</name> <figure>
    <graphic/>
    <figDesc>Gules, lion passant guardant or.</figDesc>
  </figure>
  <name type="place" ref="#locNormandy01">no&rrrot;mandia</name>
<figure>
  <graphic/>
  <figDesc>Gules, two lions passant guardant or.</figDesc>
</figure>
<!-- folio 77r -->
<pb n="77r"/>
<!-- folio 77r three shields illustrated in faded black ink in one row -->
  <name type="place" ref="#locFlanders01">fland&rrrot;ia</name> <figure>
    <graphic/>
    <figDesc>Or, lion rampant sable langued gules.</figDesc>
  </figure>
  <name type="place" ref="#locChampagne01">campania</name> <figure>
    <graphic/>
    <figDesc>Azure, a band argent accompanied by two cotices or potentated and
counter-potentated.</figDesc>
  </figure>
  <name type="place" ref="#locToulouse01">tholo&slong;a</name> <figure>
    <graphic/>
    <figDesc>Gules, cross botonny or <!-- cross is outlined on the page, center
should be gules as well --></figDesc>
  </figure>
</div20>
<!-- folio 77v -->
<pb n="77v"/>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.60"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>are well<pc>
&middot; </pc>fo&rrrot; my me&slong;&slong;age I haue þe &slong;ayde</l>
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abrah<hi
rend="superscript">a</hi>m</name></hi></ab>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.19.61"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ungel a&sclose;
god wol I am &rins;ight wele payde</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.19.62"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrrot; of me his
will &slong;hal neu&looper; be w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> nayde</l>
  <l xml:id="TCD432.19.63"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hil I am on
lyve</l><!-- this line in the right margin adjacent to the previous two lines -->
  <l xml:id="TCD432.19.64"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>nd hardly aungell

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tru&slong;t the&rins;e to</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.65"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; doughbles it
 &slong;hal be do</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
 red">A</hi>ngelus</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.66"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>are wele pan
 fo&rrot; I wol go</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.67">to b&rins;ing ou&rins;e lo&rrot;d
 &rins;elacion</l><!-- this line occupies the same line as the previous line and is
 separated by the rubrication marking rhymes -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01">habraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.68"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow goode lo&rrot;d
 graunt me hert pere tylle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.69"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>at I may do that is
 thy wille</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.70"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> be my troupe
 I &slong;hal it fulfille</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.71"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>ith out fraude
 outhet cauelacion</l>
 <langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>t vadit angelus et dicit
 habraham<!-- this latin line enclosed in a red box --></langUsage>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.72"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> goode lo&rrot;d
 what is now be&slong;t to do</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.73"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ome to my wif I
 mo&slong;t nedis go</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.74"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; þ&looper; is
 <name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name><pc></pc> & I
 trow &slong;he wol be ful wo</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.75">if &slong;he know þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi>
 ca&slong;e</l><!-- this line in the right side of the page and adjacent to the previous
 three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.76"><hi rend="touched-redred">ff</hi>o&rrot;
 &slong;he haþe hym & no mo</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.77"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> if I telle her
 þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> it is &slong;o</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.78"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> god wol haue hym to deþe I do</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.79">&slong;he faileþ not of &slong;o&rrot;owes
 tra&slong;e</l><!-- this line in the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three
 lines -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.80"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>o fo&rrot;&slong;e

I haue levyr þat &slong;he di&slong;ple&slong;id be</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.81"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>han þat god be
 wrothe with me</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.82"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow doughtles I
 &slong;hal go and &slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.83"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ow prevely that I
 can it do</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.84"><hi rend="touched-red">V</hi>ndo þe&slong;e
 yates hey who is he&rins;e</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioSarah01"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">S</hi>ara</name></name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.85"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>one but I &
 my &slong;on dere</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.86"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>elcom my
 lo&rrot;d welcom my fe&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.87"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>elcom my
 comfo&rrot;t al&slong;o</l><!-- this line in the right side of the page adjacent to the
 previous two lines -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.88"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> ye haue walkid
 fe&rins;&rins;e a bout</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.89"><hi rend="touched-red">H</hi>ow3 haue ye
 fa&rins;e whil ye haue be oute</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.90"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> out fayle I haue had gret doute</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.91"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>a&slong;t any
 thinge did you grevaunce</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.92"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ay I thank the
 goode lo&rrot;de</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.93"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ll thing & I
 done wel aco&rrot;de</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.94"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>aving þis
 <pc>/</pc> my goode lo&rrot;d haþ &slong;ent me wo&rrot;de</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.95"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hat I mo&slong;te
 nedis go do his ple&slong;aunce</l>
 <!-- folio 78r -->
 <pb n="78r"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.96"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> mo&slong; do
 &slong;acrify&slong;e vpon þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> hille on hye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.97"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi>

þ&looper;fo&rrot; &slong;irs makeþ myne a&slong;&slong;e redye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.98"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> <name
 type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> &slong;on þou neu&looper; 3it
 me &slong;ye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.99"><hi rend="touched-red">d</hi>o no &slong;oche
 ob&slong;barslash;uaunce</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the
 previous three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.100"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper;fo&rrot;e
 aray the & go w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> me</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.101"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> le&rins;ne
 how god &slong;huld ple&slong;id be</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.102"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; &slong;on
 & eu&looper; þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> þenke to the</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.103"><hi rend="touched-red">p</hi>ut eu&looper; god
 to honowraunce</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous
 three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.104"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>o &slong;hal I
 fadir & eu&looper; haue do</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.105"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>s ye haue taught
 me & my moder al&slong;o</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.106"><hi rend="touched-red">l</hi>oke when
 eu&looper; þat ye wol go</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.107"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> &slong;hal not be
 behynde</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioSarah01"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi rend="touched-
 red">S</hi>ara</name></name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.108"><hi rend="touched-red">y</hi>e but I p<hi
 rend="superscript">ra</hi>y you gentil fe&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.109"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>s eu&looper; ye
 haue loued me de&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.110"><hi rend="touched-red">l</hi>at <name
 type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> a bide at home he&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.111"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; I kept not
 he went in þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> wynde</l><!-- this line on the right side of
 the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abrah<hi
 rend="superscript">a</hi>m</hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.112"><hi rend="touched-red">P</hi>ee&slong;e dame

lat be do way</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.113"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">u</hi> wo&slong;t wele I wax &rins;ight gray</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.114"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> þis childe
 neu&looper; 3it &slong;ay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.115"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>ow god
 &slong;huld be ple&slong;id</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to
 the previous three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.116"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi>
 þ&looper;fo&rrot;e now he &slong;hal go w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> me</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.117"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> þ&looper;
 he &slong;hal boþe know & &slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.118"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>ow þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> god &slong;hal ple&slong;id be</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.119"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> myne hert I
 e&slong;id</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 >
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">S</hi>ara</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.120"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>han &slong;ipe ye
 wol haue fo&rrot;the my childe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.121"><hi rend="touched-red">g</hi>oode<pc><hi
 rend="touched-red">/</hi></pc> loke þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> his
 ho&rrot;&slong;e be not to wilde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.122"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> &slong;ire
 wayte on hym þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> he be not defilde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.123"><hi rend="touched-red">w</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> neiþ&looper; cley no&rrot; fen</l><!-- this line on the right
 side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.124"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> loke well
 þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> his ho&rrot;&slong;e go rownde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.125"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;tumbel not fo&rrot; no pownde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.126"><hi rend="touched-red">n</hi>ow goode
 h&looper;t god &slong;end þ<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> home &slong;ownde</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.127">þi fadir & all his men</l><!-- this line on the
 right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.128"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>ete hidre
 ou&rins;e ho&rrot;&slong;es & let vs go hen</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.129"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>oþe I &

<name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> & the&slong;e two men</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.130"><hi rend="touched-red">&slong;loke we haue fy&rins;e &slong;tikk&eslong; to b&rins;en</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.131"><hi rend="touched-red">l</hi>epiþ vp haue Ido anon</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>ara</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.132"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ll þing is redy I you &slong;ay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.133"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut gentil he&rins;t I you pray</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.134"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>a&rins;y as litel while out as ye may</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.135"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>ecause of I&slong;aac my &slong;on</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <!-- folio 78v -->
 <pb n="78v"/>
 <langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>t equitat &slong;equitando habraham dicit<!-- this latin line is enclosed in a red box at the top of the page --></langUsage>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.136"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow &slong;irs abide here ye two</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.137"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>akeþ he&rins;e my ho&rrot;&slong;e &slong; <name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> al&slong;o</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.138"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; he &slong; I mo&slong;t a litel farþ&looper; go</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.139"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>o do this &slong;acrify&slong;e</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.140"><hi rend="touched-red">&slong; I charge you þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> ye abide he&rins;e in deede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.141"><hi rend="touched-red">&slong; þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> ye remeve not from þis &slong;tede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.142"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hil <name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> &slong; I go do this dede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.143"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>o god in ou&rins;e be&slong;t wi&slong;e</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the

previous three -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.144"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ome hid&rins;e
<name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> my &slong;on
goode</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.145"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>ake vp þ<hi
rend="superscript">is</hi> fyre & þis wode</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.146"><hi rend="touched-red">&slong;</hi>pa&rins;e
not þ<hi rend="superscript">i</hi> cloþes <pc>·</pc> geue me þ<hi
rend="superscript">i</hi> hode</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.147"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> &slong;hal not
comb&rins;e the &slong;o&rrot;e</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent
to the previous three -->

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.148"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow gawe fader þat
þis dede we&rins;e hyed</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.149"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; þis wode
on my bak is wel tyed</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.150"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut whe&rins;e is
þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> quyk be&slong;t þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>
&slong;hal be &slong;ac<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi>fied</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.151"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>e hynd vs o&rrot; a
fo&rrot;e</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.152"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>on ca&rins;e not
þ&looper;fo&rrot;e on neu&looper; a &slong;ide</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.153"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut let god a lone
þ&looper; w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þ<hi rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi>
tyde</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.154"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> fo&rrot;
ou&rins;e wey he &slong; &pbardes;vyde</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.155"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> defend
v&sclose; f&rins;om fere</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the
previous three -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.156"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> &slong;on I haue
a&slong;pyed þe place</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.157"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> god hæþe &pbardes;vided vs<pc></pc> of his g<hi
rend="superscript">a</hi>ce</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.158"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>ome on &slong;on
a riȝt goode pace</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.159"><hi rend="touched-red">&lt;/hi> hye vs þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> we we&rins;e þere</l><!-- this line on the right side of the
 page adjacent to the previous three -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.160"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow <name
 type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> &slong;on I may no leng&rins;e
 &rins;efrayne</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.161"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut I mo&slong;t
 tell þe truthe certayne</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.162"><hi rend="touched-red">&lt;/hi>
 þ&looper;fo&rrot;e loke þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> be not þ&looper; a gayne</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.163"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>ut do it w<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> all þi wille</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page
 adjacent to the previous three -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.164"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e hye god þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> all haþe wrought</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.165"><hi rend="touched-red">c</hi>omaunded me þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> hid&rins;e þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi>
 &slong;hulde&slong;t be brought</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.166"><hi rend="touched-red">&lt;/hi> here þ<hi
 rend="superscript">i</hi> body &slong;hal be brou3t to nought</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.167"><hi rend="touched-red">v</hi>nto
 &slong;acrifi&slong;e on this hille</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.168"><hi rend="touched-red">l</hi>ay downe þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> wode on þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> auter there</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.169"><hi rend="touched-red">&lt;/hi> fa&slong;t
 delyu&looper; þe & do of þi gere</l>

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.170"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las gentyl fader
 why put ye me in þ<hi rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi> fe&rins;e</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.171"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>aue I
 di&slong;ple&slong;id you any thing</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.172"><hi rend="touched-red">3</hi>if I haue
 tre&slong;pa&slong;t I cry you mercy</l>

<!-- folio 79r -->

<pb n="79r"/>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.173"><hi rend="touched-red">&lt;/hi> gentil fader
 lat me not dye</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.174"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>las is þ&looper;
 none oþer be&slong;te but I</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.175"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> may ple&slong;e þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> hy
 kyng</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->

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<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.176"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ay &slong;on to
me p<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> ha&slong;t do no tre&slong;pas</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.177"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut p<hi
rend="superscript">u</hi> ha&slong;t my ble&slong;&slong;ing in eu&looper;y
place</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.178"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut I may not
fo&rrot;fet p<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> lo&rrot;d&eslong; grace</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.179"><hi rend="touched-red">p</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> al þing hape me &slong;ent</l><!-- this line on the right side
of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.180"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; &amp; it
&slong;huld be affter me</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.181"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> had leu&looper;
haue &slong;layne al my be&slong;t&eslong; þan þe</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.182"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut his wille nedys
fulfilled mo&slong;t be</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.183"><hi rend="touched-red">&amp;</hi> truly
&slong;o is myn entent</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the
previous three -->
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.184"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las what haue i
di&slong;ple&slong;id p<hi rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi> lo&rrot;d of
bli&slong;&slong;e</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.185"><hi rend="touched-red">p</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> I &slong;hal be martyred in þis my&slong;&slong;e</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.186"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut gentil fader wot
my modre of þis</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.187"><hi rend="touched-red">p</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> I &slong;hal be dede</l><!-- this line on the right side of the
page adjacent to the previous three -->
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.188"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>he<pc>.</pc>
mary &slong;on cri&slong;t fo&rrot;bede</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.189"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ay to telle her it is
no nede</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.190"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; whan p<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> eu&looper; &slong;he knowep p<hi

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rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi> dede</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.191"><hi rend="touched-red">&slong;</hi>he wol ete
afft&looper; but litel b&rins;ede</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent
to the previous three -->
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.192"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n feipe fo&rrot; my
moder I dar wel &slong;ay</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.193"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>nd &slong;he had
wi&slong;t of this aray</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.194"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> had not &rins;iden
out from her þ<hi rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi> day</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.195"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>ut &slong;he had
riden al&slong;o</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous
three -->
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.196"><hi rend="touched-red">y</hi>e &slong;on god
mo&slong;t be &slong;barslash;ued ay</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.197"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>i mod&rins;e may
not haue hir wille all way</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.198"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> loue þe as wele as
&slong;he doþe in fay</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.199"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> zit þ<hi
rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi> dede mo&slong;t be do</l><!-- this line on the right
side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.200"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> fader þen do of
my gowne</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.201"><hi rend="touched-red">v</hi>ngurde me &
take hem w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> you to towne</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.202"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; I may not I
falle in &slong;wowne</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.203"><hi rend="touched-red">d</hi>eþ<hi
rend="superscript">e</hi> hap<hi rend="superscript">e</hi> enb&rins;a&slong;id myn
he&rins;t</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.204"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut on þing fader I
pray you þus</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.205"><hi rend="touched-red">l</hi>et neu&looper; my
moder &slong;e my cloþus</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.206"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; &
 &slong;he do w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>outen othes</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.207"><hi rend="touched-red">i</hi>t wol g&rins;eue
 her to &slong;me&rins;t</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the
 previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.208"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> dere he&rins;t
 what &slong;hal I do by pe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.209"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>o is me pat
 &slong;hal &slong;le the</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.210"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> all my good&eslong; I wold by pe</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.211"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> god wold
 a&slong;&slong;ent þ&looper;to</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent
 to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
 <!-- folio 79v -->
 <pb n="79v"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.212"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> fader do now
 what eu&looper; ye ly&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.213"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; of my
 mod&rins;e I wot wel<pc>/</pc> I &slong;hal be my&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.214"><hi rend="touched-red">m</hi>any a tyme hap
 &slong;he me clept & ky&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.215"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>ut fa&rins;e wel
 nowe fo&rrot; þat is do</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the
 previous three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.216"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>he was wont to
 calle me hir tre&slong;ou&rins;e & hir &slong;to&rrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.217"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut farewel now
 &slong;he &slong;hal no mo&rrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.218"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>ere I &slong;hal be
 dede & wot neu&looper; whe&rins;efo&rrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.219"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>aue that god
 mo&slong;t haue his wille</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.220"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>ader &slong;hal
 my hed of al&slong;o</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.221"><hi rend="touched-red">y</hi>e fo&rrrot;
 &slong;ope &slong;on þat mo&slong;t nedis be do</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.222"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>las goode
 he&rins;te þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> me is wo</l>
 <!-- note: the rhyme bracket for lines 220-222 is not touched with red ink -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.223"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> eu&looper; I &slong;hulde þe þus &slong;pille</l><!-- this
 line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.224"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>en fader bynde
 myne hand&eslong; & my legg&eslong; fa&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.225"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> yeue me a
 grete &slong;troke þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> my peynes we&rins;e
 pa&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.226"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrrot; la&slong;t
 I &slong;h&rins;inke I am riȝt &slong;o&rrrot;e a ga&slong;t</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.227"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> þen ye wol
 &slong;myte me in a nother place</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.228"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>hen is my peyne
 &slong;o moche the mo&rrrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.229"><hi rend="touched-red"><hi rend="underlined-
 red">A</hi></hi> &sclose;offte gentil fader ye bynde me &slong;o&rrrot;e</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.230"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> de&rins;e
 he&rins;t wo is me the&rins;e fo&rrrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.231"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>y mynde is
 wo&rrrot;&slong;e than evyr it was</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.232"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> fadir ley me
 downe &slong;offt & feyre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.233"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> haue I do
 nowe<pc></pc> & &slong;le youre eyre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.234"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrrot; I am
 hampred and in di&slong;peyre</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.235">& almo&slong;t at my lives ende</l><!-- this
 line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"

ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.236"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> fayre hert rote
 leue þi crye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.237"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>i &slong;o&rrot;e
 langage goþe myne he&rins;t ful nye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.238"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>&looper; is no man
 þ&looper;fo&rrot;e &slong;o wo as I</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.239"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; he&rins;e
 &slong;hal I &slong;le my f&rins;ende</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page
 adjacent to the previous three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.240"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>e hye lo&rrot;d
 bad me to do þis dede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.241"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>ut my he&rins;t
 g&rins;uccheþ &slong;o god me &slong;pede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.242"><hi rend="touched-red">m</hi>y blode
 abo&rrot;&rins;eþ to &slong;e my &slong;on blede</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.243"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; all on
 blode it is</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.244"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>las þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> my he&rins;t is wond&rins;e &slong;o&rrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.245"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; I am now
 &rins;iþt olde & ho&rrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.246"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi>ut god haþe
 cho&slong;e þe fo&rrot; his owne &slong;to&rrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.247"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n counfo&rrot; of
 al my mys</l><!-- this line on the right side of the page adjacent to the previous three -->
 >
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.248"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> to be offerd
 to hym þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> is lo&rrot;d an hye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.249"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi>
 þ&looper;fo&rrot;e &slong;on take pacientlye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.250"><hi rend="touched-
 red">&pbardes;</hi>auentu&rins;e in batayle or oþer my&slong;chef þ<hi
 rend="superscript">u</hi> myþte&slong;t dye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.251"><hi rend="touched-red">O</hi>&rrot; eelis in a
 noþer vngoodely <hi rend="strikethrough">wy&slong;e</hi> veniaunce</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
 <!-- folio 80r -->
 <pb n="80r"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.252"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow fader þen
 &slong;ipe it &slong;o</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.253"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi

rend="superscript">t</hi> al my he&rings;t I a&slong;&slong;ent þ&looper;to</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.254"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi>t&rings;ecche out
my nek anon haue do</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.255"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> put me out
of penaunce</l><!-- -->
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.256"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow
ki&slong;&slong;e me fur&slong;t hert rote</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.257"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow ly downe
&slong;t&rings;ecche out þ<hi rend="superscript">i</hi> þrote</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.258"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>his takeþ me ful
nye god wote</l>
<!-- note: the rhyme bracket for 256-258 is not touched in red ink -->
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.259">goode lo&rrot;d to do þ<hi
rend="superscript">i</hi> ple&slong;aunce</l><!-- -->
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>t extendit manum ut
inmolaret eum & dicit angelus</langUsage>
<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
red">A</hi>ngelus</hi></ab>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.260"><name type="person" ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi
rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name> leue of & do not &slong;myte</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.261"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi><hi
rend="superscript">t</hi>drawe þyn hond it is godd&eslong; wille</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.262"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>ake vp <name
type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> þi &slong;on so whyte</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.263"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot; god wol
not þat þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> hym &slong;pille</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.264"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>e &slong;eeþe
þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> a&rings;t &rings;edy
fo&rrot; to fulfille</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.265"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>i&sclose;
comaundement in wele and wo</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.266"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi>
þ&looper;fo&rrot;e now he &slong;ent me the tylle</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.267"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> bad þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> <name type="person"
ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> &slong;huld not be &slong;acrified
&slong;o</l>
<l xml:id="TCD432.19.268"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> as fo&rrot;
þ<hi rend="superscript">i</hi> &slong;acrifi&slong;e</l><!-- -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.269"><hi rend="touched-red">T</hi>u&rins;ne þe
 & take þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> wedy&rrot; the&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.270"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi>
 &slong;acrifye hym on þat awte&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.271"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> loke þat
 <name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> haue no de&rins;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.272"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> charge þe in all
 wi&slong;e</l><!-- -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.273"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> &slong;ufferen
 Lo&rrot;d þ<hi rend="superscript">i</hi> wille be fulfilled</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.274"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>n hevyn
 <pc>·</pc> in erþe <pc>·</pc> in watyr & clay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.275"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> lo&rrot;d I
 þank þe þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> <name type="person"
 ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> is not killed</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.276"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow lo&rrot;d I
 know wele þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> dyde&slong;t but a&slong;ay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.277"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>hat I wold
 &slong;ey þ<looper;to<pc></pc> ouþer ye o&rrot; nay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.278"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">u</hi> knowe&slong;t myne he&rins;t now<pc></pc> &
 &slong;o þ<hi rend="superscript">u</hi> dide&slong;t afo&rrot;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.279"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>adde&slong;t not
 &slong;ent þyn aungil <name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name>
 had died þ<hi rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi> day</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.280"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut goode lo&rrot;d
 saue þ<hi rend="superscript">i</hi> ple&slong;aunce þ<hi
 rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi> p&rins;ef was &rins;ijt &slong;o&rrot;e</l>
 <!-- missing line here checked against Davis, <i>Non-Cylce Plays and
 Fragments</i> "But 3it I þanke þe hye" -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.281"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi><hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> I haue my &slong;ones lyve</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.282"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>awe &slong;on do
 on þ<hi rend="superscript">i</hi> cloþes blyve</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.283"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> let not þ<hi
 rend="superscript">i</hi> moder wete of þ<hi rend="superscript">&sclose;</hi>
 &slong;t&rins;yve</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.284"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> pray þe &slong;on
 he&rins;tly</l><!-- -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-red">D</hi>eus</hi></ab>

&H abraham loke vp
 &herkyn to me
 &long;ipe p
 &sup>u</sup> wolde&long;t haue done p^t I
 cha&long;ged pe
 &&long;paredi&long;t not to &long;le <name type="person"
 ref="#bioIsaac01">I&long;aac</name> pⁱ &long;on
 &long;o f&long;e
 &T he chef
 tre&long;oure that thow ha&long;te
 <!-- folio 80v -->
 <pb n="80v"/>
 &B e myn owne
 &long;elf I &long;we&long;e certeyne
 &p</p>ⁱ goode wille I &long;hall quyte ayeyn
 &p</p>^t &long;hal be wo&long;hip vnto you tweyn
 &W hile p^e wo&long;ld &long;hal la&long;t
 <!-- -->
 &ff</p>^u &long;paredi&long;t not pⁱ
 &long;on fo&long;me
 &G o &
 novmb&long;e pe gravel in pe &long;ee
 &O up&long;notes
 in pe &long;unne &long;it wol be
 &b</p>y any
 e&long;timacion</p><!-- -->
 &&long; as pik as
 g^{ra}vel in pe &long;ee dope ly
 &A s pik py
 &long;ede &long;hal multiply
 &&long;oon
 &long;hal be bo&long;ne of pⁱ &long;bardes;geny
 &p</p>^t to all &long;hall cau&long;e saluacion</p><!-- -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab>^h<name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01">^h abraham</name></sup></ab>
 &A lo&long;d I
 thanked eu&long;be thy myght
 &B y tyme

<pc>·</pc>by tyde <pc>·</pc> by day & amp; nyght</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.303"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ow <name
 type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> &slong;on let vs hens dight</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.304"><hi rend="touched-red">t</hi>o ou&rins;e
 ho&rrot;&slong;es & amp; ou&rins;e men</l><!-- -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.305"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>awe<pc>:<!--
 note; this pc appears as a . with a dash above it --></pc> þei ben he&rins;e fa&slong;t
 by</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.306"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>ey
 &slong;irs<pc>:<!-- note; this pc appears as a . with a dash above it --></pc> b&rins;ing
 þens ou&rins;e ho&rrot;&slong;es in hy</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.307"><hi rend="touched-red">& amp;</hi> let vs lepe
 vp he&rins;e lightly</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.308"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>a&slong;t þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> we we&rins;e hen</l><!-- -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.309"><hi rend="touched-red">L</hi>epe vp &slong;on
 & amp; fa&slong;t haue I do</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">I</hi>&slong;aac</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.310"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>ll &rins;edy
 fad&rins;e I am he&rins;e lo</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.311"><hi rend="touched-red">Y</hi>e &slong;hal not
 be let <pc>·</pc> whan eu&looper; ye go</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.312">mi mod&rins;e I wolde fayne &slong;e</l><!-- --
 >
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.313"><hi rend="touched-red">& amp;</hi> 3it that owre
 I &slong;awe þis day</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.314"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> wend I
 &slong;huld haue gone my way</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.315"><hi rend="touched-red">y</hi>e
 ble&slong;&slong;id be þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> lo&rrot;d þat so can <hi
 rend="superscript">a</hi>&slong;ay</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.316"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>is
 &slong;e&rins;vaund in eu&looper;y deg&rins;e</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="touched-red">E</hi>t equitat ver&slong;us
 Saram & amp; dicit &slong;ara</langUsage>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">S</hi>ara</name></hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.317"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> welcome
 &slong;ou&looper;eigne w<hi rend="superscript">t</hi>outen doute</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.318"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>ow haue <!-- odd
 upside-down triangle before this "ye" -->ye fa&rins;ed whils ye haue ben oute</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.319"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>nd <name
 type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> &slong;on in <hi
 rend="strikethrough">ha</hi> all &sclose; rowte</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.320"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>ertly welcome
 home be ye</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.321"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>ram&looper;cy
 wif fay&rins;e mo&slong;t you be falle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.322"><hi rend="touched-red">C</hi>om þens wif out of
 you&rins;e halle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.323"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> let vs go
 walke & I wol telle you alle</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.324"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>ow god haþe
 &slong;ped þis day with me</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.325"><hi rend="touched-red">w</hi>if I went
 &slong;oe to &slong;acrifye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.326"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ut how t&rins;owe
 you<pc></pc> telle me ve&rins;ylye</l>
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">S</hi>ara</name></hi></ab>
 <!-- folio 81r -->
 <pb n="81r"/>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.327"><hi rend="touched-red">ff</hi>o&rrot;soþe
 sou&looper;eigne I wot not I</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.328"><hi rend="touched-
 red">&pbardes;</hi>auentu&rins;e &slong;om quyk be&slong;t</l><!-- this line on the
 right side of the page on the same line as the previous -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.329"><hi rend="touched-red">Q</hi>uyk<pc><!--
 note; this pc appears as a . with a dash above it --></pc> ye fo&rrot;soþe quyk it
 was</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.330"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>s wel I may tel you
 al þe ca&slong;e</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.331"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>s anop&looper;
 þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> was in þe &slong;ame place</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.332"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; I wote wel
 it wol be wi&slong;t</l><!-- -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.333"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>lmighty god þ<hi
 rend="superscript">t</hi> &slong;itteth on hye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.334"><hi rend="touched-red">B</hi>ad me take <name
 type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name> þ<hi rend="superscript">i</hi>
 &slong;on þ&looper;bye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.335"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> &slong;myte
 of his hed & b&rins;en hym v&looper;alye</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.336"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>boue vpon
 yond&rins;e hille</l><!-- -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.337"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> when I had
 made fy&rins;e & &slong;moke</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.338"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> d&rins;owe
 my knyf to yeve hym a &slong;t&rins;oke</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.339"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi>n aungel cam
 & my wille b&rins;oke</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.340"><hi rend="touched-red">&</hi> &slong;eid
 ou&rins;e lo&rrot;d alowed my wylle</l><!-- -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi
 rend="touched-red">S</hi>ara</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.341"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las all þen had
 gone to wrake</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.342"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi>old ye haue
 &slong;layne my &slong;on <name type="person"
 ref="#bioIsaac01">I&slong;aac</name></l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.343"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ay þan al my ioy
 had me fo&rrot;&slong;ake</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.344"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi>las whe&rins;e
 was yo<hi rend="superscript">&rrot;</hi> mynde</l><!-- -->
 <!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->
 <ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person"
 ref="#bioAbraham01"><hi rend="touched-red">h</hi>abraham</name></hi></ab>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.345"><hi rend="touched-red">M</hi>y mynde<pc>:<!--
 note; this pc appears as a . with a dash above it --></pc> vpon þe goode lo&rrot;d on
 hy</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.346"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi>ay & he bid
 me t&rins;u&slong;t it verayly</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.347"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi>ou3 it had be þi
 &slong;elf and I</l>
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.348"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi>t &slong;huld not
 haue ben left be hynde</l><!-- -->
 <l xml:id="TCD432.19.349"><hi rend="touched-red">G</hi>od gave hym be

twix vs tweyne</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.350"><hi rend="touched-red"></hi> now he
a</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.351"><hi rend="touched-red">S</hi> huld I </l>
nay <pc>:<!-- note; this pc appears as a . with a dash above it --></pc> nay in
ce</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.352"><hi rend="touched-red">n</hi> ot fo</l>
wo</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.353"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi> ow he knoweþ my
he</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.354"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
rend="touched-red">I</hi> </l>
al</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.355"><hi rend="touched-red"></hi> haþe
ble</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.356"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi> o</l>
to abide</l><!-- -->

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<ab><hi rend="underlined-red"><name type="person" ref="#bioSarah01"><hi
rend="touched-red">S</hi> ara</name></hi></ab>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.357"><hi rend="touched-red">N</hi> ow
ble</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.358"><hi rend="touched-red">þ</hi> <hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> </l>
</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.359"><hi rend="touched-red"></hi> what þ<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> eu</l>
he lust I </l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.360"><hi rend="touched-red">b</hi> ut his wille be
fulfilled</l><!-- -->

<!-- black line over red line accross the width of the page -->

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.361"><name type="person" ref="#bioIsaac01"><hi
rend="touched-red">I</hi> </l>
man</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.362"><hi rend="touched-red">a</hi> nd 3it I haue
wonne his love truly</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.363"><hi rend="touched-red">A</hi> nd
eu</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.364">þat my childe is not kylled</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.365"><hi rend="touched-
red">N</hi> ow<pc> </pc> ye þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> haue </l>
þis aray</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.366"><hi rend="touched-red">I</hi> wa</l>
boþe ny3t </l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.367"><hi rend="touched-red">W</hi> hat god

comanndep &slong;ay not nay</l>

<l xml:id="TCD432.19.368"><hi rend="touched-red">f</hi>o&rrot; ye
&slong;hal not le&slong;e p&looper;by</l><!-- the rhyme bracket for this final line
continues off the bottom of the page as if the text is not finished -->

</div19>

<!-- folio 81v -->

<pb n="81v"/>

<!-- folio 81v blank -->

<!-- folio 82r -->

<pb n="82r"/>

<!-- folio 82r blank -->

<!-- folio 82v -->

<pb n="82v"/>

<div21>

<!-- Hic sunt maiores et balliui de Northampton -->

<head><langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi rend="touched-
red">H</hi>ic &slong;unt <hi rend="touched-red">m</hi>aio&rrot;es & <hi
rend="touched-red">B</hi>alliui de <name type="loc"
ref="#locNorthampton01">No&rrot;th</name> a primo <hi rend="touched-
red">A</hi>nno regni <hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>egis <name type="person"
ref="#bioRichardI01"><hi rend="touched-red">R</hi>icardi</name> u&slong;3 in
hunc diem</hi></langUsage></head>

<!-- folio 83r -->

<pb n="83r"/>

<!-- folio 83v -->

<pb n="83v"/>

<!-- folio 84r -->

<pb n="84r"/>

<!-- folio 84v -->

<pb n="84v"/>

<!-- folio 85r -->

<pb n="85r"/>

<!-- folio 85v -->

<pb n="85v"/>

```

    <langUsage xml:id="lat">&para; Et sut Rex <name type="person"
ref="#bioEdwardIV">Edward</name> co&rronot;onat fuit a&pbardes;ud <name
type="loc" ref="#locWestminster01">We&slong;m</name> die smca
    in vig aplo&rronot;&rronot; petri &amp; pauli in sut anno. et in anno primo regni
&slong;ui</langUsage>
    <trailer><langUsage xml:id="lat"><hi rend="underlined-red"><hi
rend="touched-red">A</hi>nno <name type="person" ref="#bioEdwardIV"><hi
rend="touched-red">E</hi>dwardi</name> quarti primo <hi rend="touched-
red">I</hi>n i&slong;to anno primo fuit &pbardes;liament ap <name type="loc"
ref="#locWestminster01">We&slong;tm</name> quod incip<hi
rend="superscript">t</hi> in cra(f or &slong;)tio aia(4)</hi></langUsage></trailer>
</div21>
    <!-- 86r -->
    <pb n="86r"/>
    <!-- folio 86r blank -->
    <!-- 86v -->
    <pb n="86v"/>
    <!-- folio 86v blank -->
</div22>
    <!-- fragment of a calendar -->
</div22>

<div23>
    <!-- How men that be in health shuould visit sick folk -->
    <!-- 88r-89r -->
    <head><hi rend="red-ink">how men þ<hi rend="superscript">t</hi> be in hele
&slong;chulde vi&slong;ite &slong;ike folk<pc>/</pc></hi></head>
</div23>

<div24>
    <!-- Tary not for to turne the to God -->
    <!-- 90r - 121v -->
    <!-- here enden the xii chapitres of Richard heremyte of hampole -->
</div24>

</body>
</text>
</TEI>

```