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LYDGATE'S HERTFORD MUMMING AND LONDON MUMMING

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AN EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

by

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ABSTRACT

In this Master's thesis I have attempted to provide a reliable and readable text of Lydgate's Hertford Mumming and London Mumming. This text is generally faithful to that of Trinity College Cambridge MS. R.3.20, although the copy contained in British Library Additional MS. 29729 has been consulted at all points. The method of editing applied here could and should be applied to the other poems by Lydgate which are contained only in these two manuscripts, especially his other Mummings.

Following the text itself, a full commentary is provided in the form of notes. This commentary is intended to shed light on Lydgate's craftmanship and his use of specific traditions and techniques in writing for performed presentations. In addition, it is designed to clarify difficult points within the text itself.

A further aim of this thesis has been to establish a starting point for the understanding of secular "dramatic" activity in and around London during the first quarter of the Fifteenth Century. The intention of my Introduction has been less to envision a pattern of development of dramatic forms and practices than to give a description of the various uses to which staged performances were put at this time. Lydgate's own role as foremost public poet of his time; his probable involvement in major events and celebrations; his awareness of contemporary literary and dramatic conventions in England and France; and his possible emulation of what he saw to be a Classical tradition of recitation and performance: all these factors are to be considered in determining his particular contribution to secular dramatic activity at Court and in the City of London.

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INTRODUCTION

The Manuscripts

A. Trinity College Cambridge MS. R.3.20 (hereafter referred to as T) was donated to Trinity College by George Willmer, a former Fellow-Commoner who died in 1626.[1] It is a fairly large volume ($11\frac{3}{8}$ x 8½ in.), comprising 383 pages on paper leaves. These pages have been paginally numbered, correctly to p. 107, which number is assigned to the recto of the next leaf as well. Numbering breaks down after p. 161, and following a gap of a few pages, appears irregularly and incorrectly thereafter. It is the opinion of A. I. Doyle that this MS. was "intended as a portion of a larger volume",[2] which may explain its rather sudden beginning and end. This sense of incompleteness is rendered stronger by the fact that the bottom third of the last leaf is missing. The tear in the page brings a medical recipe in prose to an abrupt conclusion. Text has also been obliterated at the bottom of the two leaves bearing pp. 39 - 42, where a small semicircular piece has been torn out. M. R. James's catalogue of The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (vol. II, 1901) contains a full if not entirely trustworthy list of the contents of this manuscript, on pp. 75-82, although it will be necessary to examine some of this material in greater detail here.

T is one of the few surviving manuscripts compiled by Shirley. There are only two others which are substantially complete: British Library Addit. MS. 16165, and Bodleian Ashmole MS. 59. Aside from these,

there remain Sion College MS. L.40 (imperfect), part of Harvard University Library MS. 530 F., and a few leaves of British Library MS. Harley 78. Derived from Shirley originals are British Library MSS. Addit. 5467, 34360, 29729 (to be discussed here), Harley 2251 and 7333.

Despite Aage Brusendorff's work in sorting out the extent of Shirley's output (in his The Chaucer Tradition [London: Oxford University Press, 1925], pp. 229-230), the subject is far from being completely understood. Rossell Hope Robbins's Introduction to his Secular Lyrics of the XIV and XV centuries (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) offers a brief study of the Shirley MSS and their interrelationships as "Aureate Collections" (pp. xxiii-xxxvi).

Shirley's activity as a scribe seems to have covered the period from 1430 until his death in 1456. He was a member of the personal retinue of Richard Beauchamp, fourteenth Earl of Warwick, until 1439, the year of the Earl's death. Possibly as early as 1429 he had rented four shops in the precincts of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London.[3] However, it is unlikely that he used these shops as a scriptorium, as his manuscripts are demonstrably the work of an amateur enthusiast rather than a professional scribe. "The major inspiration behind his work was," Richard Green suggests, "that of the literary apologist or antiquarian."[4] Shirley seems to have produced manuscripts for limited circulation amongst a fairly cultured clientele, and the contents of his manuscripts reflect the tastes and interests of the wealthy bourgeoisie of the urban centre at mid-century. He was a contemporary of Lydgate and likely his acquaintance, as can be judged from the items of personal information contained in annotations and headings to works by this poet.[5]

The antiquary John Stowe (1525-1605) seems to have owned T at one time: possibly it came into his hands as early as 1558. Stowe inscribed numerous notes throughout T, and made several additions to Shirley's original headings. On p. 371 of T Stowe writes of Shirley himself that "This Iohn Shirley w^{t} his wyfe was buryed in þ^{e} hospitall of seint bartelmew by Smythefeld & theyr remaynethe a fayr monument of hym."

T is an anthology of 86 works in verse and prose. Although it contains a fair number of French and Latin poems and a lengthy prose work in Latin, the pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum Secretorum (pp. 269-347), poems in English occupy the bulk of the volume. Works by Chaucer, Hoccleve and William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk are included, mostly in the form of balades. Religious verse is also well represented, with a translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms (pp. 201-237) ascribed in a note by Stowe to Thomas Brampton (p. 201), as well as several anonymous devotional pieces. However, John Lydgate is the poet best represented in T, with 26 religious and secular poems included and ascribed to him. The Lydgate selections in T cover the gamut of this poet's output, from devotional verse ("an holy meditacyon", pp. 111-116; A Seying of þe Nightingale, pp. 347-358), saints' lives (Saint Margaret, pp. 182-199; Saint George, pp. 74-81) and translations of psalms and hymns (Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, pp. 1-8; Benedic anima mea, pp. 19-25, repeated pp. 165-175; and several others), to satirical verse (such as Bicorne and Chichevache, pp. 10-15), courtly balades (especially the group extending from p. 145 to 165, which follows a selection of Chaucer's balades) and last, purely occasional works, of which the mumming poems are most notable.(The order of the Mummings in T is as follows: Eltham Mumming, pp. 37-40; Hertford Mumming, pp. 40-48;

London Mumming, pp. 55-65; Windsor Mumming, pp. 71-74; Mercers' Mumming, pp. 175-179; Goldsmiths' Mumming, pp. 179-182.) Except in a few instances, Shirley has made no attempt to organize his selections into categories according to author or genre: virtually a miscellany, T must have been intended to appeal to a wide audience among the literate classes, and Lydgate's range of genres and subjects qualified him for the position of pre-eminence in it.

As is typical of Shirley's work elsewhere, neither rubrication nor illuminations occur in T. However, initials tend to be carefully traced and are frequently embellished with figures of stars, crosses and scrolls. On the top line of most pages one or more letters extend into a flourish that reaches past the running title. Likewise the bottom of most pages is decorated with rather spidery scrollwork. The text, verse or prose, is usually presented in one column on the page: the one major exception to this is the verse dialogue in French, Salomon et Marcolfe (pp. 82-86), where the replies of Marcolph are placed in a second column beside the stanzas spoken by Solomon. Considered with the miscellaneous nature of its contents, the generally sparse ornamentation in T indicates further that this was a book intended for frequent use rather than a presentation volume, prized but never read.

T is written throughout in one hand, usually considered to be Shirley's own. This hand is a "vigorous and legible cursive"[6] which is characterized by a slight rightward slope and a tendency to flourish at the ends of the words. Capitals are executed with some care, with the exception of H and Y, which can only be distinguished from their lower-case forms by a modest hooked tail. According with normal practice at the time, Shirley does not employ a capital F, but rather uses ff. Capitalization is consistent at the

beginnings of verse lines, and it crops up occasionally within lines, although not for reasons of syntax.

Shirley's style of handwriting is functional rather than formal, and is described as "close to that which began to be commonly accepted about the middle of the fifteenth century, the only old-fashioned feature being the frequent use of the symbol þ for th" (Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition, p. 213). His orthography contains the following features: u is regularly substituted for e, especially before w (nuwe), or in a weak syllable (pepul, sikurnesse); long i is frequently written uy (fuyre, kuynde); consonants are often doubled (fresshe, gruchched); final e can be tacked on for no apparent grammatical or metrical reason; and long e tends to be written eo. Punctuation is virtually limited to the virgula (/) which marks syntactical and rhetorical pauses within and at the end of verse-lines: occasionally this device is replaced by a form of punctus elevatus (˙), usually in the mid-line position, or by the figure (7), sometimes found at the end of scribal annotations and headings. The symbol (ᵘ placed at intervals in the left-hand margin is apparently used by Shirley to indicate major pauses and larger rhetorical units: its derivation may be from the Latin versus. P. J. Croft (Autograph Poetry in the English Language, p. 2) reads this device as an n, "to be regarded as an abbreviation for nota, though it seems to be used here [British Library Addit. MS. 16165, f.3, facsimile on p. 3] primarily for decorative effect." Shirley's written n and u are notoriously similar of course, but extended comparison of the letters in his hand would seem to indicate that the device in question does involve a u. Of greater importance is the fact that Shirley tends to write the word nota out in full, placing it in the right-hand margin to indicate passages of special interest. In Shirley's transcriptions of rhyme royal verse, the

(u is consistently used to indicate stanza divisions. Scribal abbreviations are rare in T, the most frequent being the omission of i in -ion endings (indicated as -on); the omission of syllables consisting of r plus a vowel or vice versa (indicated by a loop or dash through the preceding consonant); and the transcription of with as w^{t}, bat as b^{t}.

Despite Shirley's care with his script, he has gained the reputation of an idiosyncratic and inaccurate copyist. His transcriptions have been deemed totally unreliable by John Norton-Smith (John Lydgate: Poems [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], p. xv), an opinion supported by the most careful student of his work, who concludes that "the textual value of Shirley's copies is practically negligible in view of the many arbitrary changes he introduced into his text, thus entirely spoiling it from a critical point of view" (Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition, p. 231). Typical errors of transcription in Shirley's work include: inversion of stock phrases and rhyme-tags in subsequent lines; alteration of pronouns and articles; and addition or removal of words to or from lines, sometimes in order to compensate for a metrical uncertainty. Though these problems crop up frequently in Shirley's many transcriptions of balades by Chaucer (which he seems to have written out from memory), they can also be seen to affect his transcriptions of equally familiar verse by Lydgate.

This can be demonstrated in an examination of the copies in T of Lydgate's Benedic anima mea. This poem runs from p. 19 to 25, and a new copy is begun at p. 165. At p. 168, Shirley abruptly returned to copying p. 164, so that the text of the poem runs from ll. 1-77 (pp. 165-167), and then, on pp. 169-175, all 176 lines are transcribed. It seems as if, after

laying the manuscript aside for a while at p. 167, Shirley recommenced working from his exemplar without checking how far he had already gone. Although the fragment from pp. 165-167 agrees quite closely with the ensuing full transcript, together they present a very different reading of the poem than that provided earlier in the manuscript. On p. 21, l. 40 is written as "With Citeseyns of þyne hevenly Cite", while on pp. 166 and 170 it reads "With þe Citeseyns of hevenly Cite". Line 43 in the first copy, "Doyng mercy and misericorde", is augmented in the later ones to "Doyng mercy and gret misericorde". Line 96, beginning "What sinfull ellys" on p. 22, is rearranged on p. 170 to read "Ellys what sinful". At l. 134 the earlier "Þeyre issu" (pg. 23) is replaced by "Þeyre genderure" (pg. 174). And the earlier form of l. 167, "O lord do mercy ageyne my gret offence" (pg. 24) becomes "O lord most mighty do mercy agenst offence" (pg. 175). In the case of Benedic anima mea, Shirley was either working on the two separate occasions with two separate exemplars, or else he was being careless with one. A comparison of the T texts with those in Harley 2251 and British Library Addit. 34360 (both derived from a lost Shirley MS.) reveals further multiplication of discrepancies. MacCracken provides some idea of the range of these variants in his critical apparatus to the poem, in Minor Poems Part I, pp. 1-7.

Unfortunately, like Benedic anima mea, Lydgate's Mumming poems and many of his other shorter works only survive in a textually suspect Shirley transcript, or in copies dependent on Shirley's transcripts, or both. One can only guess to what extent Shirley unconsciously altered all such poems, if not working from memory much of the time then at least referring infrequently to his exemplar. John Norton-Smith, in his edition of the

Bishopswood Balade by Lydgate, had to use the only manuscript source for this poem, Shirley's especially quirky Bodleian MS. Ashmole 59 (ff. 62-64). With this bad text, written when Shirley was about eighty, Norton-Smith felt justified in performing radical surgery on orthography, metre and even wording in order to regain what he considered to be an approximation of the poem's original state, or at least of its normalized state (John Lydgate: Poems, pp. 7-10). However, the scribal presence cannot be simply expunged from this piece, nor from the Mummings in T. These poems do not exist in any more authoritative text.

B. British Library Addit. MS. 29729 (hereafter referred to as B) comprises 288 folios. Its compiler and original owner was John Stowe, who inscribed this note on the recto of the final leaf: "This book perteynythe to Iohn Stowe, and was by hym wryten in þ^{e} yere of our Lord M.d.lviij." Subsequent to Stowe's ownership this manuscript came into the possession of the Isham family of Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, and it was acquired in 1874 by the British Museum. For a detailed description of this manuscript and its contents, see Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLIV-MDCCCLXXV (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1877), vol. II, pp. 699-701.

Stowe clearly designed this manuscript as an anthology of verse by Lydgate. It is designated as such on f. 2, in a large and elaborately traced title: "Daun Lidigate monke of Burye his Woorke". Poems by other writers are included, sometimes on the assumption that they are by Lydgate. Stowe ascribes the anonymous late fifteenth century Court of Sapience (ff. 87 - 121^{v}) to Lydgate, and includes an Epitaph on Edward IV (ff. 8 - 10), only to scratch out the original ascription to the monk and substitute the

name of Skelton. Also entered are a few unattributed scraps of verse, by Chaucer, Gower, Walton and unknown writers: as well, two poems by Benedict Burgh are included under his own name, perhaps because of his close association with Lydgate, celebrated in one poem directly addressed to the older poet as his master (ff. 6 - 7). The three major works in B are The Siege of Thebes (ff. 17 - 83), the aforementioned Court of Sapience, and an incomplete translation of the French allegory Les Echecs Amoureux, entitled by Stowe Reson and Sensuallyte and ascribed by him (probably correctly) to Lydgate (ff. 184 - 288). For an analysis of the textual problems of this last poem, see Ernst Sieper's edition (Early English Text Society Extra Series 84, 1901), pp. xiii-xviii.

In order to assemble this Lydgatian anthology, Stowe clearly employed a number of manuscripts as exemplars. An incomplete poem entitled "þe batayll of þe psalmes" (fol. 2) is indicated by Stowe to have been copied "out of Master blomefelds boke" - presumably Miles Blomefield the Cambridge antiquary and alchemist.[7] Similarly, Burgh's "A lesson to kepe well þe tongue" (ff. 6^{v} - 7) came "out of Magister Hanlays boke". Stowe identifies several of his sources in this way throughout the volume: "mastar stantons boke" was a particularly useful manuscript, providing Stowe with the originals of his copies of Lydgate's The xv. Oes (ff. 11 - 16^{v}) and the prologue to his Testament (ff. 179^{v} - 183).

Of particular interest here is a collection of poems extending from ff. 131 to 179. This is introduced as a distinct grouping by the following heading: "Here be ginneth serten thinges of Ichn lydgat / copied out of þe boke of Ichn sherley" (f. 131). A colophon is provided on f. 179 which is more specific:

> Here endeth þe workes of Iohn Lidgate w^{ch} Iohn Stowe hath caused to be coppyed out of an owld booke somtyme wryten by Iohn Sherleye as is aboue made mencyvn / Iohn Sherleye wrat in þe tyme of Iohn lydgate in his lyffe tyme.

This information is borne out yet complicated by the evidence of the text itself. It is clear that Stowe "caused" the collection to be transcribed, for a second hand takes over from his own early on, at the top of f. 134^{v}, and continues until the end of the group. The identity of Shirley's "owld booke" is less clear: it has been assumed that T was Stowe's source, because of the 22 pieces in the collection in B, 20 can be found in T. However, the order of the entries is substantially different from that in T. The Mummings, for example, are here grouped consecutively, in an order somewhat different from that of T. (Their order in B is as follows: Mercers' Mumming, ff. 132^{v} - 134; Goldsmiths' Mumming, ff. 134-135^{v}; Eltham Mumming, ff. 135^{v} - 136^{v}; Hertford Mumming, ff. 136^{v} - 140; London Mumming, ff. 140 - 144; Windsor Mumming, ff. 144 - 145^{v}.)

More puzzling is the inclusion of a piece at the end of the group in B, entitled "a kalaundre of Iohn Sherley which . . . he sett in þe beginninge of his booke" (f. 177^{v}). This consists of a versified list of contents of a manuscript compiled by Shirley. The first item mentioned in it is "þe humayne pilgrymage / sayd all by proose in fayre langage" (ll. 21-22), presumably a translation of Deguilleville's Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine, a work which appears in neither T nor B. It is possible that Stowe's scribe took his text of Shirley's poem from a now lost Shirley manuscript which also contained such a translation.[8] Another possibility is that he did indeed work from T, which at that time contained a leaf on

which the "kalaundre" was written. The appearance of this "kalaundre" in T would not necessarily imply that all the works mentioned would be included in the manuscript: British Library Addit. 16165 contains a similar versified list of contents by Shirley which was obviously intended for an earlier compilation.

The Hertford and London Mummings (ff. 136^{v} - 140, 140 - 144) in B are both in the hand of Stowe's scribe. This hand is characterized by a considerably thinner line than Stowe's own, and the lettering tends to be large, loose and quite rounded in contrast to that of the rest of the manuscript. This scribe follows the punctuation of his original, using the (^{u} and virgula, except that the virgula does not tend to be used as often at the ends of lines. Capitalization is much rarer than in T, though, and it hardly ever appears at the beginnings of lines. Orthography also differs markedly from Shirley's, although certain patterns of transcription may be noted. Final e is used more frequently and arbitrarily than in T, and quite often a plural ending in -es in T is simply written with the e in B. Long i is typically represented by y. The Shirleian eo for long e disappears (thos for þeos), and doubling of vowels and consonants tends to be altered whenever it occurs in T. The symbol þ is written as th, except in the case of þ^{e} (y^{e}); and obsolete forms of pronouns, such as hem and hir, are rendered as them and ther.

Substantive variants introduced by Stowe's scribe into the text of the Hertford and London Mummings almost always offer readings inferior to those of T. Occasionally he misunderstands an unusual word in Shirley's text, and substitutes a more familiar one. In line 37 of the Hertford Mumming, for instance, he gives walle for Shirley's nale (an ale-house), and at l. 117 of the same work he writes fryth for the original styth (anvil).

Obviously inadvertent mistakes can also be discovered, such as the substitution of *claynes* for *clay is* at l. 47 of *London*, or *pulgatory* for *purgatory* at l. 87 of *Hertford*. In ll. 53 and 54 of *Hertford*, the words *medecyne* and *metyerde* are both rendered as *medecyne* in *B*: the same phenomenon occurs in *London*, ll. 102 and 103, where *of all* in the first line is repeated in the second, in place of *T*'s *eeke of*. Errors in *T* are usually repeated in *B*: the confusion of pronoun gender that takes place in l. 118 of *London* -- "Loo how *hir* pruyde was brought adowne" -- occurs in both manuscripts; the same thing happens in l. 170 of this work, where *his power* should refer to Dame Fortune. (In fact Stowe's scribe makes this mistake on other occasions, without *T*'s authority: *his* for *hir* at *Hertford*, l. 121 and *London*, l. 77.) *B* also follows *T* uncritically in reading l. 266 of *London* as "*In* meene princes" rather than the more likely "*I* meene": *T* is similarly echoed in l. 115 of this piece in its metrical deficiency, rectified by H. M. MacCracken as "Whiche called [was] Leryopee" (*Lydgate's Minor Poems Part II: Secular Poems*. [Early English Text Society, Old Series 192, 1934], p. 685). Stowe's scribe does correct one obvious mistake in *T*, however. He reads the end of l. 169 in *Hertford* as "six *or* seuen" rather than Shirley's "six *of* seuen".

One detail in the transcript in manuscript *B* indicates most clearly the probability that *T* was its exemplar: a gap occurs in the original text as copied by Stowe's scribe, in the second halves of ll. 6 and 7 of *Hertford*, precisely conforming to the line-halves torn out at the bottom of the leaf containing pp. 39 and 40 in *T*. The missing words, "froward of ther chere" and "fallen on ther kne" have been added in darker ink and

a heavier hand, possibly Stowe's own. It is likely that the gap in T, Stowe's first copy-text, was filled at a later date when Stowe was able to complete the lines with reference to another text of the Hertford Mumming contained in a manuscript owned by one of his colleagues.

It may be argued that the substantive variants in B indicate the use of an exemplar other than T: certain facts, such as the order of selections from Shirley's "owld booke" and the inclusion of Shirley's "kalaundre" have been cited to support this contention (The Chaucer Tradition, p. 227). In reply to this, Eleanor Hammond points out that "the first leaves of the Trinity College MS. are missing . . . . At the end of his set of Shirley extracts, Stowe copies the . . . versified Table of Contents . . . , a table no longer in the Trinity MS. because of its loss of quires at the beginning" (English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey [Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1927], p. 194). It is true that Shirley himself was capable of producing two quite different texts of one poem, even within a single manuscript, as in the case of the versions of Benedic anima mea in T. But Shirley is not unique in his widely varying renditions of a single text, and Stowe's scribe is not above suspicion in this regard. In the case of the Hertford and London Mummings, it has been shown that with a single exception (Hertford Mumming, l. 169) B's variant readings are inferior to the originals in T.[9] Without a careful examination of the actual manuscripts involved, it should thus be cautiously assumed that T, or at least a Shirley manuscript very similar to T, was the source for the Hertford and London Mummings in B.

The Social, Biographical and Literary Background

Throughout his long poetic career, John Lydgate (1370?-1449) seems to

have rarely been without a commissioned project in hand. He was the foremost spokesman in verse for the court, nobility and bourgeoisie, performing the functions of Laureate (which he was in all but name) more wholeheartedly than any English poet has done since. His ceremonious high style was aimed at rendering religious and secular subjects grand, even monumental, so that in his hands the English language gained new resources of vocabulary and higher status as an official medium of poetic expression.[10] In fact, Lydgate was simply participating in a conscious national effort to raise the native vernacular to the level of versatility and precision of French, and even Latin. Henry V, the first English king since Anglo-Saxon times to use English consistently in his official correspondence,[11] clearly endorsed and may have sponsored this growing linguistic ambition. The assertion of new status for the language reflected larger cultural and political claims, of course, and these also influenced Lydgate in his choices of subjects and themes in his more serious poetry. In poetry a link could be forged between the aspirations of early fifteenth-century England and the cultural tradition, revered for its rhetoric, sententiousness and high chivalric ideals, which was traced back to Rome, and ultimately to Troy.[12] Even after the death of Henry V in 1422, Lydgate continued to claim vast tracts of the legendary, historical and philosophical territory pertaining to this tradition, most notably in his immense Fall of Princes.

To the Court as well as the burgesses of London, Lydgate was also in demand simply as an entertainer. But although his typical comic techniques of low style, parody of courtly ideals, and antifeminist satire were given free rein in a relatively small group of shorter poems, they

were usually incorporated as decorative elements within the longer secular works, never being admitted to his religious poetry. Lydgate's typical activity as a poet was to present a fairly consistent and well-defined body of moral commonplaces, clothed and sometimes even obscured with a welter of erudition and rhetorical devices. In works as disparate as The Temple of Glas and The Fall of Princes, the full weight of narrative and descriptive material itself seems to function as a decorative surface for the underlying patterns of decorous attitudes and behaviour which the higher estates of society should learn from and live by. Lydgate's station as a Benedictine monk may well have led him to concentrate in his secular poetry upon the passive virtues of endurance and acceptance of one's given lot. This basic insistence on acceptance, and even resignation, is what unites secular and religious concerns in Lydgate's verse, sometimes even within a single work, most notably The Daunce of Machabray. His secular verse no less than his religious (and the distinction is more pronounced for us than it must have been to the fifteenth-century reader[13]) derived much of its energy from its didacticism: this was its most valued quality, not only for the contemporary audience but for readers through the century and well into the next.[14] Lydgate was eminently successful in meeting the main demand of his audience, that what they read be of practical worth for their own lives.

A far less literary form which Lydgate modified to meet the interests and demands of his audience was the mumming. Out of the traditional seasonal celebration he devised a kind of entertainment which would balance the requirements of the particular event with the taste for didacticism. In response to the demands of his audience, both at Court and in the city, for verbal display and decoration, Lydgate's Mumming poetry was typically

rendered in an elaborate rhetorical style, and there is no reason to doubt that in performance the Mummings themselves were no less visually spectacular. (Six Mummings by Lydgate are extant: as discussed above, they are contained in Trinity College Cambridge MS. R.3.20, compiled by the fifteenth-century scribe John Shirley. A later manuscript by the Elizabethan antiquary John Stowe, now British Library Additional MS. 29729, also contains copies of them.) It may be useful at this point to establish a framework for usage of the word "mumming". When the word is given thus, "Mumming", it refers to a specific composition by Lydgate, such as the Eltham Mumming. When it is given thus, "Mumming", it refers in a less specific way to the form of entertainment for which Lydgate wrote. Thus his six relevant pieces, each of them entitled Mumming, are spoken of collectively or generally as Mummings. Finally, when the word is written thus, "mumming", it refers to the traditional game-like activity of the season, separate from the more sophisticated performances for which Lydgate wrote the verses.

"His muse was of universal access," said Thomas Warton of Lydgate, "and he was not only the poet of his monastery but of the world in general."[15] And indeed, rather than restricting his functions in society, Lydgate's lifelong station as a monk of the great Benedictine abbey of St. Edmund's at Bury gave him the widest possible range of opportunity in the cultural activities of the time. Sponsored by his order, he resided at Oxford's Gloucester Hall from about 1406 to as late as 1412, having probably lived and worked there ten years earlier as well.[16] In addition, since his abbey owned and maintained a house in London for the use of its monks,[17] he would have been enabled to pursue his interests in the city, developing a wide

circle of patrons as he became increasingly in demand as a poet.

One of Lydgate's earliest works was the result of his growing recognition by those of some importance. While at Oxford in the 1390's and early 1400's, he was known to Henry of Monmouth (later Henry V),[18] an acquaintance which resulted in an important commission from the Prince in 1412 to compile a chivalric history of Troy. Translating and expanding Guido delle Colonne's Historia Destructionis Troiae, Lydgate finally completed his Troy Book in 1420. In the process he had carried the matter of Troy further from pagan epic than had his Latin prose source, and the result was a more vivid and lively work than Guido's, as well as being one more encyclopedic in its treatment of knightly attitudes and behaviour.[19]

Another major work was associated with Henry V. The Life of Our Lady (1420 - 1422?) was written by Lydgate at the monarch's "excitacion and styrryng", as the scribe of its best manuscript (Durham University Cosin V.ii.16) puts it. A fine religious poem, The Life seems to have little in common with Troy Book until one notices that in both works the narrative line is of minor importance. What determines the structure of The Life of Our Lady is the progression of holy days between Advent (the Annunciation) and Candlemas (the Purification). The poet has devised a sequence of rhetorically amplified images corresponding to this progression, each image to be considered by the reader or listener on the appropriate occasion.[20] In effect, this work presents a sacred, devotional counterpart to the secular, historically derived patterns of action and behaviour in Troy Book. Like Troy Book, The Life also seems to have answered a practical purpose of Henry's. In 1420 and 1421 the king was interested in the reform of Lydgate's own Benedictine order and would have appreciated the production of verse

works intended to stir a monastic audience into greater devotion.[21]

With the completion of these two major works in the early 1420's, Lydgate entered the decade of his greatest and most varied activity as an official poet. Probably in recognition of past accomplishments and increased public responsibilities, his abbey gave him a sinecure post in 1423, as well as a profitable lease of land.[22] These new sources of income enabled him to maintain and even increase contact with the capital and the royal residences, dependent as he still was on patronage for individual projects.

However, the duties of an official poet were to take him farther afield than this, as they had possibly done already by 1423. John Shirley, who seems to have been especially well-informed about Lydgate, heads his copy of "a devowte Invocacion made by Lydegate to Sainte Denys" (Bodley MS. Ashmole 59, f. 65) with the statement that it was written "at þerequest of Charlles þe Frenshe kynge to let it beo translated oute of Frenshe in to Englisshe". It is unlikely that this refers to Charles VII the hated Dauphin, who was not recognized as monarch by the English until the late 1440's. Shirley must refer instead to Charles VI, who died in October 1422, only two months after the decease of Henry V.

Although the scribal heading is by no means precise, it may suggest that Lydgate was in France, most likely at some time subsequent to the Treaty of Troyes of May 1420. In the following two years, Henry was custodian of the frail Charles, and seems to have been on good terms with him. Paris accepted the English terms of peace on May 27th, 1421, and a month later, Henry married Charles's daughter Catherine in the cathedral of Troyes. During this triumphant period, it is quite likely that Lydgate came across to France to provide celebratory poems, of which only the

Devowte Invocacion can now be postulated as an example. John Shirley would have been well qualified to recall a visit to France made by the poet at this time, as he was secretary to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and military administrator of English territories in France. In this position, Shirley would have attended many of the state occasions of the period, until his return to England in the fall of 1421.[23]

In 1426, Lydgate journeyed again across the channel, and visited Paris as a member of the retinue of John, Duke of Bedford, the English regent in France. In Paris Lydgate undertook some important translation projects, one of which was of the verses accompanying the fresco of the Dance of Death (or Daunce of Machabray), which had been painted in 1424 on the cloister walls of the Holy Innocents.[24] At this time, the Earl of Warwick also commissioned Lydgate to provide him with an English version of Laurent Calot's verses on the genealogy of Henry VI.[25] At Bedford's command, Calot had written this poem in 1423 to accompany an illuminated chart tracing Henry's lineage back to Saint Louis of France and Edward I of England. This combined verbal and visual argument for Henry's right to the French throne was used by Bedford as a propaganda tool. But while Calot's original poem had been part of the effort to quell French resistance, Lydgate's translation was probably intended to address growing English discontent with the high costs of subduing and supporting territory on the Continent.[26] Another important translation project probably undertaken by Lydgate during one of his visits to France was of Guillaume de Deguilleville's Pélerinage de la vie humaine, done at the request of Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury and Royal Lieutenant in France. Like The Pedigree of Henry VI and The Daunce of Machabray, this immense work demonstrates fully a direct relationship between an abstract concept and its

visualized image. In the case of the Pélerinage, and equally of Lydgate's Pylgrymage, this relationship takes the form of an extremely literal allegory: each image presented has a specific moral signification, and is conceived of only in terms of that signification.[27] It would be tempting to speculate that Lydgate had a personal interest in these three projects, especially since the relationship between a static image presented in visual terms and its moral or didactic significance was to assume a more important position than before in his later work.

Returning to England, Lydgate divided his time once more between the capital, the royal residences, and Bury. E. K. Chambers supposed that it was during the ensuing years, from 1427 to 1430, that the poet wrote his Mummings, and this conjecture cannot be seriously challenged (The Medieval Stage [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903], vol. I, p. 397). References to the mayoralty of William Eastfield in headings to the Goldsmiths' and Mercers' Mummings would indicate that they were performed in 1430, while the Mummings for performance at Hertford and Windsor would seem to have been presented at Court, on Christmas of 1428 and 1429 respectively.

By the end of 1431, Lydgate could no longer spare much time for this kind of work, for in that year, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester commissioned him to translate Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium. This Lydgate did by way of Laurent de Premierfait's inflated version in French prose, and the task took him the better part of seven years. From 1431 until his death, he apparently produced only two works which celebrate particular occasions, both of them consisting of pageant verses for royal entries: Henry VI's return from France in 1431, and the arrival of his bride, Margaret of Anjou, in 1445. In his verses for these occasions, Lydgate characteristically produced elaborate speeches and settings, and allegorical,

Biblical and historical figures, thematically co-ordinated to a degree previously unknown in English civic pageantry.

Much of Lydgate's verse was specifically designed to meet the exigencies of particular occasions and events, and this is especially true of his output during the 1420's. The earliest examples of his purely occasional poetry already reveal the catalogues of relevant Biblical and Classical events and figures, as well as the conventional rhetorical techniques of comparison and superlatives employed to dignify the event at hand. Most of these poems were initially intended for Court occasions, for which elaborate display was inevitably of key importance. Though the Lancastrians did not wish to rival what they saw as the prodigality of Richard II, they accepted that "conspicuous consumption", especially on state occasions and feast days, was vital to the retention of regal magnificence.

In providing the ornate celebratory verse desired by the Court for its functions and in turn by the gentry and bourgeoisie for theirs, Lydgate devised scripts to accompany and comment upon the formal action of secular ceremony. These "scripts" did not act as intermediaries between an audience and a mimed performance, as Lydgate's Mummings would do: their role was simply to reflect and magnify the significance of an action or gesture taking place within the audience itself. It would be unwise to make too sharp a distinction between the larger body of occasional poetry and the Mummings themselves, however. After all, several of the Mummings consist of little more than elaborate gestures of respect paid to the key member of the audience. Yet while the Mummings tend more towards entertainment, the other forms of occasional verse are wholly directed towards impressing their audience with the stature of the event or personage celebrated. In

the Mumming performance, the audience's attention is divided between the speaker and the mummers, while in the recitation of a more ceremonial occasional poem, the august recipient of the advice and praise given by the speaker is the focus of attention.

One such occasional poem, simply intended as a presentation poem for a New Year's banquet, is a balade written to accompany the gift of an "eagle" -- a signet or seal with the crest of an eagle -- to the child Henry VI and his mother Queen Catherine. It was probably written previous to Catherine's clandestine marriage to Owen Tudor in 1429, as she is given equal importance to her son as representative of the royal line. In this poem's eleven rhyme-royal stanzas, Lydgate systematically lists the Biblical and Classical allusions to the eagle, explaining the propriety of this gift for the royal mother and son, and finding in it a promise of future glory, stability and prosperity for the monarchy. Through the first five stanzas the refrain directs wishes of good fortune to the little prince: the eagle is an emblem of "your glorye / Honnour and knighthode, conquest and victorie" (ll. 6-7, 13-14, etc.) In the second half of the balade, the refrain is addressed to the Queen Mother, and she is deemed the appropriate recipient of England's hopes for future "Helthe and welfare, Ioye and prosparytee" (ll. 42, 49, etc.), just as her son had been for the nation's future chivalric greatness. Specific literary and religious allusions are all organized in terms of one or the other of the recipients as well.

This balade is found in T on pp. 149 to 152. Shirley declares in his headnote to it that "this balade was gyven vn to þe kyng henry þe vj. and to his moder þe qween Kateryne, sittyng at þe mete". Just how the poem was "gyven" and what significance it had within this occasion are not made clear,

although it is most likely that it was recited before the royal table by a herald while the gift itself was being presented. The whole action is simply a formal gesture of homage to the throne, and thus Lydgate's poem serves to affirm the traditionally and divinely ordained power of the throne to sustain social order. The significance of this balade resides not only in its expressed beliefs about the glory of the monarchy, though. It must also be considered as an element within the organized festivities for the New Year's banquet. If it was recited, or even if it was merely presented as a letter, the "eagle" balade was intended to meet the festive impulses of the season, of gift-giving and sudden interruptions of the ongoing feast. Its delivery would hardly have come as the climax to such an important event, but the glitter of eloquence with which it describes the royal gift must have seemed spectacular to the Court audience.

Almost all of Lydgate's occasional poems for Court celebrations are recorded solely in manuscripts produced for bourgeois readers by John Shirley. John Stevens considers that Shirley's work is typical in the period of "deliberate borrowing of the courtly mode by those outside the charmed circle. The courtly ideal is there rehearsed by those who have learnt the idiom of the language . . . but somehow seem to be missing the meaning."[28] In the case of Shirley's many transcriptions of Chaucer's shorter love poems, or of roundels and balades by William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, this may be true to some extent, but it is far less so with reference to Lydgate. Of course, the difference between Chaucer and Lydgate is the difference between the Courts of Richard II and Henry VI's minority: eloquence and sophistication have largely given way to an urgent need for orthodoxy and stability, and only Suffolk and a few other minor

poets are able to maintain the sense of writing to a coterie audience. The reasons for this are obvious. The threat of religious disorder and rebellion posed by Lollardy in the early fifteenth century had to be quelled, even at the cost of intellectual freedom.[29] The monarchy was still insecure after the violent upheavals that began the century, and the untimely death of Henry V had brought new and old factional rivalries to the surface. Further, and perhaps most important for the literature and entertainment of secular society, was the fact that a new audience was growing among the minor gentry and bourgeoisie, whose tastes and needs were exerting significant influence on the kinds of writing being done. This readership was eager to be exposed to the literature of the Court, but at the same time, its interest inevitably drew Court writers away from the elite circle and towards a greater seriousness and didacticism addressed to society at large. Bourgeois financial and political support had become more crucial than ever in maintaining the costly overseas projects of the Lancastrians, and as a direct result, royally-sponsored literature became involved with convincing this newly powerful class of the magnificence of the Court.

A premier spokesman for the Court in the 1420's, Lydgate demonstrates the effect of these social pressures, above all in his occasional poems recorded in T. For example, in 1422 he wrote a celebratory poem "at þe reuerence of my Lady of Holand and of my Lord of Gloucester to fore þe day of þeyre maryage in þe desyrous tyme of þeyre truwe louyng" (Shirley's headnote, T, p. 158). This work does not convey the sense one might expect, of an intimate audience being addressed. Instead, it gives the impression of having been written for declamation to a large gathering, and whether they were present or not at its delivery, the nobility and bourgeoisie

were certainly interested in the economic and political advantages to be gained from this marriage. Lydgate brings his rhetorical artillery to bear at once on this wider social relevance to the upcoming marriage, using many of the same arguments and literary-historical allusions he would later employ in poems asserting the right of Henry VI to the crowns of England and France.[30] The advantages of marriage are from the start of Lydgate's poem described in terms of the stability, prosperity and honour traditionally to be gained from the peaceful union of two nations:

> And in cronycles autentyk and olde
> Many a story of antyquytee
> Vn to þis pourpoos rehersed is and tolde
> Howe maryages haue grounde and cause be
> Betwene landes of pes and vnytee (T, p. 159, ll. 37-42).

Thus, while apparently dignifying the upcoming marriage with relevant material from literature and history, Lydgate actually seeks to justify it as contributing to the immediate and future well-being of the realm. Despite the romantic note sounded in Shirley's headnote, "in þe desyrous tyme of þeyre truwe louyng", Lydgate addresses the marriage of states, not persons. To be sure, this is not the quality for which the poem would be valued by the first readers of T, who would have relished it as an instance of high ambitions doomed to frustration and failure.

In the poem on Gloucester's approaching marriage and in others of its kind, Lydgate's stance is that of the loyal and respectful subject. He may have been so much in demand as an official spokesman just because he wrote so effectively from this perspective, stressing the ceremony of Court events and the noble aspirations they involved. He typically blends reverence and "muted exhortation"[31] when writing for a Court occasion, but it is difficult to say how much he was adopting a conventional stance in doing so, and how much he modified that convention according to his own

temperament and circumstances. It might be useful to compare Lydgate's stance as a public moralizer to that of Gower.

That Lydgate does tend to adopt a bourgeois perspective in addressing the throne on state occasions can be best demonstrated in his balade for the English coronation of Henry VI in 1429 (T, pp. 154-165). Here he addresses the king much as a pageant speaker in a Royal Entry would do: the tone is respectful yet didactically insistent in offering sententious advice to Henry. The envoy in particular is simply a staccato list of monitory phrases which completely avoids any topical reference:

> Prynce excellent / be feythful / truwe and stable /
> Dreed god / do lawe / chastyce extorcyoun
> Be liberal / of courage vnmutable
> Cherisshe þe chirche / with hool affeccyoun
> Loue þy lyeges of eyþer regyoun /
> Preferre þe pees / eschuwe werre and debate
> And god shal sende from þe heven adovne
> Grace and goode hure to þy royal estate / (T, p. 165, ll. 121-8).

To call this "advice" is an exaggeration: it rather represents a body of attributes and actions which a king must necessarily perform. Lydgate extends his catalogue of these qualities through three stanzas, simply to display them in ceremonious language for the occasion the way the coronation robes and insignia were displayed. B. J. H. Rowe ("King Henry VI's Claim to France", p. 82) postulates that, during the 1431 coronation of Henry VI as French monarch, "some one dressed as Saint Louis and holding the sacred emblems" recited Laurent Calot's poem on the new king's genealogy. If this was so, then here is an interesting example of a political assertion being made simultaneously in costume and verse. Perhaps the Coronation Balade was presented in a similar fashion.

Earlier in this balade, Lydgate had used more sophisticated devices of rhetoric in assembling much the same catalogue of kingly virtues,

clothing it at that point in a sequence of rhetorical comparatives and superlatives as he invited Henry to take on the respective strengths of the Nine Worthies and other great rulers (ll. 49-88). As in the concluding stanzas of his poem on Gloucester's marriage, the poet gives vent to a "sonorous roll-call"[32] of names and titles, thus adding to the overall declamatory effect. He addresses the king from the stance of public spokesman, while Henry himself is seen as completely within his public role, surrounded by his subjects.

Lydgate's characteristic use of moral commonplaces in his official verse possibly was a factor in Shirley's interest in this material for his manuscript anthologies, notably T. While such poems certainly possessed their main value to Shirley's readers as commemorative documents of great occasions, their inclusion in the Trinity volume was also due to their eloquent recitation of proverbial wisdom. The longest work in this manuscript is, after all, the extremely influential Latin prose tract on kingship, the Secretum Secretorum (pp. 269-357), a work which received numerous translations into English during the fifteenth century, including a version in verse by Lydgate and his follower Benedict Burgh. The kind of moral dogma applied to political affairs which marks the Secretum, also enters into a substantial number of the poems in Shirley's collection. Nevertheless, it should be recalled that many of the items in this MS, such as Suffolk's love poems, do not possess such a serious intent. While the inclusion of exclusively courtly verse indicates a desire to capitalize on a fashion, this cannot be said for the majority of the selections, many of which have avowedly been chosen for their "gode counseyle" in matters both religious and secular.

Whatever Gloucester or Henry VI may have gained from the balades Lydgate wrote for them, Shirley and his readers seem to have valued them at least in part as eloquent applications of widely applicable secular wisdom to specific events. The wealth of rhetorical devices provided a fitting repository for this wisdom, like a decorative casing for a precious jewel, or even like a reliquary. To later bourgeois readers, such poetic craftsmanship gained in significance from being dedicated to great personages and occasions. When it lost its immediate value to the original patron, it was inherited by this wider audience.

The Mummings in Performance: Native Traditions

The six Mummings in T, together with a closely related balade in the Bodley MS Ashmole 59, present several problems in ascertaining the relationship between the original performance and the surviving text. In fact, there is no consistent relationship between performance and text to be worked out for the whole group: it must be noted from the beginning that "Mumming" is only a title of convenience, covering a small but heterogenous collection. Shirley himself struggled to indicate the similarities and differences within this group in his headnotes and annotations, but his efforts at differentiation have not been noted carefully enough by subsequent readers and editors. For example, due perhaps to John Stowe's adjoining accounts of Christmas mummings and May games in his Survey of London, (vol. I, pp. 96-98), the Ashmole balade for May festivities at Bishopswood is entitled by its first modern editor "The Mumming at Bishopswood" (H. N. MacCracken, ed., Lydgate's Minor Poems Part II: Secular Poems [London: Oxford University Press, EETS, OS 192, 1934], p. 668). Shirley simply refers to it as a "balade . . . sente by a poursyvant" in his

description of its presentation. He carefully avoids any suggestion of a performance here, while in his headnote to the Eltham Mumming, entitled "balade . . . for a momyng" (p. 37), the distinction between text and performance is apparent.

Suggestive of a more complex relationship between the two is Shirley's introductory description of the Mercers' Mumming as "a lettre made in wyse of balade . . . in wyse of momers desguysed" (p. 171). He even introduces a different term for the performance itself in classifying the Hertford and London Mummings, called "a bille . . . as in a desguysing" (p. 40) and "be deuyse of a desguysing" (p. 55). It seems likely that Shirley wished to preserve what he considered to be an important distinction between the original function of Lydgate's work and the use to which it was now being put. Less clear is why he distinguishes between "momyng" and "desguysing", or even if any difference in mode of presentation is implied at all. Although several ingenious theories have been devised to explain this, none of them can be very satisfying or conclusive, since documentation for performances of secular entertainments in the early decades of the fifteenth century is at best scanty. It should be noted in passing that by the middle of the century the term "mumming" had largely been replaced by the more modern "desguising" as a description of more sophisticated entertainments of an occasional nature at Court and elsewhere. "Mumming" continued to be used into the sixteenth century to describe the more traditional activity (examined below) from which Lydgate's entertainments were derived. For the purposes of studying Lydgate's own work in this sub-genre, however, it may be cautiously assumed that the distinction is as yet a superficial one, and the six poems involved may be classified with impunity as Mummings.

Having considered Shirley's variations in entitling these Mummings, a second, more complex problem emerges. A wide variation in the actual modes of performance seems to be indicated in his headnotes, which cannot be simply reduced to a putative difference between the terms "mumming" and "disguising". For example, two poems, the Mercers' and the Goldsmiths' Mummings, were sponsored by guilds, to be presented before the Mayor of London. Aspiring to the magnificent display of the Court, these guilds commissioned Lydgate's most ostentatious and rhetorically elaborate efforts of the group, and the performances themselves, as Shirley records, were "ordeyned ryallich" (T, p. 171) and "mommed in right fresshe and costele welych" (p. 176). This is not surprising, given the expertise of these two guilds in preparing and presenting spectacular pageantry for outdoor festivities, especially Royal Entries. Another member of Shirley's manuscript grouping, the Eltham Mumming, seems likewise to have been presented by a guild or guilds -- this time an unspecified deputation of "marchaundes" (l. 5) -- on this occasion, before the king. This is the simplest and most traditionally conceived of Lydgate's Mummings: the rudimentary dramatic situation does not seem to allow for the same display of spectacle as in the Mercers' or the Goldsmiths' Mummings, but is directed totally towards the offering of a gift as an act of homage to the king, reminiscent of the very similar gesture made in the "eagle" balade.

In contrast to these guild-sponsored productions, the Hertford and Windsor Mummings were both organized by court officials. As has been capably discussed by E. P. Spencer ("The Master of the Duke of Bedford", The Burlington Magazine CVII [1965], p. 496) and especially B. J. H. Rowe ("Notes on the Clovis miniature", Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd series, XXV [1962]), the Windsor Mumming grew out of the

exclusive milieu of the Court, having been arranged to celebrate Henry VI's upcoming coronation as French monarch in 1430: its main purpose may well have been to bring home to the nine year-old Henry the serious nature of his impending visit to Paris. Accordingly the verses by Lydgate served to explain the origin and significance of the royal insignia of France, much as they were to be explained in a miniature and a poem inserted into a Book of Hours that was presented to Henry at Paris, on Christmas Day of 1430.

Obviously Shirley considered that it was essential that the various distinctions in the modes of performance and the intended audience of these Mummings should be recorded. His informative headnotes would have interested his circle of readers and provided them with factual details otherwise unavailable. With this information, Shirley's texts of the Mummings probably gave a clear impression of the original performance to his readers, who would have been familiar with the basic conventions governing the presentation of such entertainments. However, Shirley did not transcribe the Mummings with any intention that they might be used for future performances, for, as his notes indicate, these poems were associated quite exclusively with the events and festivities that had occasioned them.

An important factor in the continuing interest of the Mummings may simply have been that they were written by the most eminent poet of the time, with whom Shirley seems to have been acquainted. Also, these poems bristle with the names of places, persons and events from Classical mythology, the Bible, and more recent history, and the bourgeois audience aspired to possess such fashionable knowledge, as Shirley's earnest annotations to the more florid passages indicate. But above all, the Mummings

would have possessed interest for the original readers of T because they were lively specimens of entertainment actually provided for eminent audiences on the major feast-days of the Christmas season.

It was inevitable that Lydgate's Mummings should have been rooted so securely in the occasions of their original performance. Mumming had always retained its traditional ties with seasonal celebrations. Lydgate had inherited a form of entertainment that was customarily presented by the citizenry to the chief person of their community -- the lord of the manor, the Mayor of London, or the King himself -- during the sequence of feast-days between Christmas and Candlemas (February 2nd). Traditionally the mumming commenced with a torchlit procession of disguised figures into the banqueting hall at night, interrupting the activities already taking place.[34] In the hall, these visitors would play a dice game called mumchance with their hosts: as late as the seventeenth century, this game was considered to bring good luck for the new year.[35] Then, gifts of symbolic as well as material value would be given to the master of the feast and his immediate retinue, usually in token of his having won the game. A dance usually followed. Throughout the whole game, the mummers maintained silence.

Lydgate's Mummings exhibit some of these characteristics, but in no consistent manner. Disguised mummers do seem to have figured in the performance of each of them, however. As suggested above, the Eltham, Mercers' and Goldsmiths' Mummings were acted out by members of the guilds that had commissioned them; in the other three pieces, it is not possible to determine the amateur or professional status of the performers. However, the likelihood of complex mime in the performance of the London and Hertford Mummings may point to the use of skilled professionals. More indicative

of this possibility is the Windsor Mumming, which is in effect a prologue to the ensuing mime rather than an accompanying commentary. This subordination of text to a quasi-historical re-enactment of topical significance bears some resemblance to the tableau presentations of professional court entertainment in Paris during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[36]

The traditional silence of the mummers is with one exception broken only by the presenter of Lydgate's verses, who from his titles of "poursuyaunt" (in the headnote to the Mercers' Mumming and cf. the headnote to the Bishopswood Balade) and "heraude" (in the headnote to the Goldsmiths' Mumming) was probably a professional hired for the occasions. The exception to this convention of silence among the mummers themselves occurs in the Hertford Mumming, and it is notable enough to receive comment from Shirley: in his headnote to the piece, he specifically mentions "þe boystous aunswere" of the wives (T, p. 40). Other traditional features of the mumming are manifested even less regularly in Lydgate's work. In only two of the texts is there any mention of a gift (Eltham Mumming, ll. 4-5; Goldsmiths' Mumming, ll. 74-77), and the traditional luck-bringing dice game has vanished altogether. However, several of the Mummings contain direct or indirect wishes of good fortune. The Goldsmiths' production, for example, featured a herald to present Lydgate's verses who was "cleped fortune", according to Shirley (T, p. 176); and this presentation concluded with the herald's wish that

> Þe hyeghe lord shal blesse boothe yowe and youres
> Of grace / of fortune sende yowe influence (ll. 93-4).

Likewise, the London Mumming concludes with a wish for "ioye and al prosperytee" (l. 336) made to the whole audience, a wish that has been placed

within the frame of just rewards for virtuous conduct by the sequence of speeches leading up to it.

As is evident by now, one must depend heavily upon Shirley's annotations in T in attempting to reconstruct the actual performances for which Lydgate wrote the scripts. Fortunately, a very full accounts of a mumming that was performed forty years before Lydgate's work has been preserved in Stowe's Survey: even better, the manuscript source for Stowe's description, from British Library Harley MS. 247, is given in Chambers's The Medieval Stage (vol. I, p. 394). The relevant passage in this Harley MS. is slightly more detailed and emphasizes rather different aspects of the scene than does Stowe: it is a chronicle entry for 1377, in which year some citizens of London presented a mumming "upon y^{e} monday next before y^{e} purification of our lady" (Harley MS. 247, f.173) to the then prince Richard II, while he was staying at Kennington. The occasion is similar to that of the 1401 presentation of a mumming to Henry IV: "hee then keeping his Christmas at Eltham, xv. Aldermen of London and their sonnes rode in a mumming, and had great thanks", as Stowe reports (Survey of London, vol. I, p. 97).

The Kennington Mumming offers the first fully recorded instance of a mumming being presented at Court. Reading the Harley account, one realizes that this form of entertainment was primarily a visual spectacle: Lydgate's poems for mummings only preserve one aspect, and perhaps a subordinate one, of the whole performance.

Stowe's source lavishes much attention on the procession towards Kennington through the districts of London. The chronicler recalls the sights and sounds of the event vividly: the procession brings with it the requisite volume of fanfare, a "great noyse of minstralsye, trumpets,

cornets and shawmes" (Harley MS. 247, f. 173^{v}), as well as an abundance of light in the form of "great plenty of waxe torches". All this brilliance and noise serves to draw attention to the greater spectacle of the mummers' costumes:

> . . . and in the beginning they rid 48 after y^{e} manner of esquiers two and two together clothed in cotes and clokes of red say or sendall and their faces covered with vizards well and handsomely made: after these esquiers came 48 like knightes well arayed after y^{e} same maner: after y^{e} knightes came one excellent arayed and well mounted as he had bene an emperour: after him some 100 yards came one nobly arayed as a pope and after him came 24 arayed like cardinals and after y^{e} cardinals came 8 or 10 arayed and with black vizardes like deuils appearing nothing amiable seeming like legates . . . . (Harley MS. 247, f. 173^{v}.)

This parade is typical of street pageantry of the period in that it is organized to express the hierarchies of society. There is no indication that these mummers were to be seen as purely comic figures, although such processions earlier in the fourteenth century had engaged in topical satire in their presentation of the estates (Early English Stages, vol. I, p. 20). Indeed, the emperor and the pope here may have some connection with the Yuletide Lords of Misrule. In his Survey of London, John Stowe implied that a traditional connection existed between the activity of mumming and the Lord of Misrule, a central figure in Christmas festivities in virtually every great house:

> These Lordes beginning their rule on Alhollon Eue, continued the same till the morrow after the Feast of the Purification, commonlie called Candlemas day: In all which space there were fine and subtle disguisings, Maskes and Mummeries, with playing at Cardes for Counters, Nayles and pointes in every house, more for pastimes than for gaine. (Vol. I, p. 97.)

The appearance of citizens disguised as their rulers during the Christmas season echoes deep into the past, as does the incorporation of demonic figures into the general festivity.[37]

The entry of the mummers into the Hall at Kennington in 1377, their reception by Richard and his entourage, and the ensuing game of mumchance have been discussed too many times to require further examination here.[38] The chronicler of the Harley MS. 247 passage does not end his account with the inevitable winning of the game by the royal retinue and the bestowal of golden presents upon them, however. His concluding remarks lead one to suspect that the game of dice already functions as a prelude to the important festivities of drinking and dancing:

> And then y^{e} prince caused to bring y^{e} wyne and they dronk with great ioye, commanding y^{e} minstrels to play and y^{e} trompets began to sound and other instruments to pipe &c. And y^{e} prince and y^{e} lordes dansed on y^{e} one side and y^{e} mummers on y^{e} other a great while and then they drank and tooke their leaue and so departed toward London. (Harley MS. 247, f. 174.)

The event ends as it began, with music and movement expressive of order and hierarchy. The clear demarcation between Court and Commons is even preserved in the form of the dance.

Unfortunately this account of the Kennington Mumming gives no mention of the significance of the disguises adopted by the mummers, other than the remark that the final group in the procession were "like deuils appearing nothing amiable seeming like legates". Perhaps the mummers' costumes were conventional enough to pass without comment, for no herald was present to expound upon them as there would be for a Tournament procession or for the pageants of a Royal Entry. However, such a herald-presenter would be required for the performance of the Mummings devised by Lydgate. The disguises adopted for these entertainments tended to have a complex, sometimes even an allegorical significance (if Lydgate's verses are any indication), which could not be understood simply in terms of the ranks and degrees of society.

Glynne Wickham has argued that the pressure upon the mumming to conform to the Court's sense of decorum, as is evident in the Kennington performance of 1377, came with the incorporation into it of conventions and emblems from the most popular form of entertainment at Court, the Tournament (Early English Stages, vol. I, pp. 50, 189-90, 207). Aristocratic customs and attitudes inevitably shifted the mumming somewhat from its seasonal focus towards the celebration of secular order. This was possible because the two forms of entertainment shared several characteristics. Just as in the mumming, a central theme of the Tournament is disguised identity, emblematically expressed. The visored knight asserts his qualities and lineage in terms of the devices on his shield, or he uses significant colours and emblems in order to enter one of the many stereotyped roles deriving from Arthurian romance (Early English Stages, vol. I, pp. 45-49). By the end of the fourteenth century, tourneying had become a customary feature of great public festivities. The first Christmas feast held in Westminster Hall, in 1399, was celebrated "with dayly Iustings, and runnings at Tilt, whereunto resorted such a number of people, that there was euerie day spent twentie eight, or twentie sixe Oxen, and three hundred sheepe, besides fowle without number" (Survey of London, vol. II, p. 116). This use of the Tournament as an expression to the nation at large and to foreigners of the magnificence of the Court reached its height during the long reign of Richard's grandfather, Edward III (Early English Stages, vol. I, p. 20).

In addition to the Tournament, civic ceremony and pageantry seem likely to have influenced the performance techniques of the mumming. After all, the mumming still retained its close ties with the guilds and

civic officers in the 1420's, when these bodies commissioned Lydgate to write for their entertainments at Court and elsewhere. By long-standing custom, the city officers and the heads of the major victualling and crafts companies of London held an integral place in the celebrations of the major feast-days, from the most solemn occasions to the most joyous.[39] More important, the guilds and officers of London had been providing outdoor pageants for Royal Entries since the thirteenth century (Early English Stages, vol. I, p. 53). By 1400, this form of celebratory entertainment had achieved a certain sophistication in its use of emblematic spectacle and elaborate costumes and machinery. Like the mumming, pageantry for Royal Entries often culminated in the presentation of a valuable and significant gift to the monarch, but to a greater extent than the indoor entertainment, this street pageantry was employed for the same non-specific moralizing on the duties of kingship that Lydgate and other writers employed constantly in their occasional and political writings. The staging and actual performance of Royal Entry pageants seem to have been largely the responsibility of the guilds, not least the Mercers and Goldsmiths (Early English Stages, vol. I, p. 94). It is possible that the techniques of production developed for Royal Entries by these bourgeois companies had some effect on the composition of Lydgate's Mummings, and especially on their actual production.

Domesticated into asserting and celebrating the order of secular society, the mumming could take its place as the indoor counterpart of the Tournament and the Royal Entry. However, it was an activity that could become disorderly and threatening when not directed towards its proper audience in the banqueting hall. As early as 1334, civil author-

ities forbade the practice of going about the streets at Christmas with a visor or false face. This London ordinance was renewed in 1393, in 1405 and again as late as 1512. Entering citizens' houses to play at dice -- mumchance -- was also forbidden in the order of 1393; and in 1417, "mummyng" was specifically included in a like prohibition (E. K. Chambers, Medieval Stage, vol. I, pp. 393-394). These official attempts to bring the mumming under control reached their peak in the reigns of Henry IV and V, when disorderly and seditious activities seemed most threatening to the established order. This danger was never more apparent than in 1400:

> And yn þe first yere of King Henrye3 regne he hilde his Cristismasse yn þe Castell of Wyndesore; and on þe twelfthe evyn come þe Duke of Awmarle vnto þe King and told hym þat he & þe Duk of Surrey, þe Duk of Excestre, þe Erle of Salusbury, þe Erle of Gloucestre & oþir moo of her afinite were accorded to make a mummyng vnto þe king on xij^{the} day at nyght; and þere þay cast to slay þe King yn hir revelyng and þus þat Duke warned þe King. [40]

Again in 1414, it was said that "Lollers hadde caste to have made a mommynge at Eltham, and undyr coloure of the mommynge to have destryte the Kyng and Hooly Chyrche." [41]

Just as the Tournament had been savage and uncontrollable before it was invested with the weight of symbolism and formal structure in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Early English Stages, vol. I, pp. 13-16), the mumming was clearly capable of posing a threat to civil order. However, in the hands of Lydgate and his immediate predecessors, it became a valuable instrument for the glorification of the monarchy and the existing social hierarchy. This can already be detected in the Kennington Mumming, where the attention of the Harley chronicler settles

upon the actions of procession and game and finds in them an elaborate gesture of respect to Richard II.

It is perhaps fortuitous that there have emerged no records of processions leading up to the performances of Lydgate's Mummings, but the available evidence does suggest that they were entertainments whose whole importance was contained and expressed within the banqueting hall. Their themes and styles support and harmonize with the attitudes and beliefs of their audiences. The natural, seasonal symbolism of the traditional form is replaced, or at least heavily overlaid with an artificial system of moral, allegorical and rhetorical significances. The immediate requirements of the noble or bourgeois audience have particularized the frame of reference of the mumming, and as a direct result Lydgate is able to incorporate stylistic and thematic features from his occasional verse into his Mummings. The King's impending visit to France to claim his sovereignty, or the celebration of a prosperous year for the Mercers' Guild: these are the situations for which Lydgate is commissioned to write, and so he must work under a different scale of decorum than that of the traditional form of indoor Christmas entertainment. The cyclical sense of seasonal change has been submerged, to be replaced by a historical and social perspective.[42] Thus it is to history that Lydgate turns in order to find the appropriate context in which to place the occasion for which he is writing.

Forms of Emblematic Presentation: a French tradition?

Throughout his work, but especially in those poems written subsequent to his sojourns in France, Lydgate persistently renders pictures into words. This activity takes place at various levels, so to speak, in his verse.

It is manifested most obviously in those works commissioned to accompany and comment upon actual visual representations. For example, John Shirley describes Lydgate's Life of Saint George as "þe devyse of a steyned halle of þe lyf of Saint George . . . made with þe balades at þe request of þarmorieres of London for þonour of þeyre broþerhoode and þeyre feest of Saint George" (T, p. 74). Similar in its occasional function to this Saint's life is "an ordenaunce of a precessyoun of þe feste of corpus cristi made in london" (T, p. 349), written for the Skinners' Company to provide written or recited glosses on the figures presented in their annual parade. Lydgate's translation of Calot's poem on the genealogy of Henry VI is an equally functional explanation of an actual picture, as is his Daunce of Machabray, though the latter work stands on its own as a fine poem, apart from its original function of accompanying a visual representation of the theme. In all these poems Lydgate uses a minimum of rhetorical decoration, confining himself to a fairly even line of narration or exposition. The eloquence or affective quality of the whole presentation has largely been left to the visual representations themselves.

In Lydgate's Pylgrymage of the Lyf of Man, translated from Deguilleville, the relationship between visual image and word is centred upon the poem itself. Manuscripts of the various translations of this work were often illustrated copiously, as can be seen from the wide selection of such MS miniatures in Rosemund Tuve's Allegorical Imagery.[43] Nevertheless, the text of this poem does not support these pictures: concrete visual form is given to abstract qualities within the text itself. The images are contained in the language, but are rendered into actual pictures for didactic emphasis, and for devotional purposes.

The relationship between the visual image and its verbal expression takes the dimensions of a formal principle in the Fall of Princes, in which Lydgate presents the fallen great as a succession of static figures. From an examination of each one's deeds and especially his or her fate, Lydgate tends to abstract a generalized type of kingship. Frequently he introduces a character with a description of his or her woebegone or steadfast appearance, the ensuing tragedy providing the particular circumstances for this physical expression and the stock attitude it represents. Referring to D. W. Robertson's more general considerations on this aspect of the relationship between late medieval art and literature,[44] Derek Pearsall sheds some light upon this formal technique of Lydgate's:

> The medieval technique of isolating significant figures in a series of "stills", related by concept rather than by organic composition, to which the very nature of glass-painting and panel-painting lent itself so readily, is here translated directly into a technique of verbal composition. Saints in their niches or vertical lights, the Nine Worthy in a tapestry sequence such as that in the Cloisters, New York (where they are portrayed in architectural niches), are evidence of the same principle of conceptual organization as the processional sequences of the Fall literature or, for that matter, of the Danse Macabre. (John Lydgate, pp. 180-181)

Incorporated into the poem itself, the visualized image could serve as a pattern of decoration, as in the conventions of seasons-description and locus amoenus.[45] It could also function as a vehicle for allegory, or even be used as a recurrent motif to provide the work with a cumulative impression of unity. In all these manifestations, the visual image was a tool of rhetoric, one with a long and dignified tradition stretching back to the Horatian ut pictura poesis and beyond. But particularly during the fifteenth century, actual pictorial representation was taken to have an impact akin to that of verbal rhetoric. Ernst Curtius has noted that "In the

Florentine quattrocento Leon Battista Alberti advised painters to familiarize themselves with "poets and rhetoricians" who could stimulate them to discover . . . and give form to pictorial themes" (European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 77). Thus, as poets continued to turn to the concept of the picture in order to obtain specific rhetorical effects, so now the artists themselves decided to reciprocate their attention. Not only were literary themes worthy of the artist's study, but he worked to gain new precision of effect by studying verbal devices traditionally considered to be of a kind with pictorial techniques.

One need not look so far as Italy to find evidence of artists' interest in the rhetorical potential of visual imagery. This potential was already being realized by French and Flemish painters, of whom Johan Huizinga declared:

> It is an error to suppose that only literature cultivated this stylistic ornamentation, and that art was exempt from it. Art also displays the same pursuit of novelty and rich variety of expression. In the pictures of the brothers Van Eyck there are parts which might be called "rhetorician-like": for example the figure of Saint George presenting Canon van de Paele to the Virgin at Bruges. The magnificent helmet, the gilt armour, . . . the dramatic gesture of the saint, all this is closely akin to Chastellain's grandiloquence. (The Waning of the Middle Ages [1924; rept. New York: Anchor, 1954], pp. 296-297.)

Both Huizinga and Erwin Panofsky have commented at length on the way in which the most familiar and conventional elements of iconography were pushed to extremes at this time, becoming either infused with naturalistic elements or loaded with an ever greater freight of decoration that often reflected specific social or political concerns and events.[46] The Burgundian court chronicler Chastellain and the English court poet Lydgate both tended to the latter course, Chaucer to the former. This

becomes clear in considering Chaucer's supreme accomplishments in the ut pictura poesis field: the portraits of the pilgrims in the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales; and the descriptions of the three temples in the Knight's Tale, notably that of the Temple of Mars. These are not simply rhetorically brilliant passages. Their real strength should rather be termed "narrative". Description in precise visual terms does not become diluted in a proliferation of detail, but is used to advance the thematic and narrative flow. A sense of vividness and concreteness to what is described is achieved, particularly in the General Prologue, by Chaucer's sparing use of naturalistic detail within a framework that owes much to conventions of "characterization" according to social rank and iconographic configurations. In Lydgate's work, though, extended description tends to function much more as a set-piece, providing either an additional decorative surface or a vehicle for simple didactic pronouncement. The impression is of breadth and brilliance of surface rather than depth. These approaches used by Chaucer and Lydgate respectively to pictorial description might be judged in terms of the former poet's economy and the latter's extravagance with rhetorical techniques, though such a comparison would be anachronistic. Poets later in the fifteenth century were to see these two virtually on a par of excellence, extolling Chaucer "whos pullishyd eloquence / Oure englysshe rude so fresshely hath set out" (Skelton, Garland of Laurell, ll. 421-422) in the same terms as Lydgate, "most dulcet spryng / Of famous rethoryke" (Hawes, Passetyme of Pleasure, ll. 1318-1319).[47] Looking at Chaucer and Lydgate across a greater expanse of time, one realizes that they represent two separate tendencies in the pictorial tradition of the time, towards greater naturalism and greater decoration within the details of a described scene.

Whatever Lydgate's Mummings owe to Chaucer in verbal and stylistic echoes, they reflect a very un-Chaucerian concept of the relationship between picture and word, as between two static and highly decorated surfaces. The emphasis, as far as one can tell, was placed on splendour of costumes and gifts in the actual performance of most of the Mummings and thus movement was probably secondary to the presentation of a tableau, the mummers and their finery providing a backdrop to the reciting presenter. As a result, unlike the functional plainness of most of Lydgate's picture-poems, a complex series of ornate surfaces could be explored within the spoken text itself. Beyond the gestures of respect common to all Lydgate's Mummings, nothing much need happen in the performance of one of them. Generally the verse introduces the visual display, and relates it to relevant points within the expanse of scriptural and Classical history and literature. Never does it accompany an ongoing action performed by the mummers other than the presentation of a gift, although such action could have been improvised by the mummers themselves. Ultimately the Mummings must be seen as recited poems with mimed accompaniment rather than performed scripts.

Lydgate's recourse to a "Classical tradition" (that is, to florilegia of Biblical and Classical extracts organized into topics)[48] in writing his Mummings can be seen as the root of his rhetorical and expository style in them. To some extent, as shall be discussed below (pp. 68-72), his conception of such a tradition also influenced the way in which the Mummings were presented. However, Lydgate may not have derived his concept of secular, occasional entertainment solely from such literary sources. Civic pageantry may have influenced him, and although the traditional

activity of mumming was molded into a new form in his hands, its basic impulses still provided some impetus.

Further, occasional entertainments of a topical nature had been performed indoors in Paris for various significant events from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Lydgate's visits to France may have brought him into contact with something of this secular dramatic activity, which had impressed Geoffrey Chaucer with its technical wizardry forty years earlier,[49] and which was to impress English visitors frequently during the years between the Treaty of Troyes (1422) and the French coronation of Henry VI (1431). Chaucer's emphasis on the amazing stage devices and costumes of the tregetoures in alluding to performances of 1377 and 1389 at the French Court (The Franklin's Tale, V, ll. 1139-1150)[50] set the tone for subsequent accounts of secular performances in Paris:

> For ofte at feestes have I wel herd seye
> That tregetours, withinne an halle large,
> Have made come in a water and a barge,
> And in the halle rowen up and doun.
> Somtyme hath semed com a grym leoun;
> And somtyme floures sprynge as in a mede;
> Somtyme a vyne, and grapes white and rede;
> Somtyme a castel, al of lym and stoon;
> And whan hem lyked, voyded it anon.
> Thus semed it to every mannes sighte. (ll. 1142-1151.)

Although such court entremets as those alluded to here had involved speeches and even dialogue,[51] these were strictly subordinated to the visual spectacle of the presentation. Indeed, a strong tradition of mimed presentation developed in France during the fourteenth century, which was manifested especially in the many processional performances of mystères mimés. These dumb shows were noted for their mingling of sacred and secular elements, and as Grace Frank indicates, they "were usually given at great festivals or on the occasion of the visits of

royalty" (Medieval French Drama, p. 165). The Bourgeois of Paris records one such performance before Henry V in 1422:

> Pour l'amour du roi et de le reine d'Angleterre et des seigneurs de leur suite, les gens de Paris pour les fêtes de la Pentecôte jouèrent en l'hôtel de Nesles le mystère de la passion de saint Georges.[52]

The choice of subject for this occasion was particularly apt, for Saint George was the patron of England and of Henry himself.

Religious themes were turned more completely to secular purposes in the mystères for the Royal Entry of Henry VI into Paris in 1431:

> Et depuis . . . vers la seconde porte de la rue Saint-Denis, avoit personnage, sans parler, de la Nativité Nostre-Dame, de son mariage, et l'Annunciacion, des Trois Rois, des Innocens, et du bonne homme qui semoit son bled. Et furent ces personnages tres bien joues. Et sur la porte fut jouée la legende de Saint Denis; et fut voulentiers veue de Anglois.[53]

As the Burgundian chronicler Monstrelet notes in this passage, the last of these tableau-like presentations made a particularly great impression upon the visiting Englishmen. An English account of the event describes this impression in more striking terms:

> And þere was neyder man nor chylde þat any wight myght perceyue þat ever chaunged any chere or countenaunce alle the tyme duryng bot held theire contenaunce as they had been ymages peynted so that all peple þat saw hem seyd þat they sawe neuer in þeire lyves suche a noder sight.[54]

The novelty of this impressive presentation was probably greater for the humbler members of the English entourage than for the visiting royal circle itself, since Henry and his Court had witnessed a Mumming at Windsor Castle shortly before departing for France which had apparently used similar techniques of performance. Like the mystères of the Royal Entry into Paris, this Mumming took the form of a virtually static tableau, which in this case depicted the coronation of France's first Christian king, Clovis,

and the bestowal upon him of the holy emblems of the French monarchy. Unlike the Paris productions, it was deemed necessary for this tableau to be prefaced by recited verses, which were provided by Lydgate. These verses comprise the so-called Windsor Mumming, described by Shirley as a "devyse of a momyng" (MS. T, p. 71). Working perhaps in conjunction with a Court official who prepared the actual "momyng" itself, Lydgate appropriated the story of the divine bestowal of royal insignia upon Clovis, in order to claim divine approval for Henry's upcoming coronation and to impress upon the young Henry himself the significance of his upcoming visit to Paris.[55] The story of the reception of the fleurs-de-lis and the sacred ampulla of oil by Clovis had already been dramatized during the fourteenth century as Le baptême de Clovis, one of the forty Miracles of Our Lady composed for performance by the Guild of the Goldsmiths of Paris.[56] While the emphasis in this earlier Miracle Play had been on the acceptance of Christianity by Clovis, Lydgate was more concerned with re-asserting Henry's divine right to the French throne.

In turning a sacred miracle to propagandistic use, Lydgate was drawing on rhetorical techniques developed in his earlier political verse. In particular, he elaborates upon the genealogy of Henry, who is scion of the royal lines of Edward I of England and St. Louis of France, a claim which the poet had begun to work with in his 1426 translation of Calot's pedigree poem (see p. 19). As the Windsor Mumming was meant to be actually recited as prologue to a mimed performance, however, dramatic techniques developed in France for similar situations may have offered useful precedents. Certainly the tableau-like presentation of the miracle of the coronation of Clovis which followed his verse prologue bears some resemblance in its probable manner and intent to various recorded entremets

of the French Court: like them, it was a re-enactment of a historical event, and was presented to inculcate a stronger commitment to a political cause. In the same way, the 1378 performance of the taking of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Boulogne had been arranged to stir up new interest in a Crusade at the Court of the French king, Charles V.[57] Likewise, the Duke of Bedford's meeting at Paris with the Burgundians was marked by his arrangement for an entremet to be performed before Philip of Burgundy showing the Dauphinist murder of Philip's father, John the Fearless.[58] Also similar to the presentation of the Windsor Mumming was the enactment during Henry's Royal Entry into Paris of his own coronation, which, like the Windsor performance was prefaced by a verse description.[59] Whether or not specific parallels can be drawn between French theatrical techniques in the mystères mimés, entremets and outdoor pageants, and English occasional entertainments devised by Lydgate and his compatriots, it is very likely that the impressive mime and magnificent spectacle of French performances was well known to them and may have been emulated by them.

Up to this point I have surveyed the social, literary and dramatic factors that may have influenced Lydgate in his writing of the Mummings. Forms of ceremony at Court and in the City of London have been considered, as well as parallel developments in France and the tradition of mumming itself. Obviously, Lydgate's own status as a poet, his particular duties, and the cultural aspirations of his patrons have had to be discussed as well. Now it may be worthwhile to examine some of the Mummings themselves, in order to discover these influences at work and, more important, to get a clearer idea of the scope and intent of the entertainments for which

these poems were intended. A caveat should be issued at this point, however, which will gain in significance as this discussion proceeds: Lydgate's Mummings are probably only the fragments surviving from a rich secular dramatic activity at the time in England. Given the wide divergences in style in these few fragments, it would be foolish to generalize about the nature of such activity, especially before the complete records of performances in the City and at Court during the early fifteenth century have been carefully examined and considered.

The Eltham Mumming

As a poem and as an accompaniment to a performance, the Eltham Mumming is the simplest of the pieces under discussion, and thus has tended to be considered as the earliest of them as well. It was prepared for the Christmas festivities at the royal residence to the south-east of London. The specific event for which the entertainment was prepared was the presentation of "Wyne, whete and oyle by marchaundes pat here be" (l. 5) to the young Henry and his mother Queen Catharine. The significance of this presentation is manifested in two ways: by Lydgate's stanzaic refrain, "Pees with your lieges, plente and gladness", which changes to "Ay by encreesse Ioye and gladness of hert" in a direct address to the Queen Mother in the poem's latter half; and by reference to three Classical deities, whose emblems the commodities presented seem to be. The pattern of correspondence between actual gift, deity and particular quality or attribute of that deity is set in the opening line of Lydgate's poem, in which Bacchus is entitled "god of pe glade vyne". Similarly, Ceres, "goddesse of corne" (l. 43), is also seen as the bringer of a more general and abstract benefit, "foulsomnesse"

with the abrupt mention of "þe Hooly Trynytee" in line 19, which is meaningless except as the most exalted manifestation of the number three. The number itself leads the poet to the Bible for suitable examples, not in the least at odds with the Classical material that is exploited for similarly decorative effects. In this context the sacred and "pagan" sources are analogous in that they are both quarries from which suitable names and references may be hewn and fitted into the cumulative structure of the poem.

It is not easy to provide a sensible description of the way in which the Eltham Mumming would have been fitted to the actual performance. Wickham (Early English Stages, vol. I, pp. 199-200) considers that the deities referred to in the text were not impersonated by the mummers, whose sole function was to offer the gifts to Henry and Catherine virtually in propria persona, as "marchandes" (l. 5). Pearsall and Schirmer both search for evidence of a more elaborate production: "There is the suggestion of two groups of actors, one group of three deities in a plateau, another group of 'marchandes' who present the actual gifts";[60] "Mars may also have been represented, only to be driven away again . . . in view of the present union between England and France."[61] There is no reason why the presentation of this Mumming would have required more actors than the merchants and the presenter, however. The tendency to attribute a concrete presence in the acting place to every name alluded to in the text can easily lead to ridiculous extremes.

The gifts themselves were certainly visible, however, and they would have held much the same focal importance in the whole visual spectacle as they do in the text itself. The costumes of the merchants as envoys of Juno, Bacchus and Ceres would likewise have provided accompanying spectacle,

reflecting the patterns of decorative names in Lydgate's poem. The wine, wheat and oil are said to stand for happiness, plenty and peace, but they are also essential commodities which the Court would consume in large quantities throughout the coming year. It is not obtuse to wonder if these gifts are being offered in this ceremonious way to celebrate not only the Christmas season but more specifically the renewal of the victuallers' companies' contracts with the Court. The appropriation of Classical deities by the merchants as patrons for their gifts indicates their desire to display a certain sophistication before the prince and his circle, which may result from their growing sense of importance in the Court's economic affairs.

In writing the verse for this performance, Lydgate may to some extent have been supervised or directed by a member of the guilds involved, who indicated the key themes of the occasion and perhaps suggested how these should be worked out. This possibility becomes more credible when one considers the wide range of attitudes toward the audience and the various styles exhibited in the Mummings as a group. Working entirely on his own, Lydgate must have had a remarkable familiarity with and sensitivity to each set of circumstances. He may have been this aware of the immediate situations governing the kinds of entertainment suitable for each occasion, but it is equally likely that he provided the verse more or less to order, even working under a devisor as he would do in 1431, collaborating with the city clerk of London, John Carpenter, in preparing the pageants for Henry VI's triumphant Entry into the City (D. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 171).

The Mercers' Mumming

This sensitivity to the requirements of the immediate occasion is

especially apparent in the Mercers' Mumming, intended for performance before William Eastfield, Mayor of London in 1429-1430 and himself a member of the Mercers' Company. As in the Eltham Mumming, an impression gradually forms in reading this piece that its performance may have celebrated a recent success of the Company even as it honoured the Mayor and the festive occasion, Twelfth Night. Lydgate's verses accompanied a notably spectacular performance, "ordeyned ryallich", as Shirley records. In fact, the three ships alluded to in Lydgate's verses may have been introduced into the acting area, although as shall be seen the mummers themselves did not appear until the recitation of these verses was completed. Sydney Anglo and Gordon Kipling, interested in the early Tudor Court as progressive and innovative in its theatrical presentations, stoutly reject the possibility of actual pageants being used at this early date in the banqueting hall.[62]

In accordance with this unspecified visual magnificence, Lydgate deploys a rich assortment of Classical names and allusions in the Mercers' Mumming, which to an even greater extent than in the Eltham Mumming bespeaks the cultural aspirations of the wealthy bourgeoisie. Initially the presenter describes the vitalising progress of Jupiter through a Mediterranean world resounding with fabulous place-names and references to myth. Quotation from this passage is rendered almost impossible, as it flows headlong for sixty-three lines in a torrent with no trace of a controlling syntactic frame. The initial subject, "Moost mighty lord Iubyter þe Greet" (l. 1) is lost sight of even before the second rhyme royal stanza comes to an end. The name "Iubyter" gives way to or perhaps stands for an undefined impulse or energy, which, from the nature of the examples Lydgate chooses to indicate the progress of the journey, seems to be eloquence or rhetoric

itself, springing from mythological origins:

> Conveyed dovne / where Mars in Cyrrea
> Haþe bylt his paleys vpon þe sondes rede /
> And she / Venus / called Cytherrea
> On Parnaso / with Pallas ful of drede
> And Parseus with his furyous stede
> Smote on þe roche where þe Muses dwelle
> Til þer sprange vp al sodeynly a welle
> . . .
> Of which þe poetes þat dwelle in þat cuntree
> . . .
> Ar wont to drynk (T, p. 172, ll. 8-14, 17, 20).

Thomas Gray, an admirer of Lydgate, would use the same concept of eloquence as a vitalising impulse in the first section of his Progress of Poetry Ode. Both poets rely on the familiar rhetorical topics of the onset of dawn or of springtime as figures for this impulse, as it moves northwards and eastwards.

Jupiter does reappear as a more or less concrete personage in the sixth stanza, and at this point Lydgate begins to introduce a quasi-dramatic context for the actual recitation of this Mumming:

> Out of Surrye by many straunge stronde
> Þis Iubyter haþe his lettres sent
> Thoroughe oute Europe / where he did lande
> And frome þe heven came dovne of entent
> To ravisshe shortly in sentement
> ffayre Europe mooste renommed of fame
> Affter whome yit al Europe hereþe þe name (T, p. 173, ll. 36-42).

In one of his many notes to this text, Shirley emphasizes the anecdotal and etymological nature of this passage: "Poetes faynen þat þe gret god Iupiter came dovne from heven for to rauisshe a kynges doughter cleped Europa affter whame alle þe cuntreys of Europ bereþe þe name" (T, p. 173). However, Lydgate himself seems less concerned with providing his audience with tidbits of fashionable information than he is with extending his image of "the progress of poetry", or rather rhetoric, onto the European continent. More important, this reference to the Europa story provides a context for

the introduction of the motif of the letter being sent, a convention of publicly declaimed occasional verse also used by him in the Bishopswood Balade, the Goldsmiths' Mumming and the Eagle Balade. Jupiter's figuratively and literally fertilizing impact on the land he encounters now gives way to a second progress, of his letter-bearing "poursuyant" (l. 43) towards England.

From this point onwards, the route described by Lydgate takes on a double function that is never precisely expounded: on the one hand, the pursuivant's own travels are being described; but on the other, these travels seem to follow an actual trade-route through the Mediterranean. Rather abruptly, Lydgate alters his frame of reference from Classical myth to actual geographical place-names, a transition which is effected by commencing the journey of the pursuivant in the Holy Land:

> By fflome Iordan coosteying be cuntree
> Where Iacob passed / whylome with his staff /
> Taking his shippe to seylen at poort Iaffe (T, p. 173, ll. 47-49).

Significantly in light of what follows, reference to the River Jordan evokes an echo from the story of Jacob's return to the Promised Land, laden with booty, livestock and a large family after years of service to his uncle Laban. Of course, Shirley spots the allusion and quotes the relevant verse in the margin of his manuscript: "In baculo isto transiui Iordanem istum" (MS. T, p. 173; Gen. xxxii: 10). With this reference to the first successful businessman of Biblical history on his way home, Lydgate provides an exact time and place of departure for the pursuivant: the port of Jaffa, sometime during the period "In Aquarye whane Phebus shoon ful sheene" (l. 51), that is, between January 20th and February 18th. Such precision, particularly in the case of the actual port of departure, might not have been aimed for if the journey in question was purely fanciful.

In the ensuing stanzas, mythological references become incorporated into a sometimes obscure pattern of trade-symbolism which is based at least in part on the Gospel story of the miraculous draught of fishes (Luke 5: 1-11; cf. John 21: 1-13). All the time, the presenter of the Mumming claims to be relating what Jupiter's pursuivant actually witnessed, and he does so in a bizarre blend of nautical precision and emblematic imagery. Three ships are described, the first located "On þe right syde of a crystal rooche" (l. 59), somewhere near "þe ryver of Geene" (l. 53), while the second and third are moored in "þee see of Brutes Albyoun / Nowe called Themse" (ll. 76-77). This trio of ships is arranged in a fairly precise schema, the first and third of them relating to the unsuccessful and successful attempts to catch fish of the Gospel passage. As if they occupied facing pages of illustration in a manuscript or opposite panels on a painted cloth hanging, both these vessels are given a motto-like caption, which seems to occupy a specific physical location within the picture as a whole. The first fishing vessel is "entitled" in this manner:

> And on þoon syde þer were lettres sette
> þat sayde in Frenshe þis raysoun / Grande travayle
> Þis aunswere next in ordre / Nulle avayle (T, p. 173, ll. 61-63).

In an intriguing manoeuvre, Lydgate here translates the typical relation between caption and illustration into recited verse. The resulting icon of failure gains significance by echoing Simon Peter's expression of frustration: "We have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing" (Luke v: 5). The French motto, "Grande travayle . . . Nulle avayle" is likewise a crystallization of a generalized predicament.

The second half of this fishing motif is provided near the end of the Mumming, in Lydgate's description of the third ship. Now the second part of

the Gospel story is employed to produce an icon of success:

> And in a boote on þat oþer syde
> Anoþer fissher droughe his nette also
> fful of gret fisshe (Neptunus was his guyde)
> With so gret plentee he nyst what til do
> And þer were lettres enbrouded not fer froo
> fful fresshly wryten þis worde / grande peyne
> A nd cloos acording with þis resoun / grand gayne (ll. 85-91).

Deftly masking the scriptural basis to his image by alluding to "Neptunus" as the "guyde" to this success, Lydgate devises a static emblem mirroring that of the first boat, as is clear from the parallel caption. His remark that this motto was "enbrouded not fer froo" the boat itself indicates the extent to which he was conceiving of a visual scene, as if a tapestry, in terms of the conventional relationship between text and illustration as between general statement and concrete manifestation.

In the context of these two complementary images, the intervening description of the seccnd ship is more dynamic. This vessel does not remain stationary within a carefully devised frame with a suitable legend, but rather seems to precede the ship of Jupiter's pursuivant on the difficult route past the Mediterranean to England. It is set off from the unavailing effort of the first fishing vessel by the extent of this route, which is measured in terms of the dangers it involves, passing "many a rokk" (l. 64):

> Thoroughe þe daunger and the streytes of Marrokk
> Passyng þe parayllous currant of Arragoun
> So forþe by Spaygne goyng envyroun
> Thoroughe out þe Raas and rokkes of Bretaygne (T, p. 174, ll. 66-69).

and arriving at last, "by grace of Goddes hand" (l. 73), in English waters.

As Rudolph Brotanek indicated in a note to his 1902 edition of the Mumming (Die Englischen Maskenspiele [1902; New York: Johnson, 1964], p. 322), the description of this second ship involves a play on the name of

the Mayor, William Eastfield: "in a ffeld þat droughe in to þe eest / . . . he sawe a shippe vnlade" (ll. 78-79). Lydgate may have been referring to an actual voyage, made by a ship of Eastfield's, or else financed by him, from Jaffa to London by way of "þe gret gulff of Venyse" (l. 52). If this were so, it would seem likely that the voyage began sometime around the end of January 1429, about ten months before Eastfield's investiture as Mayor of London on October 28th (O.S.).[63]

Obviously, an attempt to reconcile the subject of this Mumming to a particular situation is bound to be hampered by a lack of available documentary evidence. What, for example, should one make of the two fishing boats? Do they represent actual failures and successes met by the merchant ship, or are they simply formal emblems within the poem? Certain features of Lydgate's description of the second ship raise similarly unanswerable questions. As has been noted above, it is set apart from the scripturally derived iconography of the other two vessels, though it is described in equally symbolic terms:

> Þe caban peynted with floures fresshe and glade
> And lettres Frenshe / þat feynt nyl ne faade
> Taunt haut e bas que homme soyt
> Touz ioures regracyer dieux doyt (T, p. 174, ll. 81-84).

While an actual ship may conceivably be described here, the unfading quality of its florid decoration suggests that it is an emblem of particular significance to the occasion, perhaps to be seen in conjunction with the Classical imagery connected with the amorphous figure of Jupiter. The sentence that however noble or base a man is, he should give thanks to the gods each day, may well relate to the cultural aspirations of the London burghers, for whom Lydgate has written such an elaborate and allusively complex piece of verse. Classical culture has been brought within their reach, and is put to the

service of celebrating an occasion of civic, guild and even religious significance. At this point, however, analysis encounters some "rokkes" of its own, and cannot proceed until new documentary material is discovered.

In the final stanza of the Mercers' Mumming, a rather different relationship between the recited poem itself and the actual performance is implied than seems to be the case in the Eltham Mumming. Narration of the pursuivant's journey, which has been traced for the previous five stanzas, suddenly ends when he reaches "Thems strond" (l. 97), where, the presenter informs the audience, he pauses "to refresshe and to taken ayr". Abruptly, the presenter turns his attention to

> Certein estates wheche purveye and provyde
> For to vysyte and seen þe noble Mayr
> Of þis cytee and maken þeyre repayr
> To his presence or þat þey firþer flitte
> Vnder supporte þat he wol hem admytte (T, p. 175, ll. 101-105).

As did the opening of this Mumming, this concluding passage impresses and frustrates one with its breathless lack of sentence structure. While this verblessness may have provided momentum to the actual recitation, it makes the ascertainment of meaning difficult. Nevertheless, these closing lines seem to be a formal request to the audience that the mummers be admitted to the hall. If this is so, then the poem has obviously been unaccompanied by any mime, and is simply a prologue to the ensuing spectacle, somewhat like the Windsor Mumming. Perhaps this use of the spoken text may explain why there is no mention in it of a gift to be given by these visiting merchants, or "estates wheche purveye and provyde". Whether under the direction of someone more familiar with the immediate situation or himself completely responsible for the contents of his poem, Lydgate has interwoven the apparently disparate elements of Classical mythology, religious typology

and trade-symbolism in order to provide the appropriate flourish for the entry of the mummers. He has calculated hisstyle to match the ensuing visual brilliance and decoration.

The Goldsmiths' Mumming

When compared to the Mercers' Mumming, Lydgate's Goldsmiths' Mumming seems a more accessible work, possessing a more clearly defined thematic focus and giving the impression of having been integrated to a greater extent into an actual performance. In his headnote to this poem, John Shirley touches upon these qualities:

> And nowe filowebe a lettre made in wyse of balade by Ledegate Daun Iohan of a mommynge whiche þe goldesmythes of þe Cite of London mommed in right fresshe and costele welych desguysing to þeyre Mayre Eestfeld vpon Candlemas day at nyght affter souper / brought and presented vn to þe Mayre by an heraude cleped ffortune (T, p. 176).

Here, the conventional presentation of a letter becomes a dramatic gesture, its bearer playing a designated role with a certain relation to the whole performance. Likewise, the event itself would have called for a more serious and thematically well-defined piece than was the case for the Mercers' Mumming. Twelfth Night was traditionally an occasion of revelry and disguises, while the Feast of the Purification retained more of a solemn and sacred character. Accordingly, scriptural imagery predominates in the Goldsmiths' Mumming. In verse and mimed presentation, this occasional entertainment celebrates the moral foundation to London's stability and prosperity at the same time as it honours the present Mayor, William Eastfield.

The heraldic recitation of this poem serves to introduce and accompany a most spectacular presentation of a golden replica of the Ark of

the Covenant to the Mayor. This Ark is borne into the hall by guild members disguised as "Levytes" (l. 29). It is a gift "boþe hevenly and moral" (l. 19) that is valuable for it contains yet another letter, consisting of moral commonplaces to guide the Mayor through his year in office. The performance of the Goldsmiths' Mumming must have warranted Shirley's enthusiastic recollection, as the full resources of this wealthy guild would have been expended on a display of status, from the mummers' exotic costumes to the magnificence of the Ark itself. Visual impact was reinforced by music, in the singing of an anthem "with hevenly armonye" (l. 30).

The Goldsmiths' Company was expert in this kind of spectacular production, uniting visual display, music and recited verse. It had provided a pageant-castle at the Cheapside Cross in London for the Royal Entries of the previous six decades, from the coronation entry of Richard II in 1377, to the return of Henry V after Agincourt in 1415 and the coronation of Henry VI in 1429, only a few months before the performance of this very Mumming. These pageants were characterized by their elaborate stage-machinery and by the music that issued from them, as is made clear from this chronicle account of Richard's 1392 entry:

> And betuene Seint Poulez and the Cross yn Chepe þere was made a stage, a ryalle, stondyng vpon hygh and þerynne were mony angelis with dyuers melodiez and songe and an aungell come doun from þe stage on high by a vice and sette a croune of golde & precious stonez & perles apon þe Kingez hed and anoþer on the Quenez hed . . . . (The Brut, p. 342)

Similarly, in 1415, "þe cros in Chepe was riolly arrayet like a Castell with toures pight full of baners and þer in Angeles syngyng Nowell nowell gyvyng besandes of gold to þe Kyng" (The Brut, p. 380). As might be expected, the Goldsmiths' performance of a Mumming before Mayor Eastfield

seems to have exhibited many of the characteristics of their outdoor pageantry. In fact, the entry of the mummers is introduced in Lydgate's poem in the context of a fictional Royal Entry into London by "Þat worþy David which þat sloughe Golye" (l. 1), who "With twelve tribus is comen to þis citee" (l. 5).

Characteristically interweaving images and narrative strands from various sources, Lydgate nevertheless manages to provide a coherent accompaniment to the ongoing mimed action. Unlike the Mercers' Mumming, this piece is dominated by the parallel of a single Biblical episode to the present dramatic context, although allusions are made to relevant secondary material. Once the presenter has introduced the mummers and urged that they "Singeþe for ioye þat þe arke is sent / Nowe to þe Mayre" (ll. 33-34), he begins an account of the divine favour shown to Jerusalem by the entry of the Ark past its walls, an event marked by devout and solemn rejoicing. Drawing from the Old Testament account (2 Samuel vi: 12-19), Lydgate emphasizes David's "gret deuocion" (l. 48) in showing the Ark such joyful reverence: he himself "Daunced and sang of gret humylyte" (l. 53), as the mummers were in all likelihood about to do in the actual performance. As it had once resided in the Holy City, where "Hit did gret gladnesse and hit did accoye / Thinges contrarye and al aduersytee" (ll. 40-41), the Ark now comes into London, bringing "Grace and good eure and long prosperitee / Perpetuelly to byde in þis cytee" (ll. 27-28).

However, Lydgate is reluctant to conclude his account of the original procession of the Levites with the Ark into Jerusalem without extracting a further sentence, a moralization of the historical event which at first seems extrinsic to the immediate performance. The reverence shown to the Ark by King David and the tribes of Israel served

To gyf ensaumple howe pryde shoulde be withdrawe

In eche estate / who list þe trouthe serche
And to exclude al veyne ambycyoun
Specyally fro mynystres of þe Chirche
To whome it longeþe by deuocyoun
To serve God with hool defeccyoun
And afforne him mynistre in clennesse
Bensaumple of Dauid for al his worþynesse (T, p. 177, ll. 56-63).

This emblem of worthiness to receive the benefits of the Ark is even here turned towards a religious context, as Lydgate moves from the more general "eche estate" to "mynystres of þe Chirche". But while "Grace" is one of the benefits the Goldsmiths' Ark will supposedly bring to the City of London (l. 27), this unusual gift is largely conceived of within the present occasion as an emblem of "good eure and long prosperitee" (Ibid.). The religious ceremony and mystery connected with the original entry of the Ark into Jerusalem gives way to bourgeois aspirations for civic excellence.

The Mayor and burghers of London would not have been disturbed by the incorporation of references to a most sacred event into this secular and occasional entertainment. Indeed, on this feast-day of Candlemas, such a blending of the scriptural event into the present one would have been most decorous and appropriate. The city officers and guildsmen would have returned from their traditional corporate attendance at Vespers in the Church of St. Thomas de Acon only a matter of hours before the banquet began (Liber Albus, p. 25). Seen from a wider perspective, this blurring of the distinction between religious observance and civic celebration has already been seen as typical of occasional performances of the time (pp. 47-49), manifested repeatedly in the outdoor pageantry of London as of Paris and elsewhere. For example, religious emblems and motifs had dominated the 1415 Royal Entry of Henry V, on which occasion the whole complex of pageantry seems to have been based on the Genesis account of Melchisedec's

reception of the victorious Abraham (Gen. xiv: 18-19). During this Royal Entry, it may have been difficult or even unnecessary for a spectator to perceive a difference in kind between the "xij. Apposteles syngyng Benedic Anima mea Domino and xij. kinges knelyng castyng doune oblays" in the street-pageants, and the real "xij. bisshopes" who met the King in St. Paul's where the Te deum was sung (The Brut, p. 558).

Unlike the pageant-makers of 1415 however, Lydgate incorporates the scriptural image and event into the present occasion by means of intervening layers of rhetorical topics and Classical allusions. A link he uses to tighten the potentially awkward connection between David's Jerusalem and Eastfield's London is Troy, acme of secular perfection as Jerusalem had been of spiritual. Like Jerusalem, Troy had once possessed a treasured object, the Palladium, which guaranteed the security of the city. Lydgate would have known this from Chaucer's reference in Troilus and Criseyde to "a relik, heet Palladion, / That was hire trist aboven everichon" (I, ll. 153-154). Significantly, Lydgate's first reference to Troy alludes to this object only to dismiss it in a rhetorical comparative: the Ark, he declares, "was more gracyous / Þanne euer was Palladoyne of Troye" (ll. 38-39). Guarantees of secular or rather pagan good fortune cannot equal the promise of God's favour. All the same, Lydgate does not want to reject the concept of good fortune too quickly, as it must play some part, however carefully disguised, in the wishes of the mummers and their presenter ("cleped ffortune", as Shirley put it in the headnote) for London's future successes. Thus the dismissive comparison of Jerusalem's unmatchable holy treasure to Troy's is balanced four stanzas later by reference to London's own traditional claim to the title "Nuwe Troye" (l. 69) and by implication, to Trojan origin.[64]

The actual change of focus from the climactic moment in Jerusalem's past to London's immediate aspirations occurs when the Levite-mummers break into song. Their anthem commences with a verse from Psalm 131 (132: 8), the psalm associated with the original entry of the Ark into Jerusalem, supposedly sung by David himself:

> Now ryse vp lord in to þy resting place — Surge domine in requiem tuam / Tu est archa sanctificacionis tue /
> Aark of þyne hooly halowed mansyoun
> Þou aark of wisdome / of vertu and of grace
> Keep and defende in þy proteccion
> Þe Meyre / þe citeseyns / the comunes of þis tovne
> Called in cronycles whylome Nuwe Troye
> Graunte hem plente / vertu / honnour and ioye (T, p. 177, ll. 64-70).

The ever-attentive Shirley has written the relevant text in the margin beside the first three lines, and it is not inconceivable that the actual audience would have recognized the source by the setting of this stanza into a musical arrangement of the whole Psalm for the Church liturgy.

In this song, the performance crosses over from a re-enactment of the scriptural event into a direct consideration of the present situation. While the Psalm verse and music provide an effective, even dramatic conclusion to the presenter's narrative passage about Jerusalem, they also comprise a direct invocation to the Ark in its present form as a gift, ostensibly from King David himself, to the Mayor. Unlike those of the scriptural Ark, however, the benefits this presented Ark is called upon to bestow upon London will not be granted automatically. They must be actively pursued and earned by following the precepts of "good gouuernaunce" (l. 20) contained within its main body:

> A wrytt with inn shal vn to you declare
> And in effect pleynly specefye
> Where yee shal punysshe and where as yee shal spare
> And howe þat mercy shal Rygour modefye (T, p. 178, ll. 85-89).

Within this golden receptacle lie three unspecified "thinges" (l. 80), one

of which seems to be a treatise, or "wrytt" on justice. In effect, this Ark can simply be seen as an elaborate container for a moral doctrine to be followed in order for the City to achieve greater honour, prosperity and stability.

As a physical object, the Ark itself provides an intriguing visual emblem of Lydgate's own celebratory verse style, in this Goldsmiths' Mumming and elsewhere. The meaning contained within this gift, in the form of generalized moral precept, is to be found under a highly decorated surface. Precious stones and metals and perhaps elements of design derived from scriptural descriptions of the Ark would have constituted the ornate surface of the physical object, and this visual richness itself was intended to "magnefye" the "estate" or office of the Mayor (l. 89). In much the same way and for many of the same reasons, surface patterning of scriptural and Classical motifs and rhetorical commonplaces was provided by Lydgate for the accompanying recitation.

The final stanza of the Goldsmiths' Mumming suggests this relationship between surface and sentence. The prediction of a glorious future for the City takes the form of a seasons-topic:

> ffor whyles it [the Ark] bydeþe stille in youre presence
> Þe hyeghe lord shal blesse booþe yowe and youres
> Of grace / of fortune sende yowe influence
> And of vertu alle þe fresshe floures
> And of aduersytee voyde awey þe shoures (T, p. 178, ll. 92-96).

To conclude the interwoven complex of literary/historical and civic/moral references, Lydgate approaches the spring-motif simply as the decorative medium in which to cast the final wishes of the piece. His frequent use of this motif derives from the Secretum Secretorum, filtered to some extent through Chaucer, as in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.[65] It has little or nothing to do with the celebration of the seasonal cycle which

was a basic impulse of the traditional mumming. Rather, it is simply a rhetorical gesture, functioning as rhetorical devices have done elsewhere in this piece (such as the earlier references to Troy), to bind together potentially disparate emblematic and thematic elements into a fairly uniform structure. Perhaps this Mumming demonstrates Lydgate's contrapuntal weaving of such elements so clearly because of his concentration here upon the Goldsmiths' Ark itself, an object which neatly reflects his own poetic artifices.

Influences of a Classical tradition of Rhetoric

Lydgate's Mummings so far considered reveal sophistication if not always cohesion when seen as verbal accompaniments to visual presentations. Lydgate used scriptural and mythological names, figures and narratives in order to provide a brilliant context or setting for the events he was commissioned to celebrate. In such a piece as the Mercers' Mumming, this kind of verbal elaboration becomes the central concern of the poet, and the presenter or reciter of the verse, not being required to accompany the actions of the mummers, is free to draw the full attention of his audience upon this verbal display. At other times, as in the Eltham Mumming, Classical imagery has a more supportive role in the text. Robert Withington stated that Lydgate's major innovation in the form of the Mumming was his use of allegorical techniques in order to augment the layers of significance of a given event (English Pageantry, vol. I, pp. 107-110). While this may be true of the ambitious London Mumming, the works examined thus far are characterized by the use of Classical and Biblical ornamentation as a kind of intermediary between the topical or occasional context of the presentation, and the moral to be gathered from it.

With its use of manifold surfaces derived from Classical and Biblical sources, Lydgate's rhetorical style in his Mummings cannot be dismissed as "clumsy" or "obscure", judgements imposed on it by Eleanor Hammond (English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, p. 101) and Enid Welsford (The Court Masque, p. 55). In effect, he succeeded not only in providing the occasions for which he wrote with a larger context of meaning, but also in domesticating the potentially disruptive mumming tradition into a formalized entertainment. In his hands, the Mumming celebrated rather than encroached upon the secular ideal of an ordered and stable society. Traditional motifs of disguise and game-playing, originally intended to bring luck for the New Year, are deflected from their larger seasonal implications, and are transformed into gestures of reverence towards the lord of the banquet by partaking of consciously literary and historical motifs.

Lydgate works from a "Classical tradition" in imposing rhetorical forms upon the mumming, "Classical" in this sense implying a body of scriptural, mythological and historical material from which can be selected items to decorate all possible situations. The far-reaching importance of this "Classical tradition" manifests itself in unexpected ways: for example, in Lydgate's concept of theatrical performance itself. In Book II of his Troy Book, the poet describes at length what is referred to in a scribal rubric (supra l. 860) as a "Theateyre stondynge in þe principale paleys of Troye declarenge the falle of Pryncys and othere" (Royal MS. 18.D.ii, f. 35). The kind of material presented at Priam's court resembles that which Lydgate would handle in largely non-dramatic terms in his own Fall of Princes. The poet seems to have conceived of de casibus tragedy as a rhetorical pattern rather than a potentially dramatic form

in both Troy Book and the Fall, so that when he actually works with the de casibus motif in the potentially dramatic context of the London Mumming, he treats it as a theme to be expounded upon rather than an action which is carried out. This is also how Lydgate's Trojan poet handles such material.

Lydgate begins the relevant Troy Book passage (ll. 859-925) with a description of a circular acting area, in the centre of which was an altar,

> Vp on þe whiche a pulpet was erecte
> And þer in stod an awncien poete,
> For to reherse by rethorikes swete
> Þe noble dedis, þat were historiall
> Of kynges, princes for a memorial (II, ll. 866-870).[66]

While "singinge his dites" (l. 899), this poet-reciter provides a form of entertainment closer to oratory or even sermon than theatre. He selects exempla from actual events of history rather than constructing his own fictions, in order to drive home most forcefully the lesson that "fals Fortune . . . at the world wil schende" (l. 883). The gestures, facial expressions and modulations of voice of this "Trojan" poet are described in order to suggest his consummate skills of eloquence. One is reminded of the famous miniature of Chaucer reading to an elegant and noble audience, in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS. 61, except that Lydgate's sense of the occasion is, predictably, more solemn.

Unlike Chaucer's mode of recitation, however, the Trojan poet is supposed to be engaged upon a theatrical performance, one which does involve action:

> Amydde þe theatre schrowdid in a tent,
> Þer cam out men gastful of her cheris,
> Disfigurid her facis with viseris,
> Pleying by signes in þe peples siȝt,
> Þat þe poete songon hath on hiȝt (II, ll. 900-904).

Lydgate seems to be envisioning a processional entry, in which each "gastful" figure represents one of the fallen princes expounded upon by the reciting poet. This mime simply reflects the expressive actions of the reciter himself, and is thus kept strictly subordinate to the actual speech being delivered. Further, the entry of these masked figures is suitably delayed in order for the spoken word to be established as the focus of this whole event.

Richard Axton has suggested that a connection may exist between this passage from Troy Book and the various manuscript illuminations which visualize the performance of comedies by the Roman dramatist Terence.[67] Terence was seen by earlier writers such as John of Salisbury primarily as a moral commentator, and his plays had been studied as models of Latin style from the time of Charlemagne. This abiding interest in Terence extended to considerations of how his plays had been performed:

> Whilst the earlier manuscripts of Terence's plays follow closely the scenic groupings of masked actors in late antique manuscripts, the famous fifteenth century Terence des Ducs illustrates the idea of mimed performance, showing performance in an amphitheatre before the populus Romanus. At the centre of the arena is a raised platform on which stands a curtained booth, its open top revealing the poet's friend holding Terence's playbook. In the arena before him masked figures labelled joculatores cavort and gesticulate in accompaniment to the recitation. (Richard Axton, European Drama of the Early Middle Ages, p. 25.)

It may be, as Wickham and Welsford suppose, that Lydgate's description of the Trojan theatre is an anachronistic application of contemporary theatrical conventions to those of the unknown past. However, taking such visual records as the Terence des Ducs miniature into account, it may be wiser to place the emphasis differently. Thomas Warton seems to have been thinking in the right direction in this matter, two hundred years ago. Speaking of the Troy Book passage in question, he stated:

> Some perhaps may be inclined to think, that this imperfect species of theatric representation, was the rude drama of Lydgate's age. But surely Lydgate would not have described at all, much less in a long and laboured digression, a public shew, which from its nature was familiar and notorious. On the contrary, he describes it as a thing obsolete, and existing only in remote times. Had a more perfect and legitimate stage now subsisted, he would not have deviated from his subject, . . . to deliver such minute definitions of tragedy and comedy. (A History of English Poetry, vol. II, p. 95).

According to Warton, Lydgate was indeed attempting to describe the theatre of Classical antiquity. When one compensates for the eighteenth-century scholar's condescension, it becomes apparent that in his emphasis on Lydgate's almost antiquarian interest in "Trojan" dramatic performance he suggests another kind of relationship between Lydgate's own "rude" drama and that of the past. In particular, the Mummings, laced with Classical allusions and presided over by the figure of the reciting presenter, may well have constituted an attempt to emulate or even recapture the highly affective combination of declamation and mime actually thought to have been used by Classical dramatists and actors. Rather than molding his concept of Trojan performances to reflect contemporary secular dramatic practice, Lydgate presents in Troy Book a fairly conventional picture of antique theatre, corroborated by miniatures in late medieval manuscripts of Terence. Indeed, Lydgate may well have been emulating Terence in providing moral entertainments for the royal residences and civic halls of his own New Troy.

The Hertford Mumming

Concerning the date of performance of Lydgate's Hertford Mumming, two facts have been preserved which possess special importance. The Hertford Mumming, Shirley attests, was played to Henry VI and his Court at Hertford Castle during "the noble feest of Cristmasse".

Brys, the man identified as having commissioned this performance was "slayne at Loviers". Eleanor Hammond has thus suggested a date for the presentation of this Mumming previous to the campaigns of 1430-1431 at Loviers. In any case, it is unlikely that Lydgate would have engaged in such a project later than 1431, by which time he was beginning his Fall of Princes. Further, since Henry departed for a two-year visit to France after the Christmas of 1429 (on which occasion he and his Court saw Lydgate's Windsor Mumming), the most likely occasions for his stay at Hertford would seem to be Christmas of 1427 and of 1428. Any earlier, of course, and one impinges on the period when Lydgate was himself in France and unlikely to receive such a small-scale commission for a specific event at home.

It would be unwise to argue a later date for the performance of the Hertford Mumming on the ground of its superior quality compared to the whole corpus of occasional entertainments by Lydgate. Each of this poet's Mummings was designed to conform and respond to the exigencies of its particular occasion, and particular kinds of literary craftsmanship were employed by the poet in each case in order to achieve this end. The Eltham Mumming or the Mercers' Mumming may seem thematically superficial and inorganic to the modern reader, but they fulfilled their given role within their respective events in a manner no less accomplished than does the work at hand. Indeed, the questions of the special set of circumstances and the particular expectations of the audience of a given piece are important to keep in mind if one hopes to maintain a consistent perspective on the Mummings as a group.

With even a cursory reading, the Hertford Mumming gives the impression of its departures in form, manner and intent from Lydgate's other surviving Mummings. There is not the sense of its having been composed exclusively for a specific event, and indeed the actual occasion of its performance is only referred to in passing in the text as "þe vigyle of þis nuwe yeere" (l. 5). Nor does praise of the most august member of the audience occupy the main focus of the piece, even though it is organized in the framework of petition and counter-petition addressed to the "moost noble prynce" Henry VI, in whose name a mock-judgement is given. These celebratory and occasional elements are left implicit in the setting and structure of the Hertford Mumming, and as a result the piece has retained somewhat more potential interest as a quasi-dramatic entertainment than have related works by Lydgate. In fact, it has been performed recently with some success.[68]

Lydgate's innovations in this piece would have been apparent to both the eyes and ears of the members of his audience. In place of his usual ceremonious diction and self-consciously erudite system of allusions and contexts, Lydgate makes most effective use here of a "low style" of diction that is nevertheless laced with sophisticated elements of parody. Instead of the figure of the presenter completely dominating the performance, the mummers themselves take an active and significant part, being introduced and described individually. They step out from the strictly subordinate place usually assigned to them, and indeed one group of them, the wives, actually takes over from the presenter to speak for itself. Those formal gestures of reverence and celebration which characterize the Eltham, Goldsmiths' and Mercers' Mummings are here reduced, modified or rejected entirely, in order to convey something of

the impression of a dramatic situation that does not depend entirely upon the audience for its meaning and life: peasant husbands have come to Henry's Court in order to complain about the tyranny of their wives, while the wives themselves have come to assert their traditional claims to domestic sovereignty.

To some extent, the unique qualities of the Hertford Mumming can be understood with reference to the mood and expectations of its audience, which in all probability consisted only of the immediate Court circle. The whole situation of the Hertford Mumming in effect parodies the traditional mumming activity of commonfolk making their seasonal visit in disguise to their lord's feast. Probably these mummers at Hertford were courtiers or perhaps professional Court entertainers: their disguises were the daily costumes of the local peasantry; and instead of the conventional dice game "mumchance", they brought a so-called "hernest play" (l. 72) of marital woes to Court, and insisted that "it is no game" (ll. 72, 161).

Given its elite audience and the probable lack of bourgeois involvement in its preparation and preparation, the nature of the comic elements of the Hertford Mumming become easier to comprehend. Clearly the occasion of its performance allowed for the expression and enjoyment of revelry unconstrained by the earnest assertions, good wishes and moral-political doctrines which abound in the guild-Mummings and in the other, more official Court entertainment by Lydgate, the Windsor Mumming. Perhaps John Brice, the court official who ordered the work, directed Lydgate towards a comic "low style" involving antifeminist satire. However, as Edwards suggests, this may be downplaying the poet's own sense of the occasion: "It is surely necessary to assume that Lydgate knew enough about his audience to

know what he was doing, and that [his] antifeminism is designed to reflect the attitude of his audience" ("Lydgate's Attitudes Towards Women", English Studies LI [1970], p. 415). Within the closed circle of the familia regis, satire and parody are allowed to supplant the ostentation of more public occasions. Even here, however, the comic debate is contained within a legalistic framework and is submitted to the prince's judgement in a way that is not simply to be laughed at. Though the mummers should seem ridiculous, the decision from the throne, with all its ironic and humourous touches, nevertheless should not. The comedy of the Hertford Mumming stops short of implicating too directly the legal process and the Court itself.

It would be simplistic to assert that antifeminist satire is the only vehicle of humour in the Hertford Mumming. Rather, Lydgate points to marriage, and specifically the marriages of peasants, as demonstrating the power of human folly to distort and even invert a basic institution, from harmony to discord. Both sexes are guilty: the husbands are as sheepish and stupid as their wives are greedy and outspoken. Lydgate does not allow this upside-down world of the mummers to exist completely separate from the world of his audience. By making parodic references to courtly conventions of social behaviour at various points in this Mumming, he deftly suggests a level of connection between the mummers and their viewers. Just as Chauntecleer and Pertelote can seem now husband and wife, now rooster and hen, the mummers vacillate between being peasants and being courtiers playing peasants. The occasional slip of the mask never amounts to direct criticism, of course: it simply adds to the piquancy of the situation.

The various levels of satire and parody which Lydgate employs here

should be compared to the purely antifeminist satire of his Bicorne and Chichevache. This poem, written "at the request of a worþy citeseyn of londoun" (T, p. 10) may have been recited or even performed in some manner for a particular occasion (as Glynne Wickham suggests, in Early English Stages, vol. I, pp. 213-216), although, as Shirley states, its primary function was to accompany pictures on "peynted or desteyned cloth for an halle . a parlour . or a chaumbre" (loc. cit.). This apparent uncertainty as to the exact use of these pictures may indicate that the subject was a popular one for wall hangings and was used more than once, or that Shirley simply was not sure of the precise circumstances about which he was writing.

Bicorne and Chichevache, in contrast to the Hertford Mumming, was commissioned by a "worþy citeseyn" and intended for a bourgeois audience. Its humour centered upon a popular emblem of the uselessness of humility in marriage. Bicorne, who is fat, eats submissive husbands, while the starving Chichevache confines herself to a diet of patient wives. (Eleanor Hammond, in her English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, pp. 113-114, gives some useful background information on the iconographical derivation of this pair.) The texture and metrical flow of the verse is much less varied than in the Hertford Mumming. There is not the added dimension of parody. Instead of this the poet makes consistent use of a heavily ironic didactism addressed directly to his audience. Unlike the Hertford Mumming, where a line of social demarcation is initially assumed to exist between the peasant-mummers and the audience, no such line is drawn between the victims of Bicorne and Chichevache and the husbands, or "ffelawes" (l. 43), and "noble wyves" (T, p. 11, l. 71) whom he addresses. It can be assumed that the difference in taste and outlook of either

audience caused Lydgate to adopt different stances and styles in either work. Once again, one is drawn to the conclusion that the individuality of the Hertford Mumming has largely resulted from its unique context of performance.

In a less obvious but potentially significant way, the relatively cultivated taste and expectations of his Court audience may have led Lydgate to aspire to a sophistication of genre not apparent elsewhere in his Mummings. Specifically, he seems to have written in what he understood to be the comic mode. In his Troy Book, Lydgate had stated that

> A comedie hath in his gynnyng
> Atprime face, a maner compleynyng
> And afterward endeth in gladness (II, 753-755).

This definition of comedy, ultimately derived from post-classical theory,[69] is borne out in the Hertford Mumming to some extent. The presenter's speech on behalf of the husbands is indeed "a maner compleynyng", and references to complaint crop up occasionally in it. These "sweynes" have come to Court expressly "ffor to compleyne vn to yuoure magestee" about their wives (l. 8), and after their individual predicaments have been explained, their presenter sums up by again referring to his speech as a "compleynt" (ll. 133, 159). Of course, it is hard to find the "gladness" mentioned in the Troy Book passage in the conclusion to this Mumming, although the status quo has been restored and the audience itself has been entertained.

In his expanded version of Psalm 88, Misericordias Domini in Eternum Cantabo, Lydgate refers to comedy in equally suggestive terms:

> In thorpys smale be songe Comedies
> With many vnkouth transmutacioun (Minor Poems, I, p. 73, ll. 67-8).

Unless this "vnkouth transmutacioun" implies the use of masks and disguises,

no connection is assumed here between what is essentially a form of song and theatrical presentation. Lydgate refers instead to the connection between the comic genre and verse dealing with or rising out of rustic affairs. This connection had originated in Aristotle's etymological study of the word "comedy" in his Poetics (III.3), a study vastly expanded by grammarians of the Fourth Century A.D. like Diomedes (in his Ars grammatica, lib. III) and Donatus (in his fragment De tragoediis et comoediis).

It is highly unlikely that the relevant works of these writers would have been available to Lydgate, who would have been most likely to come into contact with this view of comedy in a work like the commentary of Servius on Vergil's Eclogues, which was contained in the Bury library.[70] In this commentary the grammarian Servius made an important generic connection between Comedy and the Eclogue, a distinctively pastoral mode. He examined Vergil's Eclogues in terms of their use of direct and indirect speech, and noted three types of discourse in them: one, in which the poet speaks alone; another "dramaticum in quos nusquam poeta loquitur, ut est in comoediis et tragoediis"; and a third, "mixtum".[71] Specifically, the first and third Eclogues were considered by Servius to be similar to comedy in that they consisted of direct discourse.

This juxtaposition of pastoral poetry in oratio recta with the conventional dramatic modes demonstrates that actual performance was no longer considered to be integral to drama. If anything, tragedy and comedy drifted further from their original theatrical context and even from the quality of oratio recta, while eclogue increasingly took on the latter characteristic. Dante could write of comedy in his Letter to Can Grande that it was simply a kind of poetic narrative rendered in the "low style",[72]

while the directly-spoken debate of Vergil's influential First Eclogue had already given rise to a distinctive genre of pastoral conflictus poems. As Rosemund Tuve puts it, the Vergilian concept of the Eclogue "as an instrument for the portrayal of the clash of conflicting ideas, demonstrating the weakness of one of them, is to make it the most important ancestor of the medieval débat" (Seasons and Months, p. 35).

As can be seen from the Troy Book and Misericordias Domini passages quoted above, Lydgate was aware of various theoretical formulations of comedy. In addition, he was aware of the potential of the debat form for satirical comment and quasi-dramatic immediacy, as is shown in his own rustic debate, The Churl and the Bird. It is possible that, following Servius' remark in the Commentary on Vergil's Eclogues, Lydgate conceived of comedy specifically within the framework of such rustic debate. Hence his preparation of the Hertford Mumming for actual presentation may perhaps be seen as an effort to restore "traditional" features of the comic mode to the stage.

Space would not allow for full investigation of the ongoing connections between Comedy and the pastoral mode in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, even if such investigation were possible. Nor can it be established here how the groundwork may have been laid for a return of rustic comedy to the acting place. It must suffice to say that the rise of interest in the performance of ancient drama, already noted with reference to Terence (see pp. 71-72), may indicate a widespread desire on the part of late-medieval poets to exploit the rhetorical effectiveness believed to have been characteristic of such drama, in their own secular dramatic entertainments. Further, given the potential of the debate form itself for vivid immediacy of presentation (already to be found in English

in the appropriately rustic Owl and the Nightingale of the Twelfth Century), it would have easily lent itself to lively recitation, and possibly to a certain amount of accompanying mime.

The overlay of debate framework with rustic (not pastoral!) characters and a typically comic "low style" cannot have been accomplished in performance only in the Hertford Mumming, although among surviving medieval dramatic works in English it certainly stands alone. The similarities between it and the Noah plays of the Chester cycle and the Wakefield Master are largely due to the existence of a common fund of misogynist material, dipped into for all these works. (For an account of the traditions contributing to this "common fund", see Franci Utley, The Crooked Rib [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1944], pp. 39-53.) Likewise the peasant husbands' complaint bears superficial resemblances to the expressions of marital discontent made by the second of the trio of shepherds at the beginning of the Wakefield Second Shepherds' Play. Both Lydgate and the Wakefield Master exploit conventional veins of antifeminist humour, for example the warning to young men against marriage:

> Bot yong men of wowyng for God that you boght,
> Be well war of wedyng and thynk in youre thoght,
> "Had I wyst" is a thyng it servys of noght;
> Mekyll styll mournyng has wedyng home broght. [73]
> (Second Shepherds' Play, ll. 91-94).

> Let men be ware þer fore / or þey beo bounde /
> Þe bonde is harde / who soo þat lookeþe weel /
> Some men were leuer fetterd beon in stell
> Ransoun might help / his peyne to aswaage
> But whoo is wedded / lyueþe / euer in seruage /
> (Hertford Mumming, ll. 246-250).

The two writers approach the common theme from quite different stances. Lydgate's "low style" is after all addressed to the Court, while the Wakefield Master employs humour to entertain a humbler town-audience. Unlike

the shepherd's complaint against marriage, there are apparently no reverberating moral and theological implications to the discontent of Lydgate's fabliau-world peasants.

Lydgate can be seen to be working within a comic tradition which puts less emphasis on the morally fortifying purpose of entertainment than on the skilful manipulation of various essentially literary devices. The intermittent use of coarse "rustic" language (for example, "Iowsy nolle", l. 39; "bely", l. 99; "a twenty deuel wey", l. 106) is one such device, which should not be mistaken for a "realistic" touch of dramatic characterization, as is the rustic diction of the Wakefield shepherds. Such conventions of comedy as the "low style" take the stage in the Hertford Mumming, not because Lydgate considers them to be essentially theatrical, but because they are appropriate to the conventionally rustic context of debate.

Lydgate had other precedent for combining satiric comedy and debate in an actual performance than the potentially dramatic debate form itself, however. Satire and conflict were key ingredients of French farce, which, despite its conventionally urban setting, would have presented to the English poet a pattern in which courtly manners and conventions are parodied, relationships are turned upside-down, and irreconcilable conflict is submitted to a mock judicial process.[74] Following, perhaps, the example of contemporary farces, Lydgate incorporated parodic elements into his work which reflected directly upon his noble audience. Courtly terms of love, chivalry and even of the pastoral itself are ironically alluded to in the context of the peasants' quarrel.

For example the emblem of the bond of loyal love, here a marital "bonde of sorowe / a knott unremuwable" (l. 14), recalls very popular

serious versions in various courtly poems, notably Lydgate's own The Temple of Glas:

> Þen þoȝt I saw, with a golden chayne
> Venus anon enbracen and constrein
> Her boþe hertes, in oon forto perseuer
> Whiles þat þei liue and neuer to disseuer (John Lydgate: Poems, p. 102, ll. 1106-1109).

Likewise, conflict between the sexes is rendered in the language of Tournament. Wives "make assayes" on their husbands (l. 174) and wish to use force to prove their case, "in Chaumpcloos by bataylle" (l. 166). On an earlier occasion, one husband in defending himself from one of these "assayes" had

> Bare vp his arme / whane he faught with his wyff /
> He found for haste / no better bokeller (ll. 118-119).

Lydgate uses parody in a rather more complex manner in contrasting the rustic life, with its language of violence and hard work, to the conventionally literary names of several of the peasants themselves. Interspersed with the lowly "Obbe", "Thome" and "Tybot" of the barnyard are "Robin", "Colyn", "Cecely" and "Phelyce", names perhaps more appropriate to the pages of a courtly pastoral than their present rough-and-tumble context. In a later "low style" poem on rustic life, Skelton's Eleanor Rummyng (c. 1520), the illusion of crude reality is not disturbed in this way. The names of Skelton's peasants are all of the order of "Kyt" or "Tyb", and he never introduces literary jargons to their mode of speech. Lydgate's use of the pastoral convention of elegant names in the Hertford Mumming is a further indication of his audience's taste for irony and its awareness of literary conventions. This quite sophisticated audience is able to recognize the literary world being alluded to and to appreciate the incongruity of its present application, much as

the Court of Richard II had appreciated the complex ironies emerging in Chaucer's poems. Momentarily out of public scrutiny, the Lancastrian Court could escape the attitude of moral earnestness it typically felt obliged to adopt, and give itself to play and revelry.

Of course, the whole situation of the Hertford Mumming can be seen as a parody of pastoral convention. The idealized love and idyllic setting of this form had become enormously popular all over Europe during the Fourteenth Century, but by Lydgate's time a reaction was setting in, as Johan Huizinga indicates (The Waning of the Middle Ages, p. 137). Lydgate may be exploiting here the current trend of criticism or even ridicule of the artificial pastoral world by pulling its conventions into contact with the hard "real world" of rural life. This trend developed in French pastourelles and balades during the early Fifteenth Century and culminated in Les Contrediz Franc Gontier by Francois Villon (c. 1460). In the pastoral ballad Robyne and Makyne, also from the latter half of the century, Robert Henryson also enters this mode of contrast between "artificial" and "real". In this poem, love is reduced by circumstance: boy initially rejects girl, not because he loves another, but because he is concerned about his flock of sheep.

Besides parodying various conventions of courtly literature in the Hertford Mumming, Lydgate employs various other sets of terms to sharpen the humour of the situation. For instance, he uses legal expressions, both to suggest the context of the piece as a judicial pleading before the throne, and to extend the motif of conflict into a purely verbal sphere, much as the use of Tournament terms does. Lydgate had ample precedent of his own for his use of various realms of terminology in a comic work satirizing women and marriage. A rich tradition of anti-

feminist satire was available to him, especially by way of one of its most subtle practitioners, Chaucer. Chaucer had made memorable use of parody of conventional images and terms in such satire, and thus it is directly to such loci classici as The Wife of Bath's Prologue, the Envoy to The Clerk's Tale and The Prologue to The Merchant's Tale that Lydgate refers in speaking, for example, of the purgatory of marriage.

The extent of Lydgate's indebtedness to Chaucer in declaring the "wo that is marriage" has been noted by Derek Pearsall, who is prepared to go very far in discussing the Hertford Mumming as an example of Chaucerian humour:

> The language is here a cento of reminiscences from Chaucer. . . . Maybe one can exaggerate, because it is so unexpected, the effectiveness of Lydgate's excursion into the low style here, but there is no denying that he had stumbled, with Chaucer's encouragement, into something new. (John Lydgate, p. 188.)

What is at the same time new and distinctively Chaucerian about the Hertford Mumming is the relationship it sets up between the peasant-mummers and the audience. Though he avoids the Wife of Bath's sexual frankness, the poet's free-ranging satire of his subjects before a discerning audience recalls Chaucer's treatment of many of his Canterbury pilgrims in the General Prologue, especially his representatives of the Third Estate. Chaucer's condescension towards the four guildsmen of the entourage (General Prologue, ll. 363-380) provided Lydgate with a model of irony directed towards the lower classes for the enjoyment of the nobility, as Francis Utley has indicated in his discussion of the Chaucer passage: "When he portrays the tradesmen's wives who fought to be the first in line at a religious service he is speaking to his courtly friends; for we are told that the truly noble sought to avoid the precedence which

was their due" (The Crooked Rib, p. 17).

Though not as pretentious as the aspiring guildsmen of Chaucer's General Prologue, the peasants and especially the wives of Lydgate's Hertford Mumming resemble them in their selfishness and excess. They inhabit a world in which, as the husbands' spokesman declares, there is "no meen" (l. 67) of established order and reason. This chaotic situation is referred to the throne, from whence comes a judgement, but no resolution: the restoration of order and harmony to the peasants' world (if it ever existed there) can only be placed well into a future contingent on virtually impossible conditions:

> þe kyng / wol al þis nexst yeere /
> Þat wyves fraunchyse . stonde hoole and entier
> And þat no man with stonde it ne withdrawe
> Til man may fynde some processe oute by lawe
> Þat þey shoulde by nature in þeyre lyves /
> Haue souerayntee / on þeyre prudent wyves /
> A thing vnkouþe / which was neuer found (ll. 239-245).

The court can attempt to impose justice upon this fabliau world, but of course it will not stick. As mentioned above, the stipulation that the husbands must "fynde some processe oute by lawe" to support their case may in itself be laughable, but the rationality of the process of judgement itself if not called into question. Though it may in places reflect upon their own conventions of behaviour, this sophisticated entertainment never goes so far as to include its noble viewers in the endless conflict it depicts.

The London Mumming

Having discussed the Hertford Mumming in terms of the comic techniques employed in it, it would be gratifying to conceive of the London Mumming in complementary terms, as a form of medieval tragedy. On the surface, this is

what the London Mumming seems to be: Lydgate makes extensive use here of de casibus material, apparently in order to assert a contempt for the unstable favours of Fortune. However, this assertion is only raised in order to drive home a strictly moralistic theme, that the Four Cardinal Virtues must be espoused in order for life to attain any degree of coherence and stability. Just as they would in Lydgate's definitive treatment of the de casibus theme, The Fall of Princes, the tragic narrative pattern and the iconography of Fortune become in effect vehicles for a sermon addressed directly to the audience. As is so often the case, John Shirley points the reader in the right direction by referring to the London Mumming as "moral plesaunt and notable" (headnote, l. 5). The combination of allegorical imagery, exemplary narrative and direct moral exhortation was chosen by Lydgate as an eloquent and effective form of didactic address. There can be little doubt that in performance the visual impact of this Mumming was similarly effective.

Unfortunately, the London Mumming cannot be discussed conclusively in terms of who organized and presented it, and of whom its audience consisted. All the information that Shirley preserves for us is that it was played "to fore þe gret estates of þis lande þane being at London" (headnote, l. 2). Representatives of the hierarchies of nobility, clergy and commoners, from the temporal and sacred magnates to the gentry, professionals and civil administrators, would customarily gather in this way when Parliament was called for the coronation or funeral of a monarch, or indeed whenever a great event took place which called for such a congregation. It may be tentatively suggested that the performance of the London Mumming was occasioned by the Christmas festivities of 1430 (see l. 280), subsequent to the coronation of Henry VI on November 6 (O.S.), 1429.

By Christmas, the King and his Court had retired to Windsor Castle (the Windsor Mumming was performed then), although in all likelihood many of the dignitaries from various parts of the country had neither followed the Court nor yet gone home. This possible set of circumstances would explain why no reference to the newly crowned Henry is made in the London Mumming, and may lead to a certain understanding of its essentially moralistic focus.

Putting aside speculation about the particular event which brought the "gret estates" to the capital, it is clear that their conferences traditionally involved a lavish outlay of food, drink and munificence, along with various forms of festive entertainment (Stowe, Survey of London, vol. I, p. 188). In 1409, for instance, when the lords, prelates and administrators of England were in London to decide on how to deal with the Lollards, they took the time to view "a great play at Skinners well, which lasted eight dayes, and was of matter from the creation of the world" (Survey of London, vol. II, p. 171). It is likely that the London Mumming, with its emphasis on virtuous rather than opportunistic behaviour in all social dealings and affairs of government, would have provided even more direct moral support to the representatives of the Estates.

What is more, the rhetorical mode of address used in the London Mumming was particularly congenial to Lydgate himself. In his occasional verse, he was accustomed to address a powerful audience and admonish it with generalized pronouncements of moral counsel, so that the context of Fortune-tragedy only gave him the opportunity to use the great figures of history as exempla for certain vices and virtues. Lydgate's mode of address in the London Mumming is close to that which the poet assigned to

the Trojan tragedian in the Troy Book passage discussed above (p.70): both speakers stand in a pulpit above the procession of figures, each of whom is to be condemned for a particular sin or extolled for a particular moral strength. One finds this technique worked to exhaustion in The Fall of Princes, begun as early as 1431.

On the other hand, this Mumming is stylistically close to the two moral allegories which the poet had translated from French, namely his very early Reson and Sensuallyte and his Pylgrymage of the Lyf of Man. The latter work may indeed have been completed after Lydgate's return to England from France in 1426-1427, and thus would have preceded work on the London Mumming by only two or three years. Common to both these translations (and their originals) and the London Mumming is the octosyllabic couplet form, one which Lydgate rarely if ever used elsewhere. This metre, with its frequent rhymes and rhythmic liveliness, was traditionally associated with recitation, as it was the usual form for romances. Stress upon the heard quality of the verse is even marked in the Pélerinage of Deguilleville (Lydgate's Pylgrymage), which "has divisions marked by minstrel-like tags" to provide it with an audible structure.[75]

Also common to the London Mumming and these two antecedent translations is the use of concretely visualized allegorical emblems and figures, a technique which Lydgate (like Deguilleville and the author of Les Echecs Amoureux) seems to have derived principally from the Roman de la Rose. Indeed, this work was demonstrably in Lydgate's mind while he was working on the London Mumming. Extended iconographical descriptions, especially of Fortune, have simply been lifted out of the Roman. The combination of romance metre, allegorical imagery and didactic intent,

common to these works, seems to have become substantially conventional by the time Lydgate made use of it in this Mumming.

What most distinguishes this work from all Lydgate's other Mummings except its companion in this edition is that it has been organized around a situation of conflict, in this case between allegiance to the powers of Fortune and trust in the Four Cardinal Virtues, Prudence, Fortitude, Righteousness and Temperance. Indeed, the presenter soon makes it clear that these Virtues are directly opposed to Fortune's attractions and dangers. Implied in his concluding remarks to the first section of the Mumming is a physical opposition of forces, which will shortly be manifested by the mummers in the acting area:

> Yif she [Fortune] wol / awhyle abyde
> ffoure ladyes shall come heer anoon /
> Which shal hir power / ouergoone
> And þe malys . eeke oppresse
> Of þis blynde fals goddesse
> Yif sheo beo hardy in þis place /
> Oonys for to shewe hir double face / (ll. 132-138).

This conflict recalls the venerable tradition of the battle between Vices and Virtues, although from the Psychomachia to The Castle of Perseverance it was typically the Vices who were the initial aggressors. Of course, the emphasis in Boethius' De consolatione philosophiae on virtuous behaviour as the best defense against Fortune (in Book IV, Prose VII) has also influenced Lydgate in his conception of this conflict, if not directly.

In summary, the London Mumming is an offspring of two separate traditions, both of them extremely pervasive and influential. On the one hand, Lydgate hearkens back to what he understood to be the tragic de casibus motif, which he had probably come in closest contact with in reading collections of tragedies like Chaucer's Monk's Tale and Laurent de Premierfait's French prose translation of Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium.

On the other hand, Lydgate relies on allegorized explorations of the nature of the Four Virtues in contemporary penitential manuals, and especially in major compilations like Deguilleville's Pélerinage or Frère Lorens' Somme le roi. These works were themselves dependent (often at several removes) upon Classical and post-Classical synoptic analyses of the Virtues, notably Cicero's De Inventione (Book II, chapters 53-54), the encyclopedic commentary In Somnium Scipionis of Macrobius (Book I, chapter 8), and the pseudo-Senecan treatise De Quatuour Virtutibus (also known as the Formula Honestae Vitae). These three works would have been directly available to Lydgate,[76] though, as already suggested, the essence of their classifications of the Virtues could have reached him by way of a large number of intermediaries. As Rosemund Tuve indicates, these three basic texts and especially the Cicero and the Macrobius "were peculiarly important for the classification and definition of the virtues, that is, the great ancient series of the cardinal four -- discussed with specificity, 'divided', differentiated and characterized, envisaged"(Allegorical Imagery, p. 62).

These writings on Fortune and on the Four Virtues are helpful for understanding the mode of presentation of the London Mumming, given its connection of Fortune's iconography with schematized moral allegory. A wealth of emblematic and figural treatment was accorded to both Fortune and the Virtues in MS illuminations by the Fifteenth Century, so that it is not inconceivable that the particular emblems alluded to in the recited text would have been showed forth in a spectacular visual display by the mummers in the acting place. If, like Glynne Wickham, one is to allow for the possibility of such symbolic display in an indoor performance of the late 1420's (Early English Stages, vol. I, p. 216), then surely the

opinions expressed recently by Anglo and Kipling about the innovative use of visual emblems in entertainments at the Early Tudor Court will have to be re-evaluated.[77] Unfortunately, due to the lack of performance records one can do little more than speculate, but the temptation is strong to see the London Mumming as being accompanied in recitation by a rich, even pageanted presentation, one which would perhaps have surpassed the splendour of Lydgate's guild-Mummings discussed earlier.

The emblems of Fortune which Lydgate alludes to are particularly conventional and would have been visually familiar to his audience. For instance, the description of Fortune's palace (ll. 9-56), corresponding in many important points to a fifteenth century miniature in a MS of Le Roman de la Rose (MS. Douce 371, f. 40^{v}: Plate I), could well have been rendered in visible form before the audience. From the castles and mountains of late-fourteenth century entremets at Paris and contemporary London Royal Entries to the context of an elaborate and ambitious indoor entertainment is not an impossible leap for staging techniques to have made at this time. In the actual performance of the London Mumming, such a palace could have appeared as a stationary pageant, comprising a scaled down "lytel mountaygne lyke an yle" (l. 15), upon which stood Fortune's "halle" (l. 37) itself. The presenter may actually be alluding to the presence of such a pageant when he notes an important emblematic feature of her "wonder desguysee" residence (l. 39), which

> ffrome þat oon syde / yee may see
> Coryously wrought for þe noones /
> Of golde of syluer and of stoones
> Whos richesse may not be tolde / (ll. 40-43).

The presenter speaks in similar terms about the physical appearance of Dame Fortune, and he expounds on her main attributes as they are displayed in the costume of the mummer playing her:

> ffor seelde in oon / she doobe contune
> ffor as shee habe a double face /
> Right so euery houre and space
> She chaungebe hir condycyouns / (ll. 4-7).

Again, at the close of his discussion of Fortune the presenter refers once more to the ways in which such qualities are manifested in her physical appearance, calling her "bis blynde fals goddesse" (l. 136). Iconographically relevant characteristics of Fortune would not have been conveyed to the audience in words only, for the mummer playing her would likely be wearing a Janus mask, perhaps even being blindfolded. Various other emblems of Fortune are mentioned in the text, notably her "two tonnys" (ll. 83-90) and her wheel (l. 129), both of which could have been displayed upon her speculated-upon pageant.

Not content with simply exhibiting a few emblems of Fortune's workings, Lydgate introduces a few specific illustrations of the de casibus theme. His ensuing sequence of four princes (Alexander, Caesar, Gyges and Croesus) given in the presenter's speech may well have been accompanied by an actual procession into the acting place by costumed mummers, who by their expression and gestures would illustrate the verses as did the actors described by Lydgate in Troy Book as performing long ago at Priam's Court. That this quartet has been selected to represent an immense series of falls from greatness, is emphasized in the appropriate rhetorical commonplace of inadequacy:

> Reede of poetes be comedyes /
> And in dyuers Tragedyes
> Yee shal by lamentacyouns
> ffynden beyre / destruccyouns /
> A thousande moo ban I can telle (ll. 123-127).

Like Fortune, with her powers and victims figured forth in the verse and conceivably in the acting place as well, the Four Virtues are treated largely in terms of conventional iconography. Following the aforementioned tradition of analysis extending back to Macrobius, Cicero and beyond, each Virtue is expounded upon in terms of her component facets or aspects. Quite conventionally, Lydgate relies upon three methods to express the aspects of each Virtue: iconographically, in symbolic attributes of the Virtue; morally, in simple and direct exposition of an aspect as a personal characteristic of the Virtue; and, rarely, allegorically, into separate "related" figures. Thus Lydgate gives sobriety, an aspect of the Fourth Virtue Temperance, an allegorical form as her cousin "Soburnesse" (l. 288). This is the fullest figuration of the aspect of Temperance assigned to her originally by Macrobius, and named by him sobrietas,[78] but it is not the only form this aspect takes. Sobrietas is also figured iconographically here as the "reyne" (l. 290) of Temperance, restraining the other Virtues from falling into their excesses which lead to vice (ll. 285-289). Finally, Temperance herself inspires people to act with "soburnesse" in their own lives (l. 300). Not every aspect of the Four Virtues is treated in this threefold way, of course. Most of these conventional aspects are simply referred to in passing, as if they would be automatically recognized by the audience.

In an extended passage, Lydgate moves beyond the conventional iconographical and allegorical examination of a Virtue and provides historical exempla which extend his images into real events. After directing attention to the arrival of Dame Fortitude, the presenter gives a list of historical figures pre-eminent for their adherence to this virtue and

their embodiment of one or more of its aspects. Amid reference to three ancient philosophers (Diogenes, Plato and Socrates: ll. 247-249) and the Nine Worthy (l. 264), he introduces three warrior heroes who conceivably could have been also represented by disguised mummers. Indeed, a formal organization of the figures presented so far into opposing forces is implied in the verse, perhaps in accompaniment to an actual opposition taking place before the audience. Against Fortune and her four adherents there stand Prudence and Righteousness already, but Fortitude brings her own retinue of heroes who outfaced Fortune: Scipio ("of Cartage"!); Hector, associated like Scipio with "his cytee" (l. 255), who died "In þe defence of Troyes toun" (l. 258); and the last of these heroes, Henry V of England, in whose person all three of the Virtues discussed so far were combined:

> And I suppose / and yowe list see
> Þat þees ladyes . alle three
> Were of his counseyle doutelesse
> fforce Prudence / and Rightwysnesse /
> Of þeos three / he tooke his Roote
> To putte fortune . vnder foote / (ll. 271-276).

The presentation of Henry as a paragon of these Virtues makes him a true embodiment of princely magnificence as it was described in Frère Lorens' Somme le roi, a work which may have been available to Lydgate in its fourteenth-century English translation, now known as The Book of Vices and Virtues. In this treatise, Christian magnificence was conceived of as the essentially chivalric virtue. Henry's appearance at this point and in this context in this Mumming indicates Lydgate's desire to celebrate the recent accomplishments of his own nation. Henry is a worthy successor to the magnificent warriors and kings of the ancient world, and his arrival is thus a vigorous national assertion of cultural pride, sure to be

cheered by the audience of this performance whether it was simply a verbal reference or was accompanied by the appearance of a mummer representing the quite recently deceased King.

With this important reference to Henry V, the focus of the London Mumming turns from history once more to examine the importance of adherence to the Virtues, and specifically to Temperance, in the immediate present. Henry was champion of secular Virtues in a way proper to a prince, but Temperance is a moral strength less exclusively associated with chivalry and kingship. Thus her arrival into the acting place provides the opportunity for the presenter to address his audience in a sermon which is organized around the aspects of this Virtue. "Sermon" is perhaps the wrong term, for even though what follows is apparently a series of exhortations to eschew all vice, it is in effect an application of moral doctrine to the context of Fortune's workings in society. This context limits or alters the usual subject of sermon from "what you must do to win salvation" to "what you must do to lead a stable and useful life, fulfilling your given role in the social order." The overarching motif of the tyranny of Fortune has allowed Lydgate to expound morality in secular terms, condemning excess as the root of the Vices and thus extolling Temperance as the key to the Virtues.

The view of the tragedy of Fortune which seems to be expressed here is that the desire for more than one is entitled brings about disorder and ultimately downfall. On the other hand, those who ally themselves with the Virtues, and who are restrained by Temperance from ambitious pride, rancourous envy and greed (ll. 296-307), will escape Fortune's jurisdiction: "Ye beon assured / frome al meschaunce" (l. 323). In effect the Virtues have become seeds of a harmonious society, which is

how they are envisioned in Piers Plowman (XIX, ll. 276-319). The traditional concerns of the popular entertainment called mumming have here been replaced completely by social and moral values. By way of a "Classical" literary form, de casibus tragedy, and a "Classical" moral perspective, on the Four Virtues, Lydgate has risen above the occasional pressures which were his main concern in the Eltham and Mercers' Mummings.

Occasional Entertainment after Lydgate

Finally, this introduction to Lydgate's Mummings should ideally mention something of their influence on later entertainments. But of necessity, this question of influence must be dismissed abruptly. It should be stressed once more that only the most fragmentary evidence survives of occasional entertainment in the later Fifteenth Century, but from these few fragments it can be supposed that during this time no poet was able to assert the same degree of primacy of recited text over visual spectacle that Lydgate enjoyed. The part of presenter, centrally important in his Mummings, shrank to that of Prologue, perhaps as a result of growing English interest in the spectacular effects achieved by Burgundian entremets of the mid-century, with their massive and mobile pageants, magnificent costumes and elaborate emblems which were left unaccompanied by any explanatory text, in order that the audience could enjoy the game of divining them.[79] The Mask or Disguising of the Early Tudor Court was a different species from Lydgate's Mumming. Masks presented for Henry VIII were characterized by a lack of accompanying text or recitation, in the Burgundian manner, and by an emphasis on costume and dance. By the Sixteenth Century, mumming had shrunk back to

its traditional form of the silent entry of disguised visitors and their offering of a gift to their host in token of his having won their game of dice. As John Stevens notes, mumming by this time "was often the prelude to the ceremonial entry of the maskers."[44]

The Mumming as Lydgate devised it rapidly disintegrated into its component parts after his career as a public poet ended. The traditional activity lingered on, despite occasional prohibitions by the authorities, while Lydgate's own stylistic innovations, particularly the comic innovations of the Hertford Mumming and the exposition of a secular morality in the London Mumming, were incorporated into more complex and ambitious dramatic forms, notably the interlude. It is to the interludes of Medwall, Skelton, Rastell and Heywood, and on to the masques of Jonson that one must look for further exploration of the issues and techniques which Lydgate seems to have introduced to the English stage in his two most innovative Mummings.

Meanwhile, a traditionalist or two can be discovered at the close of the Fifteenth Century and on into the Sixteenth who perhaps owed something to Lydgate in their pageants or occasional works. John Barclay, a Benedictine monk like his predecessor, was apparently hired to provide verses for recitation and decoration in the English pavilions at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. Writing from the Field, Sir Nicholas Vaux asked Cardinal Wolsey to send Barclay to him, "to devise histoires and convenient raisons to florrisshe the buildings and Banket House withall".[80] Also following Lydgate as a writer of verses to accompany visual representations was Thomas More who, as his friend and posthumous editor John Rastell recorded,

> in his youth devysed in hys fathers house in London, a goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe, with nyne pageauntes, and verses over every of those pageauntes: which verses expressed and declared, what the ymages in those pageauntes represented . . . .[81]

Like Barclay's picture-poems, More's work seems to owe more in style and intent to Bicorne and Chichevache or even the Daunce of Machabray than to the Mummings themselves. Likewise, the Lydgatian influence noted in the Disguising devised by John English for the festivities for the wedding of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1506 (Gordon Kipling, The Triumph of Honour, pp. 106-109), comes from the earlier poet's courtly verse, specifically from the emblems described in his Compleynt of a Loveres Lyf and The Temple of Glas. Clearly, the Mumming as devised by Lydgate was a temporary balance of spectacle and sentence, which was brought into being because of a conjunction of social and literary pressures and aspirations, at Court and in the City of London. With this balance at its most secure, Lydgate could produce two entertainments that rise above their immediate occasions, and one of these, the Hertford Mumming, has something of a dramatic life which can still be sensed.

Notes

1. Montague Rhodes James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), p. viii.

2. M. A. Manzalaoui, ed., Secretum Secretorum, vol. I (London: Oxford University Press, Early English Text Society, 276, 1977), p. xxxiv.

3. A. I. Doyle, "More light on John Shirley", Medium Aevum, XXX (1961), p. 96.

4. Richard Firth Green, Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages, (University of Toronto Ph.D. thesis, unpub., 1975), p. 255, Green's whole discussion of Shirley's activities (pp. 251-255) is useful in establishing this point.

5. See, for example, Shirley's heading to Gaude virgo mater christi (T, pp. 1-8): "made by Daun Iohan þe Munke Lydegate by night as he lay in his bedde at London".

6. P. J. Croft, Autograph Poetry in the English Language (London: Cassell, 1973), p. 2.

7. A. S. G. Edwards, "The Battle of the Psalms", English Language Notes, VIII no. 2 (1970), p. 90.

8. The prose translation of Deguilleville's work is included in Shirley's Sion College MS. L.40, although both beginning and end of the work are missing. A study of the relationship between T and this MS. may shed new light on the question of Stowe's exemplar(s) for B.

9. But see Brusendorff's analysis (The Chaucer Tradition, p. 227) of the texts of Lydgate's A Seying of the Nightingale (T, pp. 357-368; B, ff. 161-166): "Prof. MacCracken's critical text of this poem proves that all three MSS., Trin. R.3.20, Harl. 2251, and Ad. 29729, are closely connected, but the two last cannot have been copied from the first, as they often agree to differ from this, though they are not written by the same scribe."

10. Eleanor Prescott Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1927), pp. 87-88. See also Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 49-51.

11. A. R. Myers, England in the Late Middle Ages (8th ed.; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 188.

12. Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, trans. F. Hopman (London, 1924; rept. New York: Doubleday, 1954), p. 71.

13. A. I. Doyle, "The Social Context of Medieval English Literature", in The Age of Chaucer, vol. I of The Pelican Guide to English Literature, ed. Boris Ford (3rd ed.; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 88.

14. A. S. G. Edwards, "The Influence of Lydgate's Fall of Princes c. 1440-1559: A Survey", Mediaeval Studies, XXXIX (1977), pp. 424-439.

15. Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry, vol. II (London, 1788), p. 53.

16. John Norton-Smith, ed., John Lydgate: Poems, p. xiii.

17. John Stowe, Survey of London, ed. Charles L. Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), vol. I, p. 133.

18. John Lydgate Poems, p. 195.

19. Henry Bergen, "Notes on Guido delle Colonne", Lydgate's Troy Book, part IV (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, ES 126, 1935), pp. 93-210.

20. Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 285, quotes from the Introduction to an edition of The Life of Our Lady by Simon Quinlan (London M.A. thesis, unpublished, 1957), p. 5.

21. E. F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century, vol. VI of The Oxford History of England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 195-198.

22. John Lydgate: Poems, p. xiii.

23. A. I. Doyle, "More light on John Shirley", p. 94.

24. John Stowe, Survey of London, vol. I, p. 127. See also Eleanor P. Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, p. 125.

25. B. J. H. Rowe, "King Henry VI's claim to France: in Picture and Poem", The Library, ser. 4, XIII (1933), pp. 77-88.

26. J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXVIII (1965), pp. 152-153.

27. Rosemund Tuve, "Guillaume's Pilgrimage", chap. III of Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966", pp. 145-212 passim.

28. John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London: Methuen, 1961), p. 224.

29. W. Pantin, The English Church in the 14th century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 238.

30. J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy", pp. 154-155.

31. A. S. G. Edwards, "Lydgate's Attitudes towards Women", English Studies, LI (1970), p. 437.

32. Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 170.

33. Enid Welsford, The Court Masque (1927; repr. New York: Russell, 1962), p. 41. See also Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages Volume One 1300 to 1576 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 204-206. See also John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court, p. 246.

34. E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903), vol. I, p. 394.

35. John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the early Tudor Court, p. 246.

36. Laura Hibbard Loomis, "Secular Dramatics in the Royal Palace, Paris, 1378, 1389, and Chaucer's 'Tregetoures' ", Speculum XXXIII (1958), pp. 242-254. See also Grace Frank, Mediaeval French Drama (1954; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 165-166.

37. Robert Withington, English Pageantry: An Historical Outline (1918; repr. New York: B. Blom, 1963), vol. I, p. 103.

38. End Welsford, The Court Masque, pp. 38-40.

39. John Carpenter and Richard Whitington, compilers, Liber Albus, trans. Henry Thomas Riley (London: Rolls Series, 1861), pp. 21, 24-26.

40. The Brut, ed. Friedrich W. D. Brie, Part Two (London: Kegan Paul, Old Series 136, 1908), p. 360.

41. [William Gregory], The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London, ed. James Gairdner (1876; repr. New York: Johnson, 1965), p. 152.

42. Laura Hibbard Loomis, "Secular Dramatics . . . and Chaucer's 'Tregetoures' ", p. 245.

43. Rosemund Tuve, "Guillaume's Pilgrimage", Chap. III of Allegorical Imagery, pp. 145-212 passim.

44. D. W. Robertson, Jr., A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 187, 258, and chap. III passim.

45. Rosemund Tuve, Seasons and Months (1933; repr. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1974), pp. 170-191. See also Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (1953; repr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 194-199.

46. E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 293. See also Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting (1953; rept. New York: Harper & Row, 1971), vol. I, chap. V passim.

47. E. P. Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, pp. 281, 349.

48. Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 36, discusses one MS used by the poet:

> The only book in the Bury library in which he has left the undoubted mark of his physical presence is Bodley MS. Laud misc. 233, in which, on the verso of the end fly-leaf, he has written "Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Iohannis Lydgate". The book is a composite one, devoted chiefly to the Synonyma of Isidore, and to the sermoms of Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans in the early twelfth century, but I suspect that what interested Lydgate more were two subsidiary items, "Versus circiter cxiv proverbiales" and "Versus lxxiv heroici proverbiales". Heroici means "drawn from the classics", and it is from this sort of compilation that Lydgate derived his knowledge of writers like Virgil and Horace and, in so doing, fortified the moralistic, encyclopaedic bent of his mind.

See John Lydgate, pp. 37-45 and English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, pp. 92-93 for further discussion of Lydgate's awarenexx of the classics.

49. Laura Hibbard Loomis, "Secular Dramatics . . . and Chaucer's 'Tregetoures' ", p. 244.

50. F. N. Robinson, ed. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (2nd ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), p. 139. All quotations from Chaucer are taken from this edition.

51. L. H. Loomis, "Secular Dramatics . . . and Chaucer's 'Tregetoures' ", pp. 246, 249, 251.

52. Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, ed. Alexandre Tuetey (Paris: H. Champion, 1881), p. 276.

53. Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Chroniques, ed. (Paris: Renouard, L. Douet-d'Arcq, vol. V. 1861), p. 4.

54. The Brut, p. 439.

55. E. P. Spencer, "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: the Bedford Hours", The Burlington Magazine, CVII (1965), p. 497.

56. Nigel Wilkins, ed., Two Miracles: "La Nenne qui laissa son abbaie" [and] "Saint Valentin (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972), p. 1.

57. L. H. Loomis, "Secular Dramatics . . . and Chaucer's 'Tregetoures' ", pp. 247-248.

58. Ethel Carleton Williams, My Lord of Bedford (London: Longmans, 1963), pp. 175, 218-219.

59. The Brut, p. 460.

60. Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 184.

61. Walter F. Schirmer, John Lydgate, trans. Ann. E. Keep (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), p. 101.

62. Sydney Anglo, "The Evolution of the Early Tudor Disguising, Pageant, and Mask", Renaissance Drama, ed. Samuel Schoenbaum, n.s. I (1968), p. 10. See also Gordon Kipling, The Triumph of Honour (The Hague: Sir Thomas Browne Institute, 1977), p. 96.

63. Liber Albus, p. 21.

64. D. W. Robertson, Chaucer's London (New York: Wiley, 1968), pp. 2-3.

65. Rosemund Tuve, Seasons and Months, p. 69.

66. Henry Bergen, ed., Lydgate's Troy Book, vol. I (EETS, ES 97, 1906), p. 169. All quotations from this work are taken from this edition.

67. Richard Axton, European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (London: Hutchinson, 1974), p. 25.

68. Glynne Wickham, Moral Interludes (London: Dent, 1976), p. 197.

69. J. W. H. Atkins, English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase (1834; repr. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1961), pp. 32, 111, 176.

70. R. A. B. Mynors, "The Latin Classics known to Boston of Bury", Fritz Saxl 1890-1948, ed. D. J. Gordon (London: Nelson, 1957), pp. 214-215.

71. Quoted in Grace Frank, Medieval French Drama, p. 6.

72. The relevant passage is quoted and commented upon in E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p. 387, n. 4.

73. The Second Shepherd's Play, The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle, ed. A. C. Cawley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p.74.

74. Louis Petit de Julleville, Les Comediens en France au Moyen Age (1885; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1968), pp. 144-146.

75. Rosemund Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, p. 62.

76. R. A. B. Mynors, "The Latin Classics known to Boston of Bury", pp. 202, 206-207, 215.

77. See n. 62.

78. Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, Commentarii in Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis, Opera quae supersunt, ed. Ludwig von Jan, vol. I (Quedlinburgh and Leipzig: Gottfried Bass, 1848), p. 59 (Lib. I, cap. viii. 7).

79. Gordon Kipling, The Triumph of Honour, pp. 96-115.

80. John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court, p. 247.

81. Geoffrey Webb, "The Office of Devisor", Fritz Saxl 1890-1948, p. 300.

82. John Rastell's hading to Thomas More, "Pageant Verses", The Anchor Anthology of Sixteenth Century Verse, ed. Richard S. Sylvester (New York: Doubleday, 1974), p. 116.

83. Gordon Kipling, The Triumph of Honour, pp. 106-109.

The Hertford Mumming and the London Mumming: Editorial Principles

Both the London Mumming and the Hertford Mumming have been edited twice previously. The Hertford Mumming was first edited by Eleanor Prescott Hammond and published in Anglia XXII (1899), pp. 367-374. This edition retained Shirley's spelling and punctuation, although notes on textual variants in B were not full and no commentary was provided. An edition of the London Mumming, together with the other Mummings in T (except Hertford) was provided by Rudolph Brotanek in an Appendix to his Die Englischen Maskenspiele (1902, repr. New York: Johnson, 1962), pp. 309-317. Punctuation was modernized and a few explanatory notes were provided. However, Brotanek did let certain errors of transcription slip past, and also he neglected to transcribe Shirley's invaluable glosses in the right-hand margin of the text. Both works appear in Henry Noble MacCracken's edition of The Minor Poems of John Lydgate Part Two: Secular Poems (EETS, OS 192, 1934), consecutively on pp. 675-691. Like Brotanek, MacCracken provided punctuation, and went further in modernizing capitalization than did his predecessors. A projected third volume, containing a commentary on Lydgate's "Minor Poems", never appeared.

The present edition offers the Hertford Mumming and the London Mumming in a form as close as possible to that of T. All instances where B differs substantively from T have been noted at the foot of the text. Where emendations have been necessary, they have also been recorded in this manner. Principles of transcription are as follows.

Orthography has been retained as in T. No attempt has been made to "regularize" the metre by adding or removing final-e to or from words.

Punctuation is that of T, although the device 7, used occasionally at the ends of headnotes and annotations, has been altered to the more frequent virgula. Capitalization is that of T. No attempt has been made to normalize capitalization within the line, as this would tend towards the addition of capitals according to modern decorum, as in the royal titles mentioned in the Hertford Mumming, or in references to God. It may be noted that Shirley sometimes uses capitalization for emphasis, although he does single out the letters C, I and R for particular attention. In addition, Shirley's rather inconsistent practice of underscoring proper nouns has been retained.

Abbreviations indicated as such in T have been expanded and underscored. Raised letters have been dropped into conformity with the line. Otiose strokes and flourishes of the pen have been ignored.

Format has been designed to indicate that of T. Page numbers of the MS. are given in the right-hand margin, and Shirley's marginal glosses are provided in the lineation of the original. Spacing between headings and ensuing lines of verse have been standardized, and line numbers have been provided in the left-hand margin.

The Hertford Mumming

Nowe folowebe here be maner of a bille by wey of supplicacion putte to be kyng holding his noble feest of Cristmasse in be Castel of Hertford as in a disguysing of be Rude vpplandisshe people com pleynyng on hir wyves / with the boystous aunswere of hir wyves / devysed by Lydegate / at the Request of be CountrRoullour Brys • slayne at Loviers / p. 40

(u Moost noble prynce • with support of youre grace /
Ber beon entred • in to youre royal place
And late ecomen in to youre castell
Youre poure lieges / wheche lyke no thing weel
Nowe in be vigyle / of bis nuwe yeere
Certeyne sweynes ful[froward of ther chere]
Of entent comen [fallen on ther kne]
(u ffor to compleyne vn to yuoure magestee / p. 41
Vpon be mescheef of gret aduersytee /
Vpon be trouble and be cruweltee /
Which bat bey haue endured in beyre lyves /
By be felnesse of beyre fuerce wyves /
Which is a tourment verray Importable
A bonde of sorowe / a knott unremuwable
ffor whoo is bounde / or locked in maryage
Yif he beo olde / he fallebe in dotage /

Headnote, 4. in a disguysing: B in desguysinge
Headnote, 6. hir: B theyr
Headnote, 7. CountrRoullour: B contronolore

3. late: B lett
5. vigyle: B begynninge
6. froward of there chere supplied from B
7. fallen on ther kne supplied from B
14. unremuwable: B vnueniable

And yong folkes of þeyre lymes sklendre
Grene and lusty / and of brawne but tendre /
Phylosophres callen in suche aage
A chylde to wyve a woodnesse or a raage
(u ffor þey afferme / þer is noon eorþely stryff
May be compared / to wedding of a wyff
And who þat euer stondeþe in þe cas
He with his Rebecke may sing ful offt ellas /
Lyke as þeos hynes / here stonding oon by oon /. demonstrando .vj.rustico:
He may with hem vpon þe daunce goon
Leorne þe traas / booþe at even and morowe
Of Karycantowe / in tourment and in sorowe
Weyle be whyle ellas þat he was borne /
ffor Obbe / þe Reeve / þat gooþe heere al to forne
He pleyneþe sore / his mariage is not meete /
ffor his wyff Beautryce · Bittersweete
Cast vpon hym an hougly cheer ful rowghe
Whane he komeþe home / ful wery frome þe ploughe
With hungry stomake / deed and paale of cheere
In hope to fynde redy his dynier ·
(u Þanne sitteþe Beautryce bollyng at þe nale /
As she þat gyveþe of hym no maner tale
ffor she alday · with hir Iowsy nolle /
Hath for the collyk pouped in þe bolle /
(u And for heed aache · with pepir and gynger p. 42
Dronk dolled ale / to make hir throte cleer
And komeþe hir hoome / whane hit draweþe to eve
And þanne Robyn þe cely poure Reeve /

25. hynes: B hymes
31. meete: B meke
35. hungry: B hugely
37. nale: B walle
42. hir: B his
43. hir: B he

ffynde noone amendes of harome ne damage /
But leene growell / and soupeþe colde potage
And of his wyfe haþe noone oþer cheer
But cokkrowortes vn to his souper
Þis is his servyce sitting at þe borde
And cely Robyn / yif he speke a worde
(u Beautryce of him dooþe so lytel rekke /
Þat with hir distaff she hitteþe him in þe nekke /
ffor a medecyne to chawf with his blood /
With suche a metyerde / she haþe shape him an hoode /
(u And Colyn Cobeller / folowing his felawe — demonstrando / pictaciarum /
Haþe had his part of þe same lawe /
ffor by þe feyth • þat þe preost him gaf
His wyff haþe taught him to pleyne at þe staff
Hir quarter strooke / were so large and rounde /
Þat on his rigge þe towche was alwey founde
(u Cecely Sourechere / his owen precyous spouse
Kowde him reheete / whane he came to house
Yif he ought spake whanne he felt peyne /
Ageyne oon worde / alweys he hade tweyne /
Sheo qwytt him euer / þer was no thing to seeche /
Six for oon / of worde and strookes eeche /
Þer was no meen / bytwene hem for to goone
What euer he wan clowting olde shoone
Þe wykday pleynly þis is no tale /
Sheo wolde on Sondayes drinke it at þe nale /
His part was noon / he sayd not oonys nay /
Hit is no game / but an hernest play
ffor lack of wit / a man his wyf to greeve /

46. leene: B bene
48. Cokkrowortes: B cokkutwortes
54. metyerde: B medecyne
58. pleyne: B pley
61. Cecely: B cely
64. alweys: B allwaye
67. meen: B men
70. Sondayes: B sondaye
72. hernest: B herenest

Þeos husbondemen • who so wolde hem leeve
Koude yif þey dourst / telle in Audyence / p. 43
What folowebe þer of wyues to doone offence
Is noon so olde ne ryveld on hir face
Wit tong or staff but þat she dare manase
Mabyle god hir sauve and blesse
Koude yif hir list / bere here of witnesse
Wordes strookes / vnhappe and harde grace
With sharp nayles kracching in þe face /
I mene þus whane þe distaff is brooke /
With þeyre fistes wyves wol be wrooke
(u Blessed þoo men / þat cane in suche offence
Meekly souffre / take al in pacyence
Tendure suche wyfly purgatorye
Heven for þeyre meede to regne þer in glorye
God graunt al housbandes þat beon in þis place
To wynne so heven / for his hooly grace /
(u Nexst in ordre / þis Bochier stoute and bolde demonstrando / Carnificem /
Þat killed habe Bulles and boores olde
Þis Berthilmewe for al his broode knyff
Yit durst he neuer with his sturdy wyff
In no mater holde chaumpartye /
And if he did / sheo wolde anoon defye /
His pompe his pryde with a sterne thought
And sodeynly setten him at nought
Þoughe his bely / were rounded lyche an ooke /
Sheo wolde not fayle / to gyf þe first strooke /
ffor proude pernelle / lyche a Chaumpyoun
Wolde leve hir puddinges / in a gret Cawdroun

77. ryveld: B ryuell
81. vnhappe: B vnhappye
85. þoo: B the
87. purgatorye: B pulgatory
note to 91. Carnificem: B Cornificem
97. sterne: B sterme

Suffre hem boylle / and taake of hem noon heede
But with hir skumour reeche him on þe heued
Sheo wolde paye him and make no delaye /
Bid him goo pleye him a twenty deuel wey /
Sheo was no cowarde founde at suche a neode /
Hir fist ful offt made his cheekis bleed
What querell euer / þat he agenst hir sette /
She cast hir not / to dyen in his dette / p. 44
She made no taylle / but qwytt him by and by
His quarter sowde / she payde him feythfully
And his waages / with al hir best entent /
She made þer of noon assignement
(u Eeke Thome Tynker / with alle hees pannes olde demonstrando / þe Tynker
And alle þe wyres of Banebury þat he solde
His styth his hamour his bagge portatyf
Bare vp his arme / whane he faught with his wyff /
He founde for haste / no better bokeller
Vpon his cheeke / þe distaff came so neer /
Hir name was cleped Tybot Tapister
To brawle and broyle / she nad no maner fer
To thakke his pilche / stoundemel nowe and þanne /
Thikker þane Thome / koude clowten any panne /
(u Nexst Colle Tyler ful hevy of his cheer
Complaynebe on phelyce / his wyff / þe wafurer
Al his bred with sugre nys not baake
Yit on his cheekis / some tyme he haþe a Caake
So hoot and nuwe or he can taken heed
Þat his heres Glowe verray reede
ffor a medecyne whane þe forst is colde

110. dyen: B dye
111. taylle: B talle
115. Eeke: B seke
116. wyres: B wynes
117. styth: B fryth
121. Hir: B His
123. thakke: B chakke
128. cheekis: B cheke

Making his teethe / to Ratle þat beon oolde
(u Þis is þe compleynt / þat þeos dotardes oolde
Make on þeyre wyves þat beon so stoute and bolde
Þeos holy Martirs · preued ful pacyent
Lowly besechyng · in al hir best entent
Vn to youre noble ryal magestee /
To graunte hem fraunchyse and also liberte
Sith þey beoþe fetird / and bounden in maryage /
A saufconduyt to sauf him frome damage
Eeke vnder support / of youre hyeghe Renoun
Graunt hem also / a proteccyoun
(u Conquest of wyves / is ronne thoroughe þis lande /
Cleyming of Right to haue þe hyegher hande / p. 45
But if you list of youre Regallye
Þe olde testament for to modefye /
(u And þat yee list / asselen þeyre Request
Þat þeos poure husbandes might lyf in Rest
And þat þeyre wyves / in þeyre felle might
Wol medle amonge mercy with þeyre right
ffor it came neuer of nature ne Raysoun
A lyonesse toppresse / þe lyoun /
(u Nor a wolfesse / for al hir thyraunye /
Ouer þe wolf to haven þe maystrye /
Þer beon nowe wolfesses moo þane twoo or three
Þe Rockys recorde / wheeche þat yonder bee /. distaves /
Seoþe to þis mater / of mercy and of grace /
And or þeos dotardes parte out of þis place
Vpon þeyre compleynt to shape remedye
Or þey beo likly to stande in Iupardye /

133. dotardes oolde: B dastardes colde
139. beoþe: B be
145. list: B lust
147. Yee: B the
153. haven: B haue
157. Seoþe: B soth
158. dotardes: B dasters

It is no game with wyves for to pleye
But for foolis / þat gif no force to deye /

(u Takeþe heed of þaunswer of þe wyves /

(u Touching þe substance of þis hyeghe discorde
We six wyves • beon ful of oon acorde
Yif worde and chyding / may vs not avaylle
We wol darrein it • in Chaumpcloos by bataylle
Iupart / oure right / laate or ellys Raathe /
And for oure partye / þe worthy wyff of Bathe /
Cane showe statutes / moo þan six [or] seven
Howe wyves • make hir housbandes wynne heven
Maugre þe feonde and al his vyolence
ffor þeyre vertu of parfyte pacyence /
Partenebe not to wyves nowe adayes /
Sauf on þeyre housbandes for to make assayes
Þer pacyence was buryed long agoo p. 46
Gresyldes story • recordeþe pleinly soo /
(u It longeþe to vs / to clappen as a mylle
No counseyle keepe / but þe trouth oute telle
We beo not borne / by hevenly influence
Of oure nature to keepe vs in sylence /
ffor þis is no doute / euery prudent wyff
Haþe redy • aunswere / in al suche maner stryff
Þoughe þeos dotardes with þeyre dokked berdes
Which strowteþe out as þey were made of herdes
Haue ageyn hus / a gret quarell nowe sette
I trowe þe bakoun / was neuer of hem fette
Awaye at dounmowe / in þe Pryorye

166. darrein: B dryte (?)
169. emended from T of: B or
170. hir: B ther
184. strowteþe: B straweth

Þey weene of vs to haue ay þe maystrye
Ellas þeos fooles / let hem aunswere here to
Whoo cane hem wasshe / who can hem wring alsoo
Wryng hem yee wryng / so als god vs speed
Til þat some tyme / we make hir nases bleed
And sowe hir clooþes / whane þey beoþe to rent /
And clowte hir bakkes / til some of vs beo shent /
Loo yit / þeos fooles / god gif hem sory chaunce
Wolde sette hir wyves / vnder gouuernaunce
Make vs to hem / for to lowte lowe /
We know to weel þe bent / of Iackys bowe
Al þat we clayme / we clayme it but of right
Yif þey say nay let preve it out by ffight /
We wil vs grounde not vpon womanhede /
ffy on hem cowardes / when hit komeþe to nede /
We clayme maystrye / by prescripcyoun /
Be long tytle of successyoun /
ffrome wyff to wyff which we wol not leese
Men may weel gruchche / but þey shal not cheese
Custume is vs for nature and vsaunce / p. 47
To let oure housbandes • lyf in gret noysaunce
Humbelly byseching nowe at oon worde
Vn to oure liege / and moost souerein lord
Vs to defende of hys Regallye /
And of his grace / susteenen oure partye /
Requering þe statuyt of olde antiquytee
Þat in youre tyme / it may confermed bee

189. Ellas: B elles
191. yee: B the
192. hir: B ther
193. beoþe: B be
194. hir: B ther
195. sory: B sorowe
205. leese: B losse

(¶ Þe complaynte • of þe lewed housbandes with þe cruwell
aunswere of þeyre wyues / herde þe Kyng / yiveþe þer
vpon sentence and Iugement /

(¶ Þis noble Prynce moost royal of estate
Having an eyeghe / to þis mortal debate /
ffirst aduerting / of ful hyeghe prudence
Wil vnavysed gyve here no sentence /
With oute counseylle / of haste to procede
By sodeyne doome / for he takeþe heede
To eyþer partye / as Iuge in different
Seing þe paryll / of hasty Iugement
Pourposiþe him / in þis contynude stryff
To gif no sentence þer of diffynytyff
Til þer beo made examynacyoun /
Of oþer partye / and Inquysicyoun
He considereþe / and makeþe Raysoun his guyde
As egall Iuge enclynyng to noo syde /
Not withstanding he haþe compassyoun
Of þe poure housbandes trybulacyoun
So offt arrested / with þeyre wyves rokkes
Which of þeyre distaves / haue so many knokkes /
Peysing also in his Regallye /
Þe lawe þat wymmen • allegge for þeyre partye /
Custume Nature and eeke prescrypcyoun p. 48
Statuyt vsed / by confirmacyoun
Processe and daate of tyme oute of mynde
Recorde of Cronycles witnesse of hir kuynde
Wher fore þe kyng / wol al þis nexst yeere /
Þat wyves fraunchyse • stonde hoole and entier
And pat no man with stonde it ne withdrawe
Til man may fynde some processe oute by lawe /
Þat þey shoulde by nature in þeyre lyves /
Haue soueraynteе / on þeyre prudent wyves /

Headnote, 1. housbandes: B husbande
Headnote, 2. yiveþe: B and gave

A thing vnkoupe / which was neuer found
Let men be ware þer fore / or þey beo bounde /
Þe bonde is harde / who soo þat lookeþe weel /
Some man were leuer fetterd beon in steel
Raunsoun might help / his peyne to aswaage
But whoo is wedded / lyueþe / euer in seruage
And I trowe neuer nowher fer ner neer
Man þat was gladde / to bynde hym prysonier
Þoughe þat his prysoun his castell or his holde
Wer depeynted with asure or with golde /

(ᵘ Explicit /

The London Mumming

Lo here filowebe be deuyse of a desguysing to fore be gret / estates of bis lande bane being at London / made by Lidegate daun Iohan be Munk of Bury . of dame fortune / dame prudence dame Rightwysnesse and dame ffortitudo beholdebe for it is moral pleasaunt and notable / Loo first komebe in dame ffortune / p. 55

(u Loo here bis lady bat yee may see
Lady of mutabilytee /
Which bat called is ffortune /
ffor seelde in oon / she doobe contune
ffor as shee habe a double face / p. 56
Right so euery houre and space
She chaungebe hir condycyouns /
Ay ful of transmutacyouns /
Lyche as the Romans of the Roose /
Descryvebe hir / withouten glose /
And tellebe pleyne / howe bat she
Habe hir dwelling in be see
Ioyning to a bareyne Roche
And on bat oon syde / doobe aproche
A lytel mountaygne lyke an yle
Vpon which lande some whyle /
Ber growen fresshe floures nuwe
Wonder lusty of beyre huwe
Dyuers trees / with fruyte elade
And briddes / with beyre notes glaade

Headnote, 4. beholdebe: B behold it
4. contune: B continewe
11. pleyne: B pleynly

Þat singen / and maken melodye /
In þeyre hevenly hermonye
Some sing on high / and some lowe
And Zepherus / þeer dooþe eeke blowe
With his smooþe / attempree ayre
He makeþe þe weder clere and fayre /
And þe sesoun ful of grace
(u But sodeynly in lytel space
Vpon þis place mooste ryal
Þer comeþe a wawe and for doþe al
ffirst þe fresshe floures glade
On þeyre stalkes / he doþe faade
To þeyre beautee / he dooþe wrong
(u And þanne farwell þe briddes song
Braunche and boughe of euery tree
She robbeþe hem of hir beautee
Leef and blossomes downe þey falle
(u And in þat place / she haþe an halle
Departed / and wonder desguysee /
ffrome þat oon syde / yee may see p. 57
Coryously wrought for þe noones /
Of golde of syluer and of stoones /
Whos richesse may not be tolde /
(u But þat oþer syde / of þat hoolde
Is ebylt in ougly wyse /
And ruynous / for to devyse
Daubed of clay is þat doungeoun
Ay in poynt to falle adoun
Þat oon fayre / by apparence

30. for doþe: B for dereth
41. wrought: B wrough
42. of syluer: B and sylluer
47. clay is: B claynes

And þat ooþer in existence
Shaken with wyndes Rayne and hayle
And sodeynly / þer dooþe assayle /
A raage floode / þat mancyoun /
And ouerflowe þe it vp and doun
Her is no reskous / ner obstacle
Of þis ladyes habytacle /
(u And as hir hous / is ay vnstable
Right so hir self is deceyuable /
In oo point she is neuer elyche /
Þis day she make þe a man al ryche
And thoroughe / hir mutabilytee
Caste þe him to morowe / in pouertee
Þe proddest / she can gyve a fal
She made Alexaundre wynnen al
Þat noman him with stonde dare /
And caste him dovne / or he was ware
So did sheo Sesar Iulius / Sesar a bakars soon /
Sheo made him first victorius /
Þaughe to do weel / sheo beo ful looþe /
Of a Bakers sonne / in sooþe /
Sheo made him a mighty Emperour
And hool of Room was gouuernour
Maugrey þe Senaat / and al þeyre might
But whanne þe sonne / shoone mooste bright p. 58
Of his tryumphe fer and neer /
And he was coronned / with laurier
Vnwarly thorughe / hir mortal lawe /
With bodekyns / he was eslawe /
At þe Capitoyle / in Consistorye /

77. Vnwarly: B vnworthy
hir: B his

Loo / affter al his gret victorye /
(u See howe þis lady can appalle
Þe noblesse of þeos princes alle /
She haþe twoo tonnys in hir celler
Þat oon is ful / of pyment cler
Confect with sugre and spyces swoote
And mannys delytable Roote
But þis is yit þe worst of alle
Þat oþer tonne is ful of galle /
Whoo taasteþe oon / þer is noon oþer
He moste taaste eeke of þat toþer
(u Whos sodeyne chaunges beon not sofft
ffor nowe sheo can reyse oon alofft /
ffrome lowghe estate / til hye degree /
In olde storyes / yee may see /
Estates chaunge / whoo takeþe keepe /
(u ffor oon Gyges / þat kepte sheepe /
Sheo made / by vertu of a ring /
ffor to be made / a worþy kyng
And by fals mourdre / I dare expresse
He came to al his worthynesse /
Moost odyous / of alle thinges /
And Cresus ricchest / eeke of kynges
Was so surquydous / in his pryde /
Þat he wende vpon noo syde /
Noon eorþely thing might him pertourbe
Nor his ryal estate distourbe
Til on a night a dreme he mette / (u ecclesiasticus / xxvj° cap°
Howe Iuvo / in þe ayre him sette
And Iubiter / he vnderstandes /
Gaf him water vn to his handes / p. 59

86. Roote: B rate
102. eeke of: B of all
113. gane: B gaue

And Phebus heelde him þe towayle
But of þis dreme þe devynayle
His doughter gane to specefye /
And fer to forne to prophesye
Whiche called / [was] Leryopee /
Sheo sayde he shoulde an hanged bee
Þis was hir exposicyoun /
Loo howe [his] pruyde was brought adowne
(u And alle þeos chaunges / yif þey beo sought
Þis fals lady haþe hem wrought
Avaled with þeyre sodeyne showres
Þe worþynesse of conqueroures /
Reede of poetes þe comedyes /
And in dyuers Tragedyes
Yee shal by lamentacyouns
ffynden þeyre / destruccyouns /
A thousande moo þan I can telle
In to mescheef howe þey felle
Dovne from hir wheel / in see and lande
(u Þer fore hir malys / to withstande
Hir pompe hir surquydye / hir pryde
Yif she wol / awhyle abyde
ffoure ladyes shall come heer anoon /
Which shal hir power / ouergoone
And þe malys • eeke oppresse
Of þis blynde fals goddesse
Yif sheo beo hardy in þis place /
Oonys for to shewe hir double face /

(u Nowe komeþe here þe first lady of þe foure / dame Prudence /

(u Loo heer þis lady in youre presence /

115. emended from T and B Whiche called / Leryopee /
118. emended from T and B Loo howe hir pruyde
130. Þer fore: B yet for

Of poetis called is dame prudence
Þe which / with hir mirrour bright
By þe pourveyaunce of hir forsight / p. 60
And hir myrrour called provydence
Is strong to make Resistence /
In hir forsight as it is Right /
Ageyns fortune and al hir might /
ffor Senec / seyþe who þat can see
Þat prudence / haþe eyeghen three
Specyally in hir lookynges /
To considre / three maner thinges /
Alwayes by goode avysement
Thinges passed and eeke present
And thinges affter þat shal falle
And she mot looke first of alle
And doon hir Inwarde besy peyne /
Thinges present for to ordeyne
Avysely on euery syde /
And future thinges for to provyde
Þe thinges passed in substaunce
ffor to haue in Remembraunce /
And who þus dooþe I say þat hee
Verrayly haþe yeghen three /
Comitted vn to his diffence /
Þe trouwe myrrour of prouydence
(u Þane þis lady is his guyde / / providencia /
Him to defende on euery syde /
Ageyne fortune / goode and peruerse
And al hir power for to reuerse /
ffor fraunchysed and liberte
ffrome[hir] power to goo free

154. mot: B not
165. Þane þis: B than is this
170. emended from T and B his power

Stonde alle folkes in sentence
Wheeche beon gouuerned by Prouydence

(u Nowe shewebe hir heer be seconde Lady dame Rigwysnesse /

(u Seebe here bis lady Rightwysnesse /
Of alle vertues she is pryncesse /
ffor by be scales of hir balaunces /
Sheo sette hem alle in gouuernaunces /
She puttebe asyde / it is no dreede
ffrenship fauour / and all kyns meede
Love and drede / she settebe at nought
ffor rightfull doome may not beo bought
And Rightwysnesse who can espye
Habe neyber hande ner yeghe /
She lost hir hande ful yoore agoone /
ffor she resceyuebe gyfftes noone
Nober of freonde / neyber of foo
And she habe lost hir sight al soo /
ffor of right sheo doobe provyde /
Nought for to looke on neyber syde
To hyeghe estate / ner lowe degree
But doobe to bober al equytee /
And makebe noon excepcyoun
To neyber part but of Raysoun
And for be pourpos of bis mater
of a Iuge yee shal heere /
Which neuer his lyff of entent
Per passed no Iugement
By his lippes of falsnesse
Of whome be story doobe expresse
Affter his deobe / by acountes cleer

173. Seebe: B Soth
178. kyns: B hines
183. yoore: B ther
185. neyber: B nother
190. bober: B boden

More þane three hundreþe yeer
His body as is made mencyoun
Was tourned vn to corrupcyoun
Þe story telleþe • it is no dreed
But lyche a Roos / swoote and read
Mouþe and lippes • werne yfounde
Nought corrupte / but hoole and sounde
ffor trouthe þat he did expresse
In alle hees doomes of Rithwysnesse
(u ffor þis lady / with þeos balaunce
Was with him / of acqweyntaunce / p. 62
Which him made / In his ententys /
To gyf alle Rightwyse Iugementis /
Wher fore þis lady which yee heer see
With hir balaunce / of equytee /
Haþbe þe scaalis hanged soo /
Þat she haþe no thing to doo /
Neuer with ffortunes doublenesse
ffor euer in oon stant Rightwysnesse
Nowher moeving / too ne froo /
In no thing þat she haþe to doo

(u Loo heer komeþe in nowe þe thridde lady called ffortitudo /

Takeþe heede þis fayre lady loo /
Ycalled is ffortitudo /
Whane philosophres by þeyre sentence
Ar wonte to cleepe Magnyfysence
And ffortitudo / soothely sheo hight
Ageyns alle vyces / for to fight
Confermed as by surtee /
Ageynst / all aduersytee
In signe wher of sheo bereþe a swerde

212. Iugementis: B Iugemente
218. stant: B state

Þat sheo of no thing is aferd /
ffor comune profit al so she /
Of verray magnanymyte /
Thinges gret dooþe vnderfonge /
Taking enpryses / wheeche beon stronge /
And mooste sheo dooþe hir power preove
A communaltee / for to releeve /
Namely vpon a grounde of trouthe /
Þanne in hir þer is no slouthe
ffor to maynteyne þe good commune
And alle þassautes of fortune /
Of verray stidfastnesse of thought
Alle hir chaunges / she sette at nought
ffor þis vertu magnyfycence
Thorough hir mighty excellence / p. 63
Sheo armed þeos Philosophres oolde
Of worldely thing / þat þey nought tolde
Recorde vpon Dyogenes /
On Plato / and on Socrates
She made Cypion of Cartage
To vnderfongen in his aage /
ffor comune proufyte thinges gret / / republica ·
And for no dreed list not leet
Ageynst Roome / þat mighty tovne /
ffor to defende his Regyoun /
Sheo made Hector for his cytee
To spare for noon aduersytee /
But as a mighty Chaumpyoun
In þe defence of Troyes toun
To dye with outen feer or dreed

234. enpryses: B in pryses
240. alle þassautes: B also the assaultes
245. oolde: B coulde
251. thinges: B thinge

And þus þis lady who takeþe heed
Makiþe hir chaumpyouns strong
Parayllous thinges to vnderfong
Til þat þey þeyre pourpos fyne
Recorde of þe worthy nyen /
Of oþer eeke þat weere but late
[I] meene prynces / of latter date
Herry þe fyfft / I dare sey soo /
He might beo tolde for oon of þoo /
Empryses wheeche þat were bygonne /
He lefft not / til þey weere wonne /
And I suppose / and yowe list see
Þat þees ladyes . alle three
Were of his counseyle doutelesse
fforce Prudence / and Rightwysnesse /
Of þeos three / he tooke his Roote
To putte fortune · vnder foote /
And sith þis lady / in vertu strong
Sousteneþe trouthe and dooþe not wronge
Late hir nowe to more and lasse /
Be welcome to yowe þis Cristmasse p. 64

(u And þeos edoone komeþe Inne þe feorþe Lady · cleped dame feyre
and wyse Attemperaunce /

(u Þis feorþe lady þat yee seon heer
Humble debonayre / and sadde of cheer
Ycalled is Attemperaunce /
To sette al thing in gouuernaunce /
And for hir sustres to provyde
Vyces alle shal circumsyde
And setten hem in stabulnesse

264. worthy: B worthes
266. emended from T and B In
269. wheeche þat were: B that were
278. not: B it
281. feorþe: B fayre

With hir Cousin Soburnesse
She shal frome vyces hem restreyne
And in vertu holde hir reyne
And þer Inne gyf hem libertee
Eschuwing alle dishonestee
And hem enfourmen by prudence /
ffor to haue pacyence /
Lownesse and humylytee
And pruyde ⁊ specyally to flee
Contynence frome gloutonye
Eschuwe deshoneste compaignye /
ffleen þe dees and þe taverne /
And in soburnesse hem gouverne
With hert al þat euer þey can
In vertu loven euery man
Sey þe best ay of entent
Whoo þat seythe well doobe not Repent
(u Detraccion and gloutouny /
Voyde hem frome þy companye
And al Rancoure sette asuyde
Be not to hasty / but euer abyde
Specyally to doone vengeaunce
(u In aboode is no Repentaunce /
And in vertu / whoo is þus sette
Þanne beo þeos sustres well ymette /
And soobely / if it beo discerned
Who by þeos foure / is þus gouuerned /
(u Þus I mene þat by Prudence
He haue þe myrrour of Provydence
ffor to consider thinges alle
Naamely parylles / or þey falle
(u And who þat haue by gouuernaunce
Of Rightwysnesse þe ballaunce

305. emended from T Detraccon

And strongly holde in his diffence
Þe swerd of hir Magnyfycence /
Yee beon assured / frome al meschaunce /
(u Namely whanne þat Attemperaunce
Hir sustre gouuerneþe al three
ffrome fortune / ye may þane go free
Booþe alwey / in hert and thought
Whyle yee beo soo / ne dreed hir nought
But avoydeþe / hir acqweyntaunce
ffor hir double varyaunce /
And fleoþe oute of hir companye
And alle þat beon / of hir allye
(u And yee foure susters gladde of cheer
Should abyde here al þis yeer
In þis housholde at libertee
And Ioye and al prosparytee
With yowe to housholde yee should bring
And yee all foure shal nowe sing /
With al youre hoole hert entiere
Some nuwe songe aboute þe fuyre
Suche oon as you lykeþe best
Lat ffortune go pley hir wher hir list / • explicit

A List of Abbreviations used in the Notes

CT	The Canterbury Tales, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (2nd ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), pp. 1-265.
EVCS	English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, ed. Eleanor P. Hammond (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1927).
FP	Lydgate's Fall of Princes, ed. Henry Bergen (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, ES 121, 122, 1918; 123, 124, 1919).
HF	The House of Fame, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, pp. 280-302.
HM	The Hertford Mumming
LGW	The Legend of Good Women, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, pp. 480-518.
LM	The London Mumming
MED	The Middle English Dictionary
MPI	The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part I: Religious Poems, ed. H. N. MacCracken (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, ES 107, 1910).
MPII	The Minor Poems of John Lydgate Part II: Secular Poems, ed. H. N. MacCracken (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, OS 192, 1934).
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
PL	Patrologia cursus completus: series Latina, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844-1864).
PP	The Vision of Piers Plowman, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt (London: Dent, 1978).
Pil.	Lydgate's Deguilleville's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, ed. F. J. Furnivall and Katherine B. Locock (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, ES 77, 1899; 83, 1901; 92, 1904).
RS	[John Lydgate], Reason and Sensuality, ed. E. Sieper (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, ES 84, 1901; 89, 1903).

RR — Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose, ed. Ernest Langlois (Paris: Firmin-Didot, SATF, 1914, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1924).

Romaunt — The Romaunt of the Rose, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, pp. 564-640.

Secular Lyrics — Secular Lyrics of the XIV and XV centuries, ed. R. H. Robbins (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

ST — Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, ed. A. Erdmann and E. Ekwall (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, ES 108, 1911; 125, 1920).

TB — Lydgate's Troy Book, ed. Henry Bergen (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, ES 97, 1906; 103, 1908; 106, 1910; 126, 1935).

TC — Troilus and Criseyde, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, pp. 385-479.

VV — The Book of Vices and Virtues, ed. W. Nelson-Francis (London: Oxford University Press, EETS, OS 217, 1942).

Whiting — Bartlett Jere Whiting and Helen Wescott Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

Whiting Chaucer — Bartlett Jere Whiting, Chaucer's Use of Proverbs (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934).

The Hertford Mumming: Notes

Headnote

3. Hertford Castle, today largely in ruins, belonged to the monarchy until the reign of Charles I. On the eastern side of its inner ward was located a timber-framed great hall, where festive occasions such as this one would have been celebrated. "The hall was an aisled building of three bays with screens and two porches at the northern end and a square oriel and a fireplace at the southern." (The Victoria History of the County of Hertford, ed. William Page, volume III, p. 503.)

7. CountrRoullour Brys: "The 'Countre Roullour Brys' mentioned in Shirley's head-note is almost certainly the John Brice, 'cofferarius regis' who appears in the Privy Council minutes for 1431 . . . ; the title Controller must be a mistake, for only two men, John Ferlby and Thomas Stanley, held this post between 1422 and 1452" (R. F. Green, Literature and the English Court, p. 363, n. 118).

Brys . slayne at Loviers: added in a darker ink than the rest of the page, but in Shirley's hand.

Text

5. This seems to be a reference to New Year's Eve. Shirley's reference to the "noble feest of Cristmasse" in the headnote should thus be taken to refer to the season rather than the specific day of Christmas.

6. sweynes: this term denotes "a servant" in Chaucer, as in the Reeve's Tale, "Hym boes serve hymself that has na swayn" (CT I, l. 4027), or simply a man, as in Sir Thopas (CT VII, l. 724), "Sire Thopas wax a doughty swayn". Apparently, Lydgate's usage here predates the earliest recorded example of the word meaning "a country or farm labourer" by 150 years (OED).

froward of ther chere: "of obstinate expression".

8. compleyne: references to complaint occur in lines 133, 159 and the headnote supra line 215. Other examples of husband's complaint in English verse are Chaucer's Merchant's Prologue (CT IV, ll. 1213-1239) and Secular Lyrics, nos. 43 and 44.

14. The concept of marriage as a knot or bond was proverbial in medieval English verse (Whiting W166). Lydgate was particularly given to describing marriage in these terms. In "The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage", Lydgate (?) mentions "the yoke of euerlasting distresse" (MP II, p. 456, l. 7) and "the yoke and bondis of mariage" (p. 457, l. 32). The image receives more complex satiric treatment in Bicorne and Chichevache, where the perils of sovereignty and submissiveness in marriage are described as

> Of lyff and deeth bytwix tweyne
> Lynkeld in a double cheyne (EVCS, p. 118, ll. 133-4).

For a discussion of Lydgate's positive use of this image in the context of non-marital love, see John Norton-Smith, "Lydgate's Metaphors", English Studies, XLII (1961), pp. 90-93.

16. dotage: the connection between marriage and decrepitude is integral to the humour of this piece. In this context, love is at best foolish, at worst a sickness.

17-18. Lydgate seems to have the "murye wordes of the Host to the Monk" in mind here:

> Of fieble trees ther comen wrecched ympes.
> This maketh that oure heires been so sklendre
> And feble that they may nat wel engendre.
> (CT VII, ll. 1956-8)

Significantly, Lydgate alters Harry Bailly's remark about sexual feebleness to fit a more general context of physical immaturity and weakness. See also the Merchant's Tale: "I warne yow wel, it is no childes pley / To take a wyf" (CT IV, ll. 1530-1531).

20. woodnesse or a rage: a further reference to the disorders brought on by marriage. In Lydgate's "The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage", the speaker declares, "I fell not in the rage / . . . of mariage" (ll. 7-8). Typically, illicit love is spoken of in these terms: "Forbede a love, and it is ten so wod" (LGW, l. 736); "Whanne I was with this rage hent" (Romaunt, l. 1657).

24. rebecke: literally "a fiddle", this was also an insulting term for "old woman". See the Friar's Tale, in which an old woman is called a "ribibe" and again a "rebekke" (CT III, ll. 1377, 1573).

25. hynes: like "sweyne" this term had only recently taken on the specific meaning of "agricultural worker", as in CT I, l. 603, "baillif, ne hierde, nor oother hyne" (MED).

26. be daunce: a popular term for the intricate maneuvres of love or marriage (usually the former) in Chaucer (CT I, l. 476, VI, l. 79, TC III, l. 694-5). Lydgate tends to use this expression in a more ironic sense: Venus makes those who follow her "daunce on hir ryng" (RS, l. 3255); in The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Idleness asserts that

> With this hand, I can adaunce
> Alle thys trwauntys everychon
> Wych that on my daunce gon. (Pil. ll. 17880-82.)

27-28. be traas . . . of Karycantowe: "(? From care-I-can) Nonce word: the dance of henpecked husbands" (MED).

35. deed and paale of cheere: a stock phrase. See TC IV, l. 372, in which Pandarus is called "ful ded and pale of hewe"; also Lydgate's own "with a pale cheere / My tale I gan" (ST, ll. 175-176).

34-48. Apparently drawing on "real life", Lydgate is actually working within a perennial convention of marital complaint: for example, see Secular Lyrics no. 43:

> Quan I cum from þe plow at non,
> In a reuen dych myn mete is don;
> I dar not askyn our dame a spon (ll. 5-7).

37. bolling at be nale: literally, "boozing at the ale-house". The verb means "to quaff the bowl" (OED). On rural women's propensity for drunkenness, see Secular Lyrics no. 38, ll. 33-36, and of course Skelton's The Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng.

39. Iowsy nolle: literally, "sodden head". See Lydgate's short poem "A Tale of Froward Maymond" (John Norton-Smith, ed.; John Lydgate: Poems, p. 13), "Wassail to Maymond and to his iousy pate" (l. 49); also TB II, l. 5781, "And noddeth ofte with his Iowsy hed".

40. pouped in be bolle: literally, "puffed (belched?) at the bowl". In Chaucer's Manciple's Prologue the Cook "hadde pouped in this horn" (CT IX, l. 90). Beautryce performs this action to prevent colic, for, as Harry Bailly remarks in the Prologue to Lydgate's Siege of Thebes,

> To holde wynde / be myn opynyoun
> Wil engendre / collis passyoun
> And make men to greuen / on her roppys (EVCS, p. 122, ll. 113-115).

41-42. The source of this probably spurious remedy for a hangover has not been discovered. However the effectiveness of such spices as "pepir and gynger" for sore throat is alluded to in the Secretum Secretorum: "Than shalt thow froyte thy tethe and gomes with leves wel sauoured and hote and drye of nature, other with leves of grene trees of bitter nature or sovre. That helpeth and profiteth moch.

They clenen the tethe and the mouthe. It melteth fleme, it clenseth the tonge and clereth the speche." ("The 'Ashmole' Version", Secretum Secretorum, ed. M. A. Manzalaoui, vol. I, p. 52, ll. 12-17).

42. dolled ale: ale which is either warmed slightly or which has gone stale (OED). Perhaps a beverage of convenience rather than an actual remedy.

46. leene growell: B may reflect a superior reading here, with its "bene growell".

48. Cokkrowortes: apparently a nonce word. As an adjective, "cokkrow" refers to something "which the cock has crowed on, that is no longer fresh" (OED). The earliest literal usage recorded is dated 1602, "cockcrowen pottage" (OED). "Wortes" are either herbs, cabbage or a vegetable stew, according to the OED, and thus Lydgate seems to refer to stale stew.

50-54. Compare Secular Lyrics no. 44:

> If I sey ovȝt of hyr but good
> She lok on me as she war wod,
> & wyll me clovȝt abovȝt þe hod (ll. 5-7).

53. This violent "medecyne" carries the theme of disease and decrepitude in marriage (ll. 16-20) to its corollary of fruitless or spurious cures. See also ll. 128-131.

54. To be "shaped a hood" is to be deceived, even cuckolded (Whiting H452).

58. pleyne at þe staff: May be a pun, given the reference in the previous line to religious instruction, suggesting lamentation both at the wife's use of the quarter-staff and at religious processions when crucifixes were borne on staffs (OED, usage current c. 1431).

59. quarter strooke: A particular stroke, common to fencing and fighting with the quarterstaff. See Secular Lyrics no. 43:

> If I aske our dame bred,
> che takit a staf & brekit myn hed (ll. 9-10).

60. rigge: "his back" (OED).

62. reheete: "Rebuke, scold" (as in TB III, l. 2956). A pun may have been intended on "rehete" meaning "to comfort or encourage" (OED).

65. See The Wife of Bath's Prologue, "I ne owe hem nat a word it nys quit" (CT III, l. 425).

72. The contrast between ernest and game probably derives from Chaucer, as in "And eek men shal nat maken ernest of game" (CT I, l. 3186), or

> O thou Bacus, yblessed be thy name,
> That so kanst turnen ernest into game! (CT IX, ll. 99-100).

Lydgate alludes to the phrase again in l. 161.

75-76. Lydgate is providing a comic "reason" for the traditional silence of mumming, which is about to be broken by the obstreperous wives.

77. ryveld: "puckered, wizened, withered" (OED).

79. This mock-reverence is typical of Lydgate's heavy irony whenever he writes about women. His simplest ironic device is criticism or insult per antiphrasim, in which an apparently commendatory remark is to be taken precisely opposite to its apparent meaning. He does not employ it so symmetrically here as in a bland aside in the Windsor Mumming:

> I mene it thus / þat worde and werke were oon
> It is no wonder / for wymmen soo beon echoon
> (MPII, p. 693, ll. 48-49).

In his Fall of Princes (I, ll. 4719-4753), Lydgate included a lengthy ironic defense of women.

85-90. Chaucer referred to husband's existence in similar terms in his Wife of Bath's Prologue:

> By God! in erthe I was his purgatorie,
> For which I hope his soule be in glorie. (III, ll. 489-490).

See also Justinus' remark in The Merchant's Tale:

> Paraunter she may be your purgatorie!
> She may be Goddes meene and Goddes whippe;
> Thanne shal youre soule up to hevene skippe
> Swifter than dooth an arwe out of a bowe. (IV, ll. 1670-1673).

Lydgate seems to have been fond of this idea. He gives it memorable form in the Fall of Princes version of the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice (I, ll. 5776-5852), which in his hands becomes a figure of hell in marriage. The husband's lot is there described as "penaunce" and "infernall peynys" (ll. 5828, 5830). See HM ll. 170-171, 135, for further use of this figure.

89. in þis place: perhaps a direct reference to the husbands in the audience.

93-95. Compare the Host's exclamation in The Monk's Prologue about his wife's ferocity:

> For I am perilous with knyf in honde,
> Al be it that I dar nat hir withstonde,
> For she is byg in armes, by my feith. (CT VII, ll. 1319-1321).

95. chaumpartye: literally, division of power; partnership:

> Thus may ye seen that wysdom ne richesse
> Beautee ne sleighte, strengthe ne hardynesse
> Ne may with Venus holde champartie. (CT I, ll. 1947-9).

Lydgate seems to have taken the word from this passage in Chaucer's Knight's Tale, in which he took it to mean "to hold rivalry, to resist". For a survey of his frequent use of this term, see Schick's note to TG, l. 1164 (in John Lydgate, The Temple of Glas, ed. J. Schick [EETS, ES 60, 1891]). In Bicorne and Chichevache, Lydgate also applied the word to the context of marital conflict:

> Dar to þeyre wyves be not contrarye
> Ne frome þeyre lustis dar not varye,
> Nor with hem hold no chaumpartye (EVCS, p. 116, ll. 39-41).

104. skumour: "a shallow ladle or sieve for removing scum from the surface of a liquid" (OED).

106. a twenty deuel wey: a common Chaucerian expletive (Whiting Chaucer, p. 181). "Originally an impatient strengthening of away. . . . In later times it appears to have been taken more vaguely, as an expression of impatience" (OED).

108. See the Wife of Bath's Prologue: "I with my fest so took hym on the cheke" (CT III, l. 792).

110. not to dyen in his dette: Whiting D114. This proverbial expression precedes a string of terms of pay for hired labour.

111. taylle: perhaps a double entendre, derived from the Shipman's Tale (CT VII, l. 416). However, this poem is notably free of such sexual puns, and this one is dubious at best.

112. quarter sowde: Seasonal wages paid every quarter of the year. The term applies especially to soldiers and farm labourers (OED).

114. assignement: allocation of funds, usually a bestowal or grant rather than a salary (MED).

116. þe wyres of Banebury: the exact sense of this reference is not clear. However, the major towns of Oxfordshire, Banbury among them, were known during the fourteenth century for their activity in the metalworking trades. By the fifteenth century, a decline was setting in (A History of the County of Oxford, ed. Alan Crossley, vol. IV, p. 45).

117. styth: an anvil (OED).

123. thakke his pilche: literally, to "shower blows upon OE þaccian his winter coat". A pilche was an outer garment made of skin dressed with hair (OED).

130. And we shal speek of the somwhat, I trowe,
Whan thow art gon, to don thyn eris glowe!
(TC II, ll. 1021-22).

133. dotardes: "imbeciles, senile men". See note to l. 16. The term is used again in ll. 158 and 183.

140. saufconduyt: specifically refers to "The privilege, granted by a sovereign or other competent authority, of being protected from arrest or molestation while making a particular journey or travelling within a certain region" (OED).

146. olde testament: perhaps Lydgate alludes to the Wife of Bath's Prologue, "Though I right now shold make my testament" (CT III, l. 424). The Hertford wives certainly view her confessions and techniques as concrete legal precedent for their own behaviour (see HM, ll. 168-169). For further references to quasi-legal foundation for the wives' sovereignty, see ll. 214 and 238.

modefye: "to lessen the severity of; to temper with mercy" (MED). This meaning of the word seems to have originated with Lydgate.

147. asselen: despite the MED citation of this line in the general sense of "approve, confirm", the context seems to indicate a more concrete use of the word, to "set a seal or signet to a legal document".

152. lyonesse: The Wife of Bath refers to herself in this way: "Stibourn I was as is a leonesse" (CT III, l. 637).

156. Rockys: "distaffs", as Shirley's gloss indicates. See l. 232.

160. Iupardye: "grave, even mortal danger" (MED). The expression "to stand in jeopardy" typically appears in a chivalric context: Troy "stant thus in jupartie" (TC IV, l. 1386); "It is not a lite / To saue 3our life, þat stont in iupartye" (TB I, l. 2538-39); "all þe Chyualrye / Of her lyues stont in Iupartie" (ST, l. 3061).

166. darrein: "to settle or decide a claim or dispute by wager of battle" (MED).

Chaumpcloos: "the ground set apart and enclosed for a judicial duel, single combat, or tourney" (MED).

The phrase as a whole recurs often in Lydgate's chivalric settings:

> Þer was nat oon þat hardy was . . .
> In chaumplcloos þis quarel to darreyne,
> Nouþer Vlixes, nouþer Dyomede. (TB V, ll. 838, 840-41).
>
> Bothe in o feeld assemblid on o day, . . .
> To darreyne, and make no delay,
> Euerich with other to holde chaumpartie.
> (FP IX, ll. 1261, 1263-4).

In the present context, however, the phrase is being used more in terms of a judicial duel, a process of law which was still "firmly rooted in practice and ideas" during the Fifteenth Century (Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, p. 97). Such duels degenerated into unbridled ferocity when they were allowed to take place between members of the lower orders of society, as at Valenciennes in 1455 (Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, pp. 101-102). It is likely that such a duel between peasants, men and women at that, would easily have been seen as a parody of chivalric convention.

167. Raathe: "early" (OED). Chaucer uses the expression as a stock line-ending, e.g. HF, l. 2139.

169. Like the Hertford Mumming itself, The Wife of Bath's Prologue is rich in proverbs and sententious remarks, and it is to these, in all likelihood, that the peasant wives refer. In all there are far more than "six [or] seven" such proverbial statements: "we need not be surprised to find fourteen proverbs and twenty-five sententious remarks in her Prologue" (Whiting, Chaucer, p. 92). Some of the more pertinent of these are listed here for convenience:

> Whoso that first to mille comth, first grynt. (III, l. 389.)
>
> Deceite, wepyng, spynnyng God hath yive
> To wommen kyndely, whil that they may lyve. (ll. 401-402.)
>
> I holde a mouses herte nat worth a leek
> That hath but oon hole for to sterte to,
> And if that faille, thanne is al ydo. (ll. 572-574.)
>
> Diverse scoles maken parfyt clerkes,
> And diverse practyk in many sondry werkes
> Maketh the werkman parfyt sekirly (ll. 44 c, d, e).
>
> Of alle men his wysdom is the hyeste
> That rekketh nevere who hath the world on honde.
> (ll. 326-327.)

172-6. A direct echo of the first stanza of "Lenvoy de Chaucer" to The Clerk's Tale:

> Grisilde is deed, and eek hir pacience,
> And both atones buryed in Ytaille;

> For which I crie in open audience,
> No wedded man so hardy be t'assaille
> His wyves pacience in trust to fynde
> Griseldis, for in certein he shal faille.
> (CT IV, ll. 1177-82)

This motif of unfashionable patience is alluded to in Lydgate's Bicorne and Chichevache:

> Wymmen beon wexen so prudent
> Pey wol no more beo pacyent (EVCS, p. 118, ll. 104-105).

174. Lydgate echoes the words but reverses the idea of CT IV, ll. 1180-1181 (quoted above, ll. 172-6). Lines from The Wife of Bath's Prologue are also echoed, and similarly reversed:

> But folk of wyves maken noon assay,
> Til they be wedded; olde dotard shrewe!
> And thanne, seistow, we wol oure vices shewe.
> (III, ll. 290-2)

"Assay" in this Chaucer passage simply means "test" or "trial": Lydgate uses the word in a more specific sense to mean "a test of arms, or combat; an attack or sally" (MED). As with other words previously encountered, this term is a typical feature of his chivalric poetry (TB II, l. 795, FP III, l. 4598).

177. This is a proverbial expression (Whiting M556, M557), as in The Parson's Tale: "Janglynge is whan a man speketh to much biforn folk, and clappethe as a mille, and taketh no keep of what he seith" (CT X, l. 406). See also Chaucer's envoy to The Clerk's Tale: "Ay clappeth as a mille, I yow counsaille" (CT IV, l. 1200).

179-80. This appeal to "hevenly influence" recalls the Wife of Bath's excuse for her particular qualities:

> I folwed ay my inclinacioun
> By vertu of my constellacioun (CT III, ll. 615-616).

As usual, Lydgate draws back from the specifically sexual import of his source.

181. prudent wyff: an ironic epithet derived from Chaucer's envoy to The Clerk's Tale:

> O noble wyves, ful of heigh prudence,
> Let noon humylitee your tonge naille (CT IV, ll. 184-185).

This kind of wifely prudence is referred to in Lydgate's Bicorne and Chichevache, ll. 104-105 (see note to HM, ll. 172-6) and l. 114, "þe wyves of ful hyegh prudence". See HM, l. 244.

181-2. Compare this to Lydgate's avowedly serious advice to wives, in The Epistle to Sibylle (MP II, pp. 14-16):

With right gode chere and a glad visage
Shewe him your husband gret signes of huge humylite
(ll. 38-9).

Hir mouthe sheo opunde for to be enspyred
With þe grace of goostly sapyence (ll. 92-3).

Lowe of hir speche, of womanly clemence.(l. 95).

184. herdes: the hards, or coarsest fibres of flax (MED).

186-7. See The Wife of Bath's Prologue:

The bacon was nat fet for hem, I trowe,
That some men han in Essex at Dunmowe (III, ll. 217-218).

"At Dunmow, near Chelmsford in Essex, a flitch of bacon was offered to any married couple who lived a year without quarrelling or repenting of their union" (CT notes, p. 699).

188. maystrye: Chaucer uses this word in the sense of "superior skill or art", as in The Wife of Bath's Prologue (III, ll. 817-818). Lydgate seems to regard it as synonymous with "soverayntee" here.

190-2. See the ironic "In Praise of Women" (Secular Lyrics, no. 34):

A woman ys a worthy thyng --
they do the washe and do the wrynge;
"lullay, lullay," she doth the synge,
And yet she hath but care and woo. (ll. 5-8)

This passage and the HM lines are similar to the conclusion of Chaucer's envoy to The Clerk's Tale, "And lat hym care, and wepe, and wrynge, and wailleI" (IV, l. 1212).

193-4. Francis Utley (The Crooked Rib, p. 272) argues that "the gospel of work was an intrinsic part of the defenses of Christine de Pisan", and of other pro-feminist writers. After alluding to this "gospel" ironically in the previous two lines, Lydgate seems to make a gesture of serious acknowledgement of the wives' plight. Compare this to similar statements in his Epistle to Sibylle:

In clope making sheo shal eke besy be
Wolle and flexsse vn-to hir servauntȝ dresse,
Sette hem on werke in vertuous besynesse (ll. 40-42).

Allowing for the difference in social station between the recipient of this didactic poem and the Hertford wives, it is clear that Lydgate wishes to express approval of avoidance of the vice of idleness in both cases.

198. This is a proverbial expression (Whiting B252), meaning "to know what 'Jack' is up to".

203. prescripcyoun: "Uninterrupted use or possession from time immemorial, or from a period fixed by law as giving a title or right; hence title or right acquired by virtue of such use or

possession" (OED). This specifically legal usage was current from 1380, while the more general sense of an "ancient, authoritative custom" is not recorded by the OED before 1589.

207. vsaunce: established custom. Custom, nature and prescription are named as the three principles on which the wives' sovereignty stands (HM, l. 235).

213. statuyt of olde antiquytee: see the note to l. 169.

217-8. Lydgate attributes to Henry the cardinal virtue of prudence (prudentia). There are similarities between this reference to prudence and the examination of the virtue in LM. In both works the operation of the virtue is described in terms of vision and observation. Henry has "an eyeghe" to the quarrel (HM, l. 216), while Dame Prudence herself is noted for her "eyeghen three" (LM, l. 148). Prudence always works "by good avysement" (LM, l. 151), while Henry "Wil vnavysed gyve here no sentence" (HM, l. 218). (Cf. Coronation Balade, MPII, p. 626, ll. 41-8.)

218. For a similar judicious inconclusiveness to a debate poem by Lydgate, see his The Debate of the Horse, the Goose and the Sheep. In that poem, the judges

> Bi short sentence tavoyde al discorde
> Cast a meene to sett hem at a-corde
> (MPII, p. 559, ll. 503-4).

221-9. Henry is described as combining within himself various aspects of the Cardinal Virtues Righteousness and Prudence, as they are expounded in LM, ll. 139-220.

221. Iuge in different: see note to LM, ll. 187-192.

229. compassyoun: in the Macrobian analysis of the aspects of Righteousness (iustitia), humanitas, or human sympathy is included (In Somnium Scipionis I, viii, 7).

232. arrested: specifically "captured, seized, or apprehended by legal authority" (OED). Once again, Lydgate employes a term with its legal denotations in mind.

237. Processe and daate: synonyms, both meaning "extent of time" (MED).

251-4. Both Matthieu de Vendome (Ars Versificatoria, I. 16) and Geoffrey de Vinsauf (Poetria Nova, ll. 126-202) "recommend the proverb highly as a fitting and artistic beginning or end for a literary work" (Whiting Chaucer, p. 18). The proverb Lydgate uses here recalls similar sentiments expressed in his The Churl and the Bird:

And though my cage forged were of gold
And the penacles of byral and cristal
I remembre a proverbe said of olde
Who lesith his fredome in faith he lesith al
ffor I had leuer vpon a branche smal
Merely to singe amonge the wodes grene
Thenne in a cage of siluer bright and shene
(EVCS, p. 105, ll. 92-8).

5. Fortune's "double face" was proverbial (Whiting F 516). Lydgate refers to it, for example, in his Prologue to his translation of Deguilleville's Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine:

> ffortune ys lady / with hyr / double face,
> Of euery thyng / that sodeynly doth pace
> Sche pryncesse ys (Pil., ll. 19-21).

Lydgate mentions this feature again in LM, l. 138.

9-37. The Roman de la Rose is indeed Lydgate's basic source for much of the material in this passage, although he is also indebted to his own early translation of another French love-allegory, Les Echecs Amoureux, a work called by him Reson and Sensuallyte. He draws directly from the description of Fortune's dwelling-place given in RR, ll. 5921-5980, rearranging some of the details and often compressing lengthy descriptions into a single line. For an examination of the derivation of the image of Fortune's dwelling-place, see Howard R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 123-146. See Plate I.

13. This rock is described by Jean de Meun:

> Une roche est en mer seianz,
> Bien parfont, ou milieu laienz,
> Qui seur la mer en haut se lance,
> Contre cui la mer grouce et tence. (RR, ll. 5921-24.)

16-18. These flowers are mentioned in the context of Fortune's place in RR: "Les floretes i fait pareir / E come esteles flambeir" (ll. 5938-39). But it is in Les Echecs Amoureux that Lydgate found precedent for viewing her locus in the manner of a spring-description:

> these herbes white and rede,
> Whiche spryngen in the grene mede
> Norysshed wyth the sonne shene . . . (RS, ll. 105-7).

19. Jean de Meun's trees are far more "dyuers" than Lydgate's. He gives a long catalogue of trees (RR, ll. 5947-72), in which is mentioned "L'autre en fruit porter se deporte" (l. 5950). See E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp. 194-201 for a study of the importance of trees in the locus amoenus.

20-23. By way of Chaucer's General Prologue (ll. 9-10), Lydgate has been drawn into the gravitational pull of spring-description, in which singing birds were an important feature. For use of this motif in the context of a description of the emblems of good fortune, see his Bishopswood Balade:

> foolis loustely recvre
> Þeire lusty notes and þeire [armonye] glade,
> And vnder braunches vnder plesaunt shade
> Reiosshyng þeire with many swote odoures,
> And Zepherus with many fresshe [shoures]
> (MPII, p. 671, ll. 87-91).

Lydgate was also led in this direction in translating Les Echecs:

> Whan briddes in ther Armonye
> Synge and maken melodye (RS, ll. 161-2).

24-27. Zephirus: cf. CT I, l. 5, "Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth"; also RR, ll. 5940-41, "E les erbetes verdeier / Zephirus". The direct source for this passage (if such a common motif can be said to have a definable source) is RS, ll. 130-137:

> And so attempre was the air
> That ther ne was, in sothfastnesse,
> Of colde ne hoote no duresse;
> The bryght sonne, y yowe ensure,
> Hys bemes sprad by swich mesure.
> And Zepherus, the wynde moost soote,
> Enspired boothe crope and roote . . . .

28-34. A conflation of two passages in RR:

> Li flot la hurtent a debatent,
> Qui toujourz a li se combatent,
> E maintes feiz tant i cotissent
> Que toute en mer l'ensevelissent (ll. 5925-8).

> E quant Bise resoufle, il fauche
> Les floretes e la verdure
> A l'espée de sa freidure,
> Si que la fleur i pert son estre
> Si tost come el comence a naistre. (ll. 5942-6).

(Bise is Boreas, the north wind).

30. for dope: "annihilates, destroys" (MED).

38-51. This description of Fortune's hall is derived from that in the RR, ll. 6093-6118 in particular.

40. wonder desguisee: "desguisee maison" (RR, l. 6097).

41-3.

> Mout reluist d'une part, car gent
> I sont li mur d'or e d'argent;

Si rest toute la couverture
De cele meïsmes faiture,
Ardanz de pierres precieuses,
Mout cleres e mout vertueuses. (RR, ll. 6099-6104.)

44-51. D'autre part sont li mur de boe,
Qui n'ont pas d'espès pleine paume;
S'est toute couverte de chaume.
D'une part se tient orguilleuse,
Pour sa grant beauté merveilleuse,
D'autre tremble toute effraee,
Tant se sent feible e esbaee,
E pour fendue de crevaces
En plus de cinc cenz mile places.
E se chose qui n'est estable,
Come foleianz e mouvable,
A certaine abitacion,
Fortune a la sa maison (RR, ll. 6106-6118).

53. raage flood: "The Rage Flood off worldly Tribulacion kometh so sore vpon, that I ha no Recours to Resorte vnto, but only vnto the" (Pil., ll. 16367-16370).

55. reskous: "deliverance, rescue" (OED), as in CT I, l. 1643.

obstacle: "resistence, objection" (OED).

57-63. E pour ce qu'ele est si parverse
Que les bons en la boe verse
E les deseneure e les grieve
E les mauvais en haut eslieve
E leur done a granz abondances,
Dignetiez, eneurs e poissances,
Puis, quant li plaist, leur tost ou emble,
N'el ne set qu'el se veaut, ce semble (RR, ll. 6165-72).

For a full discussion of Fortune's capriciousness, see H. R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, pp. 49-57.

64-5. This motif is extended in The Monk's Tale (CT VII, ll. 2639-46). See also PP XII, l. 44: "Alisaundre that al wan, elengliche ended."

67-80. An exact source for this reference to the fall of Caesar has not been ascertained. It shares some details of vocabulary and emphasis with the versions in Chaucer's Monk's Tale (CT VII, ll. 2671-2726) and in Book Six of Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium (more available to Lydgate in its French prose version by Premierfait).

78-9. cf. The Monk's Tale:

And in the Capitolie anon hym hente
This false Brutus and his othere foon
And stiked hym with boydekyns anoon. (CT VII, ll. 2705-7.)

See also Lydgate's retelling of the story in FP, by way of Boccaccio and Premierfait:

> Cesar sittyng myd the consistorie,
> In his estate most imperiall,
> Aftir many conquest & victorie,
> Fortune awaityng to yiuen hym a fall,
> With boidekenys, percyng as an all,
> He moordred was, with many mortal wounde.
> (FP VI, ll. 2864-9).

83-90. In RR, there are two passages which bear some resemblance to this: the description of Jupiter's "deus pleins tonneaus" (ll. 6813-34), and the description of "dui fleuves divers", one sweet and the other bitter (ll. 5980-87). However, Lydgate's direct source here is Les Echecs, as translated in his Reson and Sensuallyte:

> Aftir this Fortune sone
> Which often changeth as the mone,
> Had throgh hir subtil gyn be-gonne
> To gyve me drynke of her tonne,
> Of which she hath, with-oute wer,
> Couched tweyn in hir celler:
> That oon ful of prosperite,
> The tother of aduersyte (ll. 47-54).
>
> The ton of hem she kan reverse
> With a drynke ful preciouse
> Ryght sote and ryght delyciouse
> Of which no man kan drynke hys fille,
> Thogh he haue plente at his wille
> So ful hyt is of fals delyte (ll. 60-65).
>
> The tother drynke, in sothfastnesse
> Ys so ful of bitternesse
> To hem that taste it, this is no fable,
> Lothsome and alle habomynable (ll. 69-72).

Chaucer alludes to this commonplace of Fortune iconography in his Monk's Tale, "But ay Fortune hath in hire hony galle" (CT VII, l. 2347). For a description of the use of this motif, see H. R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna, pp. 52-54.

94-5.

> Seyng off princis the blynd entendement
> With worldli worshep how that thei be blent
> As thei sholde euer her estatis keepe,
> And as fortune were leid to sleepe
> (FP General Prologue, ll. 165-8).

96-101. Usurpation is frequently decried by Lydgate, despite his equally frequent assertion (as in l. 95) that the estates must and will change. An example of his genuine horror at usurpation may be found in his version of the tragedy of Agathocles, "Sone of a pottere" (FP IV, l. 2732):

On the moste contrarious myscheeff
Founde in this erthe, bi notable euidence,
Is onli this: bi fortunat violence
Whan that a wreche, cherlissh of nature,
Thestat of princis vnwarli doth recure.
(FP IV, ll. 2656-60).

102-18. Croesus is one of the three kings singled out by Dame Reason (RR, ll. 6489-6593) as exempla of the tyranny of Fortune, the two others being Nero and Manfred of Sicily. Croesus is also alluded to in this context by Boethius (De consolatione philosophiae, II. ii., 33-6), and is one of the subjects of Chaucer's Monk's Tale (CT VII, ll. 2727-2766). Lydgate follows the RR closely, drawing out the essentials from Jean de Meun's long account.

103. The pride of Croesus is emphasized in all the accounts named above. Chaucer's Monk calls him "Cresus, the proude kyng" (l. 2759), and adds that "he was so proud and eek so fayn" (l. 2741). Jean de Meun describes at length how "Qu'il come fos s'enorguilli" (RR, l. 6512), later calling him "Touz pleins d'orgueil e de folie" (l. 6598).

107-11. Quant li songes li fuz renduz
Des deus qui li apparaient,
Qui seur l'arbre en haut le servaient:
Jupiter, ce dist, le lavait,
E Phebus la toaille avait
En se penait de l'essuier. (RR, ll. 6504-9).

See also CT VII, ll. 2740-46.

108. Iuvo: presumably a corruption of Jove.

107-8. [Shirley's gloss] ecclesiasticus / xxvj^{o} cap^{o}: Chapter 36 of the Vulgate Ecclesiasticus is entitled "De muliere nequam et de muliere proba" ("of wicked and of virtuous women"). Presumably, "Leryopee" is to be seen in the latter category. But cf. Rudolph Brotanek, Die Englischen Maskenspiele, p. 311, where an earlier title for this chapter is noted: "De filia inreverenti et luxuriosa"!

112-6. Bien le dist Phanye, sa fille,
Qui tant estait sage e soutille
Qu'el savait les songes espondre,
E senz flater li vost respondre: . . .
Par cet songe poez entendre
Qu'el vous veaut faire au gibet pendre
(RR, ll. 6513-6, 6521-2).

115. Leryopee: in the FP and RR versions of the Croesus story, the daughter is called "Phanye". Lydgate's memory seems to have betrayed him at this point as he uses instead a name from Ovid's Metamorphoses (III, l. 342).

125-6. Lydgate alludes to a traditional definition of tragedy, as stated by Isidore of Seville: "tragoedi sunt qui antiqua gesta atque facinora sceleratum regum luctuoso carmine, spectante populo, concinebant" (Etymologiae, XVIII 45, De tragoediis [PL LXXXII, p. 658]).

127. tragedies wol I telle,
Of whiche I have an hundred in my celle.
(CT VII, ll. 1971-2).

128. mescheef: "misfortune, affliction" (MED).

131. Fortune is described by Jean de Meun as

tant orguilleuse e fiere
Qu'il n'est orgueaux qui s'i afiere (RR, ll. 6137-8).

136. Describing Fortune's wheel (RR, ll. 5899-905), Jean states that she "siet ou milieu come avugle" (l. 5903).

140. Prudence (prudentia) is the first of the Four Cardinal Virtues as they are described by commentators extending back to Cicero De inventione, II. liii. 160-liv. 165) and Macrobius (In somnium Scipionis, I. viii. 3-11). The emblems Lydgate has chosen to describe in conjunction with her appearance "onstage" have been selected from a wide range of iconographic features. The iconography of the Four Virtues was largely developed by manuscript illustrators, largely in conjunction with the preparation of MSS of Aristotle's Ethics and the pseudo-Senecan Formula honestae vitae (PL LXXII, pp. 21-28). Neither of these works make any use of iconography, so the emblems were imposed upon them according to conventions of allegory developed in penitential and devotional treatises of the late Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Centuries (Rosemund Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, pp. 63-64). Each of these emblems was intended to stand for a particular aspect of a given Virtue, as these aspects had been expounded by Cicero and Macrobius. In works like Deguilleville's Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine, this use of visual emblems was being incorporated into the text itself, and Lydgate is very much Deguilleville's follower in this regard. He chooses emblems to figure for key aspects of all the Four Virtues, emblems which presumably would have been displayed by the mummers in the acting-place as well.

141. provydence: providentia is one of the aspects of prudentia, according to Macrobius (De somn. I. viii. 7). Prudence is given a mirror of providence (among other attributes) in an illustration to a late-Fifteenth Century MS of the Formula honestae vitae (Plate II). Like all such emblems, the mirror was hardly assigned a single signification: in Pil., the mirror is the badge of Conscience (ll. 22505-18).

147-8. No reference to the three eyes of Prudence has been discovered in the works of Seneca, nor in the Formula honestae vitae, thought to be Seneca's. Lydgate may have known a standard illustration of Prudence in MSS of this latter work which showed this emblem. In Pil., however, Memory is said to have eyes in the back of her head (ll. 8104-6). See also the General Prologue to FP, in which Lydgate's patron Humphrey Duke of Gloucester is said to be "Eied as argus / with reson and forsiht" (l. 382), and is noted for his "ful hih prudence" (l. 379).

151. See note to HM, ll. 217-8.

152-60. Memoria, intelligentia and providentia are the three partes of prudentia, according to Cicero: "Memoria est per quam animus repetit illa quae fuerunt; intelligentia, per quam ea perspicit quae sunt; providentia, per quam futurum aliquid videtur ante quam factum est" (De inv. II. liii. 160).

169. See HM, l. 138.

175-6. The scales are an emblem here for concordia or harmony (In somn. I. viii. 7), as it was expounded in the Somme le roi des Vices et des Vertus by Frere Lorens (1276). I quote from the fourteenth-century English translation, The Book of Vices and Virtues:

> Þis 3ifte is maistre of þe werkes, as for to speke of vertues of þe soule, for it makeþ al þing to þe poynt wel in rule in lyne and leuel; ri3t bi þe led first he takeþ his merke and his lyne (VV, p. 149, ll. 16-19).

In FP, Lydgate states that it is the property of Justice (Rightwysnesse) "taue holde the ballaunce" (VII, l. 1135).

177-92. The indifference of Rightwysnesse is drawn from the attribution to this Virtue of the quality of pietas or dutifulness by Macrobius (In somn. I. viii. 7; cf. De inv. II. liii. 161). However, it is to the motif of the Debate of the Four Daughters of God (as in PP XVIII, ll. 187-201) that Rightwysnesse seems to owe her typical rigorousness.

183-85. In depicting Rightwysnesse without hands and eyes, Lydgate may be drawing on conventional visual emblems of her innocentia or integrity (In somn. I. viii. 7).

188-92. In his Coronation Balade for Henry VI (1429), Lydgate exhorted the new King to attain this kind of righteousness:

> gif no doome til thou heere ych partye,
> Til noþer part þy fauour not applye,
> And eek considre in þyne estate royal
> Þe lord above which no man may denye
> Indifferently seeþe and considerþe al
> (MP II, p. 626, ll. 44-48).

See HM, l. 221.

193-208. Lydgate's source for this exemplum has not been discovered. The judge who is its subject embodies the Ciceronian partes of iustitia: religio, pietas, and especially veritas, "per quam immutata ea quae sunt aut ante fuerunt aut futura sunt dicuntur" (De inv. II. liii. 161).

227-8. Þe þridde degree of prowesse is sikernesse, surete, as seiþ þe philisophre; þat is a vertue wher-by a man ne douteþ not þe wikkednesses ne þe periles þat beþ to-fore his eiȝen (VV, p. 166, ll. 26-29).

This corresponds to Macrobius' attribution of securitas to the Virtue fortitudo (In somn. I. viii. 7). Of course, Lydgate is far less rigorous than Macrobius or his follower Frère Lorens in establishing a full schematization of this Virtue.

229. This sword is specified as the emblem of Magnificence in LM, l. 322. In Pil., however, it is Rightwysnesse who is given the sword (ll. 7825-30). During "Henry VI's Triumphant Entry into London" (MP II, pp. 635-642) of 1431, the newly returned King was presented with a "swerd off myght and victorie" (l. 199).

231-4. Gretnesse is hiȝenesse and noblesse of a mannes wille, wherebi he is hardy as a lyon and of gret vndertakynge. Þis vertue haþ tweie parties: gret þinges to despice, and wel grettere to vndertake and to chese. . . . Of þe secunde partie seiþ þe philisophres þ^{t} magnanimite is renable vndertakynge of hiȝe þinges & dredful (VV, p. 164, ll. 16-21, 26-28).

240-42. After þis bataile comeþ þe world and dame Fortune wiþ hir whelpe, þat assaileþ men and wommen on þe riȝt half and on þe lift half, þat beþ tweie wel grete batailles, wher-ynne moche folke is venquysed (VV, p. 185, ll. 21-25).

Boethius alludes to the assaults of good and bad Fortune in his De consolatione philosophiae (II. pr. viii, ll. 7-24; III. pr. i, 6-7). See also LM, l. 330.

241. stidfastnesse: corresponds to Macrobius' constantia (In somn. I. vii. 7).

245-7.

> Eraclitus, Diogenès
> Refurent de tel cueur que nes
> Pour povreté ne pour destrece
> Ne furent onques en tristece. (RR, ll. 5869-72).

In þes foure vertues studied þe olde philosophres, þat dispised al þe world and forsoken, for to purchas vertue and wisdom (VV, p. 124, ll. 5-7).

248. Socrates in particular is spoken of in these terms by Dame Reason in the RR:

A Socratès seras semblables,
Qui tant fu forz e tant estables
Qu'il n'iest liez en prosperitez
Ne tristes en aversitez (ll. 5847-50).

249-70. For the presentation "onstage" of historical figures accompanying particular allegorical figures, see "Henry VI's Triumphant Entry into London", where a pageant of the Seven Liberal Arts includes the most distinguished practitioner of each Art:

First ther was Gramer, as I reherse gan,
Chieff ffounderesse and roote of all konnyng,
Which hadde afforne hire olde Precian;
And Logyk hadde afforn hire stondyng
Arestotyll moste clerkely dysputyng;
And rethoryk hadde eke in hire presence,
Tulyus, called Mirrour off Eloquence
(MP II, p. 638, ll. 237-43ff.)

Both Scipio and Hector are named as types of Fortitude in Lydgate's Coronation Balade for Henry VI (MP II, p. 626-7): "Hardy as Hector, whanne tyme doope requere" (l. 66); "Wronges forgeting as noble Cypion" (l. 70). Interestingly, so are Alexander and Caesar (ll. 56-63).

249-54. Like Hector after him, Scipio is introduced here for his perseverantia and constantia, as in Macrobius (In somn. I. viii. 7).

261. chaumpyouns: see Lydgate's Debate of the Horse, the Goose and the Sheep,

the fower vertues callid cardynall
Longyng to knyhthod tencrese ther ful hih renouns --
In re publica callid the champiouns
(MP II, p. 545, ll. 94-6).

268-70. Lydgate frequently described Henry V as the "floure of hye prowesse"(Coronation Balade, l. 84) in his public occasional verse. See his 1426 translation of Laurent Calot's French verses on Henry's claim to the French throne ("The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI"):

he may among þe Worthie Nyen
Truly be set and reconed for oon (MP II, p. 619, ll. 217-8).

272-6. Counselled by the three Virtues introduced so far, Henry V embodied princely magnificentia in much the form given it by Cicero (De inv. II. liv. 163): "Magnificentia est rerum magnarum et excelsarum cum animi ampla quadam et splendida propositione cogitatio atque administratio". This description of the encompassing quality of magnificence was cast in more Christian terms in the Somme le roi and its English translation, but even there, magnificence was necessarily the essentially chivalric virtue:

"þe good Goddes knyȝtes suffreþ þe hardenesses and endureþ riȝt to þe ende in þilke hiȝe weie of parfitnesse þat he haþ vndertake" (VV, p. 169, ll. 3-6).

282. See Lydgate's description of Penance in Pil.:

> I am the ffayre, louyd but lyte;
> Off my port, demur And sad,
> Debonayre, & gretly drad
> Off fele folkys that ne se (ll. 4042-45).

284-9. Temperance holds the same crucial mediating position among the Cardinal Virtues as she does in Piers Plowman:

> For ther is no vertue bi fer to Spiritus Temperancie --
> Neither Spiritus Iusticie ne Spiritus Fortitudinis.
> For Spiritus Fortitudinis forfeteth ful ofte:
> He shal do moore than mesure many tyme and ofte,
> And bete men over bittre, and som body to litel,
> And greve men gretter than good feith it wolde.
> And Spiritus Iusticie shal juggen, wole he, nel he,
> After the kynges counseil and the comune like.
> And Spiritus Prudencie in many a point shal faille
> Of that he weneth wolde falle if his wit ne weere.
> (PP XX, ll. 23-32)

See also The Parson's Tale: "attemperaunce, that holdeth the meene in alle thynges" (CT X, l. 833).

286. circumsyde: an aureate term coined by Lydgate, meaning to "exterminate vice" (MED).

288. Soburnesse: Macrobius' sobrietas (In somn. I. viii. 7). In this instance, Lydgate is making use of a different tradition of visualizing the aspects of a Virtue than is his wont in the LM, that of allegory. See Plate III for an example of this mode of visual figuration in MS illumination.

289-90. Wherfore Senek seiþ, "ȝif þou louest to be sobre and attempere, smyte of and restreyne þi desires and put a bridel to þi couetise." For as men withholde þe hors bi þe bridel þat he go not at his wille, riȝt so schulde men and wommen wiþ holde hir hertes bi þe bridel of sobrenesse þat þei habounden hem not to þe vanyte and couetise of þis world (VV, p. 282, ll. 15-22).

Lydgate alludes to "The reynes of attemperaunce" in his Testament (MP I, p. 382, l. 717). The ultimate source of this treatment of Temperance is Macrobius: "temperantiae nihil appetere poenitendum, in nullo legem moderationis excedere, sub iugum rationis cupiditatem domare" (In somn. I. viii. 7).

291. libertee: "þer haþ no man verely fredom but he haue grace and vertue. . . . Þis fredom leseþ a man moche whan he doþ dedly synne. For he selleþ þral to synne" (VV, p. 84, ll. 13-14, 29-31).

292. dishonestee: this vice is seen specifically as a warping of the Virtues from their proper aim, to serve God (VV, p. 27, ll. 3-10).

295. Macrobius' modestia and verecundia, the first two qualities he names as pertaining to temperantia (In somn. I. viii. 7; cf. De inv. II liv. 164 on modestia).

296-8. Þe vertue of temperaunce haþ þre offices. . . . þat is to seye, who-so haþ þat vertue he kepeþ hym þat he be not broken ne defouled in þes þre þinges þat schent þe world, as seint Iohn seiþ: synne of flessche, pride of hert, couetise (VV, p. 123, ll. 12, 17-20).

Lydgate is especially concerned with the first of these in the ensuing passage, although pride has been mentioned (l. 296), and "couetise" is more or less the subject of ll. 298-304.

297-9. Compare Lydgate's Dietary:

> Suffir no surfetis in þyn house at nyght,
> Ware of rere-soupers and of gret excesse,
> Of noddyng hedis and of candel lyght,
> Of slougth on morow and slombryng ydelness
> Whyche of all vices is chef portresse;
> Woyde all dronkelawe lyers, and lechours;
> Of all Vnthrifty exile þe mastresse,
> That is to sey, dyse pleyers and hasardours
> (Secular Lyrics, p. 74, ll. 49-56).

299. þe dees: Þe tenþe braunche of couetise is in euele pleyes, as at þe tables and þe quek and hasard, and alle oþere suche pleies, wiþ dees or oþere wise, what so it be, þat men pleieth for couetise to wynne wiþ siluer or gold or oþer worldely good (VV, p. 41, ll. 20-4).

Chaucer seems to have seen dice-playing in this context as well. Perkyn of The Cook's Tale is "a prentys revelour / That haunte the dys, riot, or paramour" (CT I, ll. 4390-1), and the Franklin also condemns the activity:

> I have my sone snybbed, and yet shal,
> For he to vertu listeth nat entende;
> But for to pleye at dees, and to despende
> And lese al he hath, is his usage. (CT V, ll. 688-71).

The locus classicus of such condemnation in the CT is the beginning of the Pardoner's Tale (CT VI, ll. 463-71), where the tavern is specifically referred to as "that develes temple" (l. 470).

303-7. This exhortation to temperance in social, moral and physical matters, reminiscent of that offered in the vastly influential Secretum Secretorum, is also encountered in Lydgate's Dietary, a poem of commonplace advice to young members of the aristocracy. Virtually in one breath, Lydgate advises his reader (as he does his audience in LM) that he be

> On sondry metis not gredy at þe tabill,
> In fedyng gentill; prudent in daliaunce;
> Close of tunge, of worde not deceyuabill,
> To sey þe best sette al-wey þy plesaunce.
>
> Haue in hate mowthes þat ben doubill,
> Suffir at þy tabill neuer detraccioun,
> Haue despite of folke þat ben trouble,
> Of fals rowners and adulacion
> (Secular Lyrics, p. 74, ll. 21-8).

303-4. Þe þridde degree of sobreness is to put mesure in wordes, wher-of Salamon seiþ þat þe wise and þe wel y-tauȝt attempreþ and mesureþ his wordes; and seint Ierome seiþ, "Who-so haþ fewe wordes is of an attempre lif" (VV, p. 282, ll. 23-7).

Lydgate wrote several didactic poems which emphasized this theme of measure in speech, notably one with the gnomic refrain "Who seith the best shal never repent" (MP II, pp. 800-801).

307-10. > To euery tale, sonn, gyff not credence,
> Be not hasty nor sodenly vengeabill (Dietary, ll. 17-8).

In discussing "measure in listening", the English translator of Frère Lorens declares "Þes grete lordes schulde wel take hede what þei heren and what þei leuen. For þei fynden few þat seien hem soþ, but flaterynges and lesynges beþ grete chepe in þe court" (VV, p. 284, ll. 17-20).

308, 310. Proverbial expressions (Whiting, H171), as in Chaucer's "He hasteth wel that wisely kan abyde" (TC I, l. 956).

326. Þat oþer fredom is þat þ^{t} goode men han in þis world, þat god haþ made free þurgh his grace & vertue, & brouȝt hem oute of seruage of þe deuel & of synne; þei ne beþ cherles to gold ne to siluer ne to here owne careyne ne to þe goodes of fortune, þat þe deþ may dyneme a man" (VV, pp. 84-5, ll. 35-6, 1-4).

330. double varyaunce: Fortune's snares of prosperity and calamity. See note to LM, ll. 240-242.

338-41. Probably a cue for the mummers to sing a carol (accompanied by dancing?), or "nuwe songe" about the Yule log, or "fuyre", which would be burning in the hall in honour of the season while this entertainment was being presented.

342. See note to HM, ll. 251-4 on the use of proverbs or sententiae to conclude a work. Here, Lydgate alludes to the complaint on Fortune of Troilus:

> For wel fynde I that Fortune is my foo;
> Ne al the men that riden konne or go
> May of hire cruel whiel the harm withstonde;
> For, as hire, list, she pleyeth with free and bonde.
> (TC I, ll. 837-40).

By the end of LM, of course, the world of Fortune's capriciousness has been expelled from the "housholde" (ll. 335, 337), and her activities can now be seen as "play" in the most harmless and frivolous sense of the word.

Plate I: Fortune's dwelling-place, from Le Roman de la Rose (French, early 15th century), Bodleian MS. Douce 371, f. 40^{v}, Plate 7 of Howard Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature.

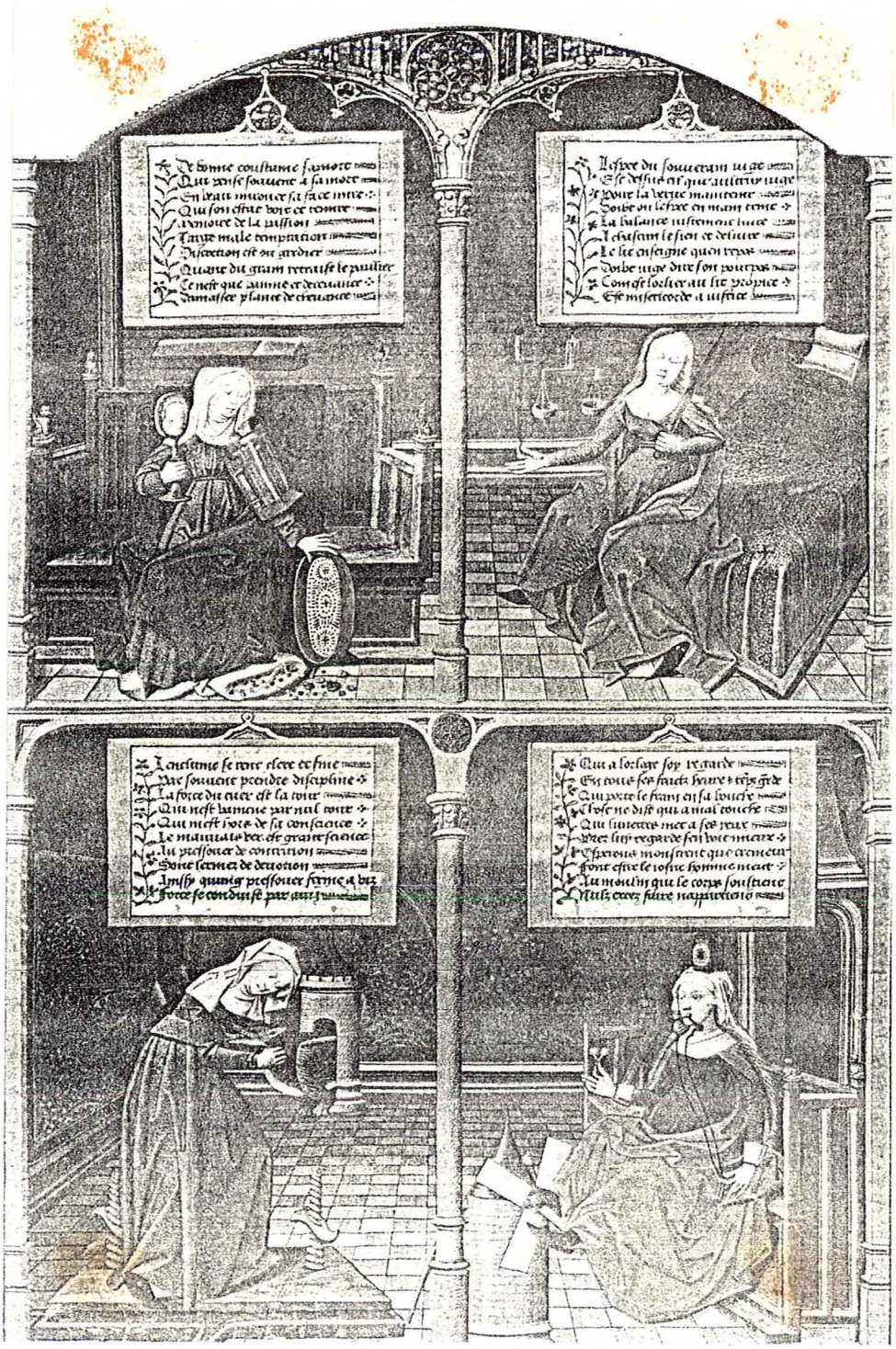

Plate II: The Four Virtues, from B.L. MS. fr. 9186, f. 304 (French, c. 1450), Figure 17 of Rosemund Tuve, Allegorical Imagery. In clockwise order the figures are: Prudence, Righteousness, Temperance and Fortitude.

Plate III: Temperance and three of her attendant qualities personified, from Bodleian MS. Laud misc. 570 (French, c. 1450), Figure 16 of Rosemund Tuve, Allegorical Imagery.

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