The English Lyrics of the *Henry VIII Manuscript*

by

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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

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Date Sept. 1977.
Abstract

The *Henry VIII MS* (BL Additional MS 31,922)—a song book with lyrics by Henry VIII, Thomas Wyatt, William Cornish, and other literary figures of the early Henrician court—is a document that contributes greatly to a critical understanding of the connections between poetry, patronage, and power in early Renaissance society because of the prominence of its chief author, the King himself, and the manuscript’s reflection of literary, social, and political elements of the early Tudor court.

Acknowledging that the contents of the *Henry VIII MS* have been thoroughly treated as “words for music” by the musicologist John Stevens, whose *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* and *Music at the Court of Henry VIII* are the standard works in the area, my thesis builds on existing scholarship to treat the lyrics of *H* chiefly as “words,” as literary texts. The chief focus of this work is the fifty-three English lyrics longer than one line, many of which are extant in the *Henry VIII MS* alone; the four English incipits and seventeen foreign lyrics and incipits are gathered in the appendices.

Intended to be the beginning of a larger work toward the demonstration of the *Henry VIII MS*’ importance both as a poetic and cultural document, my thesis provides the first text of the English lyrics of this manuscript intended for an audience of literary scholars and students. In introductory chapters, my thesis provides an analysis of the manuscript’s content, text, and context; ultimately, my work aims to provide the basis for a more complete consideration of the *Henry VIII MS*’ foundation in literary tradition, its influence, and its place within the court culture of early Tudor England.
# Table of Contents

## Frontmatter
- Abstract ......................................................... ii
- Table of Contents ............................................... iii
- List of Figures .................................................... vii
- Table of Abbreviations and Sigla .......................... viii
- Acknowledgements ............................................. xii

## Introduction ..................................................... 1
- King, Court, and Literary Accoutrement ................ 2
- Processes of Naming: The Name and “Place” of the *Henry VIII MS* .......... 7

i. Interpretative Provinces and Sites of Authorisation: The Critic, the Author, and the Process of Attribution in the *Henry VIII MS* .......... 13
- Song or Verse? Interpretative Provinces and the Authors of *H* ............... 15
- Skelton and Wyatt: The Court Professional and the Coterie Poet / Troubadour .......... 20
- Authorial Evidence in *H*, and the Ascription of Works to Henry VIII .......... 33

ii. Henry VIII as Writer and Lyricist ......................... 41
- Henry as Author: Models and Texts ................................ 42
- Lyrical Attributions, Dubious and Otherwise ......................... 48
- Henry’s Lyrics, Their Contexts, and the Realms of Their Interpretation ........ 53
- Youth and Age, Lover and Disdainer: Poetic Discourses and Royal Power in Henry’s Lyrics .................................................. 65
- Henry VIII’s Place in Literary History .......................... 72
- Appendix: Myne hart is set vponw a lusty pynne ................... 73

## Textual Introduction ............................................ 75
- Authors and Composers ........................................ 77
- Description ..................................................... 83
- The Date of the Manuscript .................................... 88
- The Provenance of the Manuscript ............................ 92
- Language ....................................................... 100
- The Principles of this Edition ................................ 101
- Notes, References, and Brief Comments on Textual Witnesses and Related Manuscripts .... 104

## The English Lyrics .............................................. 110
- Possible Presentations ........................................ 110
- English Lyrics by Composer/Author .......................... 111
- English Lyrics by Manuscript Order .......................... 113
- English Lyrics by Occasion/Theme ............................ 115

*Siemens, Henry VIII MS iii*
The Lyrics, Organized by Composer/Author

### Henry VIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastyme with good companye (The Kynges Ballade)</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alas what shall I do for love</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O my hart and o my hart</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tyme of youthe is to be spent</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alac alac what shall I do</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grene growth the holy</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If love now reynyd as it hath bene</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wherto shuld I expresse</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thow that men do call it dotage</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure is my chef payne</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withowt dyscord</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though sum saith that yough rulyth me</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll for grace sew</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusti yough shuld vs ensue</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### William Cornish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adew adew my hartis lust</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My loue sche morneth for me</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A the syghes that cum fro my hart</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blow thi hornme hunter</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adew corage adew</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trolly lolly loly lo</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yow and I and amyas</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A robyn gentyl robyn [Wyatt]</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Thomas Farthing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aboffe all thynge</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In may that lusty sesoun</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The thoughtes within my brest</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With sorowfull syghs and greuos payne</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I love trewly withowt feymyg</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Robert Cooper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone I leffe alone</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I haue bene a foster</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fare well my Ioy and my swete hart</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Siemens, Henry VIII MS v

William Daggere
Downbery down ............................................. (25°) 242

Henry Rysby
Whoso that will hym self applye .......................... (27°-28°) 244

John Lloyd
Deme the best of euery dowt .............................. (79°) 246

William Pygott
Quid petis o fily ........................................... (112°-116°) 249

Robert Fayrfax / Anthony Woodville
Svmwhat musyng ............................................ (120°-122°) 253

Unattributed
If I had wytt for to endyght ................................... (34°-35°) 274
Hey nony nony nony nony no .............................. (36°) 281
I am a joly foster ............................................. (69°-71°) 287
MAdame damours ............................................. (73°-74°) 291
Adew adew le company ..................................... (74°-75°) 294
Hey troly loly loly ............................................. (80°) 298
Let not vs that yongmen be (Possibly Henry VIII) .... (87°-88°) 300
ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart .................. (100°-102°) 305
Pray we to god that all may gyde ............................ (103°) 307
And I war a maydyn .......................................... (106°-107°) 310
Why shall not I ............................................... (107°-108°) 312
What remedy what remedy .................................. (108°-110°) 315
Wher be ye .................................................. (110°-112°) 319
My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble .............. (116°-120°) 323
I loue vn loued suche is myn aduerture .................. (122°-124°) 328
Hey troly loly lo ............................................ (124°-128°) 330

Appendix 1: English Incipits .................................................. 335
Hey nowe nowe (Kempe) ...................................... (21°) 336
Hey now now (Farthing) ...................................... (25°) 337
It is to me a ryght gret Ioy (Henry VIII) ............... (61°) 338
Now (Unattributed) .......................................... (98°) 339

Appendix 2: Foreign Lyrics & Incipits ................................. 340
Adew mes amours et mon desyre (Cornish) ............... (15°-17°) 341
Adew madam et ma mastress (Henry VIII) ................ (17°-18°) 342
HElas madam cel que ie me tant (Henry VIII) .......... (18°-19°) 343
Sy fortune mace bien purchase (Unattributed) ........... (50°-51°) 344
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page Range</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benedictus (Isaac)</td>
<td>(3r-4r)</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortune esperee (di Giovanni)</td>
<td>(4r-5r)</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alles regret uuidez dema presence (van Ghizeghem/Duke Jean II of Bourbon)</td>
<td>(5r-6r)</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En frolyk weson (Barbireau)</td>
<td>(6r-7r)</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De tous bien plane (van Ghizeghem)</td>
<td>(40r-41r)</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iay pryse amours (Unattributed)</td>
<td>(41r-42r)</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ough warder-mount (Unattributed)</td>
<td>(46r-47r)</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La season (Compere)</td>
<td>(47r-48r)</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentyl prince de renom (Henry VIII)</td>
<td>(47r-48r)</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En vray Amoure (Henry VIII)</td>
<td>(86r-87r)</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulcis amica (Prioris)</td>
<td>(88r-89r)</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belle sur tautes (Agricola)</td>
<td>(99r-100r)</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ffors solemant (Ockeghem)</td>
<td>(104r-105r)</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bibliography** ................................................................................. 362
List of Figures

1. Henry VIII at the tournament celebrating the birth of a son ........................................... 4
   (From Anglo’s reproduction of the *Great Tournament Roll of Westminster* [Membrane 13])
2. Henry VIII reading in his chamber .......................................................... 37
   (From the *Henry VIII Psalter.*)
3. Henry VIII playing a harp, with fool Will Summers nearby ........................................ 39
   (From the *Henry VIII Psalter.*)
4. “Blush not fayer nimphe,” attributed to Henry VIII .................................................. 49
   (From a prayer book belonging to Katherine Parr, at Sudeley Castle.)
5. “Romance Subject” from Henry VIII’s Holy Day Room, Hampton Court ....................... 67
   (From Marillier.)
6. Block capital “H” from the second voice of Henry’s “HElas madam cel que ie me tant” .... 75
   (*H* 18r-19r; 343.)
7. Portrait of Henry Guildford (by Holbein) ........................................................... 93
8. Henry VIII as a young monarch, ca. 1520 .............................................................. 120
   (Artist unknown; from the National Gallery, London.)
9. Detail of Henry’s “Pastyme with good companye” (*H* 14r-15r; 121) ......................... 129
10. Henry’s “Departure is my chef payne” (*H* 60r; 157) ............................................. 159
11. Cornish’s “My loue sche mometh for me” (*H* 30r-31r; 176) .................................. 183
12. Cornish’s “Blow thi horte hunter” (*H* 39r-40r; 188) ........................................... 193
13. Cornish’s “Yow and I and amyas” (*H* 45r-46r; 199) ............................................ 203
14. Cornish / Wyatt’s “A robyn gentyl robyn” (*H* 53r-54r; 205) .................................. 209
15. Cornish’s “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (*H* 54r-55r; 211) ......................... 216
   (Seemingly intended for presentation by Katherine of Aragon.)
16. Farthing’s “Aboffe all thynge” (*H* 24r; 218) ......................................................... 221
17. Cooper’s “I haue bene a foster” (*H* 65r-66r; 232) ............................................. 237
18. Lloyd’s “Deme the best of euery dowt” (*H* 79r; 246) ........................................... 248
19. Fayrfax / Woodville’s “Svmwhat musyng” (*H* 120r-122r; 253) .............................. 260
   19 a. Witness: *LFay* (33r-35r) ................................................................. 264
   19 b. Witness: *Wells* (1r-2r) ................................................................. 268
   19 c. Witness: *CFitz* (1r) .......................................................................... 272
   19 d. Witness: *NYDrex* (1r) ................................................................. 273
20. “Iff I had wytt for to endyght” (*H* 34r-35r; 274) .................................................. 279
21. “Adew adew le company” (*H* 74r-75r; 294) ....................................................... 296
22. “Let not vs that yongmen be” (*H* 87r-88r; 300) .................................................. 303
23. “Pray we to god that all may gyde” (*H* 103r; 307) ............................................... 309
Table of Abbreviations and Sigla

Abbreviations for textual witnesses, manuscript and otherwise, as well as other frequently used abbreviations are given in the following table.

For brief summaries of the textual witnesses, and a list of their contents as related to the *Henry VIII MS* as well as a list of their mention in this work, please refer to *Notes, References, and Brief Comments on Textual Witnesses and Related Manuscripts* (104).

For *Manuscript and Early Printed Book Information Sources* and *Notable Reprintings*, full information is provided in the *Bibliography*; abbreviations as per these two lists are present in the *Bibliography* as well, for ease of use.

For ease of reference, the table is presented in three separate parts on the next three pages.
Sigla

CFitz  Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 1,005.
CGon  Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College MS 383/603.
CPet  Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 195.
CTri  Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.2.53.
DBla  Dublin, Trinity College MS 160.
EPan  Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Panmure MS 9,450.
H  London, BL Additional MS 31,922.
L1587  London, BL Harleian MS 1,587.
L18752  London, BL Additional MS 18,752.
LDev  London, BL Additional MS 17,492.
LEge  London, BL Egerton MS 2,711.
LR58  London, BL Royal Appendix 58.
LRit  London, BL Additional MS 5,665.
LTho  London, BL Egerton MS 3,537.
LVes  London, BL Cotton MS Vespasian A.xii.
NYDrex  New York Public Library, Drexel MS 4,185.
OxAsh  Oxford, Bodleian MS Ashmole 176.
OxHill  Oxford, Balliol College MS 354.
OxRawl86  Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C.86.
PBLe  Legenda aurea.
Wells  Wells Cathedral Library, Music Manuscripts: Fayrfax Fragment.
Other Abbreviations

**BL** London, British Library.

**Boffey** Boffey, Julia. *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages*.

**Crum** Crum, Margaret. *First-Line Index of Manuscript Poetry in the Bodleian Library*. Also *Addenda*.

**CSP Milan** Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan.

**CSP Spain** Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between English and Spain.

**CSP Venice** Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy.

**L&P Henry VIII** Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.

**MED** Middle English Dictionary.

**OED** Oxford English Dictionary.


**PRO** London, Public Record Office.


**Robbins Index** Robbins, R.H. and Carleton Brown. *Index of Middle English Verse*.

**Robbins Suppl.** Robbins, R.H. and J.L. Cutler. *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse*. 
Notable Reprintings

Arber Arber, Edward. *Dunbar Anthology.* (Dunbar and his Times.)
Black Black, Matthew W., ed. *Elizabethan and Seventeenth-Century Lyrics.*
Briggs Collection Briggs, Henry B. *A Collection of Songs and Madrigals of the Fifteenth Century.*
Davies Davies, Reginald T., ed. *Medieval English Lyrics.*
Dyboski Dyboski, Roman, ed. *Songs, Carols, and other Miscellaneous Poems.*
Flügel Anglia Flügel, Ewald. “Liedersammlungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Besonders aus der Zeit Heinrich’s VIII.”
Furnivall Laneham, Robert. *Captain Cox.* (F. J. Furnivall, ed.).
Greene Greene, Richard L. *The Early English Carols.*
Hearne Hearne, Thomas, ed. *Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae.*
MacNamara MacNamara, Francis, ed. *Miscellaneous Writings of Henry VIII.*
Padelford Padelford, Fredrick M. *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics.*
Reed Reed, E.B. “The Sixteenth-Century Lyrics in Additional MS 18,752.”
Rickert Rickert, Edith. *Ancient English Christmas Carols.*
Rimbault Rimbault, Edward F. *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads.*
Ritson Ritson, Joseph. *Ancient Songs.*
Stevens M&P Stevens, John E. *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court.*
Stevens MCH8 Stevens, John E. *Music at the Court of Henry VIII.*
Trefusis Trefusis, Lady Mary. *Songs, Ballads and Instrumental Pieces Composed by King Henry VIII.*
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College and Balliol College, Oxford; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; Fitzwilliam Museum, Gonville and Caius College, Peterhouse, and Trinity College, Cambridge; the Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone; the New York Public Library; and Robarts Library, U of Toronto.

_Siemens, Henry VIII MS xiv_
Introduction

When we think of exemplary models illustrative of the nature of courtly literature and culture in Renaissance England, the early court of Henry VIII is not always the first to come to mind. By sheer force of voluminous scholarship alone, one might be more drawn to that of his daughter Elizabeth I and, once there, persuaded to consider those who assisted in the process of shaping the literary life of her court in a model suited to its monarch, and literary representations of that monarch in terms suitable to the court. Of this, there are many illustrations, among them the Cynthia of Edmund Spenser’s *Colin Clout*; the Britomart, Glorianna, and Belphoebe of *The Faerie Queene*; Sir Philip Sidney’s judicious judge at the centre of his *Lady of May*; and the figure—constructed and interpreted by Spenser, Mary Sidney, William Shakespeare, George Peele, John Davies, and others—of Astrea.¹ What emerges from consideration in such a vein is the nature of the social fiction that is constructed and elaborated in literary terms by these literati and, when viewed in the larger context of court activity, the way in which literary constructions are reflected in (and, themselves, reflect) themes and trends in the larger fabric of court life.

Such processes, of course, are similarly at work in the earlier Tudor court,² especially that of Elizabeth’s father Henry in the first years of his reign, but there are far fewer literary figures of such prominence to recount—unless, of course, one is willing to consider the king directly among those literary figures who participated in the construction of courtly social fictions. The Henry

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¹ See Frances Yates’ *Astrea* (29-87).

² See, for example, recent studies in the literature of the Henrician court carried out by Alistair Fox, in his *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, and Greg Walker, in his *Plays of Persuasion*, among others.
VIII Manuscript (BL Additional MS 31,922; hereafter referred to as H), one of only three large songbooks surviving from the period, is notable for many reasons, but chief among them is its intimate connection with Henry's early court and, within, its exemplification of the fictions developed and elaborated by Henry and his early contemporaries, specifically that of courtly love and the elements of spectacle and regal power that Henry brought to it.3

King, Court, and Literary Accoutrement

An illustrative event, the underpinnings of which are demonstrated in part by lyrics of the Henry VIII MS authored by Henry himself and members of his Chapel Royal, may be presented by a rehearsing of details surrounding the February 1511 tournament in honor of a male child born to Henry and Katherine of Aragon on 1 January of that year.4 A letter of challenge, issued by Henry, presents the fiction to which the combat would adhere:

Be it known to all men, that where as certaine Lettres haue bene sent and directed vnto the moost high noble and excellent princesse the Quene of England and of ffraunce, from her right dere and best beloued cousyn Noble Renome Quene of the Royalme named Cuer noble, having knowledge of the good and gracious fortune of the byrthe of a yong prync that it hath pleased god to send to her and to her make. which is the moost Joye and comfort that mought be to her and to the moost renomed Royalme of England considering the valliantenes, vertues, and expert nobles which highly aboundeth in her moost derest cousyn the king of the same, hath sent iiiij knyghtes borne in the Roialme of Cuere noble, whose names foloweth that is to sey, Cuere loyall, Vailliaunt desyre, Bone voloyr, and Joyous panser, to accomplisshe certaine feates of Armes which at the Instaunce and desire

3 On the nature of the fiction of courtly love, see the fourth chapter of R.F. Green's Poets and Princepleasers, "The Court of Cupid" (101-134); also the chapters in Stevens M&P: "The 'Game of Love'" (154-202) and "The Courtly Makers from Chaucer to Wyatt" (203-232). On the dynamic of political power inherent to such "fictions," see Anglo (Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy).

4 There were other festivities, but the central event was the tournament beginning 12 February 1511; the child died on 22 February.
of the said princesse hath goten and opteyned of the king our souuerain . . . .

With a debt betrayed, but not overtly acknowledged, to Burgundian tournaments which typically adopted and maintained allegorical themes, the idea of a foreign court of love is established, that of the realm known as “Cuer noble” (Noble Heart). Upon hearing of the birth of a son to the Queen of England, and knowing of the valiant nature and chivalric expertise of her king and his men, the queen of this foreign court, “Noble Renome” (Noble Renown), has sent four challengers to accomplish “feates of armes” as part of, noted further in the challenge, “the honnor or curtesie” required of them for “the quene and the ladies.” For two days—interspersed with disguisings, banquets, and other celebratory activities—the tournament lasted, to end with the queen’s presentation of the prize to the knight known as “Cuere loyall” (Loyal Heart) for his valiant actions.

The realm known as “Cuer noble,” explicitly presented as being parallel to that of England through relation, is of course England itself, “Noble Renome” is Katherine, and the foreign knights—Cuere loyall, Vailliaunt desyre (Valiant Desire), Bone voloyr (Good Will), and Joyous panser (Joyful Thought)—are Henry VIII, Thomas Knyvet, William Courtney, and Edward Neville, respectively. Such was the fiction, as demonstrated in the document issuing the tournament challenge, and also graphically preserved in what is now known as the Great Preserved in *British Museum Cart. Harl. Antiq.* 83 H. I, reproduced in Anglo (*Tournament Roll* 109-11).

The identities of these figures, erroneously reported by Hall in some cases (517), is confirmed by extant jousting cheques for this tournament (*BL Ashmolean MS* 1116 109'-110'; see Anglo, *Tournament Roll* 112-5).
Figure 1: Henry VIII at the tournament of 1511.

*Tournament Roll of Westminster*—a grand manuscript which details the participants in the tournament and displays Henry, himself and his horse arrayed in fabric covered with Hs and Ks as well as several devices of a golden arm holding a scroll with the word “Loyall” thereon and a

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7 *London, College of Arms MS Great Tournament Roll of Westminster*, a facsimile reprint is available (Anglo, *Tournament Roll*).
heart hanging from the scroll (membrane 13; see Figure 1 [4]), breaking his stave against the helmet of a competitor (membranes 25-6). As noted by Anglo, this in itself is a fictionalised situation, for jousting cheques reveal that Henry did not break a stave against a competitor’s helmet during this tournament (*Tournament Roll* 97 n.1). Participating in the courtly fiction also were pageants and, notably, singing by the Chapel Royal of “dijers freshe songes.” Among these songs, very likely, were those from *H*, such as the unattributed “Adew adew le company,”

Adew adew le company  
I trust we shall mete oftener  
viue le katerine et noble henry  
viue le prince le infant rosary. (*H* 74*-75*, 294)

which bids goodbye to a company gathered at a celebration for the short-lived heir, as well as Farthing’s “Aboffe all thynge,”

Aboffe all thynge  
now lete vs synge  
both day and nyght  
Adew mornyng  
a bud is spryngynge  
of the red rose and the whyght (*H* 24*, 218)

which, in the emblematic terms of the Tudor rose (as noted also in the final line of “Adew adew le company”), commemorates that which the tournament also sought to celebrate. Henry’s own “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” (*H* 39*, 145) and “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (*H* 48*-49*, 148) buttress the chivalric fiction of the *court of love* that Henry himself championed in his early years, as do others, including the lyrics “Let not vs that yongmen be” (*H* 87*-88*, 300; unattributed), Rysby’s “Whoso that wyll hym selff applye” (*H* 27*-28*, 244), and Cornish’s “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (*H* 54*-55*, 211), itself making explicit reference to Henry’s
chivalric prowess and seemingly intended to be performed by his queen.

Such was the scale of this particular courtly fiction, involving the king not only as a much-heralded participant, as one chiefly sees in similar courtly events surrounding Elizabeth I, but also as a leading author of that fiction, as evinced by his role in the construction of the letter of challenge, in the device of the "loyal heart" displayed in his jousting costume (which associates, in a venue intended to display active virtuosity, the more passive symbol of the scroll with loyalty and love), and in the lyrical works which herald the very ideals of courtly love which form the foundation of the "Royalme named Cuer noble." The Henry VIII MS, which documents the fictions of the early Tudor court constructed and upheld by the literati of the day, provides what is a rare opportunity for such witness, and the even rarer opportunity of examining the light lyrical works of a figure better known for his large reforms, secular and religious alike. It allows one to view the court, and its monarch, through the short poetical works which graced them, the lyrics of the Henry VIII MS themselves being exemplary of the literary accoutrement—the apparel or attire intended for special purposes\(^{10}\)—of the early Tudor court and of the king himself.

Hitherto unedited in a form intended for a literary audience, the English lyrics of the Henry VIII MS thus constitute a document that contributes considerably to our critical understanding of the connections between poetry, patronage, and power in early Renaissance society—because of the prominence of its chief author, the King himself, and also because of its literary reflection of the social and political elements of the early Tudor court.

\(^{10}\) See OED ("accoutrement").
Processes of Naming: The Name and "Place" of the Henry VIII MS

In addition to establishing a critical context for H, an introduction to a work dealing with this document also necessitates discussion of the name and place that recent tradition has ascribed to it, because typical assumptions about the relation of the manuscript to the king himself that might be properly held about other documents and their relation to their namesakes simply do not apply in this case and, hence, must be dispelled. In such a discussion, a place for H in our critical minds—one based in perceptions associated with it because of its name, but the implications of which are more far-reaching—also begins to take shape.

Though one of its early describers, William Chappell, has commented that the manuscript belonged to Henry, the Henry VIII MS was not owned by Henry VIII, nor did he commission it, nor, given the present state of our knowledge about it, did he handle it. Henry is the chief author in the collection of lyrics it contains and, as one might expect in a courtly document, a number of the works therein refer to him and his court’s activities; however, the relation of this outstanding monarch to the manuscript which has come to bear his name ends at this point.

Expectations that the manuscript is the king’s are excited chiefly because of typical associations made about documents based on the names by which they are commonly known. For poetic materials of the early Tudor era, the process can function in several ways. Scholarly rigour in our time dictates that we refer to works by their repository location and shelf number, but nomenclature of materials such as this typically moves beyond the shelf number, especially with

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11 See Chappell's "Account" (371). This may be based on the evidence of the first leaf of the ms, on which is written, in a sixteenth-century hand, "henricus dei gr[aci]a Rex Anglie" (1').

12 The subject of this work, for example, is BL Additional MS 31,922.
resources that have a certain prominence and, thus, a familiarity in the circles of readers and scholars who address the material.

Naming, however, is not a simple and straightforward matter; quite often, it is the opposite, a process that takes on a life of its own. For example, one might look to Oxford Bodleian Library Arch. G. f. 12[1] (Pollard/STC 13860), the printed miscellany by which early Elizabethan audiences and those that followed chiefly grew to know the works of Wyatt, Surrey, Nicholas Grimald, and others, that was initially known by its title, one which catalogued, generically, its contents: *Songes and Sonettes*. Reprinted at least nine times within the thirty years following its first printing, its contents eventually came to be referred to by some as *Wyatt and Surrey*, or *Surrey and Wyatt*.\(^{13}\) The name by which it is currently and popularly known, *Tottel’s Miscellany*, reflects the Victorian supposition of its first printer’s editorial influence, that of Richard Tottel;\(^{14}\) this name arose at the same time as a full reprinting of the collection by E. Arber in 1870, and has stayed with us to the present day in small portable volumes such as that printed by Arber and in H.E. Rollins’ much larger scholarly edition of 1929.

While a brief history of *Tottel’s Miscellany* serves well to illustrate how operations of nomenclature can behave, and while there is a similarity between it and *H* in that each is a

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\(^{13}\) This, possibly as a derivative form of the title given to the edition published by W. Meares and J. Brown in 1717 which was *Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey . . . With the Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, though the first page of the book has *Songes and Sonettes* printed at its head. *Wyatt and Surrey*, however, is a title chiefly used now only by a few, and then chiefly in reference to abridged versions of the full collection from which much of the work by others was removed.

\(^{14}\) Tottel’s editorial influence today, however, is thought to be much less than originally speculated, as Rollins (xx) and others have noted. Instead, manuscript evidence found in the works of Wyatt suggest that it may have been Nicholas Grimald, who is the only other named author in *Tottel’s Miscellany*, who had the chief editorial influence.
miscellany of sorts, $H$ is a document of a very different type. For our purposes, the most important differentiating factors to note are that $H$ had a very different intended audience and a very different public prominence from the date of its composition. The contents of the manuscript suggest that it was intended to function as a songbook for members of the court that surrounded Henry VIII. *Tottel* was intended to be read, or to be read from, whereas $H$ was intended for performance, either public or private. *Tottel* had a widespread public circulation, upon which Wyatt and Surrey's canonical status was initially established and, for centuries thereafter, re-confirmed. The lyrics contained in the *Henry VIII MS* did have a widespread circulation of sorts, but not in print; rather, it was a circulation in what we might refer to as a hybrid between manuscript culture and oral culture.\(^\text{15}\) *Tottel*, as a collection, was relatively well-known, having been in and out of print well into Victorian times and beyond, but the *Henry VIII MS*, once it left court circles for Kent (ca. 1520-30), was seemingly unknown until its description by Chappell (1867)\(^\text{16}\) and its acquisition shortly thereafter by the British Museum (1882), until Chappell's

\[\text{15} \text{ Individual works from it are found, among other places, in [1] commonplace books, such as those of Richard Hill (OxHill) and Elias Ashmole and William Lily (OxAsh), [2] personally- or group-composed anthologies, such as LR58 and several associated with Wyatt and his circle (the Egerton MS [LEge], the Devonshire MS [LDev], and the Blage MS [DBla]), [3] printed or written in the margins of printed books such as Caxton's translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (PBLé; Pollard/STC 24875), the book commonly known as *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* (see James [A.F. Mitchell, ed.]; Pollard/STC 2996.5), and that known as *Thyme's Chaucer* (Pollard/STC 5068), and [4] lastly, but not to be seen as the least, manuscripts akin to the *Henry VIII MS*, such as the Fayrfax MS (LFay) and the Ritson MS (LRit). Works from $H$, furthermore, are noted to have circulated as part of the standard repertoire of contemporary court figures, balladeers as far north as Scotland and on the continent, and in sermons preached by the Royal Almoner to Henry himself and, after his death, to his son Edward VI by Hugh Latimer; Henry's "Pastyme with good companye" ($H$ 14'-15' ; 121) provides the best example of such circulation.\]

\[\text{16} \text{ It was unknown to Chappell, as Stevens notes (M&P 387), when he compiled his *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1853-9). Please refer to the section on provenance in the}\]
work, its contents had not been subject to dissemination by print technology, and even then it
would not be until John Stevens' work in the middle of our century (in MCH8 and M&P) that the
contents of the manuscript would appear printed in their entirety without the inaccuracy,
considerable at times, of several editions in the late nineteenth century.\(^\text{17}\)

With the public discovery of the manuscript in Victorian times began the process of its
naming, a process which appears to have several accepted precedents. As noted, the collection of
Wyatt, Surrey, and Grimald's verse evolved from that describing its contents generically (Songses
and Sonettes), to that describing its contents by author (Wyatt and Surrey), to that of its then-
supposed editor (Tottel's Miscellany). The collection of Chaucer's works printed in 1532
(Thynne's Chaucer) was given the name of its editor, Thynne. Some manuscripts chiefly
associated with Wyatt—the Egerton (LEge) and Blage (DBla) manuscripts, for example—are
named after their collector in the former case, and, in the latter, one of their compilers. Those
manuscripts closely akin to \(H\)—the Fayrfax (LFay) and Ritson (LRit) songbooks—are given the
names of their commissioner and documented contemporary owner (and later
collector) respectively. In short, patterns of naming become quickly apparent and, among
common patterns of naming, the aberration of that in the case of \(H\) becomes quickly obvious. It is
this aberration, however, that draws our attention to some of the specific problems with the
Henry VIII MS as a textual document; perhaps, most important, it suggests the value of the
manuscript from a literary and historical perspective.

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Textual Introduction (92).

\(^{17}\) Even so, the English lyrics gathered in \(H\) have not appeared in a full edition aimed at a
literary audience. Stevens MCH8 provides the lyrics with their settings; in Stevens M&P, they are
provided as one of several appendices, transcribed and, to some degree, collated and annotated.
In comparing $H$ to *Tottel*, one might say that $H$ simply lacked a printer or supposed-editor upon which to ascribe a name, and so that of its chief contributor, Henry VIII himself, was chosen; but such a statement is clearly an oversimplification. It is precisely for the reason that so little is known about the manuscript that its name is an aberration. Though suspected to have been commissioned by Sir Henry Guildford, comptroller of the king's household and onetime organiser of revels, the evidence which supports this assertion is largely circumstantial. Its contemporary owner, beyond the possibility that it was also Guildford, is also unknown. Moreover, while the works in the manuscript had a considerable currency contemporary to Henry's reign, until Chappell's accounts of it (specifically his 1867 treatment) the manuscript itself was excluded from the public familiarity afforded those manuscripts, such as the *Egerton* (*LEge*) and *Devonshire* (*LDev*) MSS, that contained the works of the better-known early Tudor literary figures; hence, there was no opportunity for a tradition of nomenclature to arise.

In this way, the *Henry VIII* MS entered the world of mid- to late-Victorian readership and scholarship as somewhat of an anomaly: a collection of lyrics set to music by figures contemporary to Henry VIII with, most notably, the only large extant example of the king's own work. In the king's work—as noted by Chappell, Brooks, Flügel, and others, as well as a small circle of readers which appears to have included James Joyce (see p. 54)—lay its appeal. It was not until John Stevens' transcription of the lyrics (in *M&P*) that the common name of the manuscript made its way properly into printed discourse, but it is clear from its introduction by Stevens' that by the beginning of the 1960s its name—the *Henry VIII* MS, or *Henry VIII* 's *MS*—already had considerable currency.

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18 Please refer to the section on provenance in the *Textual Introduction* (92).
The name of the *Henry VIII MS*, thus, says much more about our contemporary acceptance of the document than do the names ascribed to those associated with Wyatt, or Tottel, or Thynne, for it draws immediately to our attention the focal point of the document itself more than other names might. It has an importance in contemporary critical exchange precisely because of its chief author; therein, the name draws attention to the chief curiosity of the manuscript—which itself depicts a monarch participating in an activity thought traditionally to be the domain of a monarch’s courtiers—for it forces us to re-examine aspects of the king’s relationship with his court, and the relationship of the lyric and the implied and explicit discourses of power and politics the genre often contains within the early Tudor court.
i. Interpretative Provinces and Sites of Authorisation:
The Critic, the Author, and the Process of Attribution in the Henry VIII MS

[The pre-Elizabethan lyric is] amphibious—living half in words and half in music.
   (J.M. Gibbon, Melody and the Lyric viii)

Most, perhaps all, the lyric poetry of that age is to be regarded as words for music ... [; it was] nearly always written to be sung.
   (C.S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century 222)

If courtiers wrote, in any sense, for music, they are more likely to have written poems to popular tunes than for complicated settings in parts. . . . The king was, we must allow, an exception.
   (John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court 111)

It is with some regret that, necessary as it may be, the bulk of this chapter represents a diversion from the main topic of my work as a whole, and yet the issue of authorship, itself a concept which has become increasingly more difficult in recent times, is particularly problematic when referring to the materials addressed by this thesis. As such, it is one which requires direct address if any argument about the authorship of works in $H$ can be rightfully advanced.

The need for such a diversion was recently reinforced when deliberation with two literary scholars who specialise in the poetry of the early Renaissance concluded, in the first instance, with the helpful suggestion that if one wished to discuss the lyrics of $H$—a compilation most accurately described as an early Tudor songbook—then one must speak not with a literary scholar but, rather, a musicologist; in the second instance, it was urged that Henry VIII, the best represented figure in this manuscript, could not possibly have written anything literary, though poorly-wrought musical compositions were not out of the question. Such hesitations in opinions about the literary nature of the Henry VIII MS in general and, more specifically, about the lyrics that are
within attributed to Henry VIII are quite popularly held.¹⁹ Though one might expect to find these opinions communicated orally (a medium of expression in which one often feels more free to participate in conjecture and unqualified assertion than that of print), those encountering the body of scholarly work surrounding the lyrics in Henry VIII MS and related materials would also note a similar critical hesitation on issues of the scholarly province to which its works should most properly belong, and also on the degree to which legitimate authorship can be assigned to any of these works—even to those of the king—simply because of the type of works they are.

These two issues do not on the surface appear to be directly associated in any way except, perhaps, by the proximity in which one might encounter them; nonetheless, when further examined it becomes clear that the set of ideas, commonly-held in literary circles, that would lead to the relegation of materials in an early Tudor songbook such as the Henry VIII MS to the realm of the musicologist also leads, in practice at least, to the premature denial of authorship of its textual contents by literary scholars. Close scrutiny, moreover, also reveals that musicological arguments surrounding issues of the literary text (such as attribution of authorship) in the songbooks typically defer critical expertise to the very same literary circle that would place such concerns within the domain of the musicologist. Thus, any examination carried out on the materials of the early Tudor songbooks touching on the issue of authorship—a concept that, in this genre and age, is based on notions central both to literary and musical production—must be approached as a site of some controversy: one where interpretative provinces have traditionally overlapped and, in addition, have deferred critical expertise to one another.

¹⁹ Such a doubt is reflected also in opinions such as that captured by Richard Greene, who notes that “it has been doubted that Henry VIII actually wrote and composed the songs headed with his name in [the Henry VIII MS]” (Early English Carols 444).
In urging that, on issues concerning the literary editor of the songbook lyric, musicological
theory allows for the songbook texts to receive editorial treatment akin to that of poetic works
extant in non-musical form,\textsuperscript{20} the argument of this chapter ultimately works towards an
understanding of the processes which governed the production of the early Tudor lyric—one
which, in turn, allows for literary authorship to be established (and denied) for those figures who
are represented in the manuscript,\textsuperscript{21} Henry VIII being chief among them.

\textit{Song or Verse? Interpretative Provinces and the `Authors' of the Henry VIII MS}

The engagement of the early Tudor lyrics by the literary scholar Julia Boffey, in her
\textit{Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages}, may be taken as
exemplary of well-informed contemporary critical opinion on issues surrounding these works’
authorship. Regarding the texts of the \textit{Henry VIII MS}, she states that they “were undoubtedly
designed to serve as songs rather than poems” (117) and, further, that the manuscript’s “main
interest surely still lies in its music-and-words rather than in its words alone” (117). Following
her rubric, however—which states that, regarding her inclusive listing of English courtly love
lyrics, authors' names will be supplied when known (142)—no indications of authorship are
provided for those pieces listed by her from \textit{H}, even though there are strong suggestions of
attribution present in the manuscript.\textsuperscript{22} No explicit explanation is offered regarding the differing

\textsuperscript{20} And, following, for the employment of literary methodologies governing both internal
and external evidence to suggest authorship in some lyrics of the \textit{Henry VIII MS}.

\textsuperscript{21} This, even if only in the sense of \textit{social authorship}.

\textsuperscript{22} These will be discussed in the section of this chapter entitled "Authorial Evidence in \textit{H}"
(33). Boffey follows a pattern akin to Ringler, who treats the lyrics from \textit{H} in a similar manner.
treatment expected for this type of text; however, given Boffey's statement of what is noteworthy about the manuscript, her omission of attribution appears the result of the view that the texts were songs, “music-and-words” as is noted, which themselves warrant a treatment different from those appearing as “words” alone.

At the same time as these lyrics are deferred to the realm of the song, arguments pertaining to authorship are, in practice, deferred to the realm of the musicologist, whose work is best exemplified in the early Tudor period by John Stevens. In discussing the nature of the early Tudor lyric in his Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (M&P), Stevens draws a distinction similar to that of Boffey between the lyric as “words” and as “words-for-music.” He does so, however, toward another end, differentiating the two not so much to urge that the song-texts of this period demand an attention other than that given to lyrics which appear without music but, rather, in order to reinforce the dissociation of the two acts involved in the production of courtly lyrics in the early sixteenth century. The two acts of which he speaks are those pertaining to the literary (writing) and the musical (composition).

Stevens’ model of lyrical production, one with such dissociation and one to which I shall shortly return, is also one which is dissonant with that typically held by literary critics.

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23 Though his M&P was written several decades ago now, the work that Stevens began has remained largely unpursued.

Generalisations of a literary nature regarding the union of music and poetry in the early Renaissance as a whole tend to note, more so, the close allegiance of the two arts. The view of C.S. Lewis, which has influenced generations of literary scholars, is still dominant. “Most, perhaps all, the lyric poetry of that age is to be regarded as words for music,” he writes, noting further that the poems of the early sixteenth century were “nearly always written to be sung” (222) and were intended for performance, typically, in a coterie of mixed gender. In that context, often the example of Thomas Wyatt’s work is raised and, therein, most notably the situation implied by a lyric such as “My Lute Awake” in which the poet, singing to his instrument of accompaniment (an act which is typically held to be bound, inseparably, with the lyric’s conception and performance), turns to address, briefly, the female recipient of his verses in a direct fashion.25

In addition to understanding English Renaissance conceptions of the lyric in relation to its musicality,26 a tradition upon which Lewis draws, and noting the musical situation implied by a lyrical work such as Wyatt’s, the literary reader also notes that many short poetic texts of the early Renaissance appear in both forms: purely non-musical works and as pieces set to music. Combined, such evidence suggests, as Ostriker has put forward, that the “commonplace, loose

25 See, for example, Lewis (223 ff.), Pattison (33 ff.), and Hollander (128 ff.), among others.

26 For contemporary illustration see, for example, The Arte of English Poesie, in which Puttenham notes the commonplace association of music and poetry, that “Poesie is a skill to speake & write harmonically: and verses or rime be a kind of Musickall utterance, by reason of a certaine congruitie in sounds pleasing the eare” (64-5). Sidney, in his Defense of Poesie, also notes the musical relation: “Of other sorts of Poetrie, almost haue we none, but that Lyricall kind of Songs and Sonets; which Lord, if he gaue vs so good mindes, how well it might be employed . . . in singing the praises of the immortall bewtie” (12v-3r), he also notes the association of the lyric with music in his discussion of the “Lacedemonians” (F 1v-).
identification of lyric poetry and ‘song’... was literal fact for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, when ‘music and sweet poetry’ agreed in practice as well as theory” (91), and that there was an element of the lyric mode which crossed, or disregarded, the boundaries between song and verse.27

To speak of this close relationship with such universality, as Lewis and others do, one must also acknowledge that one does so with an underlying assertion: that one is able to make such universal statements for the period which begins with John Skelton and ends just before the work of Philip Sidney. On a purely literary level, one would today scarcely be able to construct an adequate generalisation to house both Skeltonic and Sidneyan approaches to the short poem, in spite of their both being forms of courtly verse. Such statements are rightly to be resisted.

Truly, it can appear to the literary reader that, for Henricians and Elizabethans alike, the lyric “was defined as much in verbal as in musical terms, and the literary definitions had an independent life, no matter how close the practical association with music became,” as Dunn notes (109); however, commonplace ideas of the identification of music and the lyric—like early Renaissance patterns of definition which, in some cases, urge use of the word song as a referent to either musical or non-musical texts28—need not imply a full and total union, at least not for verses set between the time of Skelton and Sidney. Moreover, as we must resist commonplace (and chiefly

27 Such an element drew contemporary comment akin to that found in the dedicatory epistle to the verse miscellany The Paradise of Daynty Devises (1576), wherein the reader is advised to find music for the textual pieces it contains, for accompanying music “wyll yeelde a farre greater delight, being as they [the texts] are so aptly made to be set to any song in .5. partes, or song to instrument” (A2'). See also Pattison (33).

28 Dunn continues, “Even the word ‘song’ itself was used in poetic and musical senses interchangeably” (109).
literary) notions of this relationship so, too, must we resist such generalisations regarding the lyric when we scrutinize its musical associations, especially when considering questions of literary authorship. This is so because literary and critical comment relating the author with his lyric tends to centre on the lyric’s performative aspect—as is seen, for example, in the situation of Wyatt’s poem and the criticism which has grown around it—and, furthermore, because the nature of the lyric’s affiliation with music was non-homogeneous and evolving, specifically in the pre-Elizabethan court circles in which Skelton, Henry VIII, and Wyatt were poetic participants.

What emerges from critical evaluations of the lyric in the Renaissance, then, is the ideal relationship of music and the lyric, one in which words and music are found unified to some degree, a poetical-musical consonance where music was intended to be more than simple accompaniment, and where lyrical texts were set with a consideration of their meaning as well as to the end of illuminating that meaning, and performed as such. However, this relationship, often referred to as a Humanist-influenced relation of words and music, is something that only followed the Humanist movement of the early Tudor period and, more precisely, the Reformation it helped spawn.

Puttenham provides a notable exception, however, in The Arte of English Poesie, where he defines the lyricist by the act of writing: “Other who more delighted to write songs and ballads of pleasure, to be song with the voice, and to the harpe, lute, or citeron & such other musical, instruments, they were called melodious Poets (melici) or by a more common name Lirique Poets” (25).

As Stevens notes, a prolific source of error exists because generalisations about the lyric and its relation to music are given for a vast period—typically from Henry VII to James I—whereas the early Tudor period is quite distinct in this regard (M&P 30).

Musicians in the early Tudor court were “indifferent to the relationship between words and music, except in one or two limited instances, [and] literary theorists in the medieval tradition were no better” (Stevens M&P 66), even though “it became clear to the humanists that a close
What is central, then, to an understanding of the lyric in the pre-Reformation, early Tudor court is that words and music were not combined with such an agreement in mind, regardless of their unity in performance and the nature of their union after the Reformation. At this particular time, before the influence of Humanist theories of their union, “words and music were ‘applied’ together . . . rather than to each other” (Stevens M&P 110), something which often is left unaccounted in a literary comprehension of the matter. This understanding, suggested to musicologists by the aesthetic relation of words and the accompanying music, is furthered by taking into account what is key to understanding the idea of textual authorship therein: that is, the musicological understanding of the practical association of words with their accompanying music at the level of their production in court institutions during the first few decades of the Tudor era.

Skelton and Wyatt: The Court Professional and the Coterie Poet / Troubadour

The work of John Skelton, the early Henrician age’s most prominent court-sponsored poet, provides one entry into the production of musical lyrics in the early Tudor court. Skelton’s lyrics relationship between music and poetry was of the essence of antique theory” (69); but humanism, Stevens continues, “did not affect the arts in England until Elizabeth’s reign. Before that the humanistic ideal can hardly have been a positive stimulus to the practice of music and poetry as a single art, either in the early Tudor court, or, if not in court, anywhere else” (70). However, there are in the songs of this period, Stevens admits, “hints that the words are beginning to matter to the detail of the music” (101); that is, the meaning and tenor of the words became an interest of composers, not that the two acts were united.

On this statement, one might argue that Stephen Hawes, groomsman and Orator Regius to Henry VIII in the few years after Henry VII’s death, was more prominent. His career, however, lacked the span of Skelton’s (whose court associations began, loose as they may have been at first, ca. 1486 and lasted well beyond Hawes’ death ca. 1511), and his associations with the musical lyric remain slight, save for a payment received for the writing of one ‘ballet’ in 1506 (see Green, Poets and Princepleasers 127).
owe much to extant forms that were employed for non-musical poems and songs alike, to the
extent that even what is considered unique to him, that is “Skeltonic verse,” betrays a certain debt
to the short line favoured in many texts found set to music in the early Tudor songbooks, even
to some degree in tone. His work also shows considerable knowledge of the specialised musical
terminology of the day and close contact with contemporary musical personages, even to the
extent of a conflict (given voice in a poetical work) with a court musician. We must also
remember that Skelton, as Orator Regius, was likely attached to Henry VIII’s musical entourage,
the Chapel Royal, which included William Cornish and others who are represented in the Henry
VIII MS, as such, it is not surprising to find his poem “Mannerly Margery, milk and ale” among

33 This form, evident in one lyric by Charles D’Orleans (“When that ye goo”; Arn,
Fortunes Stabilnes 307), can be seen in the Ritson MS “Alone, alone” (LRit 133v-135r), “In
wylderness” (141v; also BL Egerton MS 3,002 [2v]), “Hay how the mavys on a brere” (146v-148v;
present in all but the first two lines), the Fayrfax MS “Demyd wrongfully” (LFay 9v), “Love
fayne wold I” (11v), “Svmwhat musyng” (33v-35v; H 120v-122v [253]; and others), “Madame
defrayne” (35v-38v), “This endurs nyght” (50v-53v; burden begins “A my dere a my dere son”; also
BL MS Harley 2,380 [70v]), “Wofully araid” (63v-67v; also 73v-77v; burden only; attributed by
Dyce [i.141-3] to Skelton, but the earliest text predates him [see Robbins Index & Suppl. 497]),
“Margaret Meke” (89v-93v; attributed by Henderson to Skelton [37 n.], though with little
evidence), and in the Henry VIII MS “Aboffe all thynge” (H 24v; 218), “My loue sche morneth
for me” (H 30v-31v; 176; all but the burden), “Hey nony nony nony nony no” (H 36v; 281; all but
the burden), “Withowt dyscord” (H 68v-9v; 160), and “Madame damours” (H 73v-74v; 291); it is
also found in the latter six lines of each stanza in Henry VIII’s “Pastyme with good companye” (H
14v-15v; 121), which is of the form of the French parody noel.

34 See, for example, LFay’s “Madame defrayne” (35v-38v) and, a slight derivative of
‘strict’ skeltonic metre, “Yowre counturfetyng” (22v-24v).

35 See his poem “Agaynst a Comely Coystrowne” and Carpenter’s chapter “Skelton and
Music” (John Skelton 41-7).

36 Skelton likely travelled as part of that group in 1513 to the continent on Henry’s
military campaign against the French (see Nelson, 125-7 ff).
those in the *Fayrfax MS* set by Cornish (*LFay* 96'-99'), that other lyrics set to music by the circle of composers in the early Tudor court have been speculated to be the work of Skelton as well, nor that Skelton appears to have had further close association as poet with other works of Cornish.

There is, thus, strong evidence of Skelton’s work with the lyric in its musical manifestations, and yet there is no evidence of him applying his skills as a composer-author, one who might deal both with the text and the music of his works; rather, he is chiefly involved as a provider of texts which are, then, set by others in the Chapel, chiefly Cornish. Such a separateness of roles is one on which Skelton commented, in a sideways manner, while he was still likely Prince Henry’s tutor. In the collection *Agaynste a Comely Coystrowne*, he addresses a musician, the one to whom he gives a flying in the poem of the same name, in a Latin verse which follows it, “Contra Alium”; in this, he defines his role as poet in relation to that of the musician he slights:

\[
\text{Preponenda meis non sunt tua plectra camenis,} \\
\text{Nec quantum nostra fistula clara tua est:} \\
\text{Sepe licet lyricos modularis arundine psalmos,} \\
\text{Et tremulos calamis concinis ipse modos;}
\]

37 See Skelton’s *Garlande of Laurel* (in *Complete Works*, ll. 1198), and Kinsman and Yonge (C37). A passage in the *Garlande* (ll. 1198-1211) suggests that there were other lyrics of the same nature to the same recipient (Kinsman and Yonge L102), though they are not extant.

38 “Margaret meke” has been suggested by Henderson (*Complete Works of John Skelton* 37n) to be by Skelton, likely on the basis of its skeltonic form (Stevens 376-7); Dyce attributed “Wofully araid” (see p. 21 n. in this edition) to Skelton, as well as “Hoyda, hoyda, joly rutterkin” (Dyce i.249), verses sung by Courtly Abusion in *Magnificence* (757); “Petyously constraynd am I”, in *LR58* (19’, Stevens 451 #266), which appears also in Henderson (19). “Hoyda joly rutterkyn hoyda” (101'-104”) appears in the *Fayrfax MS* (*LFay*), and is through-set, like “Mannerly Margery Mylk and Ale” by Cornish; Stevens (*M&P* 380) argues against this. See also Carpenter’s “Skelton and Music.”

39 See Carpenter’s “Skelton’s hand in William Cornish’s Musical Parable.”
The poet, he makes clear, provides songs, an act which he distinguishes from the lyricist’s, which is to play tunes.

Skelton’s relationship with the court composers, thus close as it was, is not one in which, at the level of production, there is overlap between his text and the music that accompanies it. Even so, this does not deny Lewis’ view that the lyric poetry of the time was “nearly always written to be sung” (222), nor that it was chiefly intended for performance. The example of Skelton, rather, asserts it. What Skelton’s case does refute, however, is the idea that the poet, in the court circles which spawned activities akin to that represented in H, usually set those verses himself; thus, in Skelton one finds a model of production by which lyrical verses were united with music that is

40 “The pluckings of your strings are not to be preferred to my Muses, / nor is your pipe as famous as mine. / Even though you often play lyrical psalms on your pipes / and yourself compose quivering tunes for your pipes; / Even though your finger gives many thousands of strokes in accompanying a song, / (For your hand is better instructed than your voice), / Even though you do everything in a spirit of swollen pride, / Our pipe is more dear to Phoebus than yours. / Therefore, make an effort to put off your show of superiority / And cease, oh fool, from profaning a holy man.” I wish to thank Mark Vessey for his assistance with this passage.

41 In a larger survey of extant evidence which does not include Skelton to any notable degree, Stevens concludes that “One thing at least becomes clear from the wide variety of musical styles and poetical styles chosen for setting—the almost complete independence and absolute technical assurance of the early Tudor song-composers. . . . The songs are often far, far removed from the fountainhead of ‘literary’ composition” (M&P 107-8). Moreover, “. . . to judge from the verses which have survived, the poet, and doubtless the musician also, did his best to make an excellent contribution in his own art, without too much regard for his companion craftsman,” and “the chief collaboration between the two arts was a matter of professional duty: poets and musicians worked together in the service of the court of a noble household” (M&P 110).
alternative to that generally held in literary circles—one much closer to the realities of lyrical production among court professionals in the time before Wyatt.

The model of lyrical production exemplified by Skelton’s work, however, reflects only one aspect of the early Tudor lyric tradition, the tradition of the court circles which spawned the early Tudor songbooks, the *Henry VIII MS* among them. In that milieu, that of the professional, composers would look to extant or newly-created texts, by poets such as Skelton, and would set them as part-songs.

Another courtly milieu to consider, however, is that perhaps best referred to as the *coterie*. Though each milieu is reflected in the lyrics of the early Tudor court, and though there was interplay between the two, significant differences exist among them. The tradition of the court professional, relying directly on the king’s patronage, was sanctioned; participants were chiefly professionals in the court’s employ for that purpose, and performance, as with most associated with the fountainhead of power, was quite public. Performance and participation in the coterie tradition was more private; it was unsanctioned, in some cases subversive,\(^{42}\) and remained more so primarily in the realm of the non-professional or the gifted amateur.

While figures such as Skelton, Hawes, Cornish, Fayrfax and others are associated with the court tradition, the coterie tradition was typically the domain of figures later than those found in the *Henry VIII MS*, such as Henry Howard (Earl of Surrey), his father Thomas Howard, Anne Boleyn, and the figure that is most popularly associated in literary circles with the musical lyric in

\(^{42}\) See, for example, Southall’s discussion of the poetic exchanges in the *Devonshire MS (LDev)*, as well as Greenblatt’s argument for Wyatt’s subversiveness (in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*).
this age, Thomas Wyatt. Some traditionally held notions of Wyatt's involvement with the musical-poetical lyric have already been discussed, but to them must be added those of Bruce Pattison. Surveying the relation between music and poetry in the early Tudor age, Pattison has noted that “Wyatt speaks of his lyrics as songs . . . . And it was no conventional phrase, for he delighted in playing the lute and probably sang his poems over to himself as he composed them” (33); further, he comments on the perception that Wyatt participated in the same way as Skelton with the courtly circle, having his texts “set by court composers” (33). In light of evidence, manuscript and otherwise, which has become available since the work of Pattison and others who have fashioned a literary view of this musical aspect of Wyatt, this latter assertion requires considerable modification, and the former some further exploration.

Wyatt entered the main threads of the fabric which made up early Tudor courtly life as a participant in the lists of the same tournament of 1524 in which the king would begin consideration of his retirement from this one aspect of it. As a poet he was surely influenced by the previous generation of writers identified with Skelton, but his involvement with court poetry was unlike that of his immediate and obvious predecessor; he was not a professional poet, but rather a professional in the service of the court for other reasons. His poetic and prosaic

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43 The relationship of these and other contemporary authors to music (and later settings of their works) is less well documented; but for Surrey's works, see Mumford ("Musical Settings to the Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey") and Stevens (M&P 439 #120, 449 #238, 458 #354).

44 In the lists existing from the "Castle of Loyalty" tournament and siege of 29 December 1524 through 8 February 1525, one finds Wyatt's name for the first time, and Henry's (in this capacity) for the last; see Streitberger (Court Revels 115-7, 271, 344 n. 73) and Hall (688-9).

45 He was Clerk of the King's Jewels (1524), esquire of the royal body (1525), ambassador/diplomat (1526-forward), High Marshall of Calais (1528-30), and so forth.
abilities, though undoubtedly seen to be at the forefront of his offerings, served as part of the larger personal discourse which was then expected in a courtier to the king. It should be noted, moreover, that Wyatt had close association with the circles handling courtly entertainments beginning in the mid-1520s, including Henry Guildford, William Cornish (who set “A robyn gentyl robyn” \([H 53^v-54^v; 205]\)), and Richard Gibson.\(^{46}\)

Wyatt’s best works, it has been commonly noted by Lewis and others, are his native songs, those which reflect the poetical-musical tradition of his time, some of which are found set to music, including “Hevyn and erth and all that here me plain,” “Blame not my lute,” “A robyn gentyl robyn” \((H 53^v-54^v; 205)\), “I find no peace,” and “What vaileth truth,” and others.\(^{47}\) Taken as a whole, these works serve to demonstrate, as E.M.W. Tillyard has stated, the “lyric spontaneity” and the “connection of words and tune” of a court culture which embraced each

\(^{46}\) At the height of Wyatt’s involvement, he was jointly responsible with Guildford for building the banqueting house (the \textit{Long House} at Greenwich) for the Anglo-French treaty celebration of 7 May 1527 (\textit{PRO E} 36/227 [11'-36']); \textit{L&P Henry VIII IV[ii]} #3104; as well, Wyatt, Guildford, and Gibson each presented accounts for the four masques and a Latin play (\textit{Cardinalis Pacificus}) at the celebrations surrounding the installation of Henry VIII and Francis I into the Order of St. Michael and the Order of the Garter on 10 November 1527 (\textit{BL Egerton MS} 2,605 [16'-43']; \textit{PRO SP} 1/45 [33'-40']; \textit{L&P Henry VIII IV[ii]} #3564).

\(^{47}\) See Stevens (\textit{M&P} 135 ff.), Mumford’s “Musical Settings to the Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt” and “Sir Thomas Wyatt’s Songs,” Ward’s “Lute Music of MS. Royal Appendix 58,” and below. Wyatt’s adoption of many Italianate sources for his texts also betrays a similar musical debt. See Mumford’s “The Canzone in Sixteenth Century English Verse,” in which she discusses metres relating to the song and Wyatt’s understanding of the \textit{canzone} form’s relation to music; also, see her “Sir Thomas Wyatt’s Verse and Italian Musical Sources,” which outlines his use of Serafino, Petrarch, and others, many sources of which are extant in musical form. Perhaps it is based on these borrowings that De Marchi comments that Wyatt was more a collector of poetry for music that a poet.
harmoniously, as well as the skill of a poet who was adept with verse and musical song.

Although poetically capable and associated with the court (and, thus, its composers), extant evidence suggests that Wyatt was working in a manner different from that of Skelton and the professional court composers. The setting which exists for “Blame not my lute,” for example, is an adaptation of a common flexible pattern, predating the poem, for the singing and playing of various types of poetry. One might look to “A robyn gentyl robyn”—found, set, in H (53'-4'; 205) and, later, as text alone, in Wyatt’s Devonshire (LDev 22", 24") and Egerton manuscripts (LEge 37")—as evidence of Wyatt’s work with court composers, as its presence in H (ca. 1522) is roughly contemporary to that of Wyatt’s entry into court life. Yet Wyatt’s own claim to authorship in this instance may be, as is typically held, more that of one who later augmented or revised an extant lyric for a particular purpose or effect than one who, in fact, originated it.

Other settings which may be related to lyrics in the Wyatt canon are present in the Henry VIII MS, but the nature of their precise relationship is unclear, though their composition by others has been established.

In light of texts and settings which predate Wyatt’s handling of them, Wyatt seems a poet very

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48 Tillyard (“Introduction”); in addition to Lewis, who is noted earlier, see Stevens (M&P 27-8), and also Courthope, Berdan (344-5), and Chambers (“Sir Thomas Wyatt” xx).

49 See Long, Mumford’s “Musical Settings to the Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt” and, especially, Gombosi.

50 Wyatt’s translation and similar use of Italianate sources is noted above; for a similar adaptation, extant in text-only witnesses, see Greene’s “Wyatt’s ‘I am as I am’ in Carol-Form.”

51 The exact affinity of other settings to several of Wyatt’s lyrics, such as those found in the Henry VIII MS which relate to “I find no peace” and “What vaileth truth,” cannot be precisely determined. See Mumford’s “Sir Thomas Wyatt’s Songs” and Maynard.
much aware of contemporary lyrical tastes at courts both at home and abroad—as would be expected of one in his situation—who adapts elements of those tastes to his own and probably also those of a more intimate group. Wyatt, of course, provided texts as well, but integrated those texts with existing tunes. Perhaps, in accordance with literary currents of thought, he composed and presented his verse with the assistance of his instrument, and perhaps (in accordance with musicological thought) he did not. Nonetheless, his method of literary composition was markedly different from Skelton's, and his association with those who created the settings for which he wrote, much more distant. In the circle of court professionals, poets provided texts and composers looked to those texts for the purpose of setting; extant evidence suggests, contrary to this model, that Wyatt looked to pre-existing settings and musical songs and provided texts for—or adapted extant texts to—them.

A Critical Approach to Textual Authorship in the Early Tudor Songbooks

Exemplification of the musical-poetical interaction of Wyatt and Skelton leads to a more qualified assertion than that typically held in literary circles about the Renaissance lyric as a whole; such a view has been recently offered by Dunn, who notes in speaking generally of the

52 As Stevens notes, however, “outside the texts of his lyrics, there is no evidence whatsoever that he had musical ability, as singer, lutenist, or composer” (M&P 133), though the education provided the son of someone of his father’s status would likely have offered him some training in this regard. Even so, Stevens argues that while there are references to music in Wyatt’s work, specifically the accompaniment of the lute, Wyatt “never talks about it in the way of a man who really understands and cares for it. In this, he stands in marked contrast to Skelton, who shows himself remarkably well acquainted with musical terms and musical practice” (Stevens M&P 134).
Renaissance lyric that

sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources of lyric poetry bear witness to . . . parallel lives, showing how frequently lyrics crossed, and recrossed, the boundaries between poem and song. Composers frequently drew their texts from contemporary poetical miscellanies, or from poetry in manuscript . . . . In other instances the process was reversed, and words were fitted to an existing piece of music in order to convert it to a song . . . . In a procedurally similar, though far less artful kind of songmaking, poems were set and sung to popular tunes. Secular lyrics of both courtly and popular origin were performed this way. (109)

As such interrelations relate to lyrical production in the early Tudor court, Skelton and Wyatt serve to illustrate prominent models of authorship. Each demonstrates the affinity of the lyric at this time with music, and each illuminates the varying ways in which words and music were applied together; at the same time, each also illuminates the relative separation which governed the acts of poetical authorship and musical composition.

While Skelton was a court professional with considerable knowledge of and close affiliation with his musical counterparts, we can argue only for his textual authorship; it is to Cornish and others that musical composition can be properly ascribed. And though Wyatt’s lyrical works suggest acquaintance with the musical milieu surrounding the lyric, the settings to his works cannot be ascribed to him; in such instances, he is the adapter of those settings and their texts. 53

Moreover, Skelton’s procedure suggests the milieu out of which much of the contents of H came,
and Wyatt's that of the tradition which came out of that spawned by some of the works represented in H, particularly that which may have been given prominence by Henry's own apparent role as troubadour. While both music and text may have been received in a unified form by an early Renaissance audience and, while joined in this manner served, as Boffey has noted of those works contained in the Henry VIII MS, "as songs rather than poems" (117), the song had reached performance by varied means and typically by the separate acts of textual and musical composition.

The separateness of the roles associated with the musical lyric—an argument centred in a musicological understanding of, as Stevens has said, the lyric as "words" and as "words-for-music"—thus urges that, like the setting of each piece, the text is to be treated as a separate artifact; though united with music in setting and performance, it is dissociated from its music by processes of creation. This has several implications, the most problematic of which is that, because procedures of attribution in the early Tudor songbooks (if such notation is even present) chiefly favour the musical composer, authorship of verbal texts can be quite difficult to ascertain.

Moreover, as with most arguments towards textual authorship, conclusions must rest on a combination of internal evidence and that existing externally to the text(s) in question, but in the case of the lyrics for this period external evidence pertinent to authorship (and composition) is slight—a reflection of the scant body of evidence extant for the study of the early Tudor lyric itself—and, at times, not of much use in attributing the texts of lyrics. For the most part, external witnesses prior to or circa the date of the Henry VIII MS work only towards establishing a particular lyric's existence prior to the collection of this manuscript. Such is the case with "Alone I leffe alone" (H 22r; 230), set by Cooper, which is mentioned in CGon (41; fifteenth century) as
the air for "Wan ic wente byyonde the see" (see Greene #418); so, too, is this the case with the burden of "QUid petis o fily" (H 112'-116'; 249), set by Pygott, which is present in CPet (front cover; fourteenth or fifteenth century) and mentioned by Skelton (Phyllyp Sparowe l. 1091). In witnesses contemporary to H, typically—but by no means exclusively—one can determine mainly currency; such is the case with "O my hart and o my hart" (H 22'-23'; 133), composed and written by Henry VIII, which appears without attribution in PBL[e] (gg4', printed 1493, with its marginal poems hand-copied ca. 1500-1525), as well as the several lyrics found in both H and LR58 (begun 1507, most copied ca. 1515-40), among them Cornish's compositions "A the syghes that cum fro my hart" (H 32'-33'; 185; LR58 3') and "Blow thi hornne hunter" (H 39'-40'; 188; LR58 7'), and others; so, too, is the case with his setting for "My loue sche morneth for me" (H 30'-31'; 176), which appears in the roughly contemporary CTRi (45').

Slight as the evidence may seem to one wishing to establish external evidence in support of literary authorship, if we are willing to treat the issue of attribution in the less-exacting sense of social authorship, evidence of such contemporary currency is essential. It depicts the passage of a lyric which, as it is found from work to work, also signifies its prominence in numerous social contexts. Of interest in this regard is the lyric "A robyn gentyl robyn," set by Cornish in H (53'-54'; 205) and later found adapted without music in Wyatt's Devonshire and Egerton manuscripts (LDev [22'; 24'], LEge [37']), whose text is likely that of a popular contemporary song which was suitable both for setting in the professional court circle and that of the more intimate group surrounding Wyatt. Also of interest is the couplet round "Deme the best of euery dowt / tyll the

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54 Its first instance in the Devonshire MS (LDev) reflects no significant alteration from that version present in the Henry VIII MS.
trowth be tryed oun'" (H 79; 246), set by Lloyd, which appeared as text (alone inscribed on a bronze jug) as early as Richard II's reign (see Evans 90) and, closer to the sixteenth century, once each in OxHill (200') and OxRawl86 (31') and, in L1587, where it is written more than a dozen times, presumably as an exercise in penmanship.

Considering the handling given to these extant textual pieces—by Wyatt, by anonymous authors, by those employing the pieces as copying exercises, and, most important, by the composers who set the texts to music—arguments of social authorship clearly have considerable relevance. The inclusion of such well-handled texts reflects the important function of H, and that of its commissioner and scribes responsible for its exact contents, as a documentary gathering of lyrics popular in court circles and, clearly, in circles beyond those of the court. The processes of transmission which are demonstrated by these lyrics—adaptation and re-adaptation, whether by scribes, artisans, composers, or poets—are exemplary of the milieu out of which such works emerged in the early Renaissance.

The Henry VIII MS also allows arguments of authorship more precise than that of social authorship, in some cases. But this, too, has its difficulties, the greatest of those being that in H scribes have chosen the composer over the author when attributing pieces in the manuscript. "Svmrwhat musyng," for example, appears in H (120'-122'; 253) and also in the early sixteenth century CFitz, Wells, and NYDrex fragments, as well as in the LFay manuscript connected with

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55 In the literary sense, theories of social authorship—inherent in translation, scribal practices, and adaptation, among others—are discussed by Minnis (Medieval Theory of Authorship). Such theories can be extended to the music that accompanies many of the lyrics when like practices are employed; clearly, composers had an impact on the currency and transmission of the early Tudor lyric which extended beyond the music they provided for the texts.
Prince Arthur's court. In *H*, it is unattributed, but in the fragments and in *LFay* it is noted to be by Fayrfax in the manner of most attributions in the manuscript; the words, however, are those of Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers, written during his imprisonment in Pontefract prior to his execution in 1483. Evidenced further by attribution in the aforementioned examples of “A robyn gentyl robyn” (Cornish), “Deme the best of euery dowt” (Lloyd), and others, the scribes of *H* would choose the composers of the lyrics over their authors—possibly even when the author of a piece could reasonably have been known. Such a process of attribution may reflect the fact that songbooks were created chiefly for their musical value; their production occurred, therefore, within circles that promoted the music over the text.

*Authorial Evidence in the Henry VIII MS, and the Ascription of Works to Henry VIII*

though, attribution to "The Kynge H. VIII." (as on 14v) is given centred at the top of the leaf on which each piece begins. Such a pattern of ascription draws attention to itself, and sets Henry's works apart from that of others collected in the manuscript.

It is not ascription alone that separates Henry's works from the others. As a group of compositions, they reflect a musical ability of lesser stature than the court composers represented in the manuscript; musically speaking, as Fallow comments, most of them are "shallow efforts" ("Henry VIII as Composer" 27). Speaking with reference to the text alone, many of the lyrics ascribed to Henry share common views on specific subjects and, notably, a similar tone. Chiefly, Henry's lyrics are pieces in which the speaker has a greater individuality than that typically expected in works of this time, and certainly greater than that in any works in the manuscript outside those ascribed to him. In a manuscript which contains many works (by composers other than Henry) that served impersonal functions—such as that of state occasions, entertainments, and jousts—Henry's works are more personal. The speaker, the lover, addresses his lady directly in "Alas what shall I do for love" (H 20v-21r; 131) and "Withowt dyscord" (H 68v-69r; 160) including, in "Grene growith the holy" (H 37v-38r; 141) and "Wherto shuld I expresse" (H 51v-52r; 151), the reply of the lady. In such works, there is frequent use of the first person. While this method of direct address is common in lyrics in which the speaker adopts a role (the lover, the

chef payne" (60v; 157), "Withowt dyscord" (H 68v-69r; 160), "Whoso that wyll for grace sew" (H 84v-85r; 168), and "Lusti yough shuld vs ensue" (H 94v-97r; 170). The contents of this list differs with the transcription of the manuscript given by Stevens, who mistakenly attributes "The thowghtes within my brest" (H 29v-30r; 224; M&P 392) to Henry, though the scribal attribution is to "T. Ffardyng" (30v).

Subjects, themes, and images in Henry's lyrics are discussed below, in the chapter Henry VIII as Writer and Lyricist, especially in the section "Youth and Age, Lover and Disdainer" (65).
forester, and others are common in works of this period), what is uncommon is another role of the speaker, unique to Henry’s lyrics: that of the individual who makes proclamations about the rights of courtly love. In lyrics such as “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” \( (H \ 28^v-29^r; \ 135) \), “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” \( (H \ 39^r; \ 145) \), “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” \( (H \ 48^v-49^r; \ 148) \), “Thow that men do call it dotage” \( (H \ 55^v-56^r; \ 154) \), “Whoso that wyll for grace sew” \( (H \ 84^v-85^r; \ 168) \), and “Lusti yough shuld vs ensue” \( (H \ 94^v-97^r; \ 170) \) the speaker presents himself as one of the nobility\(^{61}\) and employs a self-justifying tone in proclaiming chivalric doctrine,\(^{62}\) in a manner for which there is no English precedent. Such a precedent, however, was set by Margaret of Austria, ruler of the Burgundian “court of love” with which Henry had much contact,\(^{63}\) whose motto is reflected in the line “gruche who lust but none denye” (“Pastyme with good companye” \( [H \ 14^v-\)  

\(^{61}\) See “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” \( (H \ 39^r; \ 145) \), where disdain is characterised as thwarting “all gentyl mynd” (l. 4), including the speaker; in “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” \( (H \ 48^v-49^r; \ 148) \), the speaker identifies himself with “Nobyll men” (l. 3); in “Thow that men do call it dotage” \( (H \ 55^v-56^r; \ 154) \), the speaker separates himself from rustics who cannot identify with the virtues of courtly love in stating that “who loue dysdaynyth ys all of the village” (l. 14); in “Whoso that wyll for grace sew” \( (H \ 84^v-85^r; \ 168) \), the speaker places himself among those who have proficiency in the art of love: “many oone sayth that loue ys yll / but those be may which can no skyll” (ll. 5-6).  

\(^{62}\) For this assessment of Henry’s lyrics, see Stevens M&P (415); Stevens notes that “Let not vs that yongmen be” \( (H \ 87^v-88^r; \ 300) \), unattributed in \( H \), is of the same unique manner as those of this nature attributed to Henry.  

\(^{63}\) The manner of proclamation, tone, and subject matter is similar to the lyrical works ascribed to Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands (see the second chapter of Ives’ *Anne Boleyn*). Links, cultural and otherwise, with the Burgundian court were strong (see Kipling’s *Triumph of Honour*) and this court was seen by Henry to represent the epitome of chivalric behaviour; Henry’s father had courted Margaret after the death of his wife, Elizabeth, and Henry himself had been considered for marriage to Margaret herself, as well as her younger sister Eleanor (see Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* 39 ff.).
Internal evidence such as this, however, is only tangentially suggestive, unless one considers the courtly context in which these lyrics were presented. Henry was given to public performance of song, alone and with courtiers such as Peter Carew and with members of his Chapel. This public aspect of his works fostered a strong contemporary identification of Henry with his widely-disseminated lyric, "Pastyme with good companye," also known as early as 1509 as "The Kynges Ballade." The anonymous drama *Youth* (ca. 1514) employs Henry's lyrics, specifically those which present his persona of the youthful lover (given exemplification in other courtly entertainments as well), and identify Henry with the interlude's protagonist. Such an identification of Henry with the singular, noble, and self-consciously youthful speaker of his lyrics testifies to his authorship and composition of those pieces attributed to him in the manuscript, and the element of proclamation they contain is less awkward when (as with the works of Margaret of Austria) one considers that they are the product of a monarch. Moreover, the concluding lines of "If love now reynyd as it hath bene" (H 48'-49'; 148) put forward an ambiguous riddle to which a fitting answer is "Henry VIII." The riddle itself evokes a court of love in which (as in others of Henry's works) the suitor sues for grace from the reigning regent; while Henry is not Venus, nor the object of the lover's pursuit, the court of love in which Henry, the performer, plays the part of

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64 Wyatt employed this line in "If yt ware not" (ca. 1530) to make reference to the situation existing between the king and Anne Boleyn; see the note to line 3 in this edition, and further discussion on p. 59 of this thesis.

65 See Lancashire (Two Tudor Interludes 54) and the notes to "Pastyme with good companye" in this edition (121 ff.).

66 "To louers I put now suer this cace: / which of ther loues doth gett them grace" (ll. 11-12).
one who issues edicts of chivalric doctrine recalls immediately the head of the actual court. 

Figure 2: Henry VIII reading in his chamber. (From the Henry VIII Psalter.)

The music which accompanies Henry's lyrics, like that of Wyatt's, does bear witness to processes of adaptation on the part of Henry (see Fallows "Henry VIII as Composer")—suggesting also his participation in the milieu of the lyric as something of a

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67 Consider, also, the situation of "Though sum saith that yough rulyth me" (H 71v-73r; 164) which is attributed to Henry on the basis of its employment of his motto "god and my ryght" (l. 3) and line 19, which reads "Thus sayth the king the .vii. th harry." That these words were those of the king would be made unmistakable.
troubadour—but Henry's texts do not appear to be part of the tradition of adaptation and re-adaptation out of which many of the lyrics in \textit{H} have come. They appear, rather, to have a history akin to those occasional pieces represented in the manuscript,\textsuperscript{68} that is, as with the lyrics that reflect events specific to the court, they have their first appearance in this manuscript and, in all but exceptional cases, they have little currency beyond it. One exception to this rule is the widely disseminated "Pastyme with good companye," which appeared first in \textit{L.Rit} (ca. 1510), and verses of which had resonance in courtly circles for the next several decades;\textsuperscript{69} such resonance, however, clearly identifies Henry as the lyric's author.

For Henry VIII, such evidence suggests that claims of authorship are not unfounded. Henry did, as we know, have literary and musical pretensions\textsuperscript{70}, and because his is the work of a king, it is not surprising to find corroborative evidence of his authorship. In the case of materials which fall outside ascription to Henry, however, precise claims to authorship are quite difficult to establish. With the exception of Cornish (and Wyatt and Woodville, perhaps) those English court figures whose work is presented in the manuscript functioned as composers alone. Perhaps because of his position (as head of the Chapel, and Master of Revels at times), we know that Cornish had literary leanings, though his work tends to be more musical than literary. Moreover, there is no evidence to support his authorship in \textit{H} as there is of Henry; there is only the

\textsuperscript{68} Most notable among these are "Aboffe all thynge" (\textit{H} 24\textdegree; 218), "Adew adew le company" (\textit{H} 74\textdegree-75\textdegree; 294), "ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart" (\textit{H} 100\textdegree-102\textdegree; 305), and "Pray we to god that all may gyde" (\textit{H} 103\textdegree; 307).

\textsuperscript{69} See the notes to "Pastyme with good companye" in this edition (121).

\textsuperscript{70} See my chapter \textit{Henry VIII as Writer and Lyricist} (41); see also Figures 2 (37) and 3 (39).
conjecture about his close association with the Chapel Royal, the Children of the Chapel Royal, and the entertainments at which they performed for which we have lyrics that Cornish set.  

Figure 3: Henry VIII playing a harp, with fool Will Summers nearby. (From the *Henry VIII Psalter*.)

In such a manner, then—by adopting the musicological understanding of the separation of music and words in the early Tudor era into the literary view of works in songbooks such as *H*—can the process of authorship for the lyrics in *H* be carried out, at least to some degree. Scribal ascription, centred chiefly on the composer, may act as an indicator of authorship in its social sense and, also, as a guide to the same in its more traditional view. Claims for authorship 

71 Such is the case with “Yow and I and amyas” (*H* 45v-46r; 199), associated with the *Schatew Vert* court pageant-disguising held 5 March 1522; see the *General Commentary* to the lyric in this edition.
for the lyrical texts of works such as $H$ must also be able to withstand the scrutiny typically applied to literary texts which are non-musical in nature. The lyrics which are the work of Henry VIII, given their unusual scribal ascription in $H$ and related internal evidence, are indeed able to survive such scrutiny of their authorship. For those that fall outside of this group—those works ascribed to the composers Cornish, Fayrfax, and others, or left unattributed in $H$—we should still consider the composer in close relation to the idea of author, but only in a limited sense for, by building upon extant textual works in a genre which saw some considerable association of music with words, the composers have participated in the process of social authorship.
ii. Henry VIII as Writer and Lyricist

As George Puttenham tells us in his *Arte of English Poesie*, Henry VIII was a man drawn to poetic expression, even spontaneous. Intended in part to illustrate the principle of decorum in poetic ornament, Puttenham recounts an interaction between Sir Andrew Flamock, standard-bearer to the king, and the king himself as they were on a barge passing from Westminster to Greenwich to visit “a fayre Lady whom the king loued and was lodged in the tower of the Parke.”

The story continues:

the king comming within sight of the tower, and being disposed to be merry, said, Flamock let vs rime, as well as I can said Flamock if it please your grace. The king began thus:

*Within this towre,*
*There lieth a flower,*
*That hath my hart*

Flamock for aunswer:

*Within this hower,*
*she will, &c.*

with the rest in so vncleanly termes, as might not now become me by the rule of Decorum to vtter writing to so great a Maiestie, but the king tooke them in so euill part, as he bid Flamock . . . that he should no more be so neere vnto him.

While revealing something of the characters both of Henry, who casts the foul poet aside, and Flamock, whose poetic indecency results in an increased distance from the monarch, Puttenham’s

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72 The story recounted is quoted from the first edition (London: Richard Field, 1589; 224-5). In the copy belonging to Ben Jonson (*BL G.11548*, repr. Scolar P, 1968), this exchange is marked.

73 The full exchange, a variant of which is documented more completely in Samuel Rowley’s drama *When you see me, You know me. Or the famous Chronicle Historie of king Henry the eight* (1605), may be as follows: “In yonder Tower, theres a flower, that hath my hart” with a response of “Within this houre, she pist full sower, & let a fart” (l. 3055); the response, in Rowley’s text, is spoken by the king’s fool, Will Sommers.

*Siemens, Henry VIII MS 41*
story draws attention to something well-known in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but less well-known today: that is, Henry's literary pursuits, and particularly his love of lyrics as a writer, a composer, and a performer.

Henry as Author: Models and Texts

To one approaching the early Renaissance by way of the literary canon alone, it might seem out of place to consider Henry VIII as an author, or even to consider that a monarch such as Henry chose to occupy himself with writing. Yet it is not in the least odd that Henry wrote. Tutors such as the humanist literati John Skelton, who would later become Henry's Orator Regius, and likely Bernard André, the continentally-trained Latin secretary and historiographer to Henry VII who acted also as Prince Arthur's tutor, would have instilled in Henry a respect for literature. Even without the respect for literary arts that such an education would foster, a young Prince Henry could hardly have been unaware of the value of writing, be it of a literary or a more humanistic nature. This was, after all, an age just beginning to fashion notions of "the literate courtier" that crystallize in some leading figures of Henry VIII's later court, among them Henry himself, Francis Bryan, Thomas Wyatt, as well as Thomas and Henry Howard (Earl of Surrey).74

If we are to believe Erasmus, Henry began his literary patronage as an eight year old in the

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74 While the works of Francis Bryan (Henry's "Vicar of Hell") are all but lost, there is considerable evidence suggesting that he was a well known poet in his time (see Starkey, "The Court: Castiglione's Ideal and Tudor Reality"). Wyatt and Surrey are well known, but Surrey's father Thomas Howard is less so; much of his verse appears in the Devonshire MS (LDev) associated with Wyatt, Anne Boleyn, and the wife of Henry VIII's bastard son by Elizabeth Blount, Henry Fitzroy (see Southall's "The Devonshire Manuscript" and others, as listed on p. 59 [n.] in this thesis).
summer of 1499\textsuperscript{75} and, therefore, was already at this time aware of the role of the writer in the early Tudor court, and also the reputation of the continental humanist who reports Henry's earliest beneficence. At this time he may also have been aware of the nobility preceding him that had a penchant for the literary. To name an exemplary few,\textsuperscript{76} Richard I is known to have lived in the courts of Provence during the last years of his father's reign and practiced their poetic arts, doing so as part of the polite behavior in that court (Walpole 2);\textsuperscript{77} Edward II wrote a lamentation in verse;\textsuperscript{78} to Henry V is attributed a composition as well, preserved in the \textit{Old Hall MS};\textsuperscript{79} and to Henry VI "Kingdomes are bote cares," a proverbial poem on the nature of worldly vanity.\textsuperscript{80}

Closer to Henry's immediate experience—and bearing in mind that his father, though a reasonable patron, did not himself devote time to such matters—his own mother, Elizabeth of York, is generally acknowledged as the author of the love lyric "My heart is set upon a lusty

\begin{footnotes}
\item[75] For an excellent summary of this exchange, in a context which accentuates Henry's literary aspirations, see Herman ("Henry VIII of England" 172-3).
\item[76] See also Boffey (83-5) for further examples of figures that would have been known to Henry VIII.
\item[77] Notable also is the implication of the epitaph that Richard II had commissioned for himself \textit{ca.} 1395, which compares him to "Omerus" (Homer), among others (Mathew, \textit{Court of Richard II} 22).
\item[78] "Lamentatio gloriosi Regis Edwardi de Karnarvan, quam edidit tempore suae incarceratationis" (Walpole 4; Tanner 253).
\item[79] It appears in \textit{BL Additional MS 57,950}, formerly the St. Edmund's College Library's \textit{Old Hall MS}. See Hughes and Bent.
\item[80] See Harrington (2.247); this attribution may be suspect.
\end{footnotes}
and to whom is also ascribed a lament. Henry’s grandmother, Margaret of Beaufort, who was placed in charge of young Prince Henry’s education and thus became Skelton’s employer, herself translated part of the *Imitatio Christi.* Margaret of Austria, with whom Henry’s father had considered marriage (ca. 1505 and later), wrote many lyrics as well. Moreover, Henry’s first wife, Katherine of Aragon, appears also to have participated in courtly poetic exchanges.

Truly, Henry had many good models of literary virtues, which he would also ensure for his own offspring, who would in turn participate in literary activities of their own. Most notable of writers among Henry’s children are Edward VI—to whom is attributed a poem in Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments,* a chronicle, and a comedy, now lost, entitled *The Whore of Babylon*—and

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81 From *Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson MS C.86* (155'-156'). A transcription of this text appears at the end of this chapter. See also Boffey (83-4).

82 Noted in Boffey (84); *Robbins Suppl.* 4263.3.

83 See *The Earliest English Translation ... of De imitatione Christi* (Ingram 259-83) and Janel Mueller’s “Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr’s Prayers or Meditations (1545).”

84 See DeBoom (123 ff.), Ives (26 ff.), and Picker for discussion and examples of Margaret’s lyrics. For details of Henry’s marriage plans for Margaret, see Delongh (106, 119-20) and Fraser (39 ff.). It is also notable that a lyric shared in the songbooks of both Henry’s and Margaret’s courts, “Alles regret uuidez dema presence” (*H* 5'-6'; 347), is by another royal author, Duke Jean II of Bourbon (lyric set by Hayne van Ghizeghem).

85 The poetic voice of “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (*H* 54'-55'; 211), a lyric seemingly intended to be sung by a woman in praise of her lover’s performance at a running of the ring, appears to be that of Katherine of Aragon; the matter of the poem, as well as marginal notations in *H,* suggest that the male lover, the “lord,” is Henry.

86 The chronicle (*BL Cotton MS Nero C x*) appears in editions by W.K. Jordan and John G. Nichols. This work, which is akin to a political diary, was begun roughly at the time of his coronation at twelve years of age, ended when he was barely fifteen, and covers the years from his birth to a time just prior to his death; the final entry is November 28, 1552. Within his edition, Jordan has praised Edward for his “literary style of some distinction and polish” (xvi). Regarding the poem, it is found in the 1596 edition (f. 1936); while Walpole (63), Warton (3.195), and
Elizabeth I, whose lyrics number enough to make up a slim volume and whose other works, including translations of a humanist nature, are enough to attest to an astute literary and humanistic sensibility, as well as to warrant praise for such efforts by Puttenham.

In such a context, Henry’s literary efforts seem far less anomalous. In fact, considering Henry’s own aversion to writing—an act, as he stated to Wolsey, that he found somewhat “tedious and payneful”—Henry’s literary output appears quite outstanding for one in his position, and

Tanner (255) understand the poem to be attributed to Edward by Foxe, it may be the work of Sir Anthony St. Leger to whom, according to Foxe, the poem was given. Lastly, of the comedy, Walpole (noting Henry Holland’s Herrologia Anglica [27]) mentions “a most elegant comedy, the title of which was, ‘The Whore of Babylon’” (16-17).

The poems have been gathered by Leicester Bradner; see also Black’s “A Lost Poem by Queen Elizabeth I,” Phillips’ “Elizabeth I as a Latin Poet,” and May and Prescott’s “The French Verses of Elizabeth I.” Her translations include The Glass of the Sinful Soul (A godly medytacyon of the christen sowle [trans. of Marguerite de Navarre’s Miroir in 1544, ptd. 1548]) and, later, those of Petrarch’s Triumph of Eternity (see Hughey’s Arundel-Harrington MS), and Boethius’s Consolation (1593), Plutarch’s On Curiosity (1598), and Horace’s Art of Poetry (1598) that are gathered in Pemberton’s edition of Queen Elizabeth’s Englishings, and others (see Elizabeth, Glass 335-6); see also Bradner’s “The Xenophon Translation Attributed to Elizabeth I,” Mueller’s “Textualism, Contextualism, and the Writings of Queen Elizabeth I,” Balestrieri’s “Prison/Anti-Prison: The Writings of Elizabeth I and Marguerite de Navarre,” Teague’s “Elizabeth I: Queen of England,” Brennan’s”Two Private Prayers by Queen Elizabeth I,” and Prescott’s The Pearl of the Valois and Elizabeth I: Marguerite de Navarre’s Miroir and Tudor England.”

Puttenham notes in his Arte of English Poesie as follows: “But last in recitall and first in degree is the Queene our soueraigne Lady, whose learned, delicate, noble Muse, easily surmounteth all the rest that haue written before her time or since, for sence, sweetnesse and subtillitie, be it in Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme Heroick or Lyricke, wherein it shall please her Maiestie to employ her penne, euon as by as much oddes as her owne excellent estate and degree exceedeth all the rest of her most humble vassals.”

Letter ca. 1520 (BL Additional MS 1,938 44').
would be surpassed only by James VI of Scotland (James I of England), who himself might have looked to Henry's exemplary participation in literary culture. While Henry did not write a notable work of literary criticism as James did, to Henry's chief credit as author is his tract written in answer to Martin Luther's *On the Babylonian Captivity* (1520), the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum Aduersus M. Lutherum* (1521); this would earn him the papal title "Defender of the Faith," conferred on him by Leo X. Other activities of note include Henry's participation in the revision of the *Bishop's Book* (*The Institution of a Christen Man* [1537]), wherein he wrote the preface to what would then become known as the *King's Book* (*A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Chrysten Man* [1543]). He supervised the production of the Church of England's *Book of Hours* (*The Primer . . . Set Foorth by the Kynges Maiestie and his Clergie to be Taught Learned, and Read* [1545]) and wrote a foreword to it; he composed a number of love letters documenting aspects of his early relationship with Anne Boleyn, he conceived of and wrote the challenge for the tournament of 1511 to celebrate the birth of a male heir, and is

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90 Gabriel Harvey, in his *Pierces Supererogation or A New Prayse of the Old Asse* (1593), would praise James for his poetic efforts (102), specifically his *Lepanto*, as being "fitt for a Dauids harpe" (102). For an introduction to James' work, see Akrigg's "The Literary Achievement of King James I"; see also Doelman's "The Accession of King James I and English Religious Poetry," Sharpe's "Private Conscience and Public Duty in the Writings of James VI and I," Wormald's "James VI and I, Basilikon Doron and The Trew Law of Free Monarchies: The Scottish Context and the English Translation," McClure's "O Phoenix Escossois": James VI as Poet," and Goldberg's "The Poet's Authority: Spenser, Jonson, and James VI and I."

91 These were first treated as a group by their early editor, Thomas Hearne. On their literary merit, see Stemmler's "The Songs and Love-Letters of Henry VIII: On the Flexibility of Literary Genres." See also Byrne's collection of the letters.

92 This tournament is discussed earlier (2).
known to have written considerable marginalia in his own books. He was also an avid composer; he set at least two masses (Hall 515), wrote the music for a masque, and composed the devotional motet “Quam pulchra es” and an anthem still used occasionally in services today, “O Lord, The Maker of All Things” (from the Book of Hours). He is also reported to have authored a tragedy dealing with the fall of Anne Boleyn, a book justifying his divorce from Katherine of Aragon (perhaps A Glasse of the Truthe [1530] or Henricus Octavus [1529]), several shorter poems (known by their incipits, “The eagles force subdues each bird that flyes” and “Blush not fayer nimphe”), and what has been described as a “book of sonnets”

93 Henry’s habits of annotating while reading are discussed by T.A. Birrell (7-12), and also documented by Hathaway.

94 While his compositions have been evaluated, at times, as amateur, they were in his own time treated as something quite other, and were held in some esteem—something attested to by Erasmus’ awareness even of Henry’s religious compositions; see Warton’s History of English Poetry (3.342-3), who cites Hawkins’ Hist. Mus. (2.533). Regarding the masque, see Chappell (Popular Music 1.53). “Quam pulchra es” is a later sacred composition, found in Baldwin’s MS (BL Royal MS 24.d.2 166"). “O Lord, The Maker of All Things,” from Henry’s Primer, is traditionally ascribed to him but, today, is generally attributed to William Mundy; an earlier version, found in the Wanley MS (Oxford, Bodleian Mus. Sch. e 420-2), is conceivably by Henry (see Morris 240; Chappell Popular Music 1.53; Walker, A History 45, 63).

95 See Walker (Plays of Persuasion 21), Greenblatt (280 n. 44), and Scarisbrick (350), who briefly discuss this tragedy. Henry had shown the tragedy to the Bishop of Carlisle (Cal. Spanish V (ii): 127).

96 Henry was occupied with the authorship of at least one book in 1528. He wrote, in that year, to Anne Boleyn of “my book” which “makes substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above four hours this day” (Byrne [ed.] 82); in June of that year, Brian Tuke notes a visit from Henry “for the most part going and coming turns in for devising with me upon his book and other things current” (L&P Henry VIII IV #4409). A Glasse of the Truthe (Oxford Bodleian Tanner 182[2]) was printed by the King’s printer, Thomas Berthelet. Henricus Octavus (Cambridge Trinity MS B.15.19) was one of several books used by Wolsey and Campeggio at the second trial regarding the King’s divorce (May-June 1529). Its authorship involved John Stokesly, Edward Foxe, Nicholas de Burgo and, likely, the king himself (Murphy, “The First Divorce” 148); for a detailed discussion of this work, see Surtz and Murphy (viii-xix).
commemorating his loves. While perhaps the least of his literary efforts, it is on his poetic works that I will focus.

_Lyrical Attributions, Dubious and Otherwise: A "book of sonnets" and Two Poems_

The book of sonnets—first mentioned as such in 1824 by Warton in his *History of English Poetry* (3.342) and echoed later by others—is what is now known as the *Henry VIII MS*; it came into the possession of the British Museum, via the firm of Quaritch, from the collection of Lord Eglinton (through his son-in-law, Sir Charles M. Lamb), in whose possession both Warton and Brooks place it. Though it contains works by members of Henry’s court in addition to his own, it is the single largest gathering of Henry’s lyrical works—fifteen consisting of more than an incipit, with an overall total of thirty-three ascriptions—and contains the only extant poetic works which can be reasonably attributed to Henry.

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97 See Brooks (222).

98 To these, one might add that “Greensleeves” has been popularly ascribed to Henry, but there appears to be no basis for this ascription.

99 See my chapter _Interpretive Provinces and Sites of Authorisation_, especially the section entitled “Authorial Evidence in the *Henry VIII MS*” (33).
Figure 4: “Blush not fayer nimphe” attrib. to Henry VIII. (From a prayer book belonging to Katherine Parr, at Sudeley Castle. Enlarged approx. 200% in this reproduction.)
Before discussing Henry's lyrics of the *Henry VIII MS*, the other two poems ascribed to Henry should be discussed, for each can be effectively removed from Henry's poetic canon on the grounds that both lack evidence of his authorship. "Blush not fayer nimpe" (see Figure 4 [49]), the first of these two, is not listed in any catalogue of Renaissance verse in print or manuscript form, and has no resonance in any later literature. It appears solely in a book of prayers\(^{100}\) owned by the Queen Katherine Parr\(^{101}\) on the recto of a page used in book-binding (just before the title page); the collection is found at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire.\(^{102}\) Its transcription follows, the

\[^{100}\text{The collection was first noted by Charlton, in "Devotional Tracts Belonging to Queen Katherine Parr," who briefly describes its contents; there are six tracts, ranging in date of printing from 1534 (items 1, 3, and 4) to 1541 (item 6). This volume, in Charlton's possession at the time of his writing (1850), ultimately passed to H. Dent Brocklehurst, an early owner and restorer of Sudeley Castle. I am grateful to Lady Ashcombe for permission to work with the book, and to Brigadier LeBlanc-Smith and others for the kindness shown me during my visit in July 1996.}^{\text{\footnotesize Charlton's note was in response to that by J.L.W., entitled "MS. Book of Prayers Belonging to Queen Katherine Parr," \textit{Notes and Queries} [ser. 1] 2 (1850): 167. J.L.W. refers to the incomplete manuscript copy, now in Kendall Town Hall, of Parr's \textit{Prayers and Meditations} (printed in London by T. Berthelet in 1545) noted and discussed in \textit{The Gentleman's Magazine} 60.2 (1790): 617, 703, 799, 1100, and reprinted in sections (618, 700-2, 785-7; also 986-8); for recent work on Parr—an author and patron in her own right—see Janel Mueller's "Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr's \textit{Prayers and Meditations} (1545)," and her "A Tudor Queen Finds Voice: Katherine Parr’s Lamentation of a Sinner," as well as John King’s "Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr." A work which came to press too late for consideration in this thesis is the third volume of the \textit{Early Modern Englishwoman} series, which contains the writings of Katherine Parr, edited by Janel Mueller.}^{\text{\footnotesize At the bottom of the first item's title page ("A sermon of saint chrysostome") is written "Kateryn the Quene KP" in what has been identified as Parr's hand, on the facing sheet are verses from the psalms, in her hand as well. See Nicholas Hurt and Julian Comrie's \textit{Sudeley Castle and Gardens} (9) for a photograph of these pages.}}^{\text{\footnotesize See Adam Pollock's \textit{Sudeley Castle}, wherein is described, in the fifth room of the Sudeley Castle exhibit, a "religious book written by Katherine Parr, one with an inscription by Henry VIII" (27).}}
Respect
blush not fayer nimphie / thei nee of nobell blod /
I fain avouch it, & of maners good /
spottles in lyf of mynd sencere / & sound:
in whoam a world of vertes / doth abowend:
& sith besyd it ye / lysens giu withhall /
set doughts asyd and to som / sporting fall . /
therfoor suspisyon I do / banysh thee /
& caste th[o/u]s th[y] nimphie / dost terifye

yo wilbe clear of euery suspysion

The poem was transcribed—save for the penultimate line—and the script identified as Henry’s own by Charlton in 1850; this transcription and attribution would be repeated just after the turn of the century by Lady Mary Trefusis, in her collection of Songs, Ballads and Instrumental Pieces Composed by King Henry VIII (xviii).

As a poem, it appears that it may be quite personally and, perhaps, situationally bound. It is scrawled in an area of a book typically reserved for indications of ownership, dedications, and other personal writings, and the book’s last owner was the wife of the alleged author—a bibliophile, patron, and writer herself. Considering the approximate date of the volume’s binding (after 1541), the nature of the work in which it appears, its title (“Respect”), the poet’s encouragement of the lady to “set doughts asyd,” and its double proclamation of her now being free from his suspicion, one might suppose that it reflects events of 1545 when Katharine was the object of a movement led by Archbishop Cranmer against her for her religious beliefs. A book of sermons with such an ascription would be a fitting present to begin Henry’s own process of

103 I wish to thank Peter Meredith (Leeds) and Patricia Basing (BL) for their assistance with several readings in the poem.
atonement with his wife after this movement, which was in the end put down.\textsuperscript{104}

Such a poetic situation for the poem is dependent upon its being written in Henry's own hand, for there are no other indications of his authorship in the work; however, while in a secretarial script which can be roughly placed \textit{ca.} 1540-70, the hand is quite different from what is extant of Henry's, and likely belongs to another person in Katherine Parr's circle of the 1540s.\textsuperscript{105} Without confirmation of Henry's hand in the only known witness of the poem, its attribution to Henry has very little supporting evidence, though the circumstances are suggestive and plausible.

Attribution to Henry of the second of these two poems, "The eagles force subdues each bird that flyes," is by John Harrington, in a letter dated 1609 and addressed to King James I's eldest son Prince Henry. Harrington discusses and reprints a special verse of King Henry the Eight, when he conceived love for Anna Bulleign. And hereof I entertain no doubt of the Author, for, if I had no better reason than the rhyme, it were sufficient to think that no other than suche a King coud write suche a sonnet; but of this my father oft gave me good assurance, who was in his houshold. This sonnet was sunge to the Lady Ann at his commaundment, and here followeth:

\begin{verbatim}
THE eagle's force subdues each byrd that flyes;
What metal can resyst the flaminge fyre?
Dothe not the sunne dazle the cleareste eyes,
And melt the ice, and make the froste retyre?
The hardest stones are pierced thro wyth tools;
The wysest are, with Princes, made but fools. (Harrington 2.248)
\end{verbatim}

These lines, which appear set to music in William Byrd's \textit{Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets} (1611; 111,os)

\begin{enumerate}
\item For details of this movement against Katherine, see McConica's \textit{English Humanists and Reformation Politics} (215); also, Antonia Fraser's \textit{The Six Wives of Henry VIII} (386-90).
\item I am grateful to Joanne Woolway (Oriel College, Oxford), William Hodges (Bodleian Library), and Patricia Basing and W.H. Kelliher (BL) for their assistance in looking over the hand in this poem.
\end{enumerate}
B1), appear also in *A Mirror for Magistrates* (1563) as lines 85-91 of Thomas Churchyard’s “Shore’s Wife.” In Churchyard’s work, this verse is spoken by Shore’s wife, concubine to Edward IV, who has been spoiled by Richard III and forced to do penance; the lines appear as part of a moral exemplum, and seem quite unlike that which might result from the budding love of a monarch and a noblewoman—though their situation in such a place by Harrington is not unusual, and fits a pattern of association for that group of poems associated with Henry VIII which lasts to this day.

*Henry’s Lyrics, Their Contexts, and the Realms of Their Interpretation*

While spurious, these two poems ascribed to Henry present valuable minor studies in themselves, for they serve to illustrate the parameters of interpretation typically and traditionally allowed Henry’s poetic efforts: that is, the process of their attribution helps exemplify one vein of critical engagement given Henry’s works since the time of their authorship. Notably, the idea of a “poetic situation” is suggested by each. In the case of “Respect,” its location in the book of sermons suggests that it—a statement of affirmation—along with the book, perhaps, may serve as an apology; even if not exactly this, we can at least acknowledge that such a poetic expression is something given by one familiar to another, with a specific intent in mind. To Harrington’s attribution of “The eagle’s force,” the aspect of poetic situation is also integral. He suggests a performance of Henry’s lyric to Anne Boleyn, intended to woo, on the evidence of his father’s

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107 See E.H. Fellowes’ *English Madrigal Verse, 1588-1632* (685) and Lily B. Campbell’s edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates* (376).
word, who may have witnessed such events and also was able to testify to Henry’s lyrical abilities.

Such poetic situations are suggested in engagements of Henry’s actual poetic work as well. In a nineteenth century description of the *Henry VIII MS* given by William Chappell, the lyrics written by Henry are critically approached as uncomplex love songs and statements of personal character and, within his article discussing the lyrics, Chappell notes that, though Henry “was professing love for the Queen [Katherine of Aragon]... in his songs,” he promises future, not present, self-denial of the pleasures of his age and status (*Account* 376). In the eighth chapter of Philip Lindsay’s novel *Here Comes the King*, the author associates Henry’s proclamation of unwavering devotion found in the second stanza of his “Grene growith the holy” (*H* 37*-38*; 141) with Henry’s relationship with his fifth wife, Katherine Howard—“As the holy growth grene. / and neuer chaungyth hew. / So I am euer hath bene. / vnto my lady trew” (II. 5-8). James Joyce, in a letter to his Nora (ca. July 1904),108 places what he states to be a lyric by Henry into a romantic context at the same time as he comments on Henry’s character. Joyce states:

I found myself sighing deeply tonight as I walked along and I thought of an old song written three hundred years ago by the English King Henry VIII—a brutal and lustful king. The song is so sweet and fresh and seems to have come from such a simple grieving heart that I send it to you, hoping it may please you. It is strange from what muddy pools the angels call forth a spirit of beauty. The words express very delicately and musically the vague and tired loneliness which I feel. (Joyce 23-4)

The lyric to which he refers, “A the syghes that cum fro my hart” (*H* 32*-33*; 185) was, in fact, set by William Cornish, leader of Henry’s Chapel Royal, and not Henry,109 nonetheless, Joyce’s

108 I wish to thank Andrew Busza for bringing this letter to my attention.

109 The presentation, with vague attribution, of verses in some nineteenth century reprintings of works from the *Henry VIII MS* may have been responsible for this confusion. It is also possible that Joyce confused this lyric with another in *H*, “The thoughtes within my brest” (*H* 29*-30*; 224), which shares a second line, “They greue me passyng sore,” and rhyme in the
empathy with the mood of the lyric is interesting, and the personal situation into which Joyce brought it reflects that in which Henry's lyrics are often seen.

Nowhere are the situational parameters of Henry's lyrics better demonstrated than in the first critical engagement of Henry's lyrics in a purely literary context, that of Sarah Brooks' "Some Predecessors of Spenser." Referring to the verses of Wyatt's "Forget not yet the tried intent" as it relates to Wyatt's relationship with Anne Boleyn, Brooks comments on "Old bluff Hal's wooing verses" and, following a passing reference to and quotation of "The eagle's force," she continues: "But that the King spread his claws with some pretension to literary neatness is evident from his book of sonnets . . . commemorating the loves of this royal butcher" (222).

The harsh, stereotypical view of Henry as a royal butcher aside, Brooks' views of 1889 share much with popular sentiments held to this day. The lyrics, such sentiments contend, are to be viewed with intimate and, perhaps, romantic overtones. The recent entry on Henry in the Dictionary of Literary Biography urges, similarly, consideration of the personal elements of Henry's works through the context of their intended delivery. These were performances along the lines of what C.S. Lewis suggested for early Tudor lyrics as a whole (mainly some of Wyatt's verses), in a coterie "with many ladies present" (Herman 222); to this model of poetic interchange, we might add the expansion offered by Spearing that it is the personal blush of recognition that becomes the centre of the literary experience. With some difference, though of the same kind, are views expressed in a 1996 public television documentary on the reign of Henry VIII in which Rosalind Miles, speaking of Catherine of Aragon, commented that Henry would fourth, "euer more." This lyric, while attributed by Stevens to Henry (M&P 392), and echoed in Henry's entry in the Dictionary of Literary Biography (132: 177), is attributed in the manuscript to "T. Ffardyng" (30').
"write little poems to her" and, talking of Henry's legendary love for the ladies, Margaret George commented that "he was always writing sonnets to his lady loves, and music for them."110

Contrary to this tradition, however, it is important to note that Henry's lyrics do not specifically commemorate his loves—and certainly not his later ones. If it were the case that they did, we could truly engage the lyrics in the manner suggested by the more popular perceptions of Henry and his poetic works. In this imaginative critical lens, then, we might have Henry giving voice to his undying love for Anne Boleyn, wooing her during the time in which his councillors were working through the details of his divorce with Katharine of Aragon; we, as contemporary audience, would have the dark pleasure, perhaps, of hearing (and knowing) the irony in such words as "Now vnto my lady / promyse to her I make. / Ffrome all other only / to her. I me betake" ("Grene growith the holy" [H 37'-38'; 141] ll. 13-16). Then, perhaps, we might view him doing the same with his next wife, while orchestrating the trial of Anne Boleyn and the arrest of Wyatt, and so on. But such interpretations, in the case of these lyrics, are invalid because the lyrics belong to a situation quite different from that suggested by traditional assumptions.

Several misunderstandings inform what may be called the "traditional" view of Henry's lyrics, and these are not so much misconceptions as they are transpositions of assumptions which hold up well with poetry of a kind other than Henry's. Before embarking upon a discussion of the proper context for the interpretation of Henry's lyrics, however, the issue of their date should be reviewed, for their temporal placement can clear up some misunderstandings.

110 See "Henry VIII." Miles, author of I Elizabeth: The Word of a Queen, makes her statement 20 minutes into the videotape and George, author of The Autobiography of Henry VIII, at 21 minutes.
As discussed of the manuscript as a whole, the date of Henry's lyrical works can be set with some accuracy to be quite early in his reign. While the compilation and binding of *H* itself took place after mid-1522, its contents of Henry's own work are more suggestive of the first few years of his reign. Some lyrics, such as “Pastyme with good companye” (*H* 14*½*-15*½*; 121), date from the first two years of his reign—a time during which, as Hall says of the court's progress to Windsor in the second year of his reign, Henry was “exercisying hym self daily in shotyng, singing, daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, plaiyng at the recorder, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, [and] makyng of balettes” (515); “Pastyme with good companye” itself appears twice in *LRit* (dated 1510), where it is given the title “The Kynges Ballade” (141*½*). The majority of the lyrics appear to have been completed prior to 1514, such that the character Youth, in the interlude of the same name (dated ca. 1513-4), is able to echo several lines and sentiments. During these early years, the young monarch, skillful himself with many instruments, often played and sang in public. His enthusiasm for courtly and popular song, and the populace's general knowledge of his love for song itself, would last throughout the time of his rule and

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111 See the discussion on dating in the *Textual Introduction* (88).

112 See Lancashire (*Two Tudor Interludes* 106, 1.70; 18 ff.) for these echoes. Lyrics by others point equally to a date prior to 1514, especially those which focus on the celebrations surrounding the birth of a son, who would not survive his first few months, in 1511 (“Aboffe all thynge” [*H* 24*½*; 218] and “Adew adew le company” [*H* 74*½*-75*½*; 294]) and refer to the 1513 war with the French in the future tense (“ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart” [*H* 100*½*-102*½*; 305] and “Pray we to god that all may gyde” [*H* 103*½*; 307]).

113 See Scarisbrick (15-6) and *Cal. Venice* (II: 242).

114 Documented *CSP Venice* (I: 69; II: 328), among others.

115 In addition to the courtly songs of his chapel, he also frequently enjoyed singing “fremen songs” with Peter Carew (T. Phillips 113).
beyond into the early seventeenth century, as evidenced by Thomas Ravenscroft’s 1609 publication of a book of freemen’s (also called three-men’s) songs, the subtitle of which, *K[ing] H[enry’s] Mirth*, is an explicit reference to Henry’s pleasure in them. Though the lyrics and Henry’s reputation as lyricist would last for some time, the early date of these lyrics dispels notions of their being love poems referring to specific romantic situations in his later life.

So, too, should the condition of their production and performance dispel, in a large part, the urge to consider his lyrics as “little poems” written to Katherine of Aragon, “sonnets to his lady loves” or anything resembling a commemoration of Henry’s *amours*. Issues of the production and the performance of the lyrics in the *Henry VIII MS* are closely related, as John Stevens demonstrated some years ago. The lyrics of the manuscript are secular and public in nature, documenting one aspect of an active and youthful court’s sense of contemporary politics and culture. Henry’s lyrics, chiefly in the courtly love tradition, draw freely on its models and motifs, and take their place in the public sphere of activities surrounding the king. But we tend to discount their place in the public life of the early Tudor court and, instead, relegate the lyrics to the more private domain in which we critically view Thomas Wyatt.

A much more prominent poet today than Henry, Wyatt would inherit and expertly interpret aspects of this tradition several decades later, but Wyatt’s engagement of it comes from a very different perspective than Henry’s. Chiefly working in the milieu of the coterie—the same literary coterie in which those related to the *Devonshire MS (LDev)* operated, among them

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116 The title of this work is *Deuteromelia*; none of the songs gathered by Ravenscroft are of Henry’s composition.

117 See his *Music and Poetry*. 
Thomas Howard (Surrey’s father), Anne Boleyn, Mary Shelton, Mary (Howard) Fitzroy, and
Henry’s illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy—Wyatt’s verse reflects the personality of the early
Tudor lyric accentuated by Lewis and Spearing, and also Wyatt’s own position in society.
Wyatt’s lyrics, therefore, are inherently more personal in nature, with anticipated audiences and
performance situations as intimate as the circle in which he wrote. His love lyrics—those both
espousing and despising love—can rightly be interpreted within the context suggested by the
coterie. “My Lute Awake,” present in both the Devonshire (LDev) and Egerton (LEge)
manuscripts, is often taken to be exemplary of this tradition when one considers the performance
element. The situation constructed by the poem is of a lyricist, his lute, and his former lover
(often construed, rightly or wrongly, to be Anne Boleyn); he sings alternately to his lute, and to
his lover, about his relationship with her.

Worth consideration also is the nature of the references employed in Wyatt’s verses. His
lyric “If yt ware not” illustrates the degree of topicality one can expect of a work in the milieu
in which Wyatt lived. This poem appears only in the Devonshire MS (LDev) and is especially
notable because of its echoing of the third line from Henry’s lyric “Pastyme with good


118 For discussion of Wyatt and the courtly love tradition, see Patricia Thomson’s Sir
Thomas Wyatt and His Background (“Courtly Love” 10-45). As well, and for discussion of the
coterie element of the Devonshire MS (LDev), see Paul G. Remley’s “Mary Shelton and Her
Tudor Literary Milieu,” Raymond Southall’s “The Devonshire Manuscript Collection of Early
Tudor Poetry, 1532-41,” Elizabeth Heale’s “Women and the Courtly Love Lyric,” Helen Baron’s
“Mary (Howard) Fitzroy’s Hand in the Devonshire Manuscript,” and Julia Boffey’s “Women
Authors and Women’s Literacy in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England”; discounting
Wyatt and Anne Boleyn’s presence in the manuscript is E.W. Ives’ Anne Boleyn (“Passion and
Courtly Love” 77-110).

119 Devonshire MS (LDev 78'); see also Greene’s Early English Carols (# 467, pp. 314-5
and 452).
companye’ (H 14'-15'; 121)—“gruche who lust but none denye”—a defiant statement which has been paraphrased as “let grudge whosoever will, none shall refuse (it to me)” (Stevens M&P 345). This line has its root in the Burgundian court of love presided over by Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, who employed the motto “Groigne qui groigne et vive Burgoigne.”

Anne Boleyn, prior to 21 December 1530, had adopted a motto which echoed Henry’s line and that of the Burgundian court. Embroidered on her servants’ liveries, this motto was “Ainsi sera, groigne qui groigne,” which approximates, in English, “What will be, will be, grumble who may.” The first line of the burden to Wyatt’s lyric is “Grudge on who liste, this ys my lott,” and the matter of the lyric itself—a woman’s address to a male lover in reference to her marriage to another man—provides a plausible gloss on the situation existing at this time between himself, Boleyn, and Henry VIII.

Following the established tradition of interpretation for Henry’s lyrics, one critic has noted that “the King’s poem contains a veiled reference to the relationship between Anne and the King in the latter months of 1530” and that “Pastyme” was “surely meant as a reassuring reply to Anne that the King was determined to marry her” (Jungman 398, 399); however, such a relationship

120 See Ives’ Anne Boleyn (22 ff.), Jungman (398 n.1), and Friedmann’s Anne Boleyn (1.128, n.3). The King’s ties to the Burgundian court are well known, as are the strong Burgundian influences on the early Tudor lyric and other courtly arts.

121 See R.L. Greene’s “A Carol of Anne Boleyn By Wyatt” (438), Jungman (398 n.1), and Bruce’s Anne Boleyn (168-72).

122 The translation is given by Bruce (168).

123 See Greene (“Carol” 438-9).
cannot exist, because of the evidence dating each text,\textsuperscript{124} for “Pastyme” belongs to \textit{ca.} 1510, twenty years before Boleyn’s use of the allusive motto. A more plausible series of events is that Boleyn’s motto, intended to echo Henry’s very popular lyric\textsuperscript{125} and also the defiant spirit of the Burgundian motto (which itself urges reminiscence of a shared past held by Henry and Anne in the Burgundian court),\textsuperscript{126} was adopted by Wyatt. By echoing elements of both Anne’s and Henry’s statements, he is able to situate his work in terms suitable for his coterie—in this case, that of the Devonshire MS (LDev) alone—and to document explicitly and privately his own sorry place in this confusing love triangle.

Such a technique, common to Wyatt, appears not to have been employed by Henry, in large part because for a monarch the idea of poetic milieu, by necessity of social position, would be much different. While the courtier Wyatt in a work whose topical reference would be known to the few of his poetic coterie could employ Henry’s line to such an end, Henry’s own

\textsuperscript{124} While Boleyn’s motto, Wyatt’s burden, and the line in Henry’s lyric do share a similar resonance, this relationship is one which because of the textual circumstances of Henry’s lyric, cannot exist. “Pastyme with good companye” first appears in the Ritson MS (LRit 136*-137*, 141*-142*: see 121 ff.), itself dated \textit{ca.} 1510; Boleyn’s adoption of the motto is in 1530; and Wyatt’s presumably is approximately this date, as argued by Greene (“Carol”).

\textsuperscript{125} Though it was composed \textit{ca.} 1510, the King’s Ballad had a popularity which extended up to and beyond 1530. Please refer to the notes to the lyric in this edition (121).

\textsuperscript{126} Anne Boleyn’s adoption of a motto close to that of Burgundy is a defiant gesture, making explicit her unwavering certainty that she would be Henry’s queen, and also in support of the sentiments expressed by Henry’s lyric as well as those upheld by the Burgundian court which Henry so admired and sought to emulate, and in which the two shared a common ground. Boleyn, as is known, spent the summer of 1513 as a maid of honour at Margaret’s court. The summe of 1513 saw visits from and revels involving Henry’s continental entourage, which included the Chapel Royal, for the war against the French. Boleyn may have come across the motto first while gaining a courtly education under Margaret’s guidance. By the summer of 1513, Henry would have been familiar with the motto for quite some time, and was, it would seem, introduced to it before his composition of “Pastyme with good companye” \textit{ca.} 1510.
employment of the line twenty years or so earlier is much less topical, like much of his verse, betraying in this instance what would have been a very publicly-known admiration of (and acknowledged cultural debt to) the court from which the motto originated. In his lyrics, Wyatt might have performed for his lover and for his coterie, but Henry performed, with accompaniment of at least two other singers (as evinced by the settings in H), for the whole court—a point which must be kept in mind, even though his lyrical works in the Henry VIII MS may suggest at times an intimacy of sorts, such as in “Grene growth the holy” (H 37'-38'; 141) and “Wherto shuld I expresse” (H 51'-52'; 151). Henry’s poetic performances were, thus, public, whether given to groups which included ambassadorial retinues127 or the comparatively intimate group of Henry’s personal entourage. Even when performing later in life with his courtier Peter Carew for the pleasure of Katherine Parr and her ward, Princess Elizabeth, that audience would include the court and entourage of each.128 Best shown by the appearance of “Pastyme with good companye” in the early Tudor song books more often than any other lyric,129 its mention first in the list of shepherd’s songs in The Complaynt of Scotlande,130 and its appearance later in a popular

127 See reports of Henry’s abilities by ambassadorial crews, among them a report of 3 May 1515 to the Signory of Venice in which it is noted that Henry “played about every instrument, sang and composed fairly” (CSP Venice 2.242 #614). One may also look to the continental distribution of the poem; refer to the textual notes accompanying “Pastyme with good companye.”

128 For Henry’s enjoyment of singing with Carew, see T. Phillips (113); for a brief mention of the situation of their performance of the lyric “As I walked through the glades and wode so wylde” before Katherine and Elizabeth, see Tapp (v).

129 It appears twice in the Ritson MS (LRit) and once in H.

130 It is noted as “pastance [with] gude companye” (Murray 64, and lxxxiii n. 49).
moralized version,\textsuperscript{131} it is from their presentation and circulation in such a public arena that sentiments from Henry's lyrics are able to become identifiable targets for anti-court satire,\textsuperscript{132} to become incorporated into court-centred didactic works, such as Thomas Elyot's \textit{Governour},\textsuperscript{133} and sermons of the day,\textsuperscript{134} as well as to become part of the historiographical record of the early court, along with the pageants, tournaments, and revels noted by Edward Hall in his chronicle.\textsuperscript{135}

Such a public audience, seen most clearly in the occasional pieces of the \textit{Henry VIII MS} commemorating events such as the birth of a son in 1511 and the war with France in 1513, must also be seen as the context for even the most seemingly private of Henry's lyrics. The manuscript, we must remember, bears none of the signs of its operation in the coterie fashion of Wyatt's \textit{Devonshire MS (LDev)}. It is a fine vellum manuscript, professionally copied, illuminated, and bound, and too large in size to be grouped with such manuscripts of authorial personality, as we expect of a figure such as Wyatt. The manuscript also reveals no personal connection to the king himself; rather, connection appears to be to the king's friend and comptroller Sir Henry Guildford,

\textsuperscript{131} See the \textit{Maitland Quarto MS (31\textdegree; 63)}.

\textsuperscript{132} Such as that noted, earlier, in the example of the \textit{Interlude of Youth}.

\textsuperscript{133} Passages of Elyot's \textit{Boke Named the Governour} echo the ideas expressed in two lines of the poem—"For my pastaunce / Hunte, syng and daunce" (5-6)—referring to the value of hunting (I: Ch. 18), singing (I: Ch. 7), and dancing (I: Chs. 19-25).

\textsuperscript{134} While preaching in the King's hall, as reported from Pace to Wolsey, the royal almoner incorporated "Pastyme with good companye" (\textit{H} 14\textdegree; 15\textdegree; 121) as well as "I loue vnloued suche is myn aduerture" (\textit{H} 122\textdegree; 124\textdegree; 328) into his sermon (\textit{L&P Henry VIII}, III (i): 447); later, in his "Second Sermon before Edward VI," Latimer referred to the same lines upon which Elyot elaborates (Latimer 79).

\textsuperscript{135} Specifically, see Hall (515 ff.), wherein Henry's early interest in music and lyrics is recounted.
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 64

who played a large part as participant in and organiser of many of the public spectacles and revels of the early Tudor court.\textsuperscript{136}

Textually, and in terms of the poetic situation constructed by my example, Wyatt offers a sole voice as part of a larger poetic (and personal) exchange. In the Henry VIII MS, Henry’s lyrics are presented in a different manner. While surely intended for performance, as a whole they do not support an intimate situation similar to Wyatt’s—even those lyrics which may upon reading suggest tete-à-tete exposition. What is amplified by the textual evidence is the non-intimate situation in which the lyrics were performed. With little variation, Henry’s lyrics were intended for performance as the type of song that he enjoyed singing, freemen’s or three-men’s songs. In the Henry VIII MS, both lyrics and musical settings are for three and four voices; while this reflects the fact that the manuscript is musical as much as poetic, it is notable that most of Henry’s lyrics are captured in $H$ solely, a document that presents them in a form which suggests a public nature.\textsuperscript{137}

While an examination of the details of $H$ assists in revealing a general strategy of interpretation which challenges that traditionally held about Henry’s lyrics, such a critical strategy arises also from the general situation of the lyrics, as with others written by those of stature

\textsuperscript{136} Especially important here is the absence of an inventory number in the manuscript, which would be expected if it were a part of the royal collection; nor are its binding decorations reflective of patterns seen in the royal library. See the discussion of provenance in the Textual Introduction (92).

\textsuperscript{137} “Pastyme with good companye” ($H$ 14"-15"; 121), for example, appears in all its textual witnesses ($H$, LRit[1], and LRit[2]) in three voices. Possible exceptions include “O my hart and o my hart” ($H$ 22"-23"; 133), which is presented in three voices in $H$ but only preserved as a single voice in its transcription on the final page of a 1493 edition of Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea (PBLle gg4’), and “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” ($H$ 48"-49"; 148) for which, though the text appears only once in $H$, music is provided for three voices.
similar to Henry's. What makes it believable that Henry wrote lyrics at all suggests that such writing would be more public and generic than private and occasional. What I am speaking of here is the literary and, as we are referring to lyrics, the related musical traditions of the early Tudor court. Such traditions tend to be performance oriented, and royal performances (recitations, singing, instrumentation, and so on) are well documented particularly in the first two decades of the sixteenth century with respect to the heir to Henry VII's throne, and after 1509, to the new king himself. Lyrics such as those written by Henry—and songs such as those performed, as we know from the reports of foreign ambassadors—are quite usual in this context. If we look at the lyric written by Henry's mother, those written in the Burgundian court by Margaret of Austria, and those written in the French court by the young Francis I, writing for such occasions was simply what one did.

Youth and Age, Lover and Disdainer: Poetic Discourses and Royal Power in Henry's Lyrics

The element of public spectacle intended in the lyrics is especially evident when they are considered in the context of the life of Henry's early court, for many of the activities of the early Tudor court appear to have been fashioned around a "personal discourse" of Henry—as Youth and the (courtly) Lover—poetic personae which are seen quite clearly in the lyrics of the Henry VIII MS. Appropriate to the mood of the court at the date of the manuscript, Henry's lyrics reflect a predominantly lively and happy court; they avoid devotional subjects and focus primarily on topics of love and youth.\(^{138}\)

\(^{138}\) The comparatively large number of his compositions in the manuscript reflects his early exuberance for song. Henry himself was skillful with many instruments (Scarisbrick 15-6, and CSP Venice II: 242), and often played and sang in public (CSP Venice I: 669 and II: 328).
In the environment of a court that found him young, and literary works which suggested the lusty age of Henry when a prince and young monarch\(^\text{139}\) (see Figure 8 [120]), Henry in his lyrics appears to have fashioned himself as the youth and lover others perceived him to be. It is not surprising to find that love is a predominant topic of the songs, for love is the main theme of many lyrics of this sort, a theme also closely associated with the age of Youth. That love is the focus of a king’s work is notable, and in the lyrics it appears to reflect Henry’s keen interest in the chivalric tradition during the first few years of his reign. “[F]eates of armes [done] for the loue of Ladies” (Hall 511, 512), in which the King himself was a chief participant, marked his early court. He surrounded himself with tapestries depicting romance scenes (see Figure 5 [67]) and portraying Cupid and Venus. He jousted in honour of the Queen, calling himself “Cure Loial” (Hall 517 and L&P Henry VIII I: 220), Sir Loyal Heart. As noted earlier, he appeared in a pageant celebrating the 1511 birth of a son again as “Cuer Loyall,” alongside “Amoure Loyall” and others, with all participants including himself dressed in garb “embroudered full of H. & K. of golde” (Hall 519). Furthermore, in later events, he jousted on a horse whose decorations included “a harte of a manne wounded”—upon which was written “mon nauera” which Hall interprets as meaning “ell mon ceur a nauera, she hath wounded my harte” (Hall 630)—and played the role of

\(^{139}\) For Henry’s characterisation in the interlude Youth, see Lancashire (Two Tudor Interludes 54) and the notes to “Pastyme with good companye” in this edition (121 ff.). The hero of Hawes’ Example of Vertue (ca. 1503-4), whose name is “Youth,” may have been intended to represent the young prince Henry. As Edward Hall, the chronicler, reports, he appeared in a disguising dealing with the subject “that the flower of youth could not be oppressed” (597), and a masque in which personifications of Youth and Love were active participants (615). Later entertainments that deal with the loss of youth also show the King’s identification with that age. He appeared as one of ten lords dressed in gowns of “the auncient fashion enbrodered with reasons of golde that sayd, adieu Iunesse, farewell youth” (Hall 615) and, with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in disguise at a tournament as “twoo ancient knightes” whom “youth had left” (Hall 689).
"Ardent Desire" in a masque (Hall 631). Such events clearly portray the court's and, most of all,

Henry's own active interest in pursuing courtly love in all the glamour and spectacle of the day.

In such a context, Henry's lyrics can be seen to reflect the spirit of the court as a whole, and are part of the expression of a discourse represented in the manuscript but exemplified far beyond it.

While the discourse was something that Henry fashioned—in lyrical, dramatic, and other venues—and therefore may be seen to be personal, it is less personal when one considers that Henry's construction was shared openly and freely, played over several genres and media, with many different courtiers and visitors to court, and thus on a very public stage. It is not something to which should be seen to contain a great degree of individual exposition; that is, it is verse of a
kind that is not intended to be deeply, personally revealing, though it may well be generally revealing.

To a significant degree, Henry's works fit very well within the panorama of courtly love poetry of the time. What is unique to his verse, however, is that which is unique to him, when considered in the context of other practitioners of similar verse. By this I refer to his gender, his age, and his social position. But it may be useful first to look at another monarchical figure and how similar lyrics are adapted to suit that figure's gender, age, and social position. The person I have in mind is one to whom Henry's own poetry owes a great debt: Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands. Roughly a decade older than Henry, her lyrics in the courtly love tradition reflect aspects of her person. Their authorial voice is clearly female, representing more one who is "served" in the game of courtly love than one who "serves." Margaret's lyrics carry a tone of authority, in the sense of power connected with a regent, and also they are prescriptive, for they seem to advise the young ladies sent to her court for grooming, like Anne Boleyn in 1513, on what courtly love is, how one should behave when involved in the game of courtly love, and how men can be deceitful in that game. Moreover, in pointing out the potential pitfalls of the game of courtly love for the young female lover, Margaret's lyrics construct just as much the figure of the untrue male lover as they do the ideal female lover.

Well-versed in the cultural tradition of the Burgundians, Henry had reflected before 1510 the motto of Margaret in his "Pastyme with good companye" (H 14'-15'; 121).\textsuperscript{141} In his French

\textsuperscript{140} In this vein, we might also consider the one lyric in the Henry VIII MS along these lines as well, intended to be presented by Katherine of Aragon, "Whiles lyue or breth is in my brest" (H 54'-55'; 211).

\textsuperscript{141} This is discussed, above, in relation its echo in Wyatt's "If yt ware not" (59).
campaign of 1513, accompanied by his Chapel Royal, Henry and his courtiers would participate in
games of courtly love with Margaret’s court. Moreover, his own lyrical presence in his writings
seems to draw heavily on that adopted by Margaret as well, reflecting the view of the young male
lover in much the same manner as she represents that of the female. The authorial voices in
Henry’s lyrics—the personae of the active youth and the ideal lover—represent different aspects
of the one who serves in the game of courtly love and delights in such service. The voice of youth
is that of Henry’s actual age; the voice of the ideal male lover, closely related to that of youth, is
the part Henry shapes for himself in the game of courtly love (in a fashion akin to that of
Margaret); both, as mentioned earlier, are images he sought to cultivate in his early court in
venues beyond that of the lyric. While Henry’s lyrics do not describe the figure of the untrue male
lover as Margaret’s, Henry’s lyrics do add something more to the youth and ideal male lover: the
figure of the aged “disdainer,” to whom the apparently virtuous pursuits of youth must be justified
and who hinders pursuits engaged in by true lovers. Such personae and figures, as they emerge from Henry’s lyrics, are quite suggestive. By
adopting his personae of youth and the lover, Henry as author positions himself in a traditional
poetic debate (that of youth and age) which he places within the context of a contemporary

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142 Here, the two courts met in Margaret’s “famous centre of courtly love” (Gunn,
Charles Brandon 29) for several days of celebration, including of the games, singing, and all night
dancing. Of interest also is the nature of the games; Henry, for example, promised a 10,000
crown dowry to a Flemish lady-in-waiting who caught his eye, while Charles Brandon and
Margaret of Austria participated in a stylised marriage proposal, which Henry interpreted to her
as an actual proposal of marriage. For a description of the festivities and events, refer to CSP
Milan (654, 656, 657), Strelka (48, 56-7), Ives (25-6), L&P Henry VIII [Iii] #s 2255, 2262,
2281, 2355, 2375, 2380, 2391), Gunn (Charles Brandon 29ff.), and Chronicle of Calais (71-4).

143 “Disdainers” are also a common feature of the literature associated with tournaments
of the day; see, for example, the anonymous Jousts of May and the Jousts of June.
discourse of courtly love, one well-accepted in his own court and beyond. Attention to Henry's poetic positioning, moreover, is the key to understanding the slim element of personal revelation that can now be retrieved from the lyrics.

The lyrics themselves appear unnatural in the context of today's conceptions of early Tudor courtly poetic production, models of which have been presented most recently and most popularly by those subscribing to historicist and materialist theoretical positions, for Henry's lyrics do not on the surface appear to be the product of one seeking patronage nor court favor (a seemingly pointless task for a king to occupy himself with), nor are they the product of a disaffected courtier: that is, they are the product of neither a prince-pleaser nor a subversive. When read in the context of the personae and figures adopted and engaged by Henry, however, as a group they take shape as part of an act of poetic self-justification, an address of the young lover that Henry really was at the time, to the aged disdainers opposing his actions of whom there were many in Henry's early court according to extant documents. In the relationship of youth and age, it is youth who is subservient; in the relationship of the lover and the disdainor who thwarts the efforts of the lover, it is the lover who is subservient.

As Henry adopts these poetic personae, he also allows himself a voice capable of subversion, a voice in an artificial though well-accepted discourse through which aspects of reality

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144 Consider the concern expressed for the king at what was his first joust (12 January 1510; see Hall 513) at which, in equal disguise with William Compton, one of the two was quite seriously injured and "likely to dye"; with concern that this might be the king, Henry revealed himself publically, uninjured; Anglo (Tournament Roll 5) provides a summary of reservations against the king's participation in such events. See also the event recounted by Hall (511) and the Great Chronicle of London (Thomas and Thornley, eds., 342 ff.), in which Henry was approached by the queen and her ladies, in the midst of a pageant with a forester theme, to intercede. According to Hall, Henry felt some "grudge and displeasure" between the party of the queen and those performing in the pageant (recounted also in Anglo [Tournament Roll 48-9]).
can be discussed. While engaging topics of love and youthful pursuits, then, he also addresses elements of the world around him in keeping with the accepted method of poetic representation practiced by Royal Orators Skelton and Hawes but more expertly exemplified in the later work of Wyatt. Though working in an accepted manner, Henry individualizes his lyrics and his poetic voice (of the relatively powerless youth and lover) by drawing upon his position as king in his poetic proclamations. Such is the case in “Though sum saith that yough rulyth me” (H 71r-73r; 164) in which the burden to the lyric, intended to be repeated after the recitation of each stanza, echoes the royal motto “Dieu et mon droit” (“god and my ryght” l. 3) and, in the penultimate line, identifies the speaker: “Thus sayth the king the viii. th harry” (l. 19). There is as well the riddle near the end of “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (H 48r-49r; 148; ll. 11-14) which, in noting in the context of courtly love the power held by the person who is capable of begetting grace, gestures also towards the world of the political court where grace is given chiefly by the king.  

That Henry’s lyrics were explicitly the words of the king is a point that Henry’s public audience obviously could not have missed. Such identification, as Peter Herman has commented, suggests that Henry’s lyrics are an exemplary site at which poetry and politics converge (“Henry VIII” 222), especially when one considers the implications of regal participation in the activity of poetry, an activity held typically to be reserved for courtiers alone. In Henry’s engagement in the debates between the figures of youth and age, and the lover and disdainer, he brings a political weight not typically available to the youth nor the lover but only to the king, one who is truly in command of all subjects, including the disdainers.

145 Please refer to its discussion elsewhere in this dissertation (33, 148).
Henry VIII's Place in Literary History

What emerges from this reading of Henry's lyrics is that the king, though working in a public sphere and in a genre noted for its impersonality, displays elements of individuality, though not the same as popular culture and common scholarship have readily urged. In his attempts as a poet to address aspects of courtly reality through the fiction of courtly love and as a lyricist to work with texts and their settings in the fashion of the troubadour, Henry embraces long-standing traditions while he champions them in his own court; at the same time he also anticipates poetic models that would later be more popularly exemplified in the works of Wyatt and Surrey.

Without this precise context in mind, it has been noted that Henry was "the presiding genius of early Tudor literature" (Herman, "Henry VIII" 185) but chiefly as a patron. This much is true, but what is often overlooked is his role as a literary figure of the day, something which is demonstrated best in his lyrics. As an active participant in the poetic exchanges that characterise C.S. Lewis' apparent "drab age," Henry challenged the traditional boundaries of his chosen poetic genre; he personalised the English courtly love lyric, and added to it as none had before a dimension of power to the powerless poetic personae he employed in his work. Henry's work, thus, represents a bridge -- and subtly marks a turning point -- when one considers certain aspects of the development of the English lyric; reflecting the tradition available to Henry, his canon is at the same time suggestive of elements of the coterie tradition in which the early Tudor lyric would see its most fruitful exemplification.
Appendix: “Myne hart is set vppon a lusty pynne”

Myne hart is set vppon a lusty pynne
I praye to venus of good continuaunce
For I reioyse the case that I am in
Delyuerd from sorow annexed to plesaunce
Of all comfort havyng habundaunce
This ioy and I I trust shal neuer twynne
Myne hart is set vppon a lusty pynne

I pray to venus of good continuaunce
Sith she hath set me in the wey of ease
Myne hertly seruyse with myne attendaunce
So to contynue that euer I may please
Thus voydyng from all pensful disease
Now stand I hole fer from all grevaunce
I pray to venus of good continuaunce

For I reioyse the case that I am in
My gladnesse is such that greuyth me no payne
And so to serue neuyr shal I blyne
And thogh I wolde I may not me refrayne
Myne herte and I so set is orayyn
We shal neuer slake but euer new begynn
For I reioyse the case that I am in

Delyuerd from sorow annexed to plesaunce
That all my ioy I set as aught of ryght
To please as after my symple suffisaunce
To me the goodlyest most beauteaus in sight
A very lantern to ye al other lyght
Most to my comfort euer her remembrance
Delyuerd from sorow annexed to plesaunce

Of all comfort havyng habundaunce
As whann that I thinke the goodlyhed
Of the most femyne and meke in countenaunce
Verray myrrour and ster of womanhed
Whos ryght good fame so large a brod doth spred
Ful glad to me to haue congnoissaunce
Of all comfort havyng habundaunce

Thys ioy and I I trust shall neuer twynn
So that I am so ferfurth in the trace
My ioyes ben dovbil wher other be but thynn
For I am stabely set in suche a place
Wher beaute oresith and euer welleth grace
Whiche is ful famous and borne of nobil kynn
Thys joy and I I trust shall neuer twynn

Finis quod Quene Elyzabeth

From Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson MS C.86 (OxRawl86 155'-156').
Textual Introduction

Generally secular in tone, the English lyrics contained in the Henry VIII MS chiefly reflect a lively and light court atmosphere, something which is captured at times in the scribal handling of materials (see Figure 6 [75]),\textsuperscript{146} and a court culture whose influence echoed from the public sphere associated with Henry VIII and his entourage into the more private court circles of Wyatt\textsuperscript{147} and others further removed from the centre of court activity.\textsuperscript{148}

In addition to containing four English incipits (gathered in Appendix I, p. 335 ff.), seventeen foreign lyrics and incipits (gathered in Appendix II, p. 340 ff.), and thirty-five instrumental pieces,\textsuperscript{149} the Henry VIII MS contains fifty-three lyrics in English of more than one line. This latter group includes:

1. Pastyme with good companye [Henry VIII], 14\textsuperscript{v}-15\textsuperscript{r}
2. Alas what shall I do for love [Henry VIII], 20\textsuperscript{v}-21\textsuperscript{r}
3. Alone I leffe alone [Cooper], 22\textsuperscript{r}
4. O my hart and o my hart [Henry VIII], 22\textsuperscript{v}-23\textsuperscript{r}
5. Adew adew my hartis lust [Cornish], 23\textsuperscript{v}-24\textsuperscript{r}
6. Aboffe all thynge [Farthing], 24\textsuperscript{v}

\textsuperscript{146} Figure 6 is the block capital from the second voice of Henry’s “HElas madam cel que ie me tani” (H 18\textsuperscript{v}-19\textsuperscript{r}; 343).

\textsuperscript{147} See, for example, those echoes of H (and later witnesses to texts contained in H) associated with the lyrics of those manuscripts closely associated with Wyatt’s work (LEge) and, also, the Shelton circle (LDev).

\textsuperscript{148} The best example of such dissemination is that of Henry’s “Pastyme with good companye” (H 14\textsuperscript{v}-15\textsuperscript{r}; 121).

\textsuperscript{149} Instrumental pieces and those lyrics in languages other than English are not the focus of this edition. The best treatment to date of these is found in Stevens M&P and Stevens MCH8.

Siemens, Henry VIII MS 75
7. Downbery down [Daggere], 25r
8. In may that lusty sesoun [Farthing], 26r
9. Whoso that wyll hym selft applye [Rysby], 27r-28r
10. The tyme of youthe is to be spent [Henry VIII], 28r-29r
11. The thowghtes within my brest [Farthing], 29r-30r
12. My loue schc morneth for me [Cornish], 30r-31r
13. A the syghes that cum fro my hart [Cornish], 32r-33r
14. With sorowfull syghs and greuos payne [Farthing], 33r-34r
15. Iff I had wytt for to endyght [Unattributed], 34r-35r
16. Alac alac what shall I do [Henry VIII], 35r
17. Hey nony nony nony nony no [Unattributed], 36r
18. Grene growith the holy [Henry VIII], 37r-38r
19. Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne [Henry VIII], 39r
20. Blow thi horme hunter [Cornish], 39r-40r
21. Adew corage adew [Cornish], 42r
22. Trolly lolly loly lo [Cornish], 43r-44r
23. I love trewly withowt feynyg [Farthing], 44r-45r
24. Yow and I and amyas [Cornish], 45r-46r
25. If love now reynyd as it hath bene [Henry VIII], 48r-49r
26. Wherto shuld I expresse [Henry VIII], 51r-52r
27. A robyn gentyl robyn [Comish AVyatt], 53r-54r
28. Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest [Cornish], 54r-55r
29. Thow that men do call it dotage [Henry VIII], 55r-56r
30. Departure is my chef payne [Henry VIII], 60r
31. I haue bene a foster [Cooper], 65r-66r
32. Fare well my Ioy and my swete hart [Cooper], 66r-68r
33. Withowt dyscord [Henry VIII], 68r-69r
34. I am a joly foster [Unattributed], 69r-71r
35. Though sum saith that yough rulyth me [Henry VIII, attributed], 71r-73r
36. MAdame damours [Unattributed], 73r-74r
37. Adew adew le company [Unattributed], 74r-75r
38. Deme the best of euery dowl [Lloyd], 79r
39. Hey troly loly loly [Unattributed], 80r
40. Whoso that wyll for grace sew [Henry VIII], 84r-85r
41. Let not vs that yongmen be [Unattributed, possibly Henry VIII], 87r-88r
42. Lusti yough shuld vs ensue [Henry VIII], 94r-97r
43. ENGlonde be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart [Unattributed], 100r-102r
44. Pray we to god that all may gyde [Unattributed], 103r
45. And I war a maydyn [Unattributed], 106r-107r
46. Why shall not I [Unattributed], 107r-108r
47. What remedy what remedy [Unattributed], 108r-110r
48. Wher be ye [Unattributed], 110r-112r
49. QUid petit o fily [Pygott], 112r-116r
50. My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble [Unattributed], 116r-120r
The details of each lyric, its presentation (including number of voices and other concerns), witnesses, ascription, and so forth, are discussed in the individual textual notes which accompany each edited lyric.

Authors and Composers

In keeping with the large number of works found in the Henry VIII MS, there are a number of composers (and authors) represented therein. Not all are native to England, and not all are known for their participation in the production of the early English lyric, but several are both. A generation of court composers working with the lyric that had not seen representation in the earlier Fayrfax MS (LFay, ca. 1500) have single examples of their work represented in H, excepting, of course, for this manuscript’s namesake, Fayrfax himself, whose “Svmwhat
musyng" is present \((H 120^r-122^r; 253)\). Among this group are Richard Pygott ("QUid petis o
fily" \([H 112^r-116^r; 249]\)), an occasional member of the Chapel Royal who rose from being a boy
singer in Wolsey's chapel to the position of master of that chapel;\(^{153}\) John Lloyd ("Deme the best
of euery dowt" \([H 79^r; 246]\)), a priest in the Chapel Royal ca. 1505 and, by 1510, a gentleman of
the Chapel;\(^{154}\) Henry Rysby ("Whoso that wyll hym selff applye" \([H 27^r-28^r; 244]\)), a clerk at
Eton ca. 1506-8;\(^{155}\) and William Daggere, who is represented by his work "Downbery down" \((H
25^r; 242)\).

The largest group of lyrics in \(H\) is provided by the king himself, who is the best represented
contributor with fifteen lyrics of more than one line, followed by that of William Cornish (nine),
Thomas Farthyng (five), and Robert Cooper (three).\(^{156}\) Of Henry, much is already known—his
role as lyricist and author are discussed in the chapter \textit{Henry VIII as Writer and Lyricist} (41
ff.)—but other figures which have a large place in \(H\) are less well known.

Cooper (ca. 1474 - ca. 1535-40), who is noted as \textit{Doctor} in \(H\),\(^{157}\) received the title of doctor
from Cambridge in 1507. With Farthing, he was a clerk at King’s College, Cambridge (1493-5)
and may have associations there with Cornish as well.\(^{158}\) After his ordination in 1498, Cooper

\(^{153}\) See Flood (34 ff.).

\(^{154}\) He is recorded at the funeral of Prince Henry in 1511 as "Mr. John Lloid" with the
other composers / gentlemen of the Chapel; see \textit{PRO LC} Vol. 550 (170*) and Grove (11: 99).

\(^{155}\) See the \textit{New Oxford History of Music} (347).

\(^{156}\) While each provides settings with their lyrics, and most are responsible for settings
without accompanying text, it is their texts that are the chief focus of this work.

\(^{157}\) His surname is prefixed by "D." (66', and elsewhere).

\(^{158}\) Their works appear together in an inventory of pricksong books belonging to King’s in
1529; see Harrison (iv).
was appointed rector of the chapel of Snodhill, Herefordshire (1498-1514) and of Lydiard Tregoz, Gloucestershire (1499-1513). While his extant works are few, they demonstrate a close allegiance with the life of the court and familiarity with the works of the king. Cooper’s “I haue bene a foster” (H 65v-66r; 232) suggests acquaintance with materials found in the Ritson MS (LRit), for it strongly echoes (textually and musically) the burden of the unattributed lyric “y haue ben a foster long and meney day” in that manuscript (53v); the matter of his own forester lyric receives answer in H in the unattributed “I am a joly foster” (H 69v-71r; 287). Moreover, the setting he provides to “In youth and age” (Twenty Songes, #2) accompanies a text that echoes some concerns expressed in Henry’s own lyrics; as well, Cooper may have also participated in the production of Rastell’s interlude of the Four Elements (ca. 1517) by providing “Tyme to pas with goodly sport,” a lyric that borrows its tune from Henry’s “Adew madam et ma mastress” (H 17r-18r, 342).

Farthing (d. 1520), whose ties with Cooper and Cornish may have begun through his association with King’s College, has an earlier association with King’s than either of the other two, having begun there as a chorister (1477-83) and later becoming clerk (1493-9). From 1500 onward, he was associated with the household of Margaret Beaufort, Henry VIII’s grandmother. Responsible for the education of Henry as a child, Margaret had brought John Skelton into her

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159 As well, the Archbishop of Canterbury granted Cooper in 1516 two benefices, that of East Horsley, Surrey and Latchington, Essex; he served as rector of Snargate, Kent from 1526 until his death ca. 1535-40. See Grove (5:14).

160 See Grove (5:14-15) and Stevens (M&P 258, 430 #6, 456 #326).
employ ca. 1494. Farthing’s “Abiffe all thynge” (H 24*, 218) is related to the celebrations in 1511 surrounding the birth of a male child to Henry and Katherine, and his first recorded presence as a member of the Chapel Royal is at that child’s funeral several weeks later.

Composers, musicians, and singing-men all, and for the most part associated with Henry’s personal chapel, Cooper, Farthing and the others participated in the cultural life of the court as the professionals they were, chiefly through performance and composition. Taken together, this group’s involvement with the lyric of the day may be seen to be musical only; in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it must be assumed that they participated in lyrical production according to the patterns of the day, which suggest a separation for the most part of the tasks of verse and musical composition. There are, however, two exceptions, and these are the prominent figures of Cornish and Henry VIII. Of Henry, there is a considerable amount to say in this regard; for such a discussion, refer to the section “Authorial Evidence in the Henry VIII MS, and the

161 1494 marks the beginnings of a large output of didactic works and translations by Skelton (covered in an article in progress by the author). A payment was given to “my lady the kingse moder poete” on 3-4 December 1497; refer to PRO E/101/414-16 and H. Edwards (Skelton 288); Henry VII gave Skelton a payment after attending Skelton’s mass (see PRO E/101/412-16 [November 11-16, 1498]; Nelson 71); as schoolmaster, Skelton received two payments in 1502 (PRO E/101/415-3; H. Edwards, Skelton 288-9). For a discussion of Skelton as Prince Henry’s chaplain in 1500, see Kinney (34). It may have been Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and chaplain and confessor to Margaret, who brought Skelton to her attention (H. Edwards, Skelton 56).

162 PRO LC Vol. 550 (170°). In the same year, Henry also granted Farthing two manors in Northamptonshire for his service to Margaret Beaufort, as well as an annuity; see Grove (6:410) and the New Oxford History of Music (346-7).

163 Cooper, for example, would provide the music for “Petyously constraynd am I” (LR58 19°) a text provided, likely, by Skelton; see Stevens (M&P 451, #261), the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature (1.410), and Henderson’s edition of Skelton’s works (19). For the details of such production, please refer to the chapter entitled Interpretative Provinces and Sites of Authorisation (13 ff.).
Ascription of Works to Henry VIII” (33 ff.).

Of Cornish (ca. 1474-1523), there is also a considerable amount to say, for his career sees him as poet, dramatist, revels organiser, participant, and deviser, composer, and performer. The most prominent member of a musical family with an often overlapping history that included the composer John (fl. ca. 1500) and the musician William (d. 1502), Cornish made his earliest court appearance ca. 1493-4, when he offered a prophecy to the court and participated, in the role of St. George, in Twelfth Night revels. He became a member of the Henry VII’s Chapel Royal in 1494 and by ca. 1495, and certainly no later than ca. 1502, he was setting to music texts written by Skelton. By 1504, he is known to have authored a poetic work for which he would become known, like Skelton, as a satirical poet; Stow, in his Annales, mentions him as such (488).

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164 John, who has a piece in the Ritson MS (LRit; see Stevens M&P 338), may have been the father of Cornish, as some extant records suggest; alternatively, William may be the father of Cornish, as attribution of several works in the Fayrfax MS (LFay 64*, and others) to a William Cornish “iun” suggest. Grove (4.795-6) provides a good summary of the lives of the three, though that provided by Streitberger (Court Revels 50-3) is to be preferred for its detail and its weighing of the extant evidence. Details presented are, in part, drawn from these sources; see also the New Oxford History of Music (345) and Pine (19-20).

165 He received payment for an unspecified service as “a Willmo Cornysshe de Rege,” (PRO E403/2558 [41*]). See Streitberger (Court Revels 51).

166 An entry of 6 January 1494 refers to him as “oon of the kyngys Chappell” (London, Guildhall Library MS 3,313 [230*]).

167 See, for example, “Manerly Margery Mylk and Ale,” dated ca. 1495 (Kinsman and Yonge 11, C37) and present in the Fayrfax MS (LFay) of several years later, set by Cornish (96*-99). “Woefully araid” (Skelton, Garlande of Laurel ll. 1418-9; Kinsman and Yonge 32-3, L118; attributed to Skelton by Dyce (see p. 21 n. in this edition), is also found in the Fayrfax MS (LFay) set once Cornish (63*-67) and once by Browne (73*-77). Others of Skelton’s works (certainly works in the Skeltonic tradition) are present in the Fayrfax MS (LFay); see Stevens (M&P 351 ff., notes).
for his rhymes that address Richard Empson, which include that found in his “A Treatis bitwene
Trowthe and enformacon” (1504) and his later “A Balade of Empson” (ca. 1510).168

Cornish also devised pageants and disguisings for the celebrations surrounding the marriage of
Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon (1501),169 provided the setting for a carol during the
Christmas season of 1502,170 and by 1509 was Master of the Children for Henry VIII’s Chapel
Royal. From the middle of the first decade of the sixteenth century he was the major driving force
behind the players of the Chapel Royal, acting in many of their productions, and by 1514-16 he
was devising revels at court in association with Henry Guildford.171 Of those many entertainments
with which he was associated, it is thought that he provided the song “Yow and I and amyas” (H
45v-46v; 199) to accompany the Schatew Vert pageant of 5 March 1522 which, along with Henry
Guildford and Richard Gibson, he likely helped organise;172 he did author an interlude, played on
Twelfth Night 1516, called Troylus and Pandor,173 as well as the political play of 15 June 1522
which was intended to convey to Charles V the path of the negotiations for an alliance against the

168 “A Treatis bitwene Trowthe and enformacon” (BL Harleian MS 43 [88'-91']), BL
Royal MS’ 18.D.ii [163'-164']) was written during Cornish’s imprisonment in 1504. His “A
Balade of Empson” (London, Guildhall Library 3313 [320'-323v]), which begins “O
myshchevous M, Fyrst syllable of thy name,” is found in the Great Chronicle of London; see
Thomas and Thornley, eds. For a discussion of each, and their relation to Empson, see Anglo’s
“William Cornish in a Play, Pageants, Prison, and Politics.”

169 Cornish was paid £20 “for his iij pagenttes” (PRO E101/415/3 [72”]).

170 PRO E36/210 (80).

171 See Streitberger (Court Revels 53, 94-5) and Grove (4:795).

172 See Streitberger (Court Revels 112-4), Anglo (“Evolution of the Early Tudor
Disguising” 34), L&P Henry VIII (III[iii] 1558-9), PRO SP1/29 (228'-37v), and Hall (637).

173 This is no longer extant; see Stevens (M&P 251; 263 n.65, 67), Anglo’s “William
Cornish in a Play, Pageants, Prison, and Politics,” PRO E 36/229 (72'-82’), and Hall (583).
French into which he and Henry VIII would enter.\textsuperscript{174}

\textit{Description}

The manuscript itself is vellum (12 by 8.25 inches, 309 by 211 millimetres), with some paper additions as the result of its rebinding in 1950. \textit{H} was obtained by the British Museum in its original bindings; these are wood, covered with leather with a design characterised by roses, fleur-de-lis, and tooling; the covers measure 13 by 8.5 inches, and were once held together by two clasps, now missing. The effect of the cover design is a double-ruled and centred square, in which a series of diamonds are created by diagonal tooling; each of the full diamonds in the centre of the cover contains a fleur-de-lis, while the remaining divisions contain roses. The tools used on the binding have been identified as belonging to a binder operating in London \textit{ca.} 1520-3.\textsuperscript{175} As it currently exists, it is bound in modern covers of maroon leather on boards and consists of the following:

1. One paper page (modern addition).

2. Two vellum sheets, chiefly blank save for the latter, which has written in the bottom right corner of the recto of it “Purch’d. of B Quaritch, / 22 April 1882.” These are original and, while unnumbered, match in composition and wear those numbered ff.

\textsuperscript{174} See Streitberger (\textit{Court Revels} 115), Anglo (“William Cornish” 357-60), \textit{L&P Henry VIII} (III[ii] #2305), \textit{Cal. Spanish} (II #437), Hall (641), and \textit{PRO SP1/24} (231\textsuperscript{r}, 234\textsuperscript{r}-6\textsuperscript{r}); for Cornish’s entertainment for Charles V on 5 June, see Streitberger (\textit{Court Revels} 114), Hall (637), \textit{PRO SP1/24} (230\textsuperscript{r}-3\textsuperscript{r}).

\textsuperscript{175} Identified and classified by Oldham, there are eight roses (\textit{Bindings} #1034, \textit{Shrewsbury #75}, A.viii.10[2]), and four fleurs-de-lis (\textit{Bindings} #1055, \textit{Shrewsbury #74}, A.viii.10[1]). Please see also the evidence that the bindings lend to the dating of the manuscript, below.
129 and 130, listed below as 5(iv).

3. One paper page (modern addition, containing a list of printed texts and notices of this manuscript).

4. One paper page, an addition containing the remains of two paper bookplates,
   (i) of "Thomas Fuller: M: D," with "Stephen Fuller of / Hart Street, Bloomsbury / 1762" written in ink above the arms of Thomas Fuller, and
   (ii) of "The Right Honourable / Archibald Earl of Eglinton."

5. One hundred and thirty vellum sheets comprising the original manuscript. These are comprised of sixteen gatherings generally of 8 leaves each, though the first gathering is of ten; i⁰ lacks the tenth leaf (a stub remains), and xvi⁸ lacks the first leaf (for which a stub remains as well). The front fly leaf and the end-pages (ff. 129-30) are additional to these gatherings.¹⁷⁶ The physical contents of the manuscript are as below:
   (i) 1'-2': blank, except for some extra-scribal markings (noted below).
   (ii) 2'-3': a numbered (arabic) index of works in the manuscript, listing only pieces having original ink numbering in the manuscript itself, and inaccurate after number 49.
   (iii) 3'-128': 109 pieces, of which 74 are lyrics set to music (with at least a title or incipit provided; see p. 75, above, for a listing of English lyrics of more than one line, and the appendices for other lyrical pieces) and 35 are settings with no words; these run continuously, except for blank faces left on 43', 97' (which is blank, but ruled for music), and 102'; there are

¹⁷⁶ I wish to thank Patricia Basing (BL) for confirming the quiring of H for me.
occasional extra-scribal markings (noted below).

(iv) 128\textsuperscript{v}-130\textsuperscript{v}: blank, save for some extra-scribal markings (noted below), and a pencilled account of the manuscript (dated 1882) on 129\textsuperscript{v}; ff. 129 and 130 match in composition and wear the first two vellum sheets in the manuscript (noted above).

6. One paper page (modern addition) containing the manuscript's record of treatment.

Foliations 1 through 130 are numbered in pencil in the top exterior corner of the recto face, with an older pagination of 1 (2\textsuperscript{r}) through 251 (128\textsuperscript{r}) in the top exterior corner on both recto and verso; this pagination is erroneous and is largely erased or crossed out. As well, there is an original ink numbering, roman numerals i-lxxii, of works in the manuscript, typically appearing in the top centre of the recto of the sheet after which a work begins (this, typically on the verso); these almost exclusively enumerate those works with fully-completed lyrics, matching those listed in the index on 2\textsuperscript{v}-3\textsuperscript{r}.

The manuscript shows evidence of five scribal hands, none identifiable\textsuperscript{177} employed in its copying, in a complex deployment\textsuperscript{178}: A (2\textsuperscript{r}, 3\textsuperscript{r} [final line], 3\textsuperscript{r}-14\textsuperscript{r}, 18\textsuperscript{r}, 21\textsuperscript{v}-25\textsuperscript{v}, 26\textsuperscript{v}-89\textsuperscript{v}, 90\textsuperscript{r}-124\textsuperscript{v}), B (14\textsuperscript{r}-17\textsuperscript{r}, 18\textsuperscript{r}-21\textsuperscript{r}), C (26\textsuperscript{r}, 119\textsuperscript{r}-120\textsuperscript{r} [correcting and augmenting A], 124\textsuperscript{v}-128\textsuperscript{r}), D (90\textsuperscript{r}), and E (3\textsuperscript{r})\textsuperscript{179}. The differentiation of A and B relies chiefly on the evidence of the texts of the lyrics alone.

\textsuperscript{177} I should note explicitly that none appear to be Henry VIII's own.

\textsuperscript{178} This is a more complex deployment than has been previously suggested. Greene identifies three hands in five groups of foliations (Early English Carols 333) while Stevens, building on Greene's work, differs only in noting the inclusion of a fourth on 90\textsuperscript{r} (M&P 386).

\textsuperscript{179} E may also be the hand which has made two corrections to 2\textsuperscript{v}. 
for their musical notation is nearly identical; this suggests the possibility that textual entry and
musical notation were separated as scribal activities. The contents of the manuscript are listed by
A (2r, 3r [final line, "I love vnlovid"] and E (3r), urging the possibility that the penultimate lyric "I
loue vnloued suche is myn adueurture" (H 122v-124r; 328) was added slightly later than others
listed in the contents; this, coupled with the prominence of A’s hand throughout, suggests A’s
role in the production of the manuscript as more than a copyist. The final lyric, "Hey troly loly lo"
(H 124v-128r; 330; copied by C), does not appear in the list of contents and is, as with "I loue
vnloued suche is myn adueurture," likely also a slightly later addition; this, and further
consideration of C’s corrections and additions to both the lyrics and the music first written by A
on ff. 119v-120v, suggests C’s involvement in the later history of the manuscript’s compilation in
an editorial capacity in addition to his scribal function. Scribe D’s work, which consists of a
music-only piece on 90v, may be a later addition as well, for it employs an ink similar to that used
for the additions and corrections by C.

Extra-scribal markings occur infrequently, though not altogether uncommonly, and are chiefly
gathered on the sheets which surround the manuscript proper, as follows:

(i) 1v: near the centre on the top is written, in a sixteenth-century hand, "henricus dei gr[aci]a
Rex Anglie."

(ii) 2v: what appears possibly to be a large capital "R" with an extended flourish, in the top
centre of the sheet.

(iii) 3v: (a) in the top left corner, the name of “Stephen Fuller” in ink; (b) as well, in pencil, the

180 These corrections and additions are also in an ink used for lyrics by C alone (on 124v-
128v as well), and by D for the musical piece on 90v.
incipit for the piece which begins on this page is given as “[B]enedictus”.

(iv) 55r: (a) in the top right corner is written “henr” in ink and in a sixteenth century hand; (b) the same, “henr,” in the same ink and hand, next to the sixth line of text; and (c) on the same line as the attribution of the piece, in a different hand and in fainter ink than the other markings on this page, “William Cornysh” is written in a sixteenth century hand and rubbed out partially.

(v) 125r-127r: several markings, approximately “t,” (a) occurring one third the way down the left margin of 125r, (b) half way down the right margin of 126r, and (c) one third the way down the left margin of 126r. Other markings occur (d) two thirds of the way down the left margin of 126r, and (e), on 127r, at the top of the left margin and half way down the leaf in the same margin.

(vi) 129r: (a) some pen practice, written sideways, downwards on the page from the top right corner, “th f i g y th”; in a different hand, centred near the top of the page, “Ser John Leed in the parische of benynden / Vynsent Wydderden ys an onest man so sayeth / Nycolas Bonden cuius est contrarium verum est.”

(vii) 130r: in several different hands, (a) near the top right are two smudged pieces of writing, one, running as the pen practice on the previous sheet, and illegible and, the other, “Wydderden”; below this, (b) reads “Vynsent Wydderden ys a [ ]nee[ ]”; below this, (c), written as α above, reads “Dauye Jonys ys a [ ]nee[ ]”; to the right of α, (d) reads “John . . .” as well as other smudged words, including what appears to be “Thomas”; below this, (e)
reads “Syr John Lede” in parishe of Benenden / Leed in parishe Thomas” and directly above this last word “Benynden”; below this, (f) reads “Dauey Jonys in the paryshe of Benynden / ys an onest man so sayeth . . .”; lastly, (g) on the lower right section of the page, running horizontally, “Jane Reve of the paryshe of Mownfeld”.

The manuscript is chiefly in black ink, though slight variations in inking occur throughout, most notably on 90’ (hand D, slightly darker), and 119’-120’ (in hand C, as on 124’-128’, though A and C are both present on these sheets) and 124’-128’ (hand C, slightly darker). Other colours—red, blue, and gold (gilding)—are employed for initials. Typically, initials are block style, stretching the height of both the musical staff and the space left for the text below. There are exceptions and, at times, blank spaces have been left in the manuscript for such initials and remain unfilled.

The Date of the Manuscript

As one of only three remaining early Tudor songbooks, the Henry VIII MS is also surely the latest. The Ritson MS (LRit), containing a version of Henry’s “Pastyme with good companye”

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181 This may, possibly, be read as “Berde,” as have Chappell (Account 385), Greene (Early English Carols 334), and Stevens (M&P 386); though the only possible trace of this is what looks to be an abbreviated form of this surname. It is also likely that the smudged letter which follow d, “John,” on this page could at one time have recognisably read “Berde.”

182 At the time of my examination, the smudging was such that I have here relied on the remarks of the British Museum’s original cataloguer. (Mountfield is in county Sussex.)

183 Previous discussions of the manuscript’s dating occur in Stevens (MCH8 xvii; M&P 4) and Chappell (“Unpublished Collection” 383-4).
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 89

(H 14'-15'; 121) with the heading of “The Kynges Ballade” (141'), is dated ca. 1510; the Fayrfax MS (LFay) in which “Svmwhat musyng” (H 120'-122', LFay 33'-35'; 253) is found, itself associated with Prince Arthur’s court shortly before his marriage to Katherine of Aragon, is dated ca. 1500-1. The best date which can be accurately assigned the Henry VIII MS is ca. 1522, though the majority of its contents are clearly earlier.

Some have placed the lyrics from the manuscript as late as the 1530s. Jungman, for example, has linked Henry’s “Pastyme with good companye” to the state of affairs that existed between the King, Anne Boleyn, and Thomas Wyatt in 1530, and a version of “A robyn gentyl robyn” (H 53'-54'; 205), attributed to Wyatt in the later Devonshire (LDev) and Egerton (LEge) MSS, is set by Cornish in H. Such a late date, however, runs contrary to the evidence provided by the manuscript itself.

The latest date for manuscript composition may be set to that of its binding, ca. 1520-3 in London. This is established by tracing the implements used in creating the design on the manuscript’s leather cover. There are eight roses (Oldham, Bindings #1034; Shrewsbury #75, A.viii.10[2]), and four fleurs-de-lis (Oldham, Bindings #1055; Shrewsbury #74, A.viii.10[1]); the

184 Stevens (M&P 338).

185 Stevens (M&P 351).

186 The first textual witness of “Pastyme with good companye” (H 14'-15'; 121) the Ritson MS (LRit), suggests it existence some two decades earlier than Wyatt’s treatment of it; see Siemens (“Thomas Wyatt, Anne Boleyn, and Henry VIII’s Lyric”). “A robyn gentyl robyn” (H 53'-54'; 205) as it appears in LDev and LEge may possibly be more a transcription on the part of Wyatt (LDev 22') and adaptation (LDev 24'; LEge 37') of what appears in H than an actual reflection of Wyatt’s input in H; see the textual notes to the lyric in this edition, Mumford (“Musical Settings to the Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt”), and Stevens (M&P 111; MCH8 xvii-xviii).
tools that created these designs were used in London by a binding shop identified (but not named) by Oldham. The same fleur-de-lis and roses as those used on H are employed in a similar pattern on Lambeth 94.B.3 (Lyons, 1523) which, in turn, shares a roll design (Oldham, Bindings #878, RCA[1]) with Lambeth 18.D.12 (Basle, 1520).\textsuperscript{187} The same fleur-de-lis is also found on BL Additional MS 34,807,\textsuperscript{188} as well, as noted by Oldham, the rose is used in conjunction with roll #892 (Bindings RPa[1]; London 1523).\textsuperscript{189}

While helping to establish an approximate end-date, information associated with the binding of H does not assist greatly with its precise dating, for it is possible that the tools employed in the design on the bindings of H were in use several years before or after the binding and decoration of H.\textsuperscript{190} Moreover, manuscript evidence suggests the likelihood that H saw circulation and use prior to its binding; as one might expect, H shows evidence of trimming after materials were copied into it but, more unusually, trimming appears to have occurred after some marginalia indicative of its use had been entered.\textsuperscript{191} Circulation in such a state may help explain the presence in H of the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Lam\textperiodcentered\textperiodcenteredbath 18.D.12 contains Archbishop Cranmer's name and arms.
\item BL Additional MS 34,807 is a gathering of theological tracts and others relating chiefly to English church history of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, which was owned by Robert Johnson (d. 1559; an acquaintance of Cranmer’s [see DNB 30.26]; see also Catalogue 1894-1899 93-5).
\item I wish to thank Phillipa Marks (British Library) for her assistance in examining the markings on H, and for her allowing me to see partial notes from Oldham’s files.
\item Given standard patterns of wear for such tools, it is conceivable that binding may have occurred several years prior to \textit{ca.} 1520-3, or several years afterwards.
\item See, for example, see “Hey troly loly lo” (H 124'-128'; 330)—likely a later addition to H, in the hand of C—specifically 126' on which, two thirds the way down the page in the left margin, the furthest-most-left letter of its marginalia has been severed by trimming. There are also several reader’s marks in the same ink indicative of use.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
name of John Lede—a man associated with the Church of St. George in Benenden, Kent, ca. 1518 and afterward—on 130°, the contents of which appear unaffected by trimming and the location and wear of which suggest its place as the original end sheet.

Whether bound in leather or with vellum end sheets, H appears to have been in circulation some time after ca. 1518. Evidence provided by the lyrics themselves is further suggestive, both urging an earlier date than that of binding to be considered for the majority of the lyrics contained in H, but also establishing a date before which the manuscript could not have been copied in full.

While some of the English lyrics, such as “Svwwhat musyng” (H 120°-122°; 253), hail from before 1500, and several of the instrumental compositions of Henry VIII can be placed quite shortly after the turn of the century, references in several lyrics by Henry and other authors point to events early in, and throughout, the first decade of Henry’s reign. The festivities that celebrated the birth of a prince on New Year’s Day 1511 are reflected in “Adew adew le company” (H 74°-75°; 294). The songs “ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart” (H 100°-102°; 305) and “Pray we to god that all may gyde” (H 103°; 307) encourage assistance to the King against the French with reference to Henry’s 1513 invasion of France. Moreover, aspects of

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192 Noted as “Syr John Lede in parisle of Benenden” (130°). Lede’s will, registered 30 November 1518, bequeaths an undisclosed amount “to the bying of a mas boke to serue in the churche of Benynden . . .” and requests burial in the churchyard of St. George (Wills and Administrations . . . Canterbury PRC 17: roll 14: f. 239°). Lede’s name also appears once on 129°.

193 Other names associated with that of Lede are untraceable.

194 See Fallows (“Henry VIII as Composer”).

195 Moreover, scribal references to Robert Cooper identify him as “D.”, Doctor (66′, and elsewhere), a degree he received from Cambridge in 1507.
Henry’s lyrics are echoed in the *Interlude of Youth*, itself dated between August 1513 and May 1514.\(^{196}\)

The last occasions to which lyrics in *H* can be matched, however, suggest a date for the ultimate compilation of *H* no earlier than mid-1522. Cornish’s “Yow and I and amyas” (*H* 45*-46*; 199) appears, by its allegorised characters and their described interaction, to be directly associated with the *Schatew Vert* court pageant-disguising held 5 March 1522; lines in “What remedy what remedy” (*H* 108*-110*; 315) also reflect the devices employed by Anthony Browne and Henry VIII, and Browne’s motto as well, at the tournament of 2 March 1522 associated with the *Schatew Vert* pageant. Moreover, but more speculatively, Flood (64-5) assigns Cooper’s “I haue bene a foster” (*H* 65*-66*; 232) to the play presented by Cornish at Windsor, 15 June 1522; the unattributed “I am a joly foster” (*H* 69*-71*; 287) is a clear and immediate answer to Cooper’s lyric, thus suggesting the possibility of a similar association as, perhaps, with Cornish’s “Blow thi hornne hunter” (*H* 39*-40*; 188).\(^{197}\)

*The Provenance of the Manuscript*

The early history of the *Henry VIII MS* itself is difficult to establish, but a reasonable (if conjectural) provenance can be suggested for it, prior to its possession in the eighteenth century by Thomas Fuller, M.D. As William Chappell first put forward, it is most likely that the

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\(^{196}\) See Lancashire (ed.) for the interlude’s references to Henry’s own lyrics (54-4, and 91 n. 217); for the dating of *Youth*, see also Lancashire (18).

\(^{197}\) For documentation to these arguments, please refer to the *General Commentary* associated with the individual lyrics.
manuscript was removed from the courtly circles in which it originated to Benenden in Kent, as is documented by the extra-scribal markings on 129r-130r. The manuscript, as Chappell also advanced, may have made its way to Kent on one of the frequent royal visits to the seat of the Guildford family, the manor of Helmsted in Benenden; while Chappell mistakenly asserts that the manuscript was the property of Henry VIII, the basic tenets of his argument are sound and, in acknowledgment of the issue of ownership posed by Chappell, John Stevens has pointed to the possibility that the manuscript was commissioned by Henry Guildford, comptroller to Henry VIII’s household (see Figure 7 [94], M&P 386). Such suggestions are well made, for there is much to confirm Guildford’s strong presence in the activities represented by the manuscript, and to allow for its passage from immediate court circles to his family’s seat (held by his brother, Edward, also a friend to the king) in Benenden.

As materials for a history of Henry Guildford suitable to our purposes are unavailable in a collected form, and some are in manuscript alone, they are rehearsed here. By Henry VII’s accession, the Guildford family had been settled in Kent and Sussex for some eight generations and, for several generations before Henry Guildford’s service to the king, they had served as comptrollers to royal households. Henry was the third son to Sir Richard Guildford (ca. 1455-1506), a man who rose under Henry VII to become master of the ordnance, armory, and horse, as

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198 See “Unpublished Collection” (385-6), as well as Stevens (M&P 386).

199 “Unpublished Collection” (371).

200 See DNB (viii.770 ff.).
well as comptroller of the household. In his several roles, Richard had much to do with courtly

\[201\] See *DNB* (viii: 772), *Cal. Patent Rolls* (21 Henry VII, 1:30), and *Rolls of Parl.* (vi.461). Henry's grandfather, Sir John Guildford, was comptroller of the household to Edward IV.
entertainments, including the jousts for which he was granted the royal manor at Kennington by Henry VII,\textsuperscript{202} here, in 1501, Guildford hosted the newly-arrived Katherine of Aragon,\textsuperscript{203} whose welcoming pageant (the “Receyt”) he was instrumental in arranging as well.\textsuperscript{204} Richard appears to have had quite a large library, and was himself commemorated in a work dealing with the trip that led to his death (1506), the \textit{Pylgryme of Sir Richarde Guylforde}.\textsuperscript{205}

It was by Richard’s second wife, Jane,\textsuperscript{206} that Henry was born in 1489. Jane was at one time a member of Princess Mary’s household and, between 1497 and 1505, was in attendance on the young Prince Henry (b. 1491) as nurse;\textsuperscript{207} as well, one of Richard’s functions, on occasion, was to ...
take charge of the royal children.  

By the time of the 1509 accession, Henry Guildford was already a member of Henry VIII’s personal household, having been so while the new King was still a prince; being contemporaries and, at some times, under the same charge of Jane, we might say that they grew up together. Guildford was the only member of this household, after the accession, to enter the circle of Henry’s good friends, which itself included Charles Brandon, Edward Howard, Thomas Knyvet, and Guildford’s eldest brother, Edward. During the early years of Henry’s reign, Henry Guildford was often the Master of Revels for court entertainments, appearing in them with a frequency surpassed by few others; Guildford also signed the articles of challenge on the second day of the tournament celebrating the birth of Henry’s son in 1511. Knighted 30 March 1512, Guildford saw frequent advancement by Henry, commanding a force of his own in the 1513 invasion of France, and being honored with the office of the royal standard-bearer; he is also documented as participating in the festivities of that year at the court of Margaret of Austria.

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208 See, for example, a letter from Guildford to Reginald Bray (undated, but prior to 1503), in which Guildford states that “ye wer yesterday gone or y cowde speke with yow for the kynge comandedde me to wayte on the prynses tyll ye wer gonne” (qtd. in Hooker, 124 n.53).

209 See Gunn (Charles Brandon 7); along with Charles Brandon, Guildford was a frequent recipient of gifts of clothing from the king (L&P Henry VIII I[i].888, 1144; BL Additional Charters 7925; BL Egerton 3025 f. 26*).

210 During these years, Guildford is the figure most often recorded masquing with the king; only Edward Nevill and the Earl of Essex had a greater frequency of appearance (Gunn, Charles Brandon 7-8).

211 With Charles Brandon, later Duke of Suffolk, he led a ship and squadron in the naval war with France preceding the land campaign of 1513 (L&P Henry VIII I[i].1661[4], ii.3608; Hall 534), and after the deaths of Edward Howard and Knyvet assumed some of their offices.
Regent of the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{212} In later years, he would receive letters from Erasmus in praise of the English court (1519), would attend the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520), and accompany Wolsey to the conferences in Calais in 1521; he would also remain a loyal and faithful friend and servant to the king, but would decline in courtly favor over the matter of the king’s divorce \textit{ca.} 1531, an event that would lead to his retiring from court that year to Benenden, where he died the following year.

While not in possession of the family seat—this was held by his brother, Edward, as with much of the family inheritance\textsuperscript{213}—Guildford had enjoyed a level of exposure to the king enjoyed by very few others. Edward, several years senior to his youngest brother and the young king (and, hence, not so close a member of prince Henry’s household), would succeed his father in the Sargent of Armature under Henry VII and VIII,\textsuperscript{214} but would not rise as high, nor have a presence so close to the king for as long as his youngest brother.

In addition to Guildford’s participation in the revels, entertainments, and jousts during the

\textsuperscript{212} For a brief discussion of these festivities, see p. 69 (n).

\textsuperscript{213} Richard’s will favoured his half brothers, Edward and George; Edward would inherit the bulk of the estate, George a small homestead, and Henry was to be slimly provided for (£5 annually, until the passing of his mother); the will is abstracted by Hooker (24 ff).

\textsuperscript{214} The first of these is the jousts at Richmond in March of 1506 (see \textit{PRO} E.36/214 f. 49'). As Hooker notes, the office of the armoury “appears to have been designed to fulfill certain personal wishes of the monarch” (85); as master, Richard and, later, Edward Guildford “was responsible for the smooth functioning of those frequent spectacles and ceremonies” (85); its association was quite clearly with the household (88). As sargent of the armoury, Richard Guildford presided over the the ceremonies associated with the christening of Prince Arthur (1487; \textit{BL MS Cotton Julius} B.XII f. 22') and, as comptroller of the royal household, those in relation to the creation of Prince Henry as Duke of York (1494; \textit{BL MS Cotton Julius} B.XII f. 91'), and was present at both the funerals of Henry VII’s third son, Edmund (\textit{PRO} L.C.2/1 f. 4'), and wife Elizabeth (\textit{PRO} L.C.2/1 f. 64").
early years of Henry’s reign, his role as master of revels, and so forth, it is the level of close
familiarity that Guildford had with the king, from the time of the first years of both their lives to
the end of Guildford’s, that remains the best argument for his participation in the production of
the Henry VIII MS. At every identifiable event represented in the manuscript—the 1511
festivities surrounding the birth of a son, the 1513 war with France and, likely, the entertainments
of the same year with the court of Margaret of Austria,\textsuperscript{215} and events of 1522 as well—and those
that are more generic; the works of $H$, for example, that suggest their part among the pageants,
interludes, and other entertainments and court pastimes—one finds or can presume the
participation of Guildford, because of his formal courtly role and his association with the king.
Unlike the roles of other figures who are associated and identified with the court activities
represented in $H$, that of Guildford can, in addition to explaining $H$’s remove to Benenden, also
help explain the presence in $H$ of many of the poorer and more amateurish musical settings of
Henry’s foreign lyrics. As described by Fallows in his “Henry VIII as Composer,” pieces such as
“Gentyl prince de renom” ($H$ 47'-48'; 356) and “HElas madam cel que ie me tant” ($H$ 18'-19';
343) demonstrate the mediating influence and interaction of a tutor (30-1), and were likely
completed in the few years just after 1500 (35). Guildford, as we know, was a member of prince
Henry’s household at this time and, while several members of Henry’s Chapel Royal ca. 1510-15

\textsuperscript{215} One argument for this, though not pursued in this work, is the high proportion of
foreign works appearing in the Henry VIII MS which have their witness in in Margaret of
Austria’s personal chanson albums of roughly the same time (Brussels Bibliothèque Royale de
Belgique 11239 & 228). In this group are works by the composers Agricola, Compère, Isaac,
Obrecht, van Ghizeghem, and Prioris; please refer to Appendices I and II.
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 99

may have been involved with Henry’s tutelage, the Henry VIII MS is not a document akin to what was produced in such circles.

H, rather, appears very much a document of the highest courtly circles, intended for a noble amateur (as its decoration and size suggests) closely connected with Henry’s own childhood and youth, his courtly entertainments and dalliances, and the happenstances of court in a way that is suggestive, chiefly, of the role of Henry Guildford as its commissioner and earliest owner.

One might also note that the circumstances of William Cornish warrant his consideration as the commissioner and, perhaps, owner of H as well. He is the second most represented composer in the manuscript, was almost as active as Guildford in the aspects of courtly life represented by the contents of H (including their joint involvement in the events which mark, temporally, the latest entries into H), and who retired to Hylden, Kent just before his death in 1523. But, again, the nature of H suggests that its commissioner and owner would be of the gentry.

The passage of H from this point forward to its possession by Thomas Fuller (1654-1734) of

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216 As may have those musicians associated with Henry’s household when prince, though they do not have a strong presence in either H or Henry’s household and Chapel Royal when king. These include Steven Delalaund, Pety John, and Hakenet Delmers (PRO LC Vol. 550, 74r; recording their presence at the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1503/4), only one of which, Delalaund, appears to have moved into Henry’s household when king (PRO LC Vol. 550 fol. 124v; recording the 1509 death of Henry VII).

217 For example, LR58, a document of smaller proportions and much less ornamentation, is the type of manuscript produced by such circles.

218 It should be noted that two composers represented in H, Cooper and Cornish, had ties to Kent, though not to Benenden in particular. Cooper was rector of Snargate in Kent from 1526 to his death (Grove 5:14); Cornish, master of the Chapel Royal and unarguably its most active member in court entertainments, was granted the manor of Hylden in Kent in 1523, though only months prior to his death (Grove 4:795).
Seven Oaks, Kent, is quite unclear, but details from that point forward can be recounted with a much greater degree of certainty. From Thomas Fuller it passed ca. 1762 to Stephen Fuller of Hart Street, Bloomsbury. It next was possessed by Archibald Montgomery, the 11th Earl of Eglinton (1726-96). By the marriage of Montgomery’s daughter and heiress, Mary, it was transferred to Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb (d. 1860) of Beauport Park, Sussex. Through the firm of Quaritch it was sold by the daughter of Mary Montgomery and Lamb to the British Museum, 22 April 1882.

Language

*H* is a court-based song book—a musical miscellany capturing the diverse tastes of the early Tudor court under Henry VIII—and, as such, reflects the work of a number of authors and composers, as well as that of the scribes who produced the document, presumably in London where it was compiled ca. 1522 and bound shortly thereafter. The dialectic forms of English

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219 For Fuller’s possession, refer to the bookplate noted in the Description, above (4[i]). While it is unclear how the manuscript passed from the hands of its commissioner and earliest owner into those of Fuller, this passage may be connected with the great fire of 1672 at the Church of St. George in Benenden which completely destroyed the church and, presumably, forced the movement of some of its holdings; for the details of this fire, see Haslewood (xxi, 167-75).

220 These are well-documented in Chappell (“Unpublished Collection” 386), Stevens (*M&P* 386-7), Hamm (65), and British Library (*Catalogue of Additions . . . 1822-1887* 9).

221 “Stephen Fuller of / Hart Street, Bloomsbury / 1762” is written above the bookplate of Thomas Fuller, and in the top left corner of 3’ one finds the name of “Stephen Fuller” in ink; while no relation has been able to be established, presumably there is some.

222 See his bookplate, described above (4[ii]).

223 See Description, above (item 2).
found in this miscellaneous collection, as one might expect in a document of this nature produced in London at this time and intended for courtly circles, are not such that any one regional influence is betrayed, save that of the dialectic melting-pot that London had become by this time.224

The Principles of this Edition

The text of this edition is based directly upon that found in the Henry VIII MS and textual witnesses contemporary to H. Witnesses are noted with each individual lyric; no editions later than the Renaissance period have been collated, though these are catalogued in the notes accompanying the lyrics, as are references to the individual lyrics in standard indexes.

Each lyric is presented in two forms: old spelling and modernised. In the old spelling version, scribal spellings are maintained throughout and the original pointing unaltered. Though contractions are expanded and archaic letters replaced by their modern equivalents (both of these are indicated by italics), original word forms and word divisions are retained in all but extreme and awkward cases. Pointing and abbreviations (even those that are expanded) are collated as accidentals, and pointing marked by the caret in subscript, as follows:

While modernised texts cannot hope to capture the range and accuracy of expression found in the original, they are here presented in a form keeping with accepted scholarly methods and standards for work of the period. Spelling, punctuation, capitalization and the like are silently

224 It should be noted that lack of homogeneity in dialect is is very much unlike that found in the Ritson MS (L Rit) which, though similar to H in that it is a miscellaneous collection, diverges from H in that its comparatively-homogeneous dialectic forms (in addition to other internal evidence) betray its place as a regionally-produced document (likely at a Franciscan monastery in Devonshire) designed for lay services (at Exeter Cathedral, it has been conjectured).
brought into accord with contemporary usage; words that do not have a contemporary equivalent, or whose contemporary form would detract from the sense, metre, or rhyme of the text, are presented in their original form and glossed in the commentary. Glosses themselves are intended to provide lexical definitions where necessary but, also, to demonstrate the resonance of passages and ideas in the literature of the time.

While seemingly cumbersome in their inclusion of full incipit, foliation and pagination information, references to the lyrics of *H* in this dissertation are carried out in this manner so as to be distinct from their numbering assigned by Stevens (*M&P*).

In addition to these principles, the nature of the *Henry VIII MS* dictates that several further editorial conventions be adopted. The manuscript, as can be seen in the several facsimiles included with this edition (refer to the *List of Figures* [xv]), is a musical document exemplifying the early Tudor lyric’s performative nature by presenting the text and music together; as it is the intention of this edition to treat only the texts of lyrics in *H*, the words alone are here provided.225

Because most works are intended to be sung by several voices, *H* itself can yield up to four readings for each line, as is the case with many of the lyrics’ textual witnesses. As the first voice, typically, is the only one which can be guaranteed to record a lyric in its entirety, it is this reading which has been adopted as copy text for each lyric; aside from assisting in the emendation of the copy text—in only the most obvious situations of scribal misreading or error (and then indicated in the collation notes)—other voices are treated as textual witnesses to the copy text and collated in full.

225 Text and music can be found together in John Stevens’ musical edition, *Music at the Court of Henry VIII*. 
As is often the case, when several voices of a single lyric must be collated, each individual voice is noted numerically in superscript following the manuscript's sigla; for example, $H^2$ indicates the second voice of a lyric which occurs in the *Henry VIII MS*. In cases where a witness appears twice within a manuscript, occurrences will be separated by numerical means; for example, $L.Rit(1)$ refers to the first occurrence of a lyric in the *L.Rit* manuscript, while $L.Rit(2)$ refers to the second.

The reader of the lyrics of *H* contained herein will note that the principles of presentation employed in this edition attempt to combine the best elements of the tradition of what is often referred to as documentary editing, specifically its adherence to the preservation of textual integrity at all levels and its consideration of details both large and small alike (such as pointing), with that of critical editing, specifically its featuring of a critically-edited presentation text and detailed standardised apparatus, and with those practices acceptable to and expected by those working with texts from this period; the latter consideration, that of acceptable and expected contemporary practices, in certain circumstance can appear to supplant the principles of the documentary and critical traditions.\(^{226}\) Of the several such instances in this edition, the most noticeable is that of the ordering of lyrics, which does not follow the documentary tradition in that it alters the arrangement of the lyrics as they are presented in *H*, and modifies the model of the critical tradition (itself author-focused) in that composers—in the absence of explicit evidence of textual authorship—are granted some privileges of authorship, in the social sense of that concept.

\[^{226}\text{It should be noted, however, that in certain situations (specifically those dealing with issues surrounding the integrity of the text) the traditions of critical editing and documentary editing see considerable difference as well.}\]
such that the works of $H$ are here presented grouped by author/composer, when known. However, in recognition of the value of preserving the order of presentation in works of a miscellaneous nature, and recognising also alternative (and valuable) presentations of the lyrics, several alternate presentations of the materials contained in $H$ are facilitated by a series of index pages which precede the lyrics in this edition; these can be used to assist the reader interested in encountering the lyrics in the order of the manuscript (113), by occasion or theme (with brief comments; 115), or alphabetically by incipit (118).

Notes, References, and Brief Comments on Textual Witnesses and Related Manuscripts

**CFitz** Cambridge, *Fitzwilliam Museum MS 1,005*
A single sheet with two fragments of lyrics and music, from the early sixteenth century. The fragments of *Wells, CFitz*, and *NYDrex* are interrelated; see Fallows ("Drexel Fragments" 5-6, 15-16). Formerly known as *Fitzwilliam Museum 784.*
Witness: “Svmwhat musyng” (253): $H^{1,3,3}$ (120'-122'), *LFay* $^{1,2,3}$ (33'-35'),
*Wells* $^{1,2,3}$ (1'-2'; ll. 28-40 *Wells* $^{1}$, ll. 9-40 *Wells* $^{2}$), *CFitz* (1', ll. 1-9 and 22-3), *NYDrex* (1', ll. 1-19).
References: xv, 32, 254, 255, 272.

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227 A discussion of concepts of authorship and their application to the materials presented in $H$ is found in my section "A Critical Approach to Textual Authorship in the Early Tudor Songbooks" (28).

228 This information has been gathered from personal notes, Beal, W.H. Black (A Descriptive, Analytical, and Critical Catalogue), Bodleian Library (Bodleian MS Catalogues, English Poetry and Music), British Library (Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the British Museum, 1882-1887), Boffey, Hamm, A.H. Hughes (Catalogue of the MS Music in the British Museum), M.R. James (A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Peterhouse), Macray, Madan, Minors, Pollard/STC, Ringler MS, Ringler Print, Smith, and other sources. For other abbreviations used in this edition, see the Table of Abbreviations (xi).
C Gon  Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College MS 383/603
A fifteenth century student’s commonplace book, with notes in Latin, French, and English.
Witness: None; Cooper’s “Alone I leffe alone” (H 22v, 230) listed as as the name of the air for “Wan ic wente byyonde the see” C Gon (41).
References: 30, 105, 231.

C Pet  Cambridge, Peterhouse MS 195
References: 31, 250.

C Tri  Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.2.53
A miscellany of verse and prose in Latin and English, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All English verse dates from the early sixteenth century. Formerly known as Trinity College MS #1157.
Witness: “My loue sche morneth for me” (176): Hf6 (30v-31r; ll. 1-6 Hf2,5), C Tri (45v; ll. 1-3).
References: 31, 178.

D Bla  Dublin, Trinity College MS 160
A composite volume, the first two parts of which contain a lament of the virgin and Peter Idley’s Instructions, both from the fifteenth century. Fols. 57-186 contain the Blage MS, a verse miscellany with poetry chiefly by or associated with Wyatt, compiled by John Mantell from ca. 1534-41 and George Blage ca. 1545-48.
Witness: None; with relation to Henry’s “Alac alac what shall I do” (H 35v; 139), the incipit “Alasse a lasse what shall I doo” is listed as part of the contents of D Bla (59v).
References: 9, 10, 105, 139, 143, 306.

E Pan  Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Panmure MS 9,450
Commonplace book of Robert Edward (1616-96) and, prior to that, his father, Alexander of Dundee. The volume consists mainly of songs, psalms, notes, and separate instrumental and poetic items. Formerly known as Panmure MS 11.
Witness: None; the music of Henry’s “Pastyme with good companye” (H 14v-15r; 121), without lyrics, appears in E Pan (late sixteenth century) under the heading “Passe tyme withe good companie” (10v).
References: 105, 122.
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 106

H  London, BL Additional MS 31,922
See the Textual Introduction (75).

L1587 London, BL Harleian MS 1587
A grammar book with exercises in penmanship, dating from the fifteenth century to ca. 1550.
Witness: “Deme the best of euerly dowe” (246); H1.2.3 (79v), L15871.2 (2/4 16, 212v), OxRawl86 (31), OxHill (200v).
References: 32, 109, 246.

L18752 London, BL Additional MS 18,752
Latin and English prose and verse from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries; English verse transcribed from several sources in the 1530s by several hands; many later additions.
Witness: None; related handling of “Iff I had wytt for to endyght” (H 34'-35'; 274, L18752 58v).
References: 106, 275.

LDev London, BL Additional MS 17,492
The Devonshire MS, a verse miscellany containing works by Wyatt and his circle, members of Henry VIII’s court, and associated with Henry Fitzroy (Henry VIII’s illegitimate son), Mary Shelton, Thomas Howard (Duke of Norfolk), Anne Boleyn, and others; it was transcribed in several hands between 1532 and ca. 1539 (with one addition ca. 1562) and includes extracts of Middle English verse, Chaucer among them.
Witness: “A robyn gentyl robyn” (205); H1.2.3 (53v-54v, ll. 1-3 H2.3), LDev(1) (22v, ll. 1-7), LDev(2) (24v), LEge (37v). “Iff I had wytt for to endyght” (274): H1.2.3 (34v-35v, ll. 1-5 H2.3), LR58 (5v), LDev (58v).
References: 9, 11, 24, 27, 31, 42, 58, 59, 61, 63, 75, 89, 106, 107, 126, 146, 158, 206, 208, 226, 275, 277, 329.

LEge London, BL Egerton MS 2711
The Egerton MS, a collection of English poetry by Wyatt (some in his hand, before his death in 1542) and contemporaries, pre-1588, with ascriptions by Nicholas Grimald ca. 1549, and later Elizabethan additions.
Witness: “A robyn gentyl robyn” (205); H1.2.3 (53v-54v, ll. 1-3 H2.3), LDev(1) (22v, ll. 1-7), LDev(2) (24v), LEge (37v).
References: 9, 10, 11, 27, 31, 59, 75, 89, 206, 208, 277.
LFay  London, BL Additional MS 5,465
The Fayrfax MS, compiled 1501-4 by Robert Fayrfax in one hand, possibly that of Fayrfax, likely in London or Windsor. As noted by Bowers, “the book was compiled for use if not within Henry VII’s own court itself, then within a closely kindred establishment for which the court of Prince Arthur at Ludlow seems a very likely candidate (“Early Tudor Courtly Song” 195). English lyrics—carols and songs, religious and secular—and musical settings by members of Henry VII’s court, and seemingly intended for use therein. In the possession of Charles Fairfax (exact relation to R. Fayrfax unknown) until after 1618.
Witness: “Svmwhat musyng” (253): $H^{1,2,3}$ (120'-122'), $LFay^{1,2,3}$ (33'-35'), $Wells^{1,2,3}$ (1'-2'); ll. 28-40 $Wells^1$, ll. 9-40 $Wells^2$, $CFitz$ (1'; ll. 1-9 and 22-3), $NYDrex$ (1'; ll. 1-19).
References: xv, 9, 10, 21, 22, 32, 33, 77, 81, 89, 219, 231, 240, 254, 255, 264, 295, 324, 326, 328, 329.

LR58  London, BL Royal Appendix 58
Collection of liturgical, religious, and secular pieces with musical settings by composers of Henry VIII’s court; transcription begun after 1507, continued ca. 1520, completed after 1547, with most ca. 1515-40. Apparently a commonplace book in which several professional musicians associated with the court entered popular or useful pieces. Possibly owned later by Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel (as with $H$).
Witness: “A the syghes that cum fro my hart” (185): $H^1$ (32'-33', ll. 1-4 $H^{2-3}$), $LR58$ (3'). “Blow thi hornne hunter” (188): $H^{1,2,3}$ (39'-40'; ll. 1-6 $H^{2-3}$), $LR58$ (7', ll. 1-6). “Downbery down” (242): $H^1$ (25'), $LR58$ (4'). “Iff I had wytt for to endyght” (274): $H^{1,2,3}$ (34'-35', ll. 1-5 $H^{2-3}$), $LR58$ (5'), $LDev$ (58').
References: 9, 22, 31, 80, 99, 122, 185, 189, 242, 275, 354.

LRit  London, BL Additional MS 5,665
The Ritson MS, transcribed with (possibly) the involvement of Thomas Packe shortly before 1511 in one main hand and several others, likely at a Franciscan monastery in Devonshire but designed for lay services, possibly at Exeter Cathedral. Pieces ranging 1470-1510. Latin and English sacred music, French and English secular lyrics with settings, chiefly by members of Henry VII and Henry VIII’s court.
Witness: “Pastyme with good companye” (121): $H^{1,2,3}$ (14'-15', ll. 1-10 $H^{2-3}$), $LRit(1)^{1,2,3}$ (136'-137', ll. 1-10), $LRit(2)^{1,2,3}$ (141'-142').
References: 9, 10, 21, 57, 61, 62, 64, 79, 81, 88, 89, 101, 103, 122, 233, 234, 289.
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 108

LTtho  London, BL Egerton MS 3,537
The Thoresby Park Papers, volume 21, a memorandum book of William Rayne compiled 1522-1578. The poems, copied among memoranda and exercises, are ca. 1553-4.
Witness: “And I war a maydyn” (310). H1,2,3,4,5 (106v-107r, ll. 1-4 H2,3,4,5).
LTtho (59v; ll. 1-4).
References: 310.

LVes  London, BL Cotton MS Vespasian A.xii
“Joannis Rossi Warwicensis historia, a Bruto ad tempora Henrici VII; viz. ad nativitatem Principis Arthuri, filii primogeniti Regis illius, anno 1486.”
Witness: Robbins (Index & Suppl. 3193.5) notes that a witness to “Svmwhat musyng” (H 120r-122v, 253) appears in LVes (170v), but this editor has been unable to locate that witness as per Robbins’ directions.

NYDrex  New York Public Library, Drexel MS 4,185
Part-books of seventeenth century songs, the bindings of which contain fragments of texts and settings copied ca. 1525 - 1550. The fragments of Wells, C Fitz, and NYDrex are interrelated; see Fallows (”Drexel Fragments” 5-6, 15-16).
Witness: “Svmwhat musyng” (253): H1,2,3 (120v-122v), LFay1,2,3 (33v-35v), Wells1,2,3 (1r-2r, ll. 28-40 Wells1, ll. 9-40 Wells2), C Fitz (1v, ll. 1-9 and 22-3), NYDrex (1v, ll. 1-19).

OxAsh  Oxford, Bodleian MS Ashmole 176
The third part of a composite volume from the papers of Elias Ashmole and William Lily. A collection of poems, most composed in the 1520s, were copied ca. 1525-50.
Witness: “Adew adew my hartis lust” (174): H1,2,3 (23v-24v), OxAsh (100v).
References: 9, 174.

OxEP  Oxford, Bodleian MS English Poetry E.1
Carols and songs, religious and other, in English, macaronic English and Latin, and Latin alone, copied ca. 1525-50 (Boffey) or 1460-80 (Madan 29734). Possibly collected for use by a professional minstrel.
Witness: None; “And I war a maydyn” (H 106v-107v; 310): “Swet Iesu is cum to vs / this good tym of crystmas” (OxEP 45v-47v; Greene #93) is stated to be “A song in the tune of / And y were a mayden.”
References: 108, 142, 143, 243, 311.
OxHill  Oxford, Balliol College MS 354
Commonplace book of Richard Hill, a grocer in London, containing English and Latin prose, verse, historical and familial materials. Fols. 7-178* were copied between 1503-4, the remainder between then and 1536. Authors copied include Lydgate, Chaucer, Gower, and Dunbar; many traditional and anonymous lyrical works, such as "The Nutbrown Maid."
Witness: "Deme the best of euery dowt" (246): H\textsuperscript{1,2,3}(79*), L1587\textsuperscript{1,2} (2/4 16, 212*), OxHill (200*).
References: 9, 32, 136, 142, 172, 190, 246.

OxRawl86  Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C.86
A collection of English and Latin prose and verse, including The Northern Passion (a translation of the introduction to Higden's Polychronicon) and Middle English verse (Lydgate, Chaucer, and others) on morals subjects and others transcribed in the late fifteenth century. Verse, unconnected with that of the rest of the manuscript, is entered on fol. 31 in an early sixteenth century hand. Item 30 (fol. 155*-156*), is a poem with incipit "Myne hert is set uppon a lusty pynne," attributable to Henry VII's wife; refer to the appendix to Henry VIII as Writer and Lyricist.
Witness: "Deme the best of euery dowt" (246): H\textsuperscript{1,2,3}(79*), L1587\textsuperscript{1,2} (2/4 16, 212*), OxRawl86 (31), OxHill (200*).
References: 32, 74, 136, 172, 246.

PBLe  Legenda aurea.
Jacobus de Voragine, translated and printed in 1493, likely by Caxton. [Huntington Printed Book 69798; Pollard/STC 24875]. On fol. gg4*, there are extracts of poems copied ca. 1500-1525.
Witness: "O my hart and o my hart" (133): H\textsuperscript{1,2,3}(22*-23*), PBLe (gg4*).
References: 9, 31, 64, 133.

Wells  Wells Cathedral Library, Music MSS: Fayrfax Fragment
An end paper in a law book, discovered ca. 1880. The fragments of Wells, CFitz, and NYDrex are interrelated; see Fallows ("Drexel Fragments" 5-6, 15-16).
Witness: "Svmwhat musyng" (253): H\textsuperscript{1,2,3} (120'-122'), LFay\textsuperscript{1,2,3} (33*-35*), Wells\textsuperscript{1,2,3} (1'-2'; ll. 28-40 Wells\textsuperscript{1}), II. 9-40 Wells\textsuperscript{2}, CFitz (1'; II. 1-9 and 22-3), NYDrex (1'; II. 1-19).
References: xv, 32, 254, 255, 268.

For other abbreviations used in this edition, see the Table of Abbreviations (xi).
The Lyrics

Alternate Presentations

As with many composite works of a miscellaneous nature, the lyrics of H do not adhere to any overall organisational pattern. In this handling of them, they are grouped by author (see “English Lyrics by Composer/Author,” below on p. 111); however, in recognition that H is a miscellany of sorts, several alternate presentations are provided on the pages that follow: in the order of the manuscript (113), by occasion or theme (with brief comments; 115), and alphabetically by incipit (118).
### English Lyrics by Composer/Author

#### Henry VIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastyme with good companye (The Kynges Ballade)</td>
<td>(14'-15')</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alas what shall I do for love</td>
<td>(20'-21')</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O my hart and o my hart</td>
<td>(22'-23')</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tyme of youthe is to be spent</td>
<td>(28'-29')</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alac alac what shall I do</td>
<td>(35')</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grene growth the holy</td>
<td>(37'-38')</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne</td>
<td>(39')</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If love now reynyd as it hath bene</td>
<td>(48'-49')</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wherto shuld I expresse</td>
<td>(51'-52')</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thow that men do call it dotage</td>
<td>(55'-56')</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure is my chef payne</td>
<td>(60')</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without dyscord</td>
<td>(68'-69')</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though sum saith that yough rulyth me</td>
<td>(71'-73')</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll for grace sew</td>
<td>(84'-85')</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusti yough shuld vs ensue</td>
<td>(94'-97')</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### William Cornish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adew adew my hartis lust</td>
<td>(23'-24')</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My loue sche morneth for me</td>
<td>(30'-31')</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A the syghes that cum fro my hart</td>
<td>(32'-33')</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blow thi horme hunter</td>
<td>(39'-40')</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adew corage adew</td>
<td>(42')</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trolly lolly loly lo</td>
<td>(43'-44')</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yow and I and amyas</td>
<td>(45'-46')</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A robyn gentyl robyn [Wyatt]</td>
<td>(53'-54')</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest</td>
<td>(54'-55')</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Thomas Farthing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aboffe all thynge</td>
<td>(24')</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In may that lusty sesoun</td>
<td>(26')</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The thoughtes within my brest</td>
<td>(29'-30')</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With sorowfull syghs and greuos payne</td>
<td>(33'-34')</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I love trewly withowt feynyng</td>
<td>(44'-45')</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Robert Cooper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone I leffe alone</td>
<td>(22')</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I haue bene a foster</td>
<td>(65'-66')</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fare well my Ioy and my swete hart</td>
<td>(66'-68')</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### William Daggere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Downbery down</td>
<td>(25')</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Henry Rysby
Whoso that wyll hym selff applye .................................................. (27°-28°) 244

John Lloyd
Deme the best of euery dowt ............................................................... (79°) 246

William Pygott
Quid petis o fily .................................................................................. (112°-116°) 249

Robert Fayrfax / Anthony Woodville
Svnwhat musyng .................................................................................. (120°-122°) 253

Unattributed
If I had wytt for to endyght ................................................................. (34°-35°) 274
Hey nony nony nony nony no ............................................................... (36°) 281
I am a joly foster .................................................................................. (69°-71°) 287
Madame damours ................................................................................ (73°-74°) 291
Adew adew le company ..................................................................... (74°-75°) 294
Hey troly loly loly ................................................................................ (80°) 298
Let not vs that yongmen be (Possibly Henry VIII) .................. (87°-88°) 300
Englond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart ............................................ (100°-102°) 305
Pray we to god that all may gyde ...................................................... (103°) 307
And I war a maydyn ........................................................................... (106°-107°) 310
Why shall not I .................................................................................... (107°-108°) 312
What remedy what remedy ................................................................. (108°-110°) 315
Wer be ye ............................................................................................. (110°-112°) 319
My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble .................................. (116°-120°) 323
I loue vnloued suche is myn aduerture ........................................... (122°-124°) 328
Hey troly loly lo ................................................................................... (124°-128°) 330
### English Lyrics in the Order of the Manuscript

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page Range</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastyme with good companye (The Kynges Ballade) [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(14'-15')</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alas what shall I do for love [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(20'-21')</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone I leffe alone [Cooper]</td>
<td>(22')</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O my hart and o my hart [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(22'-23')</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adew adew my hartis lust [Cornish]</td>
<td>(23'-24')</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboffe all thynge [Farthing]</td>
<td>(24')</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downbery down [Daggere]</td>
<td>(25')</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In may that lusty sesoun [Farthing]</td>
<td>(26')</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll hym selff applye [Rysby]</td>
<td>(27'-28')</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The tyme of youthe is to be spent [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(28'-29')</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The thougthtes within my brest [Farthing]</td>
<td>(29'-30')</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My loue sche morneth for me [Cornish]</td>
<td>(30'-31')</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A the syghes that cum fro my hart [Cornish]</td>
<td>(32'-33')</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With sorowfull syghs and greuos payne [Farthing]</td>
<td>(33'-34')</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iff I had wytt for to endyght [Unattributed]</td>
<td>(34'-35')</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alac alac what shall I do [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(35')</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hey nony nony nony nony no [Unattributed]</td>
<td>(36')</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene growth the holy [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(37'-38')</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(39')</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blow thi horme hunter [Cornish]</td>
<td>(39'-40')</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adew corage edew [Cornish]</td>
<td>(42')</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trolly lolly loly lo [Cornish]</td>
<td>(43'-44')</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I love trewly withowt feynyng [Farthing]</td>
<td>(44'-45')</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yow and I and amyas [Cornish]</td>
<td>(45'-46')</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If love now reynyd as it hath bene [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(48'-49')</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wherto shuld I expresse [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(51'-52')</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A robyn gentyl robyn [Cornish/Wyatt]</td>
<td>(53'-54')</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest [Cornish]</td>
<td>(54'-55')</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thow that men do call it dotage [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(55'-56')</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure is my chef payne [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(60')</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I haue bene a foster [Cooper]</td>
<td>(65'-66')</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fare well my loy and my swete hart [Cooper]</td>
<td>(66'-68')</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withowt dyscord [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(68'-69')</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am a joly foster [Unattributed]</td>
<td>(69'-71')</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though sum saith that yough rulyth me [Henry VIII, attributed]</td>
<td>(71'-73')</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAdame damours [Unattributed]</td>
<td>(73'-74')</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adew adew le company [Unattributed]</td>
<td>(74'-75')</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deme the best of euery dowt [Lloyd]</td>
<td>(79')</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hey troly loly loly [Unattributed]</td>
<td>(80')</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll for grace sew [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(84'-85')</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let not vs that yongmen be [Unattributed, possibly Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(87'-88')</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lusti yough shuld vs ensue [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>(94'-97')</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart [Unattributed] .................................... (100v-102r) 305
Pray we to god that all may gyde [Unattributed] .............................................. (103r) 307
And I war a maydyn [Unattributed] ................................................................. (106v-107r) 310
Why shall not I [Unattributed] ........................................................................... (107v-108r) 312
What remedy what remedy [Unattributed] ......................................................... (108v-109r) 315
Wher be ye [Unattributed] .................................................................................. (110v-112r) 319
QUid petis o fily [Pygott] ..................................................................................... (112v-116r) 249
My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble [Unattributed] ................................ (116v-120r) 323
Svmwhat musyng [Fayrfax/Woodville] ................................................................. (120v-122r) 253
I loue vnloved suche is myn aduenture [Unattributed] ....................................... (122v-124r) 328
Hey troly loly lo [Unattributed] ........................................................................... (124v-128r) 330
English Lyrics by Occasion/Theme

Lyrics of Courtly / Chivalric Doctrine (Pastime, Love, &c.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Reading Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastyme with good companye (The Kynges Ballade) [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>14'-15'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
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<td>28'-29'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>39'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If love now reynyd as it hath bene [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>48'-49'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thow that men do call it dotage [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>55'-56'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though sum saith that yough rulyth me [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>71'-73'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll for grace sew [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>84'-85'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusti yough shuld vs ensue [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>94'-97'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let not vs that yongmen be [Unattributed / Henry VIII?]</td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td>87'-88'</td>
</tr>
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Love Lyrics (Various Topics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Reading Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alas what shall I do for love [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>20'-21'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O my hart and o my hart [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>22'-23'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alac alac what shall I do [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>35'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grene growith the holy [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>37'-38'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wherto shuld I expresse [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>51'-52'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departure is my chef payne [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>60'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without dyscord [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>[Henry VIII]</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>68'-69'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adew adew my hartis lust [Cornish]</td>
<td>[Cornish]</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>23'-24'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My loue sche morneth for me [Cornish]</td>
<td>[Cornish]</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>30'-31'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A the syghes that cum fro my hart [Cornish]</td>
<td>[Cornish]</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>32'-33'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adew corage adew [Cornish]
(departure from love's "corage") .................. (42°) 195

Trolly lolly loly lo [Cornish]
(pursuit of love, mirth; maying?) .................. (43°-44°) 197

A robyn gentyl robyn [Cornish/Wyatt]
(debate on constancy of female love) ............... (53°-54°) 205

The thoughtes within my brest [Farthing]
(departure; service) ................................ (29°-30°) 224

With sorowfull syghs and greuos payne [Farthing]
(departure; pain of leave) ......................... (33°-34°) 226

I love trewly without feynyng [Farthing]
(constancy) ........................................... (44°-45°) 228

Alone I leffe alone [Cooper]
(absence, solitude; possibly religious) ........... (22°) 230

Fare well my Ioy and my swete hart [Cooper]
(departure, constancy; answer) .................... (66°-68°) 239

Downbery down [Daggere]
(exile from lover; disdain) ......................... (25°) 242

If I had wytt for to endyght [Unattributed]
(praise of lover; constancy) ....................... (34°-35°) 274

Hey nony nony nony nony no [Unattributed]
(a lover's complaint and consolation) ............ (36°) 281

MAdame damours [Unattributed]
(praise, loyalty; of K. of Aragon?) ................ (73°-74°) 291

Hey troly loly loly [Unattributed]
(love, affirmation and constancy) ................ (80°) 298

And I war a maydyn [Unattributed]
(progress in love; female speaker) ................ (106°-107°) 310

Why shall not I [Unattributed]
(consideration of truth in love) .................. (107°-108°) 312

Wher be ye [Unattributed]
(no comfort in the absence of lover) .............. (110°-112°) 319

I loue vnloved suche is myn aduenture [Unattributed]
(unrequited love) .................................. (122°-124°) 328

Hey troly loly lo [Unattributed]
(attempted seduction, rejection) .................. (124°-128°) 330

Occasional Lyrics, and those with Topical Reference

Blow thi horrne hunter [Cornish]
(forestor song; narrative; 1522?) .................. (39°-40°) 188

Yow and I and amyas [Cornish]
(allegory; Schatew Vert pageant-disguising, 1522) .. (45°-46°) 199
Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest [Cornish]  
(K. of Aragon, speaker; of Henry) .................................................. (54'-55') 211
Aboffe all thynge [Farthing]  
(royal birth, likely that of 1511) .................................................. (24') 218
I haue bene a foster [Cooper]  
(forester song, retiring; 1522?) .................................................. (65'-66') 232
Whoso that wyll hym selff applye [Rysby]  
(tournament invitation; pre-1515?) .................................................. (27'-28') 244
I am a joly foster [Unattributed]  
(forester song, embracing; 1522?) ............................................... (69'-71') 287
Adew adew le company [Unattributed]  
(departure of company; 1511) .................................................. (74'-75') 294
ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart [Unattributed]  
(1513 invasion of France) .................................................. (100'-102') 305
Pray we to god that all may gyde [Unattributed]  
(1513 invasion of France) .................................................. (103') 307
What remedy what remedy [Unattributed]  
(no remedy for love; 1522?) .................................................. (108'-110') 315

Lyrics on Topics Other than those Above
In may that lusty sesoun [Farthing]  
(praise of May; birds in song) .................................................. (26') 222
Deme the best of euery dowt [Lloyd]  
(moralising couplet) .................................................. (79') 246
QUid petis o fily [Pygott]  
(religious; meditation on the Virgin and Christ child) .................................................. (112'-116') 249
SVmwhat musyng [Fayrfax/Woodville]  
(meditation on fortune and the world) .................................................. (120'-122') 253
My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble [Unattributed]  
(complaint; loss of hope) .................................................. (116'-120') 323
English Lyrics, Alphabetically by Incipit

A robyn gentyl robyn [Cornish/Wyatt] ........................................ (53*-54*) 205
A the syghes that cum fro my hart [Cornish] ................................. (32*-33*) 185
Aboffe all thynge [Farthing] ....................................................... (24*) 218
Adew adew le company [Unattributed] ....................................... (74*-75*) 294
Adew adew my hartis lust [Cornish] ............................................. (23*-24*) 174
Adew corage adew [Cornish] ....................................................... (42*) 195
Alac alac what shall I do [Henry VIII] ....................................... (35*) 139
Alas what shall I do for love [Henry VIII] ...................................(20*-21*) 131
Alone I leffe alone [Cooper] ....................................................... (22*) 230
And I war a maydyn [Unattributed] .......................................... (106*-107*) 310
Blow thi horne hunter [Cornish] ................................................. (39*-40*) 188
Deme the best of euery dowt [Lloyd] .......................................... (79*) 246
Departure is my chef payne [Henry VIII] ...................................(60*) 157
Downbery down [Daggere] ......................................................... (25*) 242
ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart [Unattributed] ................ (100*-102*) 305
Fare well my Ioy and my swete hart [Cooper] .............................. (66*-68*) 239
Grene growith the holy [Henry VIII] ......................................... (37*-38*) 141
Hey nony nony nony nony no [Unattributed] ............................. (36*) 281
Hey treoly loly lo [Unattributed] ................................................. (124*-128*) 330
Hey treoly loly loly [Unattributed] .............................................. (80*) 298
I am a joly foster [Unattributed] ............................................... (69*-71*) 287
I haue bene a foster [Cooper] .................................................... (65*-66*) 232
I loue vnlowed suche is myn aduemure [Unattributed] ............. (122*-124*) 328
I love trewly withowt feynyng [Farthing] ...................................(44*-45*) 228
If love now reynyd as it hath bene [Henry VIII] ......................... (48*-49*) 148
If I had wytt for to endyght [Unattributed] ................................. (34*-35*) 274
In may that lusty sesour [Farthing] ............................................ (26*) 222
Let not vs that yongmen be [Unattributed, possibly Henry VIII] (87*-88*) 300
Lusti yough shuld vs ensue [Henry VIII] .................................... (94*-97*) 170
MAdame damous [Unattributed] ................................................ (73*-74*) 291
My loue sche morneth for me [Cornish] ..................................... (30*-31*) 176
My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble [Unattributed] ........... (116*-120*) 323
O my hart and o my hart [Henry VIII] ....................................... (22*-23*) 133
Pastyme with good companye (The Kynges Ballade) [Henry VIII] (14*-15*) 121
Pray we to god that all may gyde [Unattributed] ........................ (103*) 307
QUid petis o fily [Pygott] .......................................................... (112*-116*) 249
Sympwhat musyng [Fayrfax/Woodville] ...................................... (120*-122*) 253
The thoughtes within my brest [Farthing] .................................... (29*-30*) 224
The tyme of youthe is to be spent [Henry VIII] ......................... (28*-29*) 135
Though sum saith that yough rulyth me [Henry VIII] ................ (71*-73*) 164
Thow that men do call it dotage [Henry VIII] ............................ (55*-56*) 154
Trolly lolly loly lo [Cornish] ...................................................... (43*-44*) 197
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What remedy what remedy [Unattributed]</td>
<td>108^v-110^v 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wher be ye [Unattributed]</td>
<td>110^v-112^v 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wherto shuld I expresse [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>51^v-52^v 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest [Cornish]</td>
<td>54^v-55^v 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll for grace sew [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>84^v-85^v 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>39^v 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso that wyll hym selff applye [Rysby]</td>
<td>27^v-28^v 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why shall not I [Unattributed]</td>
<td>107^v-108^v 312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withowt dyscord [Henry VIII]</td>
<td>68^v-69^v 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With sorowfull syghs and greuos payne [Farthing]</td>
<td>33^v-34^v 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yow and I and amyas [Cornish]</td>
<td>45^v-46^v 199</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 8. Henry VIII as a young monarch, ca. 1520. (Artist unknown; from the National Gallery, London).
Pastyme with good companye
(The Kynges Ballade)
Henry VIII

Pastyme with good companye
I loue and schall vntyll I dye
gruche who lust but none denye
so god be plesyd thus leue wyll I
for my pastance
hunt syng and daunce
my hart is sett
all goodly sport
for my comfort
who schall me let

youthe must haue sum daliance
off good or yll sum pastance.
Company me thynkes then best
all thoughts and fansys to deiest.
for ydillnes
is cheff mastres
of vices all
then who can say.
but myrth and play
is best of all.

Company with honeste
is vertu vices to ffle.
Company is good and ill
but everyman hath hys fre wyll.

the best ensew
the worst esshew
my mynde shalbe.
vertu to vse
vice to refuce
thus shall I vse me.

Textual Apparatus

Description: In H, the first stanza of the lyric appears in three voices, each set to music; the remaining text is presented following the third voice; headed “The Kynge H. VIII.” “Pastyme” appears in two versions in LRit, a choir book containing a mixture of secular and religious lyrics dated ca. 1510; that it is, in the second version, given the title “The Kynges Ballade” (141°) implies that it was not copied prior to Henry’s ascension in 1509. LR58 (ca. 1507-1547), a commonplace book of composers from Henry VIII’s court which gathers liturgical, religious, and secular pieces with their musical settings, contains the incipit “pastyme” in the margin next to its music (55°). The music of this piece, without lyrics, appears in EPan (late sixteenth century) under the heading “Passe tyme with the good companie” (10°). Melchore de Barberis’ tenth lutebook (Venice, 1549) contains a version headed “Pas de mi bon compagni” (Brown 113-4). A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 9 [129]).


Texts Collated: \( H^{1,2,3} (14^\text{r}-15^\text{l}, \text{ll. 1}-10 \text{ } H^{2,3}) \), \( LRit(1)^{1,2,3} (136^\text{r}-137^\text{r}, \text{ll. 1}-10) \), \( LRit(2)^{1,2,3} (141^\text{r}-142^\text{r}) \)

Emendations of the Copy Text (\( H^1 \)):

4 leue] loue \( H^1 \), leue \( H^{2,3} \), lyfe \( LRit(1)^{1,3} \), lyue \( LRit(2)^1 \), lyfe \( LRit(2)^{2,3} \)
15 for] ffor \( H^{1,2,3} \), \( LRit(1)^{1,2,3} \), For \( LRit(2)^{1,2,3} \)
Collation (Substantive Variants):

2 substitute for my pastance L Rit(1)² who lust] so wylle L Rit(1)¹, so wylle L Rit(2)¹, so wylle L Rit(2)², who wylle L Rit(2)³
3 substitute honte syng and daunce L Rit(1)² thus] so L Rit(1)¹, this L Rit(2)¹, this L Rit(2)², leue H¹
4 substitute my hert ys set L Rit(1)² pastance] dystaunce. L Rit(1)¹, dystaunce. L Rit(2)², dystaunce L Rit(2)³
5 substitute for] to L Rit(1)¹, 1, substitute yn sport L Rit(1)²
6 substitute to my comfort L Rit(1)²
7 substitute who shall me lett L Rit(1)² substitute yn sport L Rit(1)²
8 substitute Gruch so woll but noon deny L Rit(1)¹, 1, 3, for] to L Rit(1)¹, 1, substitute yn sport L Rit(1)²
9 substitute so god be plesyd so lyf woll substitute so god be plesyd so lyf woll
10 substitute must] woll L Rit(2)¹, wylle L Rit(2)², sum] nedes L Rit(2)², sum] nedes L Rit(2)³
11 must] woll L Rit(2)¹, wylle L Rit(2)², good] good.
12 good] good. substitute yn sport L Rit(1)²
13 substitute who shall me lett L Rit(1)² substitute yn sport L Rit(1)²
14 substitute Gruch so woll but noon deny L Rit(1)¹, L Rit(2)¹, 3, substiute yn sport L Rit(1)²
15 substitute so god be plesyd so lyf woll
16 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
17 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
18 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
19 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
20 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
21 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
22 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
23 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
24 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
25 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
26 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
27 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
28 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
29 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³
30 substitute must] wyll, sum] nedes L Rit(2)², or. yll. L Rit(2)³

Collation (Accidental Variants):

1 Pastyme] Pastime H²,³, Passtyme L Rit(1)¹, Paste tyme L Rit(1)²,³, Paste tyme L Rit(2)¹,²,³, Passe tyme L Rit(2)²,³, Passe. tyme L Rit(2)²,³ with.] with. L Rit(1)²,³ good.] good. L Rit(2)²,³ companye.] company. H²,³, company. L Rit(1)¹,²,³, cumpanye. L Rit(2)¹,²,³, cumpany. L Rit(2)²,³, cumpanye. L Rit(2)³
2 schall[ ] shall L Rit(1)²,³, vn tyl L Rit(2)²,³, dye. L Rit(2)²,³
3 gruche] Gruch L Rit(1)¹,³, grugge L Rit(2)¹,²,³, Grugge L Rit(2)¹,³, none] noon L Rit(1)¹,³, L Rit(2)¹,²,³, de ny. L Rit(1)³
4 plesyd.] plecyd. L Rit(1)¹,³, L Rit(2)¹,²,³, plecyd. L Rit(2)³, leue] H²,³, lyf L Rit(1)¹,³, lyue L Rit(2)¹,³, lyfe L Rit(2)²,³, wyll] woll L Rit(1)¹,³, L Rit(2)¹,³, will L Rit(2)², L Rit(1)¹,³, L Rit(2)¹,²,³, L Rit(2)³
5 pastance] pastance H²,³, pastaunce L Rit(1)¹, past taunce L Rit(1)³
6 hunt] honte L Rit(1)¹,³, hunte L Rit(2)¹,³, hunt L Rit(2)³, synge] synge. L Rit(1)³, L Rit(2)¹,², synge. L Rit(2)³, daunce.] daunce. H¹,³, L Rit(2)³, Daunce. L Rit(1)¹,³, L Rit(2)¹
7 my.] my. L Rit(2)³, hart is] hert ys L Rit(1)²,³, L Rit(2)¹,²,³
8 goodly] good ly L Rit(1)³, godely²²⁹ L Rit(2)¹,²,³, sport.] sport. L Rit(2)¹,²

²²⁹ Note: It is possible, though unlikely, that this is a substantive variant, cf. OED godely = goodly (a3), godly (a1).
9 my 

10 shall 

11 youth 

12 off 

13 Company 

14 thoughts 

15 for 

16 is 

17 vices 

18 then 

19 is 

20 is 

21 Company 

22 is 

23 Company 

24 man 

25 ensen 

26 esshew 

27 mynde 

28 vertu 

29 vice 

30 vse 

Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric of courtly and youthful doctrine, urging the merits of particular pastimes chiefly because they combat idleness. This is the best known and most widely circulated of Henry VIII’s lyrics; “His fine ballad, ‘Pastance with good company,’ rank[s] among the better known” (William H. Dixon, History of Two Queens, II.XII.i.298). As noted in a letter from Pace to Wolsey (L&P Henry VIII III [i]: 447, #1188), the royal almoner incorporated this lyric and “I loue unloved suche is myn aduenture” (H 122-124; 328) into his sermon while preaching in the King’s hall in March of 1521. In the Complaint of Scotland, it is mentioned as the first of the shepherd’s songs (Murray 64; lxxxii #49). The tune is very much like that of his “Though sum saith that yough rulyth me” (H 71-
73', 164). A related lyric, the continental “De mon triste desplaisir” (Ward 123) composed by Richafort ca. 1520 (Fallows, “Henry” 29), may have a parodic relation to this (Block 2.301-5). A moralized version exists in the *Maitland Quarto MS* (31r; 63). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 9, 21, 33, 35, 36, 38, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 75, 88, 89, 105, 107, 129, 136, 166, 245, 321, 329.

Notes and Glosses:

1 ff. *Pastyme* Cf. the words of the Pardoner in Heywood’s *Foure PP*: “So helpe me god it lyketh nat me / Where company is met and well agreed / Good pastyme doth ryght well in dede / But who can syt in dalyaunce / Men syt in suche a variaunce / As we were set or ye came in / Whiche stryfe thys man dyd fyrst begynne / Allegynge that suche men as vse / For loue of god nat and refuse” (ll. 324 ff.). For negative connotations of the concept of “pastyme,” see Heywood’s *Johan Johan*: “Many an honest wyfe goth thyther also / For to make some pastyme and sporte / But than my wyfe so ofte doth thyther resorte / That I fere she wyll make me weare a fether” (ll. 92-5). Cf. also the words ascribed to Henry, at his death, by Cavendish (*Metrical Visions*): “Who had more pastyme? who had more dalyaunce? / Who had more ayd? who had more allyaunce? / Who had more howsis of pleasure and disport? / Who had suche places as I for my comfort?” (ll. 1303-6).

1-2 *companye . . . dye* Cf. the proverbial “Qwyllys a man haves owth Cumpany wil with him go til he be broght to noght” (Brunner, *Salamon sat and sayde*, 291.5-6).

1 *good companye* Cf. the proverbial “Gud cumpany gud men makis” (Girvan, *Counsail and Teiching at the Vys Man Gaif his Sone*, 66.5-6).

3 *gruche . . . denye* This line has been paraphrased as “let grudge whosoever will, none shall refuse (it to me)” (*Stevens M&P* 345). Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands, employed a similar motto, “Groigne qui groigne et vive Burgoigne” (Ives 22 ff.), as did Anne Boleyn (“Ainsi sera, groigne qui groigne”); a lyric attributed to Wyatt, “If yt ware not,” has as the first line of its burden “Grudge on who liste, this ys my lott” (ca. 1530); see Greene (“Carol” 438), Jungman (398), and Siemens (“Thomas Wyatt, Anne Boleyn, and Henry VIII’s Lyric”).

4 *god be plesyd* Cf. the proverbial “Hoe so lustythe god to plese, let hys neyghbore lyve in ese” (inscription; see *Archaeologia* 50 [1887]: 149); “Please god and love hym and doubte ye nothynge” (Bradshaw, *Life of St. Werburge of Chester*, 95.2589-90).

5 *pastance* Pastime (*OED* n 1).

6 *hunt syng and daunce* Elyot’s *Governour* (1531) contains chapter divisions adopting these categories: hunting (i: Ch. 18), singing (i: Ch. 7), and dancing (i: Chs. 19-25); in his *Second Sermon before Edward VI*, Latimer elaborates on this line and urges that these are improper as pastimes for a
King except when they are used “for recreation, when he is weary of weighty affairs, that he may return to them the more lusty” (79); Hall reports the King’s engagement in similar activities while on his progress to Windsor in 1510: Henry was “exercisyng hym self daily in shotyng, singing, dauftsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre...” (515); a French Papal diplomat stated of Henry in his early reign that he was a “youngling, car[ing] for nothing but girls and hunting, and wast[ing] his father’s patrimony” (L&P Henry VIII, II [i]: 292). Cf., also, the unattributed “Wher be ye” (H 110 M 12 r; 319; 11. 22-3).

8-9 sport... comfort See Hall’s description of Henry VIII’s coronation, in which a cryer comments on the earthly duty of taking care of one’s body as well as one’s soul: “I perceiue that thei take a greate care, for the profite of their purses, with pleasure of huntyng and haukyng, besides other their pastymes, after they come to the best of their promocion, with small kepyng of hospitalitie” (510); “Clerkis sayis it is richt profitabil Amangis ernist to ming ane merie sport, To light the spreit, and gar the time be schort” (Henryson, Poems and Fables, 3.19-21); cf. also Barclay’s Myyrour of Good Maners (“Temperance”): “Of freshe lusty iuuent yf thou be in the floure / Than get the to sportys as is to the semynge / Thy strenth to exercyce in pastyme of labour / But vse must thou mesure and order in all thynge / With tyme and company as semyth best syttynge / Obserue these circustancys and ganynge is lawdable / Or els it is foly and thynge vytpuerable” (ll. 2534-40).

10 let Hinder, prevent, stand in the way (OED v2, 1); a common Tudor defiance; in the interlude Youth (ca. 1513-4), the character of Youth states “I will not let for thee” (Lancashire, Two Tudor Interludes 106, l.70; 91, n.217); see also LDev (28°): “Who shall let me then off ryght / onto myself hym to retane.” [god]... let “That god wyl ayde no man can lette” (Berners, Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeux, 480.24-6).

11 youthe See the character of Youth, who is intended to represent Henry VIII (Lancashire, Two Tudor Interludes 54); also see note to l.10, above. dailiance sport, play with a companion, especially (and possibly one of the senses intended here) amorous toying, flirtation; also, talk of a light and familiar kind (OED 1, 2); “At festes, reuels, and at daunces, That ben occasions of dalliance” (Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, Physician’s Tale, l.66); “thai schall ete and drinke and hafe dalyaunce with wymmen” (Mandeville, Buke of John Maundeuill, xxvi.124); for further possible negative connotations of pastime and dalliance, cf. also the words of Cupidity and Concupiscence to Mary, in her fall, in Wager’ The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene: “Cupiditi / I will see that you shall haue good in abundance, / To maintaine you in all pleasure and dailance. / Concupiscence. / And new kyndes of pastyme I will inuent, / With the which I trust ye shall be content” (ll. 745-51). dailiance... pastance Similar rhyme yoking in “To have in remembryng Her goodly dalyance. And her
goodly pastance” (Skelton, Philip Sparowe, I.1095).

12 good or yll  See l.23, below.

14 fansys Products of creative imagination or fancy, inclinations or desires with possible amorous overtones (OED sb8; MED n.3b, 4b, 5). deiest disperse, trow down, cast, degrade (MED “dejecten” v).

15-17 ydilnes . . . all Proverbial (see Whiting I6, c1500); “Ydleness . . . is maystersse of many evylles” (Caxton, The ryal book or book for a kyng, R4'-v); “Idilnes . . . in youthe is moder of all vice” (Flügel, Die Proverbes von Lekenfield und Wresil, Anglia 14 [1891-2]: 482); “Ydilnes . . . is the yate of all vices and namely of carnel vices” (Vaissier, A devout treatyse called the Tree and xii. frutes of the holy goost, 147.14-5); Roman de la Rose (forthcoming); see also notes to lines 22, 26 and 28, below. Contrast the sentiment in Barclay’s Myrroir of Good Maners: “Some pastyme of body is worse than ydélnes / As tables contynuall the cardes and the dyse” (ll. 964-5). Cf. also the justification of jousting given in the petition to jousts presented to Henry VIII for the tournayments of 1510, in which the proposed purpose of the jousts is to eschew “Idleness the ground of all vice” (BL MS Harleian 59, 3r ff.).

19 myrth [Of aids to health] “. . . refreshe the mynde wythe myrthe, exercyse the body with labour” (Whittinton, Vulgaria, 43.11-3).

22 . . . ffe  Cf. “Idilnes giffis nourysingis to vicis. Tharefor, quha-sa wil be Vertuise suld Idilnes ffe, As sais ‘the romance of the rose’” (Metcalfe, Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect, I.1.1-5).

23 good and ill  Cf. “Fore be thar cumpany men may knaw To gud or ill quhethir at thai draw” (Girvan, Counsail and Teiching at the VysMan Gaif his Sone, 66.9-12); see also I.12, above.

24 fre wyll  Note the character of Free Will in the anonymous interlude Hickscorner (Lancashire, Two Tudor Interludes).

26 esshew  Cf. “The ministre and the norice unto vices, Which that men clepe in English ydelenesse, That porter of the gate is of delices To eschue” (Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, Second Nun’s Prologue, I.1-3); “. . . in eschewing of ydelenesse moder of all vices” (Caxton, Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, I.4.3-4); “For senec seith that ‘the wise man that dredeth harmes, eschueth harmes, ne he falleth into perils that perils eschueth’” (Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, Tale of Melibee, ll.1320-1). See also notes to ll.15-17, above.

28 vertu  Cf. “Moodir off vices, callid idilnesse, Which off custum ech vertu set aside In ech acourt wher she is maistresse” (Lydgate, Fall of Princes I.263-4.2249-51).
Pastime with good company,
I love and shall until I die.
Grudge who likes, but none deny,
So God be pleased, thus live will I.
   For my pastance: 5
   Hunt, sing, and dance.
   My heart is set!
   All goodly sport
   For my comfort.
   Who shall me let?

Youth must have some dalliance,
Of good or ill some pastance.
Company I think then best—
All thoughts and fantasies to digest.
   For idleness 15
   Is chief mistress
   Of vices all.
   Then who can say
   But mirth and play
   Is best of all?

Company with honesty
Is virtue—vices to flee.
Company is good and ill,
But every man has his free will.
   The best ensue. 25
   The worst eschew.
   My mind shall be.
   Virtue to use.
   Vice to refuse.
   Thus shall I use me!
Figure 9: Detail of Henry's "Pastyme with good companye" (H 14'-15'; 121).
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 130

[Music notation]

I have a goodly sport for my good wife, I shall me best.

Yon is my best friend, none so good, I shall me best.

Well, I for my pastance, but more to dance, me fast.

Best all goodly sport for my good wife, I shall me best.

Company and good is best, are good for well, the best en in the worst other, my misde shall be.

Wor for me wise to refine this shall I use me.
Alas what shall I do for love
Henry VIII

Alas what shall I do for love
for love alasse what shall I do
Syth now so kynd
I do yow fynde
to kepe yow me vn
to 5
Alasse

Textual Apparatus:

Description: This lyric appears solely in \( H \), where it is given four voices, each complete, headed “The Kyng H.viiij.”

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 159.5, Boffey, Ringler MS TM110, Crum A884; reprinted in Chappell Account 374, Flügel Anglia 231, Flügel Neuengl. 133, Trefusis 7-8, Padelford 78, Stevens M&P 390, and Stevens MCH8 16.

Texts Collated: \( H^{1,2,3,4} \) (20'-21')

Emendations of the Copy Text (\( H' \)):
1  alas} a lasse \( H' \), alas \( H^{2,3} \), alas \( H^4 \)
5  vn} to \( H^{1,2,3,4} \)

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collations (Accidental Variants):
1  Alas} Alasse \( H^{2,4} \)
2  alas} a lasse \( H' \), alas \( H^4 \)
3  kynd} kynde \( H' \)
4  yow} you \( H^4 \)
Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric about keeping a lover, once she is discovered, with play on the two separate syllables of “alas” (“a” and “lass”). Stevens notes that the words of further strophic verses may be missing (M&P 390). Mentioned in this edition: 33, 34.

Notes and Glosses:

3 synth Since.

Modernised Text:

Alas, what shall I do for love?
For love, alas, what shall I do?
Since now so kind
I do you find
To kepe you me unto.
Alas!
O my hart and o my hart
Henry VIII

O my hart and o my hart
my hart it is so sore
sens I must nedys from my loue depart
and know no cause wherefore.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: H presents the lyric in three voices, each in full and with text-height block capitals at the outset; extra rules are given on both the verso and recto sheets. The heading reads “The Kyng H. viii.” Appears copied once, in an early sixteenth century hand, on the final page (gg4v) of Caxton’s edition of Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda Aurea (PBLE; trans. and pr. 1493; Huntington Printed Book 69798; Pollard/STC 24875).


Texts Collated: H1,2,3 (22r-23v), PBLE (gg4v)

Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):
3 depart] de part H1, depart H2,3, depart PBLE

Collation (Substantive Variants):
2 it] that PBLE
3 sens] sytt PBLE I] that I PBLE nedys] omit PBLE

Collations (Accidental Variants):
1 and] and H2
2 is] ys PBLE
3 nedys] ned H2,3 from] frome PBLE depart] de part H1, depart PBLE
4 and] and PBLE know] knowe PBLE wherefore.] whereffore PBLE
Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric of departure; the lover regretfully leaves his lady, not fully understanding the reasons for his leaving. Mentioned in this edition: 31, 33, 64, 109.

Notes and Glosses: None.

Modernised Text:

Oh, my heart and, oh, my heart,
My heart it is so sore,
Since I must from my love depart,
And know no cause wherefore.
The tyme of youthe is to be spent
Henry VIII

The tyme of youthe is to be spent
but vice in it shuld be forfent
Pastymes ther be I nought trewlye.
Whych one may use. and uice denye.
And they be plesant to god and man.
Those shuld we couit wyn who can.
As featys of armys. and suche other.
Wherby actyuenesse oon may vtter.
Compraysons in them may lawfully be sett.
For therby corage is suerly owt fet.
Vertue it is. then youth for to spend.
In goode dysporttys whych it dothe fend.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears in H in three voices, complete for ll. 1-2 save the second voice, which is missing the phrase and music for “be for fent” in the second repetition of ll. 2 (lower 28’), though there is a vacant rule on the following page (upper 29’) which could accommodate it; there is a blank rule also left above voice 2. The remainder of the lyric is provided after the third voice. Headed “The Kynge H. viij.”


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (28’-29’, $H^{2,3}$ ll. 1-3)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^i$):

2 forfent] for fent $H^{i,2,3}$  forfent, ] for fent but vice in shuld be for fent. $H^i$, ~ in it shuld $H^i$, ~ in it ~ fent $H^i$
10 For] F for $H^i$  fet.] ffet. $H^i$
11 for] f for $H^i$
Collation (Substantive Variants):
1 is] is for H^1
2 fent] fent but vice in shuld be for fent. H^2, ~ in it shuld H^2, ~ in it ~ fenr H^3

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 youthe] youth H^2,^3

Commentary:

General Commentary: A proclamation of the proper activities of youth, in which the author urges that courtly pastimes such as jousting ("featyes of armys") provide virtuous activity to keep vice at bay. Contains many echoes to sentiments expressed in "Pastyme with good companye" (H 14*-15*; 121). Sometimes entitled "Goode dysporttys" (Robbins Suppl.). Mentioned in this edition: 33, 35, 146, 155, 156, 172, 196, 245, 308, 311, 333.

Notes and Glosses:
1 spent Used to its fullest; "Exhausted of the active or effective power or principle" (OED ppl a 4.; cf., in Youth, the statement of Youth in response to Pride's advice "It is time enough to be good / when that ye be old" (l. 645-6): "I will make merry while I may" (l. 648; Lancashire, Two Tudor Interludes). Regarding the nature of the activities expressed in this lyric, and their place in the domain of youth, cf. similar sentiments expressed in the anonymous Jousts of May: "Therfore good is to haue parfyght knowlage / For all men that haue youth or metely age / How with the spere theyr enemies to outrage / At euery nede" (161-4); see also the note to ll. 7-10, below.
1-2 youthe . . . vice Cf. sentiments of "I rede that he that useth hym not to vertue(s) in his yonge age he shall not conne withstande vyces in his old age" (Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle . . . and his Followers 2.83[32-4]) and the moral saying "he that in yowth no vertu will vse / In Age all honor shall hym Refuce" (OxHill 200' [p. 217]; variant in OxRawl86 31'); see also Henry's "Lusti yough shuld vs ensue" (H 94*-97; 170) and gloss; contrast "Youthe in his flowres may lyue at liberte / In age it is convenient to grow to gravite" (Flügel, "Die Proverbes von Lekenfield und Wresil" 483).
2 forfent Forfended, forbidden (OED ppl a. of "forfend" v. 2, "to avert, to keep away or off, prevent").
3 nought Note, perceive, notice; also, possibly, to sing of (MED "noten" v. 3 a).
   I nought Possibly a scribal substitution for "inough," enough.
5 And they be If they be.
6 couit Desire (OED v. 1), or to have an inclination or drawing (OED "covet" v. 4.c). wy n who can May he win who can.
As feats of arms ... corage is suerly owt fet. Cf. the defence of jousting provided in the anonymous Jousts of May: “Syth it was to no mannes preiudye / To passe the tyme this merciall excercye / Was commendable. / Specyally for folkes honourable / And for other gentylmen therto able. / And for defence of realmes profytable / Is the vsage” (ll. 154-160); as well, in the Jousts of June: “For as moche as yonge folke can not deuyse, / To passe tyme in more noble excersyse / Than in the auncyent knyghtes practyse / Of dayes olde” (ll. 1-4).

vtter To vanquish, conquer, or overcome (OED “utter” v2. 1), as if by being active one many conquer vice; also, used in conjunction with horses at tournaments as they leave the lists or course (OED v1. 4).

Comparisons Comparisons, similarities or differences discovered by comparison (MED n. 3.a, 3.b). sett Prescribed, ordained, established, esp. in connection with a law or declaration (OED “set” v1. V.50).

courage Spirit, vitality, vigor, lustiness, and so forth, relating to the heart as a centre of feeling, though, and mind. It is used in two different, though related, senses in the lyrics of H; one—relating to confidence, boldness, bravery, and valour (OED n. 3.d, 4)—is the dominant sense here and in the unattributed “Pray we to god that all may gyde” (H 103r; 307; 1. 3); another—relating to sexual vigour and inclination, the desire to love, the amorous spirit (OED n. 3.e)—is found in Henry’s “Thow that men do call it dotage” (H 55r-56r; 154; ll. 2, 13), Cornish’s “Adew corage adew” (H 42v; 195; ll. 1, 3), and the unattributed “And I war a maydyn” (H 106v-107r; 310; 1. 8) and “Hey troly loly lo” (H 124r-128r; 330; 1. 18). For a likely instance of the relation of the two, via the practices of courtly love, see “Thow that men do call it dotage” (H 55r-56r; 154; l. 13). owt fet Fetch out of it, gained (OED “fet” v. obs.).

dysporttys Disports, relaxations, recreations, merriment, (OED “disport” n., 1, 2, & 3).

Modernised Text:

The time of youth is to be spent,
But vice in it should be forfent.
Pastimes there be I note truly
Which one may use and vice deny.
And they be pleasant to God and man:
Those should we covet when we can.
As feats of arms, and such other
Whereby activeness one may utter.
Comparisons in them may lawfully be set,
For, thereby, courage is surely out fet.
Vertue it is, then, youth for to spend
In good disports which it does fend.
Alac alac what shall I do.
Henry VIII

Alac alac what shall I do.
for care is cast in to my hart.
And trew loue lokked thereto.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: $H$ presents three voices, complete and presented on the verso only; headed “The Kyng. H viij.” Ringler MS suggests that the text is probably incomplete (51), and the peculiar layout in $H$ suggests that this song and that which follows it, “Hey nony nony nony nony no” ($H$ 36', 281), are quite closely related (see Stevens MCH8, #30, note). “Hey nony nony nony nony no” is unattributed, and the original numbering of it in the ms (“xxvij”) and corresponds with the heading “28. Alac alac what shall I do” in the table of contents (2‘). Also, the text on 36’ lacks any sort of block initial capital which is used to offset voices and lyrics from one another; moreover, the matter of each song is complementary.\(^{230}\) The incipit “Alasse a lasse what shall I doo” is listed as part of the contents of DBla (59’), which contains many songs of a similar nature, including a great many pieces by Wyatt; Henry’s piece does not survive in the manuscript outside of this incipit, however.


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (35’)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^1$):

2 for ] for $H^{1,2,3}$
3 lokked] lokked $H^{2,3}$, lakked $H^1$ ther to $H^{1,2}$, the to $H^3$

Collation (Substantive Variants):

3 lokked] lokked $H^{2,3}$, lakked $H^1$

\(^{230}\) Perhaps, for example, the complaint of the maid in “Hey nony nony nony nony no” is “Alac, alac,” for “Hey nony nony” would be much less appropriate.
Collation (Accidental Variants):
3 thereto.] ther to. \(H^1,2\), the to. \(H^3\)

Commentary:

**General Commentary:** Three lines of, likely, a longer love song, perhaps that of “Hey nony nony nony nony no” (\(H 36\); 281). “Alac alac” presents the lament of a devout lover unsure of his lady, as does “Hey nony,” where this concern sees a much fuller development and, ultimately, a positive conclusion. Mentioned in this edition: 33, 105, 283.

**Notes and Glosses:** None.

**Modernised Text:**

Alac! Alac! What shall I do?
For care is cast in to my heart,
And true love locked thereto.
Grene growith the holy
Henry VIII

Grene growith the holy
so doth the Iue.
thow wyntes blastys blow neuer so hye
grene growth the holy.

As the holy growth grene.
and neuer chaungeth hew.
So I am euer hath bene.
unto my lady trew.

A the holy growth grene:
with Iue all alone.
When flowerys. can not be sene:
and grene wode leuys be gone.

Now unto my lady
promyse to her I make.
Frome all other only
unto her. I me betake.

Adew myne owne lady.
Adew my specyall.
Who hath my hart trewly
be sure and euer shall.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears in H in three voices, with voices 2 and 3 given for ll. 1-4 alone;
headed “The Kyng H.viiij.” Music is provided for the burden only; the lyrics may have been sung to a well-known tune (Stevens M&P 127-8, 399), as with “Hey nony nony nony nony no” (H 36; 281), “Blow thi homne hunter” (H 39*-40'; 188), “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (H 54*-55'; 211), and “Yow and I and amyas” (H 45*-46'; 199).


Texts Collated: \(H^1,2,3\) (37'-38', ll. 1-4 \(H^{2,3}\))

Emendations of the Copy Text (\(H^1\)):
1  Gren[ e] GRene \(H^{1,2,3}\)
8  vnto] vn to \(H^1\)
13 vnto] vn to \(H^1\)
15 Frome] Ffrome \(H^1\)
16 betake.] be take. \(H^1\)

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1  growth] growth \(H^2\), grouch \(H^1\)
2  the] the \(H^{2,3}\) lue.] luye. \(H^2\)
3  wyntes] wynters \(H^{2,3}\) blastys] blasts \(H^2\) hye.] hye. \(H^2\)
4  growth] grouch \(H^{2,3}\)

Commentary:

General Commentary: Traditionally associated together with the winter season, specifically Christmas, holly and ivy are, as here, also associated with the male and female, respectively; together, they are often seen in strife over issues such as mastery. \(^{231}\) Additionally, holly also contains associations with foresters (fosters)

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\(^{231}\) See Greene (Early English Carols xviii-ciii, #136 ff.). For example, “Nay, Iuy, nay” (BL Harleian MS 5,396 [275]); rptd. Greene, Early English Carols 93-4, #136) the burden of which reads “Nay, Iuy, nay, hyt shal not be, iwys; / Let holy hafe the maystry, as the maner ys” (ll. 1-2); as well, OxEP contains a lyric of the same ilk, in which “Holvyr and Heyvy mad a gret party, / Ho xuld haue the maystre / In londes qwer thei goo” (30 **, ll. 1-3). See also OxHill (251’), wherein the same burden as that given above is employed in a dancing song for men and women (Bontoux 164-5).
and hunters,\textsuperscript{232} as well as with Christ,\textsuperscript{233} and Ivy with the Virgin.\textsuperscript{234} In this love lyric, Henry draws on some aspects of the traditional holly and ivy carol, but focuses on the amity of the two, their inseparability in adverse circumstances (ll. 9-12), and holly’s invariability (ll. 5-8); herein, the lover, on impending departure, assures his lady of his constancy in love. Mentioned in Philip Lindsay’s \textit{Here Comes the King} (chap. 8); see W.H.J. “Henry VIII: Verses.” Mentioned in this edition: 33, 34, 54, 56, 62, 152, 189, 200, 212, 214, 283.

Notes and Glosses:

1. \textit{holy} See the General Commentary, above; proverbial, with reference to constancy: “Qui nunquam fabricat mendacia / Bot quhen the holyne growis green” (Dunbar, “I, maister Andro Kennedy” ll. 63-4).

2. \textit{Iue} See the General Commentary, above; proverbial and, as with “holy,” used with reference to constancy: “Ivy ys grene and wyl be grene / Qwere so euer a grow in stok or ston” (Cambridge, \textit{St. John’s College MS S. 54} [12r, ll. 7-8], rptd. Greene, \textit{Early English Carols} 95, #139).

9. \textit{A} Ever.

16. \textit{betake} Entrust, commit, give in charge (\textit{OED} v. 1.b); also used in the sense of departure (\textit{OED} v. 2) which follows in l. 17.

19-20. \textit{hath my hart . . . and euer shall} Cf. Cornish’s “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (\textit{H 54r-55r}; 211): “He hath my hart and euer shall” (l. 37); Wyatt’s “Ffortune what ayleth the”: “She hath my hart and euer shall” (l. 25; from DBla); and Henry Bold’s “I love my Love, she not me”: “she hath my heart, / And shall have evermore” (ll. 3-4).

\textsuperscript{232} “Holy hat berys as rede as any rose; / The foster, the hunters kepe hem fro the doo[s]” (\textit{BL Harleian MS S.396} [275v ll. 15-7]; rptd. Greene, \textit{Early English Carols} 93-4, #136).

\textsuperscript{233} See “Her commys Holly” (\textit{OxEP} 53r, rptd. Greene, \textit{Early English Carols} 94, #137), which reads “Her commys Holly, that is so gent; / To please all men is his intent. / Alleluia” (ll. 3-5). This association is due in part to holly’s vine-like nature; Christ claims “I am the true vine” (John 15.1-5). Lancashire (\textit{Two Tudor Interludes [Youth]} 105 n.45) notes that the character of Youth, intended to characterise Henry VIII (54-5), associates himself with Christ through the vine (105 l. 45).

\textsuperscript{234} A carol in \textit{OxEP} draws associations between the Virgin and Ivy through its employment of the \textit{Song of Songs} (54r; rptd. Greene, \textit{Early English Carols} 95, #138; see also Greene 400 n. 262). \textit{Cambridge, St. John’s College MS S. 54} (12v) contains a meditation on the letters of the word “ivy,” the second letter of which is presented thus: “I lykyn to a wurthy wyffe; / Moder sche ys and a madyn trewe; / Non but on I that euer bare lyffe” (ll. 16-8; rptd. Greene, \textit{Early English Carols} 95, #139); on lines 23 ff., the Virgin is represented encouraging the speaker to meditate on the letters of that make up the word.
Modernised Text:

Green grows the holly.
    So does the ivy.
Though winter's blasts blow never so high,
    Green grows the holly.

As the holly grows green
    And never changes hue,
So I am—ever have been—
    unto my lady true.

Ever the holly grows green
    With ivy all alone,
When flowers can not be seen
    And greenwood leaves be gone.

Now unto my lady
    Promise to her I make:
From all other, only
    to her, I me betake.

Adieu, my own lady.
    Adieu, my special
Who hath my heart truly,
    Be sure, and ever shall.
Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne
Henry VIII

Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne.
In loue he must be withowt dysdayne.
For loue enforcyth all nobyle kynd.
And dysdayne dyscorages all gentyl mynd.
Wher for to loue and be not loued. 5
Is wors then deth. let it be proved.
loue encouragith. and makyth on bold.
Dysdayne abattyth. and makith hym colde.
loue ys gevyn. to god and man.
to woman also. I thynk the same. 10
But dysdayne ys vice. and shuld be refused.
Yet neuer the lesse it ys to moch used.
grett pyte it ware. loue for to compell.
with dysdayne. bothe falce and subtell.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Though music in H is given for three voices, only the third voice is given text (the incipit), and the remainder of the lyrics appear underlaid; the heading reads “The Kynge H.viiij.”


Texts Collated: H' (39')

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):
1 Whoso] Who so H'
3 For] Ffor H'

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.
Collation (Accidental Variants): None.

Commentary:

General Commentary: A proclamation on the value of loving as an act. In addition to enforcing one’s noble demeanor and making one bold, it is something which allows one to obtain “all feats” (these, presumably akin to the feats of arms expressed in “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” [H 28r-29r; 135]); additionally, the force of love is contrasted throughout to that of disdain. Mentioned in this edition: 5, 33, 35, 149, 156, 172, 243, 301.

Notes and Glosses:
1. Who so... optayne Whosoever will show himself fully valorous (Stevens M&P 400). feattes “Featyts of armys” (see Henry’s “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” [H 28r-29r; 135] l. 7).
2. dysdayne Cf. its place further in this poem (ll. 4, 8, 11, 14) and in Henry’s “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (H 48r-49r; 148; l. 5 [editorial emendation]), his “Thow that men do call it dotage” (H 55r-56r; 154; l. 14), his “Whosothat wyl for grace sew” (H 84r-85r; 168; l. 8), and his “Lusti yough shuld vs ensue” (H 94r-97r; 170; ll. 10, 14; also l. 6); also Dagge’s “Downbery down” (H 25r; 242; l. 6) and the anonymous (though in the spirit of Henry’s lyrics) “Let not vs that yongmen be” (H 87r-88r; 300; l. 3); cf. also the similar personification in “As power and wytt wyll me Assyst” (in LDev, later attributed to Wyatt): “yf dysdayn do shew hys face” (l. 19). In the context of such “feattes” as are put forward by the lyric, cf. also the sentiment which concludes the Jousts of June, that with “false tonges... Some of enuy dysdeynously wolde say” (ll. 261-4) ill of the good reasons for which the jousts were undertaken; see also the note to Henry’s “Withowt dyscord” (H 68r-69r; 160; l. 24).
3. enforcyth all nobyle kynd Strengthens all those of a noble nature, as well as all those natures (i.e. people) that are noble. kynd Birth, origin, descent (OED n I.1.a), but esp. “The character or quality derived from birth or native constitution” (OED n. I 3a.); “My kinde is to desire the honoure of the field” (Surrey’s “On a Lady refusing to dance” l. 51; in Tottell’s Miscellany [Songes and Sonnettes] Cc4). gentyl... Of birth, blood, family (OED a 2.a); also courteous, polite (OED a 3.c).
4. proved Proven, tried, tested (OED ppla 1); also demonstrated, shown to be true (OED ppla 2).
5. on One.
6. abattyth Abates, hinders, &c.
7. compell Constrain (OED v I.a).
Modernised Text:

Who so that will all feats obtain
In love he must be without disdain.
For love enforces all noble kind,
And disdain discourages all gentle mind.
Wherefore, to love and be not loved
Is worse than death? Let it be proved!
Love encourages, and makes one bold;
Disdain abates and makes him cold.
Love is given to God and man;
To woman also, I think the same.
But disdain is vice, and should be refused,
Yet never the less it is too much used.
Great pity it were, love for to compel
With disdain, both false and subtle.
If love now reynyd as it hath bene
Henry VIII

If loue now reynyd as it hath bene:
And war rewardit as it hath sene:
Nobyll men then wold suer enserch:
All ways wher by thay myght it rech:
Butt enuy reynyth with such dysdayne:

5
And causith louers owt wardly to refrayne:
Which putt them to more and more:
In wardly most greuous and sore:
The faut in whome I can not sett:
But let them tell which loue doth gett:

10
To louers I put now suer this cace:
Which of ther loues doth gett them grace:
And vnto them which doth it know:
Better than do I. I thynk it so.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The text is not underlaid, as in the typical fashion, and appears at the end of of the music, in three voices; a longer version of the music alone is repeated on ff. 52'-53'. The heading reads “The Kynge .H.viiij.”, as it does in its muscial reproduction slightly further on in the manuscript (52'-53').


Texts Collated: H' (48'-49')
Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^i$):

5 dysdayne:] enuy: $H^i$ [emendation from Chappell Account 377; adopted Stevens M&P 403 and elsewhere]

13 vnto] vn to $H^i$

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants): None.

Commentary:

General Commentary: Akin to other proclamations of love’s doctrine, this lyric idealises a past where love did govern the actions of noble men and contrasts it with the present, wherein forces of envy hinder the pursuits of true lovers. The lyric ends in a riddle with, perhaps, courtly application: which of a lover’s loves grants them grace? Those who are envious and frustrate the desires of the lover, clearly, have no chance at grace (the reward of lover), but those who do love, and who focus on the right object of their love, do find love’s reward. Mentioned in this edition: 5, 33, 35, 36, 64, 71, 146, 156, 162, 169, 172, 180, 301.

Notes and Glosses:

2 And war rewardit as it hath sene And were rewarded it had been since (OED “sene” adv 2); alternatively, and were rewarded as it it is evident (OED “sene” a) it should be.

3 enserch Search it out.

5 enuy... dysdayne While “dysdayne” is a historical editorial emendation—given to correct the seeming scribal error of repeating the word “enuy” twice in the line, but keeping with the intended rhyme of the lyric (see Emendations of the Copy Text, above)—the two are frequently used together in the sense as they appear here; cf., for example, the anonymous Jousts of June, where “Some of enuy dysdeynously wolde” speak ill of the jousts (l. 264). dysdayne Cf. Henry’s “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” ($H$ 39v; 145; ll. 2, 4, 8, 11, 14) and elsewhere; see the note to line 2 of the aforementioned lyric.

9 faut Fault, deficiency, lack; a defect, imperfection, blameable quality or feature in moral character, expressing a milder censure than “vice” (OED n 3.a).

12 which of ther loues doth gett them grace One answer to this riddle, if we acknowledge the very real world of the court in the courtly love tradition, is “the king.” grace Cf. similar actions associated with grace (suing, purchasing, &c.) in the context of love in Henry’s “Thow that men do call it dotage” ($H$ 55r-56r; 154; l. 17), his “Whoso that wyll for grace sew” ($H$ 84r-85r; 168; l. 1), his “Withowt dyscord” ($H$ 68v-69v; 160; ll. 19-20), his
“Lusti yough shuld vs ensue” (H 94'-97'; 170; in which “dysdaynars . . . sew to get them grace” [ll. 14-15]), and the unattributed “Hey nony nony nony nony no” (H 36'; 281; l. 24).

14 I thynk it so I.e. “I am conscious of speaking to experts” (Stevens M&P 403).

Modernised Text:

If love now reigned as it has been
And were rewarded as it has seen,
Noble men then would surely ensearch
All ways whereby they might it reach.
But envy reigns with such disdain
And causes lovers outwardly to refrain,
Which puts them to more and more,
Inwardly, most grievous and sore:
The fault in whom I cannot set,
But let them tell who love does get.
To lovers I put now sure this case:
Which of their loves does get them grace?
And unto them which doth it know
Better than do I, I think it so.
Wherto shuld I expresse
Henry VIII

Wherto shuld I expresse
my inward heuynes
no myrth can make me fayn
tyl that we mete Agayne

Do way dere hart not so
let no thought yow dysmaye
Thow ye now parte me fro:
we shall mete when we may.

when I remembyr me:
of yor most gentyll mynde.
It may in no wyse agre:
that I shuld be vnkynde.

The daise delectale:
the violett wan and blo.
Ye ar not varyable:
I loue you and no mo.

I make you fast and sure:
it ys to me gret payne.
Thus longe to endure:
tyll that we mete agayne.
Textual Apparatus:

Description: In three voices, with the text of the first two couplets underlaid and the remaining text appearing at the end of the music. The heading reads “The Kynge .H.viiij.”


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (51'-52', ll. 1-4 $H^{2,3}$)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^i$):
1. Wherto] Wher to $H^{1,2,3}$
12. vnkynde] vn kynde. $H^{1,2,3}$

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants):
2. heuynes] heuywas// $H^2$, hevynes// $H^3$
4. that] that $H^2$, Agayne] a gayne $H^3$

Commentary:

General Commentary: A song of departure, with two speakers. The first stanza laments the lover’s leaving; his lady answers in what follows, soothing him, assuring him of her devotion, and of the pain she will share with him until they reunite. Mentioned in this edition: 33, 34, 62.

Notes and Glosses:
3. fayn Glad, rejoiced, well-pleased (OED a A.1).
13. delectale Delectable.
14. wan and blo Pale (pale [OED a 4.e]) and blue (blackish blue, livid, leaden-coloured [OED a]; perhaps associated with the pale complexion of the stereotypical lover, suffering in the throes of love’s pain; cf., also, the words of Magnificence in Skelton’s drama of the same name, who comments with the realisation of his fall that “For worldly shame I wax both wan and blo” (l. 2055).
15. not varyable See Henry’s “Grene growith the holy” ($H^{37'}-38'$; 141; ll. 5-8) for a similar application of natural attributes to the qualities of the lover.
Modernised Text:

Whereto should I express
   My inward heaviness?
No mirth can make me fain,
   Till that we meet again.

Do way, dear heart, not so.
   Let no thought you dismay.
Though you now part me from,
   We shall meet when we may.

When I remember me
   Of your most gentle mind,
It may in no wise agree
   That I should be unkind.

The daisy delectable,
   The violet waning and blue,
You are not variable —
   I love you and no more.

I make you fast and sure;
   It is to me great pain
Thus long to endure
   Till that we meet again.
Thow that men do call it dotage
Henry VIII

Thow that men do call it dotage.
who louyth not wantith corage.
And who so euer may loue gete.
Frome venus sure he must it fett.
Or elles from her which is her hayre.
And she to hym most seme most fayre.
Wyth ee and mynd doth both agre.
There is no bote. ther must it be.
The ee doth loke and represent.
But mynd afformyth with full consent.
Thus am I fyxed with owt gruge,
Myne ey with hart doth me so luge.
loue maynteynyth all noble courage.
who loue dysdaynyth ys all of the village.
Soch louers though thay take payne.
It were pete thay shuld optayne.
For often tymes wher they do sewe.
Thay hynder louers that wolde be trew.
For who so louith shuld loue butt oone.
Chaunge who so wyll I wyll be none.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: In three voices, with the text of the first couplet underlaid and the remaining text appearing after the music. The heading reads “The Kyng .H.vii.”

Texts Collated: $H^{1.2.3}$ (55*-56*, ll. 1-2 $H^{2.3}$)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):

2 not] no $H^1$, not $H^{2.3}$
4 from] $ffrom H^{1.2.3}$
5 agree.] a gre. $H^{1.2.3}$
16 For] Ffor $H^{1.2.3}$
19 For] Ffor $H^{1.2.3}$

Collation (Substantive Variants):

2 not] no $H^1$, not $H^{2.3}$

Collation (Accidental Variants):

2 louyth] louith $H^2$
6 Note: the “o” in first occurrence of “most” is a touched up “u”

Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric urging constancy in love, but at the same time denigrating those who do not love (and those who hinder the activities of the lover) as being cowardly and unsophisticated. At the same time, the text puts forward a neoplatonic theory of love’s reception by the lover akin to that outlined by Bembo in the fourth book of the Courtier (par. 52, p. 337); love is received from Venus, or the woman who is heir to Venus, and the object of love is perceived to be fair by the lover both visually and mentally/emotionally—first appreciated by the eye, and then by the mind and heart. Underlying these concerns is that of the author with unsophisticated lovers (those, presumably, who do not love properly) who hinder the activities of true lovers. Mentioned in this edition: 33, 35, 137, 146, 149, 285, 289, 301.

Notes and Glosses:

2 corage Sexual vigour and inclination, the desire to love, the amorous spirit; see Henry’s “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” ($H$ 28*-29*, 135; l. 10, note), and l. 10, below.

4 venus Note also the words ascribed to Henry, at his death, by Cavendish (Metrical Visions): “Whan Venus veneryall of me had domynacion, / And byld Cupido my purpose did avaunce, / Than willfull lust thoroughe indiscretion, / Was chosesyn juge to hold my balaunce” (ll. 1245-8). fett Fetch, gain (OED “fet” v. obs.).

5 hayre Heir.

7 Wyth Read “when.” ee Eye.

8 bote Remedy, help.
afformyth  Affirms, confirms.

courage  Perhaps a combination of the two senses of the word “corage” (as outlined in the note to Henry’s “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” [H 28\-29; 135; l. 10]); the “corage” of bravery, as noted in other lyrics in H, is facilitated by the type of love that Henry here urges, as evidenced by discussions in Castiglione’s Courtier (as noted in the General Commentary to this lyric).

dysdaynyth  Cf. Henry’s “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” (H 39\; 145; ll. 2, 4, 8, 11, 14) and elsewhere; see the note to line 2 of the aforementioned lyric. of the village  Uncourtly, perhaps bucolic; cf. Youth’s sentiments “Were thou born in Trumpington / And brought up in Hogs Norton?” (Lancashire, Two Tudor Interludes [Youth] 141 ll. 603-4). who... village  Cf. “loue enforcyth all nobyle kynd. / And dysdayne dyscorages all gentyl mynd” (Henry’s “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” [H 39\; 145; ll. 3-4]).

sewe  Make suit; legal (courtly allusion); see also the comment to Henry’s “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (H 48\-49; 148; l. 12).

Modernised Text:

Though that men do call it dotage,
Who loves not wants courage.
And whosoever may love get
From Venus surely he must it fetch,
Or else from her which is her heir.
And she to him must seem most fair.
When eye and mind do both agree
There is no help!—there must it be!
The eye does look and represent,
But mind affirms with full consent.
Thus am I fixed without grudge:
My eye with heart does me so judge.
Love maintains all noble courage;
Who love disdains is all of the village.
Such lovers, though they take pain,
It were pity they should obtain.
For often times where they do sue
They hinder lovers that would be true.
For who so loves should love but one.
Change who so will, I will be none.
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 157

Departure is my chef payne
Henry VIII

Departure is my chef payne
I trust ryght wel of retorn agane

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Built, musically, above a bass part of "Departure," this three part round is headed by the attribution "The Kyng H. viij." A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 10 [159]).


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (60°)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$): None.

Collation (Substantive Variants):
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>agane] agayne De parture $H^3$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Collation (Accidental Variants):
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Departure] de parture $H^3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>retorn] retorne $H^{2,3}$ agane] a gayne $H^{2,3}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commentary:

General Commentary: Robbins, perhaps tongue-in-cheek, notes that this is "a late love song"; as the bass part suggests, this song of departure, the lyrics of which are in keeping with contemporary proverbial expression, and may be intended as a musical representation of the words "return agane" (Stevens M&P 408). Proverbial sayings suggest that Henry's is a variation upon a common theme. Mentioned in this edition: xv, 34, 159.

Notes and Gloses:
1-2 Cf. "Parting is a privye payne, But old friends cannot be called againe!" (Eger and Grime, ed. Caldwell, ll. 1341-2); "Departyt yaim with mekill payn, / And went till Ingland hame again" (Barbour, Barbour's Bruce 7.633-4); the sections of Barclay's Eclogues wherein the miseries of courtiers are
recounted (l. 468), and wherein Coridon takes leave of Cornix: “Adewe swete Cornix, departing is a payne, / But mirth reneweth when louers mete againe” (ll. 823-4); Campion’s “Your faire lookes enflame my desire”: “Will you now so timely depart, / And not returne againe? / Your sight lends such life to my hart / That to depart is paine” (ll. 17-20); Wyatt’s “Absens absenting causithe me to complaine”: “And departing most pryvie increasithe my paine” (l. 3; LDev 81); and “Your departure ladie breedes a priuie paine” (l. 651) from the anonymous Mucedorus; see also Tilley (P82).

Modernised Text:

Departure is my chief pain.
I trust right well to return again.
Figure 10: Henry's "Departure is my chief payne" (60v, 157).
Withowt dyscord
Henry VIII

Withowt dyscord.
and bothe acorde
now let us be
bothe hartes alone
to set in one
best semyth me.
for when one sole
ys in the dole
of louys payne.
then helpe must haue
hym selfe to saue
and loue to optayne.

wherfor now we.
that louers be.
let vs now pray.
Onys loue sure.
for to procure.

withowt denay.
wher loue so sewith.
ther no hart rewith.
but condyscend.
Yf contrarye.
what remedy.
god yt amen.
Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza, lines 1-12, is through-set, while the remaining text appears following the third voice. The heading reads "The Kynge. H. viij."


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (68'-69', ll. 1-12 $H^{2,3}$)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
1. Without] With owt $H^{1,2,3}$
13. wherfor] wher for $H'$
16. for] ff for $H'$
21. but] bu $H'$

Collation (Substantive Variants):
10. must] to $H^2$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1. dyscord] discorde $H^2$, dyscorde $H^3$
2. and] and $H^{2,3}$ a corde] a corde $H^2$
3. us] vs $H^{2,3}$
5. in] in $H^3$
7. when] when $H^2$
8. ys] is $H^2$ the] the $H^{2,3}$
12. and] and $H^2$

Commentary:

General Commentary: An exposition concerning the unity of the lovers, from the "dole / of louys payne" commonly associated with the pangs of the courtly love tradition ("dyscord"), to the unity of the hearts and souls of the lovers ("acorde"). Addressed to lovers, the lyric concludes with a prayer for "sure love" where the lover sues. Mentioned in this edition: 21, 34, 146, 149, 166, 173, 179, 317.

Notes and Glosses:
7. sole Soul, perhaps, but also in the sense of being alone or solitary ($OED$ a 2.a) and separated from another ($OED$ a 2.b).
10. helpe must haue Help he must have.
16. Onys Once (i.e. on some occasion).
18. denay Denial, refusal ($OED$ "deny" n.1).


19 *sewith*  Make suit; legal (courtly allusion); see also the comment to Henry’s “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (H 48r-49r; 148; l. 12).

20 *rewith*  Sorrows, distresses, grieves (*OED* v. 1 3); also, feels remorse (*OED* v. 1 9).

21 *condyscend*  Condescend.

23 *what remedy*  Cf. Cornish’s “My loue sche morneth for me” (H 30v-31v; 176; l. 26) and the anonymous “What remedy what remedy” (H 108v-110r; 315); see also Ravenscroft’s “Hey downe downe”: “what remedy though alas for loue I die with woe” (*Pammelia* 13).

24 *amen*  Amend, but also in the sense of “answer our prayer”; cf., in this context of prayer, Henry’s “Though sum saith that yough rulyth me” (H 71r-73r; 164; l. 18) and his “Lusti yough shuld vs ensue” (H 94v-97r; 170; l. 27); with special reference to these two lyrics, cf. also the sentiments expressed towards ‘disdainers’ in the concluding lines of the *Jousts of May*: “Some reprehende / Suche as entende / To condescende / To chyualry // God them amende / And grace them sende / Not to offende / More tyll they deye” (ll. 180-7).

**Modernised Text:**

Without discord
And both accord,
   Now let us be.
Both hearts alone
To set in one,
   best seems me.
For when one soul
Is in the dole
   Of love’s pain,
Then help must have
Himself to save
   And love to obtain.

Where for now we
That lovers be,
   Let us now pray:
Once love sure
For to procure
   Without denial.
Where love so sues
There no heart rues,
   But condescend.
If contrary,
What remedy?
  God it amend.
Though sum saith that yough rulyth me
[Henry VIII]

Though sum saith that yough rulyth me
    I trust in age to tarry
god and my ryght and my dewtyme
    frome them shall I neuer vary
thow sum say thoygh rulyth me.

I pray you all that aged be.
    How well dyd ye yor yough carry.
I thynk sum wars of ych degre.
    Ther in a wager. lay dar I.
    though sum sayth. that yough rulyth me

Pastymes of yough sum tyme among
    none can sey but necessary.
I hurt no man I do no wrong
    I loue trewe wher I dyd mary
    thow sum sayth. that yough rulyth me

Then sone dyscusse that hens we must
    Pray we to god and seynt mary.
That all amend and here an end.
    Thus sayth the king the .viii.th harry.
    though sum sayth that yough rulyth me.
Textual Apparatus:

**Description:** An unusual form, classified by Greene as a carol, in three voices with variation in the music. The first and second lines of stanza three are missing in the third voice, though the erroneous beginning of the third stanza is marked with a block capital. No scribal attribution is given for this piece; the editor’s attribution to Henry VIII is given, typically, on the evidence of line 19 (“Thus sayth the king the .viii. th harry”), the allusion to the royal motto “Dieu et mon droit” (“god and my ryght,” l. 3), and following tradition (see reprints, below).


**Texts Collated:** H1,2,3 (71'-73', ll. 1-5 and 11-15 H2, ll. 1-5 and 13-15 H3)

**Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):**

- 9 a wager.] awager. H1
- 11 among] a mong H1, a monge H2
- 13 no man] noman H1,2, no man H2 no wrong] nowrong H1, no wrong H2, no wronge H3
- 14 wher] when H1, wher H1,2,3

**Collation (Substantive Variants):**

- 2 to tarry.] for to tarry, H1,2
- 4 shall I] omit H1,2
- 11, 12 omit H2
- 14 wher] when H1, wher H1,2,3

**Collation (Accidental Variants):**

- 1 Though] Though H2 sum] sum H1,2,3 saith] say H2, sayth H3 that] that H1,2,3 yough] youth H2
- 2 in] in H2
- 3 god and] god and H2,3 nyght and] nyght and H2 dewtys] dewte H2,3
- 4 them] them H2 vary] vary H2
- 5 thow] though H1 sum] sum H1,2,3 say] sayth H3
- 11 among] a mong H1, a monge H2
- 12 sey] say H2 necessary] necessary, H2
- 13 no man] noman H1,2, no man H2 no wrong] nowrong H1, no wrong H2, no wronge H3
- 15 sayth. that ~ me] saith. that ~ me H1,2, sayth. that ~ me H3
Commentary:

General Commentary: A statement of personal doctrine, in the first person, by the king, who reinforces his position by repeating in the burden his motto: “god and my ryght.” In dealing with issues typical of the debate between youth and age (evident in other of Henry’s works), this lyric urges that, though youth may rule the speaker, the speaker does not hurt anyone and is not in the wrong; his youth does not keep him from performing those duties that are expected of him, nor from his allegiance to his wife. The lyric ends with a prayer that those who have forgotten the time of youth—those who have perhaps been more excessive in their own youths than the speaker—will bring this matter to an end, and their actions amended. The tune is very much like that of Henry’s “Pastyme with good companye” (H 14'-15'; 121). Mentioned in this edition: 37, 71, 124, 162, 180, 245, 301.

Notes and Glosses:

1-2 Though . . . tarry Cf. the proverb “Youthe in his flowres may lyue at liberte / In age it is convenient to grow to gravite” (Flügel, “Die Proverbes von Lekenfield und Wresil” 483); cf. also the words of Mary in Wager’s interlude The Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene: “I may vse daliance and pastyme a while, / But the courage of youth will soone be in exile” (ll. 702-3).

3 god and my ryght Henry’s royal motto was “Dieu et mon droit”; on 22 June 1520, at the Field of Cloth of Gold, Henry jousted with the motto, in French (Hall 618).

8 wars Worse.

11 Pastymes . . . among “to be sometimes engaged in pastimes of youth” (Stevens M&P 412)

16 dyscusse Drive away, dispel, disperse, scatter (OED v.1.a).

18 amend For similar use in the context of prayer, see the note to Henry’s “Withowt dyscord” (H 68'-69'; 160; l. 24).

Modernised Text:

Though some say that youth rules me,
    I trust in age to tarry.

God and my right, and my duty,
    From them shall I never vary,
    Though some say that youth rules me.

235 See “Youth and Age, Lover and Disdainer: Poetic Discourses and Royal Power in Henry’s Lyrics,” above.
I pray you all that aged be
   How well did you your youth carry?
I think some worse of each degree.
   Therein a wager lay dare I,
   Though some say that youth rules me.

Pastimes of youth some time among
   None can say but necessary.
I hurt no man, I do no wrong,
   I love true where I did marry,
   Though some say that youth rules me.

Then soon discuss that hence we must
   Pray we to God and Saint Mary
That all amend, and here an end.
   Thus says the King, the eighth Harry,
   Though some say that youth rules me.
Whoso that wyll for grace sew
Henry VIII

Whoso that wyll for grace sew.

hys entent must nedys be trew.

and loue her in hart and dede

els it war pyte that he shuld spede

many oone sayth that loue ys yll

but those be thay which can no skyll.

Or els because thay may not opteyne.

They wold that other shuld yt dysdayne.

But loue ys a thyng geuyn by god.

In that ther for can be non odde.

But perfite in dede and betwene two.

wher for then shuld we yt excho.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Strophic setting; the heading reads “The Kynge. H. viij.”


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (84'-85', ll. 1-6 $H^{2,3}$)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^1$):
1 Whoso] Who so $H^{1,2,3}$
6 because] be cause $H^{1,2,3}$
11 betwene] be twene $H^1$

Collation (Substantive Variants):
6 those] thes $H^2$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 grace] gce $H^2$, grace $H^1$ sew.] sew $H^1$
Commentary:

General Commentary: As others of Henry's lyrics, this is an expression of chivalric doctrine, propounding the quality of truthful intent in love and the value of love itself as a thing given by God, but also presenting an argument of justification against those who "can no skyll" (l. 6) and, therefore, "yt dysdayne" (l. 8). Mentioned in this edition: 34, 35, 146, 149, 169.

Notes and Glosses:

1 grace sew Make suit; legal (courtly allusion); see also the comment to Henry's "If love now reynyd as it hath bene" (H 48r-49r; 148; l. 12).
4 sped Succeed, meet with good fortune, attain one's purpose or desire (OED "speed" v.1.a).
6 can Know or have learned, have practical knowledge of (OED v.1 B.1.1.b).
8 dysdayne Cf. Henry's "Whoso that wyll for grace sew" (H 84r-85r; 168; ll. 2, 4, 8, 11, 14) and elsewhere; see the note to line 2 of the aforementioned lyric.
11 perfite Perfect, in the state of complete excellence, free from any flaw or imperfection of quality, faultless (OED a B.1.4.a); also, marked by moral perfection (OED a B.1.4.c).
12 excho Eschew, abstain carefully from, avoid, shun (OED v.1.1.c).

Modernised Text:

Who so that will for grace sue,
His intent must needs be true,
And love her in heart and deed,
Else it were pity that he should speed.

Many one says that love is ill,
But those be they which know no skill.

Or else, because they may not obtain,
They would that others should it disdain.
But love is a thing given by God:
In that, therefore, can be none odd,

But perfect in deed, and between two.
Wherefore, then, should we it eschew?
Lusti yough shuld vs ensue
Henry VIII

Lusti yough shuld vs ensue
hys mery hart shall sure all rew
for what so euer they do hym tell
it ys not for hym we know yt well.

For they wold haue hym hys libertye refrayne.
5
And all mery company for to dysdayne.
But I wyll not do what so euer thay say.
But follow hys mynd in all that we may.

How shuld yough hym selfe best vse
but all dysdaynares for to refuse
10
yough has as chef assurans
honest myrth with vertus pastance.

For in them consisteth gret honor.
Though that dysdaynars wold therin put error.
For they do sew to get them grace.
15
All only reches to purchase.

With goode order counsell and equite.
goode lord graunt vs or mancyon to be.
for without ther goode gydaunc
yough shuld fall in grett myschaunce
20

For yough ys frayle and prompt to doo.
As well vices as vertuus to enseg.
Wherfor be thes he must be gydyd.
And vertuus pastawunce must theryn be usyd.

Now vnto god thyss prayer we make. 25
That this rude play may well be take.
And that we may ower fauttes amend.
An blysse opteyne at ower last end. Amen.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Combined strophic and through-setting; some music is missing, and some rules are left blank. The heading reads “The Kynge. H. viij.”


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3,4}$ (94'-97', ll. 1-4 $H^{2,3}$, ll. 17-20 $H^{2,3,4}$)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
5 For] Ffor $H'$
7 do] so $H'$
11 has as] as as $H'$
13 For] Ffor $H'$
15 For] Ffor $H'$
19 without] with owt $H^{1,4}$
20 myschaunce,] mys chaunce, $H'$, myschaunce $H^2$, mys chaunce. $H^{3,4}$
21 For] Ffor $H'$
23 Wherfor] Wher for $H'$
24 be usyd.] beusyd. $H'$
25 vnto] vn to $H'$
27 amend] a mend $H'$

Collation (Substantive Variants):
20 shuld] shull $H^2$ in] in to gret $H^{1,4}$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 Lusti] Lusty $H^{2,3}$ ensue] ensew $H^3$
2 rew,] rew $H^3$
3 they] thay $H^{2,3}$
The speaker of the poem affirms his intention—using the plural first person pronoun, at times—to follow the ways of “Lusti yough” (l. 1), those same ways which are at odds with the wishes of youth’s “dysdaynares” (l. 10; most often referred to as “they”); the speaker asserts the virtuous aspects of youthful pastimes, and their provision of “goode gydaunce” (l. 19) necessary in youth. Mentioned in this edition: 34, 35, 136, 146, 150, 162, 245, 301.

Notes and Glosses:
1. *ensue* Imitate the example of.
2. *rew* Affect with regret (for some act), make (one) wish one had acted otherwise, or affect with pity or compassion (*OED* v. 1 2,4).
6. *dysdayne* Cf. Henry’s “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” (*H* 39r; 145; ll. 2, 4, 8, 11, 14) and elsewhere; see the note to line 2 of the aforementioned lyric.
8. *But... may* Cf., in *Youth*, the statement of Youth in response to Pride’s advice “It is time enough to be good / when that ye be old” (ll. 645-6): “I will make merry while I may” (l. 648; Lancashire, *Two Tudor Interludes*).
9-10. *How... vse / but all dysdaynares for to refuse* Cf. the moral saying “he that in yowth no vertu will vse / In Age all honor shall hym Refuce” (*OxHill* 200r [p. 217]; variant in *OxRawl* 86 311); the full saying in *OxHill* is as follows: “kepe well x. & Flee From sevyn. / sspende well v. & Cum to hevyn / he that in yowth no vertu will vse / In Age all honor shall hym Refuce / Serve god truly & the world besily // Ete thy mete meryly / and euer leve in Rest // Thank god highly thowgh he visit the porely. // he may amend it lyghtly wham hym lyke the best.”
11. *vertus pastance* Likely the pastimes noted in Henry’s “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” (*H* 28r-29r; 135), the “As featys of armys” (l. 7) and other “goode dysporttys” (l. 12); see also l. 24.
13. *them* Honest mirth, &c.
15. *sew... grace* See the comment in Henry’s “If love now reynyd as it hath bene” (*H* 48r-49r; 148; l. 12).
21. *yough ys frayle* Though not exactly the sense here, cf. the verses recollected by Mary in Wager’s interlude *The Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene*: “The pleasure of youth is a thyng right frayle, / And is yearely
lesse, so that at length it doth fail” (l. 711-2).

24 vertuus pastamce  See l. 11, above.
27 amend  For similar use in the context of prayer, see the note to Henry’s “Withowt dyscord” (H 68'-69'; 160; l. 24).
28 An  And.

Modernised Text:

Lusty Youth should us ensue!
His merry heart shall sure all rue.
For whatsoever they do him tell
It is not for him, we know it well.

For they would have him his liberty refrain,
And all merry company for to disdain.
But I will not do whatsoever they say,
But follow his mind in all that we may.

How should youth himself best use
But all disdainers for to refuse?
Youth has as chief assurance
Honest mirth with virtue’s pastance.

For in them consists great honour,
Though that disdainers would therein put error.
For they do sue to get them grace—
All only riches to purchase.

With good order, counsel, and equity,
Good Lord grant us our mansion to be.
For without their good guidance
Youth should fall in great mischance.

For Youth is frail and prompt to do
As well vices as virtues to ensue.
Wherefore by these he must be guided,
And virtues pastance must therein be used.

Now unto God this prayer we make,
That this rude play may well betake
And that we may our faults amend
And bliss obtain at our last end. Amen.
Adew adew my hartis lust
Cornish

Adew adew my hartis lust
Adew my Ioy and my solace,
wyth dowbyl sorow complayn I must
vntyl I dye alas alas.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set in three voices, with blank rules on both faces. Ascription reads “Cornysch” (24').

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 120.5, Boffey, Ringler MS TM64, and Crum A665. Reprinted in Seaton 405, Flügel Anglia 232, Stevens M&P 14, 390, and Stevens, MCH8 17.

Texts Collated: $H^{1-3}$ (23'-24'), OxAsh (100')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):

1 Adew adew] A dew a dew $H^{1,2}$, Adew A dew $H^3$, Adewe adewe OxAsh
2 Adew] dew byl $H^{1,2}$, doubyl $H^3$, double OxAsh
3 wyth] with $H^3$, solas OxAsh dowbyl] dow byl $H^{1,3}$, doubyl $H^2$, double OxAsh
4 vntyl] vn tyl $H^{1,2,3}$, vntyl OxAsh alas alas.] a las alas. $H^1$, alas a las. $H^2$, alas alas OxAsh

Collation (Substantive Variants):

3 must,] may. $H^2$

Collations (Accidental Variants):

1 Adew adew] A dew a dew $H^{1,2}$, Adew A dew $H^3$, Adewe adewe OxAsh hartis] hartes OxAsh lust,] lust. $H^{2,3}$, lust. OxAsh
2 Adew] A dew $H^{1,2}$, adewe OxAsh Ioy] loe $H^3$, ioye OxAsh and] and OxAsh solace.] solas. $H^2$, solas OxAsh
3 wyth] with $H^3$, solas OxAsh dowbyl] dow byl $H^{1,3}$, doubyl $H^2$, double OxAsh sorow] sorowes OxAsh complayne] complayn $H^3$, complayne OxAsh
4 vntyl] vn tyl $H^{1,2,3}$, vntyl OxAsh alas alas.] a las alas. $H^1$, alas a las. $H^2$, alas alas OxAsh
Commentary:

General Commentary: A song of departure, seemingly a permanent leave-taking or exile ("vntyl I dye" [l. 4]; see Robbins Suppl.), of a lover from his beloved. Mentioned in this edition: 108, 339.

Notes and Glosses:

2 Adew... solace  Cf. “Now fayre wele my Joye my comfort and solace”
  Oxford Bodleian MS 120 (95r).

Modernised Text:

Adieu, adieu, my heart’s lust.
Adieu, my joy and my solace.
With double sorrow, complain I must,
Until I die. Alas, alas.
My loue sche morneth for me.
Cornish

My loue she morneth
for me for me.
my loue sche morneth for me.
Alas pour hart
sen we depart
morne ye no more for me for me.

In louys daunce
syth that oure chaunce
of absence nedes must be.
My loue I say
your loue do way.
and morne no more for me.

It is boote
 to me hart roote
 but. anguysch and pete.
Wherfore swete hart
your mynde revert
and morne no more for me.

O her kyndnesse.
O her gentylnes.
what sayd sche then to me.
The gode aboue
her schuld not moue
but styll to morne for me.
Alas thought I
what remedy.

venus to blame ar ye.

Now of sum grace
let se purchase
to helpe my loue and me.

Her for to say
I tooke this way
I dyspraysed her beawte.

Yet for all that.
stynt wold sche not.
so trew of loue was sche.

At last sche wept.
I to her lept.

and sett her on my knee.

The terys ran down.
halff in a swone
it rewyd my hart to se.

When I sawe this.
I dyd her kysse
therwyth reuyued sche

And her smalle wast
ful fast vnlast

and sayd sche morned for me.
Then as I ought.
I me bethought.
and prayd her to be ble
To take comfort.
of my report.
and morne no more for me.

I schall not fayll.
but suere retaylle
from all other that be.
in well and wo
my hart to go
with her that morneth for me.

Thus here an ende.
goode lord deffend
all louers that trew be
And in espeycall
from iebardyse all.
my love that mornyth for me.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza is through-set in three voices (the third voice is not clearly offset), with the remaining text underlaid. Ascription reads “Cornysh” (31\textsuperscript{v}). A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 11 [183]).


Texts Collated: H\textsuperscript{'+} (30\textsuperscript{v}-31\textsuperscript{v}, ll. 1-6 H\textsuperscript{2,3}), CTri (45\textsuperscript{v}, ll. 1-3)

Emendations of the Copy Text (H\textsuperscript{'+}):
for me for me. \textit{H'}, for me for me. \textit{CTri}
\textit{H'}

Collation (Substantive Variants):
\begin{itemize}
\item 2 for me for me. \textit{H'}, for me for me. \textit{CTri}
\item 3 my] for me my \textit{CTri} morneth] morys \textit{CTri} for me.] for me for me. \textit{H'}
\end{itemize}

Collation (Accidental Variants):
\begin{itemize}
\item 1 My] my \textit{H'} she] sche \textit{H'} morneth] morns \textit{CTri}
\item 3 sche] she \textit{CTri} me] me, \textit{H'}, \textit{CTri}
\item 4 Alas] alas \textit{H'}
\item 5 depart] depart \textit{H'}
\item 6 for me for me.] for me. \textit{H'}
\end{itemize}

Commentary:

General Commentary: A song, in defense of all true lovers (ll. 62-6) upon whom separation is forced (l. 9), also relaying the tale of two lovers in such a situation. The lover, who urges that his beloved forget him, acquiesces to the strength of her devotion and acknowledges his own unwavering devotion. Moralized versions appear in \textit{Twenty Songs} (#14) and \textit{The Gude and Godlie Ballatis} (ed. A. F. Mitchell 140); also related to this lyric are "Wep no more For me swet hart" (\textit{BL Harleian MS 1,317 94"}; mentioned on the gloss to l. 6, below) and, as noted by Stevens (M&P 394), \textit{PRO Exchequer Miscellanea} 163/22/2/57. Mentioned in this edition: xv, 21, 31, 105, 162, 183, 317.

Notes and Glosses:
\begin{itemize}
\item 1 morneth Feels sorrow, grieves, laments, pines, has a painful longing; perhaps also utters lamentations (\textit{OED} v.1 I.1.c, d, I.1.3)
\item 5 \textit{sen} Since. \textit{depart} Separate.
\item 6 \textit{more for me} Cf. "Wep no more For me swet hart" (\textit{BL Harleian MS 1,317 94") which ends, also, "that yo shod morne For me" (l. 5).
\item 7 \textit{louys daunce} The act of the game of love, perhaps with more sexual overtones.
\item 11 \textit{do way} Leave off, let alone, cease (\textit{OED} "do" v 53).
\item 13 \textit{boote} Good, profitable (\textit{OED} n.1 I).
\item 14 \textit{me} My.
\item 17 \textit{revert} Recover consciousness, return to itself; also, turn away, so as to leave or desert one (\textit{OED} v I.1.a, I.5).
\item 23 \textit{her schuld not move} Should not move her.
\item 26 \textit{what remedy} Cf. Henry's "Withowt dyscord" (\textit{H} 68*-69$^*$; 160; l. 23) and the unattributed "What remedy what remedy" (\textit{H} 108*-110$^*$; 315).
\end{itemize}
Modernised Text:

My love, she mourns
  for me, for me.
My love, she mourns for me.
Alas, poor heart,
  Since we depart,
  Mourn you no more for me, for me.

In love's dance,
  Since that our chance
  Of absence needs must be,
My love, I say,
  Your love do way,
  And mourn no more for me.

It is boot
  To my heart's root,
  But anguish and pity.
Wherefore, sweet heart,
  Your mind revert,
  And mourn no more for me.

Oh, her kindness!
  Oh, her gentleness!
What said she then to me?
The God above
   Her should not move
   But still to mourn for me.

Alas, thought I,
   What remedy?
   Venus to blame are you.

Now of some grace
   Let see purchase,
   To help my love and me.

Her for to assay
   I took this way:
      I dispraised her beauty.

Yet for all that
   Stop would she not,
      So true of love was she.

At last she wept.
      I to her leapt
         And set her on my knee.

The tears ran down
      Half in a swoon;
         It rewed my heart to see.

When I saw this
      I did her kiss.
         Therewith revived she,

And her small waist
      Full fast unlaced
         And said she mourned for me.

Then, as I ought,
      I me bethought,
         And prayed her to be blee.

To take comfort
      Of my report,
         And mourn no more for me.

I shall not fail,
      But sure retail
         From all other that be.

In wealth and woe,
      My heart to go
With her that mourns for me.

Thus, here an end.
Good Lord defend
All lovers that true be.

And in special,
From jeopardies all
My love that mourns for me.
Figure 11: "My loue sche morneth for me" (H 30'-31', 176).

Siemens, Henry VIII MS 183
Sen we depart who make no make for me, in love, divine, with that our essence of abstinence must be - my love I say your love do now, and make no more for me. It is boote to me have boote but anguyshe and pete.

When she spake what is your mind? and make no more shame. To her kindnesse, to her gentinesse what said she then to me. She spoke above her should not more but still to make for me. Has thought what remedy, I to blame are ye.

Now of some grace let ye purchase to help me love and me. Her joy to say I spoke this way, it disappased her beast. Yet for all that, shew would she not. So new of love was she. Last she wept to her legs. She set her on my knee.

The knights came down, halfe in a stowe it retired my heart to see. When I saw this, I dyd her kisseth with requised she and her smalle waste, full fast untill last, sayd she wanted for me. Then as I ought me be thought and praised her to be ble.

To take report of my report, and make no more for me. I shall not say, but sure retracte from all other that be. In well and wo my hart to go in her that moyneth for me.

Thus here an end, good lord defend all lions that true be and in especial from reaward she all my love is moyneth for me.
A the syghes that cum fro my hart
Cornish

A the syghs that cum fro my hart.
They greue me passyng sore.
Sen ye must nedes from me depart.
fare well my Ioy for euer more

Oft to me her godely swet face 5
was wont to cast an eye.
And now absence to be in place
alas for wo I dye I dye.

I was wont her to behold.
and take in armys twayne 10
And now with syghs manyfold.
far well my Ioe and welcom payne

And thynk I se her yet.
as wol to god I cowld
Ther myght no Ioys compare with it 15
vnto my hart. as now she shuld

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza is through-set in three voices, with the remaining text underlaid. Ascription reads “W. Cornysshe” (33°).


Texts Collated: H' (32°-33°, ll. 1-4 H2,3), LR58 (3°)
Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):

4 fare] ffare H1,2,3, Fare LR58
6 eye.} nye. H1, eye. LR58
9 behold.] be hold. H1, be holde. LR58

Collation (Substantive Variants):

3 Sen] Sens H1,2,3, Syth LR58 ye] I LR58 nedes from me] fro my loue LR58
5 her godesly swet] wyth hur goodly LR58
6 was] She was LR58
7 be] me LR58
10 take] takyn LR58
13 And] A me LR58 thynk I] thynke that I LR58
14 wol] wolde LR58 I cowld] that I myght LR58
16 as now she shuld] to make hyt lyght LR58

Collation (Accidental Variants):

1 syghs] syghes LR58 that] that LR58 cum] come LR58 hart.] hert. LR58
2 They] Thay H1 sore.] sore. LR58
3 depart.] depart. H1, de part. LR58
4 fare] ffare H1,2,3, Fare LR58 Ioy] Ioe H1, Ioye LR58 for] fore LR58
euer more] euer more. H2, euermore. LR58
6 eye.] nye. H1, eye. LR58
8 alas] Alas LR58 wo] woo LR58 dye.] dye. LR58
9 wont] wonte LR58 her. LR58 behold.] be hold. H1, be holde. LR58
11 with] wyth LR58 syghs LR58 manyfolde.] many folde. LR58
12 far] ffare LR58 Ioe LR58 welcom] welcome LR58
13 thynk] thynke LR58 her] hur LR58 yet.] yete. LR58
14 god] gode LR58
15 Ther] There LR58 loys] loyes LR58 compare] compar LR58 with]
wyth LR58 it] hit LR58
16 hart.] hart. LR58

Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric of departure which recollects the joys of love once had. In a letter to his Nora of July 1904, Joyce discusses the sentiment of the song and its tune, attributing it, erroneously, to Henry VIII (Joyce 23-4). The text of the first stanza echoes that of Farthing's "The thowghtes within my brest" (H 29):

Notes and Glosses:

2 They greue me passyng sore Cf. repetition in l. 2 of Farthing’s “The thowghtes within my brest” (H 29°-30°; 224), as well as sore’s rhyme, “euer more” (l. 4).

3 Sen Since.

7 in place In the place (of “her godely swet face” [l. 5]).

12 Ioe Joy.

Modernised Text:

Ah, the sighs that come from my heart,
They grieve me passing sore.
Since you must needs from me depart:
   Farewell, my joy, for ever more.

Oft to me her goodly sweet face
   Was wont to cast an eye,
And now absence to be in place:
   Alas, for woe, I die, I die.

I was wont her to behold,
   And take in arms twain,
And now with sighs many-fold:
   Farewell, my joy, and welcome pain.

And think I see her yet,
   As would to God I could,
There might no joys compare with it
   Unto my heart, as now she should.
Blow thi horne hunter
Cornish

Blow thi horne hunter
   *and blow thi horne on hye*
ther ys a do In yonder wode
   in faith she woll not dy
now blow thi horne hunter
   *and blow thi horne Ioly hunter.*

Sore this dere strykyn ys.
   *and yet she bledes no whytt.*
she lay so fayre. I cowde nott mys.
   lord I was glad of it.

As I stod vnder a bank:
   the dere shoffe on the mede.
I stroke her so that downe she sanke.
   but yet she was not dede.

There she gothe se ye nott.
   how she gothe ouer the playne.
And yf ye lust to have ashott.
   I warrant her barrayne.

He to go and I to go:
   *But he ran fast afore.*
I bad hym shott and strik the do:
   for I myght shott no mere.
To the couert bothe thay went.
for I fownd wher she lay.
An arrow in her hanch she hent.
for faynte she myght nott bray.

I was wery of the game.
I went to tavern to drynk.
now the construccyon of the same:
what do yow meane or thynk.

Here I leue and mak an end.
now of this hunters lore.
I thynk his bow. ys well vnbent:
hys bolt may fle no more.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza is through-set for three voices, with the remaining text underlaid. Ascription reads “W. Cornysh” (40°). Music is provided for the burden only; the lyrics may have been sung to a well-known tune (Stevens M&P 127-8, 399), as with “Grene growith the holy” (H 37°-38°; 141), “Hey nony nony nony nony no” (H 36°; 281), “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (H 54°-55°; 211), and “Yow and I and amyas” (H 45°-46°; 199). A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 12 [193]).


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (39°-40°, ll.1-6 $H^{2,3}$), LR58 (7°, ll.1-6)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
11 a bank:] abank: $H'$
33 vnbent:] vn bent: $H'$
Collation (Substantive Variants):

3 substitute in yonder wode there lyeth a doo LR58
5 now] wow H^3, and LR58 hunter] omit H^{2.3}

Collation (Accidental Variants):

2 and] and LR58 thi] thy H^2, LR58 horne] horne H^{2.3} on] one LR58 hye] by H^2
3 ys] is H^2
4 faith] fayth LR58 woll] will H^{2.3} dy] by. H^2, dye LR58
5 thi] thy LR58 horne] horne LR58 hunter] hunter LR58
6 and] now H^{2.3} thi] thy LR58 horne] horne LR58 hunter] hunter LR58

Commentary:

General Commentary: Explicitly exploiting and drawing attention to the double-entendre of the forester songs as a whole (see ll. 29-30)—something which sees more subtle but more popular exemplification in Wyatt’s “Whoso list to hunt,” its Petrarchan source, and its contemporary metaphoric analogues—this lyric deals with love’s pursuit. An unusual element is the role of the speaker/guide which, though seemingly traditional, borders on pandering. 237 Akin to Cornish’s “Yow and I and amyas” (H 45^-46; 199), this lyric tells a story, perhaps in summation of one of the many entertainments of the day which drew on the forester theme; for such a possible venue, Cornish’s play of 15 June 1522, see the General Commentary to Cooper’s “I haue bene a foster” (H 65^-66; 232), as well as the unattributed “I am a joly foster” (H 69^-71; 257). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 31, 92, 107, 142, 193, 200, 212, 234, 283, 289.

Notes and Glosses:

3 do Doe, a deer, a female deer.
8 no whytt Not at all.
12 shoffe Shoved, pushed her way forward. mede Meadow.
18 barrayne Barren, not bearing, not pregnant at the usual season (OED

237 This seems an unusual element, but this nature of the forester figure is echoed elsewhere; cf. the situation of “As I walked by a forest side” (Dyboski, Songs, Carols #87; also in OxHill), wherein the speaker is urged into the metaphoric hunt, which is then led for him. Cf. also a note to “I louers had, had words been true” (#39 in the anonymous Riddles of Heraclitus and Democritus) wherein, out of obvious context, is stated “Venison hath many louers. The hunters reioice when the dogs kill it, and commonly the foster or keeper is the chiefe murderer. The graue is made of pasticrust: and for sheere loue we take out the corse and eate it.”
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 191

"barren" a 2.a); i.e. good eating (Stevens M&P 401).

21 I myght shott no mere  Cf. similar sentiments in Cooper’s “I haue bene a foster” (H 65'-66'; 232), in H.

23 couert  Cover, that which serves for concealment, protection, or shelter (OED n 2.a).

26 faynte  Faintness.

29 construcyon  The construing, explaining, or interpreting of a text or statement (OED “construction” 7, 8); cf., also, the similar strategy in urging an interpretation other than a literal one employed by Skelton in his Bowge of Courte, “constrew ye what is the resydewe” (l. 539).

30 meane  Imagine, have in mind.

Modernised Text:

Blow thy horn, hunter,
   And blow thy horn on high!
There is a doe in yonder wood;
   In faith, she will not die.
Now blow thy horn, hunter,
   And blow thy horn, jolly hunter!

Sore this deer stricken is,
   And yet she bleed no wit.
She lay so fair I could not miss:
   Lord, I was glad of it.

As I stood under a bank,
   The deer shoved on the meadow.
I struck her so that down she sank,
   But yet she was not dead.

There she goes! See you not
   How she goes over the plain?
And if you like to have a shot,
   I warrant her barren.

He to go, and I to go,
   But he ran fast before.
I bad him shoot and strike the doe,
   For I might shoot no more.

To the cover both they went,
   For I found where she lay.
An arrow in her haunch she had.
   For fainting she might not bray.

I was weary of the game.
   I went to tavern to drink.
Now the construction of the same—
   What do you mean or think?

Here I leave and make an end,
   Now, of this hunter's lore.
I think his bow is well unbent:
   His bolt may fly no more.
Figure 12: "Blow that horn, hunter" (H 39°-40°, 188).
Adew corage adew
Cornish

Adew corage adew

hope and trust I fynde you not trew
adew corage adew adew.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices; the following leaf (43') is left blank, suggesting, perhaps, that additional verses were intended to be underlaid. Ascription reads “W. Cornyshe” (42').

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 120.6, Boffey, Ringler MS TM65. Reprinted in Flügel Anglia 239, Stevens M&P 401, and Stevens MCH8 32.

Texts Collated: H^{1,2,3} (42')

Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):
1 Adew] A dew H^{1,2,3}
3 corage adew] corage a dew H', corage adew H^{2,3}

Collation (Substantive Variants):
3 adew adew.] adew adew adew. H^3

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 adew.] adew. H^{2,3}
2 fynde] fynd H^{2,3} not] no H^3
3 corage adew] corage a dew H', corage adew H^{2,3}

Commentary:

General Commentary: A complaint, though seemingly not of departure in the way typically presented by the lyrics of H; here, the speaker bids departure to his “corage” (ll. 1, 3), finding key elements of love (as per l. 2) to be false. Mentioned in this edition: 137.

Notes and Glosses:
1 corage Sexual vigour and inclination, the desire to love, the amorous spirit;
see Henry’s “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” (H 28*-29*; 135; l. 10, note).

2 hope and trust A common pairing; one such instance, of interest, is found in Hawes’ Pastime of Pleasure, where Venus urges the distraught Amour “lyue in hope and trust / For at the last you shall attayne your lust” (ll. 3928-9).

Modernised Text:

Adieu, courage, adieu.
Hope and trust, I find you not true.
Adieu, courage, adieu, adieu.
Trolly lolly loly lo
Cornish

Trolly lolly loly lo
syng troly loly lo
my loue is to the grene wode gone
now after wyll I go.
syng trolly loly lo lo ly lo.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices. Ascription reads “William Cornyshe” (44*).


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (43'-44')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
4 after] ter $H'$

Collation (Substantive Variants):
1 lolly loly] lolly $H^2$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 lolly] loly $H^{2,3}$
2 troly] trolly $H^2$, trolli $H^3$
3 wode] wod $H^{2,3}$
4 after] ter $H'$
5 syng] syn $H^2$ loly] loly $H^2$ lo ly] loly $H^{2,3}$

Commentary:

General Commentary: A short lyric of amorous play and pursuit, employing the popular mirthful refrain “Hey trolly lolly”, possibly, it is a song associated with the May Games (Stevens M&P 401). Similar lines are mentioned in Miles Coverdale’s “Address unto the Christian reader” prefixed to his Goastly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes (1538), he urges that people would be “better occupied” with devotional
songs “than with Hey, nonny, nonny—Hey, trolly, lolly, and such like fantasies” (Chappell *Popular Music* 1.54). Cf. “Hey troly loly loly” (H 80’; 298) and “Hey troly loly lo” (H 124‘-128‘; 330); among the marginalia on *BL Harleian MS 1,317* is a fragment of a song, “loley to syng and sey as here” (94’). Cf. also Langland’s *Piers Plowman*: “songen atte ale, / And holpen him to herien wijp ‘Hey! trolly-lolly!’” (7.108-9); the anonymous *Hickscorner* in which the character Free Will urges his group to sing Hey trolly lolly!” (l. 691); Skelton’s satire of a musician at court, “Agaynste A comely coystrowne”: “Lo, Jak wold be a jentylman! Wyth, Hey, troly, loly, lo, whip here, Jak” (l. 14-5); Folly’s discourse in Skelton’s *Magnyfycence*: “He dawnsys so longe, hey, troly loly, / That euery man lawghyth at his foly” (1250-1); and others.  

The *Complaint of Scotland* lists a song entitled “Troolo lolee, lemmen dou” (lxxxiii, #64; p. 64). Mentioned in this edition: 201, 284, 299, 333.

**Notes and Glosses:**

1  *Trolly lolly*  See General Commentary, above.

**Modernised Text:**

Trolly, lolly, lolly, lo!
Sing trolly, lolly, lo!
My love is to the green wood gone;
Now after will I go.
Sing trolly, lolly, lo, lolly, lo!

---

238 As well, Ravenscroft’s “The hunt is vp” (*Briefe Discourse* #1)—“Hey tro li lo, tro lo li lo” (l. 8; see also ll. 14 & 22)—and the related “Awake, awake” (*Briefe Discourse* #3): “Hey troly lolly ly lo ly lo ly, / Hey troly ly hey” (ll. 7-8); his “Willy prethe goe to bed” (*Deuteromelia*): “With a hey trolly loly. . .” (ll. 5-6, refrain for each stanza); the final line of his “Hey hoe what shall I say” (*Pammelia* #99)—“hey trolly trolly lolly, come againe ho, hey”—and his “Sing we now merily” (*Pammelia* #100): “hey hoe trolly lolly loe, trolly lolly lo”; and many others.
Yow and I and amyas
Cornish

Yow and I and amyas
Amyas and yow and I
to the grene wode must we go Alas
yow and I my lyff and amyas

The knyght knokett at the castell gate.
The lady meruelyd who was therat.

To call the porter he wold not blyn.
The lady said he shuld not com In.

The portres was a lady bryght.
Strangenes that lady hyght.

She asked hym what was his name.
He said desyre yor man madame.

She said desyre what do ye here.
He said Madame as yor prisoner

He was cownselled to breffe a byll.
And shew my lady hys oune wyll.

Kyndnes said she wold yt bere.
and Pyte said she wold be ther.

Thus how thay dyd we can nott say.
we left them ther and went ower way.
Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza, the burden, is through-set for three voices, with the remaining text underlaid. Ascription reads “Cornysh” (46'). Music is provided for the burden only; the lyric may have been sung to a well-known tune (Stevens M&P 127-8, 399), as with “Grene growith the holy” (H 37'-38'; 141), “Hey nony nony nony nony no” (H 36'; 281), “Blow thi homrne hunter” (H 39'-40'; 188), and “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (H 54'-55'; 211). A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 13 [203]).


Texts Collated: H1,2,3 (45'-46', ll. 1-4 H2,3)

Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):
4 amyas.] amy as. H1,3, amy as. H2
6 therat.] ther at. H1

Collation (Substantive Variants):
3 we] l H2

Collation (Accidental Variants):
2 and] and H3
3 wode] wod H2,3
4 lyff] luff H2, leff H1 amyas.] amy as. H1,3, amy as. H2

Commentary:

General Commentary: This lyric appears, by its allegorised characters and their interaction, to be directly associated with the Schatew Vert court pageant-disguising held 5 March 1522, which itself is suggestive of a situation in the Roman de la Rose in which the fortress containing the rose is under siege by the god of love and his followers (l. 3267 ff.; see Streitberger [Court Revels] 113); for

239 These entertainments featured performances by Cornish’s Children of the Chapel Royal; see Streitberger (Court Revels 112-4), L&P Henry VIII (III[ii] 1558-9), PRO SP1/29 (228'-37'), and Hall (631-2). This lyric, and the fact that Cornish would also author the political play in June of this year for Charles V, is suggestive of Cornish’s larger involvement in these entertainments; see L&P Henry VIII (III[ii] #2305), PRO SP1/24 (230'-3'). See also the commentary to Cooper’s “I haue bene a foster” (H 65'-66'; 232).
a lyric possibly associated with the thematically-related tournament of 2 March 1522, see the *General Commentary* to the unattributed “What remedy what remedy” (*H* 108*-110*; 315). It may also be connected with the tradition of the May Games, as with Cornish’s “Trolly lolly loly lo” (*H* 43*-44*; 197). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 39, 82, 92, 142, 189, 190, 203, 212, 234, 283, 289, 317.

Notes and Glosses:

1 *Amyas* A name, perhaps, with topical significance; there were several persons in royal employ by this name, including foresters (see *Chambers Lyrics* 337).

7 *blyn* Cease, leave off, desist, stop (*OED* “blin” v 1).

10 *hyght* Was called, was named (*OED* “hight” v.1 II.5).

15 *breffe a byll* Indite a petition.

17 *Kynnes* Kind feeling; a feeling of tenderness or fondness; affection, love (perhaps with sexual overtones); also, good will, favour, friendship (*OED* “kindness” 5).

Modernised Text:

You and I and Amyas,
Amyas and you and I,
To the green wood must we go. Alas!
You and I, my love, and Amyas.

The knight knocked at the castle gate.
The lady marvelled who was thereat.

To call the porter he would not stop.
The lady said, he should not come in.

The portress was a lady bright.
Strangeness that lady hight.

She asked him what was his name.
He said, Desire, your man, madame.

She said, Desire, what do you here?
He said, Madame, as your prisoner.

He was counselled to brief a bill,
And show my lady his own will.

Kindness said she would it bear,
And Pity said she would be there.

Thus how they did we cannot say—
We left them there and went our way.
Figure 13: "Yow and I and amyas" (H 45'-46'; 199).
The kyngh knokketh at the castell garte. ye forgives me.
The lady vnsawd who was ther.
So att the porter he vould not blaste.
The lady said he shuld not ony in.
The porter was a lady kyngh.
Strange was that lady kyngh.
She asked hym what was his name.
She said defere po man madame.
She said defere what to pe here.
He said madame as po pisoner.
He was misconsested to kresse a bys.
And shew up lady bys's name ypsit.
Kynghes said she wold ut here.
And pytte said she wold be ther.
Thus how they dide we can not flaye.
We left them ther i went other way.
A robyn gentyl robyn
Cornish / Wyatt

A robyn gentyl robyn
tel me how thy lemmman doth
and thow shal know of myne

my lady is vnkynde I wis
alac why is she so
she louyth another better than me
and yet she will say no

I can not thynk such doubylnes
for I fynd women trew
In faith my lady lovith me well
she will change for no new

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza, the burden, is through-set for three voices; the second voice for the first stanza runs directly from the first voice, with no large initial or division of any kind. As well, the second stanza runs in the same manner from the third voice of the first; the second and third stanzas appear in only one voice. Ascription reads "Cornysh" (54'). Likely based on a popular song, perhaps a tune well known in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries (Stevens M&P 111, 405). Wyatt's poem is conjectured to be a later handling of this lyric song (see Stevens M&P 111 and 405, Ringler MS TM84 and TM 85, Robbins Index & Suppl. 13.8, as well as other Wyatt scholarship); discussed, with a facsimile, in Mumford's "Musical Settings to the Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt." Should the date of H be post-1522, however, it is not improbable that Wyatt, then at court and participating in court festivities, could have written the text set by Cornish. The lyric also appears as one of the songs in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night, 4.2.72-9 (Folio II. 2057-2064), interspersed as dialogue between Feste and Malvolio. Feste's recanting of the lyric is as follows, separated from Malvoio's interjections:

Hey Robin, iolly Robin, tell me how thy Lady / does.
My Lady is vnkind, perdie.
Alas why is she so?
She loues another.
See also Gooch and Thatcher’s *Shakespeare Music Catalogue* numbers 16,697, 16,965, 17,217, and 17,679-17,686. A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 14 [209]).


**Texts Collated:** $H^{1-2,3}$ (53v-54r, ll. 1-3 $H^{2,3}$), $LDev(1)$ (22v, ll. 1-7), $LDev(2)$ (24r), $LEge$ (37r)

**Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):**

9 women] wo men $H'$, women $LDev(2)$, $LEge$

**Collation (Substantive Variants):**

1 A] Hey $LDev(1)$, $LDev(2)$ gentyl] Ioly $LDev(2)$, Ioly $LEge$
2 tel me how] substitute gentyl $H^2$ leman] lady $LDev(1)$, $LDev(2)$
4 I wis] perdye $LDev(1)$, perdy $LDev(2)$, perde $LEge$
5 alac] a llas $LDev(1)$, alas $LDev(2)$
6 me] I $LDev(1)$, $LDev(2)$
8 can not thynk] fynd no $LDev(2)$, fynde no $LEge$ The heading Response appears above this stanza in $LEge$
9 for I] $LEge$
10 In faith] omit $LDev(2)$, $LEge$ well] dowtles $LDev(2)$, $LEge$
11 she] and $LDev(2)$, $LEge$
11 ff. Both $LDev(2)$ and $LEge$ contain additional verses, with ll. 12-15 having correspondence, they are as follows:

Those art happy yf ytt doth last
    bot I say as I fynd
    that wommens lou ys but ablast
        and tornyth as the wynd

Yf that be trew yett as thou sayst
    that wommen turn their hart
then spek better of them thou mayst
    ly hop to hau thy partt

$LEge$

le plaintif
Thou art happy while that doeth last
    but I say as I fynd
that womens love is but a blast
and tornith like the wynde

Response
Suche folke shall take no harme by love
that can abide their torn
but I alas can no way prove
in love but lake and morn

le plaintif
But if thou will avoyde thy harme
lerne this lessen of me
at other fieres thy self to warme
and let them warme with the LEge

Collation (Accidental Variants):

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>robyn] Robin LDev(I) gentyl] gentil H², gentyll LDev(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>thou] thou LDev(1), LEge, thow LDev(2) shal] shalt H², LDev(2), shalte LDev(I), shall LEge know] knowe LDev(I), LEge myne] myn LDev(1), LDev(2), LEge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>lady] ladye LDev(I) is] ys LDev(2) vnkynde] Vnkynd LDev(2), unkynd LEge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>alac] alack LEge why] whi LEge so] soo LDev(I), LDev(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>louyth] loves LDev(I), LDev(2), loveth LEge another] an othr LEge better] better LDev(I), better LEge than] then LDev(I), LDev(2), LEge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yet] yett LDev(2) will] wyll LDev(I), LDev(2), LEge say] saye LDev(I) no] noo LDev(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>such] shech LDev(2) doubylnes] doblenes LDev(2), doublenes LEge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>fynd] fynde LEge women] wo men H² trew] true LEge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>lovith] lovyth LDev(2), loveth LEge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>will] wyll LDev(2) change] chang LDev(2), chaunge LEge new] newe LEge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Commentary:

**General Commentary:** A stylised debate on the constancy of female love, with the praise of women's constancy in love being that of the robin (ll. 8-11), for a similar situation, see Thomas Feylde's *Cotrauerse Bytwene a Louer and a laye*. Alterations to this debate, and the sentiments presented within, are found in Wyatt's later handlings of the lyric (as noted above in the section dealing with *Substantive Variants*). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 26, 27, 31, 33, 89, 106, 209, 277.

**Notes and Glosses:**

2 *leeman* Paramour, lover, loved one of the opposite sex (*MED* 1).

4 *vnkynde* Not treating him with kindness; alternatively, not keeping with the law of "kind," or nature. For a telling view of the applications of this word, roughly contemporary to the lyrics of *H*, see its use in l. 20 of Wyatt's "They flee from me" (*LDev* 69*-70*; *LEge* 26*; Tottel's Miscellany E4*) as handled by Tottel, who alters the more ambiguous and potentially ironic "kindly" to read "vnkyndly". *wis* know, think.

11 *she will change for no new* Cf. "Iff I had wytt for to endyght" (*H* 34*-35*; 274; l. 11).

**Modernised Text:**

Ah, robin, gentle robin,
Tell me how your lady does,
And you shall know of mine.

My lady is unkind, I think.
    Alac! Why is she so?
She loves another better than me,
    And yet she will say no.

I cannot think such doubleness,
    For I find women true.
In faith, my lady loves me well;
    She will change for no new.
Figure 14: “A robyn gentyl robyn” (H 53r-54v; 205).
Lady to wonder, alas, why so she so

She found another bed than me, and yet she will

Say us all sobriety

Can not think such dishonours for if

Men true, in fact, my lady,山东山

She will change for no less sobriety

Torni

Siemens, Henry VIII MS 210
Whiles lyue or breth is in my brest
Cornish

Whiles lyue or breth is in my brest
my souerrayne lord I shall loue best
my souerrayne lorde I shal loue best
my souerrayne lord I shall loue best.

My souerrayne lorde for my poure sake:
    vj. coursys at the ryng dyd make.
Of which iiij. tymes he dyd it take:
    wherfor my hart I hym beqwest.
And of all other for to loue best:
    my souerrayne lord.

My souerrayne lorde of pusant pure:
    as the chefteyne of a waryowere.
With spere and swerd at the barryoure:
    as hardy with the hardyest.
He prouith hym selfe that I sey best:
    my souerrayne lorde.

My souerrayne lorde in euery thyng:
    aboue all other as a kyng.
In that he doth no comparyng:
    but of a trewth he worthyest is.
    to haue the prayse of all the best:
    my souerrayne lorde.

My souerrayne lorde when that I mete:
his cherfull contenance doth replete.

My hart with loe that I behete: 25
    next god but he and euer prest.

With hart and body to loue best:
    my souerayne lorde.

So many vertuse geuyn of grace:
    ther is none one lyue that hace. 30

Beholde his fauor and his face:
    his personage most godlyest.

A vengeaunce on them that loueth nott best:
    my souerayne lorde.

The souerayne lorde that is of all:
    my souerayne lorde saue principall.

He hath my hart and euer shall:
    of god I ask for hym request.

Off all gode fortues to send hym best:
    my souerayne lorde. 40

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza, the burden, is through-set for three voices, with the remaining text underlaid. Ascription reads “W. cornyshe.” (55'). Music is provided for the burden only; the lyrics may have been sung to a well-known tune (Stevens M&P 127-8, 399), as with “Grene growith the holy” (H 37'-38', 141), “Hey nony nony nony nony no” (H 36'; 281), “Blow thi hornes hunter” (H 39'-40'; 188) and “Yow and I and amyas” (H 45'-46'; 199). Extra-scribal markings to this piece, on 55', identify the subject of the poem as Henry and the composer of the verses as Cornish; these include the following: (a) in the top right corner is written “henr” in ink and in a sixteenth century hand; (b) the same, “henr,” in the same ink and hand, next to the sixth line of text; and (c) on the same line as the attribution of the piece, in a different hand and ink faint ink than the other
markings on this page, "William Cornysh" is written in a sixteenth century hand
and rubbed out partially. A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 15
[216]).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 2271.2, Boffey,
Ringer MS TM1070, and Crum W1850. Reprinted in Chappell Account 378-9,
Flugel Anglia 242, Padelford 90, Stevens M&P 405-6, and Stevens MCH8 40.

Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (54'-55', ll. 1-4 $H^{2,3}$)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):

8 wherfor] wher for $H'$
18 aboue] a boue $H'$
25 behete:] be hete: $H'$
31 Beholde] Be holde $H'$

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants):

1 lyue] lyffe
2 lord] lorde
4 best.] best. $H'$

Commentary:

General Commentary: A song of praise, intended to be sung by a lady about her lover.
Marginalia (as noted above) and internal evidence ("souerayne lord" [l. 2 ff.],
"kyng" [l. 18]) indicate that the subject is Henry VIII; the speaker, praising
Henry's chivalric skills, countenance, and other graces and pledging allegiance and
undying love in a lyric intended for such a public forum, can only be Katherine of
Aragon. Possibly a lyric intended for performance at a tournament (Stevens
M&P 406) or, more likely, for a ceremonial "running of the ring" performed by
Henry as part of a larger group of entertainments. While chiefly treated more as a
practice exercise than, say, a tournament, running the ring was on occasion
provided as an entertainment, such as on 17 March 1510, where it was performed
for the visiting Spanish diplomatic corps (Hall 514; PRO E36/217 13-4, 25-6);
here, the king made twelve courses, took the ring five times and also "atteyned" it
another three times (this lyric has him doing half that, making 6 courses and taking

240 See Chappell Account (379-9), where it is noted that this lyric is "addressed to the
King by some lady for whose sake, she tells us, the King had tilted at the ring", and he suggests
that, though it is set by Cornish, "we may infer that it was given to him by a lady to set to music.
A Lady's production it must be".

See Chappell Account (379-9), where it is noted that this lyric is "addressed to the
King by some lady for whose sake, she tells us, the King had tilted at the ring", and he suggests
that, though it is set by Cornish, "we may infer that it was given to him by a lady to set to music.
A Lady's production it must be".
it four times [ll. 6-7]). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 5, 44, 68, 142, 143, 189, 200, 216, 225, 283.

Notes and Glosses:

6  *coursys at the ryng*  An act, generally in practice for a joust, wherein a jouster would run as if against an opponent in an attempt to place the tip of his lance such that he would “take” with it a ring hanging from a post; see also *General Commentary*, above.

11  *pusant pure*  Power that is pure.

14  *hardy*  Bold, courageous, daring.  *sey* See.

19  *doth no comparyng*  Has no comparison.

25  *loé*  Joy.  *behete*  Am promised, vowed (OED “behight” v B.1.1).

26  *prest*  Ready in mind, disposition, or will (OED a 2); cf. “The thoughtes within my brest” (H 29'-30'; 224; l. 3).

30  *one lyue*  Alive.

35  *The souerayne lorde that is of all*  A reference to God.

36  *principall*  The first or highest in rank or importance, that is at the head of all the rest, of the greatest account or value, the foremost (OED a I.1.a).

37  *hath my hart and ever shall*  Cf. Henry’s “Grene growith the holy” (H 37'-38'; 141; ll. 19-20); also see note.

39  *fortues*  Fortunes.

Modernised Text:

While life or breath is in my breast,
My sovereign lord I shall love best.
My sovereign lord I shall love best.
My sovereign lord I shall love best.

My sovereign lord, for my poor sake,
Six courses at the ring did make,
Of which four times he did it take;
Wherefore my heart I him bequest,
And of all other for to love best,
My sovereign lord.

My sovereign lord, of power pure
As the chieftain among warriors,
With spear and sword at the barrier,
As hardy with the hardiest,
He proves himself that I see best,
My sovereign lord.
My sovereign lord in everything,
   Above all other as a king,
In that he does no comparing.
   But of a truth he worthiest is
To have the praise of all the best,
   My sovereign lord.

My sovereign lord, when that I meet
   His cheerful countenance, does replete
My heart with joy that I be pledged,
   Next God, but he and ever pressed
With heart and body to love best,
   My sovereign lord.

So many virtues given of grace,
   There is no one alive that has —
Behold his favour and his face,
   His personage most goodliest.
A vengeance on them that loveth not best
   My sovereign lord.

The sovereign Lord that is of all
   My sovereign lord save principal.
He has my heart and ever shall.
   Of God I ask for him request
Of all good fortunes to send him best,
   My sovereign lord.
Figure 15: “Whiles lyue or breth is in my brest” (H 54r-55v; 211).
My sojourn lost for my power taken in, our words at the royal ducal mark, of which, my times the ducal it takes no yet for my heart the best, and of all other for to love best, my sojourn lost.

My sojourn lost of pleasant pure as the chest of our armor place to spire and swerd at the barbour as hardy as the hardyest.

He punishes him self that I say best, my sojourn lost.

My sojourn lost in all things, a bone all other as a king, in that he doth no oppoving but of a truth he was the best to have the pays of all the best, my sojourn lost.

My sojourn lost, when that I mete his chest was under the water, my heart to yoe that he is better then God but he and I prest, to have and body to love best, my sojourn lost.

So many false glory of grace, is none one true as he. As hold his hand and his face, his song is most God best.

He vengeance on them, he loueth now best, my sojourn lost.

The sojourn lost is of all, my sojourn lost face in chappell.

He hath my hart as I shall off God I ask for hym request, off all gods forties to send hym best, my sojourn lost.
Aboffe all thynge
Farthing

Aboffe all thynge
now let vs synge
both day and nyght
Adew mornynge
a bud is spryngynge
of the red rose and the whyght

now let us synge.
Adew mornynge.
Adew mornynge adew
now let vs synge
a bud is spryngynge
off the red rose and the whyght.

Aboffe.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: A round, transcribed exactly here. Attributed to "ffaredynge." (24v). A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 16 [221]).


Texts Collated: H¹ (24v)

Emendations of the Copy Text (H¹):
4 Adew] A dew H¹
8 Adew] A dew H¹
9 Adew] A dew H¹
Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collations (Accidental Variants): None.

Commentary:

General Commentary: A round, in commemoration of a royal birth, likely that of Henry’s first male child and potential monarchical heir, born 1 January 1511, as is the unattributed “Adew adew le company” (H 74*-75*; 294). As with Skelton’s “A lawde and prayse” (1509), wherein he notes with reference to the newly-crowned Henry VIII that “The Rose both white and Rede / In one rose now dothe grow” (ll. 1-2), here allusion is made to the strength of the Tudor dynasty as a union of the Yorkists and Lancastrians, represented by their badges of the white rose and red rose, respectively; see also “I loue I loue and whom loue ye” (LFay 40*-46*), a lyric seemingly in celebration Prince Arthur’s birth, wherein Arthur is given the name of “rose” (l. 23) and he, along with his parents, are referred to as “rosys thre” (l. 40). In LFay, see also “Lett serch your myndis” (11*; l. 6), which contains reference likely to Arthur using the same image, and the unattributed “This day day dawes” (108*-112*) in which Elizabeth of York is likely meant in an allusion to a queen gathering a “lyly whighte rose” (l. 5). Arthur would not live to see the crown, but his younger brother would; Henry VIII, as the son of Henry Tudor (Lancaster) and Elizabeth (York), was the first of the Tudor monarchs to embody the union of the two factions, and in this lyric the imagery of their traditional badges is transferred to Henry and Katherine’s son, the new heir. Mentioned in this edition: xv, 5, 21, 38, 57, 80, 221, 294, 295.

Notes and Glosses:

4 mornyng  Mourning.
5 a bud is spryngynge  Cf. the similar image of “Lett serch your myndis” (LFay 11?): “By droppys of grace that on them down doth rayn / Through whose swete showris now sprong ther is ayen / a rose most riall” (ll. 4-6).
6 the red rose and the whyght  Lancastrian and Yorkist badges, respectively as noted in the General Commentary, above.

Modernised Text:

Above all things
Now let us sing
Both day and night.
Adieu mourning!
A bud is springing
Off the Red rose and the White.
Now let us sing.
Adieu mourning!
Adieu mourning! Adieu!
Now let us sing
A bud is springing
Off the Red rose and the White.

Above...
Figure 16: "Aboffe all thynge" (H 24", 218)
In may that lusty sesoun
Farthing

In may that lusty sesoun
To geder the flours downn
by the medows grene

The byrds sang on every syde
so meryly it ioyed my hart
they toyned so clene

the nyghtyngale sang on hie
joyfully so merely
among the thornys kene

Textual Apparatus:

Description: A round, transcribed exactly here. Attributed to “T. ffaredyng” (26r).


Texts Collated: $H^1$ (26r)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^1$): None.

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collations (Accidental Variants): None.

Commentary:

General Commentary: A song in celebration of spring, perhaps associated with the tradition of courtly maying. Mentioned in this edition: No.
Notes and Glosses:

1. *lusty* Young, vibrant, full of healthy vigour (*OED* a 5).
2. *geder* Gather.
3. *toyned* Sang, issued forth in musical tones (*OED* “tone” v 1, 2).
4. *nyghtyngale* Cf. Liberty’s love lyric in Skelton’s *Magnificence*, which ends “So merely syngeth the nyghtyngale!” (l. 2078); also Lydgate’s *Reson and Sensuallyte*, in which the character Gladness, who associates with Venus and Cupid, says “as any nyghtyngale / She sange that Ioye was to here, / That the lusty nootys clere / Of Sirenes in the see / Ne wer nat lyke, in no degre, / To the soote, sugryd song / Whiche they songen euer a mong / Of Ioye, myrthe, and lustyhede” (5254–61); Lydgate’s “A Sayenge of the Nyghtyngale,” wherein the call of the bird is interpreted first, to be associated with earthly love—“And in hir ledne, Venus to take vengeaunce / On false lovers whiche that bien vntriewe, / Ay ful of chaunge and of variaunce, / And can in oone to have no plesaunce” (*Minor Poems* 2.11. 16–9)—and, later, when she is “Vpon a thorn” (l. 356 ff.), the call also hearkens spiritual rejuvenation.
5. *thornyssee* Lydgate’s use of the association, “A Sayenge of the Nyghtyngale,” of the nightingale and the thorn, note to l. 7, above; the association is proverbial (Whiting N112).

Modernised Text:

In May, that lusty season,
To gather the flowers down
By the meadows green,

The birds sang on every side.
So merrily it joyed my heart,
They tuned so clean.

The nightengale sang on high,
Joyfully, so merrily,
Among the thorns, keen.
The thoughtes within my brest
Farthing

The thoughtes within my brest.
They greue me passyng sore
That I can not be prest
to serue you euer more.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices; Stevens suggests that there might be verses missing (M&P 392). While this has been mistakenly attributed in the past to Henry VIII, the scribal ascription clearly reads “T. Ffardyng” (30').


Texts Collated: \(H^{1-2,3}\) (29'-30')

Emendations of the Copy Text (\(H^{1}\)):
1. within] with in \(H^{1-2,3}\)
4. serue] ser \(H^{1}\)

Collation (Substantive Variants):
4. serue] ser \(H^{1}\)

Collation (Accidental Variants):
2. sore[,] sore. \(H^{2}\)
3. can not] cannot \(H^{3}\) prest] prest \(H^{3}\)

Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric of departure, with emphasis on the lover’s regret at not being able to offer service to his beloved any longer. The text of the first stanza echoes another lyric of departure—that of Cornish’s “A the syghes that cum from my hart” \((H\ 32'-33',\ 185)\) in \(H\)—though Cornish’s lyric is of a different emphasis. Mentioned in this edition: 34, 54, 186, 187, 214.

Notes and Glosses:
2. They greue me passyng sore Cf. repetition in Cornish’s “A the syghes that...
cum fro my hart” (H 32r-33r, 185), as well as sore’s rhyme, “euer more” (l. 4).

3 prest Ready in mind, disposition, or will (OED a 2), cf. “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (H 54r-55r, 211; l. 26).

Modernised Text:

The thoughts within my breast,
They grieve me passing sore,
That I can not be pressed
To serve you ever more.
With sorrowfull syghs and greuos payne
Farthing

With sorrowfull syghs and greuos payne.
Thus euer to endure.
Alas pour hart tyl that we mete agayne.
Ioy shall I neuer ye may be sure.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices; ascription reads “T. Ffardyng” (34°).


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (33°-34°)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^1$):
3 agayne.] a gayne. $H^{1,2,3}$, a gayn. $H^2$

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 and] and $H^{1,2,3}$
2 euer] euer $H^3$ endure.] endurre. $H^3$
3 tyl] tyll $H^2$ agayne.] a gayne. $H^{1,2}$, a gayn. $H^2$
4 sure.] surre. $H^3$

Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric of departure, with emphasis on return, but also the pain that will accompany the lover in absence. Cf. “Wyth sorrowful syghes and wounds smart” (LDev 26°; attributed to Thomas Howard). Mentioned in this edition: No.

Notes and Gloses: None.

Modernised Text:
With sorrowful sighs and grievous pain,
    Thus ever to endure.
Alas, poor heart, 'till that we meet again,
    Joy shall I never, you may be sure.
I love trewly without feynyng
Farthing

I love trewly without feynyng.
my loun she is so trew to me.
To loun her sure, whill I am leuyng.
my hart with her euere shall be.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices; ascription reads “T. Ffardynge” (45’).


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (44'-45')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
1 without] with owt $H^{1,2,3}$

Collation (Substantive Variants):
2 so trew] trew $H^2$
3 loun] have $H'$
4 euere shall] shall euere $H^3$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 feynyng] fenynge. $H^2$
3 sure.] sure, $H^2$ whill] whilles $H^{2,3}$ leuyng.] leuyng, $H^{2,3}$

Commentary:


Notes and Gloses:
3 leuyng Living.
I love truly, without feigning;
My love, she is so true to me.
To love her sure, while I am living,
My heart with her ever shall be.
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 230

Alone I leffe alone
Cooper

Alone I leffe alone
and sore I sygh for one

Textual Apparatus:

Description: A round, set for three voices, with little formal distinction (neither spacing, line breaks, nor illuminated block capitals) separating one from the other; ascription reads "Doctor Cooper" (22').

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 266.5, Boffey, and Ringler MS TM138.; reprinted in Flügel Anglia 231, Briggs Collection 3-4, Stevens M&P 390, and Stevens MCH8 17.

Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (22')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
1. alone $\rightarrow$ a lone $H^{1,2}$, alone $H^3$
2. for $\rightarrow$ ffor $H'$, for $H^{2,3}$

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collations (Accidental Variants):
1. Alone $\rightarrow$ a lone $H^{2,3}$, leffe $H^2$, le ue $H^3$, alone $\rightarrow$ a lone $H^{1,2}$
2. sygh $\rightarrow$ syghe $H'$, for $\rightarrow$ ffor $H'$

Commentary:

General Commentary: A song bemoaning solitude, with an ambiguous play in the second line referring either to the speaker's self-pity (the "one" being the speaker) or to the speaker's longing for the company of a specific other; its adaptation in Thynne's Chaucer and Kele's Christmas carolles newly inprynted, noted below, suggests that the latter of these two possibilities is more probable. A popular lyric in its time, it has both secular and religious associations. It is noted in "I have non English convenient and digne," attributed to John Lydgate (Minor Poems 281; A Balade in commedation in Thynne's Chaucer 374-375): "That for you singe, so as I may, for mone / For your departing; alone I live, alone" (ll. 104-5). The two lines are used as a burden for a lyric appearing in PRO Exchequer Miscellanea.
163/23/1/1,241 and it is listed as the name of the air for “Wan ic wente byyonde the see” CGon (41).242 A later carol on the Virgin and the Son—“Alone, alone, alone, alone / Sore I sygh, and all for one” (Kele’s Christmas carolles newly inprynted 17)—adopts these lines to its burden and takes the matter of the lyric from “Alone, alone, alone, alone, / Here I sytt alone, alas, alone” (LFay 48'-50').243
Mentioned in this edition: 30, 33, 105.

Notes and Glosses:
1 leffe Live.

Modernised Text:

    Alone, I live, alone,
    And sorely I sigh for one.

---

241 See Greene ([2nd ed.] 247), Robbins Index & Suppl. (#2293.5), and Saltmarsh (14 [facsimile], 21 [trans.]).

242 See also Greene (#418).

243 See Greene (#164) and Robbins Index & Suppl. (#377.5).
I haue bene a foster
   Cooper

I haue bene a foster
   long and many a day
foster wyl I be no more
   no lenger shote I may
yet haue I bene a foster

Hange I wyl my nobyl bow
   vpon the grene wod bough
For I can crott shote in playne
   nor yett in rough
yet haue I bene a foster

Evry bowe for me ys to bygge
   myne arow ny worne ys.
The glew ys slypt frome the nyk
   when I shuld shoote I myse
yet haue. I bene a foster

Lady venus hath commaundyd me
   owt of her courte to go.
Ryght playnly she shewith me
   that beawtye ys my foo.
yet haue. I bere a foster

My berd ys so hard god wote
   when I shulde maydyns kysse
Thay stand abak and make it strange.

lo age ys cause of this.

yet haue I bene a foster

25

Now will I take to me my bedes

for and my santes booke.

And pray I wyll for them that may

for I may nowght but loke.

yet haue I bene a foster

30

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza, the burden, is through-set for three voices; the remaining text is underlaid. The ascription reads “D. Cooper.” (66°). The initial text and melody imitates that of “y haue ben afoster long and meney day” (LRit 53v; Robbins Index & Suppl. 1303.3, Ringler MS TM643), but Cooper’s lyric deviates from that in LRit and is extended; see the General Commentary, below. A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 17 [237]).


Texts Collated: H1-2,3 (65v-66r, ll. 1-5 H1, 2 H2, 3 H3)

Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):

1 a foster] afoster H1, a foster H2, a foster H3

29 I] ms omits

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants):

1 a fost] afoster H1, a foster H2, a foster H3

2 and] a H2, and H3

3 foster] ffoster H2 wyl] wil H2,3

4 lenger] lenger H2

5 foster_] foster. H3
Commentary:

General Commentary: As with other forester songs in H, this lyric explicitly exploits and draws attention to the double-entendre of the forester songs as a whole, and especially evident here in the shift in the fourth and fifth stanzas (ll. 16-25) to a direct address of the courtly love topos. Flood (64-5) assigns this lyric to the play presented by Cornish at Windsor, 15 June 1522, in which a keeper, three foresters, and four hunters took part, as well as Cornish's Children of the Chapel Royal.244 See also the General Commentary and notes to Cornish's "Yow and I and amyas" (H 45r-46r; 199) and "Blow thi horne hunter" (H 39r-40r; 188), as well as that of the unattributed "I am a joly foster" (H 69r-71r; 287), which appears to be in answer to this lyric. Also, as noted above, Cooper's text and melody imitate that of the unattributed "y haue ben afoster long and meney day" in LRit (53r), and shares many of the same sentiments, though not the explicit double-meaning of the forester lyrics; this text follows:

y haue ben afoster long and meney day,
my lockes ben ho re,
foster woll y be no more

y shall hong vp my horne by the greene wode spray
my lookes ben hore,
Foster will y be no mor

All the whiles that y may bowe bend
shall y wedde no wyffe,
my bowe bend shall y wedde now wiffe,

wiffe I shall bygges me a boure atte the wodes ende
ther to lede my lyffe
att the wodes end, ther to lede my lyfe


Notes and Glosses:

1 foster Forester.
4 no lenger shote I may Cf. the sentiment of Cornish's "Blow thi horne hunter" (H 39r-40r; 188; l. 22).
8 in playne On open ground, in the meadow, &c. (OED "plain" n.1 1.a).
9 in rough On rough or broken ground (OED n.1 2.a, b).

244 See L&P Henry VIII (III[ii] #2305), PRO SP1/24 (231ff.), Hall (641), and CSP Spanish (II #437).
13 glew ys slypt frome the nyk  Arrows were sometimes spliced with heavier wood and the “nock” to counterbalance the weight of the metal head; if the glue failed, the arrow would become unserviceable (noted by Greene [451]).

23 make it strange  Estrange or remove themselves (OED “strange” 5).

26 bedes  Beads.

27 for and  And moreover (OED conj. 5).  santes booke  Book of saints’ lives.

Modernised Text:

I have been a forester,
    Long and many a day.
Forester will I be no more;
    No longer shoot I may.
Yet have I been a forester.

5

Hang I will my noble bow
    Upon the green wood bough,
For I can not shoot in plain
    Nor yet in rough.
Yet have I been a forester.

10

Every bow for me is too big.
    Mine arrow nigh worn is.
The glue is slipped from the nick.
    When I should shoot, I miss.
Yet have I been a forester.

15

Lady Venus had commanded me
    Out of her court to go.
Right plainly, she showed me
    That beauty is my foe.
Yet have I been a forester.

20

My beard is so hard, God knows,
    When I should maidens kiss
They stand aback and make it strange;
    Lo, age is cause of this.
Yet have I bene a forester.

25

Now will I take to me my beads
    And my saints’ book,
And pray I will for them that may,
    For I may nought but look.
Yet have I been a forester.
Figure 17: "I haue bene a foster" (H 65r-66v, 232).
[...] and my noble boy upon the green and rough for I can not: those in playne nor pett in sondy, yet have I cup bowe for me ys, dizzie name arrow wy wyne ys. The grole ys spot frome the vsk when I shud shute ynde. Yet have: sadys and wastes undr yd me out of her comite to go, yet have y. s. right playen: she shewth me that dextere ys my swor: my bed ys so hard god note when I shule maydyne kynde: They stand abak and make it strange. So ege ys cause of this. Yet her now: will I take to me up bed for and up: sait: booke: and pray: pruyn: for then: is may for may nought but take: y. s.
Fare well my Ioy and my swete hart
Cooper

Fare well my Ioy and my swete hart
fare well myne owne hart rote.
frome yow a whyle must I depart
ther ys none other bote
ther ys none other bote.

Though you depart now thus me fro
and leue me all alone.
my hart ys yours where euer that I go
for yow do I mone.
for you do I mone.
for you do I mone.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices; ascribed to “D. Cooper.” (67).245


Texts Collated: $H^1{}^2,3$ (66*-68*)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):

7 all alone.] alone. $H'$, all alone. $H'$, all alone. $H'$
10 for] fro $H'$

245 Editor’s Note: This ascription is unreadable in the microform copy of $H$ to which I now have access; attribution is given as per visual confirmation with $H$ (as per my notes) and in accordance with Stevens M&P (401).
Collation (Substantive Variants):
1 hart] harte harte $H^2$
3 must ] I must $H^2$
4 none other] no nother $H^{3,5}$
5 none other] no nother $H^{3,5}$
7 all alone ] alone. $H'$, all alone $H^2$, all alone. $H^3$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 Fare] Fayre $H^2$ well] wel $H^{2,3}$ swete] sweet $H^3$
2 well] wel $H^{2,3}$ myne] myn $H^2$ owne] own $H^2$
3 yow] you $H^{2,3}$ depart] de part $H^3$
4 ys] is $H^{2,3}$
5 ys] is $H^3$ bote.] bote, $H^{2,3}$
6 Though] Though $H^{2,3}$ you] ye $H^2$
7 and] and $H^3$
8 yours] yours $H^{2,3}$ where] wher $H^{2,3}$ that] that $H^3$
9 yow] you $H^{2,3}$ mone.] mone $H^{2,3}$
10 for] fro $H'$ mone.] mone $H^{2,3}$

Commentary:

General Commentary: This lyric presents an exchange between two lovers, at their leave-taking. The second stanza is a response, affirming constancy, to the first's statement of departure. Mentioned in this edition: No.

Notes and Glosses:
2 heart rote Sweetheart, beloved one (OED "heart-root" 2); cf. usage also in Skelton's "Woffully araid" (l. 19; in LFay 63'-67') and his Why Come ye not to Court (l. 664).
4 none other bote No other repair, remedy, or relief, [it is] no use (OED "boot" n1 I.3, II.5).

Modernised Text:

Farewell, my joy, and my sweetheart.
Farewell, my own heart-root.
From you a while must I depart.
There is no other boot.
There is no other boot.

Though you depart now thus me from,
And leave me all alone,
My heart is yours where ever that I go.
For you do I moan.
For you do I moan.
For you do I moan.
Downbery down
Daggere

now am I exild my lady fro
and no cause geuyn ther to
wherfor to her. I me complayn
hey now
trustyng that dysdayn
sone shal be slayne
and never more to remayne.
Downbery.

Textual Apparatus:


Texts Collated: Hr (25r), LR58 (4v)

Emendations of the Copy Text (Hr):
2 exild] ex ild Hr, exyeld LR58
7 shal betf'] shalbe Hr, shal be LR58

Collation (Substantive Variants):
1 down] down down down hay down LR58
5 now] now hey now hey now LR58
6 that dysdayn] this day LR58
7 sone] sum LR58
8 never more] neuer LR58
9 substitute hey now downbery down. LR58

Collations (Accidental Variants):
1 Downbery] Down bery LR58
2 exild] ex ild Hr, exyeld LR58
and] and LR58  geuyn] yevyn LR58  ther] ther LR58
wherfor] wher for LR58  her.] hyr. LR58  complayn] complayne LR58
trustyn] trustyn LR58
shal be] shalbe LR58  slayne] slayn LR58
and] and LR58  never] neuer LR58  remayne] remayn. LR58

Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric of a lover's exile from his lady, with no known reason (ll. 3-4). The "dysdayn" (l. 6) mentioned shares a similar quality to that of the nearly-allegorised entity of disdain noted in Henry's own lyrics, that of a force which keeps true lovers apart. Mentioned in this edition: 78, 107, 146, 336, 337.

Notes and Glosses:

5 hey now A common refrain; see Farthing's "Hey now now" (H 25r; 337) and Kempe's "Hey nowe nowe" (H 21v; 336) both present in H as incipits; "hey now now" is the burden to "Swet Iesu is cum to vs / this good tym of crystmas" (OxEP 45r-47r; Greene #93), which is stated to be "A song in the tune of / And y were a mayden" ("And I war a maydyn" is in H [106v-107r; 310]); see also Skelton's "Agaynste a Comely Coystrowne": "Rumbyll downe, tumbyll downe, hey go, now, now" (l. 30). Also an exclamation, as in "hey now I howte" (Castle of Perseverance 61).
6 dysdayn Cf. Henry's "Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne" (H 39r; 145; ll. 2, 4, 8, 11, 14) and elsewhere; see the note to line 2 of the aforementioned lyric.

Modernised Text:

Downberry, down!
Now am I exiled my lady from,
And no cause given thereto.
Wherefore to her I me complain.
Hey, now! 5
Trusting that disdain
Soon shall be slain,
And never more to remain.
Downberry!
Whoso that wyll hym self applye

Rysby

Whoso that wyll hym self applye.
To passe the tyme of youth loly
Auaunce hym to the companye.
Of lusty bloddys and cheualry
off lusty bloddys and cheualry.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for four voices; ascribed to “Rysbye” (28').


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3,4}$ (27'-28')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
1 Whoso] Who so $H^{1,2,3,4}$

Collation (Substantive Variants):
5 omit $H'$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 wyll] wyl $H'$ selff] self $H'$ applye.] apply. $H'$
2 the] the $H'$ of] off $H^{2,3}$ loly.] loly. $H^{2,3,4}$
3 Auaunce] Auaunce $H^{2,3,4}$ the] the $H^{2,3}$ companye.] company. $H^{2,4}$
4 Of] Off $H^{2,3,4}$ bloddys] blodd $H^{2,3,4}$ and] and $H^{2,3,4}$ cheualry.]
cheualry. $H^{2,3,4}$, cheulry. $H'$
5 off] of $H^{2,3}$ bloddys] blodd $H^{2,3}$ and] and $H^{2,3}$ cheualry.] Cheualry. $H^{2}$
Commentary:

**General Commentary:** A lyric of invitation to a tournament, perhaps a tournament song in itself. The "lusty" (l. 4) spirit of the song, and its explicit mention of "youth" (l. 2), echo many of Henry's own lyrics of the first few years of his reign. Mentioned in this edition: 5, 78.

**Notes and Glosses:**

2 **youth** See Henry's songs on youth, "Pastyme with good companye" (*H* 14r-15r; 121), "The tyme of youthe is to be spent" (*H* 28v-29r; 135), "Though sum saith that yough rulyth me" (*H* 71v-73r; 164), and "Lusti yough shuld vs ensue" (*H* 94v-97r; 170).

4 **lusty bloddy** Those with lusty (young, energetic) blood, gallants.  

**Chivalry.**

**Modernised Text:**

Whoso that will himself apply  
To pass the time of youth jolly,  
Advance him to the company  
Of lusty bloods and chivalry,  
Of lusty bloods and chivalry.
Deme the best of evry dowt
Lloyd

Deme the best of evry dowt
tyll the trowth be tryed owt

Textual Apparatus:

**Description:** A round, in three voices; attributed to "J. ffluyd" (79'). In *L1587* it is copied twelve times in full, and several more times in part, as pen practice, containing the variant first line "Deme the best in every dowte;" in *OxHill* the English lines are followed by the Latin "In dubiis serui melius cape pessima sperne." A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 18 [248]).

**Indexing and Notable Reprintings:** Indexed in *Robbins Index & Suppl. 675.5* and *Ringler MS TM344 & TM343* (see also *Ringler MS TM88*). Reprinted in *Flügel Anglia 247*, *Dyboski* ci. 131, *Stevens M&P 413*, and *Stevens MCH8 57*.

**Texts Collated:** *H*¹²³ (79'), *L1587¹² (2/16, 212'), *OxRawl86* (31), *OxHill* (200')

**Emendations of the Copy Text (H¹):**
2 tryed] try *H¹*, tryed *H²³*, *OxRawl86*, tried *L1587¹²*, *OxHill*

**Collation (Substantive Variants):**
1 the best of euery] no thyng that is in *OxHill*

**Collation (Accidental Variants):**
1 Deme Deame *OxRawl86* the] the *L1587¹²* of] in *L1587¹*, *OxRawl86* euery] every *L1587¹²* dowt] dowte *H²*, *L1587¹²*, doute *OxRawl86*  2 tyll] Till *L1587¹*, *OxHill*, Tille *L1587²*, Tyl *OxRawl86* the] the *H²*, *OxRawl86*, *OxHill*  trowth] trwth *H²*, trouth *L1587¹²*, trouthe *OxRawl86* tryed] try *H¹*, tryed *H²³*, *OxRawl86*, tried *L1587¹²*, *OxHill*  owt_] owt *H²*, owte *L1587¹²*, oute *OxRawl86*, out *OxHill*

**Commentary:**

**General Commentary:** A moralising, proverbial expression. This couplet is also found on a bronze jug of Richard II's reign (Evans, *English Art* 90); for a popular variant, see also John Heywood's *Ballads and Songs* (264, l. 24) and his *Dialogue*: "Tyme tryeth trouth in every doubt. And deme the best, till time hath tryde the trouth out" (76, ll. 217-8); see also Whiting (T326). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 31, 33, 78, 106, 109, 248.
Notes and Glosses:
2 tryed Be first tried.

Modernised Text:

Deem the best of every doubt
Until the truth is tried out.
Figure 18: "Deme the best of euery dowt" (H 79v, 246).
Quid petis o fily
Pygott

Quid petis ofily
mater dulassima baba.
O pater ofili
michi plausus oscula da da.

The moder full manerly and mekly as a mayd
lokynge on her lyttill son so laughynge in lap layde
so pretly so pertly so passyngly well apayd
ful softly and full soberly vsnto her swet son she said qid petys.

I mene this by mary or makers moder of myght
full louely lookyng on or lord the lanterne of lyght
thus sayng to or sauior this saw I In my syght
this reson that I rede you now I rede it full ryght.
Qid petys

musyng on her maners so ny mard was my mayne
saue it plesyd me so passyngly that past was my payn.
yet softly to her swete sonn me thought I hard sayn
now gracius god and goode swete babe yet ons this game agayne.
Qid petys

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Both the Latin burden, the first stanza, and the English verses are through¬
set for four voices; the remaining text is underlaid. Ascribed to “pygott” (116).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 3438.3 and
Ringler MS TM1570. Reprinted in Chappell Account 384, Fligel Anglia 252-3,
Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3,4}$ (112'-116', ll. 1-9 and 14-19 $H^3$, ll. 1-9 $H^4$), CPet (inside front cover, ll. 1-3) $^{246}$

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
1. QUid] QUt $H^1$, QUid $H^{2,3,4}$
2. O pater] quid petis $H^1$, Opater $H^{2,3,4}$, O pater CPet
3. The ~ mayd] added $H^{2,4}$
4. lokying ~ son] added $H^{2,3,4}$
5. petes] petes / Qid petys ofili / Qid petys ofily $H^1$, petes ofili. $H^2$

Collation (Substantive Variants):
1. substitute o mater o fili pets CPet ofily] ofili qid petes ofili $H^{2,4}$
2. mater] me CPet
3. O pater] quid petis $H^1$ ofili] ofili o pater ofili $H^2$, ofili opater ofili $H^4$
4. da da.] dada da da. $H^4$
5. The ~ mayd] omit $H^{1,3}$
6. lokying ~ son] omit $H^{1,4}$ layde] layde so laughyng in lap laid $H^2$, ~ in ~ $H^3$
7. apayd] apayd so passyngly well a payd $H^4$, a payd so pa passyngly well apayd. $H^4$, apayd so pretly so pertly ~ apayd. $H^3$
8. ful ~ soberly] omit $H^3$ said] said she $H^2$, saide vn to her son sa $H^2$
9. petys.] petes ofily. $H^4$
10. thus sayng to] sayng $H^2$
14. petes] petes / Qid petys ofili / Qid petys ofily $H^1$, petes ofili. $H^2$
17. sayn] her sayn $H^2$, her sayne $H^3$
19. petes] petis ofili. / Qid petes ofili $H^2$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1. QUid] QUt $H^1$ petis] petys $H^{2,3}$, petes $H^4$ ofily] ofili $H^{2,4}$
2. mater] mater $H^{2,3,4}$ dulassima] dulassima $H^{3,4}$, dultissime CPet baba.] ba $H^{2,3}$, baba. $H^4$
3. O pater] Opatere $H^{2,3,4}$, O pater CPet ofili] o fili CPet
5. and] and $H^4$ mekly] mekely $H^4$
6. lyttill] litell $H^3$ laughyng] laughyng $H^{2,3}$, laugh-yng $H^4$ in lap] inlap $H^3$
7. pertly] pertly $H^{2,3,4}$ passyngly] passyngly $H^2$, passyng-ly $H^4$ apayd]

$^{246}$ After the initial three lines, first line is partially repeated in a different hand; this partial line has not been collated.
apayed $H^2$, a payd $H^4$

8 ful softly] full softly $H^2$, full softly $H^4$ and] and $H^4$ soberly] so berly $H^2$

vn] vn to $H^3$, said_] saide, $H^2$, said. $H^4$

9 petys] petes, $H^2$, $H^3$

10 or] oure $H^2$ makers] makerys $H^2$ moder] modyr $H^2$

11 on] onn $H^2$

12 or] oure $H^2$ sauior] sauyor $H^3$

13 this] this $H^2$ rede] red $H^2$ you] you $H^2$

15 maners] maners $H^2$, mard] marde $H^3$


18 graciws] gracius $H^2$, and] and $H^3$ swete] swet $H^2$ this] this $H^3$

19 petes] petis $H^2$

Commentary:

**General Commentary:** The sole vernacular religious song in $H$, this lyric is a moralisation of the Virgin playing with the Son as a child. The alliteration in the verse suggests an earlier style than the other lyrics in $H$, and certainly a style prior to its setting here by Pygott. The first few lines are present in Skelton’s *Phyllip Sparowe:* “Quid petis filio, mater dulcissima? Ba ba!” (I. 1091). Mentioned in this edition: 31, 78, 105.

**Notes and Glosses:**

1-4 Gloss: “What are you seeking, O Son? Sweetest mother, kiss, kiss. O Father, O Son. Give me kisses of liking” (from Stevens M&P 421), spoken by the Virgin.

7 pertly Openly, without concealment, smartly, sharply (*OED* adv. 1, 3).

apayd satisfied, contented, pleased (*OED* v 1).

13 reson Statement, narrative, or speech (*OED* n.1 3.a).

15 mard Marred. *mayne* Physical strength, force, or power (*OED* I.1.a).

18 ons Once.

**Modernised Text:**

Quid petis, o fili?
Mater dulcissima ba ba.
O pater, o fili?
Michi plausus oscula da da!

The mother, full mannerly and meekly as a maid,
Looking on her little son, so laughing, in lap laid,
So prettily, so pertly, so passingly well apayed,
Full softly and full soberly, unto her sweet son she said:
Quid petis.

I mean by this Mary, our Maker's Mother of might,
Full lovely looking on our Lord, the lantern of light,
Thus saying to our Saviour. This saw I in my sight;
This reason that I read you now, I read it full right:
Quid petis.

Musing on her manners, so nigh marred was my mane,
Save it pleased me so passingly that passed was my pain.
Yet softly to her sweet son me thought I heard saying:
Now, gracious God and good sweet babe, yet once this game again.
Quid petis.
Svmwhat musyng
[Fayrfax / Woodville]

Svmwhat musyng
and more mornyng
in remembrance
the unstedfastnes
this world beyng
of such walyng
me contraryng
what may I gesse

I fere doubtles
remedies
is now to cese
my woffull chance
for vnkyndnes
withowtyn les
and no redresse
me doth avance

with dysplesance
to my greuance
and no surance
of remedy
lo in this trance
now in substance
such is my chance
willyng to dye.
Me thynk trewly
bowndon am I
and that gretly
to be content
seyng playnly
fortune doth wry
all contrary
from myn entent

my lyf was lent
to an entent
it is nye spent
welcum fortune
yet I ne went
thus to be shent
but she is ment
such ys her went

Textual Apparatus

Description: Through-set in three voices. While not attributed in H, LFay and Wells ascribe it to Fayrfax, the text of the lyric has been ascribed to Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers (see the General Commentary, below). In H and LFay, the virelay appears complete, set for three voices with a text of eight line stanzas that are complete only when all voices are taken into account. The fragments of Wells, CFitz, and NYDrex compose the better part of another witness; the exact details of this grouping, and a dispelling of concerns regarding other lost witness fragments of this lyric, are noted by Fallows (“Drexel Fragments” 5-6, 15-16). Robbins (Index & Suppl. 3193.5) notes that a witness appears in LVes (170”), but this editor has been unable to locate that witness as per Robbins’ directions. A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 19 [260]); witnesses to this text follow Figure 19.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 3193.5 and Ringler MS TM1452. Reprinted in Arber 180, Chronicles 209, Flügel Anglia
Texts Collated: \(H^1,2,3\) (120°-122°), \(LFay^1,2,3\) (33°-35°), \(Wells^1,2,3\) (1°-2°, ll. 28-40 \(Wells^1\), ll. 9-40 \(Wells^2\)), \(CFitz\) (1°, ll. 1-9, 22-3), \(NYDrex\) (1°, ll. 1-19)

Emendations of the Copy Text (\(H^1\)):

2 mornyng] omit \(H^1\), moryng \(H^2,3\), morenyng \(LFay^1,2,3\), mornynge \(CFitz\), mornyng \(Wells^2\)

4 the vnstedfastnes] thunstedfastnes \(H^1,3\), thuunstedfastnes \(H^2\), the vnstedfastness \(LFay^1,2,3\), the vnstedfast nes \(CFitz\), the vnste.

7 me contraryng] omit \(H^1\), me contraryng \(H^2\)

9 I fere doulties] omit \(H^1\), I fere doulties \(H^2\)

10 remedyles] omit \(H^1\), remedyles \(H^2\)

11 is now to cese] omit \(H^1\), is now to cese \(H^2\)

12 my wofull chance] omit \(H^1\), my wofull chance \(H^2\)

14 withowtyn les] with owtyn les \(H^1\), withowtyn les \(H^2\), with outenless \(LFay^1,3\), with owtyn leys \(Wells^2\), with owytyn lese \(NYDrex\)

16 avance] a Vance, \(H^1\), auance, \(H^2\), a vaunce, \(LFay^1,2,3\), a Vance \(NYDrex\)

20 trance] trance \(H^1,3\), trance \(H^2\), trance \(LFay^1,2,3\), \(Wells^3\)

22 in substance] insubstance \(H^1\), in substance \(H^2,3\), In substantive \(LFay^1\), Insubstance \(LFay^2\), In substantive \(LFay^2\), in substance \(Wells^2,3\)

26 bowndon am 1] omit \(H^1\), bowndon am 1 \(H^2\)

27 and that gretly] omit \(H^1\), and that gretly \(H^2\)

29 seyn planly] omit \(H^1\), seyng planly \(H^2\) seyn planly \(H^2,3\), planly \(LFay^1,2,3\), \(Wells^2\)

32 from] fro \(H^1\), from \(H^2,3\), for \(LFay^1,2,3\), to \(Wells^1,2,3\), from to \(Wells^3\)

33 my lyf was lent] omit \(H^1\), my lyf was lent \(H^2\)

37 yet] ye \(H^1,3\), yet \(H^2\), \(LFay^1,3\), yit \(Wells^1,2\)

39 but she is ment] omit \(H^1\), but she is ment \(H^2\)

Collation (Substantive Variants):

1 omit \(H^3\), \(LFay^2\), \(Wells^3\)

2 omit \(H^1\), \(LFay^1\), \(NYDrex\)

5 omit \(Wells^3\)

6 omit \(H^3\), \(LFay^2\), \(Wells^3\)

7 omit \(H^1\), \(LFay^1\), \(NYDrex\)

9 omit \(H^1\), \(LFay^1\), \(NYDrex\)

10 omit \(H^1\), \(LFay^1\), \(Wells^2,3\), \(NYDrex\)

11 omit \(H^1\), \(LFay^1\), \(NYDrex\) is now] now \(LFay^2\)

12 omit \(H^1\), \(LFay^1\), \(NYDrex\)

13 omit \(H^3\), \(Wells^2,3\)
Collation (Accidental Variants):

14 omit $H^3$, $LFay^2$, $Wells^3$
15 omit $H^3$, $LFay^2$, $Wells^3$
16 omit $H^3$, $LFay^2$, $Wells^3$
17 omit $Wells^2$
18 omit $Wells^2$ my] me $NYDrex$ greuance] grete greuance $LFay^2$, greuance $LFay^3$
20 omit $Wells^2$
21 lo in] in $Wells^3$
23 such ~ chance] such chance. $H^2$ chance] daunce $LFay^{1,2,3}$, d... $Wells^2$
26 omit $H^1$, $LFay^1$ am 1] were 1 $LFay^1$
27 omit $H^1$, $LFay^1$ that gretely] gretely $LFay^3$, gretely $Wells^3$
28 omit $H^3$, $LFay^2$, $Wells^3$
29 omit $H^1$, $LFay^1$, $Wells^2$ sayng] sayng $LFay^{2,3}$
30 fortune] for time $LFay^2$
31 omit $Wells^{1,2}$
32 from] fro $H^1$, from $H^{2,3}$, for $LFay^{1,2,3}$, to $Wells^{1,2}$, from to $Wells^3$
33 omit $H^1$, $LFay^1$, $Wells^1$
34 omit $H^3$, $LFay^2$, $Wells^1$ an] one $Wells^{1,2}$
36 welcum fortune] welcum fortune welcum fortune $H^2$, well cum fortune well cum fortune $LFay^1$, well on fortun well cum fortune $Wells^1$, well cum fortun well com fortun $Wells^2$
37 omit $H^3$, $LFay^2$, $Wells^3$ yet] ye $H^{1,3}$, yet $H^2$, $LFay^{1,3}$, yit $Wells^{1,2}$
38 omit $H^3$, $LFay^2$, $Wells^1$ shent] spent $LFay^{1,3}$
39 omit $H^1$, $LFay^1$, $Wells^1$ is] it $LFay^{2,3}$, $Wells^{2,3}$
40 went] wone, $LFay^{1,2,3}$, wone. $Wells^{1,2}$, mone, $Wells^3$

Collation (Accidental Variants):

1 Svmwhat] Sum what $H^2$, Sum what $LFay^{1,3}$, Sumwhat $CFitz$, $NYDrex$ mussyng] musing $H^2$
2 and] And $H^2$, $LFay^2$, $Wells^3$, and $CFitz$ more] mor $H^3$ moryng] omit $H^1$, moryng $H^{2,3}$, moryng $LFay^{2,3}$, moryng $CFitz$, moryng $Wells^3$
3 in] in $H^1$, In $LFay^{1,2,3}$ rememoryng] remembyryng $LFay^{1,2}$, $Wells^1$, remembyryng $LFay^3$
4 the unstedfastnes] thurstedfastnes $H^{1,3}$, thurstedfastnes $H^2$, the vnstedfastness $LFay^{1,2,3}$, the vnstedfast nes $CFitz$, the vnste... $Wells^3$, the vnstedfastnes $NYDrex$
5 this] this $LFay^{1,2,3}$ world] worlde $LFay^{1,2,3}$ beyng] beyng $H^{2,3}$, $LFay^{1,2,3}$, $CFitz$
6 of] off $H^2$ walyng] walyng. $H^2$, welyng $LFay^{1,3}$, walyng $CFitz$
7 contraryng] contraryng $H^3$, contraryng $LFay^2$, contraryng $LFay^3$, contrary yng $CFitz$, contraryng $Wells^3$
8 gesse] gess $LFay^{1,2,3}$, gese $CFitz$, $Wells^3$
9 fere] fyr $CFitz$ doubtles] doubtless $LFay^{2,3}$, dowteles $CFitz$
Commentary:

General Commentary: Certainly more in keeping with the general tone of the lyrics in...
LFay, this remains one of the few moralising or meditative works in H. Attributed to Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers, who wrote the words while imprisoned in Pontefract, prior to his beheading in 1483, the lyric suitably meditates upon the fickleness of fortune and the unsteadfastness of this world. A moralized version exists in the The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, though it was condemned and excised from the 1586 ed. (see James [Mitchell, ed.]); see also BL Additional MS 18,752 (28'). A lyric with similar tone is the unattributed “My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble” (H 116'-120'; 323). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 21, 32, 78, 89, 91, 104, 107, 108, 109, 260, 264, 268, 272, 273, 326.

Notes and Glosses:

6 walyng Wailing.
11 cese Cease.
12 my wofull chance Cf. the unattributed “My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble” (H 116'-120'; 323; l. 22).
14 withowyn les Without release.
21 trance State of extreme apprehension or dread, but also a stunned or dazed state (OED n.1 1, 3.a).
22 in substance In reality, in essence.
30 wry Swerve, t\(\)urn (OED v.2 2).
36 welcum fortune See the title to this lyric’s moralised version, listed in the General Commentary.
37 went Thought, supposed (OED “wend” v.2).
38 shent Ruined, brought to destruction; also, put to shame (OED v.1 1, 3).
39 she is ment She had it in mind the whole time (Stevens M&P 94).
40 went Path, way, course of action or plan (OED 1,3).

Modernised Text:

Somewhat musing,
and more mourning,
in remembering
the unsteadfastness.
This world being
of such wailing,
me contrarying,
what may I guess?

I fear, doubtless,
remediless,

247 See Stevens M&P (362), Berdan’s Early Tudor Poetry (150), and Arber’s Dunbar Anthology (180).
is now to cease
my woeful chance,
for unkindness,
without no less
and no redress,
does me advance.

With displeasure
to my grievance,
and no assurance
of remedy,
lo, in this trance
now in substance
such is my chance
willing to die.

I think truly
bound am I,
and that greatly,
to be content
seeing plainly
fortune does wry
all contrary
from my intent.

My life was lent
to an intent.
It is nigh spent.
Welcome, fortune.
Yet I do not want
thus to be shent,
but she is meant.
Such is her intent.
Figure 19: "Svmwhat musyng" (H 120'-122'; 253).
for unhappines in mith lee and nocher me with auent to dispone

for to my gre nance is unsuance of

temy dis to my sorte now if finceth such chance hipping to dye

I and meting me tending chiste sufices y moes beryng

me consing what may a goffe y seundaed to

medille y now to este my sost chance it disspone to my gre

sance and unsuance of remedy,

so in thise sance now is phyto my willng to dy
I do think it best to be content

for I've spent too much fortune

yet ne'er want

to be frvent such as she went

I methink tending bownden am I and that greth

to be content

fortune doth uspe all contrary from me content.
but she is meant such as she is meant.
Figure 19 a: "Svmwhat musyng" witness, LFay (33'-35')
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 265

No surmountance to my great gredamme
and no surmountance of remedy

So in my outstent no surmountance such is no remedy willinge to be

Somwhat must I move morning and remembrance

Unsatisfistic trouble being of mine beelinge me concerning what

No remedy is need to rest my drofffull enmy for

Ambitioness is discontented no redress me for a dammer of surmountance

No surmountance and no surmountance of remedy
Was sent it to my spight... But she it meant

such as her heart

Teved! another

she triumphantly bounded hence I was greatly to be content

saying plainly fortune drown all country for men en

then my lyffe was sent to an extreme it is my spent well enm

therefore Intermine to be sent, but she received sh
Figure 19 b: “Svmwhat musyng” witness, Wells (1r-2r)
Figure 19 c: "Svmwhat musyng" witness, CFitz (1)
Figure 19 d: "Svmwhat musyng" witness, NYDrex (17)
Iff I had wytt for to endyght
Unattributed

Iff I had wytt for to endyght.
of my lady both fayre and fre
of her godnes than wold I wryght
shall no man know her name for me
shall no man know her name for me.

I loue her well with hart and mynd.
she ys right trew I do it se.
My hart to haue she doth me bynd.
shall no mane know her name for me.

She doth not wauer as the wynde.
nor for no new me chaung doth she.
But all way trew I do her fynd.
shall no man know her name for me.

Yf I to her than war vnkynd.
pytte it war that I shuld se.
for she to me ys all way kynd.
shall no man know her name for me.

lernyng it war for women all.
vnto ther louers trew for to be.
Promyse I mak that know non shall.
whill I leue. her name for me.

My hart she hath and euer shall
to deth departed we be.
Happe what wyll happ fall what shall,
shall no man know her name for me. 25

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza is through-set in three voices; the remaining text is
underlaid. Unattributed in H, though in L18752 (58'), a related handling (not
collated here), the initials "J I" appear underneath. A facsimile is provided in this
dition (see Figure 20 [279]).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 1414.8, Boffey,
Ringer MS TM721, and Crum 1822. Reprinted in Chambers Lyrics 57,
Chambers Verse 41-2, Flügel Anglia 235, 260, Flügel Neuengl. 134, 138,
Padelford 78, Reed 350-1, Stevens M&P 396, and Stevens MCH8 26.

Texts Collated: H1.2.3 (34'-35', ll. 1-5 H1.2.3), LR58 (5'), LDev (58')

Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):
14 vnkynd.] vn kynd. H1, vnkende. LR58
16 for] ffor H1, For LR58
19 vnto] vn to H1, vnto LR58

Collation (Substantive Variants):
5 omit LDev
11 doth] woll LDev
12 all way trew] trew and faythfull LDev
14-21 omit LDev substitute sore y am that y ne may / to tell yon her fydelyte / that all men myght good of her saye / shall no man kno her nam for me
LDev
15 se.] the. LR58
17 know her name for me.] know hur name for me. LR58
18 women] young men LR58
20 mak] made LR58 non] noman LR58
21 whill] whylle LR58 I] that I LR58
23 to deth] tyll by dethe LR58, that by dethe LDev
24 substitute bade and goodes y gyue her all LDev wyl] shall LR58 fall
what shall,] wylbe fall LR58
25 know her name for me.] know hur name for me. LR58, know her nam for me.
LDev

Collation (Accidental Variants):
I Commentary:

1 Iff ] If H²,³, yf LDev wytt] wyt H², LDev, wit H³ for] fore LR58 endyght. ] endith H², endyte LR58, LDev
2 of] off LR58  fare] fare H², fayr LDev and] and H², LDev fre.] fre. H²,³, free LR58
3 of] off LR58 godens] godens H², godnese LR58, goodnys LDev than] then LR58, LDev wold] wolde LR58, wolld LDev wryght.] wryght. H²,³, wryte LR58, wret LDev
4 no man] no man H², LDev, noman LR58 her] hur LR58 name] nam LDev me.] me. H²,³, me LR58
5 no man] no man H², LDev, noman LR58 her] hur LR58 me.] me. LR58
6 loue] love LR58 with] wyth LR58, with LDev mynd.] mynde LR58, mynd. LDev
8 doth] dothe LR58 bynd.] bynde LR58, bynd LDev
9 no mane] noman LR58, no man LDev her] hur LR58 name] nam LDev me.] me LR58, LDev
10 doth] dothe LR58 wauer] wauer LR58, waver LDev wynde.] wynde LR58, wynd LDev
11 chaung] chaunge LR58, LDev doth] dothe LR58 she.] she LR58, LDev
14 Yf ] Iff LR58 her] hur LR58 than] then LR58 war] were LR58
15 pytte] pety LR58 it] hyt LR58 war] were LR58 shuld] sholde LR58
16 for] ffor H²,³. For LR58 all way] all ways LR58 kynd.] kende LR58
17 no man] noman LR58
18 learnyng] Lornyng LR58 it] hyt LR58 war] were LR58 all.] all LR58
19 vnto] vn to H¹ ther] there LR58 Louers] louers LR58 be.] be LR58
20 Promise] promyse LR58 shall.] shall LR58
21 leue] leve LR58 her] hur LR58 me.] me LR58
22 hath] hathe LR58, LDev and] and LR58, LDev euer] ever LDev
23 departed] departyd LR58, departaryd LDev be.] bee LR58, be LDev
24 Happe] hap LR58 happ] hape LR58
25 no man] noman LR58
**General Commentary:** This lyric presents a celebration of a lover's lady. With echoes in Cornish/Wyatt's "A robyn gentyl robyn" (H 53'-54'; 205) and other lyrics of this tradition, the lover expresses his love and devotion, and praises her beauty and constancy to him. See also "If I had space now for to write" (PRO State Paper Office 1/246 28'), which shares the same rhyme yoking ("write" [l. 1] and "endite" [l. 3]). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 106, 107, 208, 279.

**Notes and Glosses:**

1-3 endyght . . . godnes Cf. Christopher Goodwyn's *Dolorous Louer*: "Of all her goodnes what sholde I more endyght" (l. 218).

1 endyght Put into words, compose, give a literary or rhetorical form to, express or describe in a literary composition (OED "indite" v 3).

10 *She doth not wauer as the wynde* Cf. lines 14-15 in Wyatt's later handling of "A robyn gentyl robyn," "that wommens lou ys but ablast / and tornyth as the wynd" (LDev[2] 24; also LEge 37').

11 *for no new me chaung doth she* Cf. Cornish/Wyatt's "A robyn gentyl robyn" (H 53'-54'; 205; l. 11).

12 *trew I do her fynd* Cf. Cornish/Wyatt's "A robyn gentyl robyn" (H 53'-54'; 205; l. 9).

18 *lernyng it war for women all* "it would be, if known, a lesson to all women" (Stevens M&P 396).

23 departed Separated.

24 *Happe what wyll happ* In reference to the changes of fortune the future may bring; cf. "Spite of thy hap, hap hath wel happed" (ll. 7, 14, 21) in Wyatt's "In faith I not well what to say" (LEge 19').

**Modernised Text:**

If I had wit for to indite
Of my lady, both fair and free,
Of her goodnes then would I write.
Shall no man know her name for me,
Shall no man know her name for me. 5

I love her well, with heart and mind.
She is right true, I do it see.
My heart to have, she does me bind.
Shall no man know her name for me.

She does not waver as the wind,
Nor for no new me change, does she.
But always true I do her find.
Shall no man know her name for me.
If I to her then were unkind,
   Pity it were that I should see,
For she to me is always kind.
   Shall no man know her name for me.

   Learning it were for women all
   Unto their lovers true for to be;
Promise I make that know none shall.
   While I leave her name for me.

My heart she hath and ever shall.
   'Till death parted we be.
Happen what will happen, fall what shall,
   Shall no man know her name for me.
Figure 20: "Iff I had wytt for to endyght" (H 34'-35', 274).

"Iff I had wytt for to endyght, of my lady both sayne and se of her godnes than wold I wryght shalt no ma know her name by me shalt no man know her name for me."

"Iff I had wytt for to endith of my lady both sayne and se of her godnes than wold I wryght shalt no man know her name for me."

"Iff I had wytt for to endith of my lady both sayne and se of her godnes than wold I wryght shalt no man know her name for me."
If I had wit to end my sight of my lady both,

no man know her name for me, shall no man know her

I love her well with heart and mind. She by right there did it, my heart to have she with me by right. shall no man know her name for me. She doth not wait as the wind, nor for no newe mechanics with she. But all way men to her kind. shall no man know her name for me. For she to me all way by right. shall no man yet. allowing it was for women all. do to the laws there was to be. Purpose I maketh know none shall. whilst please her name for me. My heart she hath, and I shall to the parted we be. Happe what will happen shall. shall no man, yet.
Hey nony nony nony nony no
Unattributed

Hey nony nony nony nony no hey nony nony nony nony no.
Hey nony nony nony no. hey nony nony nony nony no
Hey nony nony nony no. hey nony nony no.

This other day.
I hard a may.
ryght peteusly complayne.
She sayd all way.
withowt denay.
her hart was full of payne.

She said alas.
withowt trespas.
her dere hart was untrew.
In euery place.
I wot he hace
Forsake me for a new.

Seth he untrew.
hath chosen a new.
and thynkes with her to rest.
And will not rew.
and I so trew:
wherfore my hart will brest.

And now I may.
In no maner away.
optayne that I do sew.

So euer and ay.
  
  with owt denay.
  
  myne owne swet hart adew.

Adew derlyng.
  
  Adew swettyng.
  
  Adew all my welfare.

Adew all thyng.
  
  to god perteynyng:
  
  cryst kepe yow forme care.

Adew full swete.
  
  Adew ryght mete.
  
  to be a ladys pere.
  
  with terys wete.
  
  And yes replete.
  
  she said adew my dere.

Adew fare well.
  
  Adew labell.
  
  Adew bothe frend and foo.
  
  I can nott tell.
  
  wher I shall dwell.
  
  my hart it grevyth me so.

She had nott said.
  
  but at abrayde.
  
  her dere hart was full nere.
And saide goode mayde.
be not dysmayd.
my love my derlyng dere. 50

In armys he hent.
that lady gent.
In uoydyng care and mone.
They day thay spent.
to ther in tent.
In wyldernes alone. 55

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The burden is through-set in three voices, with the remaining text underlaid; it is unattributed. For its relationship with Henry VIII’s “Alac alac what shall I do” (H 35v; 139), see the notes to that lyric. Music is provided for the burden only; the lyrics may have been sung to a well-known tune (Stevens M&P 127-8, 399), as with “Grene growth the holy” (H 37v-38v; 141), “Blow thy hornne hunter” (H 39v-40v; 188), “Whilles lyue or breth is in my brest” (H 54v-55v; 211), and “Yow and I and amyas” (H 45v-46r; 199).


Texts Collated: H' (36v)

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):

8 withowt] with owt H' denay) de nay H'
10 She] Sshe H'
11 withowt] with owt H'
12 untrew.] un trew. H'
15 Forsake] Ffor sake H'
27 adew.] a dew. H'
29 Adew] A dew H'
57 alone.] a lone. H'

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants): None.

Commentary:

**General Commentary:** A lyric in which the speaker overhears a complaint of a maiden worried about the constancy of her male lover; it concludes with his return and her comforting. The burden, "Hey nony nony." was a very common refrain and expression of mirth; see Coverdale's mention of it (in note to Cornish's "Trolly lolly loly lo" [H 43'-44'; 197]), and allusions in Shakespeare's *Much Ado* (2.3.62-9), Ophelia's incorporation of it into her song fragments (*Hamlet* 4.5.166), *King Lear* (4.4.101), and the *Two Noble Kinsmen* (3.4.19.24); see also Merry Report's words in Heywood's *Play of the Weather*—"Gyue boys wether quoth a nonny nonny" (l. 1043)—and the Boy's response, "If god of his wether wyll gyue nonny / I pray you wyll he sell ony" (l. 1045-6), and others.248 Mentioned in this edition: 21, 139, 140, 142, 150, 189, 200, 212.

Notes and Glosses:

1 Hey nony nony... See General Commentary, above.

5 may Maid.

11 trespass Transgression, offence, wrong, or fault—on her part (OED "trespass" n 1).

14 hace Has.

19 rew Affect with regret (for some act), make (one) wish one had acted otherwise, or affect with pity or compassion (OED v.1 2,4).

21 brest Burst.

24 sew Cf. similar action associated with love in Henry's lyrics; see the note to

248 It is in a stage direction for the character of Insatiato in the anonymous *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Foeles*: "He daunceth toward her and singeth / Hey niny, nony no. Hey niny no. Hey nony nonino, Hey ninyno" (87); Fletcher's *Humorous Lieutenant*, wherein Leontius exclaims "For a hay-nonny-nonny? would I had a glasse here" (l. 210); the anonymous medieval "The George Aloe and the Sweepstakes too" (*Bodleian Rawlinson* 566 183r; repr. Child, ed. 9.134): "With hey, with ho, for and a nony no" (ll. 2, 51); F. Pilkington's "Beauty sat bathing by a spring" (Palgrave, ed. 1.XX): "Hey nony, hey nony, hey hey nony no nony nony" (ll. 9, 19); Thomas Dekker's "The Happy Heart" (Palgrave, ed. 1.LXXV): "Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny nonny no!" (ll. 9, 20); the ultimate line of Peerson's "Sing loue is blinde" (*Private Musicke XVIII*): "With a hey nony, nony, with a hey nony, nony, with a hey nony, nony, nony, nony, nony no, hey nony, no nony no", Ravenscroft's "The hunt is vp" (*Briefe Discourse* #1): "Hey nony nony nony no" (l. 5; see also ll. 11 & 19); his "Of Enamoring" (*Briefe Discourse* #15): "hey no no ny no ny no" (l. 6; see also ll. 8, 14, & 16); and his "The Flye she sat in Shamble row" (*Deuteromelia*): "for and hey nony no in an old lue tree" (l. 22; see also l. 24); and others.
"Thow that men do call it dotage" (H 55'-56'; 154; l. 17).

32 god  Good.
35 ryght mete  Right suitable companion, mate.
38 yes replete  Eyes full [of tears].
41 labell  "La belle," a term of endearment, though here oddly not in the masculine.
47 at abrayde  Suddenly, unaware, as if awakened (OED "bray / at a bray").
52 hent  Seized, grasped, took, or held (OED v 1).
53 gent  Genteel; also graceful, elegant, pretty (OED a 2).
54 uoydyng  Avoiding.
55 wyldernes  The countryside.

Modernised Text:

Hey nonny nonny, nonny nonny no!
Hey nonny nonny, nonny nonny no!

This other day
  I heard a maid
    Right piteously complain.
She said always,
  Without denying,
    Her heart was full of pain.

She said, alas,
  Without trespass,
    Her dear heart was untrue.
In every place,
  I know he has
    Forsaken me for a new.

Since he, untrue,
  Has chosen a new
    And thinks with her to rest
And will not rue,
  And I so true:
    Wherefore, my heart will burst.

And now I may,
  In no manner away,
    Obtain that I do sue.
So ever and aye
  Without denying,
My own sweet heart adieu.

Adieu, darling.
  Adieu, sweeting.
  Adieu, all my welfare.

Adieu, all things
  To good pertaining:
  Christ keep you from care.

Adieu, full sweet.
  Adieu, right mate
  To be a lady's peer.
With tears wet,
  And eyes replete,
  She said, adieu, my dear.

Adieu, fare well.
  Adieu, la belle.
  Adieu, both friend and foe.

I cannot tell
  Where I shall dwell,
  My heart it greaves me so.

She had not said
  But, at abraid,
  Her dear heart was full near
And said good maid,
  Be not dismayed,
  My love, my darling dear.

In arms he held
  That lady genteel
  In voiding care and moan.

The day they spent
  To their intent
  In wilderness, alone.
I am a joly foster
Unattributed

I am a loly foster
I am a loly foster
and haue ben many a day
and foster will I be styll
for shote ryght well I may
for shot ryght well I may

Wherfor shuld I hang vp my bow
vpon the gren wod bough
I cane bend and draw a bow
and shot well enough.
I am a loly foster

wherfor shuld I hang vp myne arrow
opon the gren wode lynde
I haue strengh to mak it fle
and kyll bothe hart and hynd.
I am a loly foster

wherfor shuld I hang vp my horne
vpon the gren wod tre
I can blow the deth of a dere
as well as any that euer I see.
I am a loly foster

wherfor shuld I tye vp my hownd
vnto the gren wod spray
I can luge and make a sute
as well as any in may.
I am a loly foster
others, though, it is much less explicit; it does not, for example, draw attention to its "construccyon," as does Cornish's "Blow thi horne hunter" (H 39°-40°; 188), nor does it shift its frame of reference to address directly issues of courtly love, as does Cooper's "I haue bene a foster" (H 65°-66°; 232; ll. 16-25). As such, this lyric is a more implicit engagement of the forester-song tradition, and is as much a clear and immediate answer to Cooper's "I haue bene a foster" (some parallels are noted, below; see Greene 314 n.) as Cooper's song is an adaptation and elaboration of the unattributed "y haue ben afoster long and meney day" in L Rit (53°); here, a younger forester proclaims his virility and ability. As an answer to Cooper's lyric, it likely also has associations with the play presented by Cornish at Windsor, 15 June 1522; see the General Commentary and notes to Cooper's "I haue bene a foster" (H 65°-66°; 232), as well as to Cornish's "Yow and I and amyas" (H 45°-46°; 199) and "Blow thi horne hunter" (H 39°-40°; 188).

Mentioned in this edition: 79, 92, 190, 234.

Notes and Glosses:

1 foster Forester.
3-5 Cf. Cooper's "I haue bene a foster" (H 65°-66°; 232; ll. 2-4), to which this is a direct answer; see also note to ll. 7-8.
7-8 Cf., again, Cooper's "I haue bene a foster" (H 65°-66°; 232; ll. 6-7), to which this is a direct answer; see also, above, note to ll. 3-5.
13 lynde Lime or linden tree; in Middle English poetry often used to denote a tree of any kind (OED 1).
19 blow the death of a dere Cf. Cornish's "Blow thi horne hunter" (H 39°-40°; 188), first stanza.
24 luge Throw something so that it lodges or is caught in its fall (OED "lodge" v 3.g; earliest date 1606, but see the activity noted in Medwall's Fulgens and Lucre [ca. 1497] 2.202 ff.). sute Pursuit and chase, but also in the sense of "sew" as seen earlier; cf. similar action associated with love in Henry's lyrics; see the note to "Thow that men do call it dotage" (H 55°-56°; 154; l. 17).

Modernised Text:

I am a jolly forester.
I am a jolly forester
And have been many a day,
And forester will I be still
For shoot right well I may,
For shoot right well I may.

Wherefore should I hang up my bow
Upon the greenwood bough?
I can bend and draw a bow
    and shoot well enough.
I am a jolly forester.

Wherefore should I hang up my arrow
    Upon the greenwood linde?
I have strength to make it flee
    and kill both hart and hind.
I am a jolly forester.

Wherefore should I hang up my horn
    Upon the greenwood tree?
I can blow the death of a deer
    As well as any that ever I see.
I am a jolly forester.

Wherefore should I tie up my hound
    Unto the greenwood spray?
I can lodge and make a suit
    As well as any in May.
I am a jolly forester.
MAdame damours
Unattributed

MAdame damours
all tymes or ours
from dole dolours
or lorde you gy
in all socours
vnto my pours
to be as yours
vntyll I dye
vntyll I dye
vntyll I dye.

And make you sure
no creatur
shall me solur.
Nor yet retayne.
but to endure
ye may be sure.
Whyls lyf endur
loyall and playne.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set in four voices for the first stanza; the text for the third voice contains only the first line, and the second stanza is underlaid below the second voice on 73°. Unattributed.


Texts Collated: $H^{1.2.4}(73°-74°^r, ll. 1-10 H^{2.4}, l. 1 H^3)$
Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):
3 from dole] dole H1, from dole H2, frome dole H4
6 vnto] vn to H1,2,4
8 vntyl] vn tyl H1,4, vn tyl H2
9 vntyl] vn tyl H1,2,4
10 vntyl] vn tyl H1,2,4

Collation (Substantive Variants):
2-10 omit H3
3 from dole] dole H1, from dole H2, frome dole H4

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 MAdame] MAdam H3
4 or] ower H2,4 you] you H4
8 vntyl] vn tyl H1,4, vn tyl H2

Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric wherein the lover pledges constancy to his lady. The lines “from dole dolours / or lorde you gy” (ll. 3-4) suggests that this may be a song about or to Katherine of Aragon, who (in the courtly love tradition) would guide her lord, the king, as his Lady. Mentioned in this edition: 21.

Notes and Glosses:
1 damours D’amour, of love.
2 or Are.
3 dolours Mental pain or suffering, sorrow, grief, distress (OED 2).
4 or Our. lord you gy See General Commentary, above. gy Guide.
5 socours Helps, aids (OED “succour” n 1).
6 pours Powers.
13 solur Solace.

Modernised Text:

Madame d’amours,
All times are ours.
From dole dolours
Our lord you guide.
In all socours,
Unto my powers,
To be as yours
Until I die,
Until I die,
Until I die.

And make you sure
No creature
Shall me solace,
Nor yet retain.
But to endure
You may be sure
While life endures,
Loyal and plain.
Adew adew le company
Unattributed

Adew adew le company
I trust we shall mete oftener
viue le katerine et noble henry
viue le prince le infant rosary.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices, with an additional voice missing (see Stevens MCH8 intro.); unattributed. A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 21 [296]).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 120.4 and Ringler MS TM63. Reprinted in Chappell Account 382, Flügel Anglia 247, Stevens M&P 390, and Stevens MCH8 17.

Texts Collated: H1,2,3 (74v-75r)

Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):
3 noble henry] omit H1, noble henry H2, noble hen ry H3

Collation (Substantive Variants):
3 noble henry] omit H1, noble henry H2, noble hen ry H3

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 company] company H2
3 katerine] katin H2, katine H3 henry] hen ry H3

Commentary:

General Commentary: A song of departure, likely associated with one of the entertainments surrounding the birth of Henry's first male child and potential monarchical heir (b. January 1511, d. February 1511); similarly associated is Farthing's "Aboffe all thynge" (H 24v; 218; see the General Commentary to that lyric). Mentioned in this edition: xv, 5, 38, 57, 91, 219, 296.

Notes and Glosses:
1 Adew Adieu.
3 *viue* Long live.

4 *le infant rosary* Cf. Farthing’s “Aboffe all thynge” (*H* 24v; 218; l. 6 and see the *General Commentary* to that lyric), as well as “I loue I loue and whom loue ye” (*LFay* 40v-46r), a lyric seemingly in celebration Prince Arthur’s birth, wherein he is given the name of “rose” (l. 23).

**Modernised Text:**

Adieu, adieu, le company.
I trust we shall meet oftener.
Vive le Katherine, et noble Henry!
Vive le Prince, le infant rosary!
Figure 21: “Adew adew le company” (H 74r-75r; 294).
Hey troly loly loly
Unattributed

Hey troly loly loly

my loue is lusty plesant and demure
that hath my hart in cure

hey troly

as the hauke to the lure
so my hart to her I ensure

hey troly loly loly loly loly troly loly troly loly lo troly loly lo
glad to do her plesure
and thus I wyll endure

hey troly loly lo hey troly loly lo hey tro.ly loly lo

Textual Apparatus:

Description: A round, here transcribed exactly; unattributed.


Texts Collated: $H'$ (80º)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$): None.

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants): None.
Commentary:

**General Commentary:** A round, centring on the mirthful and popular phrase “Hey troly [&c.],” in which love is affirmed and constancy is pledged. Cf., in H, Cornish’s “Trolly lolly loly lo” (H 43v–44r; 197; see also its notes and General Commentary) and “Hey troly loly lo” (H 124v–128r; 330). Mentioned in this edition: 198, 333.

Notes and Glosses:

6  *ensure* Guarantee; also, betroth, espouse (*OED* v 4, 5.b).

Modernised Text:

Hey trolly, lolly, lolly!

My love is lusty, pleasant, and demure
That has my heart in cure.

Hey trolly!

As the hawk to the lure,
So my heart to her I ensure.

Hey trolly lolly, lolly lolly lolly, trolly lolly, trolly lolly lo, trolly lolly lo!

Glad to do her pleasure,
And thus I will endure.

Hey trolly lolly lo, hey trolly lolly lo, hey trolly lolly lo! 10
Let not vs that yongmen be

Let not vs that yongmen be
frome venus ways. banysht to be banysht to be.
thow that age with gret dysdayne
wold haue yough. loue to refrayn loue to refrayn.

In ther myndes consyder thei must
how thay dyd in ther most lust.

For yf thay war in lyk case.
And wold then haue goten grace.
Thay may not now than gaynesay.
That which then was most ther Ioy.

Wherfor in dede the trouth to say.
It ys for yough the metest play.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: The first stanza is through-set, with the remaining text underlaid. In each witness, the final two lines of each stanza are represented as being repeated after the second line of each stanza as well, the first letter of the fourth voice, “L,” is not treated with a block capital. While not attributed in H, it is exactly in Henry VIII’s manner and contains many echoes to his own lyrics; as Stevens notes, it contains “the self-justifying tone in other songs of chivalric ‘doctrine’” (M&P 415; see also Robbins Index & Suppl. 1866.5). A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 22 [303]).


Texts Collated: H$^{1,2,3,4}$ (87v-88r, ll. 1-6 H$^{2,3,4}$)
Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):
7  For] Ffor H1
11 Wherfor] Wher for H1

Collation (Substantive Variants):
1  not vs] vs H1
4  loue to refrayn loue to refrayn.] loue to refrayne. H1
6  lust_] lost. H1

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1  that] that H1 yongmen] yongmen H1
2  frome] from H1 venus] venus H2,4 ways.] ways. H2,3,4 banysht]
     be.] be. H1
3  that] that H2,4 dysdayne.] dysdaynn. H2, dysdayn. H1
4  wold] wolde H1 yough.] yough. H2,3,4 (1) refrayn.] refrayne. H1
     refrayne. H2,4 (2) refrayn.] refrayne. H2,3
5  myndes] myndys H2, myndes H2,4 consyder] consyder H1, consyder H2,4
     must.] must. H1,4
6  thay] they H1, thei H2, theia H1 in] in H2,4 ther] ther H2,4

Commentary:

General Commentary: Very definitely in the style of Henry VIII’s lyrics of doctrine, chivalric and otherwise, this lyric draws upon figures common to Henry—Youth, Age, and Disdain—in its encouragement of young men to follow the amorous ways of their age. Mentioned in this edition: xv, 5, 35, 146, 303.

Notes and Glosses:
2  venus  Cf. Henry’s “Thow that men do call it dotage” (H 55'-56'; 154; l. 4).
3  age  See other of Henry’s lyrics, and the section “Youth and Age, Lover and Disdainer: Poetic Discourses and Royal Power in Henry’s Lyrics,” above.
dysdayne  Cf. Henry’s “Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne” (H 39'; 145; ll. 2, 4, 8, 11, 14) and elsewhere; see the note to line 2 of the aforementioned lyric.
4  yough  See other of Henry’s lyrics, and the section “Youth and Age, Lover and Disdainer: Poetic Discourses and Royal Power in Henry’s Lyrics,” above.
loue to refrayn  Cf. Henry’s “Lusti yough shuld vs ensue” (H 94'-97'; 170; l. 5).
5-6  Cf. the lines “I pray you all that aged be. / How well dyd ye yor yough carry. / I thynk sum wars of ych degre” from Henry’s “Though sum saith that yough rulyth me” (H 71'-73'; 164; ll. 6-8).
6  most lust  Greatest vigor.
7-8  case . . . grace  Cf. the riddle in Henry’s “If love now reynyd as it hath bene”
Let not us that young men be
From Venus' ways banished to be, banished to be.
Though that Age with great disdain
Would have Youth love to refrain, love to refrain,
   In their minds consider they must
   How they did in their most lust.

For, if they were in like case
And would then have gotten grace,
They may not now then gainsay
That which then was most their joy.
   Where for indeed, the truth to say,
   It is for Youth the metest play.
Figure 22: "Let not vs that yongmen be" (H 87'-88', 300).

"Let not vs that yongmen be frome venus
That that age to get by shyne must have
Herat, whan they dide in theyr mast, as first

ways hauest to be hauest to be,
poughe done to resynue done to resynue. In the mynde"
Why must they dodd in their most lust.

Let us that poygne be found wayes loyft to be showne p'age to gett delyvere wold have pouglys bone to espyne.

Smyst to be come to restynge.

Let not us poygne be found wayes loyft to be showne p'age to gett delyvere wold have pouglys bone to espyne.

In ther middest Lith hows dyed is most lust.

For if they war in his caste.

And wold then have gotte grace.

They may not now then poygne say.

That which then was most the joy.

Whe fall in deed the truthe to say.

It was for poygne the mostest play.
ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart.
Unattributed

ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart.
help now thi kyng thi kyng and tak his part and take hys part.

Ageynst the frenchmen in the feld to fyght
In the quarell of the church and in the ryght.
with spers and sheldes on goodly horsys lyght.
bowys and arrows to put them all to flyght to put them all to flyght.
helpe now thi kyng

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set in three voices; unattributed. The text is, perhaps, incomplete.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 134.5 and
Ringler MS TM76. Reprinted in Chappell Account 383, Flügel Anglia 250,
Flügel Neuengl. 161, Stevens M&P 417-8, and Stevens MCH8 74.

Texts Collated: $H^1,2,3$ (100'-102')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
5 goodly] good-ly $H'$, goode-ly $H^{2,3}$

Collation (Substantive Variants):
1 lusty hart.] hart. $H^2$
2 (1) his part] his $H^2$
4 in the ryght.] in thi ryght. $H^2$, thi ryght. $H^3$
6 flyght to put them all to flyght.] flyght. $H^3$
7 helpe now] now helpe $H^3$

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 thy] thi $H^3$
2 (1) tak] take $H^{2,3}$ (2) hys] his $H^3$ (2) part.] part. $H^3$
3 frenchmen] frenchmen $H^2$, frenchemen $H^3$ the feld] the feld $H^{2,3}$ flyght. $H^{2,3}$
5 spers] sperys $H^3$ sheldes] sheldys $H^{2,3}$ goodly] good-ly $H'$, goode-ly $H^{2,3}$
6 bowys] bows \(^2\) them] them \(^2\) flyght] flyght. \(^3\)

Commentary:

General Commentary: Providing a brief and optimistic characterisation of battle (ll. 5-6) and summation of the cause for Henry's war with France of 1513 (l. 4), this lyric urges support for the King in that campaign, on which he was accompanied by the Chapel Royal. “Pray we to god that all may gyde” (H 103; 307), which follows this lyric, is of the same occasion. Mentioned in this edition: 38, 57, 91, 307.

Notes and Glosses:

1 ... pluk vp thy lusty hart Cf. “Comfort at hand! Pluck up thy heart” (in DBla), attributed to Wyatt.

4 quarrell Cause, ground or occasion of complaint leading to hostile feeling or action (OED “quarrel” n.3 2).

Modernised Text:

England, be glad! Pluck up thy lusty heart!
Help now thy king, thy king, and take his part, and take his part!

Against the Frenchmen in the field to fight
In the quarrel of the church and in the right,
With spears and shields, on goodly horses alight,
Bows and arrows, to put them all to flight, to put them all to flight.
Help now thy king!
Pray we to god that all may gyde
Unattributed

Pray we to god that all may gyde
that for or kyng so to provid.
to send hym power to hys corage
he may acheffe this gret viage.

now let vs syng this rownd all thre
sent george graunt hym the victory.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: A round, transcribed here; unattributed. A facsimile is provided in this edition (see Figure 23 [309]).


Texts Collated: H' (103')

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):
2 provid.] pro vid. H'
4 acheffe] a cheffe H'
[7] omit pray H'

Collation (Substantive Variants): None.

Collation (Accidental Variants): None.

Commentary:

General Commentary: A prayer for victory in France (1513). "ENglond be glad pluk vp thy lusty hart" (H 100'-102', 305), which precedes this lyric, is of the same occasion; see the General Commentary to that lyric. Mentioned in this edition: xv, 38, 57, 91, 137, 306, 309.

Notes and Gloses:
2 or Our.
3 corage Boldness, bravery, and valour; see Henry's "The tyme of youthe is to
be spent” (*H* 28r-29r; 135; l. 10, note).

4 **viage** Voyage, a journey, task, or expedition undertaken with a military purpose *OED* “voyage” n 2).

Modernised Text:

Pray we to God that all may guide
That for our king so to provide
To send him power to his courage
He may achieve this great viage.249

Now let us sing this round all three:
Saint George, grant him the victory!

249 See gloss, above.
Figure 23: “Pray we to god that all may gyde” (H 103r, 307).
And I war a maydyn
Unattributed

And I war a maydyn
as many one ys
for all the golde in englond
I wold not do amysse

When I was a wanton wench
of xii. yere of age.
Thes cowrtyers with ther amorus
they kyndyld my corage.

When I was come to
the age of .xv. yere.
In all this lond nowther fre nor bond
me thought I had no pere.

Textual Apparatus:

**Description:** The first stanza is through-set for five voices; the remaining lines are underlaid, and appear to be incomplete. Unattributed. *LTho* contains an incipit and several lines in English, with Latin following.


**Texts Collated:** H1,2,3,4,5 (106r-107r, ll. 1-4 H2,3,4,5), LTho (59r, ll. 1-4)

**Emendations of the Copy Text (H?):** None.

**Collation (Substantive Variants):**
- 2 one] here LTho
- 3 englond] this lonne LTho
Collation (Accidental Variants):
1  And]  nd H  maydyn]  madyn LTho
2  many]  moni LTho  ys]  is LTho
3  the]  the LTho  golde]  gold H  LTho  in]  in H  LTho
4  amysse]  amysse. H  LTho  a mise. LTho

Commentary:

General Commentary: This lyric, seemingly incomplete, begins a tale spoken by a female, in retrospect, of her growth in the “courage” (l. 8) kindled by amorous courtiers. A popular tune. “Swet Iesu is cum to vs / this good tym of crystmas” (OxEP 45v-47v; Greene #93) is stated to be “A song in the tune of / And y were a mayden”; its burden is “hey now now now.” As well, a lyric with a similar name is mentioned in the interlude Thersites: “‘And I were a maid again’ now may be here song” (Hazlitt and Dodsley, eds. i 405). Mentioned in this edition: 108, 137, 243.

Notes and Glosses:
7  cowrtysers  Courtiers. amorus  Amours, loves.
8  corage  Sexual vigour and inclination, the desire to love, the amorous spirit; see Henry’s “The tyme of youthe is to be spent” (H 28v-29r; 135, l. 10, note).

Modernised Text:

And I were a maiden
As many one is.
For all the gold in England
I would not do amiss.

When I was a wanton wench
Of twelve years of age,
These courtiers, with their amours,
They kindled my courage.

When I was come to
The age of fifteen years
In all this land, neither free nor bound,
Me thought I had no peer.
Why shall not I
Unattributed

Why shall not I.
why shall not I to my lady.
why shall not I be trew
why shall not I.

my lady hath me in that grace
she takes me as her howne
her mynd is in non other place
now sith it ys thus known
why shall not I

my lady sayth of trouth. it ys
no loue that can be lost
alas alas what word ys this
her to remember mest
why shall not I.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set in three voices; unattributed.


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (107'-108')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
13 remember] reme $H'$, remember $H^{2,3}$ mest] est $H^{1,2,3}$ (as per Stevens M&P 419 and others)
Collation (Substantive Variants):

9  not 1] 1 not $H^3$
10  trouth.] non trouth $H^2$, trouth $H^3$
13  remember] reme $H^2$
14  not 1] 1 not $H^3$

Collation (Accidental Variants):

1  Why] Whhy $H^2$
2  why] whi $H^2$ lady.] lady $H^2,3$
3  why] whi $H^2$
4  l.] 1 $H^2$
6  howne] owne $H^2,3$
7  in] in $H^2,3$
8  known] knowne $H^1$
10  sayth] saith $H^2$ trouth.] trouth $H^2,3$ ys] is $H^2,3$
14  l.] 1 $H^2,3$

Commentary:

General Commentary: Meditating on his lady's statement that "trouth . . . ys no loue that can be lost" (ll. 10-1), the speaker of this lyric asks himself the rhetorical question posed in the incipit. Mentioned in this edition: No.

Notes and Glosses:

6  howne  Own.

Modernised Text:

Why shall not I?
Why shall not I, to my lady?
Why shall not I be true?
Why shall not I?

My lady has me in that grace;
She takes me as her own.
Her mind is in no other place
Now since it is thus known.
Why shall not I?

My lady says of truth, it is
No love that can be lost.
Alas! Alas! What word is this
Her to remember most?
Why shall not I?
What remedy what remedy
Unattributed

What remedy what remedy
such is fortune what remedy
such is fortune what remedy.

A thorne hath percyd my hart ryght sore.
Which daly encressith more and more.
thus without confort I am forlore
what remedy what remedy
such is fortune what remedy.

Bewayll I may myn adventure.
To se the paynes that I endure
Insaciently without recure
what remedy what remedy
such is fortune what remedy.

O my swet hart whome I loue best
whos vnkyndnes hath me opprest
for which my hart ys lyk to brest
what remedy what remedy
such is fortune what remedy.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices, unattributed. Illuminated capitals are provided for the final stanza only.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 98.5, Boffey, and Ringler MS TM42. Reprinted in Flügel Anglia 251, Stevens M&P 419-20, and Stevens MCH8 80.
Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (108'-110')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):

4 A thorne] Athorne $H^1$, Athorn $H^{2,3}$
6 withowt] with owt $H^{1,2,3}$
9 Bewayll] Be wayll $H^{1,2,3}$
10 paynes] pay nes $H^1$, paynes $H^{2,3}$
11 Insaciently] In saciently $H^{1,2,3}$ withowt] wth owt $H^1$, with owt $H^2$, with owt $H^3$
12 what(1)] what what $H^1$, what $H^{2,3}$
15 vnkyndnes] vnkynd nes $H^{1,2,3}$

Collation (Substantive Variants):

4 ryght] so $H^3$

Collation (Accidental Variants):

2 fortune] fortun $H^3$
3 fortune] fortun $H^3$

General Commentary: A complaint of love, bewailing the lack of remedy for the pain the courtly lover feels (as per the tradition). While the phrase “what remedy” sees some resonance in the early Tudor lyric, at a tournament held 2 March 1522—two days before the Schatew Verto entertainment, and thematically-related to it by the common focus of amorous desire (see Hall 631; Streitberger, Court Revels 112-3)—a close variant of it, “sance remedy,” saw courtly application in the motto of Anthony Browne; elements of Browne’s device on that day, broken spears set over a broken heart, has parallel in lines 4-5 of this lyric, as does that of
Henry VIII. For the details of the Schatew Vert entertainment and its relation to lyrics in H, see the General Commentary to Cornish’s “Yow and I and amyas” (H 45'-46', 199). Mentioned in this edition: 92, 162, 179, 201, 326.

Notes and Glosses:

1 What remedy See the General Commentary, above, and cf. Henry’s “Withowt dyscord” (H 68'-69', 160; l. 23) and Cornish’s “My loue sche morneth for me” (H 30'-31', 176; l. 26); echoed below (l. 11).

4 percyd my hart See the device of Browne, in the General Commentary, above, and note. thorne . . . hart Cf. Sidney’s “The Nightingale so soone as Aprill bringeth” (Englands Helicon; also Palgrave’s Golden Treasury 1.XLVII): “my thorne my hart inuadeth” (ll. 12, 24).

5 encressith Increases.

11 Insaciently In an insatiate or unsatisfied manner (OED “insatiately” adv).

without recure without remedy; cf. the unattributed “My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble” (H 116'-120', 323; l. 14).

16 brest Burst.

Modernised Text:

What remedy? What remedy?
Such is fortune! What remedy?
Such is fortune! What remedy?

A thorn has pierced my heart right sore,
Which daily increases more and more. 5
Thus without comfort, I am forlorn.
What remedy? What remedy?
Such is fortune! What remedy?

Bewail I may my adventure
To see the pains that I endure 10
Insatiently without recure.
What remedy? What remedy?
Such is fortune! What remedy?

---

250 The full description of Browne’s device is as follows: “a bard of siluer full of speeres of the world broken, set on hartes broken al of gold” (Hall 631). Henry’s device was of the “hart of a manne wounded . . . in whiche was written, mon nauera, put together it is, ell mon ceur a nauera, she hat wounded my harte” (Hall 630; see also LP Henry VIII III[ii] 1558). On 5 June of that year, Henry would joust with a device featuring, among other things, a lady coming out of a cloud, casting a dart at a knight (LP Henry VIII III[ii] 976).
Oh, my sweet heart, whom I love best,
Whose unkindness has me oppresed,
For which my heart is like to burst.
What remedy? What remedy?
Such is fortune! What remedy?
Wher be ye
Unattributed

Wher be ye
my loue my loue
and where be ye gone
I am so sad
to make me glad
yt is but you my loue alone alone
yt is but you my loue alone alone.

Yower company
makes me so mery
from care and from all mone.
but when ye mysse
no Ioy it is
but you my loue alone alone
it ys but you my loue alon alon

when ye be hens
with yor absence
my myrth and Ioy is gone
me to comfort
is no resort.
but you my loue alone alone alone
it ys but you my loue alon alon

The tyme passyng
to daunce or syng
to swage sum what my mone
Is nothing
no conforting
but yow my loue alone alone

Thus with my care
with yor welfare
crist kepe you from yor fone
And god aboue
kepe yor loue
for you haue myne alone.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set for three voices, in all but the last two stanzas, which are underlaid following the completion of the second and third stanzas of the first voice (111'). Unattributed.


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (110'-112', ll. 1-21 $H^{1,2,3}$)

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):

Collation (Substantive Variants):

Collation (Accidental Variants):

3 gone,] gone. $H^2$
6 yt] It $H^{1,3}$ is] ys $H^3$ you] you $H^2$ alone alone] a lone a lone $H'$, alone
alone $H^2$, alone alone alon $H^3$
7 yt] it $H^{2,3}$ you] you $H^3$ alone alone.] alone alone. $H^3$
8 Yower] Yor $H^2$ company] company $H^2$
10 from care] from care $H^1$ and] and $H^{2,3}$ from all] from all $H^{2,3}$ mone.] mone. $H^2$
11 when] when $H^{2,3}$
13 you] you $H^2$ alone alone alone] alone alone alone alone $H^4$
14 it] yt $H^3$ ys] is $H^{2,3}$ you] yow $H^2$ alon alon_] alone alone. $H^{2,3}$
16 absence] absence $H^2$, absens $H^3$
17 is] ys $H^3$ gone_] gone. $H^3$
19 resort.] resort. $H^2$
20 you] you $H^2$ alone alone alone] alone alone alone alone $H^3$
21 it] yt $H^3$ ys] is $H^{2,3}$ you] yow $H^2$ alon alon_] alone alone. $H^{2,3}$

Commentary:

General Commentary: In this lyric, the speaker bemoans the absence of his or her lover, noting that there is no comfort in the lover’s absence—even in pastimes akin to those proposed by Henry in “Pastyme with good company” ($H^{14'-15'}$; 121)—save for that of the lover’s company. Mentioned in this edition: 126.

Notes and Glosses:
11 ye mysse You are missed, absent.
22-3 The tyme passyng / to daunce or syng Cf. Henry’s “Pastyme with good companye” ($H^{14'-15'}$; 121, ll. 5-6).
24 swage Assuage.
31 fone Foes.

Modernised Text:

Where be you,
My love, my love?
And where be you gone?
I am so sad.
To make me glad
It is but you, my love, alone, alone.
It is but you, my love, alone, alone.

Your company
Makes me so merry:
From care and from all moan.
But when you miss
No joy it is
But you, my love, alone, alone, alone.
It is but you, my love, alone, alone.

When you be hence
With your absence,
My mirth and joy is gone.
Me to comfort
Is no resort,
But you, my love, alone, alone, alone,
It is but you, my love, alone, alone.

The time passing,
To dance or sing,
To assuage somewhat my moan,
Is nothing.
No comforting
But you, my love, alone, alone,
But you, my love, alone, alone.

Thus, with my care,
With your welfare,
Christ keep you from your foes,
And God above
Keep your love,
For you have mine, alone,
For you have mine, alone.
My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble
Unattributed

My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble
my body languishyng my hart in payn
my Ioyes dystres my sorows dowlbe
my lyffe as one that dye wold fayne
my nyes for sorow salt ters doth rayne.
thus do I lyue in gret heuenes
withowte hope or confort of redresse.

My hope frome me is clene exiled
exiled for euer which is my payne
my payne with hope hath me begyled
begyled am I and can not refrayne
refrayne I must yet in dysdayne
in dysdavn I shall my lyfe endure
endure alas withowt hope of recure.

Oftyme for death for soth I call
in releasse of my gret smert
for death ys endart principall
of all the sorowes within my hart
a payne it is hens to depart
yet my lyfe is to me so greuus
that deth is plesur and nothynge noyus

Thus may ye se my wofull chance
my chance contrarious from all plesure
from all plesure to gret penance
of penance and Payne I am right sure
riygt suere to haue no good aventure
good aventure in me to haue place
nay nay for why ther ys no space

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set, in its entirety, in three voices; unattributed. As with “I loue vnloved suche is myn aduenture” (H 122'-124' 328), and as noted by Stevens (M&P 422), the manner in which this the song is presented is remniscent of the lyrics extant in the earlier Fayrfax MS (LFay).


Texts Collated: H^{1,2,3} (116'-120')

Emendations of the Copy Text (H^i):
3 dowble] dow-be H', dowlle H^2, dowble H^3
5 ters] tees H', ters H^{2,3}
7 withowte] with owte H', with owt H^{2,3} of] off H^{1,2}, of H^i redresse.] re dresse H', re dresse H^{2,3}, redresse H^3
9 exiled] exilide H', ex-iled H^2, exiled H^3
10 begyled] begyled hath me be giled H', by giled ~ H^2, bygyled ~ be gyled H^3
14 withowt] with owt H^{1,2,3} recure.] re cure. H', rcure. H^2, re cure. H^3
16 off] off H', of H^{2,3}
18 sorowes within] sorowes with in H', sor rowes with in H^2, sorows with in H^3
19 a payne] apayn H', apayn H', a payn H^3
20 is] it H', is H^{2,3}
21 noyus_] noy us H', noy us. H^2, noyus. H^3
28 space_] spa ce H', spa ce. H^{2,3}

Collation (Substantive Variants):
5 doth] do H^3
13 omit H^3
17 endart] thender H^3
18 all the] all the H^2, all H^3
19 hens to] to H^2 depart] depart hens to depart H^2
20 is] it H', is H^{2,3}
23 chance] wofull chance H^2, charmce H^3
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 325

26 no good] no goode \( H^2 \), good \( H^3 \)
27 good] no good \( H^2 \)

Collation (Accidental Variants):

1 oppressed] oppressyd \( H^2 \) in] in \( H^{2,3} \) trouble] troulife \( H^2 \), troulbe \( H^3 \)
2 languissyng] languyssyng \( H^2 \), languyssyng \( H^3 \) in payn] inpayne \( H^2 \), in
payne \( H^3 \)
3 distres] distresse \( H^3 \) sorows] sorowes \( H^2 \) dowble] dowb-be \( H^1 \), dowble
\( H^3 \)
4 lyffe] lyff \( H^3 \) that] that \( H^2 \) wold] would \( H^3 \)
5 ters] tees \( H^1 \), ters \( H^{2,3} \) rayne.] rayne. \( H^2 \), rayne. \( H^3 \)
6 thus] thus \( H^{2,3} \) lyue] lyffe \( H^3 \) grett] grett \( H^3 \) heuynes] heuynes \( H^{2,3} \)
7 withowte] with owte \( H^3 \) of] off \( Z^2 \)
8 frome] from \( H^3 \)
9 exiled] exilide \( H^1 \), ex-iled \( H^3 \) euer] e-uer \( H^3 \) payne] payn \( H^2 \)
10 payne] payne \( H^{2,3} \) begyled] by giled \( H^2 \), bygyled \( H^3 \)
11 begyled] be giled \( H^{2,3} \) am] am \( H^3 \) and] and \( H^{2,3} \) can not] cannot \( H^3 \)
12 refrayne] refrayne \( H^2 \), refrayn \( H^3 \) must] muste \( H^2 \) in] in \( H^2 \)
13 lyffe] lyff \( H^3 \)
14 endure] endure \( H^3 \) hope] ho pe \( H^3 \)
15 Oftyme] Oftymes \( H^{2,3} \) death] deth \( H^{2,3} \)
16 in] in \( H^2 \) releasse] releasse \( H^{2,3} \) off] off \( H^1 \), of \( H^{2,3} \) smert] smart \( H^3 \)
17 death] deth \( H^3 \) ys] is \( H^2 \) endart] endar \( H^2 \) principall] principall \( H^{2,3} \)
18 the] the \( H^2 \) sorowes within] sorowes with \( in H^1 \), sor roweswithin \( H^2 \), sorowes with \( in \) \( H^3 \)
19 a payne] apayne \( H^1 \), apayn \( H^2 \), a payn \( H^3 \) depart.] depart \( H^3 \)
20 lyfe] lyf \( H^3 \), liffe \( H^3 \) greus] greus \( H^3 \)
21 and] and \( H^2 \) nothyng] nothing \( H^3 \) noyus.] noy us \( H^1 \), noy us \( H^2 \), noyus \( H^3 \)
22 chance.] chance. \( H^2 \), chamce \( H^3 \)
23 chance] chamce \( H^3 \) contrarious] contra rrious \( H^2 \), contrarius \( H^3 \) from] from \( H^2 \) plesure] plesur \( H^3 \)
24 from] from \( H^3 \) plesur \( H^3 \) grett] grett \( H^2 \) penance] penaunce \( H^2 \)
25 penance] pance \( H^1 \) payne] payn \( H^{2,3} \) am] am \( H^3 \) right] righ \( H^3 \)
sure.] sure \( H^2 \)
26 ryght] righ \( H^2 \), righ \( H^3 \) suere] sure \( H^{2,3} \) good] goode \( H^2 \) auenture]
auentur \( H^{2,3} \)
27 auenture] a uenture \( H^3 \) in] yn \( H^2 \), in \( H^3 \)
28 nay nay for] nay nayfor \( H^3 \) ther] ther \( H^3 \) space.] spa ce \( H^1 \), spa ce \( H^{2,3} \)
Commentary:

**General Commentary:** Akin to Fayrfax and Woodville's "Svmwhat musyng" (H 120v-122r; 253), this lyric is a lament, outlining in great detail the anguish of the speaker's pain. As with the manner in which this song is presented (as noted above), the poetic style (especially the method in the second and fourth stanzas) is reminiscent of the lyrics extant in the earlier Fayrfax MS (LFay). Mentioned in this edition: 258, 317, 328.

**Notes and Glosses:**

5 *ynes* Eyes.

11 *without hope of recure* Without hope of remedy; cf. the unattributed "What remedy what remedy" (H 108v-110r; 315; l. 11).

17 *endart principall* The principal "ender" (as suggested by textual variants in the second and third voices) or terminator.

21 *noyus* Causing annoyance, vexatious, troublesome (OED "noyous" a).

22 *my wofull chance* Cf. Fayrfax and Woodville's "Svmwhat musyng" (H 120v-122r; 253; l. 12).

26 *auenture* Fortune, chance.

**Modernised Text:**

My thought oppressed; my mind in trouble;
My body languishing; my heart in pain;
My joys, distress; my sorrows, double;
My life as one that die would fain;
My eyes, for sorrow, salt tears do rain:

Thus do I live, in great heaviness,  
Without hope or comfort of redress.

My hope from me is clean exiled,  
Exiled forever, which is my pain;
My pain with hope has me beguiled;  
Beguiled am I and cannot refrain;
Refrain I must, yet in disdain;
In disdain I shall my life endure;  
Endure, alas, without hope of recure.

Often for death, for sooth, I call,  
In release of my great smart.
For death is ender principal  
Of all the sorrows within my heart.
A pain it is, hence to depart,
Yet my life is to me so grievous
That death is pleasure, and nothing noxious.

Thus may you see my woeful chance,
My chance contrary from all pleasure,
From all pleasure, to great penance.
Of penance and pain I am right sure,
Right sure to have no good adventure.
Good adventure in me to have place:
Nay, nay! For why? There is no space.
I loue vnloued suche is myn aduenture
Unattributed

I loue vnloued suche is myn aduenture
and can not cesse tyl I sore smart
but loue my fo that feruert creature
whose vnkyndnes hath kyld myn hart
From her loue nothyng can me reuert
but leue in payne whyls I endure
and loue vnloued such ys myne aduenture.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set in three voices; unattributed. As with “My thought
oppressed my mynd in trouble” (H 116'-120', 323), the manner in which this the
song is presented is remniscent of the lyrics extant in the earlier Fayrfax MS
(LFay).

Indexing and Notable Reprinting: Indexed in Robbins Index & Suppl. 1329.5, Boffey,
and Ringler MS TM667. Reprinted in Fligel Anglia 255, Stevens M&P 424, and
Stevens MCH8 92-4.

Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (122'-124')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^{1}$):

4 vnkyndnes] vnkynd nes $H^{1}$, vnkymdnes $H^{2}$, vnkyndnes $H^{3}$ myn hart]
mynhart $H^{1}$, myn hart $H^{2}$, myn hart $H^{3}$
5 From] Ffrom $H^{1,2}$, Ffrome $H^{3}$

Collation (Substantive Variants):

7 and loue] and $H^{2}$

Collation (Accidental Variants):

1 suche] such $H^{2}$ aduerture] aduentur $H^{2}$, aduerture $H^{3}$
2 cesse] sease $H^{2}$ ty] tyl] tyll $H^{2}$ smart] smert $H^{3}$
3 feruert] feruent $H^{3}$
4 whose] whos $H^{3}$ vnkyndnes] vnkynd nes $H^{1}$, vnkymdnes $H^{2}$, vnkyndnes $H^{3}$
myn hart] mynhart $H^{1}$, myn hart $H^{2}$, myn hart $H^{3}$
5 From] Ffrom $H^{1,2}$, Ffrome $H^{3}$ nothinge_] nothyng. $H^{2}$, nothyng. $H^{3}$ can]
can $H^{2,3}$

6 leue] lyf $H^3$ payne] payn $H^{2,3}$ whyls] whilles $H^{2,3}$

7 vnloued] vnloued $H^2$ aduenture] aduenture $H^2$, aduenture $H^3$

Commentary:

General Commentary: A lyric dealing with unrequited love, and the consequent pain. Along with Henry’s “Pastyme with good companye” ($H^{14-15}$; 121), this lyric was incorporated into a sermon given in the King’s hall by the Royal Almoner, March 1521; see the General Commentary to “Pastyme with good companye.” Songs in the same rhetorical tradition include “I loue vnloued I wotte nott what loue may be” (Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson C.813 45'-46'), Wyatt’s “I loue lousyd and so doth she” (LDev 6'), and “I love loved and loved would I be” (LFay 28'-30'). Mentioned in this edition: 63, 86, 124, 324.

Notes and Glosses:

1 loue vnloued Cf. Amour’s words to Pucell in Hawes’ Comforte of Louers: “full lytell knoweth ywys / To loue vnloued what wofull payne it is” (ll. 755-6; see also Hawes’ Pastime of Pleasure ll. 2188, 4046), and its near echo “Full lytell it ywys / Knowe ye I gesse / What payne it is / To loue vnloued” (Thomas Feild, Cotrauerse Bytwene a Louer and a Iaye ll. 145-8).

5 reveert Recover, recuperate; also, to return to a person or party after estrangement or separation (OED “revert” v 1.b, 4.a).

6 leue Live.

Modernised Text:

I love unloved—such is my adventure—
And cannot cease until I sore smart,
But love my foe, that fervent creature,
Whose unkindness has killed my heart.
From her love, nothing can me revert.
But live in pain while I endure,
And love unloved—such is my adventure.
Hey trosly loly lo
Unattributed

Hey trosly loly lo mayde whether go you.
I go to the medowe to mylke my cow
than at the medow I wyll you mete.
to gather the flowres both fayer and swete.

Nay god forbede that may not be
I wysse my mother then shall vs se.

Now yn this medow fayer and grene.
we may vs sport and not be sene.
and yf ye wyll I shall consent.
how sey ye mayde be ye content

Nay in goode feyth I wyll not melle with you.
I pray you sir lett me go mylke my cow.
why wyll ye nott geue me no comfortt.
that now in the feldes we may vs sportt.

Nay god forbede that may not be.
I wysse my mothyr than shall vs se.

Ye be so nyce and so mete of age.
that ye gretly move my corage.
syth I loue you love me agayne.
let vs make one though we be twayne.

Nay In goode feyth I wyll not mell with you.
Ye haue my hert sey what ye wyll.
wherefore ye muste my mynde fulfyll.
and graunte me here yor maydynhed
or elles I shall for you be ded.

Nay In goode feyth I wyll not

Then for this onse I shal you spare.
But the nexte tyme ye must beware
how in the medow ye mylke yor cow.
adew farewell and kysse me now.

Nay in goode fayth I wyll not melle with you.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Through-set in three voices, unattributed. The verses of the burden undergo modification in their repetition.


Texts Collated: $H^{1,2,3}$ (124'-128')

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^1$):

1 Hey ~ you] omit $H^1$, Hey ~ you. $H^2$, ~ you $H^3$
5 god forbede] god for bede $H^{1,3}$, godfor bede $H^2$ be, be_ that may not be. $H^1$, be ~ $H^{2,3}$
6 se_ se. I wysse my mother then shall vs se. $H^{1,2}$, ~ then ~ $H^3$
11 Nay ~ you] omit $H^1$, Nay ~ you. $H^2$, ~ fayth ~ you_ $H^3$
15 forbede_ for bede_ $H^{1,3}$, for bede. $H^2$ not be_ be that may not be. $H^{1,3}$, notbe_ ~ $H^2$
16 se_ se. I wysse my mothyr than shall vs se. $H^1$, se. ~ then ~ $H^2$, se_ ~ $H^3$
19 agayne_ a gayne. $H^{1,2,3}$
21 Nay ~ you] I pray you sir let me go mylkmy cows $H^1$, Nay In goode feyth I
wyll not mell with you H², C Nay ~ wyll H³
23 fulfyll.] ful fyll H¹, fulfyll H², ffulfyll H³
24 maydynhed.] maydynhed, yor maydynhed. H¹, maydynhed ~ H², ~ maydynhed H³
26 Nay ~ not] I pray you sir let me H¹, Nay ~ not H²,³
28 must beware.] must be ware H¹, muste be ware. H²,³
29 cow.] cow, yor cow. H¹, ~ cow H², cow ~ cow H³
30 farewell] ffare well H¹, fare well H²,³ now.] now. adew fare well and kysse me now H¹, ~ now. H²,³
31 Nay ~ you.] I pray you sir let me H¹, Nay ~ feyth ~ H², Nay ~ you. H³

Collation (Substantive Variants):
1 Hey ~ you.] omit H¹, Hey ~ you. H², ~ you H³
2 1 ~ cow] omit H¹, 1 ~ cow H², ~ the medow ~ cowe H³
11 Nay ~ you.] omit H¹, Nay ~ you. H², ~ fayth ~ you H³
12 1 ~ cow.] omit H¹, 1 ~ cow. H²,³
14 now in] in H²,³
21 Nay ~ you] I pray you sir let me go mylky cows H¹, Nay ~ you H², C Nay ~ wyll H³
22 Ye ~ hert] omit H¹, Ye ~ hert H²,³
25 I shall for you be] for you I shalbe H²,³
26 Nay ~ not] I pray you sir let me H¹, Nay ~ not H²,³
31 Nay ~ you.] I pray you sir let me H¹, Nay ~ feyth ~ H², Nay ~ you. H³

Collation (Accidental Variants):
1 you.] omit H¹, you. H², you H³
2 the] the H², medowe] medow H², cow] cowe H²
3 the] the H²,³
4 flourys] flourys H², floures H³, fayer] fayr H², fayre H³
5 god forbede] god for bede H²,³, godfor bede H², that] that H²,³ be.] be.
6 now in] in H³
7 yn] in H³
8 sport] sportt H², sporte H³, not] nott H²
9 consent.] consent. H²
10 sey ye] sey you H², be ye] be you H³, content.] contentt. H²,³
11 feyth] omit H¹, feyth H², fayth H³, you.] omit H¹, you. H², you H³
13 nott] not H²,³ geue] geve H², comfortt.] comforhte. H²
14 feldes] feldes H², feldys H³
15 forbede,] for bede H²,³, for bede. H², not be.] notbe. H²
16 mothyrr] mother H³, se.] se H³
17 mete] meate H³
18 corage] corage H³
19 loue] love H³
Hey trolly lolly lo! Maid, whether go you?
“I go to the meadow to milk my cow.”
Then at the meadow I will you meet,
To gather the flowers both fair and sweet.

“Nay, God forbid! That may not be:
I think my mother then shall us see!”

Now in this meadow fair and green
We may us sport and not be seen,
And if you will, I shall consent:
How say you, maid? Be you content?  

"Nay, in good faith, I will not mill with you!
I pray you, sir, let me go milk my cow!
Why will you not give me no comfort,
That now in the fields we may us sport?"

"Nay, God forbid! That may not be:
I think my mother then shall us see!"

You are so nice and so meet of age
That you greatly move my courage.
Since I love you, love me again;
Let us make one, though we be twain.  

"Nay, in good faith, I will not mill with you! . . ."

You have my heart, say what you will,
Wherefore you must my mind fulfill
And grant me here your maidenhood
Or else I shall for you be dead.  

"Nay, in good faith, I will not mill with you! . . ."

Then for this once I shall you spare,
But the next time you must beware
How in the meadow you milk your cow.
Adieu, farewell, and kiss me now.  

"Nay, in good faith, I will not mill with you! . . ."
Appendix 1: English Incipits

This section presents a group of texts reconstructed from their incipits given in the manuscript; as the incipits are brief and there is very little in the way of solid external evidence—such as correlation with other pieces of music with similar incipits, or textual witnesses outside of that found in H—for reliable reconstruction, the method has been necessarily conjectural and heavily reliant on Stevens' work.

The texts presented here are transcriptions only, with some textual commentary.
Hey nowe nowe
Kempe

Hey nowe nowe.

Merry a time I tell in May
When bright blossoms breaks on tree,
These fowles singes night and day
In ilke green is gamen and glee.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Like in Farthing's “Hey now now” (H 25v; 337), given immediately below, the words are given to a round, but possibly with others (absent from the text of H) intended. There is little room left among the musical notation for additional text. In the list of contents for the manuscript, the title “hey now of Kempe” is given, though the latter two words are in a different hand. Stevens (MCH8 16), without stated reason, gives the text presented above in italics, which is from Robbins (Secular Lyrics #141). “Hey nowe nowe” appears to have been a common song burden (see, for example, Stevens M&P 47-8). See also Daggere's “Downberiy down” (H 25v; 242; l. 5, and note).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed, as with Farthing's piece, in Robbins Index & Suppl. 1214.6 and Ringler MS TM594. Reprinted in Stevens M&P 390 and Stevens MCH8 16.

Text Transcribed: H' (21v).

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):
As noted above.

251 This hand is the same one which has corrected the list's exclusion of the work falling between its numbers 8 and 10, “perdon amoy,” which itself is not a actually a separate work but, rather, the second stanza of Cornish's “Adew mes amours et mon desyre” (H 15v-17v; 341), the text of which is given below also.
Hey now now
Farthing

Hey now now. Gracious and gay
On her lith all my thought
But she rew on me today
To death she hath me brought.
Hey now.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Like in Kempe’s “Hey nowe nowe” (H 21v, 336), given immediately above, the words are given to a round, but additional lyrics were likely intended, though little room has been left among the musical notation for text. This piece is not listed in the table of contents. Stevens (MCH8 19), without stated reason, gives the text presented above in italics, which is from Robbins (Secular Lyrics #143). “Hey nowe nowe” may have been a common song burden; see the Description to Kempe’s “Hey nowe nowe,” and also Daggere’s “Downbery down” (H 25r; 242; 1. 5, and note).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Indexed, as with Kempe’s piece, in Robbins Index & Suppl. 1214.6 and Ringler MS TM594. Reprinted in Stevens M&P 391 and Stevens MCH8 19.

Text Transcribed: H' (25r).

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):

As noted above.
It is to me a ryght gret Ioy
Henry VIII

It is to me a ryght gret Ioy
free from danger and annoy

Textual Apparatus:

Description: One line, serving as a round, with some room possible for the entry of additional text. It is not listed in the manuscript’s table of contents. Stevens (MCH8 106) gives the second line to this incipit, noting that it is purely an "editorial invention."


Text Transcribed: H' (61').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):
As noted above.
Now

Unattributed

Now freshe flower, to me that is so bright,
Of your lovely womanhood I pray you of grace,
Of your fair beauty I pray you a sight
That my great mourning may come to solace.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: One word, presumably enough to give rise in the mind to the rest of the lyric, though there is little room left among the musical notation for text. It is not listed in the manuscript’s table of contents, and follows a blank, though ruled, page; it does not begin with a block capital typical of the first letter of most lyrics, nor has the scribe left space for lyrics, save the word which is present. Stevens supplies further words for this from Robbins’ Secular Lyrics #138 (MCH8 72); these are given above, in italics. One may also wish to consider other possibilities for the full lyrics of this piece, such as the departure song “Now fayre wele my Joye my comfort and solace” (Oxford Bodleian 120 95v; see Robbins Index & Suppl. 766 and Ringler MS TM1098), a lyric which itself has some echoes in this manuscript, such as in Cornish’s “Adew adew my hartis lust” (H 23v-24r, 174).


Text Transcribed: $H^1$ (98r).

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^1$):

As noted above.
Appendix 2: Foreign Lyrics & Incipits

This section presents the several full lyrics in languages other than English as well as texts reconstructed from incipits given in the manuscript. Reconstruction of these incipits has been carried out by examining textual and musical witnesses external to those found in H, and full texts for those pieces which can be traced are presented as transcribed from the most notable of those witnesses. In cases where reconstruction has not been possible, the incipit alone is given, along with whatever commentary is possible.

Texts which do not appear as lyrics in H—that is, where only the music of a piece is given, or where a title is given in the absence of an incipit—have not been reconstructed as they do not have a textual presence in H.

The texts presented here are transcriptions only, with some textual commentary.

Siemens, Henry VIII MS 340
Adew mes amours et mon desyre
Cornish

Adew mes amours et mon desyre
ie vous de pramce de perta mant
et sy ie vous a fayt de plesure
syna passaunce commanda mant

Pardon amoy tres humble mant
ie le de mand la my mon cure a seruys loyalmant
elas ie bien perdieu ma payn
elas ie bien perdieu ma payne.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears in four voices in H. Listed in the manuscript’s table of contents as the eighth work, with the second stanza (in a hand different from that of the original list’s compiler) listed in the page’s margin as the ninth work.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Reprinted in Stevens M&P 389 and Stevens MCH8 12.

Text Transcribed: H' (15'-17').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):
None.
Adew madam et ma mastress
   Henry VIII

Adew madam et ma mastres.
A dew mon solas et mon ioy.
A dieu iusque vous reuoye.
A dieu vous diz per grant tristesse

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears in four voices in H. The music of this lyric appears adapted, possibly by Cooper, in “Tyme to pass with goodly sport” in Rastell’s interlude The Four Elements (ca. 1517); see Gustav Reese’s Music in the Renaissance (878) for a reprinting of the text to Rastell’s lyric. See also note further in Stevens MCH8.


Text Transcribed: $H'$ (17'-18').

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
None.
Helas madam cel que ie me tant
Henry VIII

Helas madam cel que ie metant
soffre que soie veutre humble servuant
voutre vmble servuant ie ray atousi ours
etant que ie viuray altre naimeray que vous
que etant que naimeray que vous

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears in four voices in H. Listed in the manuscript’s table of contents as the tenth work.


Text Transcribed: $H^I$ (18v-19r).

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^I$):
None.
Sy fortune mace bien purchase
Unattributed

Sy fortune mace bien purchase enuers amors
que tant mon detenu non bien mamour
on soit tous mes a puis si me semble
il que reman obtenu puis que de vous
puis que de vous a pouchez Ie ne puis

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears in three voices in H. Listed in the manuscript’s table of contents as the forty-first work. Probably Anglo-French (Stevens M&P 404).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: Reprinted in Stevens M&P 404 and Stevens MCH8 37.

Text Transcribed: $H'$ (50'-51').

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$):
None.
Benedictus
Isaac

Benedictus
qui venit
qui venit
venit in nomine
Domini.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H, with all but the initial capital entered in a later hand; a full block initial capital is given for each of the three voices, though little room is left for text among the musical notation. The full incipit is entered into the manuscript’s table of contents as the first work. The same piece appears in Rome Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana C.G.XIII.27 (50*-51') and in many others on the continent (see Atlas 1.126-7). The text is transcribed from Lerner (ed.; 7.74-6); this piece serves as the Benedictus in the Sanctus of Isaac’s Missa Quant j’ay au cueur.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (3*-4').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):
As noted above.
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 346

Fortune esperee
Felice di Giovanni

Fortune desperata
iniqua iniqua maledicta che di tal dona
electa la fama ay denegata.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H, in four voices, each with a large block initial capital, though with little room left among the musical notation for text. Listed in the manuscript's table of contents as the second work. This same piece by di Giovanni appears in BL Additional MS 35,087 (11") under the title "Fortuna desperata" (Atlas 134-6) and, as with Isaac's "Benedictus" (H 3'-4'; 345), in Rome Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana C.G.XII.27 (56'-57'). The text given here is that of BL Additional MS 35,087, as given by Stevens in modernized form (MCH8 2); the incipit from H has been replaced with that of the above text.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (4'-5').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H1):
As noted above.

252 The composer was chaplain at Santan Maria del Fiore in Florence (1469-1478) and a member of that chapel (Atlas 135; see also D'Accone).
Alles regret uuidez dema presence
Hayne van Ghizeghem/Duke Jean II of Bourbon

Alles, regretz, vuidies de ma plaisance;  
Alles allieurs querir vostre acointance;  
Asses aves tourmente mon las cueur,  
Rempli de deul pour estre serviteur  
D' une sans per que j 'ay aymée d'enfance.  

5

Fait huy aves longuement ceste offense.  
Ou est celuy qui point soit né en France  
Qu endurast ce mortel deshonneur?  

Alles, regretz . . .  

N'y tourmes plus, car, par ma conscience,  
Se plus vous voy prochain de ma presence,  
Devant chascun vous feray tel honneur  
Que l'on dira que la main d'ung seigneur  
Vous a bien mys a la male meschance.  

Allez, regretez . . .  

15

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as a full first line in H', though the second and third voices give simply "Alles regretz"; all three have block capitals, though with little room left among the musical notation for text. Listed in the manuscript's table of contents as the third work. Composed by Hayne van Ghizeghem, with lyrics by Duke Jean II of Bourbon (Reese 100). The same piece appears in BL Royal App. 20 A.XVI (20v-21), with full text; it also appears in Brussels Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique 11239, owned by Margaret of Austria, and Rome Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana C.G.XIII.27 (20v-21)—both collections the contents of which have a resonance in H—and in many other continental versions; see Picker (416-8), Atlas (i.81-2), and Francon. The text provided here is from Brussels Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique 11,239 (Picker); the incipit provided by H' has been replaced with that of the above text.
Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in $H (5^x-6^a)$.

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^i$):
As noted above.
En frolyk weson
Jacob Barbireau

Ein fröhlich wesen
hab ich erlesen
und seh mich um
wo ich hinkum
in fremde land
wirk mir bekant
mer args dann gut
durch senens flut
gleich heur als ferd
auf dieser erd
tu ich mich gleich erkennen.

Wo ich dann lend
lang als behend
mit grosser gir
begegnet mir
manch wunder da
wie ich umscha
gilt es mir gleich
in allem reich
kum war ich well
kein gelt kein gsell
doch tu ich mich nit nennen.

Wann es nun kem
das mir gezem
ging wie es wolt
tet was ich solt
recht willig gern
in zucht und ern
für mein person
auf guten won
in treuer pflicht
on args geschicht
doch kummert mich gross senen.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H, in all three voices each with small initial block capitals, though with little room left among the musical notation for text. Listed in H's table of contents as the fourth work. The music of Barbireau’s piece also appears in Rome Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana C.G.XIII.27 (9'-10') as “Se une fois avant”; many continental witnesses list it as a variant of the incipit listed in H (Atlas 65-9). The lyrics, as with Stevens MCH8 (4), are from Bournoulli and Moser (eds.); the incipit provided by H has been replaced with that of the above text.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (6'-7').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H):
As noted above.

253 For more information regarding the composer, see Du Saar.
De tous bien plane
Hayne van Ghizeghem

De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse,
Chascun lui doit tribut d’omueur;
Car assouvye est en valeur
Autant que jamais fut deesse.

En la veant j’ay tel leesse
Que c’est paradis et mon cuer.
De tous biens . . .

Je n’ay cure d’autre richesse
Si non d’estre son serviteur,
Et pource qu’il n’est chois milleur
En mon mot porteray sans cesse:
De tous biens . . .

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H in the first and third voice; the second has no text whatsoever. There is no room left for block initial capitals, and none appear; little room has been left among the musical notation for text listed in the manuscript’s table of contents as the thirty-first work. The same piece appears in Rome Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana C.G.XIII.27 (57'-58') and other continental witnesses (see Atlas 136-7) including Copenhagen Koniglichen Bibliothek Thott 291 (see Jeppesen). The text can be found in Lopelman (ed.; #575). Here, is it copied from Jeppesen (7-8); the incipit provided by H has been replaced with that of the above text.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (40'-41').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'):
As noted above.
Iay pryse amours
Unattributed

Iay pryse amours à ma devise
Pour conqèrir joyeuseté.
Heureux seray en cest' esté
Se puis venir à mon emprinse.

S’il est aucun qui m'en desprise
Il me doit estre pardonné.
J'ay prins amours &c.

Il me semble que c'est la guise.
Qui n'a riens, il est debouté
Et n'est de personne honoré
N'est ce pas donc droit que j'y vise?
J'ay prins amours &c.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H, in all three voices; the first two voices have a small illuminated capital, single space in height, while the third voice has been given a large initial block, spanning the space used by both the musical rule and the space below (as in most block capitals in the manuscript); with little room has been left among the musical notation for text. Listed in the manuscript’s table of contents as the thirty-second work. The incipit, not the music, suggests that this may be a variant of that song by Jo. Japart, which appears in BL MS Lansdowne 380 (242') as “Jay pris amours,” as it appears in most of its continental witnesses as well, including Rome Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana C.G.XIII.27 (59'-60'). The text can be found in Lopelman (#102); that given is from Stevens (MCH8 31).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (41'-42').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'): As noted above.
Oug warden mount
Unattributed

O werder mund
von dir ist wund
mein hertzen grund
solt ich und kunt
wunschen die stund
5
die mir gluck gunt
und dich entzund
auch des verbund
das ich gnad fund
bei dir so wurd mein hertz gesund.

Wann ich beger
auf erd nit mer
dann deiner ler
darduch dein er
15
vor allem gfer
versichert wer
nun bitt ich ker
dich zu mir her
wen mir mein schwer
kein sach mir hocher freud geber.

Darum schrei ich
gar hertziglich
zu dir und sprich
verlass nit mich
ich hoff in dich
und nimmer brich

das selb ansich

des klaffers stich

an mir nit rich

all welt sunst lieber von mir wich.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H, complete for voices one, three, and four but as "Ough warder" for the second; there is no room left for large initial block capitals, except for that which appears for the fourth voice (the first and third voices have small initials capitals, and the second has a standard height capital). Listed in the manuscript's table of contents as the thirty-seventh work. The same piece appears in LR58 (54'), without text, and in many continental examples. Here, as in Stevens (MCH8 34), the words are given from Das Liederbuch des Arnt von Aich (Bourroulli and Moser, eds., 36); the incipit provided by H has been replaced with that of the above text.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (46v-47r).

Emendations of the Copy Text (H¹): As noted above.
La season
Compere

La season en est ou ja mes que je cognoisse ma folie

Car celle qui mon cuer follie me fait de trop durs entre mes.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H in all three voices, the first and third with large block capitals for the initial letter, and the second with a small block capital; there is little room left among the musical notation for text. Listed in the manuscript’s table of contents as the thirty-eighth work. The same piece appears in the Library of Congress Laborde Chansonnier (142r-143). The text is from the Lamborde Chansonnier, as transcribed by Stevens (MCH8 34).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (47r–48r).

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'): As noted above.
Gentyl prince de renom
Henry VIII

Gentil duc de Lorainne, prince de grant renom,
Tu as la renommée jusques delà les mons,
Et toy et tes gens d'armes et tous les compagnons
Du premier coup qu'il frappe abatit les danjons;
Tirez, tirez, bon bardes, serpentes, canons.

Nous suymes gentilzhommes: prenez nous à rançon.
Vous mentés par la gorge, vous n'estes que larons
Et violeurs de femmes, et bruleurs de maisons:
Vous en aurez la corde par dessoubz le manton,
Et sy orrez matines au chant des oysoillons,
Et sy orrez la messe que les corbins diront.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in $H$ in all four voices, with one and a half height block initial capitals; there is little room left among the musical notation for text (at times, the musical notation runs into the text which is present). Listed in the manuscript's table of contents as the fortieth work. The song was printed first in 1501 (Hewitt 59), and the piece herein represents Henry's addition of the third voice; the incipit suggests that Henry modified the lyrics as well. Those lyrics supplied are the same that Stevens presents ($MCH^8$ 36), from Hewitt (#90); the incipit provided by $H$ has been replaced with that of the above text.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in $H$ (49*-50*).

Emendations of the Copy Text ($H^1$): As noted above.
En vray Amoure
Henry VIII

En vray Amoure

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H in only one of four voices; a space has been left in all voices for a large block initial capital, but none appears; there is little room left among the musical notation for text. This piece is not listed in the manuscript's table of contents.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (86'-87').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'): As noted above.
Dulcis amica
Prioris

Dulcis amica Dei,
Rosa vernans decora,
Tu memor esto mei
Dum mortis venerit hora.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H in only one of four voices; though all voices have spaces left for large initial block capitals, they are left blank in voices two though four, and filled with a capital in voice one slightly large than the text of the incipit. There is space among the musical notation for further text. Listed in the manuscript’s table of contents as the fifty-eighth work. The music of the piece is also found in Cambridge Magdalene College Pepys MS 1,760 (2'), which belonged at one time to Prince Arthur. The text here is from this manuscript, via Stevens (MCH8 64).

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (88v-89r).

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'): As noted above.
Belle sur toutes
Agricola

Belle sur toutes et sans quelque macule,
je vostre serf ma divine maistresse,
a vous seul humbliment, je m'adresse,
yous suppliant que per die ne macule.

Enfer me point et peche ma macule 5
Mais vous pous ester de ceste presse
a vous, &c. . . .

Belle sur toutes et sans quelque macule
Je vostre serf ma divine maistresse
a vous, &c. . . . 10

A vos vertus jamais mapprouchcha mille
Dont vous presente mon ame pecherresse
Que vous requiert que luy soies adresse
Tant qua bien faire et vertus ne recule

Belle sur toutes &c. 15

The bass part throughout is:

Tota pulchra es amica mea et macula non est in te.

Textual Apparatus:

Description: Appears as an incipit in H in only one of four voices; the initial capital is not provided, nor is space left for it in any of the four voices. The fourth voice provides the incipit “Tota pulcra es.” Little room has been left among the
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 360

musical notation for text. This piece is not listed in the manuscript's table of contents. It does appear in a number of continental sources (see Agricola xviii ff.). The full text, transcribed from Agricola (Lerner, ed., 52 ff.), appears in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Fonds Fr. 1,722; the incipit provided by H has been replaced with that of the above text.

Indexing and Notable Reprintings: As noted above.

Text Transcribed: As noted above; appears in H (99'-100').

Emendations of the Copy Text (H'): As noted above.
Siemens, Henry VIII MS 361

Ffors solemant
Ockeghem

Ffors solemant

Textual Apparatus:

**Description**: Appears as an incipit in $H$ in only the third of four voices; no initial capital is provided, nor is space left for one in any of the four voices, nor is there room left in most of the piece for lyrics. This piece is not listed in the manuscript's table of contents.

**Indexing and Notable Reprintings**: As noted above.

**Text Transcribed**: As noted above; appears in $H$ (104'-105').

**Emendations of the Copy Text ($H'$)**: As noted above.
Bibliography and Works Cited

Note: Abbreviations to frequently-cited works, per the Table of Abbreviations (xi), are incorporated below. For full references of manuscript abbreviations, also see the Table of Abbreviations (xi); for descriptions of the manuscripts, see page 104, where they are listed with their sigla.


Anonymous. A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus the Kings sonne of Valentia and Amadine the Kings daughter of Arragon, with the merie conceites of Mouse. London: William Iones, 1598.


Anonymous. The Jousts of June. [Here begynneth the Iustes and tourneye of ye moneth of Iune parfurmysshed and done by Rycharde Graye erle of Kent by Charles brandon wt theyr two aydes agaynst all comers. The xxii. vere of the reygne of our souerayne lorde kynge Siemens, Henry VIII MS 362.
Anonymous. *The Jousts of May*. [Here begynneth the Justes of the moneth of Maye parfurnysshed & done by Charles brandon, Thomas knyuet, Gyles Capell & Wylyam Hussy. The xxii. yere of the regyne of our souerayne lorde Kynge Henry the seuenth.] London: 1507.\(^{254}\)


*Arber*. Arber, Edward. *Dunbar Anthology. (Dunbar and his Times.)*


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\(^{254}\) See Kipling ("Queen of May's Joust").

\(^{255}\) See Kipling ("Queen of May's Joust").
Barclay, Alexander. *Here begynneth a treatysse intituled the myrrour of good maners conteynynge the iii vertues calld cardynall.* London: Richard Pynson, [1523].


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256 See also the issues of 30 May 1968 (553), 6 June 1968 (597), 4 July 1968 (705) and 12 Sept. 1968 (1032).


Boffey, Julia. *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the Later Middle Ages*.


**Chappell Popular.** Chappell, William. *Popular Music of the Olden Time*.


Charlton, E. “Devotional Tracts Belonging to Queen Katherine Parr.” *Notes and Queries* [ser. 1] 2 (1850): 212.


**Chronicle.** Chronicles of White Rose of York.


*CSP Milan*. Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Milan

*CSP Spain*. Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between English and Spain.

*CSP Venice*. Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy.

*Davies*. Davies, Reginald T., ed. *Medieval English Lyrics*.


1886.


*Dyboski*. Dyboski, Roman, ed. *Songs, Carols, and other Miscellaneous Poems*.


Feylde, Thomas. Here begynneth a lytel treatyse called the cotrauerse bytwene a louer and a laye. London: Wynkyn de Worde, [1527].


Fletcher, John. The Humorous Lieutenant. In Fletcher, John, and Francis Beaumont. Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher.

Flügel Anglia. Flügel, Ewald. “Liedersammlungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Besonders aus der Zeit Heinrich’s VIII.”


---. Neuenglisches Lesebuch. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1895.


**Foxwell.** Wyatt, Thomas. *The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat.* (A.K. Foxwell, ed.).


**Furnivall.** Laneham, Robert. *Captain Cox.* (F. J. Furnivall, ed.).

Furnivall, F. J. *Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books.* London: Ballad Society, 1871.


Goodwyn, Christopher. *Here begynneth a lytell prosse or matter called the chaunce of the dolorous louer.* [London]: [Wynkyn de Worde], 1520.


Green, Richard F. *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1980.


**Greene.** Greene, Richard L. *The Early English Carols.*


Hearne. Hearne, Thomas, ed. *Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae*.

Hearne, Thomas, ed. *Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae*. Oxford: [at the Sheldonian], 1716.


Henry VIII [attrib.]. *A Glasse of the Truthe*. [London]: Thomas Berthelet, [ca. 1532].


--- [attrib.]. “Blush not fayer nimphe.” [On recto of the binding page, prior to the title page] In Sudeley Castle (Gloucestershire), Catherine Parr’s Book of Prayers.

--- ["Foreword"]. *The Primer . . . Set Foorth by the Kynges Maiestie and his Clergie to be Taught Learned, and Read*. London: Richard Grafton, 1545.


--- ["Lyrics"]. [Collected in] *British Library Additional MS 31,922 (The Henry VIII MS)*.


---. "Quam pulchra es." Fol. 166v in British Library Royal MS 24.d.2 (Baldwin's MS).


---. The play of the wether. A new and a very mery enterlude of all maner wethers London: W. Rastell, 1533.


Horstmann, Carl, ed. Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer [repr. of 1895-6 ed.].

Hughes, Andrew and Margaret Bent, eds. The Old Hall Manuscript. CMM 46. Chicago: American Institute of Musicology, 1969-73.


Lindsay, Philip. Here Comes the King. London: I. Nicholson & Watson, 1933.


MacNamara. MacNamara, Francis, ed. Miscellaneous Writings of Henry VIII.


*MED.* *Middle English Dictionary.*


*OED. Oxford English Dictionary.*


*Padelford*. Padelford, Fredrick M. *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*.


Pilkington, Francis. The first booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. parts: vvith Tableture for the Lute or Orpherian, with the Violl de Gamba. London: T. Este, 1605.


The pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde Knyght. [and] controuler vnto our late soueraygne lorde kynghe Henry the vij. And howe he went with his seruauntz and company towards Iherusalem. London: Richard Pynson, 1511.


Reed. Reed, E.B. “The Sixteenth-Century Lyrics in Additional MS 18,752.”


Rimbault. Rimbault, Edward F. *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads*.


**Robbins Index.** Robbins, R.H. and Carleton Brown. *Index of Middle English Verse.*


**Seaton.** Seaton, Ethel. *Sir Richard Roos: Lancastrian Poet.*


**Stevens M&P.** Stevens, John E. *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court.*

**Stevens MCH8.** Stevens, John E. *Music at the Court of Henry VIII.*


*Tottel’s Miscellany*. *Songes and Sonnettes, written by Henry Haward late earle of Surrey, and other*.

*Trefusis*. Trefusis, Lady Mary. *Songs, Ballads and Instrumental Pieces Composed by King Henry VIII*.


Velz, John W. “From Authorization to Authorship, Orality to Literature: The Case of Medieval


Wager, Lewis. *A new Enterlude, neuer before this tyme imprinted, entretaying of the Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene: not only godlie, learned and fruitefull, but also well furnisshed with pleasaunt myrth and pastime, very delectable for those which shall heare or reade the same.* London: John Charlewood, 1566.


