Who is afraid? Yea, let him flee,
For I full well shall bide the brunt.
May grease their lips that list to lie
(Of busy brains as is their wont),
And yet against the prick they spurn:
My fancy is too hard to turn.

For I am set and will not swerve,
Whom faithful speech removeth nought;
And well I may thy grace deserve,
I think it is not dearly bought.
And if they both do spit and spurn,
My fancy is too hard to turn.

Who list thereat to list or lour,
I am not he that ought doth reche:
There is no pain that hath the power
Out of my breast this thought to seche.
Then though they spit thereat and spurn,
My fancy is too hard to turn.

14 *bide the brunt*: cf. ML, 196.
17: 'And yet they kick against the prick'; proverbial, after Acts 9:5. cf. Tilley.
21 *deserve*: earn.
26 *reche*: i.e. *reck*, but also *reach*, spit.
28 *seche*: i.e. *seek*, drive out by attack.
A. ASCRIBED POEMS

CLX

The pillar perished is whereto I leant,
The strongest stay of mine unquiet mind.
The like of it no man again can find
From east to west still seeking though he went.
To mine unhap, for hap away hath rent
Of all my joy the very bark and rind,
And I alas by chance am thus assigned
Dearly to mourn till death do it relent.
But since that thus it is by destiny,
What can I more but have a woeful heart,
My pen in plaint, my voice in woeful cry,
My mind in woe, my body full of smart,
And I myself myself always to hate
Till dreadful death do cease my doleful state?

Despite T’s title (‘The louer lamentes the death of his loue’), this has from Nott onwards generally been held to refer to the execution of W’s patron Thomas Cromwell, 28 July 1540. For the circumstances, cf. ML, 172–210. W was in tears when he witnessed the event (cf. Mason, 196 ff.). We need not assume that W wrote CLX in prison and in anticipation of his own death. The self-hatred expressed in 13 is probably the result of his restless state (cf., e.g., XXVI, 11), for he was hardly to blame for C.’s fall. But cf. MT.

1 leant: cf. Petrarch, Rime x, 1–2.
6 the...rind: i.e. the essence, the whole. Cf., e.g., T & C, IV, 1139 (Mason).
11 woeful: T careful (cf. 10).
14 cease: conj. (A cause; T ease).
CLXI

A lady gave me a gift she had not,  
And I received her gift I took not.  
She gave it me willingly and yet she would not,  
And I received it albeit I could not.  
If she give it me I force not,  
And if she take it again she cares not.  
Conster what this is and tell not,  
For I am fast sworn I may not.

CLXII

The flaming sighs that boil within my breast  
Sometime break forth, and they can well declare  
The heart’s unrest and how that it doth fare,  
The pain thereof, the grief, and all the rest.  
The watered eyes from whence the tears do fall  
Do feel some force, or else they would be dry;  
The wasted flesh of colour dead can try,  
And something tell what sweetness is in gall.  
And he that list to see and to discern  
How care can force within a wearied mind,  
Come he to me: I am that place assigned.  
But for all this no force, it doth no harm:  
The wound alas hap in some other place,  
From whence no tool away the scar can race.

For a likely solution to this riddle cf. Peter Motteux’s suggestion in Rollins, II, 316.
5 force: care.
7 Constre: i.e. construe; guess.
6 some force: i.e. something that causes weeping.
7 can try of: ‘knows from experience what it is like to have . . .’
10 care: grief.
12 But: . . . force: but all this does not matter.
14 race: erase, scratch out. The line is proverbial (Rollins), cf. Tilley, W929; see also CLXV, 7–8.

ASCRIBED POEMS

But you that of such like have had your part  
Can best be judge: wherefore, my friend so dear,  
I thought it good my state should now appear  
To you, and that there is no great desert.  
And whereas you in weighty matters great  
Of fortune saw the shadow that you know,  
For tasting things I now am stricken so  
That though I feel my heart doth wound and beat  
I sit alone—save on the second day  
My fever comes, with whom I spend the time  
In burning heat while that she list assign.  
And who hath health and liberty alway,  
Let him thank God, and let him not provoke  
To have the like of this my painful stroke!

CLXIII

Stand whoso list upon the slipper top  
Of court’s estates, and let me here rejoice  
And use me quiet without let or stop,  
Unknown in court, that hath such brackish joys.  
In hidden place so let my days forth pass  
That when my years be done withouten noise,  
I may die aged after the common trace.  
For him death gripeth right hard by the crop  
That is much known of other, and of himself alas  
Doth die unknown, dazed with dreadful face.

21 For . . . things: i.e. ‘because I have merely been exploring’. (Or tasting = ‘experiencing’?).
3: ‘Let unhindered and uninterrupted quiet use me’ (cf. Me dulcis saturat quies).
9 of: by.
10 dreadful: full of fear.
B. UNASCRIBED POEM

CLXIV

The Argument

Sometime the pride of my assured truth
Contemned all help of God and eke of man:
But when I saw man blindly how he goeth
In deeming hearts, which none but God there can,
And His dooms hid, whereby man's malice growth,
Mine earl, this doubt my heart did humble then
For error so might murder Innocents.
Then sang I thus in God my confidence.
CLXV
Sighs are my food, drink are my tears,  
Clinking of fetters such music would crave;
Stink and close air away my life wears,  
Innocency is all the hope I have;
Rain, wind, or weather I judge by mine ears;
Malice assaulted that righteousness should have:
Sure I am, Brian, this wound shall heal again,
But yet alas the scar shall still remain.

CLXVI
Like as the wind with raging blast
Doth cause each tree to bow and bend,
Even so do I spend my time in waste
My life consuming unto an end.

For as the flame by force doth quench the fire
And running streams consume the rain,
Even so do I myself desire
To augment my grief and deadly pain.

Whereas I find that hot is hot
And cold is cold by course of kind,
So shall I knit an endless knot:
Such fruit in love alas I find.

1 Written (Nott) during W's second imprisonment in the Tower, 1541. Not only does the final couplet (cf. CLXII, 14) resemble a sentence in W's Defence (ML, 193), but W's Declaration also contains parallels (cf. ML, 184, innocence . . . malice . . . let not my life wear away here). The malice referred to is Bonner's. W's enemy from the time he was in Spain, and his accuser in 1541; cf., e.g., XCI.
2 crave: insist on.
6: 'I, who ought to be treated righteously, am assaulted by malice instead.'
7 Brian: cf. CVII.

5-9: The idea of the stanza is that far from effectively eliminating his grief, he deliberately keeps adding to it.
When I first saw those crystal streams
Whose beauty doth cause my mortal wound,
I little thought within those beams
So sweet a venom for to have found.

I feel and see my own decay
As one that beareth flame in his breast,
Forgetful thought to put away,
The thing that breedeth my unrest.

Like as the fly doth seek the flame
And afterward playeth in the fire,
Who findeth her woe and seeketh her game,
Whose grief doth grow of her own desire;

Like as the spider doth draw her line
With labour lost, so is my suit.
The gain is hers, the loss is mine:
Of evil sown seed such is the fruit.
CLXVII

Like as the bird in the cage enclosed,
The door unspared and the hawk without,
'Twixt death and prison piteously oppressed
Whether for to choose standeth in doubt,
Certes so do I, which do seek to bring about
Which should be best by determination,
By loss of life liberty, or life by prison.

O mischief by mischief to be redressed!
Where pain is the best there lieth little pleasure:
By short death out of danger yet to be delivered
Rather than with painful life thraldom and dolour,
For small pleasure much pain to suffer.
Sooner therefore to choose me thinketh it wisdom
By loss of life liberty than life by prison.

By length of life yet should I suffer
Awaiting time and fortune's chance.
Many things happen within an hour:
That which me oppressed may me advance.
In time is trust, which by death's grievance
Is utterly lost. Then were it not reason
By death to choose liberty, and not life by prison.

A debate on a conventional model (cf. Nott; Rollins, II, 917), this presents the poet as lover (cf. 25), metaphorically imprisoned as a bird, discussing the traditional question whether he must continue in his stifling state, or prefer death instead. The first stanza poses the problem; the second argues in favour of death; the third against it; the final one submits the unresolved question to the judgement of others.

2 unspared: unbolted.
4 Whether: which of the two, i.e. death or prison.
6 determination: deliberation.
8: The misfortune of imprisonment would be cured only by that of death.
9–10: 'Where pain is in either case the best I can possibly expect, there is but some pleasure: namely, that by a quick death I can set myself free from subjection.'
17: Cf. Tilley, H741. The idea here is that time may bring disaster, but equally well an upward turn of Fortune's wheel.
20–21: i.e. 'Then it would be unwise to prefer death to life in prison.'
But death were deliverance, and life length of pain.  
Of two ills, let see now, choose the best.  
This bird to deliver, you that hear her plain.  
Your advice, you lovers, which shall be best:  
In cage in thraldom, or by the hawk to be oppressed?  
And which for to choose make plain conclusion:  
By loss of life liberty, or life by prison.
CLXVIII

Lux, my fair falcon, and your fellows all,
How well pleasant it were your liberty!
Ye not forsake me that fair might ye befall,
But they that sometime liked my company,
Like lice away from dead bodies they crawl:
Lo what a proof in light adversity!
But ye, my birds, I swear by all your bells
Ye be my friends, and so be but few else.

Probably written after Cromwell's fall (July 1540; cf. CLX), and before W's imprisonment in 1541. He seems to complain that his friends desert him before the blow; though in 2 he may say 'How I would enjoy your liberty' rather than 'How nice it would be for you to be free'. Or perhaps the poem was written in May 1536, at the time when W, Anne Boleyn and her 'fellows' (cf. 1) were all in prison; Anne was represented in her Coronation pageants by a white ('fair') falcon. If so, 2 might mean 'How nice it would be if you were free and if I shared your freedom'. Cf. also SCM, 174-5.

1 Lux: the name may pun on lux (light) and luck.
6: 'How effective a test of character is contained in even a little adversity' (Tillyard). Cf. LIII, 8.
VIII

POEMS FROM
TOTTEL'S SONGES AND
SONETTES
CLXIX
Within my breast I never thought it gain
Of gentle mind the freedom for to lose.
Nor in my heart sank never such disdain
To be a forger, faults for to disclose.
Nor I cannot endure the truth to gloze,
To set a gloze upon an earnest pain.
Nor I am not in number one of those
That list to blow retreat to every train.

CLXX
For want of will, in woe I plain,
Under colour of soberness,
Renewing with my suit my pain,
My wanhope with your steadfastness.
Awake therefore, of gentleness!
Regard at length, I you require,
The swelting pains of my desire.

Betim es who giveth willingly
Redoubled thanks aye doth deserve;
And I that sue unfeignedly
In fruitless hope alas do starve.
How great my cause is for to swerve
And yet how steadfast is my suit,
Lo, here ye see: where is the fruit?

Some of this could easily refer to, e.g., Bonner’s treatment of W; cf. XCI.
1ff. wanhope: desperate.
3 lose: destroy.
4 forger: ‘fabricator of lies’ (Rollins).
5 faults: i.e. non-existing faults.
5 gloze: disguise, hide with false talk. T’s gloss in 6 may represent OED gloss sb. 2 rather than gloss sb. 1 or gloze, but cf., e.g., CVIII, 498.
6 blow . . . train: ‘withdraw from every enterprise’ (MT; train = military train, army).

6 require: implore.
7 swelting: swooning.
8–9: Cf. LGW, G 441–2; Tilley, G 125.
11 starve: die (for lack of satisfaction).
POEMS FROM TOTTEL'S SONGES AND SONETTES

As hound that hath his keeper lost
Seek I your presence to obtain,
In which my heart delighteth most,
And shall delight though I be slain.
You may release my band of pain:
Loose then the care that makes me cry,
For want of help or else I die.

I die: though not incontinent,
By process yet consumingly
As waste of fire, which doth relent
If you as willful will deny.
Wherefore cease of such cruelty,
And take me wholly in your grace
Which lacketh will to change his place.

CLXXI

If ever man might him avaunt
Of fortune's friendly cheer,
It was myself, I must it grant,
For I have bought it dear.
And dearly have I held also
The glory of her name,
In yielding her such tribute, lo,
As did set forth her fame.

20 care: grief.
21: 'Or else I shall die for lack of help.'
25 By process: i.e. of time.
24 relent: melt away.
28: Either 'Who does not want to change his (i.e. my) place', or 'Who would change his place if his craving were satisfied'. Or perhaps Which refers to grace, i.e. 'Your favour would be forthcoming, if only you had desire enough.'

Music for one voice going with this song can be found in a copy of Nott's edition of Tottel (1584)? held at Arundel Castle. Nott found this, written in the characters of the times', in the copy of the 1557 edition of T belonging to Sir W. W. Wynne which has now disappeared. Cf. Stevens, 196; and Hughey, The Library, 1935–6, 395.

avaunt: i.e. vaunt.
fortune: probably in fact a woman; if so, fancy (14) means 'amorous inclination'.
grant: confess.

POEMS FROM TOTTEL'S SONGES AND SONETTES

Sometimes I stood so in her grace
That as I would require
Each joy I thought did me embrace
That furthered my desire.
And all those pleasures Io had I
That fancy might support,
And nothing she did me deny
That was to my comfort.

I had (what would you more, perdie?)
Each grace that I did crave.
Thus fortune's will was unto me
All thing that I would have.
But all too rathe, alas the while,
She built on such a ground:
In little space too great a guile
In her now have I found.

For she hath turned so her wheel
That I, unhappy man,
May wail the time that I did feel
Wherewith she fed me then.
For broken now are her behests
And pleasant looks she gave,
And therefore now all my requests
From peril cannot save.

Yet would I well it might appear
To her my chief regard,
Though my deserts have been too dear
To merit such reward.

9: Cf. LXXI, 15.
10 require: implore (cf. 18).
21 rathe: quickly.
22: Cf. LXXI, 18.
27 feel: taste.
29 behests: promises.
35-36: 'Yet I should much like Fortune to see that my chief concern now is that at least my requests be saved from peril, though my desirings have been of too great a worth to merit nothing better.'
Sith fortune's will is now so bent
To plague me thus, poor man,
I must myself therewith content,
And bear it as I can.

CLXXII

Such is the course that nature's kind hath wrought
That snakes have time to cast away their stings.
Ainst chained prisoners what need defence be sought?
The fierce lion will hurt no yielded things:
Why should such spite be nursed then in thy thought,
Sith all these powers are pressed under thy wings,
And eke thou seest, and reason hath thee taught
What mischief malice many ways it brings?
Consider eke that spite availeth nought!
Therefore this song thy fault to thee it sings.
Displease thee not for saying thus my thought,
Nor hate thou him from whom no hate forth springs:
For furies that in hell be execrable
For that they hate are made most miserable.

CLXXIII

Sufficed not, madame, that you did tear
My woeful heart, but thus also to rent
The weeping paper that to you I sent,
Whereof each letter was written with a tear?

3: Traditional (Rollins). Ainst: against.
4: Cf. L1, 25 ff. Yelden: i.e. that have yielded.
6 these powers: the mistress is like a snake, jailer, and lion.
13-14: W means that the lady, who behaves like an infernal spirit, will herself be accursed in hell and made miserable because she hates him. The Roman Purgae by contrast avenged crimes, as infernal deities.

1-4: The question mark (Nott's, not in T) would give the sense: 'Didn't the destruction of my heart, but did tearing up my letter satisfy your greed? If declarative, the sentence means: 'The destruction of my heart did not, but tearing up my letter did satisfy your greed'; which, though possible, seems to fit in less well with what follows.

Could not my present pains alas suffice
Your greedy heart, and that my heart doth feel
Torments that prick more sharper than the steel,
But new and new must to my lot arise?

Use then my death. So shall your cruelty,
Spite of your spite, rid me from all my smart,
And I no more such torments of the heart
Feel as I do. This shalt thou gain thereby.

CLXXIV

When first mine eyes did view and mark
Thy fair beauty to behold,
And when mine ears listened to hark
The pleasant words that thou me told,
I would as then I had been free
From ears to hear and eyes to see.

And when my lips gan first to move,
Whereby my heart to thee was known,
And when my tongue did talk of love
To thee that hast true love down thrown,
I would my lips and tongue also
Had then been dumb, no deal to go.

And when my hands have handled ought
That thee hath kept in memory,
And when my feet have gone and sought
To find and get thy company,
I would each hand a foot had been
And I each foot a hand had seen.

12 This: though the lady would seek satisfaction by killing the lover, ironically he (not she) would be relieved.
7 gan: began, did.
12 no... go: not to move at all (Nott).
And when in mind I did consent
To follow this my fancy's will,
And when my heart did first relent
To taste such bait, my life to spill,
I would my heart had been as thine
Or else thy heart had been as mine.

**CLXXV**

Since love will needs that I shall love,
Of very force I must agree;
And since no chance may it remove,
In wealth and in adversity
I shall alway myself apply
To serve and suffer patiently.

Though for good will I find but hate
And cruelty my life to waste,
And though that still a wretched state
Should pine my days unto the last,
Yet I profess it willingly
To serve and suffer patiently.

For since my heart is bound to serve,
And I not ruler of mine own,
Whatso befall, till that I starve
By proof full well it shall be known:
That I shall still myself apply
To serve and suffer patiently.

Yea though my grief find no redress,
But still increase before mine eyes,
Though my reward be cruelness,
With all the harm hap devise,
Yet I profess it willingly
To serve and suffer patiently.

---

Ye though fortune her pleasant face
Should show to set me up aloft,
And straight my wealth for to deface
Should writhe away as she doth oft,
Yet would I still myself apply
To serve and suffer patiently.

There is no grief, no smart, no woe
That yet I feel or after shall,
That from this mind may make me go;
And whatsoever me befall,
I do profess it willingly
To serve and suffer patiently.

**CLXXVI**

Mistrustful minds be moved
To have me in suspect:
The truth it shall be proved,
Which time shall once detect.

Though falsehood go about
Of crime me to accuse,
At length I do not doubt
But truth shall me excuse.

Such sauce as they have served
To me without desert,
Even as they have deserved,
Thereof God send them part!

---

20 _fancy_: amorous inclination.  
22 _spill_: destroy.

4, 27 _wealth_: well-being.  
10 _pine_: inflict torment on.  
15 _starve_: die.

27 _deface_: destroy.

No doubt written, as MT suggests, when W was in danger from his enemies in 1536, 1538, or 1540.  
2 _suspect_: suspicion.  
3 _proved_: found out.  
4 _once detect_: one day reveal. Cf. Tilley, T333; also CXXXVI, 24.  
7 _doubt_: (also) fear.  
9 ff.: An expansion of the proverb 'To be served with the same sauce' (i.e. 'to be subjected to the same treatment'); cf. Tilley, S99.
CLXXVII

Lover: It burneth yet alas, my heart's desire.
Lady: What is the thing that hath enflamed thy heart?
Lo.: A certain point, as fervent as the fire.
La.: The heat shall cease if that thou wilt convert.
Lo.: I cannot stop the fervent raging ire.
La.: What may I do if thyself cause thy smart?
Lo.: Hear my request alas with weeping cheer.
La.: With right good will, say on: lo I thee hear.

Lo.: That thing would I that maketh two content.
La.: Thou seekest perchance of me that I may not.
Lo.: Would God thou wouldst as thou mayst well assent.
La.: That I may not the grief is mine, God wot.
Lo.: But I it feel, whatso thy words have meant.
La.: Suspect me not: my words be not forgot.
Lo.: Then say, alas: shall I have help, or no?
La.: I see no time to answer yea, but no.

Lo.: Say yea, dear heart, and stand no more in doubt.
La.: I may not grant a thing that is so dear.
Lo.: Lo with delays thou drives me still about.
La.: Thou wouldest my death, it plainly doth appear.
Lo.: First may my heart his blood and life bleed out.
La.: Then for my sake alas thy will forbear.
Lo.: From day to day thus wastes my life away.
La.: Yet, for the best, suffer some small delay.

Lo.: Now, good, say yea: do once so good a deed.
La.: If I said yea, what should thereof ensue?
Lo.: An heart in pain of succour so should speed:
'Twixt yea and nay, my doubt shall still renew:
My sweet, say yea, and do away this dread.

7 cheer: face.  12 the: Tz. Tz: thy.  16 yea: makes sense, but perhaps W wrote ye but no.  25 good: sweetheart.  28 doubt: cf. CLXXVI, 7.

CLXXVIII

La.: Thou wilt needs so: be it so, but then be true.
Lo.: Nought would I else, nor other treasure none.
Thus hearts be won by love, request, and moan.

I see that chance hath chosen me
Thus secretly to live in pain,
And to another given the fee
Of all my loss to have the gain.
By chance assigned thus do I serve,
And other have that I deserve.

Unto myself sometime alone
I do lament my woeful case.
But what availeth me to moan,
Since truth and pity hath no place
In them to whom I sue and serve,
And other have that I deserve?

To seek by mean to change this mind
Alas I prove it will not be,
For in my heart I cannot find
Once to refrain, but still agree
As bound by force alway to serve.
And other have that I deserve.

Such is the fortune that I have
To love them most that love me least,
And to my pain to seek and crave
The thing that other have possessed.
So thus in vain alway I serve:
And other have that I deserve.

32: This may be the lover's comment, but more likely it is W's (Foxwell, Rollins).

5 fee: reward.  4: Cf. Tilley, M357, R156.  6: Cf., e.g., 'One sows and another reaps' (ODEP, p. 597; Tilley, S691).  10 mean: lament.  14 prove: cf. CXLVIII, 29.
And till I may appease the heat,
If that my hap will hap so well,
To wail my woe my heart shall fret,
Whose pensive pain my tongue can tell.
Yet thus unhappy must I serve,
And other have that I deserve.

CLXXXIX

For shamefast harm of great and hateful need
In deep despair as did a wretch go
With ready cord out of his life to speed,
His stumbling foot did find an hoard, lo,
Of gold, I say, where he prepared this deed,
And in exchange he left the cord tho.
He that had hid the gold and found it not,
Of that he found he shaped his neck a knot.

CLXXX

Throughout the world, if it were sought,
Fair words enough a man shall find:
They be good cheap, they cost right nought,
Their substance is but only wind.
But well to say and so to mean,
That sweet accord is seldom seen.

CLXXXI

In court to serve, decked with fresh array,
Of sugared meats feeling the sweet repast,
The life in banquet and sundry kinds of play
Amid the press of lordly looks to waste,
Hath with it joined oftimes such bitter taste,
That whoso joys such kind of life to hold
In prison joys, fettered with chains of gold.

CLXXXII

Disdain me not without desert,
Nor leave me not so suddenly;
Since well ye wot that in my heart
I mean ye not but honestly,

Disdain me not.

Refuse me not without cause why,
Nor think me not to be unjust;
Since that by lot of fantasy
This careful knot needs knit I must,

Refuse me not.

Mistrust me not, though some there be
That fain would spot my steadfastness;
Believe them not, since that ye see
The proof is not as they express:

Mistrust me not.

1–2 For... despair: 'In deep despair because of the shame and grief which the great and hateful need to commit suicide brought upon him...'.
6 tho: then.

Cf. Tilley, W808 and W804(3), and W835(4). 5 Good cheap: i.e. a bargain (Nott).

2: 'Enjoying the sweet consumption of sugared foods'; cf. sweetmeat = 'sweet food, as sugared cakes or pastry, confectionery' (OED, 1).
4 not but: nothing else than, only. 'My intentions towards you are purely honourable'; cf. CXLII, 6.
8 fantasy: cf. XLIII, 1.
9 careful: full of grief.
12 spot: vilify.
CLXXXIII

Speak thou and speed where will or power ought helpth,
Where power doth want will must be won by wealth.
For need will speed where will works not his kind,
And gain: thy foes thy friends shall cause thee find.
For suit and gold, what do not they obtain?
Of good and bad the triers are these twain.

24 ne: not.

1 Speak and speed: proverbial (Rollins), cf. Tilley, S719. It means 'Speak and you shall prosper'; cf. 'Ask and have' (XXXVI, 2), which is sometimes added to it.
3-4: 'For where your will cannot have its way, the need of others will bring you success and profit; your enemies, once bribed, will make you find your friends.' Cf., e.g., Whiting, M637 and 638.
5: Cf. Tilley, M1102.

CLXXXIV

If thou wilt mighty be, flee from the rage
Of cruel will, and see thou keep thee free
From the foul yoke of sensual bondage.
For though thy empire stretch to Indian sea
And for thy fear tremblest the farthest Thylee,
If thy desire have over thee the power,
Subject then art thou, and no governor.

If to be noble and high thy mind be moved,
Consider well thy ground and thy beginning:
For He that hath each star in heaven fixed,
And gives the moon her horns and her eclipsing,
Alike hath made thee noble in His working,
So that wretched no way thou may be
Except foul lust and vice do conquer thee.

All were it so thou had a flood of gold,
Unto thy thirst yet should it not suffice.
And though with Indian stones a thousandfold
More precious than can thyself devise
Ycharged were thy back, thy covetise
And busy biting yet should never let
Thy wretched life, ne do thy death profit.

2 will: sexual desire.
4 Indian: cf. LXXXV, 3.
5 Thylee: (so T) Thule. 'Even if the remotest part of the world trembles for fear of you...'
9: A reference to 'the origin of man. The argument of the stanza is that as God created the moon and stars, so He created each man to fulfil as noble a function, if man will but keep his nature free' (Tillyard). Cf. ML, 42.
15 ff: Cf. CVI, 77 ff.
18 devise: imagine.
19 Ycharged: cf. IX, 6.
19-21 thy covetise . . . profit: 'Your inordinate desire, and the anxious gnawing of which you would be the victim, would never leave your miserable life, nor be of profit to you when you die.' Busy biting virtually means 'gnawing anxiety', as does Boethius' cura mordax and Chaucer's byynge bysymesse. It was common to speak of the biting of conscience. Cf. also, e.g., CVI, 112, and QM, 461, 'bustely prickynge ... one that byseth and gnaweth hym sel'.
APPENDIX

Where necessary, the Appendix aims to give chiefly the following information:

1. The most important primary sources in which the poem appears (cf. the Note on the Text).
2. Non-stylistic indications of W's authorship (i.e. ascriptions; the presence of W's hand).
3. The metrical form.
4. The first line of the likely or possible source underlying W's poem as a whole. (For practical convenience, I refer to the sources as they are printed in MT, which also offers useful discussions of them, but I have not been able to record MT's textual inaccuracies.)

I. D, T. 'Tho' in margin of E; in W section of T. Rondeau. Petrarch, Rime, 'Or vedi, Amor, che giovenetta donna.'

II. T; in the W section. Rondeau.

III. D, T, N. In W section of T. Sonnet. Petrarch, Rime, 'Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d'Egitto.' E's heading is 'ouet of Petrarch, a Sonett' (similar headings are provided for XXVI and XCVIII). As Rollins shows, the story of Caesar's shedding tears when receiving Pompey's head from Ptolemy had become commonplace. Cf. also F, II, 28, about W's admiration for Caesar.

IV. A, T. In W section of T. Sonnet. Petrarch, Rime, 'Amor, che nel penser mio vive e regna.'

V. D, B.

VI. A leaf is missing with the earlier part of this poem, which is followed by these lines:

I plede, and reason my selfe emonge
against reason, howe I suffer
but, she that doeth me all the wronge
I plede and reason my sealffe emonge

This incoherent fragment seems unconnected with VI, and is perhaps written in a different hand.

VII. B, A. 'Wyat' in margin. W may have revised Sithens (8) into Sins (cf. Padelford; ST). Sonnet. Petrarch, Rime, 'Una candida cerva sopra l'erba'; but cf. also Romanello's fifteenth-century imitation 'Vna cerva gentil' (see MT).
VIII. A. T. In E lines 1–21 are missing; they are taken from A. In W section of T. Rhyme royal. Petrarch, Rime, *Quell`antiquo mio dolce empio signore."


X. D. A. T. *Tho` in margin; in W section of T. Sonnet.

XI. T; in the W section. SCM (142) draws attention to the internal rhymes, creating the scheme ababcbb.


XIII. D. A. T. *Tho` in margin; in W section of T. Sonnet.

XIV. D. A. T. *Wyat` in margin; in W section of T. The first half of line 14 is supplied from D. Sonnet. Serafino, Opere, *El cor ti didi non che el tormentassi` (with the next strambotto).

XV. D. *Wyat` in margin. Rondeau. Perhaps influenced by Jean Marot`s *S`il est ainsi`, cf. XVIII.


XVII. *Wyat` in margin. Rondeau. The conceit of the heart leaving the body was traditional (cf. F and MT).

XVIII. *Wyat` in margin. Rondeau. Jean Marot, *S`il est ainsi que ce corps t`abandonne`, in its turn an imitation of Serafino`s *Se questo miser corpo t`abandona.` Cf. MT.

XIX. D. *Tho` in margin. Rondeau.

XX. D. T. *Wyat` in margin; in W section of T. Rondeau. Petrarch, Rime, *Ite, caldi sospiri, al freddo core`; but W`s poem may be derived from a French rondeau based on P.`s poem.

XXI. B. T. *Wyat` in margin; in W section of T. Rhyme royal.


XXIII. T. *Tho` in margin; in W section of T. Rhyme royal.


XXVI. D. P. T. N. *Wyat` in margin; in W section of T. Sonnet. Petrarch, Rime, *Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra.` P mentions this source, as does N; and cf. III.


XXVIII. A. T. *Wyat` in margin; in W section of T. Sonnet. Petrarch, Rime, *Passa la nave mia colma d`oblio.` The conceit used was frequent both in Italian and in English verse (cf. F and SCM, 33 and 56 ff.).


XXXIII. A. T. *Tho` in margin; in W section of T. Sonnet. Sannazar, Le Rime, 1531 (but Sannazar`s authorship is uncertain), *Simile a questi smisurati monti.` Cf. MT.

XXXIV. B. T. *Tho` in margin; in W section of T. Dragonetto Bonifacio, *Madonna non so dir tante parole* (printed with Verdelot`s music c. 1535; cf. MT). The poem is followed in E (and B) by a reply in a different hand (the same hand in B); this is probably not by W, but interesting for such light as it throws on what happened to this and similar MSS. It is printed in MT with some minor errors and one major one, *grue for griue* in 10.


XXXVI. *Tho` in margin.

XXXVII. D. T. *Tho` in margin; in W section of T. Rhyme royal.

XXXVIII. *Tho` in margin.

XXXIX. D. B. A. *Tho` in margin; *fyyns qd Wyat` in D. The stanza form may owe something to the Italian septina. (Cf. Ivy Mumford, EM, 1965, 12–15, about W`s *patience* poems and their possible relation to Italian musical forms.) In MT, there are four poems related formally and to a lesser extent thematically which may be conceived of as a group: XXXIX, XL, CX, and CCXXXIX. The first is the only one ascribed to W; the last two can be found in MT, F, etc. XL is here printed because it occurs in E and clearly relates to its predecessor. Cf. also MT`s CCLIII (here CLXXV). The poems are possibly indebted to Serafino, *Canzone de la Patientia* (cf. MT), but
the theme was always dear to W's heart, and cf. his interest in Plutarch, Seneca, Boethius.

XL. D, B, A.

XLI. D; which supplies lines 1–23 (missing from E). In D the stanza form is consistent throughout.

XLII. D, A, T. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; in W section of T. Strambotto (one ottava rima stanza used as an epigram).

XLIII. D, A, V.

XLIV. A, T. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; in W section of T. Strambotto. Serafino, Opere, 'Incolpa donna amor se troppo io uolsi.'

XLV. D. 'Tho' in margin; possibly corrected by W; 'fynys qi Wyatt' in D. Rondeau.

XLVI. D, P, T, N. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; 'W' in D; in W section of T. Strambotto.

XLVII. D, A, T. 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T. Sonnet. Petrarch, Rime, 'Vive faville uscian de'duo bei lumi.'

XLVIII. A, T. 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T. Strambotto. Serafino, Opere, 'A che minacchi, a che tanta ira e orgoglio.'

XLIX. A, T. 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T.

L. A, T. 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T. Rhyme royal. Headed 'anna' in E.

LI. D, B. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; 'fynys qi Wyatt' in D. D supplies lines 41–48. For the form cf., e.g., Robbins, poems 137 and 173.

LII. D, T, V, N. 'Tho' in margin; 'fynys qi Wyatt' in D; in W section of T.

LIII. A, T. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; in W section of T. Cf. Giusto de'Conti, Rime &c, Venice, 1531, 'Chi dara a gliocchi miei si larga vena.' (See MT.)

LIV. D, A, T. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; in W section of T. Strambotto.

LV. D; lines 17–20 are absent from E; 'with consequent dislocation of speech-headings' (MT). 'Wyat' in the margin of E; but cf. SCM, 4, about D. In the carol tradition. Another version, with music by Thomas Cornish, consisting of 1–12 only, appears in B.M. Add. MS. 31922, 'Henry VIII's MS.', a courtly songbook (c. 1515) with poems by the King and others; cf. the transcription in F (the text is also in MT, and in Stevens). W may have been reworking a popular song (LV

is more sophisticated in 9–12); it is not known whether there was a version, not by W, including the stanzas beyond 1–12.

LVI. D, A, T. 'Wyat' in margin; corrected by W; 'TW' in D; in W section of T. Sonnet. Petrarch, Rime, 'Pien d'un vago penser, che mi desvia.'

LVII. D, A. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W.

LVIII. D, A. 'Tho' in margin.

LIX. D, H, A, T. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; 'Wiat' in D; 'Tho. W.' in H; in W section of T. Strambotto.

LX. D, P, T, N. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; in W section of T. Strambotto. Serafino, Opere, 'Sio con caduto interra iron son morto.'

LXII. A, T. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; in W section of T. Strambotto. Serafino, Opere, 'Se una bombardara è dal gran foco mossa.'

LXII. D, A. 'Tho' in margin. Rhyme royal.

LXIII. D. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W.


LXV. D, T, N. 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T.

LXVI. D, B, T, V, N. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; ascribed 'fynys qi Wyatt' in D; in W section of T. N ascribes LXVI to Rochford (Anne Boleyn's brother, cf. CXLIX). The ascription may have been taken over from A (cf. Hughey, I, 25), and is of dubious authority anyhow.

LXVII. D, B. 'Tho' in margin.

LXVIII. D, H, B, T. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W; 'Tho. W.' in H; in W section of T. Strambotto.

LXIX. D. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W.

LXX. D, B, E provides only the beginnings of the lines (the leaf is torn); the remainder is supplied from D. 'Tho' in margin.

LXXI. D. Since the leaf in E is torn (cf. LXX), the beginnings of the lines are supplied from D.

LXXII. D, B. 'Tho' in margin.

LXXIII. D. 'Tho' in margin; ascribed 'fynys qi Wyatt' in D. For a discussion of possible sources, cf. MT.

LXXIV. D. 'Tho' in margin. Followed in E by a gap, then part of the first satire (CV).
LXXV. D, T. In W's hand; 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T. Strambotto.

LXXVI. D, H, P, T, N, CC. In W's hand; 'Tho' in margin; 'T.W.' in H; in W section of T. Strambotto. Serafini, *Opere*, 'Ogni pungente e evenosa spina.' In E, the poem is followed by the second satire (CVI).

LXXVII. D. 'Tho' in margin.

LXXVIII. B. Rhyme royal.


LXXX. T. In W's hand; 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T. Strambotto. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS. 4117, f. 227v, 'Mentre nel duro petto e dispietato.' (Cf. MT.)

LXXXI. T. In W's hand; 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T. Strambotto. Source, perhaps indirectly: Petrarch, *Rime*, 'Vince Anibàl, e non seppe usar poi.'

LXXXII. A. 'Tho' in margin. Perhaps corrected by W. For a discussion of possible sources, cf. MT.

LXXXIII. A. In E, this is followed by the third satire (CVII).

LXXXIV. 'Tho' in margin.

LXXXV. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W. For probable sources, cf. MT.

LXXXVI. H. 'Tho' in margin; 'T.W.' in H. Petrarch, *Rime*, 'O bella man che mi destringhi 'l core.'

LXXXVII. B. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W. A poem somewhat similar to this ascribed to Alexander Scott is probably, as F and others argue, an imitation of W's, but cf. John MacQueen, *FMLS*, 1967, 219-220.

LXXXVIII. 'Tho' in margin; corrected by W. Strambotto.

LXXXIX. D. 'Tho' in margin. MT suggests the form may have been influenced by Italian *canzoni*.

XC. T. 'T.W.' in margin; in W section of T.

XCI. 'Tho' in margin.

XCII. A, T. 'Tho' in margin; in W section of T. Sonnet.

XCIII. The two E versions have been conflated. Rhyme royal.

XCIV. E. 1-37 (corrected by W); A, which supplies the remainder. Terza rima. The best discussions of the sources are those by Mason (cf. CVIII, below), who is undoubtedly right in claiming that the

Campensis-Zwingli *Enchiridion Psalmorum* is the main source for XCIV (its influence on CVIII is also clear, but less conspicuous). W may have consulted the English translation of Campensis, *A Paraphrase upon all the Psalms of David* (1535), but there is no clear evidence of this.

XCV. B, T. In W's hand; 'Tho' in margin; ascribed 'W' in B; in W section of T. Strambotto. Cf. MT for a discussion of possible sources.

XCVI. In W's hand.


XCVIII. D, A, T. In W's hand; in W section of T. Poulter's measure. Petrarch, *Rime*, 'Si è debile il filo a cui s'attene.' (Cf. III.) W in his own way follows the stanzaic divisions of his original, as Nott noted, and the poem can be seen to consist of seven sections (14+14+14+12+14+12+14), followed by a coda of six lines.

XCIX. T. In W's hand; in W section of T. Strambotto.

CI. T. In W's hand; in W section of T.

CII. In W's hand. Poulter's measure. Petrarch, *Rime*, 'Di pensier in pensier, di monte in monte.'

CIII. H, T. 'A Ridell. Tho. W.' in H; in W section of T. Strambotto. The sources is provided by H:

Vulcanus genuit, peperit natura, Minerua
Edocut, gentirix ars fuit aqute dies.
Vis mea de nihil est, tria dant mihi corpora pastum.
Sunt nati strages, ira, ruina, fragor.
Dic hospes quid sim, num terraee, an bellua ponti?
An neutrum, an prospint facta uel orta modo?

accompanied by 'Idem latine ex Pandulpho' (i.e. Pandolfo Collinuto, fl. c. 1500). Acc. to Nott the Latin poem is part of a dialogue by P. C., governor of the state at Siena, in which he probably tried to persuade 'his fellow citizens to purchase artillery for the defence of the town'.

T's explanatory title is 'Discription of a gonne'. Its text may have been copied into E, and I therefore chiefly follow H. The next E poem is Surrey's 'The great Macedon', followed by the Penitential Psalms (cf. CVIII).

about W's debt to Joannes de Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera* (Paris, 1527 ff.), with commentary by J. Faber Stapulensis. After l. 52, but well apart from it, there are two more lines in W's hand, which seem to read: 'Nor is it lyk that man may think thes steres allstreys ther path as thei do passe within that hevinly hall.' CIV is the last W poem in E.

CV. D, C, A, P, T, CC. Since lines 1–51 are absent from E, D must serve as the copy text for them (cf. Hughey), though C is used for ll. 28–30, and in some places provides a better or clearer reading. In W section of T. Terza rima. Alamanni, *Opere Toscane* (Lyons and Florence, 1532), Satire X, 'À Thomaso Sertini'. Cf. MT.

CVI. D, A, T. In W section of T. Terza rima. Cf. the second half of Horace, Satire II, vi; Henryson's *Taill of the Uponlondis Moues and the Burges Moues*; and Denton Fox, *N & Q*, 1971, 203–7. W may have known several versions of the story; cf. Thomson, 259–67. Chaucer's pervasive influence on W's language has been noted by Nott and others; the footnotes merely record some of the more striking examples.


CVIII. R, A, Q. Lines 100–53 are missing from E. I have supplied them from R and A, using the printed text (Q) as a check. MEW (140–54) seems right in regarding R as superior in some places; but the text constructed (153–4) includes unwarranted readings. I nevertheless owe one or two suggestions to it. CVIII is in W's hand, with many corrections; it is not always clear which reading should be preferred. The poem was printed, with W's name on the title page, in 1549 (Q).

The Prologues are in octava rima, and heavily indebted to Pietro Arctino's paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms, in Italian (1534), which also influences to some extent W's version of the Psalms themselves. These are in terza rima. While it seems likely enough that W consulted several versions of the Bible (amongst them the Latin Vulgate of 1525), it is hardly possible to understand the degree of his originality (or sometimes his meaning) without reference to other important sources: Harold Mason, in *TLS*, 27 February and 6 March 1953, *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period* (London, 1959), 204–21, and MEW, 178–93, discusses W's handling of material derived from Ioannis Campensis' *Enchiridion Psalmorum* (1532; and 1533, with Zwingli's paraphrase), George Joye's translation of Zwingli (1534), Luther, Tyndale, Fisher. MT's Commentary should be approached with caution, since it presses the claims of doubtful sources, and too often pays no attention to significant ones (cf. XCIV). See also Donald M. Friedman's 'The "Thing" in Wyatt's Mind', *EinC*, 1966, 375–81, and Robert G. Twombly's 'Thomas Wyatt's Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms of David', *TSSL*, 1970, 345–50, both of which provide further information on the relation between W and his sources.

CIX. Signed 'Th W'.


CXI. Ascribed 'fynys qd Wyatt'.

CXII. Ascribed 'fynys qd W'.

CXIII. Lines 1–7 appear in E, in Grimaldi's hand, and were probably 'edited' by him. T. Ascribed 'fynys qd Wyatt' in D; in W section of T. Rhyme royal. Source (Nott), perhaps indirectly, Petrarch, *Rime*, 'O cameretta che gia fusti un porto'. But SCM (152) compares Lydgate's 'The Complaint of the Black Knight', 218–24, and Chaucer's 'A Complaint to His Lady'.

CXIV. T. Ascribed 'W'; in W section of T.

CXV. 'W' at foot of third stanza.

CXVI. T; in the W section. Strambotto. Serafino, *Opere*, 'Viuo sol di mirarti hai dura impresa.'

CXVII. T; in the W section. Sonnet.

CXVIII. B, T. In W section of T. Petrarch, *Rime*, 'Si'll dissi mai ch'ivegna in odio a quella.' Cf. further MT (for 'Cecchini' read 'Nott').

CXIX. B, T. In W section of T. Rhyme royal.

CXX. V.

CXXII. Perhaps written by a woman.

CXXV. Rhyme royal.

CXXI. Sonnet.

CXXXII. An introductory couplet was commonly provided as the burden of carols. The stanzas are in rhyme royal.

CXXXIII. Octava rima. This may owe something to Petrarch, *Rime*, 'Voi ch'ascollate in rime sparse il suono', but cf. MT.

CXXXIV. Sonnet.

CXXXVI. Rhyme royal. This need not be W's, but there are some marked parallels with words and phrases in his letters, e.g. *advertise* (5); *bruit* and . . . *fame* (11; cf. ML, 149); *And thus of this letter making an end* (54) . . . *commend* (55) . . . *recommended* (42)—cf. ML, 133; *But*
says as he thinks (6; cf. ML, 146). Cf. also CV, 46; and CVI. But such parallels are not conclusive.
CXXXVII. Cf. Serafino, Opere, 'Fvi serrato nel dolore.'
CXXXVIII. Sonnet.
CXXXIX. GG.
CXI. B.
CXLI. B. Also in the Bannatyne MS. (cf. John MacQueen, ed., Ballatis of Calpe, Edinburgh, 1790); and, in a much shorter carol form (with the burden provided at the beginning as 'I ham as I ham and so will I be/but howe I ham none knowithe truly') in MS. Latin 35 (University of Pennsylvania Library; discussed by R. L. Greene, RES, 1964, 175–80, and in MEW). It looks as though the shorter poem might underlie the other versions, among which D appears to be the most authoritative.
CXLI. B, which provides l. 32. Rhyme royal.
CXLII. Cf. Seneca's Phaedra, 1125 ff. (ML, 52 and 234); the refrain circa Regina tonat is taken over literally. Authorship: see motto.
CXLIV. Signed 'T W' in B.
CXLV. T; in the W section.
CXLVI. P, T, N; which are preferred to the (miscorrected?) B version where they agree and give better sense. In W section of T. Strambotto.
CXLVII. T; in the W section.
CXLVIII. T; in the W section. Possibly inspired by Petrarch's 'Ite, calde sospiri' (cf. XX).
CL. Strambotto. Serafino, Opere, 'Ahime tu dormi, & io con alta uoce, & Tu dormi, io uegli, & uó perdendo ipassi' (cf. MT).
CLI. Strambotto. The ancestor of this is a Greek epigram, which W may have known in a Latin version by Ausonius or someone else (cf. MT). However, the poem in Ausonius is not particularly close to CLI, and MEW (176–7) rightly argues that it need not be W's source. Cf. CLXIX.
CLII. Strambotto. Possible source (cf. MEW, 177):

De Venere, et Priape
Tractat clypeum Marti placitura Dione:
Saeuque foeminea sumpserat arma manu.
Pone, Dea, exclamation petulanti uoce Priamus;
Pone, decent istas haec magis arma manus.


CLIV. Rhyme royal.
CLVIII. Rhyme royal.
CLX. T; in the W section. The T variants seem preferable, but T is apt to be even more unreliable than A. Sonnet. Petrarch, Rime, 'Rotta ò l' alta colonna ò 'l verde lauro.'
CLXI. T; in the W section. Also in MS. Rawlinson Poet. 179, fol. 83v. 'Poems with a like termination throughout were called like loose (i.e. like end), from a term in archery' (F, II, 164).
CLXII. T; in the W section. A double sonnet. Cf. CLXII.
CLXIV. Strambotto.
CLXVI. Ascribed in H: 'T Wyat of Love'. Comparison with E shows that H is generally reliable, and we may therefore probably assume that its text is reasonably trustworthy and that the poem is indeed W's. If so, a poem by Surrey in P, which shares some of its stanzas with W's, is perhaps a reworking of CLXVI. (A version in N is almost identical to P's: cf. Hughey, I, 375–6) T, which is often even further removed from E than P, produces yet another version as Surrey's; significantly, it is closer to P than to H. The P version appears in MT's Commentary, with several minor errors, and one major one, name for harme (st. 6). Padelford's text is more accurate.
CLXVII. T; in the W section. Rhyme royal.
CLXVIII. T, N. In W section of T. Strambotto.
CLXIX. This and all the following poems are ascribed to W by T.
CLXX. Rhyme royal.
CLXXII. Sonnet, rhyming ababababababcc. This form, unique in W, but sometimes used by Surrey, is often seen as intermediate between the Petrarchan one, with a marked division between octave and sestet, and the Shakespearean scheme of three quatrains followed by a couplet. It seems closer to the latter than to the former. W's common form, abbaabababcc, is itself a compromise between the two schemes. Probably W's use of the final couplet logically led to his invention of the scheme established firmly in the language by Surrey, and made famous by Shakespeare. Cf. CLXIII, which has the form abbaabacdefge, i.e. three quatrains followed by a couplet.
CLXXIV. There is a version in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576; ed. H. E. Rollins, Cambridge, Mass., 1937) with the signature W. H. (William Hunnis); it is very different from W’s poem, and in any case T’s ascription is probably more reliable. The probable source is Tebaldeo, *Opera* (Venice, c. 1500), ‘Deh per che non mi fur suelti de testa.’ (Cf. MT.)

CLXXV. Cf. XXXIX and XL.

CLXXVII. Ottawa rima. Cf., e.g., ‘La Belle Dame sans Merci’ as an example of a dialogue poem (F), a genre which also occurs (Nott in, e.g., *The Paradise* (cf. CLXXIV) and *England’s Helicon* (1600; ed. Hugh Macdonald, London, 1949).

CLXXIX. Strambotto. Ultimately this goes back to an epigram probably written by Plato (text in Nott, F, and Rollins). This was translated twice by Ausonius (*Epigrammata*, xxii, xxiii). The first version appears in Nott, F, and MT. W may derive his version from Ausonius, or from another paraphrase. The claim that Ausonius’ first (or second) version necessarily underlies W’s is as dubious as in the case of CLI.

CLXXXI. Rhyme royal.

CLXXXII. V2 (Folger fragment), Z, T, as elsewhere, is without a refrain in l. 5, etc.; this deficiency is made up from V2. Though V’s text, as often, is poor and here uses the internal rhyme *not-not-wot*, etc., less consistently than T, the conflation creates a poem with a systematic structure. Z is even more eccentric than V2, but it supplies *wote* in l. 19, where T has *know*.

CLXXXIV. Rhyme royal. Cf. Chaucer, *Boece*, III, metres 5, 6, and 3. W may have consulted Boethius’ *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, or a paraphrase other than Chaucer’s; nonetheless, there are so many linguistic resemblances between the *Boece* passages and W’s poem (several of which were not dictated by the Latin, cf. particularly Chaucer’s rendering of metre 3), that W’s debt to Chaucer seems certain. MT prints the relevant passages from Boethius, and from Thynne’s edition of Chaucer (1532), with several errors (cf. MEW, 175). Patricia Thomson’s suggestion (*RES*, 1964, 262–7) that CLXXXIV is a “formal imitation” of Chaucer’s “Truth” (*Balade de Bon Consely*) is unnecessary and does not seem to be strongly supported by the evidence.

---

**SELECTED TEXTUAL NOTES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>14</th>
<th><em>entreateth</em>: MS. <em>entreath</em>. (<em>T</em> <em>entreateth</em>, but D <em>entreathe.</em>)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>19, 23, 25, 42</td>
<td><em>hath</em>: MS. <em>have</em>. (25, 42: A, <em>T</em> <em>hath</em>; and cf. XXII, 4.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td><em>araced</em>: MS. <em>ataced</em>. (A, T <em>araced.</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td><em>this</em>: MS. <em>this his</em>. (Cf. metre; It. <em>questo tiranno</em>; and, e.g., XXIII, <em>wot not</em>. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>in</em>: A, T an (cf. It. <em>un</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII</td>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>hath</em>: MS. <em>have</em>. <em>D hath</em>. (But T <em>have</em>.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td><em>rewarded</em>: D, <em>T</em> <em>reward</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>toward</em>: A <em>a worder</em>, T <em>one worder</em>. (Cf. It. <em>parole fai</em>—Maxwell.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI</td>
<td>13</td>
<td><em>death and life</em>: so D, P, <em>T</em> <em>lyff &amp; deth</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>at</em>: MS. <em>and</em>; later in (so A, <em>T</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>no</em>: later addition in MS. (So A, <em>T</em>.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII</td>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>boistous</em>: so A, T. Cf. <em>OED</em> <em>boistous</em>. E <em>boyseus</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>can</em>: MS. <em>first had not</em>. (D, B, <em>A can</em>.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI</td>
<td>32</td>
<td><em>hard</em>: F conj.; gap in E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIII</td>
<td>28</td>
<td><em>steadfast</em>: from D. <em>E stedfastnes</em>. (So A.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LII</td>
<td>29</td>
<td><em>such</em>: later insertion in E. <em>T</em> (Souch). <em>D</em> &amp; <em>yf suche chauce</em> <em>do chaunce</em> (so V).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIII</td>
<td>14</td>
<td><em>rue</em>: later insertion in <em>E</em>. (So A, <em>T</em>.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVIII</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>day</em>: later insertion in <em>E</em>. So D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXVII</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>to</em>: so D, T, N. Omitted in E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXVIII</td>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>only</em>: so D; omitted in E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXX</td>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>weary</em>: Nott. conj.; B <em>wery</em>, D verg.*. Cf. CXXXVII, 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXI</td>
<td>22</td>
<td><em>determined</em>: D <em>determine</em>. But in line 1 <em>E</em> has <em>rmed</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXII</td>
<td>19</td>
<td><em>yslain</em>: D <em>I slayne</em>. E <em>slain</em>, but cf. metre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIII</td>
<td>29</td>
<td><em>my tears</em>: my from D; not in E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVII</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>thi port</em>: <em>thy</em> from B; not in E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVIII</td>
<td>18</td>
<td><em>boot</em>: Nott conj.; absent from E and A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVII</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>grounded</em>: from B. <em>E ground</em> is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVIII</td>
<td>28</td>
<td><em>hath</em>: MS. <em>have</em>. Cf. XXII, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVIII</td>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>me</em>: uncertain reading.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIX</td>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>For</em>: so D; E from.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XC</td>
<td>22</td>
<td><em>doth</em>: from T; not in E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCI</td>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td><em>thy</em>: MS. <em>the</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCIII</td>
<td>38</td>
<td><em>that that</em>: E <em>that</em>. Nott conj. <em>Truth</em>. This fits eminently, but the copyist may easily have omitted a second <em>that</em> (i.e. <em>truth</em>).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XCIV

16 Bright as: E V'right all: A V'righte as. Nott conj. Bright; proved correct by Campensis.


XCVIII

70 streams: W strenes, almost certainly for stremes (thus D, A, T).

CV

45 coward: so C, A, P. D cowardest (= cowardously?).

54 he (a): D etc.; omitted in E.

CVI

14 when her: D, A, T. E wher.

25 delicate: A, T. E the delicate.

54 looked: from A, T. E loke.

55 for though the unwise: E for tho; A, T for the unwise.

89 set: from A, T. E se.

107 them: A, T. E then. Cf. XCVIII, 70.

CVII

37 nowadays: E nowadaye se (possibly nowaday so). A, T now adayes.

CVIII

4 David's: W david; but cf. 'sight'.

56 worldly: W worldly.

311 descends: possibly (but probably not) distendes.

464 not: W no; but cf. 'the'.

469 do: possibly to.

536 so much: so possibly rejected.

CX

4, 5, 8, 12, 16, 24, 28, 32 meaneth: MS. mensys. But cf. 1, 20 mensythe.

CXIV

8 face: T. D place.

11 upon: from T. D on.

CXV

20 Do: Nott conj.; MS. to.

CXVIII

14 of: B, T on.

16 word: B, T wordes.

17 If I said so: B. T And yff I dyd.

24 this: B, T hys.

32 by: B my.

33 for: B, T from.

CXXVII

3 no: Nott conj.; not in MS.

CXXXV

15 setst: M conj.; MS. seiste.

22 that thou: MS. thou. Cf. metre.

CXXXVII


CXLII

16 But I: B, etc., include I; D omits it.

CXLII

35 be: B; not in D.

CXLIV

8 who is for me: MS. who ye me for me; but me (1) appears to be deleted.

CXLV

6 promised: B promace, changed to promast, perhaps by a later hand. T promised.

12 friend: B frynd, changed to fronds, perhaps by a later hand. T frend.

CXLVIII

18 of: T or.

32 an: MS. reading obscure, but an rather than MT's my. T a.
INDEX OF FIRST LINES

Accused though I be, without desert .............................................. 187
Advising the bright beams of these fair eyes .................................. 26
A face that should content me wonders well .................................. 187
After great storms the calm returns .............................................. 70
Ah! my heart, ah! what aileth thee .............................................. 178
Ah, Robin .................................................................................. 47
A lady gave me a gift she had not .................................................. 204
Alas, madame! for stealing of a kiss .............................................. 39
Alas, poor man, what hap have I .................................................. 159
Alas the grief and deadly woeful smart ........................................ 5
All heavy minds ........................................................................ 71
All in thy sight my life doth whole depend ..................................... 152
Although thou see the outrageous climb aloft ................................. 85
And if an eye may save or slay ..................................................... 84
And wilt thou leave me thus ....................................................... 148
A spending hand that alway poureth out ...................................... 109
At most mischief ....................................................................... 42

Because I have thee still kept fro' lies and blame ............................. 23
Behold, Love, thy power how she despiseth ................................... 3
Blame not my lute, for he must sound .......................................... 150
But sithens you it essay to kill ...................................................... 6
Caesar when that the traitor of Egypt ............................................ 4
Comfort at hand, pluck up thy heart ............................................ 194
Comfort thyself, my woeful heart ............................................... 64

Deem as ye list, upon good cause ............................................... 177
Defamed guiltiness, by silence unkept ......................................... 196
Desire, alas, my master and my foe ............................................. 65
Dido am I, the founder first of Carthage ..................................... 193
Disdain me not without desert ................................................... 231
Divers doth use, as I have heard and know .................................. 172
Do 'way, do 'way, ye little wily prat ........................................... 195
Driven by desire I did this deed .................................................. 155

Each man me telleth I change most my device ............................... 14
Ever mine hap is slack and slow in coming .................................. 27
Farewell, all my welfare ............................................................. 157
Farewell Love, and all thy laws for ever .................................... 16
Farewell, the reign of cruelty ...................................................... 14
| Forget not yet the tried intent | 165 |
| For shamefast harm of great and hateful need | 230 |
| For to love her for her looks lovely | 17 |
| For want of will, in woe I plain | 221 |
| From these high hills as when a spring doth fall | 89 |
| From thought to thought, from hill to hill love doth me lead | 96 |
| Full well it may be seen | 161 |
| Go, burning sighs, unto the frozen heart | 20 |
| Greeting to you both in hearty wise | 173 |
| Heaven and earth, and all that hear me plain | 63 |
| He is not dead that sometime hath a fall | 51 |
| Help me to seek, for I lost it there | 18 |
| How oft have I, my dear and cruel foe | 28 |
| I abide and abide and better abide | 176 |
| I am as I am, and so will I be | 179 |
| If amorous faith, in heart unfeigned | 15 |
| If chance assigned | 57 |
| If ever man might him avaunt | 222 |
| If fancy would favour | 37 |
| I find no peace, and all my war is done | 24 |
| If in the world there be more woe | 80 |
| If it be so that I forsake thee | 19 |
| If thou wilt mighty be, flee from the rage | 233 |
| If waker care, if sudden pale colour | 90 |
| I have sought long with steadfastness | 59 |
| I lead a life unpleasant, nothing glad | 79 |
| I love loved, and so doth she | 156 |
| In court to serve, decked with fresh array | 231 |
| In doubtful breast, whilst motherly pity | 68 |
| In eternum I was once determed | 61 |
| In faith I not well what to say | 22 |
| In mourning wise since daily I increase | 190 |
| I see that chance hath chosen me | 229 |
| Is it possible | 147 |
| It burneth yet alas, my heart's desire | 228 |
| It may be good, like it who list | 20 |
| It was my choice, it was no chance | 160 |
| Lament my loss, my labour, and my pain | 170 |
| Like as the bird in the cage enclosed | 213 |
| Like as the swan towards her death | 60 |
| Like as the wind with raging blast | 209 |
| Like to these unmeasurable mountains | 28 |
| Live thou gladly if so thou may | 186 |
| Lo how I seek and sue to have | 164 |

<p>| Love and fortune and my mind remember | 47 |
| Love to give law unto his subject hearts | 113 |
| Lo what it is to love | 75 |
| Lux, my fair falcon, and your fellows all | 217 |
| Madame, withouten many words | 29 |
| Marvel no more although | 44 |
| Me list no more to sing | 166 |
| Mine old dear enemy, my froward master | 7 |
| Mine own John Poyntz, since ye delight to know | 100 |
| Mistrustfull minds be moved | 227 |
| Most wretchet heart, most miserable | 81 |
| My galley charged with forgetfulness | 25 |
| My heart I gave thee, not to do it pain | 16 |
| My hope alas hath me abused | 52 |
| My love took scorn my service to retain | 152 |
| My lute awake! Perform the last | 56 |
| My mother's maids, when they did sew and spin | 104 |
| My pen, take pain a little space | 155 |
| Nature that gave the bee so feat a grace | 59 |
| Now must I learn to live at rest | 164 |
| Of Carthage he, that worthy warrior | 69 |
| Of purpose Love chose first for to be blind | 95 |
| O goodly hand | 74 |
| Once as me thought fortune me kissed | 55 |
| Once in your grace I know I was | 196 |
| Pain of all pain, the most grievous pain | 168 |
| Pass forth, my wopted cries | 189 |
| Patience for my device | 55 |
| Patience: though I have not | 54 |
| Perdie, I said it not | 153 |
| Process of time worketh such wonder | 69 |
| Prove whether I do change, my dear | 89 |
| Quondam was I in my lady's grace | 198 |
| Resound my voice, ye woods that hear me plain | 21 |
| Right true it is, and said full yore ago | 41 |
| She sat and sewed, that hath done me the wrong | 47 |
| She that should most, perceiveth least | 198 |
| Sighs are my food, drink are my tears | 209 |
| Since love is such that ye wot | 162 |
| Since love will needs that I shall love | 226 |
| Since ye delight to know | 62 |
| So feeble is the thread that doth the burden stay | 90 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Line</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some fowls there be that have so perfect sight</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometime I fled the fire that me brent</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometime the pride of my assured truth</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So unwaresly was no man caught</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak thou and speed where will or power ought helpth</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spite hath no power to make me sad</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spit of their spit which they in vain</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand whoso list upon the slippery top</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Such is the course that nature's kind hath wrought</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Such hap as I am happened in</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Such vain thought as wondret to mislead me</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sufficed not, madame, that you did tear</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagus farewell, that westward with thy streams</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take heed betime, lest ye be spied</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangled I was in love's snare</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That time that mirth did steer my ship</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The answer that ye made to me, my dear</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The enemy of life, decayer of all kind</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The flaming sighs that boil within my breast</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The furious gun in his raging ire</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The lively sparks that issue from those eyes</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The love that in my thought doth harbour</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pillar perish'd was whereunto I leant</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The restful place, reviver of my smart</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There was never fire half so well filed</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There was never nothing more me pained</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The wandering gadling in the summer tide</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They flee from me, that sometime did me seek</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though I cannot your cruelty constrain</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though I myself be bridled of my mind</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though this thy port, and I thy servant true</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou hast no faith of him that hath none</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou sleepest fast, and I with woeful heart</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throughout the world, if it were sought</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To cause accord or to agree</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To rail or jest ye know I use it not</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To seek each where where man doth live</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To wish and want and not obtain</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstable dream, according to the place</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venomous thorns that are so sharp and keen</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus in sport to please therewith her dear</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vulcan begot me, Minerva me taught</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was I never yet of your love grieved</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What death is worse than this</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What meaneth this? When I lie alone</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What needeth these threatening words and wasted wind</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What no, perdie, ye may be sure</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What rage is this? What furor of what kind</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What 'vaileth truth? Or by it to take pain</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What word is that, that changeth not</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When Dido feasted first the wandering Trojan knight</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When first mine eyes did view and mark</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where shall I have at mine own will</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who hath heard of such cruelty before</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who list his wealth and ease retain</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whoso list to hunt: I know where is an hind</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within my breast I never thought it gain</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye know my heart, my lady dear</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye old mule, that think yourself so fair</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your looks so often cast</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You that in love find luck and abundance</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>