John Skelton (1460?–1529)

Although there is little reliable information about Skelton's early life, he appears to have studied at both Cambridge and Oxford, where he was awarded the title of "laureate" (an advanced degree in rhetoric) in 1488; he later received the same honor from the universities of Cambridge and Louvain. Some time in the 1490s, he went up to London and the court, where he wrote some occasional poems and dramatic entertainments. In 1498, Skelton took holy orders and soon after became the tutor of Prince Henry (later King Henry VIII). When Erasmus visited England in 1499, he described Skelton as unum Britannicarum litterarum lumen ac decus ("the singular light and glory of British letters"); while he had his detractors as well, this shows that Skelton was an established poet and scholar and he has always been considered the most important English poet of the generation before Wyatt. In recognition of his royal service, he was made rector of Diss, near the border of Suffolk and Norfolk. In 1512, he was given the title orator regius ("royal orator") by Henry VIII.

Skelton was a tremendously versatile poet: he used established verse forms, such as the poetic dream vision of *The Garland of Laurel*, which is reminiscent of Chaucer, but also experimented with new forms and created his own (the "Skeltonic," which consists of lines with two or three accents that rhyme successively; see "Philip Sparrow" below). He wrote celebratory poems for his royal employers ("A Lawde and Prayse Made for Our Sovereigne Lord the Kyng") and sharp satires against courtly hypocrisy and, in particular, Cardinal Wolsey ("Speke Parrot," "Collyn Clout," and "Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?"). He wrote sincere devotional poetry

and vulgar erotic verse ("The Tunning of Elynour Rummyng"). During his rectorship he also wrote two comic Latin epitaphs on members of his congregation ("Epitaph for Adam Udersall" and "A Devout Trental for Old John Clarke") which anticipate the satirical vein of his later poetry. He also wrote Latin verse and made some translations from Latin. The tone and themes of his poems vary wildly within as well as between them, and he excels at using commonplace situations as comic vehicles for learned disputes or reflections. A good example is "Ware the Hawk," a poem about a neighboring curate who has been hunting with his hawk in Skelton's church at Diss. The bird's fouling of the altar, chalice, and host becomes the occasion for a poetic sermon (carefully divided into named sections) and a table of conclusions for the erring hawk-owner to follow. In his last major poem - "A Replication Against Certain Young Scholars Abjured of Late" (1528) -Skelton put aside his old conflict with Wolsey to join him in combating what they both saw as the heresy of Lutheranism, which was beginning to be debated at Cambridge in the mid-1520s (see Walker).

"Philip Sparrow" is a fine example of Skelton's metrical skill and his flair for combining the traditional and the new. The poem celebrates a mock mass — much as children sometimes elaborately bury their dead pets — for Jane Scrope's sparrow, killed by a Carrow Abbey cat. The poem is in two parts: the first is the girl's lament, in her own voice, for Philip; and the second is the poet's commendation of Jane's beauty. Fifteen years after composing the poem, Skelton wrote an additional section, replying to those who raised moral objections about part two. While part two is an intricately

sensual application of the art of rhetoric, making explicit use of terminology from classical handbooks, its learning is undercut in part one by the girl's polymathic knowledge, which weaves together bird lore, musicology, the language of the Bible and the Office for the Dead, English literary history, and classical learning. Because of its complex treatment of female sexuality, from the fictionalized points of view of Jane and the poet himself, the poem and the history of its reception have recently received sustained attention from feminist critics (see Barnes and Schibanoff).

Text

The Complete English Poems, ed. John Scattergood (spelling modernized).

Reading

A. W. Barnes, "Constructing the Sexual Subject of John Skelton."

Arthur F. Kinney, John Skelton, Priest as Poet: Seasons of Discovery.

John Scattergood, "John Skelton's Lyrics: Tradition and Innovation."

Susan Schibanoff, "Taking Jane's Cue: Phyllyp Sparowe as a Primer for Women Readers."

Greg Walker, John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s.

Philip Sparrow [Part I]

Pla ce bo!1 Who is there, who? Di le xi!2 Dame Margery,3 Fa, re, my, my. Wherefore and why, why? For the soul of Philip Sparrow That was late slain at Carrow Among the Nuns Black. For that sweet soul's sake, TΩ And for all sparrows' souls Set in our bead-rolls,4 Pater noster qui,5 With an Ave Mari,6 And with the corner of a Creed. The more shall be your meed.⁷

> When I remember again How my Philip was slain, Never half the pain Was between you twain, Pyramus and Thisbe,⁸ As then befell to me.

I wept and I wailed, The tears down hailed; But nothing it availed To call Philip again Whom Gib our cat hath slain. Gib. I sav. our cat Worried9 her on that Which I loved best. 30 It cannot be expressed My sorrowful heaviness, But all without redress; For within that stound,10 Half slumbering, in a sound I fell downe to the ground. Unneth¹¹ I cast mine eyes Toward the cloudy skies; But when I did behold My sparrow dead and cold, 40 No creature but that would Have rued¹² upon me, To behold and see What heaviness did me pang: Wherewith my hands I wrang, That my sinews cracked

Notes

PHILIP SPARROW

- ¹ From the opening of the antiphon of the Vespers for the Office of the Dead. The syllabic divisions suggest plainsong.
 ² From Vulgate Psalm 114 (Psalm 115), the first psalm in the Office of the Dead. The syllabic divisions suggest plainsong.
- ³ The head nun at the abbey of Carrow, just outside.
- ⁴ Lists of the dead for whom prayers were to be offered.
- ⁵ "Our Father which..."

- 6 "Hail Mary."
- 7 reward.
- ⁸ Tragic lovers in a tale by Ovid in the Metamorphoses.
- 9 i.e. bit on the throat.
- noment and/or sudden shock.
- 11 barely.
- pitied.

As though I had been racked, So pained and so strained That no life well nigh remained. I sighed and I sobbed, 50 For that I was robbed Of my sparrow's life. O maiden, widow, and wife, Of what estate¹³ ye be, Of high or low degree, Great sorrow then ye might see, And learn to weep at me! Such pains did me fret That mine heart did beat, My visage pale and dead, 60 Wan, and blue as lead: The pangs of hateful death Well nigh had stopped my breath.

Heu, heu, me, That I am woe for thee! Ad Dominum, cum tribularer, clamavi. 14 Of God nothing else crave I But Philip's soul to keep From the marees¹⁵ deep Of Acherontes'16 well, 70 That is a flood of hell: And from the great Pluto,17 The prince of endless woe; And from foul Alecto.18 With visage black and blue; And from Medusa,19 that mare,20 That like a fiend doth stare; And from Megaera's21 adders For ruffling of Philip's feathers, And from her fiery sparklings, 80 For burning of his wings;

And from the smokes sour
Of Proserpina's²² bower;
And from the dens dark
Where Cerberus²³ doth bark,
Whom Theseus²⁴ did affray,²⁵
Whom Hercules²⁶ did outray,²⁷
As famous poets say;
From that hell-hound
90 That lieth in chains bound,
With ghastly heads three;
To Jupiter pray we
That Philip preserved may be!
Amen, say ye with me!

Do mi nus, Help now sweet Iesus! Levavi oculos meos in montes.28 Would God I had Zenophontes,29 Or Socrates the wise, To show me their device³⁰ 100 Moderately to take This sorrow that I make For Philip Sparrow's sake! So fervently I shake, I feel my body quake; So urgently I am brought Into careful thought. Like Andromach,31 Hector's wife, Was weary of her life, When she had lost her joy, 110 Noble Hector of Troy; In like manner also Increaseth my deadly woe, For my sparrow is go. It was so pretty a fool, It would sit on a stool,

¹³ social standing.

¹⁴ "Woe, woe is me ... In my distress, I cried unto the Lord" (second antiphon and Vulgate Psalm 119 from the Vespers).

¹⁵ marsh.

 $^{^{16}}$ Acheron, one of the rivers of the Underworld in Greek myth.

¹⁷ Roman god of the Underworld, whose other name is Dis (see gazetteer). There is a pun running through this section on Diss, where Skelton was rector. In Roman literature Dis was a symbol of death.

¹⁸ One of the Furies (see gazetteer).

¹⁹ Mythical Greek monster whose hideous appearance turned anyone who looked at it to stone.

²⁰ hag.

²¹ One of the Furies, who had adders for hair.

²² Goddess of the Underworld (see gazetteer under "Persephone").

²³ Monstrous three-headed dog who guarded the entrance to the Underworld.

²⁴ Mythical king of Athens (see gazetteer).

²⁵ frighten

²⁶ Mythical Greek demi-god and hero (see gazetteer).

²⁷ vanquish.

²⁸ "Lord ... I lifted up my eyes unto the hills" (third antiphon and Psalm of the Vespers).

²⁹ Xenophon, an ancient Greek writer and admirer of Socrates (see gazetteer).

³⁰ advice.

 $^{^{31}}$ Andromache, wife of the Trojan hero Hector (see gazetteer and *Iliad* 25.725 ff.).

And learned after my school
For to keep his cut,³²
With 'Philip, keep your cut!'

It had a velvet cap,
And would sit upon my lap,
And seek after small worms,
And sometime white bread-crumbs;
And many times and oft
Between my breasts soft
It would lie and rest –
It was proper and prest.³³
Sometime he would gasp
When he saw a wasp;
A fly or a gnat,

A fly or a gnat,
He would fly at that;
And prettily he would pant
When he saw an ant;
Lord, how he would pry
After the butterfly!
Lord, how he would hop
After the gressop!³⁴
And when I said, 'Phip, Phip!'
Then he would leap and skip,

40 And take me by the lip.

Alas, it will me slo³⁵

That Philip is gone me fro!

Si in i qui ta tes Alas, I was evil at ease! De pro fun dis cla ma vi³⁶ When I saw my sparrow die!

Now, after my doom,³⁷ Dame Sulpicia³⁸ at Rome, Whose name registered was For ever in tables of brass, Because that she did pass In poesy to indite³⁹ And eloquently to write, Though she would pretend My sparrow to commend,

I trow40 she could not amend Reporting the virtues all Of my sparrow royal. For it would come and go, 160 And fly so to and fro; And on me it would leap When I was asleep, And his feathers shake. Wherewith he would make Me often for to wake. And for to take him in Upon my naked skin. God wot,41 we thought no sin -What though he crept so low? It was no hurt, I trow. He did nothing, perdee,⁴² But sit upon my knee. Philip, though he were nice,⁴³ In him it was no vice; Philip had leave to go To pick my little toe, Philip might be bold And do what he would: Philip would seek and take

All the fleas black

That he could there espy With his wanton eye.

O pe ra:⁴⁴ La, sol, fa, fa, Confitebor tibi, Domine, in toto corde meo.⁴⁵

Alas, I would ride and go A thousand mile of ground, If any such might be found! It were worth an hundred pound Of King Croesus'⁴⁶ gold, Or of Attalus the old, The rich prince of Pergame,⁴⁷ Whoso list⁴⁸ the story to see.

Notes

180

³² i.e. to keep his place and behave properly.

³³ eager.

³⁴ grasshopper.

³⁵ slay

³⁶ "If iniquities ... Out of the depths have I cried" (fourth antiphon and Psalm of the Vespers).

³⁷ judgment.

³⁸ The name of two female poets from ancient Rome.

³⁹ compose.

⁴⁰ believe.

⁴¹ knows.

⁴² By God!

⁴³ lustful (sparrows were proverbially lascivious birds).

^{44 &}quot;The works [of the Lord]"

⁴⁵ "I will confess to thee, Lord, with my whole heart" (Vulgate Psalm 85:12, from the fifth antiphon of the Vespers).

⁴⁶ Ancient king of Lydia, known for his great wealth.

⁴⁷ Pergamum, ancient city in Asia Minor, which reached the height of its splendor under the Attalids.

⁴⁸ wishes.

Cadmus,49 that his sister sought, And he should be bought For gold and fee, He should over the sea To weet⁵⁰ if he could bring Any of the offspring Or any of the blood. 200 But whoso understood Of Medea's⁵¹ art, I would I had a part Of her crafty magic! My sparrow then should be quick⁵² With a charm or twain, And play with me again. But all this is in vain Thus for to complain. I took my sampler once 210 Of purpose, for the nonce,⁵³ To sew with stitches of silk My sparrow white as milk, That by representation Of his image and fashion, To me it might import Some pleasure and comfort For my solace and sport. But when I was sewing his beak, Methought my sparrow did speak, And opened his pretty bill, Saying, 'Maid, ye are in will⁵⁴ Again me for to kill, Ye prick me in the head!' With that my needle waxed red, Methought, of Philip's blood. Mine hair right upstood, I was in such a fray My speech was taken away. I cast down that there was, And said, 'Alas, alas, How cometh this to pass?' My fingers, dead and cold, Could not my sampler hold;

I threw away for dread. The best now that I may Is for his soul to pray: A porta inferi,55 Good Lord, have mercy Upon my sparrow's soul, Written in my bead-roll! Au di vi vo cem.56 Japhet, Ham, and Shem,⁵⁷ Ma gni fi cat,58 Show me the right path To the hills of Armony,⁵⁹ Whereon the boards yet cry Of your father's boat, 250 That was sometime afloat, And now they lie and rot: Let some poets write Deucalion's 60 flood it hight.61 But as verily as ye be The natural sons three Of Noah the patriarch, That made that great ark, Wherein he had apes and owls, Beasts, birds, and fowls, That if ye can find 260 Any of my sparrow's kind, (God send the soul good rest!) I would have yet a nest As pretty and as prest As my sparrow was. But my sparrow did pass All sparrows of the wood That were since Noah's flood; Was never none so good. King Philip of Macedony⁶² Had no such Philip as I, No, no, sir, hardily! That vengeance I ask and cry, By way of exclamation, On all the whole nation

Notes

My needle and thread

Of cats wild and tame:

God send them sorrow and shame!

⁴⁹ Legendary founder of Thebes, who searched for his sister Europa, who had been carried off by Zeus in the form of a bull (see "Thebes" in the gazetteer).

⁵⁰ know.

⁵¹ A magician who helped Jason (see gazetteer) recover the Golden Fleece and restored the youth of his father Aeson.

⁵² alive.

 $^{^{53}}$ for the present.

⁵⁴ intending.

 $^{^{55}\,}$ "From the gates of hell" (antiphon).

⁵⁶ "I heard a voice" (antiphon, Rev. 14:12).

⁵⁷ Sons of Noah from Genesis.

⁵⁸ "Magnify," as in "My soul magnifies the Lord" (Luke 1:46).

 $^{^{\}rm 59}\,$ Noah's ark came to rest in Armenia on Mt. Ararat.

 $^{^{\}rm 60}\,$ The flood-myth protagonist in Greek mythology.

⁶¹ is called.

 $^{^{\}rm 62}$ Philip II, king of Macedon and father of Alexander the Great.

That cat specially, That slew so cruelly My little pretty sparrow That I brought up at Carrow. O cat of churlish kind, The fiend was in thy mind When thou my bird untwined! I would thou hadst been blind! The leopards savage, The lions in their rage, Might catch thee in their paws, And gnaw thee in their jaws! The serpents of Libany⁶³ 290 Might sting thee venomously! The dragons with their tongues Might poison thy liver and lungs! The manticores⁶⁴ of the mountains Might feed them on thy brains! Melanchaetes, that hound That plucked Actacon to the ground,65

Gave him his mortal wound, Changed to a deer, The story doth appear, Was changed to an hart: So thou, foul cat that thou art, The selfsame hound Might thee confound, That his own lord bote.66 Might bite asunder thy throat! Of Ind⁶⁷ the greedy grypes⁶⁸ Might tear out all thy tripes! Of Arcady the bears Might pluck away thine ears! The wild wolf Lycaon⁶⁹ Bite asunder thy backbone! Of Etna⁷⁰ the burning hill, That day and night burneth still, Set in thy tail a blaze That all the world may gaze And wonder upon thee,

From Ocean the great sea Unto the Isles of Orcady,71 From Tilbury Ferry To the plain of Salisbury!⁷² So traitorously my bird to kill That never ought⁷³ thee evil will! Was never bird in cage More gentle of courage In doing his homage Unto his sovereign. Alas, I say again, Death hath departed us twain! The false cat hath thee slain: 330 Farewell, Philip, adieu; Our Lord thy soul rescue! Farewell without restore, Farewell for evermore! And it were⁷⁴ a Jew, It would make one rue To see my sorrow new. These villainous false cats Were made for mice and rats, And not for birds small. 340 Alas, my face waxeth pale, Telling this piteous tale, How my bird so fair, That was wont to repair, And go in at my spare,75 And creep in at my gore⁷⁶ Of my gown before, Flickering with his wings. Alas, my heart it stings, Remembering pretty things! 350 Alas, mine heart it slaith, My Philip's doleful death! When I remember it, How prettily it would sit Many times and oft,

Notes -

Upon my finger aloft!

I played with him tittle-tattle,⁷⁷

And fed him with my spittle,

⁶³ Libya, or Africa as a whole.

⁶⁴ Ancient mythical monster with the head of a man, the body of a lion, and the tail of a scorpion.

See gazetteer under "Actaeon."

⁶⁶ i.e. bitten.

⁶⁷ India.

In Ovid, Lycaon of Arcadia was transformed into a wolf.

⁷⁰ Etna, Europe's highest active volcano, located in Sicily.

⁷¹ Orkney Islands, north of Scotland.

⁷² Tilbury is on the Thames near London; Salisbury Plain is in the west of England.

⁷³ i.e. bore.

⁷⁴ i.e. If it were ...

⁷⁵ An opening or slit in a gown.

⁷⁶ petticoat.

gossip.

With his bill between my lips, 360 It was my pretty Phips! Many a pretty kiss Had I of his sweet muss!78 And now the cause is thus, That he is slain me fro, To my great pain and woe. Of fortune this the chance Standeth on variance: Oft time after pleasance, Trouble and grievance. No man can be sure 370 Alway to have pleasure. As well perceive ye may How my disport and play From me was taken away By Gib, our cat savage, That in a furious rage Caught Philip by the head, And slew him there stark dead! Kvrie, eleison, Christe, eleison, 380 Kyrie, eleison!⁷⁹

For Philip Sparrow's soul,
Set in our bead-roll,
Let us now whisper
A Paternoster.⁸⁰
Lauda, anima mea, Dominum!⁸¹
To weep with me look that ye

All manner of birds in your kind;
See none be left behind.

To mourning look that ye fall
With dolorous songs funeral,
Some to sing, and some to say,

Some to weep, and some to pray, Every bird in his lay:⁸³
The goldfinch, the wagtail;
The jangling jay to rail,
The flecked pie⁸⁴ to chatter
Of this dolorous matter.
And Robin Redbreast,
He shall be the priest,

And Robin Redbreast,

He shall be the priest,

The requiem mass to sing,

Softly warbling,

With help of the reed sparrow

And the chattering swallow,

This hearse for to hallow.

The lark with his long toe;

The spink, 85 and the martinet 86 also;

The shoveller 87 with his broad beak;

The dotterel, 88 that foolish peke, 89

And also the mad coot,
With bald face to toot; 90
The fieldfare and the snite; 91
The crow and the kite;
The raven, called Rolfe,
His plain-song to sol-fa; 92
The partridge, the quail;
The plover with us to wail;
The woodhack, 93 that singeth 'chur,'
Hoarsely, as he had the mur; 94

The lusty chanting nightingale;
The popinjay to tell her tale,
That toteth⁹⁵ oft in a glass,
Shall read the Gospel at mass;
The mavis⁹⁶ with her whistle
Shall read there the epistle.
But with a large and a long
To keep just plain-song,

Our chanters shall be the cuckoo,

Notes -

⁷⁸ mouth.

⁷⁹ "Lord, have mercy, Christ, have mercy, Lord, have mercy."

^{80 &}quot;Our Father."

⁸¹ "Praise the Lord, O my soul!" (Psalm 145:1, Vulgate). Skelton puns on the word *anima* ("soul")/animal here.

⁸² From here to line 575, Skelton interrupts his poetic version of the Vespers of the Office for the Dead with a memorial service sung by Philip's fellow birds. Beast fables and catalogues of animals were common devices in medieval and Renaissance literature.

⁸³ song.

⁸⁴ magpie.

⁸⁵ chaffinch.

⁸⁶ martin.

⁸⁷ spoonbill.

⁸⁸ dolt.

⁸⁹ plover.

⁹⁰ pry.

⁹¹ snipe.

⁹² "Plainsong" refers to the sung liturgies used in the Catholic and (later) Anglican church. They were unaccompanied by music, free in their rhythms. "Sol-fa" refers to the syllables that were sung when practicing major scales (do, re, me, fa, sol, la, si).

⁹³ woodpecker.

⁹⁴ catarrh.

⁹⁵ looks.

⁹⁶ song-thrush.

The culver, 97 the stockdove, 98
430 With 'peewit' the lapwing,
The versicles 99 shall sing.
The bittern with his bump, 100
The crane with his trump,
The swan of Menander, 101
The goose and the gander,
The duck and the drake,
Shall watch at this wake;
The peacock so proud,
Because his voice is loud,

And hath a glorious tail,
He shall sing the Grail; The owl, that is so foul,
Must help us to howl;
The heron so gaunt,
And the cormorant,
With the pheasant,
And the gaggling gant, And the churlish chough;
The knot And the ruff;

The barnacle, the buzzard,
With the wild mallard;
The divendop¹⁰⁵ to sleep;
The water-hen to weep;
The puffin and the teal,
Money they shall deal
To poor folk at large,
That shall be their charge;
The seamew¹⁰⁶ and the titmouse;
The woodcock with the long nose;

The woodcock with the long nose to the throstle of the throstle of the throstle of the starling with her brabbling; The starling with the osprey That putteth fishes to a fray; And the dainty curlew, With the turtle most true.

At this *Placebo*We may not well forgo
The countering ¹⁰⁸ of the coe; ¹⁰⁹
The stork also,

That maketh his nest
In chimneys to rest;
Within those walls
No broken galls^{TO}
May there abide
Of cuckoldry side,
Or else philosophy
Maketh a great lie.
The ostrich, that will eat

An horseshoe so great,

In the stead of meat,

Such fervent heat

His stomach doth fret;

He cannot well fly,

Nor sing tunably,

Yet at a brayd¹¹²

He hath well assayed

To sol-fa above E-la –

Fa, lorell, fa, fa –

Ne quando

Male cantando, 113
The best that we can,
To make him our bell-man,
And let him ring the bells;
He can do nothing else.
Chanticleer, 114 our cock,
Must tell what is of the clock
By the astrology
That he hath naturally
Conceived and caught,

And was never taught
By Albumazer¹¹⁵
The astronomer,

- 97 dove.
- 98 wild pigeon.
- ⁹⁹ A series of short verses sung antiphonally between a priest and congregation.
- 100 loud call
- ¹⁰¹ Following earlier writers, Skelton has here used "Menander" (an ancient Greek comic dramatist) for "Maeander" (a Greek river).
- 102 Gradual.
- 103 gannet.
- ¹⁰⁴ The next two lines refer (in order) to the snipe, sandpiper, and wild goose.
- 105 dabchick.
- 106 gull.
- song-thrush.

- 108 counterpoint.
- 109 jackdaw.
- i.e. no friction or irritation. There was a tradition that male storks killed or abandoned their mates if they had been unfaithful.
- iii digest.
- suddenly.
- 113 Lest ever by singing badly.
- ¹¹⁴ Chanticleer and Partelot were the names of a rooster and his hen in a wide range of French and English literary texts.
- ¹¹⁵ Albumazar (787–896), Ptolemy (first–2nd century), and Haly Abenragel (Abû l-Hasan 'Alî ibn Abî l-Rijâl, tenth– eleventh century) were Muslim and, in Ptolemy's case, Greek astronomical authorities. See gazetteer under "Ptolemy."

550

560

570

580

25

Nor by Ptolomy Prince of astronomy, Nor vet by Halv: And yet he croweth daily And nightly the tides That no man abides. With Partlot his hen. Whom now and then He plucketh by the head When he doth her tread. The bird of Araby, That potentially May never die And yet there is none But one alone; A phoenix it is This hearse that must bless With aromatic gums¹¹⁶ That cost great sums, The way of thurification "7 To make a fumigation Sweet of reflare, 118 And redolent of air. This corse for to cense With great reverence, As patriarch or pope In a blacke cope. Whiles he censeth the hearse, He shall sing the verse Libera me, 119 In de, la, sol, re, Softly bemol¹²⁰ For my sparrow's soul. Pliny showeth all In his Story Natural, What he doth find Of the phoenix kind; Of whose incineration 540

Without alteration, Saving that old age Is turned into courage Of fresh youth again; This matter true and plain, Plain matter indeed. Whoso list to read. But for the eagle doth fly

Highest in the sky, He shall be the subdean, The choir to demean, 122 As provost principal, To teach them their Ordinal; 123 Also the noble falcon, With the ger-falcon, The tarsel gentil,124 They shall mourn soft and still

In their amice 125 of gray; The saker 126 with them shall say Dirige¹²⁷ for Philip's soul; The goshawk shall have a roll The choristers to control: The lanners and the merlions 128 Shall stand in their mourning-gowns; The hobby and the musket 129 The censers and the cross shall fet; 130 The kestrel in all this work

And now the dark cloudy night Chaseth away Phoebus¹³¹ bright, Taking his course toward the west; God send my sparrow's soul good

Shall be holy water clerk.

Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine!132 Fa, fa, fa, mi, re, A por ta in fe ri, 133 Fa, fa, fa, mi, mi. Credo videre bona Domini, 134 I pray God, Philip to heaven may fly.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam, 135

Notes

- perfumes.
- Burning of incense.
- "Deliver me" (opening of the Responsory).
- ¹²⁰ An obsolete name for the musical note b-flat.

There riseth a new creation

Of the same fashion

- Pliny the Elder, Roman author of the Natural History.
- 122 conduct.
- 123 i.e. the order of service in church.
- ¹²⁴ Greenland falcon and male peregrine falcon.
- 125 hood.
- 126 lanner falcon.

- "Direct [my steps]."
- falcons and merlins.
- falcon and male sparrowhawk.
- 130 i.e. shall fetch the incense censer and cross.
- ¹³¹ See gazetteer.
- "Grant them eternal rest, O Lord!"
- "From the gates of hell."
- "I had thought to see the goodness of the Lord" (Psalm 26:13, Vulgate).
- ¹³⁵ "Lord, hear my prayer" (Psalm 102:2, Vulgate).

620

To heaven he shall, from heaven he came.

Do mi nus vo bis cum!¹³⁶
Of all good prayers God send him
some!

Oremus,

Deus, cui proprium est misereri et parcere. 137

On Philip's soul have pity!

For he was a pretty cock,
And came of a gentle stock,
And wrapped in a maiden's smock,
And cherished full daintily,
Till cruel fate made him to die:
Alas, for doleful destiny!
But whereto should I
Longer mourn or cry?
To Jupiter I call,
Of heaven imperial,
That Philip may fly
Above the starry sky,

Above the starry sky,

To tread the pretty wren
That is our Lady's hen. 138
Amen, amen, amen!
Yet one thing is behind,
That now cometh to mind:
An epitaph I would have
For Philip's grave.
But for I am a maid,
Timorous, half afraid,
That never yet assayed

That never yet assayed

Of Helicon's¹³⁹ well,

Where the Muses dwell;

Though I can read and spell,

Recount, report, and tell

Of the Tales of Canterbury¹⁴⁰

Some sad stories, some merry;

As Palamon and Arcet,
Duke Theseus, and Partelet;
And of the Wife of Bath, ¹⁴¹
That worketh much scathe ¹⁴²
When her tale is told

Among housewives bold,
How she controlled
Her husbands as she would,
And them to despise
In the homeliest wise,
Bring other wives in thought
Their husbands to set at nought:
And though that read have I

Of Gawain, and Sir Guy, 143
630 And tell can a great piece
Of the Golden Fleece,
How Jason it won,
Like a valiant man;
Of Arthur's Round Table,
With his knights commendable,
And Dame Gaynour, his queen
Was somewhat wanton, I ween; 144
How Sir Lancelot de Lake
Many a spear brake

640 For his lady's sake;
Of Tristram, and King Mark,
And all the whole work
Of Belle Isold his wife,
For whom was much strife;
Some say she was light, 145
And made her husband knight
Of the common hall,
That cuckolds men call;
And of Sir Lybius,

Of One of the Named Dysconius;

Of Quater Fylz Amund,

And how they were summoned

To Rome, to Charlemagne,

Notes -

"The Lord be with you."

Arthur's knights; Guy of Warwick was a legendary English knight; Jason was a classical hero who, with the Argonauts, won the Golden Fleece; "Gaynour" is Arthur's Queen Guinevere, who fell in love with Lancelot; Tristan is the lover of Queen Isolde, wife of King Mark of Cornwall, in one of the oldest and most widely retold chivalric legends; Lybius Disconius ("the Fair Unknown") was the hero of a chivalric romance; The Four Sons of Aymon was a French romance that William Caxton translated into English which featured a horse named Bayard.

¹³⁷ "O God, whose property it is to be merciful and to spare."

 $^{^{138}}$ By tradition, the wren was the bird associated with the Virgin Mary.

¹³⁹ See gazetteer.

¹⁴⁰ Geoffrey Chaucer (1343–1400?) is the best-known and most important medieval English poet; *The Canterbury Tales* is one of his most important works.

¹⁴¹ Characters in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.

¹⁴² harm.

¹⁴³ The next 27 lines recount well-known characters from Arthurian and chivalric literature: Gawain was one of

¹⁴⁴ believe.

unfaithful.

Upon a great pain, And how they rode each one On Bayard Mountalbon; Men see him now and then In the forest of Arden. What though I can frame The stories by name Of Judas Maccabeus,146 And of Caesar Julius; And of the love between Paris and Vienne: And of the duke Hannibal. That made the Romans all Fordread and to quake; How Scipion did wake The city of Carthage, Which by his merciful rage 670 He beat down to the ground: And though I can expound Of Hector of Troy That was all their joy, Whom Achilles slew, Wherefore all Troy did rue; And of the love so hot That made Troilus to dote Upon fair Cresseid; And what they wrote and said, And of their wanton wills, Pandar bare the bills 147 From one to the other; His master's love to further, Sometime a precious thing, A brooch or else a ring, From her to him again; Sometime a pretty chain, Or a bracelet of her hair, Prayed Troilus for to wear That token for her sake; How heartily he did it take And much thereof did make; And all that was in vain.

For she did but feign: The story telleth plain, He could not obtain Though his father were a king; Yet there was a thing That made the male to wring;148 700 She made him to sing The song of lover's lay; Musing night and day, Mourning all alone, Comfort had he none For she was quite gone; Thus in conclusion, She brought him in abusion; In earnest and in game She was much to blame: Disparaged is her fame And blemished is her name, In manner half with shame; Troilus also hath lost On her much love and cost, And now must kiss the post;149 Pandar, that went between, Hath won nothing, I ween, But light for summer green; Yet for a special laud He is named Troilus' bawd: Of that name he is sure Whiles the world shall 'dure: Though I remember the fable Of Penelope¹⁵⁰ most stable, To her husband most true, Yet long-time she ne knew Whether he were alive or dead; Her wit stood her in stead That she was true and just, 730 For any bodily lust,

Notes -

¹⁴⁶ Skelton now turns to a catalogue of mainly classical and biblical heroes. Judas Maccabeus was a Jewish hero in 2 Maccabees; Paris and Vienne are the hero and heroine of a medieval romance; Hannibal was the Carthaginian general who fought the Romans in the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE); Scipio Aemilianus was the Roman general who destroyed Carthage in the Third Punic War (146 BCE); for Hector and Achilles, see the gazetteer; Troilus and Cressida were lovers in the Trojan War and the subjects of a poem by

Chaucer; Pandarus was their go-between and the origin of the term "pander."

To Ulysses her make,

A process I could tell us;

And never would him forsake. Of Marcus Marcellus¹⁵¹

i.e. letters.

 $^{^{148}}$ i.e. caused him pain.

 $^{^{\}text{149}}$ i.e. kiss the post of the door that has been shut in his face.

 $^{^{\}rm 150}$ Faithful wife of Odysseus (Ulysses) in the $\it Odyssey$ (see gazetteer).

¹⁵¹ Roman conqueror of Syracuse in the Second Punic War.

And of Antiochus, 152 And of Josephus¹⁵³ De Antiquitatibus; And of Mardocheus,154 And of great Ahasuerus, And of Vesca his queen, Whom he forsook with teen,155 And of Esther his other wife. With whom he led a pleasant life; Of King Alexander;156 And of King Evander¹⁵⁷ And of Porsena the great, 158 That made the Romans to sweat: Though I have enrolled A thousand new and old Of these historious tales, To fill budgets and males 159 With books that I have read, Yet I am nothing sped, And can but little skill Of Ovid¹⁶⁰ or Virgil, Or of Plutarch, Or Francis Petrarch, Alcaeus or Sappho, Or such other poets mo, As Linus and Homerus, Euphorion and Theocritus,

Alcaeus or Sappho,
760 Or such other poets mo,
As Linus and Homerus,
Euphorion and Theocritus,
Anacreon and Arion,
Sophocles and Philemon,
Pindarus and Simonides,
Philistion and Pherecydes;
These poets of ancient,
They are too diffuse for me:
For, as I tofore have said,
I am but a young maid,

And cannot in effect
My style as yet direct
With English words elect;
Our natural tongue is rude, ¹⁶¹
And hard to be ennewed ¹⁶²
With polished terms lusty;
Our language is so rusty,
So cankered, and so full
Of frowards, ¹⁶³ and so dull,

That if I would apply
To write ornately,
I wot not where to find
Terms to serve my mind.
Gower's 164 English is old
And of no value told;
His matter is worth gold,
And worthy to be enrolled.
In Chaucer I am sped,
His tales I have read;

His tales I have feat,

His matter is delectable,
Solacious, and commendable;
His English well allowed,
So as it is enprowed,
For as it is employed,
There is no English void,
At those days much commended;
And now men would have amended
His English whereat they bark,
And mar all they work:

800 Chaucer, that famous clerk,
His terms were not dark,
But pleasant, easy, and plain;
No word he wrote in vain.
Also John Lydgate¹⁶⁶
Writeth after an higher rate;

¹⁵² Name of several of the kings in the Seleucid empire that succeeded Alexander the Great.

¹⁵³ Flavius Josephus, a Jewish historian in the Roman empire, who wrote a history of Jewish culture called *Antiquities* of the Jews (ca. 94 CE), mentioned below.

¹⁵⁴ i.e. Mordecai, the hero of the Book of Esther in the Hebrew Bible; he enabled his orphaned cousin Esther to marry King Ahasuerus of Persia.

¹⁵⁵ suffering.

¹⁵⁶ Alexander the Great (see gazetteer).

¹⁵⁷ An early king of what later became the city of Rome in Virgil's *Aeneid* (see gazetteer).

¹⁵⁸ An ancient Italian king who supported the Roman Tarquin monarchs.

i.e. bags and wallets.

There follows a catalogue of Greek, Roman, and Italian poets, some perhaps legendary. For Ovid, Virgil, Plutarch, Petrarch, and Homer, see gazetteer.

¹⁶¹ See Introduction for a discussion of the early modern debates about whether English could be a literary language. Skelton comments specifically on the English of the poets he mentions below.

⁶² restored.

¹⁶³ i.e. inelegant words and grammar.

 $^{^{164}}$ A fourteenth-century English poet, best known for the Confessio Amantis.

improved.

Fifteenth-century English poet reputed to be the dullest writer in the language, author of the 36,000-line poem, The Fall of Princes.

It is diffuse to find The sentence¹⁶⁷ of his mind, Yet writeth he in his kind, No man that can amend 810 Those matters that he hath penned; Yet some men find a fault, And say he writeth too haut. 168 Wherefore hold me excused If I have not well perused Mine English half abused; Though it be refused, In worth I shall it take. And fewer words make. But, for my sparrow's sake, Yet as a woman may, My wit I shall assay An epitaph to write In Latin plain and light,

Flos volucrum formose, vale! Philippe, sub isto Marmore iam recubas, Qui mihi carus eras. 830 Semper erunt nitido Radiantia sidera cœlo; Impressusque meo Pectore semper eris. 169 Per me laurigerum Britanum Skeltonida vatem Haec cecinisse licet Ficta sub imagine texta. Cuius eris volucris, Prestanti corpore virgo: 840 Candida Nais erat, Formosior ista Joanna est: Docta Corinna fuit, Sed magis ista sapit. Bien men souvient. 170

Whereof the elegy

Followeth by and by.

The Commendations

Beati im ma cu la ti in via, O gloriosa femina!¹⁷¹ Now mine whole imagination And studious meditation Is to take this commendation In this consideration: 850 And under patient toleration Of that most goodly maid That Placebo hath said, And for her sparrow prayed In lamentable wise. Now will I enterprise, Through the grace divine Of the Muses nine, Her beauty to commend, If Arethusa¹⁷² will send Me influence to indite. And with my pen to write; If Apollo will promise Melodiously it to devise His tunable harp strings With harmony that sings Of princes and of kings And of all pleasant things, Of lust173 and of delight, Through his godly might; 870 To whom be the laud ascribed That my pen hath imbibed With the aureate drops, As verily my hope is, Of Tagus, that golden flood,174 That passeth all earthly good; And as that flood doth pass All floods that ever was With his golden sands, 880 Whoso that understands Cosmography, and the streams,

Notes

- 167 meaning.
- i.e. in too lofty a style.
- ¹⁶⁹ "Farewell, sweet bird. Philip, beneath that marble you lie; you who were dear to me. So long as the stars shine in the sky will your image be graven on my heart."
- ¹⁷⁰ "By me Skelton, the poet laureate of Britain, these inventions could be sung under an assumed likeness. She whose pet you were was a virgin of great beauty: the naiad was beautiful, but Jane is more beautiful; Corinna was learned, but Jane knows more. I remember it well."
- ¹⁷¹ "Blessed are the unspotted in the way, O glorious woman!" The first line comes from the psalm used in the Commendations of the Soul.

And the floods in strange reams, 175

- ¹⁷² A classical Greek nymph who was changed into a river in order to escape the river god Alpheus. Skelton's use of her as a Muse echoes Virgil's *Ecloques* 10.
- $^{173}\,$ i.e. pleasure. This word did not necessarily have erotic or negative connotations in this period.
- ¹⁷⁴ A river in Portugal where people have panned for gold since ancient times.
- i.e. realms.

Right so she doth exceed All other of whom we read, Whose fame by me shall spread Into Persia and Mede,176 From Britain's Albion To the Tower of Babylon. I trust it is no shame, And no man will me blame. Though I register her name In the court of Fame: For this most goodly flower, This blossom of fresh colour, So Jupiter me succour. She flourisheth new and new In beauty and virtue. Hac claritate gemina O gloriosa femina, Retribue servo tuo, vivifica me! Labia mea laudabunt te. 1777 But enforced am I Openly to ascrv¹⁷⁸ And to make an outcry Against odious Envy, That evermore will lie And say cursedly; With his lither 179 eye, And cheeks dry; With visage wan, As swart as tan: His bones creak, Lean as a rake: His gums rusty Are full unlusty; His heart withal Bitter as gall; His liver, his lung With anger is wrung; His serpent's tongue That many one hath stung; He frowneth ever; He laugheth never, Even nor morrow, But other men's sorrow Causeth him to grin

No sleep can him catch, But ever doth watch, He is so beat 181 With malice, and fret With anger and ire, His foul desire Will suffer no sleep In his head to creep; His foul semblant 182 All displeasant; When other are glad, Then is he sad. Frantic and mad: 940 His tongue never still For to say ill, Writhing and wringing, Biting and stinging; And thus this elf Consumeth himself, Himself doth slo With pain and woe. This false Envy Saith that I 950 Use great folly For to indite, And for to write. And spend my time In prose and rhyme, For to express The nobleness Of my mistress, That causeth me 960 Studious to be To make a relation Of her commendation; And there again Envy doth complain, And hath disdain; But vet certain

970 Now Phoebus me ken¹⁸³
To sharp my pen,
And lead my fist

And my style dress

1 will be plain,

To this process.

Notes

And rejoice therein;

¹⁷⁶ A region in northern Iran.

[&]quot;O doubly renowned, O glorious woman! Reward your servant, enliven me! My lips shall praise you." The Latin passages from here on are adapted from the Vulgate Psalms.
¹⁷⁸ exclaim.

¹⁷⁹ wicked.

¹⁸⁰ dark.

¹⁸¹ assailed.

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle{182}}$ appearance and/or disposition.

¹⁸³ teach.

As him best list, That I may say Honour alway Of womankind! Truth doth me bind And lovalty Ever to be Their true beadle¹⁸⁴ To write and tell How women excel In nobleness; As my mistress, Of whom I think With pen and ink For to compile Some goodly style: For this most goodly flower, This blossom of fresh colour, So Jupiter me succour, She flourisheth new and new In beauty and virtue: Hac claritate gemina, O gloriosa femina, Legem pone mihi, domina, in viam justificationem tuarum! Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum. 185 How shall I report All the goodly sort 1000 Of her features clear, That hath none earthly peer? Her favour of her face Ennewed all with grace, Comfort, pleasure, and solace. Mine heart doth so embrace, And so hath ravished me Her to behold and see, That in words plain I cannot me refrain 1010 To look on her again. Alas, what should I feign? It were a pleasant pain 186

With her aye to remain. Her eyen grey and steep 187 Causeth mine heart to leap; With her brows bent She may well represent Fair Lucrece, 188 as I ween, Or else fair Polexene. 1020 Or else Calliope. Or else Penelope; For this most goodly flower, This blossom of fresh colour, So Jupiter me succour, She flourisheth new and new In beauty and virtue: Hac claritate gemina, O gloriosa femina, Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo! 1030 Servus tuus sum ego. 189 The Indy sapphire blue Her veins doth ennew; The orient pearl so clear, The whiteness of her leer:190 Her lusty ruby ruds191 Resemble the rose buds; Her lips soft and merry Enbloomed like the cherry, It were an heavenly bliss 1040 Her sugared mouth to kiss. Her Beauty to augment, Dame Nature hath her lent A wart upon her cheek, Whoso list to seek In her visage a scar That seemeth from afar Like to the radiant star,

Like to the radiant star,
All with favour fret,
So properly it is set:

1050 She is the violet,
The daisy delectable,
The columbine commendable
The jelofer 192 amiable;

This most goodly flower,

¹⁸⁴ herald.

¹⁸⁵ "Provide me with the rule, Lady, to justify your ways. As the hart pants for the fountains of water."

¹⁸⁶ labor.

¹⁸⁷ shining.

¹⁸⁸ Lucrece, Polyxena, and Penelope were classical ideals of modesty, steadfastness, and beauty. Calliope was the Muse of epic poetry.

¹⁸⁹ "Remember your word to your servant. I am your servant."

¹⁹⁰ complexion.

¹⁹¹ cheeks.

¹⁹² gillyflower.

This blossom of fresh colour,
So Jupiter me succour,
She flourisheth new and new
In beauty and virtue:
Hac claritate gemina,
O gloriosa femina,
Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo,

domina,

Et ex precordiis sonant preconia. 193
And when I perceived
Her wart and conceived,
It cannot be denied
But it was well conveyed,
And set so womanly,
And nothing wantonly,
But right conveniently,

And full congruently,
As Nature could devise,
In most goodly wise.
Whose list behold,
It maketh lovers bold
To her to sue for grace,
Her favour to purchase.
The scar upon her chin
Enhatched on her fair skin,

Whiter than the swan,

It would make any man

To forget deadly sin

Her favour to win;

For this most goodly flower,

This blossom of fresh colour,

So Jupiter me succour,

She flourisheth new and new

In beauty and virtue:

Hac claritate gemina,

O gloriosa femina,

1090 Defecit in salutare tuum anima mea; Quid petis filio, mater dulcissima? Ba

> Soft, and make no din, For now I will begin To have in remembrance Her goodly dalliance, And her goodly pastance: 195

So sad¹⁹⁶ and demure,
Behaving her so sure,
With words of pleasure

She would make to the lure
And any man convert
To give her his whole heart.
She made me sore amazed
Upon her when I gazed,
Methought mine heart was crazed,
My eyen were so dazed;
For this most goodly flower,
This blossom of fresh colour,
So Jupiter me succour,

IIO She flourisheth new and new
In beauty and virtue:
Hac claritate gemina,
O gloriosa femina,
Quomodo dilexi legem tuam, domina!
Recedant vetera, nova sunt omnia. 197
And to amend her tale.

And to amend her tale, When she list to avail, And with her fingers small, And hands soft as silk,

That are so quickly veined,
Wherewith my hand she strained,
Lord, how I was pained!
Unneth I me refrained,
How she me had reclaimed,
And me to her retained,
Embracing therewithall
Her goodly middle small
With sides long and straight;
To tell you what conceit

I had then in a trice,
The matter were too nice, ¹⁹⁸
And yet there was no vice,
Nor yet no villainy,
But only fantasy;
For this most goodly flower,
This blossom of fresh colour,
So Jupiter me succour,
She flourisheth new and new
II40 In beauty and virtue:

¹⁹³ "You have dealt generously with your servant, Lady, and from his heart your praises sound."

^{194 &}quot;My soul grows weak for your salvation; what do you seek for your son, sweetest mother?"

recreation.

¹⁹⁶ steadfast.

¹⁹⁷ "O how I love your law, Lady! Old ways are fading away, all things are made new."

¹⁹⁸ Skelton has deliberately used a word that can mean many things in this context: "complex," "delicate," and "lustful" are all possible meanings for the word (though the speaker denies the last).

Hac claritate gemina, O gloriosa femina, Iniquos odio habui! Non calumnientur me superbi. 199 But whereto should I note How often did I toot²⁰⁰ Upon her pretty foot? It razed mine heart root To see her tread the ground With heels short and round. She is plainly express Egeria, the goddess,²⁰¹ And like to her image, Emportured²⁰² with courage, A lover's pilgrimage. There is no beast savage, Ne no tiger so wood, But she would change his mood, Such relucent²⁰³ grace 1160 Is formed in her face; For this most goodly flower, This blossom of fresh colour, So Jupiter me succour, She flourisheth new and new In beauty and virtue: Hac claritate gemina O gloriosa femina, Mirubilia testimonia tua! Sicut novellae plantationes in juventute sua.204

So goodly as she dresses,
So properly she presses
The bright golden tresses
Of her hair so fine,
Like Phoebus' beams shine.
Whereto should I disclose
The gartering of her hose?
It is for to suppose
How that she can wear
Gorgeously her gear;
Her fresh habiliments
With other implements

To serve for all intents, Like Dame Flora,²⁰⁵ queen Of lusty summer green; For this most goodly flower, This blossom of fresh colour, So Jupiter me succour, She flourisheth new and new In beauty and virtue:

1190 Hac claritate gemina,
O gloriosa femina,
Clamavi toto corde, exaudi me!
Misericordia tua magna est super me.²⁰⁶
Her kirtle²⁰⁷ so goodly laced,
And under that is braced
Such pleasures that I may
Neither write nor say;
Yet though I write not with ink,
No man can let²⁰⁸ me think,

Thought is frank and free;
To think a merry thought
It cost me little or nought.
Would God mine homely style
Were polished with the file
Of Cicero's²⁰⁹ eloquence,
To praise her excellence!
For this most goodly flower,
This blossom of fresh colour,

So Jupiter me succour,
She flourisheth new and new
In beauty and virtue:
Hac claritate gemina,
O gloriosa femina,
Principes persecuti sunt me gratis!
Omnibus consideratis,
Paradisus voluptatis
Hec virgo est dulcissima.
My pen it is unable,

My hand it is unstable,
My reason rude and dull
To praise her at the full;
Goodly Mistress Jane,

Notes -

 $^{^{199}\,}$ ''I have hated the unjust! Let not the proud falsely accuse me.''

²⁰⁰ gaze

An ancient Roman nymph who married the king of Rome and was famous for her wise advice to him.

²⁰² Meaning unknown.

²⁰³ shining

 $^{^{204}}$ ''Wonderful are your testimonies! As plants flourish in their youth.''

²⁰⁵ Roman goddess of flowers.

²⁰⁶ "I have cried with my whole heart, hear me! Great is your mercy to me."

gown.

prevent.

See gazetteer.

 $^{^{210}}$ "Princes have persecuted me freely. All things considered, this sweetest of girls is a paradise of delights." 211 i.e. Athena.

Sober, demure Diane; Iane this mistress hight, The lode-star of delight, Dame Venus of all pleasure, The well of worldly treasure; She doth exceed and pass 1230 In prudence Dame Pallas;211 For this most goodly flower, This blossom of fresh colour, So Jupiter me succour, She flourisheth new and new In beauty and virtue: Hac claritate gemina, O gloriosa femina! Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine! With this psalm, Domine, probasti me,²¹²

1240 Shall sail over the sea, With Tibi, Domine, commendamus. 213

On pilgrimage to Saint James,214 For shrimps and for prawns, And for stalking cranes; And where my pen hath offended, I pray you it may be amended By discreet consideration Of your wise reformation; I have not offended, I trust, 1250 If it be sadly discussed. It were no gentle guise This treatise to despise, Because I have written and said Honour to this fair maid: Wherefore should I be blamed That I Jane have named, And famously proclaimed? She is worthy to be enrolled With letters of gold. Car elle vaut.215

 $^{^{\}mbox{\tiny 212}}$ "Give them eternal rest, O Lord! \dots O Lord, you have proved me."

[&]quot;To you, O Lord, we commend ourselves."

²¹⁴ The shrine of St. James at Compostella in Spain was a popular pilgrimage destination.

[&]quot;Because she is worthy."