

SINGING FROM THE BOOK: AN ANALYSIS OF
THE MIDDLE ENGLISH AND LATIN
LULLABY LYRICS IN HARLEY 913

By

CYNTHIA A. ROGERS

Bachelor of Arts/Science in English

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, OK

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Thesis Approved:

Merrall Llewelyn Price

Thesis Adviser

Randi Eldevik

Edward Jones

Allen Scott

A. Gordon Emslie

Dean of the Graduate College

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Christ Child Lullaby Tradition

The medieval lullaby "Lollai, lollai, whi wepistou so sore" gives a mother's words as she soothes a crying baby. At the same time she sings lulling sounds to quiet the baby, she acknowledges that he has reason to weep, for the world is harsh and his life will be full of suffering. If one hears her words as being from the Virgin Mary to the Christ child, another layer of poignancy is added. The child has chosen to come to save mankind from their sins, but that does not change the fact that at the moment of the lullaby, omnipotent God has become a baby who cries in his cradle and needs comfort from his mother. This paradoxical image is so compelling that similar lullabies continued to be written for hundreds of years. Some of them are still sung in churches today at Christmas time.

"Lollai" has long been considered the great-grandmother of this tradition, the oldest of all the lullaby lyrics. The song is preserved in a fourteenth-century Franciscan friar's little traveling book that he carried in his pouch. It is in company with other songs, theological treatises, a list of Franciscan holdings, satires, and sermon materials—a miscellaneous wealth that must have been useful to the friar that copied it into his book. Since the Franciscans took vows of poverty, they carried very little with them in their walking journeys, hence the tiny size of the book. The friar probably traveled from place to place in eastern Ireland preaching and hearing confessions. He would most likely have been well-educated¹ and was evidently tri-lingual since his book has works in Latin, Norman French, and Middle English.

One of the common spiritual practices that the friar, as a Franciscan, would have encouraged was for his congregations to visualize themselves in a scene from Christ's

life. Christians of this time period contemplated moments from the gospels in order to move their hearts and spirits, and draw closer to God. The founder of the Franciscans, St. Francis, is credited with organizing the first live nativity scene at Greccio, Italy in the thirteenth century for just such a purpose. The medieval lullabies to the Christ child fit into this tradition. They are meant to draw the listener into the homely scene of a mother rocking a child, but the mother is the young Mother of God and the baby is the Christ.

Scholarship and Questions

The content of the "Lollai" lyric is so compelling and its descendants so numerous that scholarship on it has primarily centered around the themes expressed in the song and its derivative Middle English lyrics. Even though most of the works in the friar's book are in Latin, the lullaby has been studied almost exclusively in conjunction with other Middle English lyrics—despite the fact that a Latin version of the song appears in the same manuscript. This language-myopia has led to a long-standing mis-identification of the lullaby as the beginning point of a native Middle English song tradition.

In seeking to clarify the relationship between the "Lollai" lyric and the Latin version of the same song, several questions present themselves. Is the Middle English the original composition or is it a translation of the Latin version? Are there antecedents in either language? What kind of music were the lyrics sung to? Were both versions sung to the same tune? Since the Latin version is only two stanzas long, while the Middle English contains six, was the Latin originally longer? Is there a page missing in the book where the rest of the Latin text should be? Is modern scholarship correct in maintaining that "Lollai" is about a human mother and child, but that descendent lullaby lyrics are about the Christ child? By addressing these questions, I hope to further scholarship on the "Lollai" lyric in particular, but also the Middle English lullaby tradition more broadly.

Overview

This thesis begins with an exploration of the friar's book, Harley MS 913, which I was able to examine at the British Library in 2004. A brief history of the manuscript is given in Chapter Two, and a summary of the relevant published scholarship on the "Lollai" lyric is given in Chapter Three. Since the book is missing pages, and has other

pages out of order, it is necessary to explore the paleographical and codicological evidence brought forward in previous scholarship cross-referenced with my own observations about the manuscript in order to ascertain whether the two stanzas of the Latin are a fragment or are a complete lyric. Chapter Four contains my own proposed reconstruction of the manuscript's original order. This close examination of the book enabled me to ascertain that the two stanzas of the Latin lullaby are all that were originally penned into Harley 913.

Chapter Five evaluates the meter of the Latin and the use of punctuation marks in the text in order to identify the song form as a type of goliardic stanza with a couplet refrain, a song form with several other representatives in Middle English and Latin. Once this structural category was established, a search for antecedents was possible. Latin goliardic verse was at its height in the twelfth century. Looking backwards into that musical tradition one finds other thematically similar Franciscan hymns. This strongly suggests that people of the fourteenth century would have understood the Latin lullaby as being part of that tradition of contemplation about the Christ child.

By redrawing the evolutionary map of the lullaby lyrics to include a previous Latin tradition, it is possible to evaluate the Middle English "Lollai" more closely. The analysis in Chapter Six of my translations of the two Harley lullabies shows that the first two stanzas of "Lollai" are translations of the Latin version. The additional four Middle English stanzas are largely derived from other Middle English lyrics. This confirms the codicological evidence that at the point the translation was made, the Latin version only had two stanzas.

A comparison of "Lollai" to a close variant with the same meter found in Grimestone's commonplace book reveals that the two may both be translations of an earlier goliardic meter Latin lyric, rather than "Lollai" being a direct ancestor of the Grimestone lyric, as has been previously assumed. The Grimestone lyric lacks the *contemptus mundi* themes that are brought in by the four "borrowed" stanzas in "Lollai." As a result, it is a much more straightforward Christ child lullaby, lacking both the complexity and ambiguity that characterizes the "Lollai" lyric.

The *contemptus mundi* themes make possible the modern scholars' readings that the child is an Everyman figure rather than the Christ. However, since the Latin Christ

child lyric tradition, the Grimestone lyric, and all of the descendent lullaby carols are explicitly about the Virgin Mary and the Christ child, it is likely that, though the "Lollai" lyric does not mention the holy couple by name, fourteenth-century listeners would have interpreted the lyrics that way.

Ultimately, it appears that the connection between the "Lollai" lyric and its descendants is not structural (despite the fact that some of them directly repeat lines from it). Rather they are connected by an intent to impact the listener emotionally with the description of the Virgin Mary rocking her child. It is likely that the original Latin lyrics to the song were rewritten into vernacular translations that could be sung to the same tune in order to make the song accessible to a broader audience. However, as the long-lined goliardic song form became less popular, the lyric was reworked into the dominant English song form of the fourteenth century—the carol. The thread that ties these works together is the effect that words and music together have on their audiences.

Apparatus

For the convenience of the reader, a transcription and translation of each of the lullabies are provided in the Appendices with commentary. (Appendix A: Middle English "Lollai", Appendix B: Latin "Lola", and Appendix C: Grimestone's "Lullay.") Appendix E provides a glossary of the specialized codicological, musical and metrical terms that are used within the text.

CHAPTER TWO

PROVENANCE

The two versions of the "Lollai" lullaby occur in the "Poems of Kildare" manuscript (Harley 913), a tiny little book hardly bigger than my hand. Long regarded as one of the most important manuscripts containing medieval Hiberno-English, the book is an example, not of a polished illuminated text, but rather of a small book that was probably carried in the pouch of a traveling Franciscan friar. The manuscript shows evidence of the many hands through which it has passed but remains quite readable. Despite being darkened with age, its thin vellum pages are supple and serviceable. 700 years of use have dirtied the surfaces of them until the hide-sides faintly show the pebbly skin pattern of the animal from which the vellum was made. The text is written in a very small hand, the ink varies from dark black to a watery brown, and the scripts range from an almost respectable-looking *textura* to a much later fifteenth-century secretary hand. Its tidy Victorian-looking leather binding, with the British Museum's gold imprint, covers over what is probably a cord binding from an earlier time period, although its original stitching was long ago cut away. In one of its rebindings, pages were moved out of sequence, and some were removed. All page bottoms have been severely trimmed and the last lines of text on some were cut away. Towards the back of the book are some water damaged pages, the edges of the text blurred into illegibility. Even dressed in its dark

blue cover and patched together carefully by the Library's bindery, the little book presents itself as a battered and well-used survivor of the fourteenth century. Its idiosyncratic condition presents both questions and clues about its provenance.

Physical Description

The pages are approximately 136mm x 95mm in size. The manuscript is composed of 64 folia unevenly distributed into nine quires. The quires are currently sewn onto three cords. The folia have five pierced holes for stitching in their centerfolds. The top hole, while being used only as a changeover stitching station currently, was doubtless also used for stitching on an endband, which has been removed at some point in time. However the distribution of the five holes and the unusually small bottom margin makes it likely that the bottom hole (also currently only being used as a changeover station) was probably for a (now missing) fourth cord. This would mean the volume's lower edge has been trimmed so severely that a sixth hole (necessary for the bottom changeover stitching station and endcap) has been completely cut off. At its creation Harley 913 likely had larger pages. This has implications for lyrics whose bottom lines are cramped in order to fit onto the page, such as the Latin "Lola." The scribe was cramming to get the lines into the space laid out for the text, not in order to get the text onto the bottom of the page.²

Some of the vellum appears to have been cut with the short ends of the sheets along the spine of the animal, discernible because one edge of each folio is slightly thicker. Although this is certainly not "best quality" vellum, since the book appears to have been cut deliberately from the less desirable portions of the hide, it is also not of poor quality. There are no scrape holes and only the occasional stiff spot in the vellum

(due often to imperfections in the hide). The difference between the hide-side and flesh-side of the vellum is pronounced enough on most of the folia to be discerned.

The various colors of ink point to the fact that parts of the manuscript were written at different times, with differing amounts of care. As Michael Benskin asserts, the same page of text may show darker and lighter lettering as the scribe trims his nib differently, or perhaps goes a bit too far before dipping his pen in the ink pot. However, the color of the predominantly faded brown ink on the manuscript also supports the dating of the manuscript to the early fourteenth century. An unhappy period of experimentation with adding pigments to gall inks in the Middle Ages in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries resulted in a great many manuscripts having text that faded from the crisp black of the original color to a washed out brown color (Carvalho 83-84).³ The scribe of Harley 913 appears to have at times used ink made from one of these poor ink recipes. The presence of both brown and black ink is consistent, since the use of the non-colorfast ink tapered off in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There is also a bit of red and blue ink used for initial capitals, various capitalum marks, and brackets. These also show a variety of shades, some faded and some quite bright. However, in this instance it would appear that the brightly colored red, in particular, is due to the lines being re-inked by a less skilled hand at some later date.

Composition, Compilation, and Manufacture

Wanley's 1819 catalog of the Harley collection lists 913 as having 52 separate items. In a current edition of the Middle English portion of the manuscript, Angela Lucas counts 48 by combining different items and separating others ("Introduction" 15). The

texts are predominantly in Latin, but the manuscript also includes Middle English and Norman French. However, scholarship on the manuscript focuses almost entirely on the Middle English texts. The Middle English portions and a preliminary description of the manuscript were originally published in 1904 in *Die Kildare Gedichte* by Wilhelm Heuser. Recent scholarship on the manuscript, however, has revealed a more complex view of the manuscript's manufacture, use, and re-workings. For instance, although Heuser named the Harley 913 manuscript after Michael of Kildare (the self-named author of the lyric on folia 9-10r), Michael Benskin has shown through a morphological examination of the text's Hiberno-English that though much of the material was written in Kildare, the exemplar from which Harley 913 was copied was written in the dialect of Waterford, 65 miles away ("Style" 59-60).⁴ Internal references in the text to both towns (as well as to New Ross) would also argue that various parts of the manuscript have strong associations with those towns.

Of the material considered to be original to Harley 913, there are only a few items that help set a date of composition or manufacture. The date 1329 is written into "Proverbs" (f. 15v), perhaps suggesting that the work was begun or finished at that time. A list of Franciscan custodies (ff. 41r-43r) can be identified as describing the holdings as they stood from 1325 to 1345. Hence it can be assumed that the list was composed sometime between those dates. On the strength of this and his paleographical analysis, Benskin puts forward a working date of 1330 for the compilation of Harley 913 ("Hands" 164).

On first examination, the manuscript seems to have been written by many different scribes, as the writing is done in different scripts, of different sizes and with

different levels of competency. However, Benskin's analysis of the text's morphology, abbreviations and punctuation has led him to the conclusion (accepted by modern scholars) that the manuscript was predominantly written by one hand, with a few insertions made by perhaps two or three later scribes ("Hands" 165).⁵ Some of the differences in the text he attributes to the less formal nature of the book as a whole, since it is apparently a personal collection. As is convenient, the scribe changes scripts, or the number of lines in a page's layout (varying from 24 lines per page to 34). Also, the three different languages, Latin, English, and French, look different and to some extent have different writing conventions, so an artificial difference appears among those texts (168). Benskin's evidence about the unity of the writing supports his assertion that " Overall the manuscript gives every indication of having been written intermittently, not at all the product of continuous or supervised labour—a compilation private, and very possibly personal" (165).

Franciscan Connections

The scribe of Harley 913 is generally thought to be a Franciscan. There is internal evidence of a Franciscan connection since the manuscript contains a list of the Franciscan custodies, as well as having items that mention Kildare, Waterford, and New Ross (all towns with Franciscan houses). In addition the content of several of the satiric pieces, such as "The Land of Cockayne," seems to be from the perspective of a mendicant friar deploring the venial excesses of cloistered monks—a perspective in keeping with the Franciscans.⁶ The very fact that the manuscript is a miscellany apparently collected for

personal use and as potential material for sermons also would indicate that the book has strong Franciscan connections.

According to D. L. D'Avray, Franciscans and Dominicans were both international orders that created small *vademecum* books that contained a wide variety of materials necessary for their friars' pastoral missions and personal spiritual development. Since the monks were dedicated to a life of poverty, they traveled on foot, and the books they carried were necessarily small and light ("Portable" 61). Many of the *vademecum* books are alphabetized and have apparatus for finding particular sermon materials; however D'Avray points out that there are less formal versions that appear to be personal collections, such as MS Birmingham University 6/iii/19 (Preaching 81), or I would add, Harley MS 913.

History of Ownership

The manuscript has George Wyse's name (mayor of Waterford in 1561) inscribed as the owner on one of its leaves. This places it in Waterford in the sixteenth century. Since his family had earlier acquired property when the monasteries in the area were dissolved, the assumption is that the manuscript was acquired with other Franciscan properties in Waterford (Lucas "Introduction" 18). Sir James Ware had ten items copied from the manuscript in 1608 (five of which are now missing) into what is now called MS Landsdowne 418 (Catalogue 117-18).

In 1697 the manuscript was in the library of John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, where it was described by Bernard in his *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*. Thomas Tanner, later Bishop of St. Asaph, was apparently the owner in 1705,

as he sent a copy of the "Land of Cokaygne" to George Hicke to publish in his *Thesaurus*. Sometime in the first half of the eighteenth-century, Robert Harley (Earl of Oxford) acquired it (Lucas "Introduction" 18). It came into the British Museum's collection with other manuscripts in 1753 when the Harley heirs sold the collection to Parliament ("British Library").

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Middle English lyric "Lollai, Lollai" from British Library MS Harley 913 is often anthologized as the earliest of a long series of Middle English lullaby lyrics.⁷ The song's poignant themes have provided commentators with enough material that scholarship has been largely restricted to the poem's thematic content and lists of descendent lyrics. Its structural classification has proven more problematic. One of the primary difficulties has been that commentary on the lullaby lyric "Lollai" was done almost exclusively in the context of other Middle English lyrics, despite the fact that it appears in a manuscript in which Latin is the overwhelmingly dominant language. The tri-lingual nature of Harley MS 913, written as it is in Latin, Anglo-Norman French, and Middle English, makes it critically important to include a broader perspective when analyzing any one of its items. Although there are two published editions of the Middle English material from the manuscript, no complete edition has appeared that contains the works from all three languages.⁸

Another limitation to scholarship on the poem has been the disarrangement of the manuscript itself.⁹ One of the primary questions to answer is whether the Latin fragment is merely an unfinished practice at rhyming, done in a blank half page in an already completed book—or is it original to the book? Scholarship on the handwriting of the

scribe who copied the book and on the disarrangement of the manuscript that must have happened in the seventeenth century has progressed substantially in the last half of the twentieth century and provides a clearer look at the manuscript as a whole.

"Lollai" was not one of the works that Sir James Ware had copied in 1608, nor was it included in Bernard's selective list of the items in the book made in 1697. So the first listing of the "Lollai" lyric is in the British Museum's catalog of the Harley collection after it acquired the collection in 1753. It is listed as item 23: "A Poem upon the Sorrows & deceitfulness of this World. Incip. 'Lollai, etc.'"

Edwin Guest, a Cambridge scholar from the nineteenth century, analyzes both the Latin and Middle English versions of the lullaby. He misidentifies the verses as being written prior to 1300, and ambiguously identifies the Latin as being written in "the rhythmus so often used by Walter Mapes" (513). A corpus of goliardic verses was once thought to be written by Mapes, so it is probable, though not certain, that this is what Guest had in mind. He presents a metrical argument to prove that the Latin is keeping a perfect metrical form, while the Middle English is imperfectly trying to copy it (514). Although his overall conclusions are correct, his analysis of the Latin is strained beyond what is reasonable. Hence it is not surprising that all later scholars on Harley 913 overlook Guest's work on that subject.

Wilhelm Heuser edited an addition of the Middle English material in MS Harley 913 in 1904, entitled *Die Kildare-Gedichte: Die Ältesten Mittelenglischen Denkmäler in Anglo-Irischer Überlieferung*.¹⁰ His thorough commentary on the "Lollai" lyric is still the most comprehensive. Although pieces of information have been added over the last

hundred years, by and large anthologists still summarize Heuser's initial commentary. (For my translation of Heuser's commentary, see Appendix D).

He emphasizes that the poem is the oldest of a series of cradle songs. He asserts that the song is unique in the tradition because of its unusual six-line stanza and because the mother and child are both human. Subsequent lullabies in the tradition are typically in "four-footed" lines and are about the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child (174). Heuser identifies six descendent lyrics that had been published prior to 1904 and another which was unknown at that time from Harley MS 7358.¹¹ He also identifies a Cambridge manuscript which is the probable source of the four lines on "leuedi fortune."¹²

Heuser notes that the lyric is written in long septenarius lines, which are unlike the later lullaby lyrics.¹³ Analyzing the poem's varying uses of the pronoun "he/hit," he constructs a linguistic argument for assuming that the dialect of the scribe and the original language of the poem are from different regions (174). Heuser mentions briefly that a Latin version (f. 63v) of the first two stanzas of the "Lollai" lyric with the same meter and rhyme as the Middle English exists in the same manuscript. The Latin is printed below Heuser's entry for "Lollai" and is included in its commentary. He makes the assumption that the two stanzas of the Latin were written later by a "Mönch, der seine Fertigkeit im Schreiben lat. Verse zeigen wollte" in a spot originally left blank (174). However, he makes a further comment about a note in a later hand on the first page of "Lollai" that appears to refer to the Latin version, but calls it "folio XII." Heuser concludes that the manuscript must have been in a completely different order at some earlier time.

Edmund K. Chambers and Frank Sidgwick's *Early English Lyrics: Amorous, Divine, Moral and Trivial* came out three years later in 1907. Their terse commentary repeats Heuser's citations for "Lollai" and notes that "a fragment of a translation in Latin follows in the MS" (360). They also add a citation for an additional version of the lines about Fortune; MS. 317 in the University Library of Ghent contains both a French and an English version of the lines.

In his more lengthy commentary on "Lollai," Carleton Brown in *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* (1924) echoes Heuser's remarks about the lyric being unusual because of the humanity of the mother and child, and adds a note about a variant in Grimestone's commonplace book (National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.7.21). In his commentary about the lyric with the lines about Fortune, he adds that they also appear in the fourteenth-century compilation, the *Fasciculus Morum* (260).¹⁴ Like Chambers and Sedgwick, Brown is uninterested in Heuser's linguistic and structural observations.

Richard Greene, by contrast, is almost wholly interested in structural matters. The rigid structural definition of a carol which he gives in his seminal work *The Early English Carols* (1935) requires that a song repeat the form of its stanzas throughout and be preceded by a burden that also repeats after every stanza. Greene asserts that the carol form originates as a dance song, although acknowledging that after it had become a dominant song form lyrics from other origins were reshaped into carols. He uses "Lollai" as an example of a lyric that is a "forerunner of the lullaby carol," while not being one itself (Early cxxiv). Greene excludes "Lollai" not because of its rhyme scheme or the length of its lines (although he notes that it is written in long couplets), but rather because

the lyric lacks a "true burden." He notes that the variant in Grimestone's commonplace book is "the same measure and of the same tone," although the child in it is Christ (Early cxxv). Greene briefly traces the progress of non-carol song forms (such as "Lollai") being remade into carols in the fourteenth century, for example Grimestone contains multiple carols, one of which uses the first line of the variant as its burden.

Many scholars, such as Carleton Brown, quibbled with Greene's strict definition of a carol,¹⁵ but over time his definition has been adopted as the academic definition, although the word continues to be used more casually by even such works as the *Oxford Book of Carols*, which cheerfully ignores Greene's structural definition for purposes of making its selections (Keyete and Parrott xii-xvi). Despite the enduring legacy Greene's formal definition has had, his views on the origins of the Middle English carols have been substantially challenged over the years.¹⁶ A heated debate continued throughout the mid-twentieth century in printed scholarship on the carol. In the early years after the publication of *The Early English Carols*, Rossell Hope Robbins (later Greene's chief critic in the carol debates) published a series of articles proposing the inclusion of various lyrics into the classification of "carol," while supporting the essential correctness of Greene's position on the origin of the carol. In one of these early articles, "The Earliest Carols and the Franciscans," Robbins asserts that, despite its lack of a regular burden, "Lollai" is a carol, suggesting that perhaps the burden may have been lost (243). He also mentions the Latin fragment, making the assertion that this "is the only instance where a Franciscan made a Latin carol for the literate, and at the same time a vernacular on the same subject for the lewd" (243).¹⁷

So through a chain of publications and through its similarity to its own descendants, the "Lollai" lyric became linked to the academic discussion about carols, thus discouraging a discussion of its metrical elements which indicate that it was written in (as Heuser hints with his metrical analysis) what was originally a Latin song form.

As part of a series of books published to celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the opening of Maynooth College in 1995, Angela M. Lucas retraced Heuser's work and prepared an edition of the Anglo-Irish texts in Harley 913. She provides a generous introduction, frequently referred to in this thesis, and modern translations for the texts on facing pages with the original. Her commentary follows Heuser's comments about the lyric being the oldest of the lullaby lyrics. She also agrees with his assessment that it is a human mother singing to a human child, rather than the Virgin Mary to the Christ Child, which is prevalent in later versions. She adds Brown's notes about the existence of a close variant in John of Grimestone's common place book and reproduces the lines about Lady Fortune from the *Fasciculus Morum* that seem to be the source for stanza four in "Lollai." She adds new commentary about the purpose of the lullaby device as a means "to lull the listener into a frame of mind where he can accept the harsh words in which the lot of the human child is presented" (*Anglo-Irish Poems* 201). Following Heuser's transcription of the text, she also reproduces the Latin version in the notes for "Lollai," providing a modern English translation.

The overriding commonality in the scholarship to date is that scholars acknowledge the tri-lingual nature of the manuscript, while pursuing research which privileges the Middle English.¹⁸ This thesis hopes to partially fill this gap in the

scholarship on the "Lollai" lyric by examining its relationship to the Latin version and the repercussions this has for thinking about the lineage of the lullaby tradition.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISARRANGEMENT OF THE MANUSCRIPT

In order to answer the questions about the original length of the Latin lullaby in Harley MS 913, it is necessary to determine whether it originally had a second page that was removed at some point. This analysis looks at what is known about the original order of the manuscript and proposes a revised reconstruction.

The manuscript has been rebound at least twice: once sometime after Sir James Ware copied materials out of it in 1608 and again after it came into the British Museum in 1753. It is also highly possible that during or after the life of the scribe, the book may have suffered additional re-bindings. During one of its early re-bindings, some of the manuscript's leaves became disarranged and were sewn back together in that changed order. In addition textual evidence points toward the probability that there are pages missing as well, since several items are missing part of their text. Ware's manuscript also provides proof that pages are missing. Ware copied eleven items out of Harley 913, but five of them are no longer contained within it (Catalogue 417-8).¹⁹ However, by 1697 when Bernard created his selective *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Anglie et Hibernie*, he used foliation numbers²⁰ which are in the same sequence as the British Library's modern listing (Lucas "Introduction" 18). Thus we know that a rebinding

occurred between 1608 and 1697, which caused at least some, if not all of the disarrangement of the current manuscript.

Traditional thought is that the disarrangement and removal of pages happened at the same time. It is indeed more probable that the pages were removed deliberately rather than falling out and that this caused the disordering of the folia. While it is certainly possible for pages to be so damaged that they fall out of a book, the sturdiness of medieval bindings makes this a fairly unlikely scenario in the case of even paper pages, much less vellum (which are made of leather). Hence it seems more likely to posit that the pages were either damaged in some way that made them illegible, or were simply no longer wanted, and were removed deliberately. This process would lead to a certain amount of disorder, but may not account for the movement of bifolia from their correct position within the manuscript to other, obviously incorrect, positions. In addition, some of the bifolia folds have been inverted and then the folia sewn into different quire groupings. As with much else about the manuscript, it may be safer to posit that the process was a series of editorial events, rather than a single one.

The most comprehensive attempt to suggest the original order of Harley 913 is in Angela M. Lucas and Peter J. Lucas's article, "Restructuring a Disarranged Manuscript." They analyze the visible layout and layout markings for each folio to ascertain whether there are trends within the manuscript that would allow the folia to be grouped into booklets.²¹ A booklet is a unit of a manuscript that is "complete in itself, has common if not uniform features of lay-out and presentation, features which distinguish it from adjacent material, and is structurally distinct from that adjacent material" (294).²² Typically a booklet would have been copied from its exemplar as a set piece. Lucas and

Lucas's layout analysis combined with the textual evidence prompts them to propose that several of the bifolia have been removed from their original quires and placed within a different one (39/48, 54/49, 62/63, 52/51, 53/50 and 55/56).²³ In addition, some bifolia have also had their center-folds inverted (294-5). For a visual reference of the current binding of the book, see Table One below.

TABLE ONE: Current Order of Harley 913

Please note that in designating the vellum sides I have used: H = Hide side, F= Flesh side.²⁴

Quire 1

	Fol.	HF	Content	Language
	1r	F	Blank	
	1v	H	Significationes (begin)	Latin
	2r	H	Significationes (end)	
	2v	F	Blank	

Quire 2

	3r	H	Land of Cockaigne (begin)	English
	3v	F	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)	
	4r	H	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)	
	4v	F	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)	
	5r	H	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)	
	5v	F	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)	
	6r	H	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)	
	6v	F	Land of Cockaigne (end) + Five Evil Things	English
	7r	H	Satirical Poems (begin)	English
	7v	F	Satirical Poems (cont.)	
	8r	F	Satirical Poems (cont.)	
	8v	H	Satirical Poems (end)	
	9r	F	Kildare Song (begin)	English
	9v	H	Kildare Song (cont.)	
	10r	F	K-Song (ends) + Abbot of Gloucester's Feast (begins)	Latin
	10v	H	Abbot of Gloucester's Feast (cont.)	
	11r	F	Abbot of Gloucester's Feast (cont.)	
	11v	H	Abbot of Gloucester's Feast (end)	
	12r	F	Hore Sompnolentium (begin)	Latin
	12v	H	Hore Sompnolentium (cont.)	

Quire 3

	13r	F	Hore Sompnolentium (end)	
	13v	H	Missa de Potatoribus (begin)	Latin
	14r	H	Missa de Potatoribus (cont.)	
	14v	F	Missa de Potatoribus (end) + Adnotatio ex Bede	Latin
	15r	F	Monita Moralia	Latin
	15v	H	Three Proverbs + (Bottom half Latin text not in Lucas?)	Fr. +L.
	16r	H	Sarmun (begins)	English
	16v	F	Sarmun (cont.)	
	17r	F	Sarmun (cont.)	
	17v	H	Sarmun (cont.)	
	18r	H	Sarmun (cont.)	
	18v	F	Sarmun (cont.)	
19r	F	Sarmun (cont.)		
19v	H	Sarmun (cont.)		
20r	H	Sarmun (ends) + Fifteen Signs (begins)	English	
20v	F	Fifteen Signs (cont.)		

Quire 4

	21r	F	Fifteen Signs (cont.)	
	21v	H	Fifteen Signs (ends incomplete)	
	22r	H	Sevens Sins (cont. from 48v)	English
	22v	F	Sevens Sins (breaks off mid-page, incomplete)	
	23r	H	Fragmentum de Daemone (begin)	Latin
	23v	F	Fragmentum de Daemone (ends/breaks off mid-page)	
	24r	H	blank	
	24v	F	Narratio Theobaldi (begin)	Latin
	25r	F	Narratio Theobaldi (ends) + Exordium (begins)	Latin
	25v	H	Exordium (end)	
	26r	F	Fragmentum de Indulgentia (begin)	Latin
	26v	H	Fragmentum de Indulgentia (cont.)	
	27r	F	Fragmentum de Indulgentia (cont.)	
	27v	H	Fragmentum de Indulgentia (end)	
	28r	H	Christ on the Cross (begin)	En. + L.
	28v	F	Christ on the Cross (cont.)	

Quire 5

	29r	H	Christ on the Cross (end)	
	29v	F	Fall and Passion (begin)	English
	30r	F	Fall and Passion (cont.)	
	30v	H	Fall and Passion (cont.)	
	31r	H	Fall and Passion (end)	
	31v	F	Ten Commandments (begin)	English
	32r	F	Ten Commandments (end) + Lollai (begin)	+ English
	32v	H	Lollai (end) + Epistola Principis Reg. Gehennalis (begin)	+ Latin
	33r	H	Epistola Principis Reg. Gehennalis (cont.)	
	33v	F	Epistola...Gehennalis (end) + Responsio Dosithei (begin)	+ Latin
	34r	F	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	34v	H	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	35r	H	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	35v	F	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	36r	F	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	36v	H	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	37r	H	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	37v	F	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	38r	F	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	
	38v	H	Responsio Dosithei (cont.)	

Quire 6

	39r	F	Responsio Dosithei (end) + Ejaculatio	+ Latin
	39v	H	Blank	
	40r	F	Troia (begin)	Latin
	40v	H	Troia (end)	
	41r	H	Enumeratio Custodiarum (begin)	Latin
	41v	F	Enumeratio Custodiarum (cont.)	
	42r	F	Enumeratio Custodiarum (cont.)	
	42v	H	Enumeratio Custodiarum (end)	
	43r	H	De f. Pauli + Num. Annorum	Latin
	43v	F	Responsio Dei ad b. Franciscum + De Civitate Bab. (begin)	+ Latin
	44r	F	De Civitate Babyloniae (end)	
	44v	H	Song of the Times (begins)	English
	45r	H	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	45	F	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	46r	F	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	46v	H	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	47r	H	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	47v	F	Song of the Times (cont. on 52r)	
	48r	H	Seven Sins (begin)	English
	48v	F	Seven Sins (cont. on 22r)	

Quire 7

	49r	F	Virtutes et Peccata (begin)	Latin
	49v	H	Virtutes et Pec. (end) + De Muliere + Versus (incomplete?)	+ Latin
	50r	F	Piers de Bermingham (begin)	English
	50v	H	Piers de Bermingham (cont.)	
	51r	H	Piers de Bermingham (cont.)	
	51v	F	Piers de Bermingham (end)	
	52r	F	Song of the Times (cont. from 47v)	English
	52v	H	Song of the Times (end) + De illuminatione Lib. (begin)	+ Latin
	53r	H	De illuminatione Lib. (cont.)	
	53v	F	De illuminatione Lib. (ends) + Prophetia (ends)	+ Latin
	54r	H	blank	
	54v	F	Elde (begins, cont. on 62r)	English

Quire 8

	55r	F?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont. from 61v)	French
	55v	H?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont.)	
	56r	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont.)	
	56v	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (end)	
	57r	F	Contra Monachos	Latin
	57v	H	Pecham: Meditatio de Corpore Christi	Latin
	58r	H	Repentance of Love	English
	58v	F	Nego	English
	59r	F	Contra iniquos (begin)	Latin
	59v	H	Contra iniquos (end)	
	60r	H	Passio unius Monachi (begin)	Latin
	60v	F	Passio unius Monachi (end) + Hospitalitus Monachorum	Latin

Binding strip attached to two loose folia

Quire 9

}	61r	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont. from 64)	French
	61v	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont. to 55)	
	62r	?	Elde (cont. from 54v, ends here) + Earth (begin)	English
	62v	?	Earth (cont.)	
	63r	?	Earth (cont.)	
	63v	?	Earth (end) + Lolla	+ Latin
	64r	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (beginning)	French
	64v	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont. to 61r)	

Lucas and Lucas conclude that there are five distinct booklets (with two bifolia left over) within Harley 913. These correspond fairly closely to the towns with which the manuscript is associated. Of the five, two booklets contain material associated with Kildare, one contains material associated with New Ross, one contains predominantly poems with associations outside of Ireland, and one has material associated with Waterford (298).²⁵ They acknowledge, however, that this structure leaves two bifolia unresolved, and does not fix the continuity problem in the text of "Seven Sins." Nor do they discuss the possible missing second page of the Latin fragment, "Lolla, Lolla" (f. 63v).

Reconstruction Based on the Text, Booklet Similarities, and Vellum Fold-patterns.

The following analysis of the manuscript attempts to resolve these remaining puzzles about the original order of the folia by looking at the text itself, the "booklet" evidence brought forward by Lucas and Lucas, an assessment of the vellum fold-patterns that appear in the manuscript, and the order of the items copied from it in MS Landsdowne 418. I have prioritized textual continuity above the other three criteria, but in almost all cases, they can be made to agree on the identification of locations within the manuscript where bifolia have been moved, and the order in which the folia must once have been. See Table Two below for a diagram of my proposed reconstruction.

Vellum Fold Pattern Analysis

Vellum, made from the skin of a calf, obviously has two sides: a hair-side and a flesh-side. The hair-side is generally more colored and has more texture. It is the side considered more valuable for writing since the surface has a better "tooth" to it, which holds ink very well. In contrast, the flesh-side of vellum is waxy and smoother, but does not hold ink or paint as well (Lovett). Since vellum destined to be a writing surface is bleached and highly processed by scraping and sanding, it is often difficult to tell which side is which. However, Harley 913's vellum is not the perfectly processed center section of the hide. Many of its leaves are cut from the extreme edges of the hide, identifiable because one edge of a bifolium is thicker than the other. In addition, the pages have been handled for almost 700 years. In many places in the manuscript the original "grain" on the hide-side of the vellum is visible because the surface has been soiled enough to darken the grain, but not soiled enough to make the page uniformly dark.

The identification of hide-side and flesh-side is fraught with the potential for errors. In working with the manuscript, I have attempted to identify each folio without reference to the other half of the bifolium. This gave me four surfaces to evaluate. When I was unsure of an identification, I made a note of it. When I collated the information for each bifolium, I was surprised at how few conflicts I found. The two surfaces of the vellum are distinct enough throughout for most of the manuscript to be identified. The exceptions were the bifolia 62/63, 64/61, and 55/56, for which I was unable to make a clear identification. Possibly the vellum of these bifolia was prepared differently than the rest of the manuscript, or the pages are older (they are certainly in poorer condition), or perhaps a brighter light source might be needed in order to make an identification.

What emerges from this data are two distinct fold-patterns. In the first, the bifolia in a quire are folded so that the hide-sides always face flesh-sides. For example folio 3r is hide-side, f. 3v is flesh-side, f. 4r (which faces f. 3v) is hide-side, etc.²⁶ The second pattern has the bifolia folded so that the hide-sides are together and, consequently, the flesh-sides face each other. An example of this second pattern would be f. 29r is hide-side, f. 29v is flesh-side, f.30r (which faces f. 29v.) is flesh-side, with the next two sides being hide, and the next two flesh, etc. Another aspect of the patterns is that the inside bifolium of each quire has the flesh sides facing each other.²⁷ In general, the latter fold pattern is more common in medieval manuscripts. It is also more common for a manuscript to have one fold pattern, rather than two, which might suggest that the quires may not all have been originally bound together in the same book. However, since the fold pattern would be consistent within each quire, even if it varied between quires, the vellum fold patterns give another clue to establishing the original page order of Harley MS 913. And indeed, the fold patterns are broken in the same spots where the text indicates that there are missing or disarranged pages. Except for these spots, the patterns remain consistent throughout an entire quire.

Identifying the vellum sides cannot give positive information about where the misplaced folia were originally in Harley 913, but in certain instances it does allow one to identify locations where the folia have been disrupted. It also provides another criterion to use when checking whether it is possible that a bifolium belongs in a different position within the manuscript.

Using this additional criterion to look at the structure of the manuscript confirms many of Lucas and Lucas's assertions based on their page-layout observations. For

example, they argue that because the bifolium 39/48 lacks the prick-marks used for line layout in the rest of Quire 6, it must originally have been in a different position within the manuscript (294). As can be seen below, the vellum fold-pattern for Quire 6 bears out the fact that 39/48 is indeed an interloper.

Quire 6:

39r	39v	40r	40v	41r	41v	42r	42v	43r	43v	44r	44v	45r	45v	46r	46v	47r	47v	48r	48v
F	H	F	H	H	F	F	H	H	F	F	H	H	F	F	H	H	F	H	F

The inclusion of f. 48 in Quire 6 also causes discontinuity in the text of one of its items. "Seven Sins" begins on 48r and continues through 48v. The text then continues onto 22r (in Quire 4). Although Lucas and Lucas identify that the bifolium does not belong where it is, they acknowledge that their proposed reconstruction of the manuscript does not fix the discontinuity.

If one prioritizes the text as a criterion, then this particular bifolium does not fit within either Quire 6 or Quire 4. However, it is necessary for f. 22r to follow f. 48v for the poem's text to be sequential. Lucas and Lucas take a stance whereby they disrupt the existing manuscript as little as possible in their reconstruction and speculate on the missing pages only in very general terms. However, a possible solution is readily available if one is willing to postulate that the problem may be caused by missing pages. Bifolium 39/48 appears to be the outside bifolium of a quire whose other bifolia are missing and are no longer within Harley 913. My own reconstruction largely agrees with the reconstruction of Lucas and Lucas; my changes are based on my willingness to make informed guesses about where pages appear to be missing, and my inclusion of the two

additional criteria of vellum fold-patterns and the order of the copied items in MS Landsdowne 418.²⁸

As has been noted earlier, in 1608 Sir James Ware had ten items copied from Harley MS 913 into a manuscript which is now called MS Landsdowne 418. Five of these items are now missing. All of the surviving materials are contained in Quires 7, 8, and 9. Although Ware's selections are not contiguous, they do appear to have been copied in the same sequential order they were in at that time. In the current disarranged manuscript, this is still fairly clear. As one of the few possible guides to the order of the more problematic quires, I have used Ware's order as the last of my criteria in determining folio sequence within Harley 913. As it turns out, this can be done without disturbing the continuity of any of the texts. The one oddity that it introduces is a quire of six bifolia (Quire H in Table Two). Four or five bi-folia are more common groupings in the quires of medieval books. However, variation in the number of leaves per quire within the same manuscript is not unusual.

My reconstruction assumes that the scribe of Harley 913 wrote the text of the pieces in order initially, the quires he procured were folded into consistent vellum fold-patterns, and that the missing pages were probably removed for a reason, rather than merely being lost. Any of these assumptions might be untrue in a given circumstance; however, they are normative and are more likely to be true than not.²⁹ Table Two shows proposed locations for missing folia. However, these are not meant to be definitely prescriptive but are examples of how the manuscript might have been ordered originally. Since we know that there are items missing, part of the task of reordering the manuscript

is determining not only the order of the items that are in Harley MS 913, but also the locations in the manuscript where items are missing.

TABLE TWO: A Proposed New Reconstruction of Harley 913

Quire A -Endpapers (*Quire 1*)

Fol.	HF	Content
1r	F	Blank (Originally glued to inside book board)
1v	H	Significationes (begin)
2r	H	Significationes (end)
2v	F	Blank

**Landsdowne
MS 418**

Quire B (*Quire 2*)

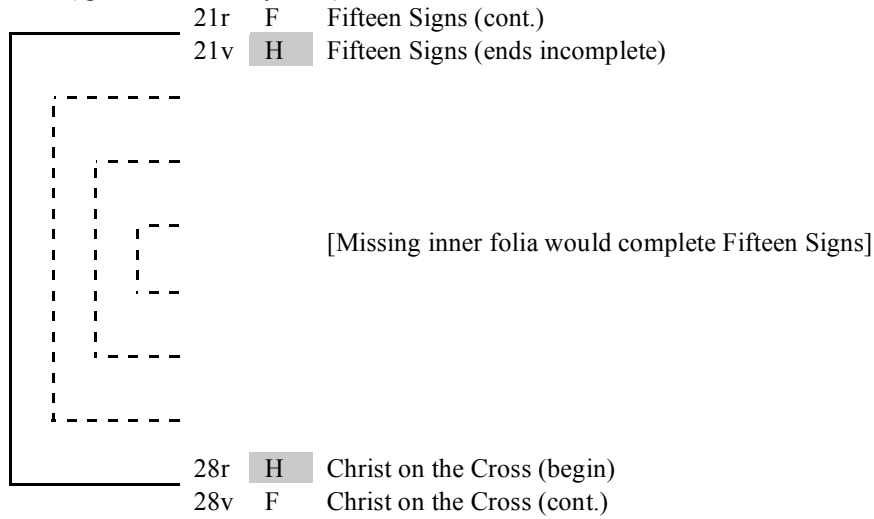
3r	H	Land of Cockaigne (begin)
3v	F	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)
4r	H	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)
4v	F	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)
5r	H	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)
5v	F	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)
6r	H	Land of Cockaigne (cont.)
6v	F	Land of Cockaigne (end) + Five Evil Things
7r	H	Satirical Poems (begin)
7v	F	Satirical Poems (cont.)
8r	F	Satirical Poems (cont.)
8v	H	Satirical Poems (end)
9r	F	Kildare Song (begin)
9v	H	Kildare Song (cont.)
10r	F	K-Song (ends) + Abbot of Gloucester's Feast (begins)
10v	H	Abbot of Gloucester's Feast (cont.)
11r	F	Abbot of Gloucester's Feast (cont.)
11v	H	Abbot of Gloucester's Feast (end)
12r	F	Hore Sompnolentium (begin)
12v	H	Hore Sompnolentium (cont.)

Quire C (*Quire 3*)

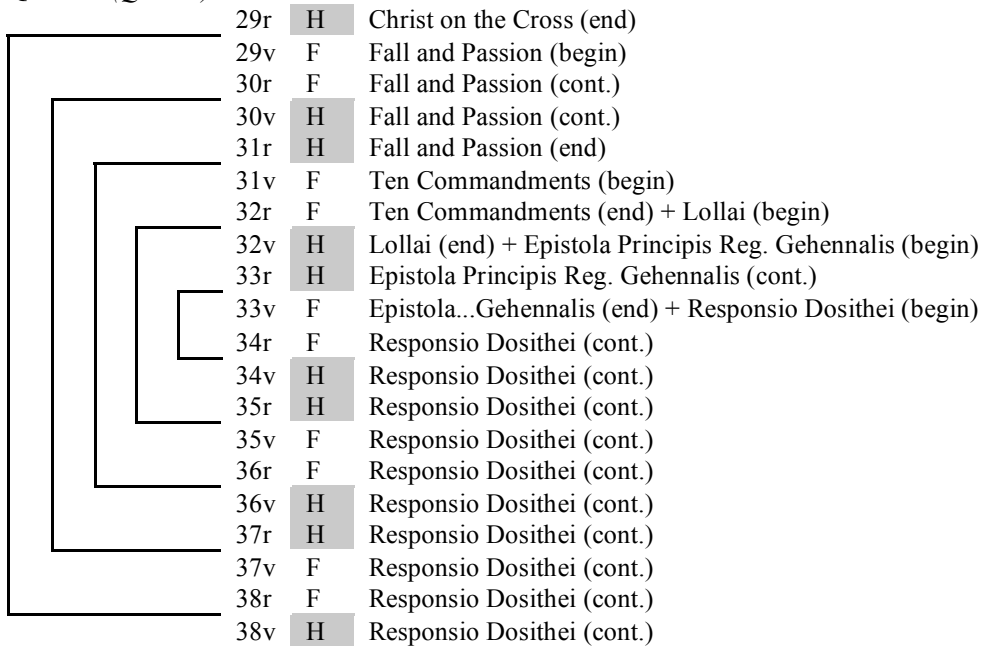
13r	F	Hore Sompnolentium (end)
13v	H	Missa de Potatoribus (begin)
14r	H	Missa de Potatoribus (cont.)
14v	F	Missa de Potatoribus (end) + Adnotatio ex Bede
15r	F	Monita Moralia
15v	H	Three Proverbs + (A few lines in Latin)
16r	H	Sarmun (begins)
16v	F	Sarmun (cont.)
17r	F	Sarmun (cont.)
17v	H	Sarmun (cont.)
18r	H	Sarmun (cont.)
18v	F	Sarmun (cont.)
19r	F	Sarmun (cont.)
19v	H	Sarmun (cont.)
20r	H	Sarmun (ends) + Fifteen Signs (begins)
20v	F	Fifteen Signs (cont.)

Continued on next page

Quire D (*Quire 4's outer bifolium*)

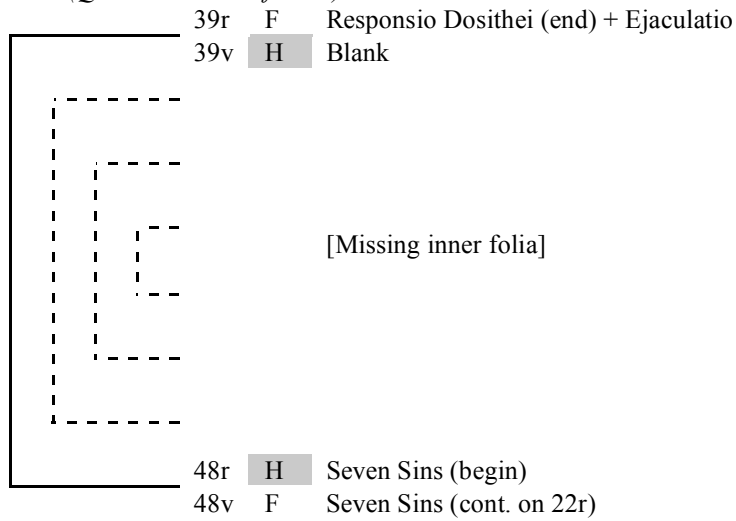


Quire E (*Quire 5*)

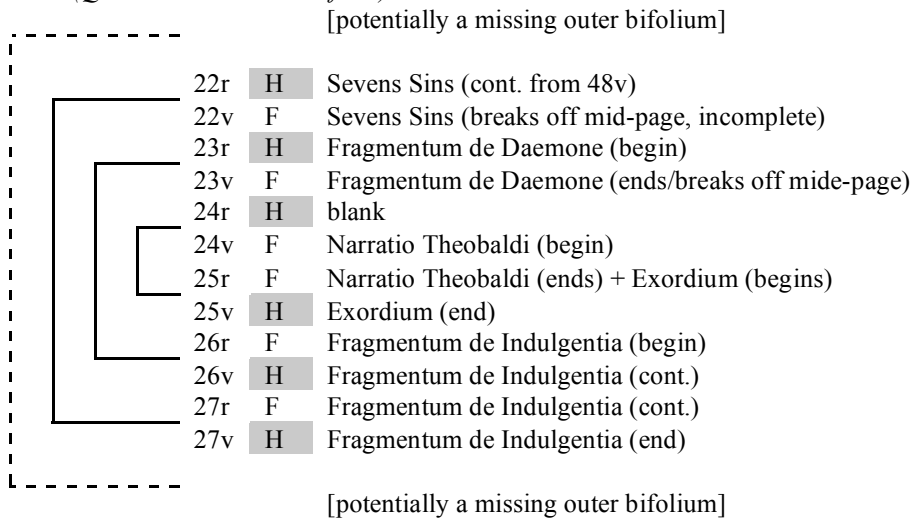


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Quire F (*Quire 6's outer bifolium*)



Quire G (*Quire 4's inner three bifolia*)



Continued on next page

Quire H (*Quire 7's inner two bifolium + Quire 6's inner 4 bifolium*)

	50r	F	Piers de Bermingham (begin)	#29
	50v	H	Piers de Bermingham (cont.)	
	51r	H	Piers de Bermingham (cont.)	
	51v	F	Piers de Bermingham (end)	
	40r	F	Troia (begin)	
	40v	H	Troia (end)	
	41r	H	Enumeratio Custodiarum (begin)	
	41v	F	Enumeratio Custodiarum (cont.)	
	42r	F	Enumeratio Custodiarum (cont.)	
	42v	H	Enumeratio Custodiarum (end)	
	43r	H	De f. Pauli + Num. Annorum	
	43v	F	Responsio Dei...Franciscum + De Civitate Bab. (begin)	
	44r	F	De Civitate Babyloniae (end)	
	44v	H	Song of the Times (begins)	
	45r	H	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	45	F	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	46r	F	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	46v	H	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	47r	H	Song of the Times (cont.)	
	47v	F	Song of the Times (cont. on 52r)	
	52r	F	Song of the Times (cont. from 47v)	
	52v	H	Song of the Times (end) + De illuminatione Lib. (begin)	
	53r	H	De illuminatione Lib. (cont.)	
	53v	F	De illuminatione Lib. (ends) + Prophetia (ends)	#30

Quire I (*Quire 7's outer bifolium + Quire 9's inner bifolium*)

			[potential missing folio]
			[potential missing folio]
	54r	H	blank
	54v	F	Elde (begins)
	62r	H?	Elde (ends) + Earth (begin)
	62v	F?	Earth (cont.)
	63r	F?	Earth (cont.)
	63v	H?	Earth (end) + Lolla
	49r	F	Virtutes et Peccata (begin)
	49v	H	Virtutes et Pec. (end) + De Muliere + Versus (incomplete?)
			[potential missing folio]
			[potential missing folio]

Continued on next page

Quire J (*Quire 8's inner two bifolium*)

	(h)	[possible missing folio]	(#31?)
	(f)		
57r	F	Contra Monachos	#32
57v	H	Pecham: Meditatio de Corpore Christi	
	(h)	[possible missing folio]	
	(f)		
	(f)	[missing folio/ attached to the missing red ink folio below]	
	(h)		
58r	H	Repentance of Love	
58v	F	Nego	
59r	F	Contra iniquos (begin)	
59v	H	Contra iniquos (end)	
	(h)	[missing folio with red ink, which faded onto 59v]	
	(f)		
	(f)	[possible missing folio]	
	(h)		
60r	H	Passio unius Monachi (begin)	#33
60v	F	Passio unius Monachi (end) + Hospitalitus Monachorum	
	(f)		
	(h)	[possible missing folio]	

Quire K (*Quire 8's two separated folia + Quire 9 outer bifolium*)

		[potential missing folio]	
			(#34?)
		[missing half of bifolium attached to 55]	(#35?)
		[missing half of bifolium attached to 56]	
64r	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (begin)	#36
64v	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont. to 61r)	
61r	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont. from 64)	
61v	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont. to 55)	
55r	F?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont. from 61v)	
55v	H?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont.)	
56r	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (cont.)	
56v	?	Entrenchement of New Ross (end)	
			(#37?)
		[potential missing folio]	(#38?)

Notes for Table Two

Criteria Used: This reconstruction is based on the continuity of the text, layout

observations made by Lucas and Lucas, the continuity of vellum fold-patterns, and the order of the items copied in MS Landsdowne 418.

Layout Observations: made by Lucas and Lucas are discussed as needed in the individual quire notes below.

Vellum Fold-patterns: are marked in the HF column as follows: Hide-side is marked as "H," flesh-side as "F." Where identification is unsure a "?" is used. Missing folia (of which I am fairly certain) are marked with (h) or (f) as would best complete the vellum fold pattern. Conjectural missing folia that are possible but not necessary are left blank.

MS Landsdowne 418: The selections copied from Harley MS 913 by Sir James Ware into MS Landsdowne 418 in 1608 appear to have been copied in order. The item numbers from L-418 (#29-38) are used in the table above. When listing the Landsdowne manuscript's items in sequence has required reordering the Harley 913 folia (as in the case of 50/53 and 51/52), I have made sure that the change accords with the text, the layout pattern, and the vellum fold-pattern. The result is that all the items from the Landsdowne manuscript can be accommodated in the order they were copied.

Quire A: It is very likely that these are endpapers bound in with folia to act as a "hinge" for the book. F. 1r would have been glued to the inside board of the cover. It is common for endpapers sewn into books to rip along the fold, as this one has done.

Quires B-G: These correspond to Lucas and Lucas's "Booklet 2." The only significant change I have made is to move f. 22–27 to their own quire (G). This allows the text of "Seven Sins" on f. 22r to continue where it leaves off on f. 48v. However Quires B, C, & E remain in the same order that they are in the manuscript. The

vellum fold-patterns for this group are as follows: B=alternating HF, C= hides and flesh-sides face each other, (HHFF), D= unknown, E= HHFF, F= unknown, G= alternating HF.

Quire H: This corresponds to Lucas and Lucas's "Booklet 3," although they leave f. 50/53 and 51/52 as a separate quire within the booklet. However, retaining this booklet as two quires requires inverting the folds of these folia and consequently inverting the order of the items copied to the Lansdowne manuscript. If f. 50/53 and 51/52 are wrapped around the inner four bifolium of Quire 6 the text continuity is preserved while removing Lucas and Lucas's necessity of postulating that the folds of those two bifolium have been inverted. (Certainly not an unheard-of practice, but one that would have been more work for the re-binder and would have weakened the vellum at the fold-line.) Lucas and Lucas's layout observations show that these six bifolia were laid out with the same pricking and rules, which none of the other folia in the manuscript match. In addition, if these two partial quires are combined as a quire of six, the vellum fold-pattern presents a consistent HHFF pattern. Finally, this structure also retains the sequential order of items #29 and 30, copied from Harley MS 913 into the Lansdowne manuscript.

Quire I: This corresponds to Lucas and Lucas's "Booklet 4, " whose grouping is the same as in Table Two. The outer bifolium has to be inverted on its fold in order to make the texts flow correctly. (So while it is not a "best practice" the re-binder must have employed this technique in this instance.) "Lola," at the bottom of f. 63v is the variant which shares the same poetic form and line-by-line content of the Middle English, "Lollai" lyric on f.32. Since the Middle English version has six

stanzas in it, this raises the expectation that the Latin version might have originally been of a similar length. However, the Latin is only two stanzas long. Since the other item in this folio ("Erth" f. 62r), which begins at the bottom of the page with a ruled line above it, continues onto the next page, it is possible to postulate that there is a lost folio between f. 63v and f. 64r. However, this would necessarily add a folio in the middle of "Elde" between f. 54v 62r. The page break at that point in "Elde" (like many in the manuscript) does not strongly indicate whether a folio is missing there or not. In her commentary, Lucas notes that the theme of "Elde" is similar to other penitential works which describe the deterioration of the body in old age and the grave ([Anglo-Irish Poems](#) 210). However, unlike "Erth" which has 24 versions in other manuscripts, "Elde" does not have variants to compare with Harley MS 913 ([Anglo-Irish Poems](#) 215). Since the vellum fold-pattern is indeterminate, the only source of evidence for a missing bifolium has to come from the clues in the text itself. If there is a missing folio, it would come between the AAB section and the CCB section of the seventh stanza, which are laid out in the manuscript as they are below:

- f. 54v (A) Now I pirtle I pofte I poute,
 (A) I snurpe, I snobbe, I sneipe on snovte,
 (B) Throgh kund I comble and kelde.
- f. 62r (C) I lench I len on lyme I lesse, (B) As gallith gome igeld.
 (C) I poke I pimple I palle I passe

The fact that the folio following that potential page-break matches the rhyme scheme seems to indicate that there was never an additional folio there. However, it is less conclusive than it would at first appear. If the missing folio maintained

the same 28 line count per page as f.62r, then the pages would always end with a break in the middle of a stanza between AAB and CCB. Additionally, although f. 62r provides an appropriate B-rhyme ("igeld" to rhyme with "kelde" from 54v), it must be pointed out that this is a common rhyme-ending in the poem. Since -elde is an ending that matches the theme word of the poem "elde," it is used extensively throughout. (It is the internal caesural rhyme in stanza one, and the B-rhyme in stanzas seven, eight, and ten.) Although the arguments for either position are not conclusive, it is more likely that "Lola" was only two stanzas long in the original and there is no additional folio, despite the fact that there is a Middle English version of the same song with four additional stanzas in the same manuscript. The analysis of the final four stanzas of the Middle English version in Chapter Six supports this interpretation as well.

Quire J: These two bifolia are left unassigned by Lucas and Lucas, and indeed, although I have placed them together and shown how a HHFF vellum fold-pattern might be proposed if the quire were originally composed of five bifolia, there is no strong evidence to support this either in the text or the layout. Bifolium 57/60 must be between Quire I and K in order to keep the Landsdowne items in sequential order. However the interior bifolium 58/59 has been left with 57/60 merely because the manuscript in its current condition has them so. However, as this is in a very disordered portion of the manuscript, this is no real argument for its location. On f. 59v there is a faded red ink stain that appears to have transferred to that page from the facing page. However, although there is an even fainter transfer of the ink onto f. 60r (from f. 59v), there is no original source for the red ink. I have

conjectured, therefore, that there is at least one missing folio that originally followed 59v, and that this missing folio had writing in an unstable red ink which transferred onto 59v while it was lying next to it, and the ink has since transferred to 60r after the manuscript was rebound into its current configuration.

Quire K: This corresponds to "Booklet 5" in Lucas and Lucas, although they show them as two single-bifolium quires, one of which must be refolded backwards in order to make the text of "The Entrenchment of New Ross" read in sequential order. However, since f. 55 and 56 are single folia that lie side by side in the manuscript (both attached to a modern binding strip in order to be sewn onto the cords of the spine), it would seem more natural to assume that they are both missing the other half of their bifolia, rather than to assume that they were once attached to each other (as is proposed in Lucas and Lucas's reconstruction). By assuming that they are the remnants of two bifolia, it is still possible for the text of "Entrenchment" to proceed in order. The missing halves of the two bifolia are then also in the correct location to have contained two of the missing items (#34 and 35), copied to the Lansdowne manuscript. I have shown this quire in Table Two with a conjectural extra outer bifolium. However, there is no hard evidence for adding it, other than quires of three are less common than quires of four or five in most medieval manuscripts.

The Purposes of the Re-binder

Although beyond the purpose of this thesis, it is possible that a careful examination of the complete texts which share a bifolium with a partial text might reveal

something about the criteria the re-binder used when culling out unwanted or damaged folia. A close look at the items on the attached halves of bifolia which have items which are disarranged, inverted, or incomplete might yield an idea of what the re-binder was choosing to keep. For example, 49/54 seems to have been moved and inverted in order to place a complete copy of "Virtutes et Peccata" at the beginning of Quire 7. The material on the other half of the bifolium, the beginning of "Elde," is necessarily disarranged. Apparently, the re-binder was trying to save "Virtutes" and was willing to sacrifice "Elde." The fact that the manuscript has another half page of "Elde" on f. 62r, appears to be due to the fact that it attached to the more widely known poem "Erth," which is complete and in the correct order within the manuscript. This might be another small argument for postulating that there may be pages missing in "Elde," since it is apparently one of the items deliberately sacrificed by the re-binder. "Lola," at the bottom of the last page of "Erth," can then also be seen as a text that was included merely because it shared a page with the item that the re-binder was intentionally keeping. A further study might reveal a pattern to what material was kept, and what was sacrificed. Was a seventeenth-century aesthetic used in the selection? Were post-reformation criteria used? Was the first half of the manuscript (which is virtually intact), combined with extra material from the same friar's collection? Or were some of the pages simply damaged beyond repair?

Folia 55 and 56 are loose folia that have become separated from the "mates" in their bifolium. The two comprise the ending of "Entrenchement of New Ross," and are both heavily stained and in poor condition. In the modern binding, the two are attached to a strip of library paper and sewn in with the other bifolium in Quire 8. Since in all other instances the rebinder(s) chose to keep extraneous material for the sake of keeping a

bifolium intact (in order to be able to sew it), we must assume that either he did so in this case as well (and the pages were so badly damaged that they fell out and were discarded), or they were already so damaged at the time of rebinding that he discarded them and attached them to a binding strip, which the British Museum bindery duplicated and replaced with modern materials when it rebound the book in the eighteenth century.³⁰

Further Study

A previous foliation for the manuscript placed "Lola" on XII, as is evidenced by the note on "Lollai," "*Require ista in Latino XII folio.*" That numbering system might have meant either page 12 (as we modernly number pages) or folio 12 (meaning either page 24 or 25). In either case it would mean that Quire I was once much closer to the front of the manuscript than it currently is. Since its position would be completely speculative, I have not attempted to re-sequence the quires in my diagram; however it is possible to reorder the existing quires into the following order without disturbing the texts or the Landsdowne numbering: Quire A, I, H, J, K, B–G. This places all the Landsdowne material near the beginning of the manuscript. However, it is as reasonable to hypothesize that quires H–K and B–G may not have all been from the same manuscript originally.

CHAPTER FIVE

"LOLA, LOLA:" AN ANALYSIS OF THE LATIN LULLABY

As is the case with many medieval lyrics, the punctuation of the two stanzas of the Latin "Lola" is initially puzzling. However when the usage is placed in the context of medieval scribal practice, it clearly marks the golliardic song form and also reveals certain elements of the music that once went with it. A transcription and translation of "Lola" can be found in Appendix B. The punctuation of the manuscript has not been altered in the transcription. See Figure 1 below for a reproduction of the manuscript page.

Classical and Medieval Punctuation Uses

Punctuation in a medieval text is often ignored or replaced by the modern editor. Although this is a necessary practice in preparing a text for a modern reader, it also can obscure certain elements of the text that would have been clear to the original medieval reader. Both the Latin and Middle English versions of the lullaby contain punctuation that seems to make little sense grammatically but is very similar to each other. In order to interpret the marks, it is necessary to delve into the practices current at the time of the scribe.

M.B. Parkes' *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* gives an excellent overview of the marks that can be found in manuscripts, as well as the historical context in which they were used. According to Parkes, prior to the

sixth century, written texts were seldom punctuated by the scribe who copied them. It was assumed that an educated aristocrat would be reading the text aloud, and that he would have been trained in interpreting the text for himself. A reader might add marks to the originally "neutral" text to indicate where pauses should be observed for emphasis, but only a child would need the marks written out in the original text. The marks then were performance notes for an oral recitation, rather than an aid to grammar and sense. Indeed, from the second to the sixth centuries, the Romans wrote their texts *scriptio continua*—without spaces between the words in each section of text. This practice allowed the reader a much greater freedom to make judgments about the text than modern writing practices. As Roman culture began to crumble, so did the educational system that had fostered such a system. The Christian church in particular had a much broader array of social castes and educational backgrounds. Hence more assistance was needed in reading texts, and so word spacing and punctuation became more common (10-15). Several systems of punctuation arose, which by the twelfth century had amalgamated into a commonly-used set of punctuation. However, the specific meaning that each mark had had in the various earlier systems was forgotten, and the marks began to be used in a utilitarian manner as best suited each text. So, though the same marks were used to aid a singer chanting the liturgy, as well as a reader, the marks in any particular manuscript must be looked at in the context of that particular manuscript (41). Thus, punctuation's origins lay more in the performance of a text, rather than in marking grammatical structures. Even the later systems, which had largely consolidated by the twelfth century, used marks of punctuation for a much broader range of purposes than can be seen in modern usage.

Application to "Lola, Lola"

Keeping in mind the medieval scribe's dual use of punctuation as a means to mark the pauses and change of cadence in liturgical music/chant, and also as a means of marking pauses in a text to be read in a speaking voice, the punctuation in "Lola" becomes more comprehensible. The majority of its punctuation is restricted to the *punctus* (which looks like a modern period, although it is used at varying heights³¹) and the double *punctus* (which looks like a modern colon.) Examples can be seen in the reproduction of "Lola" below, which occupies the lower third of the folio.

Double *Punctus*: 4th line of "Lola," between the words *exules* and *nex'ant*

Low *Punctus*: 8th line, after the last word *vegeta'tes*.

Medial *Punctus*: 1st line, after the word *puule* and also at the end of the line.

FIGURE 1: Folio 63v of MS Harley 913

Ery bilo castles. a' erpe bilr toures.
 Whan ery is on erpe. blak bey ye loures.
Quon' qrit plim sup humū to
 hum' ē mar' tu i q' lūmal do na.
 aie hī fannul s' humū pro
 domi di p'ea mdo cū coro
Opt' t'et edific ac castra de p' r'is.
 qū factū capi penora f' te
Spenk man i lond. ou pi last ende
 whar of pou cō. a' whoder schatou Wend
 make ye wel at on. Whij hi p' il so hend.
 a' dres ye of ye dome. lest sui ye s' hend.
For his King of blis. a' mon of moch mede
 p' delli ye dū sū m'it. a' leuy lif a' dede.
De sine nouissim. m'andis medite
 huc q' uciut me die q' g' die r'is
 m'it p' d'assim cōcordare de
 Hesides iudic. ne uoxū d'ipue
A' rex ē gli. a' dant iūfura rest ar
 mutat noctē d'edi. vitā mortē prest am

Lolla lolla puule. ē flet tū amare.
 Opt' te plingē. nūō suspirare
 te dolere g'uit. decet uegetare
 ut p' d'et exules. ueiant ignare
 Lolla lolla puule. nūō m'ido t'eti.
 i' cū cū m'arino. dolore ueisti.
 a' m'et f' bestie. p' uel fluctuantes
 cūte g'oze. cūte uegetat'el.
 i' d' m'ig'ne. m'it' r' f'antol
 i' d' m'it' m'ig'ne. m'it' r' f'antol

The low *punctus* placed on the baseline appears to be used by this scribe to indicate the end of a completed thought, much the way we would use a modern period. He uses the medial *punctus* to mark a caesura which occurs in the middle of each line, as well as to occasionally mark the end of a line or to set off an abbreviated word. The double *punctus*³² appears to mark the end of a verbal unit, but not the end of a completed thought (which is reserved for the low *punctus*).

The low-*punctus* and double-*punctus* are used at points in the text where an oral pause would indicate a parallel syntactical break. They are used in ways that are similar enough to their modern counterparts to be recognizable as punctuation. The medial *punctus*, although much more boldly drawn, does not mirror any grammatical structure of the text but rather emphasizes the verse's form. Since marks of punctuation in a text are used in liturgical chant to signal a change of cadence or tone, it is reasonable to assume that the heavily-marked caesura may also be marking where a musical phrase ends and a new one begins.

As it turns out, this heavily-marked caesura is not unique to Harley 913. Elizabeth Solopova, in an article on the punctuation of Harley MS 2253, points out that the verses that are written in long lines invariably have a caesura that breaks the line into two halves. She notes that there is often rhyme at the caesura as well as the line-ending, causing modern editors to sometimes break each line into two lines, creating four line stanzas that rhyme ABAB, rather than accurately showing the lines as rhymed couplets with internal rhymes at the caesuras (378-85). Interestingly, although punctuation is also used in Harley MS 2253 to mark the caesura it is a different mark of punctuation. MS 2253 uses a *punctus elevatus* (which looks like a sideways comma above a *punctus*) to

mark the caesura and a *virgula* (which looks like a forward slash) to mark the end of the lines. The *punctus elevatus* does not occur in the Latin "Lola" at all. However the Kildare scribe uses it to mark the first and last lines' caesurae in the first stanza of "Lollai," but reverts to his usual practice of marking the internal line break with a *medial punctus* in the other lines. Although the two marks are from different punctuation systems originally, they had both been used to mark shifts in cadence in chant for liturgical texts. Both appear to be marking their lyrics to make clear the underlying musical structure—essentially an aid to reading the text while singing it.

This argument is strengthened by looking at another manuscript whose purpose, like that of Harley 913, was utilitarian rather than aesthetic. In Cambridge University Library MS Ff.1.17(1)³³ the *medial punctus* is used as a general rule to mark the end of verse lines and caesurae whenever the text appears without music, but is largely absent from text that is written with musical notation. For example, the sequence "Dissoluta Glatia" has space left above the text for music to be added, but it was not filled in at the time that the text was put in (Stevens Later 173). The two lines of text below where the staff lines and neumes would presumably have been added are left unpunctuated, but the text that would have been left without musical notation is punctuated to show the end of each hemistich. This continues for a stanza and a half, and then becomes intermittent. The *medial punctus* would appear then to be used only through enough lines to firmly establish the phrasing of the (un-written) melody. By the third stanza (which would actually start a new melody), the musician must have felt sure that he would have the phrasing down pat enough to perform without the need of additional punctuation. In contrast, the song, "Ecce Torpet," which has musical notation above it, does not use the

medial punctus or any form of punctuation to mark its caesurae. The manuscript's rule of punctuation, therefore, does not seem based on a particular usage that is rigidly enforced in all similar textual instances, but rather it is used as needed to make sure that the structure of the words can be aligned with the structure of the melody.³⁴ Apparently, when there are musical notes present, the punctuation is unnecessary.

Despite being created a hundred years earlier, MS Ff.1.17(1), dated 1180-1230, shares an almost identical sense of punctuation with "Lola" from Harley 913. This is perhaps less surprising when one realizes that the two examples I have cited from that manuscript are also written in the same song meter as "Lolla." All three are written in goliardic meter lines, a structural form that was popular in Latin lyric from the early Middle Ages up through the demise of Latin as a viable language for non-liturgical songs in the fourteenth century. "Lola" then is in the transition period when Latin is being replaced in lyric compositions by the vernacular languages. This view of the lullaby sheds a very different light on the Middle English version, which is so closely linked to "Lola." It is normally seen as the beginning of the lullaby carol tradition in Middle English, rather than a composition in a Latin goliardic meter song form. However, the long lines in "Lollai" and its nearly identical punctuation with "Lola" clearly show that the two are set to the same music.

Goliardic Meter

"Lola, Lola" has seldom been studied by scholars, and aside from Guest and Heuser, no one has speculated on its metrical structure. (See Appendix D for my translation of Heuser's commentary.) Guest identifies the meter ambiguously as being in

"the rhythmus so often used by Walter Mapes" (513). As there is a corpus of goliardic verses that were at one time attributed to Mapes, it is possible that he is referring to whatever meter those songs were identified as in the 1880s. Whatever the meter was called, he assumes that it is a pattern of four stresses in the first hemistich and three stresses in the second, the two halves being separated clearly by a mark of punctuation (514). Guest privileges alternating stresses (iambic or trochaic) over triple meters that add additional unstressed syllables (such as dactyls). He refers dismissively to the latter as "tumbling metre." It appears that because of this bias in his reading of Middle English verse that he attempts to scan "Lola" in a way that will minimize any triple meters. Guest forces the Latin into regular trochaic feet, which does remove almost all the regularly occurring dactyls from the ends of the first hemistichs, but it forces him to hypothesize secondary stresses on the final syllables of "*ignotum*" (which he misreads as "*igrotum*"), "*maximo*," "*parvule*," and "*plangere*" (words which patently do not have a stress on their last syllables) (514). Ultimately, Guest's brief commentary, while pointing towards a solution, fails to provide a cogent analysis and appears to have had no impact on later scholarship on the lullabies.

Heuser identified the Latin lyric as being written in *septenare*.³⁵ The term is commonly applied to a species of classical Latin verse that has four feet in the first hemistich and three and one-half feet in the second hemistich—the two half-lines being separated with a caesura. The term *septenare* thus is slightly misleading since a septenarian line does not have 7 feet, but rather 7 ½. It is also misleading when applied to a Latin lyric in the Middle Ages, such as "Lolla," which is in a song tradition that does not count feet but rather counts syllables. John Stevens points out that there are:

[. . .] two main traditions of rhythm in song: one, known as *musica metrica*, describes sounds which are measured in longs and shorts and grouped in 'feet'; the other, *musica ritmica*, specifically excludes durational values and deals with the organization of strictly counted syllables, unmeasured, into harmonious and balanced wholes. (Words 415)

Scanning the first line of "Lola" immediately shows that it is not iambic or trochaic *septenare*, since it does not keep any established pattern of long and short syllables. Similarly it is not in a set accented meter.³⁶ It is clearly an example of *musica ritmica*; it strictly maintains lines which are seven syllables in the first hemistich, and six syllables in the second hemistich. This is commonly referred to as goliardic meter, a name often associated with "wandering scholars" who purportedly wrote secular Latin songs (Anderson and Payne).³⁷

F. J. E. Raby points out in his *History of Religious Latin Poetry*, that secular lyrics (including goliardic verses) can be shown in some instances to be contrafactae³⁸ of religious songs. As an example he cites lines from a sequence written in goliardic meter, honoring the Virgin Mary, "ave, formosissima, gemma pretiosa / ave decus virginum, virgo gloriosa," which is the basis for the secular love song in the *Carmina Burana*, "ave mundi luminar, ave mundi rosa, / Blaziflor et Helena, Venus generosa" (295). So, though the "Lola" lyric is in a particular song form, is not a guarantee that the music and text were both original compositions. Music, in particular, tended to be re-used extensively.

Goliardic meter is a medieval lyric form which has no connection to classical Latin at all (A.G. Rigg "Metrics" 109). Rather it evolved in the *ritmus* tradition at a time

when accented meter was already widely used. As has been observed, "Lola" does not keep a particular accented meter throughout; however, it does keep the established hemistich endings which are prescribed by the goliardic structure. In his article on Latin metrics, A. G. Rigg contends that a goliardic stanza is composed of "four lines of 7pp + 6p, rhyming aaaa ("Metrics" 109). So the first hemistich of each line ends in a dactyl and the second hemistich ends in a trochee. The goliardic form does not require the rest of the line to be any particular meter, making it a fairly simple form to keep when composing in Latin, as the accent patterns of that language make all polysyllabic words into either dactyls (stress on the antepenult) or trochees (stress on the penult).

Raby's *History* clearly illustrates the fact that Christian Latin hymns composed from the time of Augustine through the Middle Ages overwhelmingly use a metric line consisting of 16 syllables broken into two equal eight-syllable hemistichs with a caesura between them. However, side by side with the more standard form are goliardic meter hymns, which though they are in the minority are not uncommon. Hymns were so pervasive that they are certainly a likely model for "Lola, Lola."

Raby agrees that the "poetry of the Church" influenced the secular compositions that appeared in goliardic meter (294). However, since the church sources are written in accentual meters, this elevates them in quality in his estimation. Raby distinguishes between *ritmus* and *metricum* in Latin poetry as a qualitative difference linked to time period. He asserts that the quality of religious Latin verse rises and falls over time. Verse composed just after the fall of Rome merely counts syllables—being unable to meet the rigors of durational Latin meter. But later compositions rise in quality with the development of accentual verse in the high Middle Ages. Then in the late thirteenth, early

fourteenth century, as the vernacular languages rise in prominence, Latin verse sinks back into syllable counting;

As is often the case in periods of apparent decline, the number of poets seemed to grow rather than to diminish, but the sense of form was departing, and there was a tendency to sink back again into that system of merely numbering syllables from which the rhythmical principle had slowly emerged. (453)

"Lola, Lola" would not be indicative of later Latin poetry in Raby's estimation, since its composer was able to keep the constraints of the form in all ways, including the accent requirements. Indeed, the lullaby's end rhymes even have rhymes of two syllables, a more stringent form in Latin. (During most of the Middle Ages, poets considered a one-syllable rhyme in Latin acceptable, particularly in mono-rhymed forms like goliardic stanzas.)

Musicologist John Stevens, on the other hand, argues that *ritmus* is not a failing but a deliberate choice:

[. . .] the huge majority of monophonic songs with poetic texts are found written out in a non-mensural notation. Whether their texts are in French or Latin, Italian or Spanish, they are evidently composed and as evidently presented in a syllabic style – that is to say, the natural unit of melody is the syllable, to which a single note, or a small group of notes in ligature is fitted. (Words 415)

Stevens's arguments are based on careful readings of music theorists from the Middle Ages. One example comes from a treatise in the abbey library of Admont, entitled "Regule de rithmus," which identifies the ordering of the number of lines, syllables and rhymes as the definition of *ritmus*. This is particularly interesting, in that the theorist who wrote that definition uses accentual meter in all his examples (which are in Latin), but he

does not make mention of it (Words 419). Essentially, accent is incidental to a formal definition of *ritmus*, not as Raby would have it, an evolutionary step upward.

Although stressing the importance of syllabic style, Stevens does however, note that this form was difficult to adapt to the stress-languages such as German and English. He also notes that as *Ars Metrica* receded, it was sometimes replaced by verse measured in accentual feet, that could mimic some of the classical *metricum* forms (Words 420).³⁹ So while "Lola," as a goliardic meter composition, follows certain conventions about accents at the ends of its hemistichs, it is still firmly within the *ritmus* tradition. However, as will be seen in the next chapter, this is not true when the lullaby is translated into Middle English. While maintaining some semblance of the same line length as the Latin original, the Middle English "Lollai" makes the transition to fully accentual verse.

Capitalum and Paragraphus Marks

Other marks of punctuation which are used in an unusual, but consistent way are the alternating *capitalum* and *paragraphus* marks at the start of the first and fifth line of stanzas in "Lola." The *capitalum*, which looks like a modern C, and the *paragraphus*, which looks like a hang-man's gallows, can be seen more clearly in the top two-thirds of the reproduction of folio 63v. The use of either in a manuscript is not unusual. By the fourteenth century, either was regularly used to indicate the beginning of a paragraph, or stanza. Sometimes a scribe would even alternate the use of the two for artistic variety. However, the Harley 913 scribe is alternating them purposefully to set off a two-line refrain from a four-line verse.

The scribe normally uses only the *capitalum* mark to set off the beginnings of stanzas in the verse and paragraphs in the prose. However the *paragraphus* mark is used in three of the items in the manuscript: "Lollai" (ff. 32v-33r), "Erth" (ff. 63r-63v), and "Lola" (ff. 63v). All three have stanzas that are marked with a *capitalum* for the first line (or an enlarged capital in the case of the first stanza of each), and then a *paragraphus* in the margin next to the fifth line of the stanza.⁴⁰ This calls attention to the AAAABB rhyme structure of each. A set of red brackets to the right of the text in the manuscript also emphasizes the rhyme structure by grouping the four lines of the verse together and the two lines of the refrain together in each stanza. The first four lines of "Lola" are a standard goliardic meter stanza, (a mono-rhymed quatrain with goliardic meter lines). The additional couplet, although not identical in each stanza as one would expect a refrain to be, still repeats the opening phrase, "Lola, Lola, parvule..." The same structure holds true for "Lollai," in which the last couplet repeats, "Lollai, Lollai, litil child" as its opening formula.

The song "Ecce torpet probitas," mentioned earlier also, has a refrain whose words shift slightly with each repeat. Each iteration begins "Omnes iura ledunt" and completes the thought with different text. The music makes it clear that this is a refrain, as "the single substantial melismatic neume is in a conventional place, on the penultimate syllable of the verse" (Stevens Later 34). The melisma creates an aural signpost that the verse has concluded and the refrain is beginning. The refrain itself is also marked with a more modest cadence of notes on the final syllable of its text.

A Middle English text beginning "When adam delf & eue span" (which will be discussed later in conjunction with "Lollai") also has a refrain that begins with a formula

phrase, but which is completed with different text in each repetition. The text "With E & I" begins each refrain. This lyric from the Thornton manuscript also shares the same form with "Lola" and "Lollai." It appears to be a strophic song written with standard monorhymed goliardic stanzas for its verses and a couplet refrain also in goliardic meter (hereafter referred to as a goliard + couplet refrain song). Since it is in Middle English, it obviously does not keep the Latin pattern of dactyl and trochee endings at its hemistiches. The I & E formula (a variant of the O & I formula) in goliard + couplet refrain songs has numerous examples in Middle English and Latin.⁴¹

One last example of a similar song structure of a goliardic stanza preceded (rather than followed) by a couplet refrain can be seen in an example from the *Llibre Vermell de Montserrat*, a Spanish manuscript from the fourteenth century. This strongly trochaic metered song does not keep the goliardic hemistich endings, despite being Latin; however, it does keep a strict syllable count. Doubtless this is a sign, as Raby would say, that it was composed in the ending days of Latin's use for popular song lyrics. The lyrics are a song praising the Virgin Mary to be danced to and sung by the pilgrims during their overnight vigil at Montserrat:

Stella splendens in monte • ut solis radium

Miraculis serrato • exaudi populum

Concurrunt universi gaudentes populi,

Divites et egeni, grandes et parvuli

Ipsum ingrediuntur, ut cernunt oculi

Et inde revertuntur gratiis repleti

Stella splendens [. . .]. (R. L. Greene Lyrics xxvii-xxix)

An Opposing Argument

The third lyric in Harley 913 with the same *capitalum* and *paragaphus* pattern is "Erth." This macaronic lyric alternates stanzas of English and Latin which mirror each other in content and mostly in form. The Latin keeps within goliardic meter lines, where the Middle English varies the syllable count. However, the final couplet of each stanza in "Erth" does not have a repeated formula phrase. Although I think it likely that the three goliardic meter lyrics from Harley 913 are the same song form (which seems likely given the similarity in rhyme scheme, line length, line number, and punctuation), without the music to the songs, it is impossible to judge based on internal evidence from the manuscript whether the couplets in each would have marked a refrain in the music. However, given the external evidence that other songs from the period had refrains that do not repeat exactly, it seems almost certain that the last couplet in each stanza of the two lullabies is a refrain. It is probable that since "Erth" has the same structure, the ending couplet in each stanza was likewise sung to a refrain in the music.

Thematic Analysis and Possible Precursors

Heuser's initial commentary on "Lollai" identified the singer/narrator in the lyric as an ordinary human mother singing to her child (172), a remark repeated in all commentary on the poem. However, the lack of direct mention of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child within either the Latin or the Middle English lullaby is not positive proof that the lyric is not meant to be a lullaby to the Christ Child. The lack of a direct mention is Heuser's strongest argument in favor of the human-mother interpretation though.

An analysis of the Latin shows that the lyric is in the form of a direct address to a crying *parvule*. But rather than offering comfort, the narrator agrees that the child has reason to weep and grieve. The child has been bound by exiled parents to a sorrowful world. Of all creatures, the child is the only one for whom life is not a blessing—an *infans* living among the *fantes*. This can be read as an expression of the fate of the medieval everyman—simply the lot in life to which all humans have been bound by their first parents who fell and were exiled from paradise after the fall. However, there is nothing in it that precludes reading it as the human inheritance the Christ child also faces.

By the time the Kildare scribe copied the two versions of the lullaby into Harley MS 913, there was a long-standing affective piety tradition of meditating on the life of Christ and envisioning oneself interacting with him. In particular there is a strong Franciscan emphasis on the nativity and on the crucifixion. The famous thirteenth-century hymn "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" pictures Mary weeping at the foot of the cross. A fourteenth-century Franciscan poet, Jacopone, wrote the bookend hymn, "Stabat Mater Speciosa," which shows Mary by the side of a manger, trying to comfort the crying Christ child. The narrator/singer addresses Mary directly and brings himself into the scene:

Stabat Mater speciosa	The beautiful mother was standing
iuxta faenum gaudiosa,	joyfully by the hay, while her little child was
dum iacebat parvulus.	sleeping. A song of joy without words passed
Cuius animam gaudentem	through (her) joyful, happy and fervent soul.
laetabundam et ferventem	
pertransivit iubilus [. . .]	

Quisquam est, qui non gauderet,	Who would not be glad, if he saw Christ's mother
Christi matrem si videret	in the midst of (giving) great comfort? Who would
in tanto solatio?	not rejoice, to see the Mother of Christ playing with
Quis non posset collaetari,	(her) son?
Christi Matrem contemplari	
ludentem cum Filio? [. . .]	

Sancta Mater, istud agas,	Holy Mother, may you do this may you, leaning
prone introducas plagas	forward, firmly implant (his) pierced wounds in my
cordi fixas valide.	heart. Now divide with me the punishments of your
Tui Nati caelo lapsi,	son (who) glided down from heaven, (and) deigned
iam dignati faeno nasci,	to be born in hay.
poenas mecum divide. [. . .]	

Virgo virginum praeclara,	Maiden of maidens bright, Do not be harsh to me
mihi iam non sis amara,	now. Give me the little one to carry. Enable me to
fac me parvum rapere.	carry the beautiful infant, who by his birth defeated
Fac, ut pulchrum infantem portem,	death, willing to surrender (his) life.

qui nascendo vicit mortem,
volens vitam tradere. [. . .]

(Benedict 22-23)

Another well-known Franciscan composer, John Pecham the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1279-1292, wrote a *Philomena*⁴² which contains a contemplation of the

Christ Child that may have served as a thematic model for "Stabat Mater Speciosa," and also for "Lola." Pecham's Latin writings were widely read in England, France, and Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (For example, his "Meditatio de Corpore Christi" appears in Harley MS 913 on folio 57v, showing that the friar and his congregation were familiar with Pecham's work.) In addition to containing a lengthy section with similar themes to the lullabies, Pecham's *Philomena* is also written in goliardic stanzas.

O praedulcis parvule, puer sine pari
 Felix cui datum est te nunc amplexari,
 Pedes, manus lambere, flentem consolari
 Tuis in obsequiis jugiter morari.

O very sweet child, boy without equal |
 Happy the one to whom it is granted to hold
 you | to caress your feet (and) hands, (as you
 are) to console you when you cry, |in service
 to you unendingly to stay.

heu me, cur non licuit mihi demulcere
 vagientem parvulum, dulciter tenere,
 illos artus teneros sive confovere
 eiusque cunabulis semper assidere.

Ah me, why was it not permitted for me to
 soothe | the wailing infant, sweetly to hold
 (him) | or to care for those tender limbs
 and to always sit by his cradle.

Puto, pius parvulus hoc non abhorreret,
 immo more parvuli forsán arrideret
 et flenti pauperculo fletu condoleret
 et peccanti facile venia faveret.

I think, the holy child would not shrink back
 from this, | On the contrary with a child's
 custom he perhaps would smile | and crying
 with poor tears, he would empathize | and
 would favor the sinner (me) with an easy
 indulgence.

Felix qui tunc temporis Matri singulari
 Potuisset precibus ita famulari,

Happy is he who then at that time | would
 have been able by his request thus to serve

<p>Ut in die sineret semel osculari Suum dulcem parvulum, eique jocari.</p>	<p>the singular mother, so that on that day she might permit (him) once to kiss her sweet little one and to play with him.</p>
--	--

<p>O quam libens balneum ei praeparassem, O quam libens humeris aquam apportassem, In hoc libens virgini semper ministrassem Pauperisque parvuli pannulos lavassem.</p>	<p>O how willingly I might have prepared a bath for him, O how willingly I might have carried water on my shoulders. Willingly I would always have served the Virgin and washed the poor child's little garments.</p>
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(Blume and Dreves [Analecta-50](#) 604-5)

Pecham's poem is much longer, but the section above seems to have had a life of its own outside the *Philomena*. For example, lines from two of its stanzas are reused in a fifteenth-century hymn, "Ad Iesum Infantem."⁴³

The delightful paradox of an omnipotent God born as a baby and the emotional impact of an innocent infant already marked to suffer a horrible death are the twin appeals in each version of these meditations on the nativity. With this affective piety tradition in mind, it is difficult to read the two stanzas of the "Lola" lyric as anything but a song in that same tradition. Particularly since it appears in a Franciscan monk's miscellany written in Latin, it seems unlikely that the child is a stand-in for Everyman. On the contrary, as in Pecham's poem, the listener is invited to contemplate the act of trying to lull the Christ Child while at the same time acknowledging the rightness of his weeping.

By looking over a range of items from punctuation to metrical and thematic antecedents, it is possible to establish a better context for the Latin lyric in Harley MS

913. "Lola" is firmly in the *ritmus* tradition which counts syllables rather than feet, and shares a goliard + couplet refrain song form with many other lyrics both in Middle English and Latin. The scribe emphasizes this musical structure by heavily punctuating the caesuras between each line's hemistiches. The heavy punctuation appears to be due to the lack of musical notation in the manuscript, so the shape of the goliardic tune is drawn by marking the ends of the musical phrases. Thematically, there is a rich Marian tradition at work in the Franciscan emphasis on the nativity and meditation on the physical reality of the incarnation of Christ. The presence of well-known lyrics that have similar themes (particularly in the same goliardic form) strengthens the argument that the Middle English "Lollai" has its roots in a Latin song tradition. Interestingly, almost all the examples drawn on for this section are from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although the goliard + couplet refrain song form continues to be seen in manuscripts into the late fourteenth century. Certainly that suggests that it is possible for "Lola" to have been written significantly earlier than the production of the Harley 913 manuscript. However, if it was written in the early fourteenth century (which might be argued by looking at the popularity of its refrain song form in that century), then it certainly extended roots backwards into a tradition which had been flourishing for over a hundred years at the time of its composition.

CHAPTER SIX

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LYRIC "LOLLAI, LOLLAI"

The Middle English "Lollai" lyric has six stanzas and obviously stands in a close relationship to the Latin. Its punctuation and meter clearly show that it shares the same tune with the Latin, and an analysis of the tension between the translation word choices and the constraints of keeping the rhymes show that the first two stanzas are a close translation of the Latin words. The remaining four stanzas borrow material from Middle English songs in the contemptus mundi tradition. These create a level of ambiguity in the interpretation of the Middle English "Lollai," but the lyric still fits comfortably within the ongoing Christ child lullaby tradition. For a transcription and Modern English translation of "Lollai" see Appendix A.

Comparison of Punctuation

The previous chapter's discussion of medieval punctuation and its historical precedents applies equally well to the Middle English version of the lullaby. The low *punctus*, medial *punctus*, and double *punctus* are used to mark the line ends and the caesura, as they are in the Latin version. Their use is consistent to mark the structure of the song, but with little regard for the grammatical constructions, albeit each hemistich within the Middle English, like the Latin, tends to be one unit of thought. The only

significant variance in punctuation is the use of the *punctus elevatus* (which looks like a sideways comma above a modern period) in the first and last line of the first stanza.

Within this manuscript the *punctus elevatus* appears to be merely a scribal variation for the *medial punctus*; both are used to mark the caesura.

FIGURE 2: Folio 32r of MS Harley 913

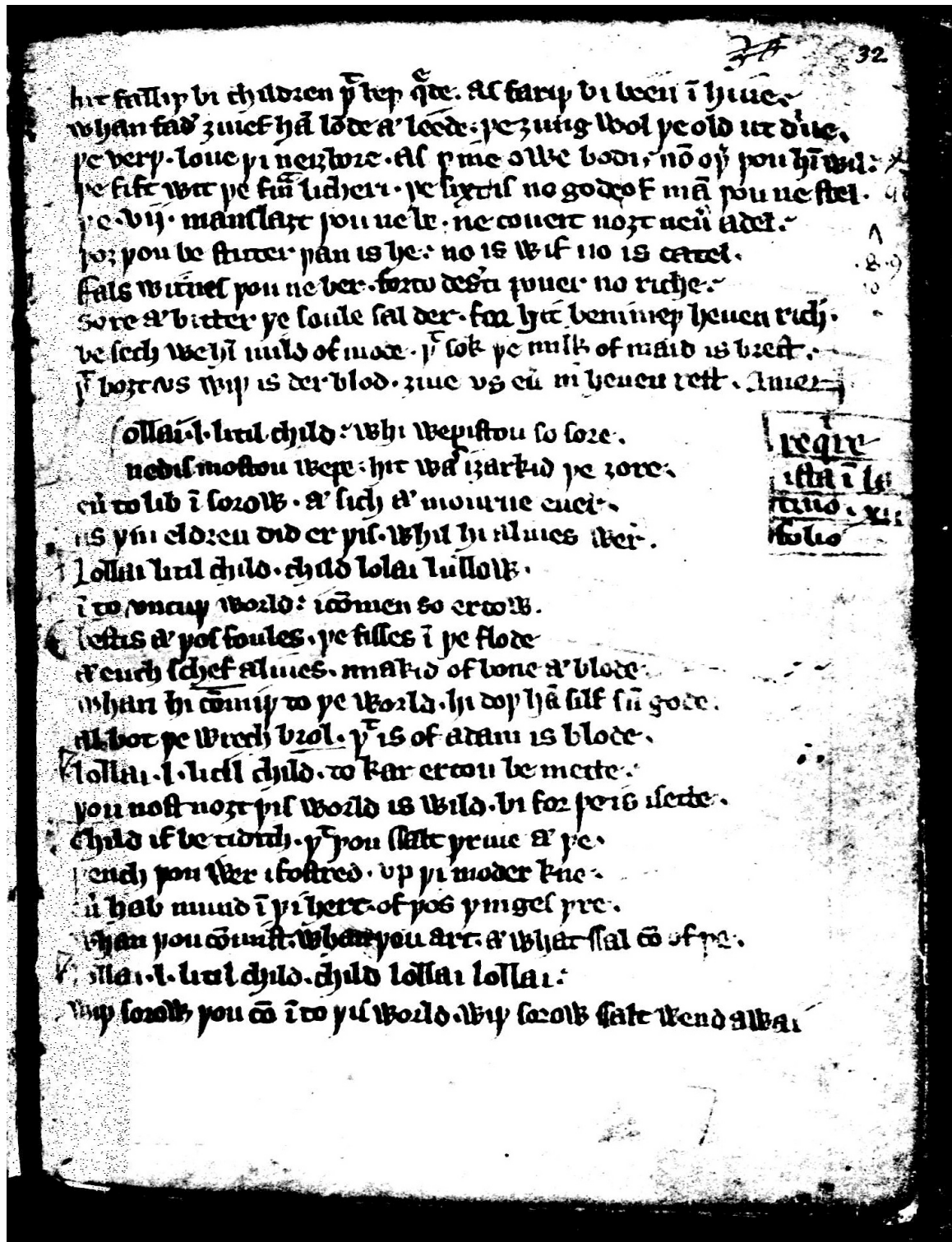
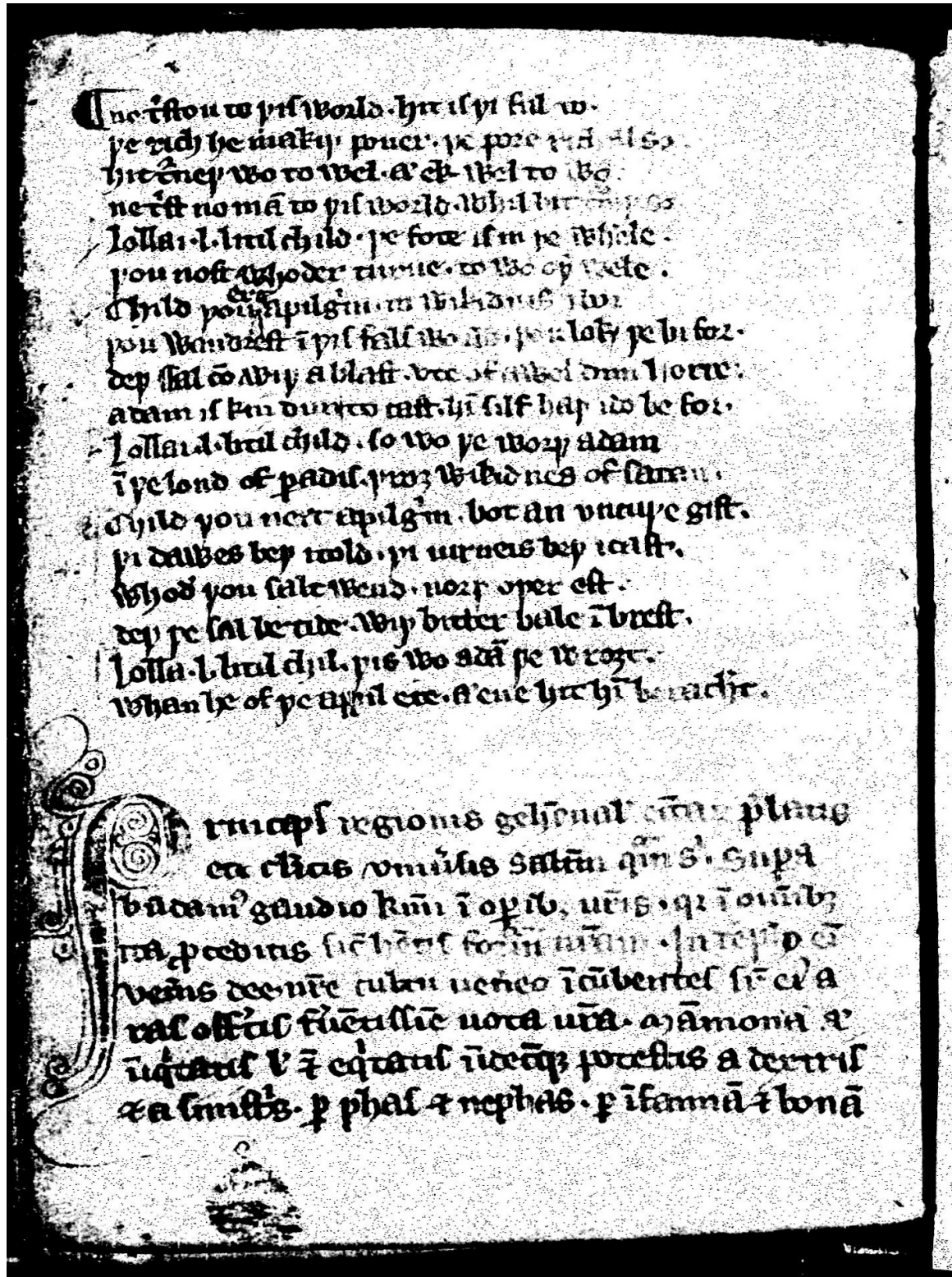


FIGURE 3: Folio 32v of MS Harley 913



The idiosyncratic use of the *capitalum* and *paragaphus* marks to differentiate the four-line verses from the couplet stanzas is repeated exactly in the Middle English as it appears in the Latin. Although unclear in the reproduction above, they are clearly visible in the original manuscript.

The one thing that is very clear from even a cursory inspection of the Middle English and the Latin folia is that, though they are written by the same scribe, they were not written at the same time. The letter forms are thinner and better-made in the Middle English (f.32r-v), in addition to the page layout being more spacious. The beginning of "Lollai" is separated from the bottom of "The Ten Commandments" by a significant amount of white space, as is the "Epistola" that follows its ending. In contrast "Erth," "Elde" and the Latin "Lola" are separated from each other by a simple dark red rule and very little space. The capitals for both "Lola" and "Lollai" are merely large red Ls. However, the capital P that begins the "Epistola" (in the same quire with "Lollai") has been given more elaborate brown (once black) ornamentation within its red outline. Certainly, everything points to the conclusion that the two lullabies, although copied by the same scribe, were copied into separate booklets originally. But the note in the same hand on "Lollai," which tells the reader to look for the same song in Latin on folio XII, suggests that the two booklets may have been bound into the same book within the scribe's lifetime.⁴⁴

Viewing the First Two Stanzas as a Translation

The first line of the Middle English lullaby is a direct translation of the first Latin line (*Lola, lola, parvule cur fles tam amare*/Lollai, lollai, little child, whi wepistou so

sore), as is the first hemistich of the next line (*Oportet te plangere/nedis mostou wepe*). The second hemistich, however, must rhyme with "sore," and so a literal translation becomes problematic. The translator substitutes a concept from later in the stanza and provides a half line that ends with the needed -ore rhyme (hit was izarkid þe zore). This pattern continues for the rest of the two stanzas with the translator writing half of a line following the original closely, but then altering the other half line to facilitate the rhyme. In the third line, the translator picks up a concept from the half line that was dropped earlier, (*plangere necnon suspirare/sich and mourne euer*). But the first part of that line then merely repeats the idea that the baby must grow up to grieve (euer to lib in sorow). In the last line of the stanza, the translator keeps the *ut* construction (*Vt parentes/as þin eldern did*), but then switches to a stock poetic phrase to complete the rhyme (whil hi aliues were).

The first line of the refrain in Middle English has chiasmus, a trait very popular in Latin poetry that is balanced into two hemistichs (Lollai, lollai litil child • child lollai lullow). The concept that has been sacrificed in order to create the more artistic chiasmus line (*natus mundo tristi*) is integrated into the next line (*ignotum...venisti*/into uncuþ world; icommen so ertow).

Predictably, because the second stanza starts afresh, the first line is a fairly close translation (*alites et bestie/bestis and þos foules • pisces fluctuantes*/þe fisses in þe flode). Also predictably, the second line must make alterations to rhyme with "flode," changing "genite" creatures who are "vegetantes" to "aliues" creatures "imakid of bone and blode." The first hemistich of the third line in stanza two is shifted to the latter half of the line, but is translated quite closely (*sibi prosunt aliquid*/hi doþ ham silf sum gode). The *nisi*

phrase is reflected closely in the syntax of the Middle English (*nisi tu miserime/al bot þe wrech brol*), although the Latin kenning for human-kind (*fantēs*) is traded for a more idiomatic Middle English one (*adam is blode*), which also provides a more explicit biblical reference to the child's "*exules parentes*." The first line of the refrain is the last line clearly visible in the Latin. The first half line in both the Latin and Middle English repeats the lullaby formula phrase, and the second half line in both shows that the child is filled with sorrow (*repletus dolore/to kar ertou bemette*). The Middle English finishes the couplet by talking about the child's ignorance about the world's power, which before him "is isette." It can safely be assumed that the missing Latin line must have conveyed something similar.

When viewed half-line by half-line the two versions are clearly closely related; very probably the Middle English is a direct translation of the Latin. However, it is also possible that the Middle English "Lollai" may be a variant that had evolved from an older Middle English translation of the Latin. It is important to remember that Harley MS 913 was probably copied from exemplars, rather than being composed by the Kildare scribe. The two versions of the lullaby clearly stand in a close relationship, with the Latin as the original. However, it is unclear when the Latin was composed or when the Middle English version was created. It is likely though that the Latin may have been composed prior to the fourteenth century since the goliardic song form was already old-fashioned by the time Harley 913 was copied. Later representatives of that lyric form (such as "Stella Splendens") seldom keep the goliardic accent pattern at the ends of the hemistiches, which "Lola" observes in all its lines. In addition, either version may have continued to evolve as it was sung and perhaps recopied.

Some of the rhymes within the Middle English argue that the extant version in Harley 913 is perhaps not the original translation into Middle English, but rather one that has been altered over time. The rhymes in the first stanza, as Heuser noted, are not perfect, but could have been at one time if "ever" was originally "evermore," and "were" was originally "wore." An important element of Hiberno-English of this time period is that final -e had already disappeared in the spoken language and become erratic when copied by scribes (Bliss and Long 709).⁴⁵ Thus the end rhyme in the first stanza is not two syllables, but only one. This explains the scribe's unconcern for the lack of a final -e in "euer," and may explain the apparent shifts in spelling that create the imperfect rhymes.⁴⁶ Certainly this is not surprising to any reader of Francis Child's traditional ballad variations. Songs which are actively being sung have a way of shifting over time. As Raby reminds his reader in his collection of Latin verse, "The first thing to remember about the 'lyrical' poems in the various collections is that they were meant to be sung and that the music was, on the whole, more important than the words" (xv).

This privileging of the tune over the text can also explain other oddities about the Middle English lullaby. As Stephen Manning notes, setting words to an existing melody can cause the poet "to juggle the tonic accents to accommodate the melodic stress. He may have to strain the syntax for the same reason, or restrict the possibilities of variety in phrasing to fit the rhythm. He may even be tempted to yield to his audience's delight in the melody by tacking on stanzas which do little or nothing to advance the thought. In short, he may sell out his poetry to pay for his music" (21). This list of pressures on the meter and the temptation to add extra verses were undoubtedly felt and succumbed to by the original translator and the later singers/editors of the Middle English lullaby.

Metrical Analysis

Although Edwin Guest's comments on the metrics of the Latin lyric show the biases and misconceptions of his own age, his scansion of the first stanza of the Middle English version is sound. It shows that in the majority of the lines stressed syllables and unstressed syllables alternate (a regular feature of spoken English). However, as the syllable count is an odd number, this means that the first hemistich of each Middle English line is overwhelmingly constructed of trochaic feet, while the second hemistich is usually iambic. What is quickly apparent is that, while an attempt is made to keep a correct syllable count (which, of course, corresponds to the number of neumes in the tune), the translator has some difficulty keeping the exact count of the Latin original. In the first stanza the syllable counts for each hemistich are: (7+6 | 5+7 | 7+6 | 7+6 | 7+5 | 5+6). The second stanza's lines do not have 13 syllables quite as regularly, but they are still very close: (6+6 | 6+7 | 7+6 | 5+7 | 7+6 | 7+6). The latter stanzas keep the syllable count less well, although the highest and lowest deviations are still within reason: 16 syllables is the highest per line, and 10 the lowest.

The stress counts for the lines, however, are much more uniform. The first hemistich has either three or four stresses, while the last hemistich always has three stresses. Out of the 36 lines, 23 of them have 3+3 stresses, while 13 of them have 4+3 stresses. Since it is the first hemistich which has a dactyl in the Latin form, it makes sense that, being unable to keep such a restriction in English, the first hemistich would wobble between having seven syllables (and four stresses if one starts on a stress and alternates between stressed and unstressed) or holding a syllable over for an extra note and thereby only needing six syllables (and three stresses). Obviously, although the translator is

struggling in the way that Manning describes, he has wisely chosen to recast the song into a regular accent count, rather than trying to maintain the syllable count of the Latin song form.

Another solution, which the translator might have chosen, but did not, is to recast the goliardic meter back into one of the standard hymn forms which has balanced lines. Eliminating a syllable from the first hemistich to create a 6+6 syllable line allows a Middle English translator much more freedom, albeit it means that every line has one extra note of music. An example of this can be seen in the *Red Book of Ossory*.

The *Red Book of Ossory* contains Latin contrafactae attributed in the manuscript to Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory from 1317 to 1360. He purportedly wrote them in order to give his monks sacred words to sing to the secular melodies that they already knew (Lyrics iv). Two of his contrafactae are set to the same tune (indicated by an incipit of the popular vernacular words to the song). The two lines of the incipit for the vernacular song, "Do, Do, Nyghtyngale," are syllabically uneven (6+6 syllables; 8+5 syllables). However, the tune could evidently accommodate a goliardic line, because Ledrede's first contrafacta for the tune, "*Dies ista gaudii*" (Lyrics 32) maintains the goliardic 13-syllable line, straying from it by only a syllable or two in places. The other set of lyrics set to the same tune, "*Regem adoremus*," (Lyrics 49-51) maintains a standard Latin hymn pattern of 6+6 syllables for two-thirds of its lines.

The example of the *Red Book of Ossory* has been used by Richard Greene to show that Latin songs sometimes originate from vernacular sources. Hence the example of "Do, Do Nyghtyngale" might be used to argue by example that the Middle English lullaby "Lollai" is the original form of the song, and the Latin "Lola" is the translation.

However, even in the *Red Book of Ossory*, the Latin contrafactae, which are set to the existing tune, show the strains of which Manning warns. Neither is able to keep the form that the Bishop set, not the goliardic line, nor the standard hymn line. But then the base song they are copied from, "Do, Do Nyghtngale," also does not keep a set syllable count. It is possible that it may be a contrafacta of an even earlier goliardic meter song in Latin, hence, why it almost, but not quite, keeps that form, and why Ledrede perhaps recognizes the tune as goliardic and created one of his contrafactae in that meter.⁴⁷ What is certain is that Ledrede knew that the secular vernacular song from which he created his sacred contrafactae was struggling to be a counted syllable song form. Since Ledrede's Latin lines are able to keep the goliardic lines fairly successfully, it is quite plausible that the tune has thirteen notes per line. (Although the second contrafacta is in general 6+6, when its lines vary, they are 7+6.) This might explain why the two lines of "Do, Do, Nyghtyngale" are 14 and 16 syllables long, if the lyric is perhaps a vernacular contrafacta set to a Latin goliardic meter tune, whose tune was later used to create these Latin contrafactae. The *Red Book of Ossory* is an excellent example of the fluidity of words and music in the Middle Ages. Tunes were commonly reused and songs were remade as the needs and fashions of their time dictated.

Although the lullabies in Harley 913 are also an example of this kind of fluidity, they present a clearer picture of their origins than the lines in the *Red Book of Ossory*. The metrical evidence within both of Harley 913's lullabies suggests that the Latin is the original. The Latin meets the requirements of the goliardic song form perfectly, while the Middle English clearly struggles with a musical line constructed for a Latin song form.

Was the Latin Lullaby Originally Longer?

In Chapter Four, the disarrangement of the manuscript was discussed. While at first glance, it would appear that the folio with the two stanzas of the Latin "Lola" must originally have been followed by a second page, when the codicological evidence is analyzed it becomes clear that, though possible, it is unlikely. If there is a missing bifolium following the leaf with "Lola," then the other half of the leaf must go between two of the pages of the lyric "Elde." It is possible that the rhymes match up accidentally, and that the poem is missing two pages; however, this is less likely than the supposition that the two stanzas of "Lola" are the entirety of the Latin lyric that the scribe had when he copied the text.

In support of this simpler explanation of the codicological evidence, the content of the Middle English version also shows a break after the first two stanzas. The third and fourth stanzas are highly derivative from other Middle English songs, and though the fifth and sixth do not have direct extant antecedents, they express themes common in other songs of the period and may have come from a lyric that is no longer extant. Hence it would appear that the Middle English translator had only the two Latin stanzas that are still in the manuscript and expanded the song by adding existing Middle English material. The Latin song may very well have been longer when it was originally composed, but at the point the translation was made, the Middle English translator only had the two Latin stanzas from which to work.

The Addition of Verses

The third stanza in the Middle English "Lollai" lyric borrows lines from "When Adam Delf & Eve Span,"⁴⁸ (or a song which shared similar words). It has the same goliard + couplet refrain song form. The second stanza of that lyric is:

In worlde we ware kast for to kare to we be broght to wende

Til wele or wa, an of þa twa, to won with-outen ende.

For-þi whils þou may helpe þe now, amend þe & haf mynde

When þou sal ga he bese þi fa þat are was here þi frende.

With E & I, I rede for-þi þou thynk apon þies thre:

What we ar, & what we ware, & what we sal be.

(C. F. Brown 96)⁴⁹

"Lollai" ends with a line very similar to the opening line of this stanza, "wiþ sorow you come into þis world • wiþ sorow ssalt wend awai." And lines three and four of "Lollai" echo the words of the third and fourth lines in the stanza above, while copying the wording of the repeated ideas from the refrain lines, rendering the combination: "euer hab mund in þi hert • of þos þinges þre | whan you commist • whan you art • and what ssal come of þe."

Interestingly, the refrain "With I & E" is also a couplet refrain that changes slightly with each repeat. The formula phrase, "With I & E" is followed by a different conclusion in each repeat, in the same way that the Harley lullabies begin each refrain with the formula phrase, "Lola, Lola parvule" and "Lollai, Lollai little child." Evidently this was a species of song form that was well-known by Middle English speakers.⁵⁰

The third stanza, while borrowed, continues the idea begun in the first two stanzas that the child will live a life of sorrow. The lines that ask the child to think on where he

came from and where he is going, also echo closely a sentiment in "Erthe," a lyric in the same song form that also appears in Harley 913, "Thenk, man in lond on thi last ende, | Whar-of thou come, and whoder schaltou wend" (Lucas, Anglo 172). The fifth and sixth stanzas also continue describing life in this world as full of sorrow and suffering, and provide the theological argument that explains why death is inevitable. These three stanzas, like "Erthe," bring a strong *contemptus mundi* tone to the lyric.

The fourth stanza is borrowed whole from a goliardic quatrain on Lady Fortune that exists in multiple manuscripts.⁵¹

þe leudi fortune is boþe frend and fo,
Of pore che makit riche, of riche pore also,
Che turneþ wo al into wele, and wele al into wo,
No triste no man to þis wele, þe whel it turnet so.

(C. F. Brown 56)

The stanza in "Lollai" changes the original lyric's "Lady Fortune," to the word "World."⁵² However a more explicit reference to Fortune's Wheel is added in the refrain couplet where the child is told "þe fote is in þe whele." This is a slightly different theme within the *contemptus mundi* tradition. The fourth stanza warns about the mutability of this world, whereas the other stanzas emphasize that the world always causes suffering because of mankind's fallen state.

The fifth and sixth stanzas form a chiasmus with each other, and so were probably either composed for this song, or were borrowed from the same (now lost) song. Their theme is certainly common enough. For instance in the lyric:

Who-so loveth endeles rest, þis false world þen mot he fle,
And dele þer-wiþ bot as a gest, And leue hit not in no degre.

(C. F. Brown 205).⁵³

Although this particular lyric is giving advice on how to live a virtuous life (which begins with devaluing and distrusting the vanities of this world), the two stanzas from Harley 913 reshape this theme and emphasize that the child in the cradle is the focus of death's punishment for the sins committed by Adam and Eve. This can be read as the general fate of mankind in a postlapsarian world; however, it is also in keeping with the future of the Christ child.

One last borrowing by the Middle English translator should be mentioned. The second stanza of "Lollai" contains a phrase that also appears in the thirteenth-century Middle English lyric "Foweles in the Frithe."⁵⁴ Apparently, instead of translating the Latin phrase "pisces fluctuantes" literally, the translator of the lullaby uses a well-known alliterating phrase, "þe fisses in þe flode" from an existing song. The rhyme "flode/blode" may also have been suggested to the translator by this song. "Foweles in the Frithe" has been interpreted variously in scholarship as either a complaint about the narrator's love of a beautiful woman (see Thomas C. Moser), or as that same kind of love-longing applied to Christ (see Howell D. Chickering and Edmund Reiss). If seen as a love song to Christ, "Foweles in the Frithe" is certainly within the affective piety tradition. However, it is thematically different enough to prevent viewing it as a source for the stanzas in Harley 913. For example, the stanzas from the two lullabies in Harley MS 913 echo the sentiments of Luke 9:58, that "foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man has no where to lay his head." However, the scholars listed above interpret the line about the animals in "The Fowles in the Frithe" as the traditional invocation of nature that is common in love poetry.

Unlike the stanzas which borrow whole goliardic lines from other songs, the phrase in stanza two of "Lollai" appears to be merely borrowing an alliterative phrase (fisses in the flode) and a rhyme word (blode) that were already current in another Middle English song. This is consistent with the description of the Middle English translator as someone who readily borrows from the existing corpus of Middle English songs. As the earlier quote from Manning observes, a song with a compelling melody will often acquire more verses in order to lengthen the pleasure to be had from singing it.

The melody was probably simple but compelling with a syllabic relationship to its lyrics (similar to "Ecce Torpet"). The text of the Middle English Kildare lullaby is very pleasing and rhythmical. Its charm is drawn in part from the formulaic passages such as the listing of three things to remember and the role of fortune's wheel. These borrowed stanzas, although not original, have the smooth, easy meter of lyrics that have been in circulation and have accumulated features of folk-song. In short, it is easy to see why they were added; they already fit the form of the music and would be enjoyable to sing. Commonsensically, these borrowed sections come from songs that are also in goliardic meter lines so that they integrate easily into the song. Even the more philosophically challenging passages that focus on original sin and the world's depravity maintain a smooth alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables that are easy to sing. The vocabulary throughout the song remains limited to one or two syllable words, with only the occasional compound word such as "wepistou," which nonetheless still keeps the meter of its line progressing forward without interruption.

Analysis of Grimestone's "Lullay"

This smoothness of meter is not as evident in the theologically more coherent lullaby from John of Grimestone's commonplace book, *Advocates MS 18.7.21*, held at the National Library of Scotland. (See Appendix C for a transcription and translation of Grimestone's "Lullay.") Grimestone's compilation of preaching materials is another example of a *vademecum* book. It was copied roughly fifty years later than Harley 913, and was composed in the language of the east of England, rather than in Hiberno-English. Angela M. Lucas notes the similarities between this lyric and the Harley lullaby, noting that "it appears to be a direct adaptation of the poem found in Harley 913 [. . .]" (*Anglo-Irish Poems* 201). And indeed the first and third stanzas seem to share language and ideas with the first stanza of the Harley 913 lullabies.

Obviously, the formula phrase for the refrain (Lullay, lullay litel child) is the same as the Harley lullabies (*Lola, lola parvule* / Lollai, Lollai, litel child); it merely changes the lulling onomatopoeia words. The poetic framing device is also similar—comforting a child while at the same time meditating on the dark future that awaits him. There also seem to be phrases which are adaptations of lines from the Kildare manuscript lullabies. The narrator/singer's understanding for the child's grief in line five of the first stanza (sorwe mauth þu make) echoes the second lines of the Latin and Middle English in the Harley lullabies (*Oportet te plangere* / nedis mostou wepe).⁵⁵ Also in the first stanza, the use of the word "vncut" has its reflection in the first stanza of Harley 913 (*ignotum* / uncuþ). Although in Grimestone it is the child who is "vncut & unknowe," in Harley it is the world that is the unknown. The first line of stanza three (Child it is a weping dale þat þu art comen inne), combines concepts from the first refrain of the two earlier lullabies

(*natus mundo tristi...dolore venisti* / into uncuþ world iccomen so ertow). And the fourth stanza ends with the idea that Christ's love for humanity has "bunden" him, which echoes the Latin in Harley 913 where the child's parent's "nexerant ignare."

This short list of textual similarities—all from the first stanza of the Harley lullabies and some of which may be mere coincidence of subject matter—suggests that rather than a direct descendant of the lullabies in Harley MS 913, Grimestone's "Lullay" is more likely a reworking of a related lullaby lyric that was circulating in England in the fourteenth century. The variant from which Grimestone's "Lullay" descends must have included the material from the first stanza of the Harley 913 lullabies, but apparently it did not contain the material in the other stanzas. As the Harley "Lollai" lyric is composed predominantly of borrowed material from other unrelated Middle English songs, this comes as no surprise.

The Grimestone Lyric's Meter and Punctuation

The meter of the Grimestone "Lullay" lyric is very close to the two lullabies in Harley MS 913, as is its goliard + couplet refrain song form. However, like the text itself, the structure has similarities but also important differences. The transcription of the text in Appendix C shows clearly that the Grimestone lullaby exhibits the same concern as the Harley texts for setting off the caesura with a mark of punctuation and marking the beginning of the refrain as a separate section from the stanza. The scribe was not as creative with his *paragraphus* and *capitalum* use as the Harley scribe, so the *capitalum* is used to mark both the head of the stanza as well as the start of the refrain—however, he has used it to signify the same change from verse to refrain. It is interesting to notice that

the Grimestone scribe heavily marks the caesura in the first stanza and then de-prioritizes that placement for punctuation beginning in the second stanza. The examples of texts in manuscripts with musical notation that were given in the last chapter use punctuation in much the same way. The scribe establishes the structure of the song by punctuating the text in the first part of the song, but then once that structure has been outlined, the extra punctuation is not viewed as necessary in the latter portions of the text.

Since the Grimestone lyric shares a refrain formula with the Harley lyrics, and also has the same style of punctuation marking the song structure, at first glance it appears that the two may have been sung to the same tune. Indeed, the Grimestone lyric does appear to be another set of Middle English words sung to a goliardic meter tune.⁵⁶ Its syllable count, though, is not quite as regular as the Middle English version in the Harley manuscript. The range of variance in its syllable count is not much worse (from 11 to 16 syllables per line), but the frequency of variation is much higher and is almost always erring on the side of having extra syllables rather than too few.

By the late fourteenth century, final -e had dropped in Middle English in England, although there were always regional variations and individual exceptions.⁵⁷ The first stanza of Grimestone's "Lullay" keeps a very solid syllable count of 12 if the final e's are dropped. It scans at 13 syllables per line if one postulates that the singer will pronounce the second syllables of the feminine end rhymes, in order to preserve both syllables. (Such speculation is based on the notion that end rhymes tend to be a place where language shift is more likely to be conservative.) In either case, we have a song which begins with a very regular syllable count and a regular stress count. It becomes less

regular in its syllable count, which means singing extra words to the same number of notes in the tune, but remains very regular in its stress count.

The stress count per line is the critical difference in meter between the Middle English "Lollai" and the Grimestone "Lullay." "Lollai" is predominantly 3+3 stresses per line. (Out of its 36 lines, 23 of them have 3+3 stresses, while 13 of them have 4+3 stresses.) The Grimestone "Lullay" is predominantly 4+3 stresses. (Out of its 30 lines, 28 of them have 4+3 stresses. The two that do not fit that pattern are 4+2). This difference makes it less likely that the two share the same tune.

In metrical song forms such as common meter ballad (which alternate lines of 4 stresses with lines of 3 stresses), it is not unusual for extra unstressed syllables to be added to a line. They are normally sung on the same note as the syllable that precedes the extra syllable. Since a similar practice would be necessary to sing the inflated syllable count lines of the Grimestone "Lullay," and it mimics the line alternation of 4 and 3 stresses, it may be that Grimestone's tune was more similar to a common ballad meter melody than to a goliardic meter melody. It is clear in any event that the Harley lullabies tend to undercount syllables in variant lines, while the Grimestone lullaby tends to overcount. It is unlikely that a single tune would be flexible enough to account for both variations. More plausibly, there are two different goliardic tunes at work on the meters of the lullabies—one of which encourages 3+3 stresses per line, and the other which encourages a 4+3 stress line.

Speculations on the Relationship Between the Grimestone and Harley Lullabies

The relationship between the Harley and Grimestone lullabies is less direct than a first glance might make them appear. They share common thematic material, probably from a common lyric that may have been quite short, perhaps even one stanza. They share an idiosyncratic use of punctuation that is being used to make sure a singer reading the words from the book keeps the structure of the song clear. They share a song form that appears to have had Latin and Middle English representatives (a goliard + couplet refrain.) The Middle English version in Harley is almost certainly a translation from the Latin version in the same manuscript or a variation of an earlier translation. The Grimestone version shows the same predisposition to keep the Latin song form, and also shows some of the same problems in keeping a strict syllable count of 13. It is quite likely that the Grimestone version also traces back to a related Latin lyric that began, "Lola, Lola, parvule..." Although both of the Middle English lullabies begin with almost the same words, this may be a coincidence of translation. If the words are a direct translation of the Latin, the two translators are merely rendering the onomatopoeic words differently. The choice of "little child" rather than "small child," (the only other logical translation), may be merely the inclination on the part of both translators to continue the alliteration on the letter "l," and the necessity of matching three syllables to the three neumes of the music. Regardless of their beginnings, it is also very likely that at some point the Grimestone lullaby was set to a new tune, or the old tune was modified to be more like the popular melodies that used shorter line lengths.

Lullaby Tradition Lineage

The evolution of the medieval lullaby tradition that has been drawn in past scholarship sees the Middle English "Lollai" lyric in Harley 913 as a fore-runner of the copious lullaby carol corpus in English. In this scenario the lullaby lyric has a humble beginning as a Middle English secular song, which is later adapted into songs specifically about the Christ Child (such as Grimestone and the carols). The evolutionary map drawn in this thesis is quite different.

The Latin lyric in Harley 913 comes out of a large body of Latin hymns and sacred songs, some of them also written in goliardic meter. Works like Pecham's "Philomena" or Jacopone's "Stabat Mater Speciosa" meditate on the physical reality of the Christ Child and his mother and addresses the holy couple in a first person voice. Pecham's narrator even visualizes himself as the one to hold the crying child and ready a bath for him. This meditation ends with a stanza that begins, "*Sic affecta pia mens sitit pauperatem*" (Thus the piously moved mind thirsts for poverty), a virtue valued by the Franciscans. This affective piety which moves the mind is a powerful spiritual trope that many different Franciscan monks must have heard in Latin sermons and songs. Perhaps more than one of them translated the same Latin song (or a similar one) into the vernacular for their congregations. This is not as unusual as at first it might seem. Producing exemplars with the bare bones of a sermon in Latin, which were to be copied into vademecum books and ultimately fleshed out into vernacular sermons by the friars, was standard by this time.⁵⁸ At a time when the boundary between Latin and English was more permeable, the idea for a lullaby could have originated in either language (or a different vernacular language) and been passed back and forth among the languages as

needed. After all, the power of the lullabies is not in their artful wording, of which they have little, but rather in the idea of holding omnipotent God in one's arms and the emotional impact that that verbal image coupled with the music makes.

If one looks into the Latin tradition, all the lullabies preserved by the monks are addressed to, or are about, the Christ Child.⁵⁹ Even the Latin "Lola" in Harley 913 seems an unlikely secular lullaby, coming as it does from a Franciscan monk living in a period of time and a place where affective piety was embraced intensely. Looking throughout the Middle English tradition, Grimestone's goliardic meter version and all of the lullaby carols are also focused on the Christ Child. The one lyric which does not appear to fit this thematic pattern is the Middle English lullaby from Harley 913. Modern scholarship from Heuser onward reads the lyric as a human mother singing to a human child. And indeed it seems problematic to read the Middle English text as being about the Christ Child because of the added stanzas. Like "Fowles in the Frithe" the additional stanzas provide a delightful ambiguity. Different interpretations of the words are possible, as one can read the child as Everyman or as the Christ child.

The lullaby started life as a Latin hymn to the Christ child, but after the lyric had been translated into the vernacular and expanded it might or might not have been heard that way by the Kildare monk's audience. Certainly a reader looking at the lyrics removed from the cultural context in which they were written will be predisposed to read "Lollai" as addressing humanity in the form of a normal human child. The text of the lyric lends itself to an interpretation of the child as an Everyman, a stand in for all of humanity. In such an interpretation we are all trapped in a dark world of uncertainty in which "þe riche he makip pouer. þe pore rich also." Because of Adam and Eve's sin, Death waits "wiþ

biter bale in brest." However, a fourteenth-century congregation, gathered to hear a mendicant friar preach and hear their confessions—that context might bring different expectations to the experience of hearing the song. I imagine that the friar's listeners understood that the song was in a tradition of singing to the Christ Child, particularly if the performance coincided with the Feast of the Nativity or of the Annunciation.

Descendants

As is clearly evident from the number of carols that share the Christ child lullaby motif, the congregations must have felt their hearts lifted by the music and words of the song. Since the lullaby theme was cherished, it was reworked to fit the dominant popular song form of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,⁶⁰ and the material continued to be reworked for the next three hundred years. Probably the best known of the medieval lullaby carols is "The Coventry Carol" whose first verse begins, "Oh sisters too, how may we do | For to preserve this day [. . .]" (Keyete and Parrott 118). In his commentary Heuser mentions that he finds the carol "Thys endris nyzt I saw a sizt, A stare as bryzt as day [. . .]" as one of the most beautiful in the tradition. A variant of it can be found as:

Lullay, Lullow, lully, lullay [. . .]

lullay baw baw my barne, sleep softly now.

I saw a sweet ē seemly sight,

a blissful burd, a blossom bright,

that mourning made and mirth of mang.

Lullay, [. . .]

A maiden mother, meek and mild,

in cradle keep a knavē child,
that softly sleep she sat and sang. (Stevens Mediaeval 1)

The double themes of singing comfort to the Christ child and mourning appear in many of the carols, as they do in the older Harley manuscript lullabies.

Though the Middle English lullabies became dominant, the Latin lullaby tradition continued to have representatives as well. In the fourteenth century the nuns of Chester sang "Qui creavit celum," with the repeated formula phrase "Lully, lully, lu" (46). Samuel Taylor Coleridge collected an eighteenth-century Latin version in a village in Germany, "Dormi, Jesu. Mater ridet," which he reworked into his poem, "The Virgin's Cradle-Hymn."⁶¹ It is interesting to note that the original Latin hymn that Coleridge found explicitly names the child in its lyrics, while Coleridge's lyrics only reveal the nature of the baby through the title of the poem—reminiscent of the ambiguity in "Lollai." Coleridge's lyric also shows how easily the concept of the lullaby as a nativity song slips from one language into another. Indeed, a Gaelic variant, "Táladh ar Slánair," was translated into English by Ranald Rankin, a parish priest in the outer Hebrides in 1855.⁶² His "Christ Child Lullaby" still appears in hymnals and in modern Celtic Christmas albums.⁶³

The thread that these lyrics have in common is the emotional impact that words and music together have when they describe the poignant scene of the young Virgin Mary singing a lullaby to the Christ child. The juxtaposition of the joy of the nativity with the grief of the crucifixion runs throughout the Christ child lullaby tradition. It is a tradition that begins in Latin and grows into the vernacular as the Franciscan friars seek to broaden

its audience. "Lollai" stands in the midst of this rich Marian lyric tradition, neither the first nor the last lullaby to be sung.

APPENDIX A

MIDDLE ENGLISH "LOLLAI, LOLLAI" (MS. HARLEY 913, F. 32R-V)

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

A transcription of the text in the manuscript is on the left, including the original punctuation. The *punctus elevatus* is represented by a [∨]. Abbreviations have been expanded with the added text italicized. My translation of the text into Modern English is on the right.

Lollai • *lollai* • litil child [∨] whi wepistou so sore.
nedis mostou wepe • hit was izarkid þe 3ore.
euer to lib in sorow • *and sich and* mourne euer •
as þin eldren did er þis • whil hi aliues were.
Lollai *lollai* litil child • child lolai lullow •
into uncuþ world [∨] icommen so ertow.

Lollai, lollai, little child, why do
you weep so bitterly? |
Necessarily you must weep, it was
prepared long ago for you | ever to
live in sorrow, and sigh and ever
mourn, | as your elders did before
this, while they were alive. |
Lollai, Lollai, little child, child
lollai, lullow, | into an unknown
world so you have come.

Continued on next page

bestis *and* þos foules • þe fisses *in* þe flode
and euch schef aliues • imakid of bone *and* blode:
wan hi commiþ to þe world • hi doþ *ham* silf sum gode;
al bot þe wrech brot • þat is of adam is blode.
lollai • *lollai* • litil child • to kar ertou bemette:
þou nost nozt þis world is wild • bi for þe is isette.

Beasts and those birds, the fishes
in the sea, | and each living
creature, made of bone and
blood, | when they come into the
world, they do themselves some
good, | all but the wretched child
that is of Adam's blood. | Lollai,
Lollai, little child, care is meted
out to you. | You do not know
this world's wildness that is set
before you.

Child if betidith • þat þou ssalt þriue *and* þe •
þench, þou wer ifostred • up þi moder kne:
euer hab mund *in* þi hert • of þos þinges þre.
whan þou commist • whan þou art • *and* what ssal
come of þe.
lollai • *lollai* • litil child • child lollai lollai:
wiþ sorow þou *come into* þis world • wiþ sorow ssalt
wend awai

Child if it betides that you should
live and thrive, | think how you
were raised upon your mother's
knee. | Ever have memory in
your heart of these three things: |
whence you came, whence you
are, and what will become of
you. | Lollai, lollai little child,
child lollai, lollai. | With sorrow
you come into this world, with
sorrow you will wend away.

ne trustou to þis world • hit is þi ful vo.
þe rich he makiþ pouer • þe pore rich also.
hit turneþ wo to wel • *and* ek wel to wo.
ne trust no man to þis world • whil hit turniþ so.
Lollai • *lollai* • litil child • þe fote is *in* þe whele.
þou nost whoder turne • to wo oþer wele.

Never trust in this world. It is
fully your foe, | The rich it makes
poor, the poor rich also. | It turns
woe to cheer and cheer to woe. |
Let no man trust to this world
while it turns so. | Lollai, lollai,
little child, your foot is on the
wheel; | You don't know whether
it turns to woe or cheer.

Continued on next page.

Child þou ert a pilgrim • in wikidnis ibor
þou wandrest in þis fals world • þou loke þe bi for•
deþ ssal come wiþ a blast • ute of awel dim horre:
adam is kin dun to cast • him silf haþ ido be for•
Lollai • *lollai* • litil child • so wo þe worþ adam
in þe lond of paradis • þroʒ wikidnes of satan.

Child, you are a pilgrim born
into wickedness. | You wander in
this false world. Look you (at
what is) before you; | Death will
come with a blast out of a very
faint (distant) horn, | Adam's kin
to cast down, as he himself has
done before. | Lollai, lollai little
child, this woe Adam made for
you, | in the land of paradise
through the wickedness of Satan.

Child þou nert a pilgrim • bot an uncuþe gist.
þi dawes beþ itold • þi iurneis beþ icast.
whoder þou sale wend • norþ oþer est•
deþ þe sal betide • wiþ biter bale in brest.
Lollai • *lollai* • litil child • þis wo adam þe wroʒt.
Whan he of þe appil ete • *and* eue hit him betacht.

Child you are not a pilgrim, but
an unknown guest. | Your days
are numbered, your journeys are
cast. | Whether you will go north
or east, death will happen to you
with bitter malice in breast. |
Lollai, lollai, little child, this woe
Adam made for you, | when he
ate of the apple, and Eve
delivered it to him.

Notes on Translation

Stanza 1- For Heuser's discussion of the use of the pronoun "hit" in this manuscript see Appendix D.

The word "lollai" has been added in accordance with the pattern in the rest of the stanzas.

Stanza 2- "Wild(e)" as a noun can also mean "a state of lack of control." As an adjective it can also carry the connotation of "wicked."

Stanza 5- Carleton Brown's glossary provides "hidden door" for "dim horre" based on the O.E. word for "hinge." Angela M. Lucas renders it as "dark corner" in her translation. In our conversations, Randi Eldevik has suggested that the word "horre" may be "horn" with the "n" sound suppressed as it is in the first line of the stanza in "ibor" for "iborn." (As the second "r" is connected to the "e," in the manuscript, it is possible that the letter

may have originally even been written as an "n.") Reading the word as "horn" rather than "door" or "corner" has the advantage of fitting with early fourteenth-century ideas about death.

The concept of death within a Christian context shifts over time. In the early church, death was akin to a state of sleep in which the Christian awaits the coming resurrection of the dead. However, by the fourteenth century, an emphasis on the book of Matthew's description of the Last Judgment had superseded images of the resurrection, and the moment of Judgment had moved from a point in the future when the dead would rise, to the moment of each individual's death. In artwork of the time period, the Judgment is often depicted as being heralded by angels with trumpets;⁶⁴ hence it is possible to read this stanza as death coinciding with the coming judgment of the soul.

This idea of "tame death," one in which death is foreshadowed/announced by signs sent by God in order to give the Christian a space of time to arrange for his/her death, is dominant prior to the mid-fourteenth century. Hence perhaps why in the poem the child is told to "thou loke the bi for." However in the later fourteenth century, perhaps encouraged by the devastating death toll of the plague, a view of death begins to dominate in which death comes suddenly and walks among us unseen. Although the "Lollai" lyric may have been copied close to the time of the Black Death, its various components were composed earlier; hence Brown's interpretation of the line about death as describing something hidden and unexpected seems less likely than an interpretation in which death is being announced in some way.

The adjective "dim" usually means "faint" or "indistinct" when applied to a sound, particularly to the voice. However, a similar use of the word in *Sir Orfeo* describes the

hunting rout of the fairy King as coming "with dim cri and bloweing," (line 285). Since hunting cries and horns are not "faint" sounds, (nor is the blast from an angel's trumpet on the day of judgment) the implication would seem to be that the sounds are "distant," in both the line in *Sir Orfeo*, and the one in "Lollai." The sound is faint not because the sound itself lacks volume, but because the hearer's distance from the source makes it less loud.

APPENDIX B:

"LOLA, LOLA" (F. 63V) TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

Lolla | lolla paruule • cur fles tam amare • Lolla, lolla, little child, why do you weep so
Oportet te plangere • necnon suspirare bitterly. | It is right for you to mourn and
Te dolere grauiter • decet uegetare, also to sigh, | to grieve terribly. It is fitting to
Vt parentes exules : nexerant ignare grow, | as your exiled parents did: they had
Lolla, lolla paruule • natus mundo tristi: bound (you) senselessly. | Lolla, lolla, little
Ignotum cum maximo • dolore uenisti• child, born into a sorrowful world: | you
have come to the unknown with great
sorrow.

Alites et bestie • pisces fluctuantes Birds and beasts, fish rising in the waves. |
Creature genite • cuncte uegetantes. Begotten creatures all thriving. | They
Sibi prosunt aliquid • iuuamen prestantes benefit themselves, providing some aid, |
Nisi tu miserime, uiuens inter fantes except you most wretched one, living among
Lolla • l[olla] • paruule • repletus dolore the speaking ones | Lolla, lolla, little child,
(*Manuscript breaks off here. See below filled with grief*
for speculative readings.)

Notes on My Translation Choices

Wilhelm Heuser provided a transcription of this text in *Die Kildare Gedichte*, but did not translate it (175-6). Angela M. Lucas's transcription follows Heuser, with minor changes to punctuation. She also provides a translation for the fragment in the notes for "Lollai" ([Anglo-Irish Poems](#) 201-2). Obviously, I have consulted these in my translation.

In addition, Medieval Latin specialist A.G. Rigg at the Centre for Medieval Studies (University of Toronto) was kind enough to answer questions about my translation choices in a letter from the summer of 2007 ("Letter"). In answer to my question about whether the Latin is a translation of a Middle English text, he provided a few comments on possible readings, which I have included below.

Stanza 1-

Line 3: Lucas takes *vegetare* as *to live* while Rigg takes it as *to grow*. Lewis and Short's dictionary entry has *to quicken, enliven, arouse*.

Line 4: Rigg had several suggestions for translating this line. If the Latin was translated from a Middle English original, perhaps the n in *nexerant* might actually be a u, making the word *uexerant*, to carry or bear. (Looking at the microfilm of the manuscript, I feel that either u or n is possible, since the connecting lines of the top or bottom of the minims is not visible.) In this case Rigg mentions that it might be "a mistranslation of (y)bore(n) 'had given birth to,' as bear can mean both carry and give birth to' in English but not in Latin." That would yield the line as, "had given birth to you, unknown," although he admits that is as enigmatic as "they had bound you unknown" which would seem to be the translation if it is *nexerant*.

Another possibility is that *n/uexerant* is an error for *uixerant* from *vivo*. If true, the line would read "they had lived ignorantly." This requires taking the -e ending for an adverbial ending, rather than the other possibility, which is to take it as a vocative ending matching *te (paruule)*.

He also noted that *fantes* contrasts with *infans*. "i.e. you are an *infans* living among *fantes*" ("Letter").

Line 5: A scribal error perhaps has written *nat*⁹. The abbreviation symbol "9" is typically substituted for "us" or "os." However, *natus* should more correctly be *nate* to match the vocative case of *paruule*. This error is repeated in the fifth line of stanza two where the scribe has written *replet*⁹.

Line 6: *ignotum* could be nominative or accusative neuter (that which is unknown/strange), or accusative masculine (the unknown/strange one.) Lucas translates *ignotum* as a neuter accusative (you have come to the unknown). This is closer to the Middle English "into uncuþ world icommen so ertow." No matter which is the original, the two versions have a close relationship to each other, so translations that agree with the Middle English are probably closer to the meaning that the scribe had in mind. One difficulty with this reading is that *venisti* normally does not take an object; hence it more properly should be *in ignotum* or *ad ignotum*. However the preposition may have been omitted to preserve the meter.

Stanza 2-

Line 1: Idiomatically, *fluctuantes* is "swimming."

Line 2: *Creature* is actually a plural nominative of the first-declension (normally *creaturae*). Medieval Latin commonly collapses the *ae* ending to an *e*. This occurs in the following words that take their gender and case from that noun; *genite* and *cuncte*.

Line 3: Lines 3 and 4 are written out of order, which the scribe has noted with the symbol, *b.a*. I have amended them here to their correct order.

Rigg suggests reading the minims of the fourth word as *iuuamen* (aid) rather than using Heuser's reading of *uiuamen* (a non-standard word, which Lucas translates as "sustenance") As this line is the fourth line in the manuscript (see note below), it is near the edge of the vellum in an area that is damaged. I cannot see any clear indication of which reading to prefer. However, I have chosen *iuuamen* since it is a common word, declined appropriately to match case and gender with *aliquid*.

Prestantes has a collapsed *ae* in its prefix, so it is *praestantes*.

Line 6: The tops of some of the letters are visible from this line, but the words were cut off in the rebinding of the manuscript. Heuser saw the word *nesciens*. Rigg speculates from the tops of the letters, "I seem to see: *nouum tibi nesciens sed famem (in ore)* 'not knowing what is new to you, but (knowing only) hunger in your mouth...' ("Letter"). I would note that the words Rigg's proposes fit the structural requirements of goliardic meter, as explained below, although the words do not have the close correspondence in meaning that the other lines have with the Middle English.

APPENDIX C

GRIMESTONE'S "LULLAY, LULLAY" (ADV. MS 18.7.21, F. 120R-V)

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

Since I am working from the microfilm and not the actual manuscript, my transcription relies heavily on Carleton Brown's (83). I have reproduced the manuscript's punctuation (including the *capitalum*) in the first two stanzas for comparison with "Lola" and "Lollai."

∕ Lullay, lullay litel child • child reste þe a þrowe

- Fro heyze hider art þu sent • with us • to wone lowe •
- Pore & litel art þu mad • vnkut & unknowe •
- Pine an wo • to suffren her for þing þat was þin owe

∕ Lullay, l[ullay] litel child • sorwe mauth þu make

- þu art sent in-to þis werd. as tu were for-sake

Lullay, lullay, little child, child rest you awhile. | From on high you are sent here to live with us below. | You are made poor and little, unrecognized and unknown, | Pain and woe to suffer here, for the thing that was your own. | Lullay, lullay little child, sorrow might you make. | You are sent into this world as though you were forsaken.

∕ Lullay, l[ullay], litel grom, king of alle þingge

- Wan i þenke of þi methchef me listet wol litel singge
- But caren i may for sorwe, 3ef loue wer in myn herte,
- For suiche peines as þu salt drizen were neuere non so smerte.

∕ Lullay, l[ullay] litel child, wel mauth þu crize •

- For þan þi bodi is bleyk & blak, sone after sal ben drize •

Lullay, lullay little lad, king of all things. | When I think of your trouble, I have little desire to sing. | But I may grieve for [such] sorrow, if love were in my heart. | For such pains as you will suffer, never were any so painful. | Lullay, lullay, little child, well might you cry, | for when your body is wan and pale, soon after you will be lifeless.

Child, it is a weping dale þat þu art comen inne,
þi pore clutes it prouen wel, þi bed mad in þe binne;
Cold & hunger þu must þolen as þu were geten in senne,
& after deyzen on þe tre for loue of al man-kenne.
Lullay, l[ullay] litel child, no wonder þou þu care,
Þu art comen amounges hem þat þi detz sulen zare.

Child it is a weeping world that
you are coming into. | Your
poor swaddling clothes prove it
well, your bed made in a
manger. | Cold and hunger you
must endure as though you
were begotten in sin, and
afterwards (you must) die on
the tree for love of all mankind.
| Lullay, lullay, little child, no
wonder you grieve; | You have
come among those that will
prepare your death.

Lullay, l[ullay] litel child, for sorwe mauth þu grete,
þe anguis þat þu suffren salth sal don þe blod to suete;
Naked, bunden saltu ben, & seiþen sore bete,
No þing fre vp-on þi bodi of pine sal be lete.
Lullai, l[ullay], litel child, it is al for þi fo,
þe harde bond of loue longging þat þe hat bunden so.

Lullay, lullay, little child, for
sorrow might you weep. | The
anguish that you will suffer,
will make your blood into
sweat. | Naked, you will be
bound and afterwards sorely
beaten, | nothing on your body
will be left free of pain. |
Lullay, lullay, little child, it is
all for your foe, | the hard bond
of love-longing, that has bound
you so.

Lullay, l[ullay], litel child, litel child þin ore!
It is al for oure owen gilt þat þu art peined sore;
but wolde we zet kinde be, & liuen after þi lore,
& leten senne for þi loue, ne keptest þu no more.
Lullay, l[ullay] litel child, softe slep & faste,
In sorwe endet eueri loue but þin at þe laste. Amen.

Lullay, lullay little child, your
mercy. | It is all for our own
guilt that you are sorely pained.
| But if we would yet be kind
and live after your teaching, |
and abandon sin for your love,
you would no more be
troubled. | Lullay, lullay, little
child soft and fast asleep, | In
sorrow ends every love but
yours at the last. Amen.

APPENDIX D

MY TRANSLATION OF WILHELM HEUSER'S PREFACE COMMENTARY FOR "LOLLAI" FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN

Heuser, Wilhelm. "A Lullaby." *Die Kildare-Gedichte; Die Ältesten Mittelenglischen Denkmäler in Anglo-Irischer Überlieferung*. Bonner Beiträge Zur Anglistik, -Heft 14. Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1904. 172-176.

Please note that bracketed words are my own insertions and that I have left Heuser's title material and citations in their original format.

XII.

A Lullaby.

Listed by T. Wright, *Rel. Ant.* II 177.

This oldest existing English lullaby is at the same time one of the most beautiful and melodious of its kind, remaining simple and in the folk tradition, and still mostly free from the religious content that dominates in the later middle English literature of this genre. However, the later lullabies have the cajolingly melodious refrain: "Lullai, Lullai," also they sing about the misery that the child expects in the evil world; but the lulling mother is the young woman Mary, and the crying child in her arms is the Christ child. The fate which the world readies for its savior is portrayed sometimes in the ominous lamentation of the mother alone, [and] sometimes in the antiphony between the mother

and son. Genuine pearls of religious lyrics are found in these, such as in the songs of :
MS Sloane 2593, i. J. 1856 edited by T. Wright for the Warton Club (cf. Nr. 37, 69); and
in: Wright's, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. 1847 (cf. Nr. 10, 14) ; and in the song
collection published by Flügel Anglia, XXVI (cf. Nr. 86, 87).

[Heuser notes at the bottom of this page:] The beautiful poem *Thys endris nyzt I saw a sizt,*
A stare as brzt as day etc. = Flügel Nr. 87 and Percy Soc. Nr.10. It is also found in Rel.
Ant. II 76 and in the Fairfax Ms.

They all also greatly differ outwardly from our poem. Not a single one conforms
to the ancient six-line stanza (aaaabb), in which their precursor from the Kildare
manuscript has been composed. Nevertheless direct similarities can be seen. The version
closest to this oldest version is a poem of MS Sloane number 37 from Wright, because it
begins five verses with the refrain of the Kildare Poems "Lullay, Lullay Lytil child," and
one of these continues: "qwy wepy(s) thou so sore," which corresponds exactly to the
beginning of our poem. An older, as yet unknown poem, which likewise already contains
the religious background in the refrain: "Lollay, Lollay, thu lytel chyld, wy wepys thou so
sore," is found in Ms. Harley 7358, fol. 12b. On a Parchment roll of Cambridge
University Library Oo VII 32, which contains a genealogy table of the English Kings in
Old French and is perhaps from the time of Edward II, are four lines in English, which
almost precisely agree with a stanza of the Kildare Poem; namely:

þe leuedi fortune is boþe frend and fo,
Of pore che makit riche, of riche pore also;
Che turnez wo al into wele, and wele al into wo--
Ne triste no man to this wele, the whel it turnet so.

After this, there is little doubt that the lullabies and similar verses were already in circulation early, and that our poem is a version which had made its way over to Ireland; however, it cannot be assumed that it is the model for the English versions.

The long lines of our poem are regularly constructed Septenare, which are free from transitions to and similarities with the national four-footed verse. One finds occasional alliteration, but not as a regularly applied principle, as in the case of the national species of verse. Here one finds the lyric in agreement with the genuine Kildare Poems, which altogether employ alliteration only occasionally. However, a definite imported-element can be proven to exist in the spelling, and the rhyme is also not free from irregularity. In stanza 1, the rhyme *-ore* is not maintained in the first four lines; instead of *eure : were*, it is likely that *euermore : wore* were originally used, or perhaps also with *-are* instead of *-ore*. Stanza 6 shows repeated difficulties through the rhymes *icast : -est, wrozt: betacht*. These irregularities are actually too many for such a short poem, and they indicate forms in the original that were unfamiliar to the scribe, and he changed [them] at the expense of the rhymes. What is more there is a single, but critical imported-element in the spelling. In stanza 4 the pronoun *hit* is applied three times in relation to [the word] "*world*", but *he* is used there once, apparently precipitated by the correct pronoun/model *heo*. It is immaterial whether the writer here mechanically has written *he* for *heo*, as he also was accustomed to using *e* for *eo*, the pronoun usually used, or if he, misunderstanding the model, treats the word "*world*" as masculine, —most importantly, one instance of a mistaken gender cannot be separated from the writer's triple use of the corresponding pronoun *hit*. Therefore, we must adopt a model with *heo*, from a variant dialect, because in the Kildare-Poems the corresponding pronoun was

called *zho, sso*. In addition, if the spelling is correct, the model makes itself significantly less noticeable than in [the poems] "Erth" and "Elde," where , because of it, the more exact regularity of its dialect is facilitated.

The first two stanzas of our poem were recorded in Latin verse with a similar metrical character and they carry the same stanza construction on the lower half of folio 63b. Here, apparently, a monk who wanted to show off his skill in writing Latin verse, took advantage of a blank spot in the manuscript. Marginalia added later in another hand on folio 32 refers to these verses: [quote in Latin] "Require ista in latino .XII. folio." ["Seek that in Latin on folio 12."] The order and foliation of this manuscript was thus earlier a somewhat different one

APPENDIX E

GLOSSARY OF SPECIALIZED TERMS

Codicological, Paleographical & Punctuation Terms:

Bifolium (pl. bifolia) The two folio (four pages) of one contiguous sheet of vellum or paper, folded and sewn in the middle.

Capitalum A rubrication mark that resembles a stylized capital C. It is used to mark the beginning of a new section of text or paragraph. It is used interchangeably in medieval texts with a *paragraphus* mark. In Harley MS 913, it is alternated deliberately with the *paragraphus* mark in order to differentiate the beginnings of verses and refrains in the goliard + couplet refrain song form.

Centerfold The fold in a bifolium where the quire is sewn to the binding.

Cords The cords across the spine of a book, to which the quires are sewn.

Double Punctus ... A mark of punctuation that looks like the modern colon. Used in Harley MS 913 to mark the end of a verbal unit, but not of a complete thought (for which he uses a *punctus*).

Endcaps An additional cord along the top and bottom edge of the spine. The edges of each quire are sewn to it and the cord is covered over with the thread.

- Flesh-side The side of vellum or parchment that was once the inner side of the skin of the animal. (Literally, the side in contact with the animals internal flesh.)
- Folio (abbreviated as f., pl. folia) The recto and verso side of a single page within a manuscript.
- Hair-side..... The side of vellum or parchment that once was the outer side of the skin of the animal. (Literally, the side with hair.)
- Medial Punctus.... A *punctus* mark that is located midway above the baseline of the text. In Harley MS 913 it is drawn much darker than the punctus. It is used to mark the caesura in a way that the *punctus elevatus* is used in chant texts to mark shifts in the music.
- Paragraphus..... A rubrication mark that resembles a child's drawing of a hangman's gallows. It is used to mark the beginning of a new section of text or paragraph. It is used interchangeably in medieval texts with a capitalum mark. In Harley MS 913, it is alternated deliberately with the capitalum mark in order to differentiate the beginnings of verses and refrains in the goliard + couplet refrain song form.
- Parchment Writing surface made from the hide of a sheep. Often used for contracts or official documents because of its tendency to allow ink to soak into the skin, making erasure of the initial ink mark impossible.
- Punctus Elevatus.. A mark of punctuation that resembles a check mark above a modern period, or a slash above a modern period. It is often used in chant texts to mark shifts in the music.

- Punctus..... The equivalent of the modern period. Used to indicate a pause, such as at the end of a complete thought.
- Quire A group of bifolium which have been folded together in the middle and sewn as a unit. (Modernly called a "signature.")
- Recto The page on the right hand side of a manuscript, when the book is open.
- Sewing Station.... The location of the stitching in each quire, which attaches it to the cords along the spine.
- Vellum Writing surface made from the hide of a calf. Considered to be the best quality writing surface available in the Middle Ages. Ink can be scraped from it, so that an error can be fixed.
- Verso..... The page on the left hand side of a manuscript, when the book is open. (It is the "reverse" side of the recto.)

Music and Poetry Terms

- Antepenultimate .. The syllable before the penult syllable (i.e. the second to last syllable) in a word. In a line or half line of Latin poetry, if the accent is on the antepenultimate syllable, the stress of the line is described as proparoxytonic (abbreviated as pp). See also *Penultimate*.
- Burden..... The name of the refrain in a carol. It is sung prior to the first stanza and then after the conclusion of each stanza.
- Caesura..... A break between two half lines (hemistiches) in a line of verse.

Caesural rhyme.... An internal rhyme where the rhymes occur at the caesura (the end of the first half line.) Common in Latin goliardic stanzas. For example:

Lolla, lolla **paruule** • cur fles tam amare

Oportet te **plangere** • necnon suspirare

Carol A strophic song form with uniform stanzas and a repeat called a burden that is sung prior to the first stanza and then after the conclusion of each stanza. Originally it was a popular and courtly dance-song, but in the fourteenth century it was also a song to be sung without dance.⁶⁵

Contrafacta A song for which new text has been written to an existing song's melody. (The modern pop-culture term is "filk.")

Dactylic In accented verse this term means a poetic foot composed of three syllables, in which the first syllable is stressed and the following two are unstressed. In quantitative verse it means a three syllable foot in which the first syllable is long and the following two syllables are short.

Goliard +

Couplet Refrain ... is a term I have coined for convenience to describe the song form of "Lollai." It is a mono-rhymed goliardic stanza with a couplet refrain that is also in goliardic meter. (Its rhyme scheme is AAAABB.)

Goliardic Meter ... A line of poetry (most commonly in Latin) with thirteen syllables. Seven syllables in the first half line, ending in a dactyl and six syllables in the second half line, ending in a trochee. (7pp + 6p). For

an explanation of the abbreviations p and pp, see *Penultimate* and *Antepenultimate*.⁶⁶

Goliardic Stanza .. A mono-rhymed quatrain (AAAA) with goliardic meter lines.

Hymn In the Middle Ages a term denoting a very broad song genre that can broadly be defined as: a strophic song on a sacred topic, used for worship, whose lines of verse were broken into half-lines. (The most common form was a line that had 8 syllables + 8 syllables.) It commonly rhymed, but had varied rhyme schemes.

Iambic In accented verse this term means a poetic foot composed of one unstressed syllable followed by one stressed syllable. In quantitative verse it means one short syllable followed by one long syllable.

Melisma A neume or neumes which create a more extensive group of notes to be sung on one syllable. Usually to emphasize the ends of phrases or lines, or to indicate a shift in the music.

Metrum..... "A poem or song written according to the principles of *musica metrica* -i.e. based on the durational (quantitative) system of classical prosody; contrasted with *ritmus*. Such are the 'metres' of Boethius" (Stevens, Glossary 508).

Mono-rhyme..... A stanza that maintains the same end-rhyme throughout. For example a mono-rhymed quatrain would be: AAAA.

Neume..... A single symbol used in early music notation to denote either a single or group of notes. In a syllabic song each neume is sung to a single syllable of text.

Penultimate..... A term to describe the second to last syllable in a word. In a line or half line of Latin poetry, if the accent is on the penultimate syllable, the stress of the line is described as paroxytonic (abbreviated as p).

Also see *Antepenultimate*.

Qualitative Verse/

Accentual Verse .. Verse measured in feet composed of patterns of accented and unaccented syllables. Similar to qualitative verse, however the feet are created by counting stressed syllables rather than the duration of the syllables.

Quantitative Verse/

Musica Metrica.... "verse measured by the duration of syllables (long and short) as distinct from 'accentual'" (Stevens, Glossary 509).

Ritmus..... "A poem or song written according to the principles of **musica ritmica** in which the counting of syllables predominates; contrasted with metrum" (Stevens, Glossary 510).

Sequence A song form in which the music and meter have a progressive repetition. Each stanza may have different music and meter, but the pattern is repeated at least once. So musically it repeats: AABBCDD, etc.

Strophic..... A song in which the music and meter of each stanza is identical. (Each successive stanza repeats the same music and meter as the previous stanza.)

Syllabic A type of music in which each neume is sung to a single syllable of text. ("Ecce Torpet" is largely syllabic. The lost tune for "Lollai" was probably syllabic in the same way.)

Trochaic In accented verse this term means a poetic foot composed of one stressed syllable followed by one unstressed syllable. In quantitative verse it means one long syllable followed by one short syllable.

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NOTES

¹ D. L. D'Avray states that the friars were "better educated in the employment of preaching materials" than the parish priests (Preaching 21).

² The distribution of the five holes along the spine are: 9mm (top of page to first hole), 23mm (first hole to second hole/first cord), 33mm (second hole to third hole/second cord), 31mm (third hole to fourth hole/third cord), 32 mm (fourth hole to fifth hole), 8 mm (fifth hole to bottom of page).

J.A. Szirmai states that gothic bindings typically have even spacing between the main sewing stations (cords), "deviations exceeding no more than 1 or 2 mm," while the distance between the outermost sewing stations (cords) and the top or bottom edge of the page may vary from c. 50 to 150% of the regular distance between cords (181). Since the four lower holes in Harley 913 are equidistant from each other, it is likely they are the original main sewing stations where the quires are attached to the cords on the spine. Typically the original holes are re-used when a medieval book is rebound (Szirmai 182). Hence there are no additional holes in Harley 913, which would have been necessary if the rebinder wished to make the cords symmetrical along the spine of the book.

As Szirmai observes, the upper and bottom distances may differ from each other, so the irregularity in Harley 913 is no certain proof of a conjectural fourth cord. The manuscript's lack of a generous lower margin, however, presents another bit of evidence

in support of a missing fourth cord. Marc Drogin points out that a balanced medieval page has a bottom margin that is twice that of the upper margin (166). If the original size of the Harley 913 manuscript included a standard bottom margin, then the page could easily have been 25mm longer, which would make a four-cord binding symmetrical. (i.e. the distances might originally have been something like 9mm, 24mm, 33mm, 33mm, 33mm, 24mm, 9mm.) Of course, it is unknown how much was trimmed from any of the three sides of the manuscript so these dimensions are only an example of what is possible. Indeed, since the top margin is very skimpy in spots, the top hole in the original manuscript may have had a 15 or 20 mm distance to the edge of the page. The inclusion of proper margins would mean that at its creation Harley 913 was substantially larger than the neatly, but severely trimmed book that exists today.

³ The black color of gall ink, used in the early Middle Ages, remains virtually unchanged through the centuries, but mixing pigments to gall ink causes it to fade over time (Carvalho 83-84). In general, the northern countries such as England and Germany had poorer ink qualities than Italy and Spain. The poorer recipes for ink cluster in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries throughout Europe and become darker again in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (90-91).

⁴ Benskin points out that the words necessary for the end-rhymes are usually not translated into a local dialect by scribes, since it would disturb the rhyme. So often a manuscript will have non-rhyming language in one dialect, but rhyming words in a different one. Although Benskin is careful to say that it is not possible to pinpoint the dialects precisely, he does assert that in general, the rhyming language of Harley 913 is

from Kildare (which would make it the authorial dialect), and the non-rhyming language is from Waterford (the dialect of the copyist.) For the full argument and a summary of other scholarship on the location of Harley 913's composition and manufacture see Benskin's "The Style and Authorship of the Kildare Poems- (1) Pers of Bermingham."

⁵ In "The Hands of the Kildare Poet Manuscript," Benskin identifies five distinct hands. Hand A is a debased-textura semi-quadrata with a bit of Anglicana mixed in it— a "typical university book hand of the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries" (165). This is the hand in which most of the manuscript is written. Hand B is a crude Anglicana that is responsible for the insertion of a page of Latin couplets where a page had been left blank, and some added-in titles in the top margin of several other pages. Hand C is obviously a later addition as it is in a late fifteenth-century Secretary script. It also makes little additions in places that were originally left blank. Hand D may actually just be Hand A at a different point in the scribe's life. It is a "competent Anglicana currens, small and heavily abbreviated" (165). Hand E only has a single item, and is close, but not identical to B.

⁶ Angela Lucas provides the most complete list of Franciscan associations within the text in her "Introduction" to *Anglo-Irish Poems of the Middle Ages*.

⁷ Below is a list of the publications of the poem that I have found. This should not be considered exhaustive. Pinkerton (277); Lucas *Anglo-Irish* (124-127); Brown *Religious Lyrics XIV* (35-36); Heuser (172-176); Guest (512-515); Chambers (166-168); Silverstein (54-56); Sisam (154-156); Wright *Reliquiae* (177-178). In addition, I have found

commentary on the poem (but not the entire poem) in: Greene *Early English Carols* (cxxiv-cxxv) and Robbins *Earliest Carols* (243).

⁸ The original edition of the Middle English works in Harley MS 913 is Wilhelm Heuser's *Die Kildare-Gedichte*, published in 1904. More recently they have been republished in Angela Lucas's *Anglo-Irish Poems of the Middle Ages* in 1995.

⁹ The two published articles on the reconstructions of the manuscript are "Reconstructing a Disarranged Manuscript" by Angela Lucas and Peter Lucas (1990), and some proposed corrections in Yoko Wada's "'Seven Sins' and Indulgences Restored: Towards a Reconstruction of British Library, MS Harley 913. For my proposed reconstruction, see Chapter Four.

¹⁰ The first modern publication of material in Harley 913 was in T. Crofton Croker's *Reliquae Antiquae*. On page 277, he describes the manuscript briefly then gives the Norman French, "The Entrenchment of Ross." "Lollai" was first published in Thomas Wright's, *Reliquae Antiquae: Scraps from Ancient Manuscripts*, in 1856. Heuser cites Wright's published transcription, however, *Reliquae Antiquae* contains no commentary.

¹¹ Heuser lists: *MS Sloane 2593*, i. J. 1856 ed. by T. Wright for the Warton Club (cf. Nr. 37, 69); Wright's, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Soc. 1847 (cf. Nr. 10, 14) ; and Flügel, XXVI published by *Anglia* (cf. Nr. 86,87). The unknown version that Heuser mentions has since been published in R.L. Greene's *The Early English Carols* as 155b. It is a close variant of the preceding lullaby carol 155a, taken from John of Grimestone's commonplace book (Advocates MS 18.7.21). Heuser seems to have been unaware of the existence of Grimestone's version of the lullaby.

¹² This is from a parchment roll held by Cambridge University Library (Oo VII 32).

¹³ Septenarius is "a Latin meter consisting of seven feet plus one additional syllable" (Halporn 172-3).

¹⁴ Oddly, Brown suggests the rhymes in the first stanza could be restored by amending them from "evere" and "were" to "ther-fore" and "wore," despite Heuser's more logical suggestion that the original words were probably "euermore" and "wore."

¹⁵ Brown wrote a scathing review of *The Early English Carols* that accused Greene's strict structural definition of making "a shibboleth of what is in many instances a formal rather than an essential criterion" ("Review" 127).

¹⁶ Catherine K. Miller summarized in English the arguments put forward in Margit Sahlin's dissertation, *Etude sur la carole médiévale* (1940), in which Sahlin argues that the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century carols in England are "directly indebted to the liturgy in matters of both form and content" (63). Miller adds examples of carol texts being found in music manuscripts used for particular feastdays, sometimes with the texts set to regular *conducti* (a musical processional form.) Musicologist John Stevens repeats Miller's musical argument in the introduction to his collection of the extant carol tunes, *Mediaeval Carols* (1958). This presented a substantial threat to Greene's position that carols are directly descended from dance songs.

¹⁷ Although not the purpose of this work, the great carol debates of the last century are a lively and interesting interlude in scholarship, so I feel compelled to finish the chain of events in a note. After the Egerton music manuscripts were discovered, which swelled the extant musical sources for carols, Robbins merely published a list of the lyrics that met

Greene's criteria. However, seven months later Robbins reversed his earlier position of support for Greene's carol origin theory (that carols are directly descended from dance songs), and sided with the musicologists, Stevens and Miller. In his "Middle English Carols as Processional Hymns" Robbins elaborates on the arguments put forward in Miller's paper, also rehearsing many of Greene's observations about the carol's use of antiphons, prosae and responses. He points out that Greene had noticed the common practice in the carols of appropriating pieces of Latin from hymns, but had failed to identify that the hymns borrowed from were primarily processional hymns (565-66). The two men continued to argue the point in articles and even in the reviews they wrote of each other's work. With the death of the main participants in the debate, modern scholarship has abandoned the topic except for a few dissertations which attempt to find middle ground, proposing that carols used for different purposes may have had different origins.

¹⁸ Most of the Latin texts existing in Harley MS 913 are very difficult to read in the microfilm that the British Library sells. This may be causing the scarcity of scholarship on the Latin sections.

¹⁹ The *Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum* records that Sir James Ware copied items 29-38 into Lansdowne MS 418 in February 1608. The note in the manuscript calls the source "a small old book, in parchment, called the Book of Rosse or of Waterford." Most of the items Ware chose to copy are in Latin, although he recopied the one French piece, and three of the Middle English.

²⁰ The manuscript has two sets of numbers marking the folios. An older set begins on what is now folio 3 and continues to the end in the same sequence as the more recent numbering. The older (and often more visible) numbers have been crossed through. The two "Significationes" are therefore omitted from the older numbering system, while the more modern foliation includes them. (It is likely that they were not included originally because they were endpapers, and not viewed as being part of the book proper.)

²¹ The layout markings analyzed are the prick markings for the line rules, the faint crayon rulings themselves, and the frames the text is laid-out in. For more information about the criteria used for their analysis, see Lucas and Lucas's excellent article, "Reconstructing a Disarranged Manuscript: The Case of MS Harley 913, a Medieval Hiberno-English Miscellany."

²² Lucas and Lucas cite P. R. Robinson's article "The Booklet: A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts" for further explanation of the term.

²³ My reconstruction adds f. 21/24 to the list of bifolia that have been moved.

²⁴ My thanks to Peter Lucas for his permission to recreate the form of his diagram of the Harley manuscript. (Please note that the H/F designations are my own insertions, and are not part of Lucas and Lucas's original table.)

²⁵ The fifth is the first bifolium, which I would propose is merely the endpaper.

²⁶ See Appendix E for a glossary of specialized terms.

²⁷ In illuminated manuscripts, the facing pages of the inner bifolium of a quire are often the reverse; they are hide-side folded to face hide-side. This is to give the illuminator a two-page spread of the "good" side of the vellum with which to work. However, folding

flesh-side to flesh-side might make a tighter inner folio which would lie flatter; a criteria more important in a small traveling book.

²⁸ Yoko Wada's article "'Seven Sins' and Indulgences Restored" combines several of the Latin fragments in the manuscript into one work, reordering the folia to make those pages sequential. While her assertion that the text is from *Tractus de Indulgentia Sanctae Mariae de Portiuncula* (55) is intriguing, the changes she proposes in order to reconnect these texts are not physically possible. Her changes would require that two of the bifolia be composed differently than they actually are. For example, in the manuscript as it exists currently f. 23 and 26 are two halves of the same bifolium. But Wada's reconstruction relies on f. 26 and 27 being in the same bifolium together (56-7), which they are not.

²⁹ Certainly the scribe meant to write the text of each item in sequential order. And had he made a mistake, he would likely have marked it in some way to signal that he had made a mistake. The text of "Lola" has two lines inverted, but the scribe has carefully marked the mistake.

³⁰ Oddly, the beginning of "Entrenchement of New Ross" (f. 64) is in better condition than the successive folios of 61, 55, and 56, which suggests that perhaps the damage originated at f. 55 and 56 and caused the fold to tear in these bifolia.

³¹ Originally the vertical placement of a punctus (on the line, or midway above) had specific meanings within the *distinctiones* system. But by the writing of "Lola" it had lost their original specific meanings.

³² The double punctus is a version of an earlier mark of punctuation, the punctus elevatus. Since the scribe uses punctus elevatus in other places in the text, it is possible that these

may have been the same form of the mark originally, which have become unclear from the darkening of this particular leaf of the manuscript. Both were used in similar ways, so the distinction is of little importance in this instance.

³³ See John Stevens's *The Later Cambridge Songs* for a facsimile, transcription, and commentary on this manuscript.

³⁴ An informal survey of the manuscript facsimiles at my disposal shows this tendency towards utilitarian punctuation to be a fairly well-established trend. Egerton 2615 (a thirteenth-century polyphony manuscript) very occasionally uses a medial punctus at the end of a syntactically complete thought, but is otherwise virtually free of punctuation. Oxford Bodleian Library MS Digby 86 (thirteenth century) does not punctuate its verse at all unless it has been written across the page as prose, in which case it marks the line ends with a punctus. Folio 439r, from the section of Cambridge MS Gg.5.35 known as the Cambridge Songs (eleventh century), shows the same tendency towards more heavily-punctuated lyric text that appears without musical notation, than texts on the same page that have heightened neumes above them. (This is despite the fact that the verses are written as prose.)

³⁵ It is not within the scope of this thesis to explore the use of this term by a German Wilhelmine period scholar. I have used the standard definition for it, but would cautiously point out that Heuser lived in a time period when classifications for medieval verse were even more in flux than they currently are. It is possible that he was using the term in a way that might have been particular to scholarship in the early twentieth century.

³⁶ In the later Middle Ages when the more difficult durational verse forms began to go out of fashion, *musica metrica* continued in Latin verse with accentual verse forms which mimicked the older classical durational forms (Raby, History 15-25). For instance a verse might mimic the form of *iambic septenare* but use unstressed and stressed syllables in the place of short and long syllables.

³⁷ Because the earlier enthusiastic scholarly acceptance of this theory of "wandering scholars" was harshly derided in later scholarship, it appears that the term "goliardic" became disreputable in the mid-twentieth century. I conjecture that this is why authors such as Raby avoid the term by describing the meter whenever they are forced to refer to goliardic verse. For a brief history of the term "goliardic," which is a modern appellation, not used in period sources, see P.G. Walsh's *Lyrics from the Carmina Burana* (Walsh xiv-xv). As there is not another term for this meter, I am following the example of John Stevens in his *Later Cambridge Songs* and calling it "goliardic meter lines."

³⁸ Songs for which new text has been written to the melodies of existing songs.

³⁹ This viewpoint is in direct opposition to J. W. Rankin's scholarship. Rankin asserts that "Rhythmus meant accentual as distinguished from metrical verse...." and "the number of syllables in rhythmus was not fixed" (Rankin 998-9). This is an excellent example of how muddled these terms are in scholarship. Rankin cites some of the same passages as Stevens, but arrives at diametrically opposite conclusions.

⁴⁰ This pattern of using the *paragraphus* mark begins mid-way through "Erthe" on f. 63r and continues through the end of the lyric. The scribe uses the *capitalum* mark in both

positions (albeit intermittently) until 63r, then uses the *capitalum* and *paragraphus* consistently as I have described above.

⁴¹ There are over 15 songs in Middle English that use this formula refrain, and four macaronic Latin versions beginning, "Wyt an O and an I." Since the Latin versions were written in the latter half of the fourteenth century, it would appear that they are an example of a Latin song appropriating a popular refrain formula from the vernacular. Many of the "O and an I" lyrics have the same goliardic stanza + couplet refrain song form as the lullabies in Harley 913. For a list of the lyrics which use this refrain see R.H. Osberg's "A Note on the Middle English "O" & "I." and the article he references for ten of the lyrics, R.H. Greene's "A Middle English Love Poem and the 'O-and-I' Refrain-Phrase." For a fuller discussion of the Latin lyrics see P. R. Szitty's article "Sedens Super Flumina," and A. G. Rigg's "Two Latin Poems Against the Friars."

⁴¹ Brown transcribed Cambridge University MS Oo.7.32, which I have cited here. It also occurs in the *Fasciculus Morum*. For a fuller list of the occurrences of this quatrain in Middle English and French, see Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, item 42 (260).

⁴² According to F. J. E. Raby in the *Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, "a Philomena is a long meditation on the power of love as shown in the incarnation, the life, and the passion of Christ" (499).

⁴³ "Ad Iesum Infantem" is from 1462 (Blumen, Analecta-46 62).

⁴⁴ Heuser sees the text in this note as being in a different hand. My own judgment is that the text is still in the original hand, but the poorly ruled box appears to have been added

later. The same uneven red ruling appears around other marginalia in the text. The notation instructing the reader to seek the Latin on XII indicates that the note was written prior to the rebinding.

⁴⁵ As Alan Bliss and Joseph Long note

"....in the earliest monuments of medieval Hiberno-English final unstressed -e is already wholly lost; it is written at random, without consideration of historical propriety.....the early loss of -e must be due to the mixed dialectal origins of Hiberno-English.... If the Irish colonists, as seems probable, spoke a number of different dialects of Middle English, their use of final -e would have been far from uniform; and uniformity could only be achieved by the total loss of the sound" (709).

⁴⁶ "Fowles in the Frith" in an earlier manuscript (1270) with musical notation has an example of this kind of alteration over time. The final -e of "sorwe" has been erased in the manuscript by a later hand, as has the musical note that went with it. Thus the language shift not only altered the syllable count of the words in that line, but also the tune itself. For a transcription of the song and a facsimile see Vol. 1 and 2 of the *Early Bodleian Music* series by J. F. R. Stainer and C. Stainer.

⁴⁷ This hypothesis would contradict the origins argument that Greene is trying to create.

⁴⁸ This lyric appears in Cambridge University Dd 5.64, III and also in the Thornton MS (Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91, fol. 213. The manuscript was originally cataloged as A.5.2).

⁴⁹ The refrain formula for this song is "With I & E" for all the stanzas except this one, which is given in Brown as "With E & I."

⁵⁰ Rigg notes that while he has not made a study of it, he is inclined to think of the O&I device as peculiar to Anglo-Latin verse (*History* 321). While I have not made an exhaustive search either, I have only found the goliard + couplet song form in Middle English and Anglo-Latin.

⁵¹ Brown transcribed Cambridge University MS Oo.7.32, which I have cited here. It also occurs in the *Fasciculus Morum*. For a fuller list of the occurrences of this quatrain in Middle English and French, see Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, item 42 (260).

⁵² Fortuna was originally a classical goddess presiding over the fickleness of good and bad fortune. With the coming of Christianity, however her role in literature changed. As Howard R. Patch points out, "Belief in chance was not officially welcome to the new faith which maintained that even the hairs of the human head are numbered, and that not a sparrow falls without God's knowledge" (15). Despite the disavowal of the existence of random chance by the Church and by Philosophers, writers continued to make use of the goddess. Many simply inserted the pagan goddess into a work with no attempt to reconcile her to Christianity. Some, such as Boethius, quote Aristotle that chance is necessary in order for mankind to have free-will (but do not offer any deeper explanation.) Other writers, such as Dante, make Fortuna into a ministering angel, whose actions only appear to be random chance, but which are actually controlled by God, and are merely beyond the comprehension of man (18-20). Patch summarizes the three positions seen in Medieval literature as, "the pagan, the attitude of compromise, and the Christian" (35).

⁵³ The lyric occurs in British Library Additional MS 22283. Interestingly, this is also another example of a song form that has a long-lined, mono-rhymed quatrain with a couplet at the end. (All of the lines have 8+8 syllables with internal rhymes at the caesura.)

⁵⁴ I would like to thank Randi Eldevik for pointing out the similarity of the two lyrics.

⁵⁵ Grimestone repeats this phrase in the refrain of stanza two (wel mauth þu crize), but it appears to be derived from the song's own first stanza.

⁵⁶ As with many song forms that keep a fairly rigid meter, all goliardic meter songs can be sung to any other goliardic meter tunes. Thus, all lyrics that keep goliardic meter reasonably well can be sung to "Good King Wenceslas." The difference between that example and the lullabies is of course, the refrain, since it adds two extra lines to the tune.

⁵⁷ In contrast to Hiberno-English which had dropped its final -e's somewhat earlier.

⁵⁸ Much of the material originated from the Paris schools, where exemplars of sermon aids of all kinds were copied and disseminated. For a fascinating discussion of the kinds of sermon aids to which the Franciscans and Dominican Friars had access, see D.L. D'Avray's *The Preaching of the Friars*.

⁵⁹ For instance, the 1425 processional hymn from the Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary in Chester, which begins with the line, "Qui Creavit Coelum, lully, lully, lu."

⁶⁰ There are over a dozen medieval lullaby carols; several of them are also in Grimestone's preaching book.

⁶¹ For the text of the Latin, see Bullen page 142. For Coleridge's poem see his *Sibylline Leaves*.

⁶² For the words in English see Marjory Kennedy-Fraser's collection.

⁶³ This is by no means an exhaustive list. The theme appears in many other songs in various forms.

⁶⁴ I have taken these details about death from Phillippe Ariés' comprehensive history of death, *The Hour of Our Death*.

⁶⁵ For differing viewpoints on the definition of a carol, see Greene's *Early English Carols* and Stevens "Carol" entry in *Grove Music Online*.

⁶⁶ For a fuller explanation see Rigg's "Metrics."

VITA

Cynthia Anne Rogers

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: SINGING FROM THE BOOK; AN ANALYSIS OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH
AND LATIN LULLABY LYRICS IN HARLEY 913

Major Field: English

Biographical:

Education:

- Bachelor of Arts in English (Oklahoma State University 1988)
- Paleography Course (University of London, Summer 2004)
- M.A. Medieval Latin Reading Course (University of Toronto, Summer 2007)
- EFM Certificate (Sewanee School of Theology 2008) A four-year continuing education course covering Old Testament, New Testament, Church History, and Philosophy & Theology.
- Completed the requirements for the Master of Arts in English at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in July 2008.

Professional Memberships:

- Medieval Academy of America
- Mid-American Medieval Association
- Medieval Association of the Midwest
- International Arthurian Society - North American Branch
- English Graduate Student Association

Name: Cynthia Anne Rogers

Date of Degree: July, 2008

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: SINGING FROM THE BOOK; AN ANALYSIS OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH AND LATIN LULLABY LYRICS IN HARLEY 913

Pages in Study: 131

Candidate for the Degree of Master of Arts

Major Field: English

Scope and Method of Study: The text of the Middle English (ME) lyric "Lollai, lollai, whi wepistou so sore," is a compelling lullaby sung by a mother soothing a crying child, while at the same time she acknowledges that weeping is appropriate as the baby's life will be full of suffering. Long considered the great-grandmother of the ME Christ child lullaby tradition, the lyric exists in Harley MS 913, a fourteenth-century Franciscan friar's portable *vademecum* book. Since a shorter version of the lullaby appears in Latin within the same manuscript, particular attention is given in this thesis to the relationship between the two by analyzing the codicological evidence in the manuscript as well as the punctuation, paleography, meter, word choices and antecedents of the two texts.

Findings and Conclusions: This study argues that the ME "Lollai" lyric is a vernacular descendent of an older Latin lyric tradition. The reconstruction of the disarranged Harley 913 manuscript and the comparison of the Latin and ME versions of the lyric show that the first two stanzas of the ME version are a translation of the Latin. The additional four stanzas in the ME lyric are derivative of other lyrics from the ME corpus. The meter of the Latin, which is marked with additional punctuation at the caesura and an inventive use of *paragraphus* marks, is clearly in goliardic. While unable to keep the structure of that Latin song form, the Middle English is clearly attempting to convert the syllabic structure of goliardic into a counted accent line to match the tune of the original. By establishing the lullaby as part of an older Latin song tradition, it is possible to remap the evolution of the Christ child lullaby tradition to see "Lollai" as an intermediary step between Latin and ME, rather than as a beginning point for the tradition, which previous scholarship has assumed it to be.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Merrall Llewelyn Price
