

REPORT  
of  
COMMITTEE ON EXAMINATION

This is to certify that we the undersigned, as a Committee of the Graduate School, have given Ralph Colby final oral examination for the degree of Master of Arts. We recommend that the degree of Master of Arts be conferred upon the candidate.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

June 7 1917

Carlton Brown

Chairman

Joseph Beach

Arthur Sheppard Phelps

Norman Wilde

Rupert Lodge

REPORT  
of  
COMMITTEE ON THESIS

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Ralph Colby for the degree of Master of Arts. They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

May 31 1917

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T H E " L U L L A Y " P O E M S

A Study of a Group of Middle English Lyrics

THE "LULLAY" POEMS

A STUDY OF A GROUP OF MIDDLE ENGLISH LYRICS

UNIVERSITY OF  
MINNESOTA  
LIBRARY

By

RALPH COLBY

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of the University of Minnesota  
in Part to Fulfil the Requirements  
for the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS.

The University of Minnesota

M A Y

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## INTRODUCTION

In the first part of this paper I have set forth the results of a study of the "lullay" poems. The dates of the material available have necessarily confined me in the main to the Middle English period; but I have not hesitated to include a consideration of not a few pieces which fall in the latter part of the sixteenth century, since they properly belong to the closing cycles of development of the type. After attempting to make clear what I understand by a "lullay" poem, I have proceeded to consider in some detail the songs included under that designation, dividing them for convenience into special classes. The lines of evolution and devolution traceable by a comparison of particular poems and groups of poems have then been sketched; and in doing this I have tried to set the whole matter finally in perspective so as to exhibit the major inferences drawn from my study--hardly to be called 'conclusions'.

I have in the foot-notes given reference to my sources as far as it seemed to be necessary or helpful. In quoting a poem or a portion of it for purposes of illustration I have not always indicated the work from which it was drawn. In such cases a reference is implied to the List of Lullay Poems in the Appendix, where the printed source of the poem will be found entered beneath it. When folio numbers or other matters of information about manuscripts are not given it is also understood that recourse is to be made to the Appendix, which conveniently serves the whole work as foot-note at large.

In the second part I have edited those of the "lullay" poems which have heretofore not been printed.<sup>1</sup> The pieces from the British Museum Mss. Harley 2380 and Add. 5666 have been edited from rotographs. I have had transcripts made of the two fragments from the Cambridge Ms. by Mr. Alfred Rogers of the Cambridge University Library. The lullaby in the Bodleian Ms. 29003 has been edited from a copy which was prepared for me by Mr. Stanley I. Rypins, a Rhodes Scholar at Hertford College. The three poems in the Advocates' Library Ms. 18.7.21 are at present unprinted. Dr. Carleton Brown is shortly to make available the contents of the manuscript, so I have not included these pieces in Part II. Dr. Brown has, for the purposes of this paper, placed at my disposal his transcript of the Advocates' Ms. and allowed me to make copies of those parts I required. I scarcely need acknowledge that he has helped me splendidly in every way.

The List of Books does not pretend either to be complete or exhaustive. It is for the most part made up of works which contain examples of "lullay" poems. Under the Ms. titles and folio numbers I have grouped the works in which each poem has been printed. Here again it has been impossible to gather within my sweep all the stray printings of a piece so much quoted as the familiar:--

Lully, lulley, lully, lulley,  
The fawcon hath born my make away.

Though one, quite naturally and hopefully, must aim at completeness, I have had to content myself with listing the more important editions of each poem and such reprints as have come under my no-

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1) An exception is to be noted in the case of the two fragments from the Howard de Walden Ms., the contents of which were privately printed by L.S.M(ayer). See List of Books.

tice. It is hoped the appended alphabetical list of first lines and refrains will prove useful to those who may be desirous of making a further study in this most interesting corner of a fascinating field.



P A R T I.

THE "LULLAY" POEMS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

## THE "LULLAY" POEMS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

The origin of the word lullaby, or in its earlier form lullay, is, we are ready to grant upon such authority as Webster's Dictionary and The Encyclopedia Brittanica, quite sufficiently accounted for by the magic formulae contained in the term onomatopoeia. The venerable antiquity of the soothing word enhances infinitely the interest in the fact of its lending title and countenance to a large group of early English poems having popularity for nearly three centuries. Some thirty surviving poems or fragments ranging in date from the first decade of the fourteenth century to within the lifetime of Shakespeare attest a widespread and lasting hold on the English people of the late middle ages. These preserved relics present various types; lullabies secular and sacred, religious poems of a chanson d'aventure cast, and Christmas carols; but all are characterized by the use of the word lullay, in one form or another, as either a dominant part of the refrain or as a recurrent or significant note in the poem. Nearly all of them have for their setting a mother, or more generally the Virgin Mother, rocking her child. One interesting variation and one exception will hereinafter be noted. For convenience in presenting the material, the lullay poems may be divided into the secular lullabies and the songs of the Virgin, making a third division for those that refuse to be put in either class.

The secular lullabies are those which as far as their text is concerned might have been sung by any mother to her child; they contain no reference which might identify the child as the infant

Christ. One must suppose that there were a great many of these; but if there were, at least they did not find their way into the manuscripts. They were, we may surmise, cast in to shadow by the greater interest and appeal of the cradle-songs dealing directly with the nativity, since these latter had the annually renewed raison d'etre of the Christmas festivities. But two secular lullabies that may at the same time be called lullay poems have come to my notice, I regret to say; and for the second of them I have been obliged to reach out as far as the reign of James I. The earlier cradle-song occurs in the Kildare Ms. (Harley 913),<sup>1</sup> a manuscript to which is generally assigned the date 1308;<sup>2</sup> the later song is in the Sloane Ms. 1708.<sup>3</sup> Their relative importance to the main current of the lullay poems may be indicated by likening them respectively to the fountain-head of the stream and a puddle in the delta.

Since a bottled sample of the head-water is of little value to the topographer, one needs no excuse for presenting the source when it is so easily done.<sup>4</sup>

Lollai, .l., litil child, whi wepistou so sore?  
 Nedis mostou wepe, hit was i-zarkid the zore,  
 Ever to lib in sorow, and sich and mourne evere,  
 As thin eldren did'er this, whil hi a-lives were.  
 Lollai, [lollai],<sup>5</sup> litil child, child, lolai, lullow,  
 In to uncuth world i-commen so ertow.

Bestis and thos foules, the fisses in the flode,  
 And euch schef a-lives, makid of bone and blode,  
 Whan hi commith to the world, hi doth ham silf sum gode,  
 Al bot the wrech brot that is of Adamis blode.  
 Lollai, .l., litil child, to kar ertou be-mette,  
 Thou nost nozt this worldis wild bi-for the is i-sette.

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- 1) At folio 32a. See List of Lullay Poems.  
 2) An account of the Ms. is given by Croker, pp. 277ff.  
 3) I have been unable to obtain the folio number. The song has been printed by Ritson; see List of Lullay Poems.  
 4) I follow Wright's edition in Rel. Ant. 5) Supplied by Heuser.

Child, if be-tidith that thou ssalt thrive and the,  
 Thench thou wer i-fostred up thi moder kne;  
 Ever hab mund in thi hert of thos thinges thre,  
 Whan thou commist, whan thou art, and what ssal com of the.  
 Lollai, .l., litil child, child, lollai, lollai,  
 With sorow thou com into this world, with sorow ssalt  
 wend awai.

Ne tristou to this world, hit is thi ful ro;  
 The rich he makith pover, the pore rich also;  
 Hit turneth wo to wel, and ek wel to wo;  
 Ne trist no man to this world, whil it turnith so.  
 Lollai, .l., litil child, the fote is in the whele,  
 Thou nost whoder turne to wo other wele.

Child, thou ert a pilgrim in wikidnis i-bor,  
 Thou wandrest in this fals world, thou lok the bifor;  
 Deth ssal com with a blast ute of a wel dim horre,  
 Adamis kin dun to cast, him silf hath i-do be-for.  
 Lollai, .l., litil child, so wo the worth Adam,  
 In the lond of Paradis, throȝ wikidnes of Satan.

Child, thou nert a pilgrim, bot an uncuthe gist,  
 Thi dawes beth i-told, thi jurneis beth i-cast;  
 Whoder thou salt wend, north, other est,  
 Deth the sal be-tide, with bitter bale in brest.  
 Lolla, .l., litil child, this wo Adam the wroȝt,  
 Whan he of the appil ete, and Eve hit him betach.

Dr. Heuser emphasizes the beauty and music of this oldest example of an English cradle-song as well as its simple, folk-like quality. He points out that in later cradle-songs the mother is the Virgin Mary and the weeping infant the Christ-child. The suffering that awaits the child in the sinful world becomes therefore specifically the Passion.<sup>1</sup> He suggests that the Harley poem may

1) p. 172. "Dieses älteste uns erhaltene englische Wiegenlied ist zugleich eines der schönsten und klangreichsten seiner Art, einfach und volkstümlich gehalten und noch ganz frei von den religiösen Beziehungen, welche in den späteren me. Dichtungen dieser Gattung überwiegen. Auch die späteren Wiegenlieder haben den schmeichelnd melodischen Refrain: Lullai, lullai, auch sie singen von dem Elend, das das Kindlein in der bösen Welt erwartet, aber die wiegende und einlullende Mutter ist die Jungfrau Maria und das weinende Kind in ihren Armen ist das Christuskind. Bald in ahnungsvollen Klagen der Mutter allein, bald im Wechselgesang zwischen Mutter und Sohn wird das Schicksal geschildert, das die Welt für ihren Erlöser bereit hält.

rightly be taken as a forerunner of the religious cradle-songs, though he sees difficulties in the way of naming it the only one. None of the later poems, he says, have the same six-line stanza form.<sup>1</sup> He was ignorant of the lullaby in the same measure in the Advocates Ms. 18.7.21, at folio 120a, which, as I hope to show later, furnishes a most important connecting link between this poem and the subsequent religious lullabies. From our better vantage point it will be clearer that we have in the Kildare Ms. a preserved version of a current poem<sup>2</sup> which may well have served as a prototype for the religious lullay poems.

Quite as much contrast as one might expect to crowd into three centuries is noted in comparing with this fine old medieval poem the decadent sentimental lullaby in the Sloane Ms., which begins:<sup>3</sup>

My little sweete derlinge, my comforte and joye,  
 Singe lullyby, lully,  
 In bewtie excellinge the princes of Troys.  
 Singe lullaby, lully.

It has for background the not novel theme of the woman deserted by her lover, the father of her child.<sup>4</sup>

Thy father, sweete infant, from mother ys gone,

---

1) p. 172. "Sie alle weichen auch ausserlich von unserem Gedichte stark ab. Kein einziges zeigt noch die altertümliche sechszellige Strophe (aaaabb), in welcher ihr Vorläufer aus dem Kildare-Ms. abgefasst ist. Dennoch sind direkte Berührungen vorhanden." p. 173. "Es ist hiernach wohl kaum zweifelhaft, dass Wiegenlieder und ähnliche Strophen schon früh im Umlauf waren und dass wir auch in unserem Gedichte nur eine nach Irland hindüber-gewanderte Version zu erblicken haben, denn dass es selber das Vorbild für die englischen Versionen gewesen sei, ist nicht anzunehmen,--"

2) Heuser prints (p.175) a fragment of a Latin translation of the poem from the same Ms. He quotes (p.173) from another poem a stanza which resembles closely one in the Harley cradle-song. A similar fragment is cited by Chambers and Sidgwick (p.360) from Archiv lxxxvii, 431-2.

3) Ritson (Hazlitt) p.202. I venture the opinion that the stanza

[Singe lullyby, lully]  
 And shee in the woodes heere, with thee lefte alone.  
 [Singe lullaby, lully]

That this vapid lullaby-complaint bears any relationship--other than the verbal one of the refrain--to the lullabies of the Virgin, quaintly beautiful and sweet in their simplicity, is easily denied. It may be taken as a borrowing of a refrain time-tried in popularity to deck out--quite appropriately, it must be admitted--a song calculated to be touching in its appeal. Indeed, common-sense alone inclines to this viewpoint. One must guard against stretching analogies and forcing resemblances for the sake of making a point. At the risk of falling into this error, however, I hope to show that there is after all some underlying connection between this piece and the religious lullabies shortly to be discussed. When all the evidence shall first have been presented I shall be free to make out my case.

The lullabies in which the mother is the Virgin Mary and the babe the Christ-child have very suggestively been called "spiritual lullabies" by Prof. Padelford.<sup>1</sup> He distinguishes three types, and his classification may conveniently be made use of here in enumerating the members of this largest group of the lullay poems.

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Form has not been properly indicated. There are four rhymes on oye: ioye, Troye, boye, annoy; and another four on one: gone, alone, mone, grone. It should be printed in two stanzas of four lines alternating with the refrain.

4) An example that comes to mind is the song Waly, Waly, Gin Love be Bony, which, though printed a century later, may have had current versions as early as James I's reign. It is reproduced in the notes to no. 204 of Prof. Child's Ballads. (On p.667 of the one-volume edition.)

1) C.H.E.L. II, 432. Whether or not the term originated with Prof. Padelford I confess I do not know. I have not found it in earlier works.

They may further be characterized by their possession or lack of the conventional introduction of the poet's presence according to the fashion of the chanson d'aventure.<sup>1</sup>

"The simplest of the three forms of the lullaby is, virtually, a carol, in which, along with other episodes of Christmas Eve and Christmas Day, the spectacle of Mary singing 'lulley' to the infant is described."<sup>2</sup> The example cited by Prof. Padelford is the song in Ms. Sloane 2593, f.32a. The poet speaks in each stanza:

I saw a fayr maydyn syttyn and syng,  
Sche lullyd a lytyl chyld, a swete lordyng.

"The refrain is all that differentiates this carol from others;"<sup>3</sup> and it is in the refrain that we have the words of the Virgin:

Lullay, myn lykyng, my dere sone, myn swetyng;  
Lullay, my dere herte, myn owyn dere derlyng.

Similar in type is the fragment from Ms. Add. 5666 printed by Ritson,<sup>4</sup> which he introduces with "Here is a picture of the Virgin Mother rocking her cradle:"

I saw a swete semly syght  
a blisful birde a blossom bright  
that murnyng made and mirgh of mange  
A maydin moder mek & myld  
in credil kep a knave child  
that softly slepe scho sat and sange.

"And here the Lullaby she uses upon the occasion:"

Lullay lullow lully,  
lully bewy bewy lully bewy

1) Discussed by Miss Sandison. See List of Books.

2) C.H.E.L. p.432.

3) Ibid.

4) Ritson (Hazlitt) p.xlvii. (1829) I, liv.

lully lullow lully  
 lullay baw baw  
 my barne slepe softly now.

The lullaby from "Bassus", the base part to a collection of part songs of the year 1530,<sup>1</sup> is a late representative of this type. It has the conventional vision setting:

in a drem late as I lay

and a suggestion of the mother's lulling in the refrain. Under this heading belongs also the cradle-song from Byrd's Collection.<sup>2</sup> It is not of the chanson d'aventure type, the entire poem being supposedly the words of the Virgin. She sings of Herod's decree of slaughter, of the three kings who "are come from far", of the heavenly warning "some other soil to seek", and of the prophecies of the infant's godhead, ending with joyful anticipation of the day when Right shall triumph over tyrants. As a cradle-song it is quite a literary performance; not even the refrain is entirely free from a suspicion of a too philosophical inquiry into motive:

Lulla, la lulla, lulla lullaby,  
 My sweet little Baby! what meanest thou to cry?

However, one must not be hypercritical; this is but the sixteenth century dress of the older query, "Why wepest thou so sore?"

The next division brings us to a group of four poems evidently scattered versions of the same song. "In the second type of lullaby, Mary and the Infant talk to one another. Mary regrets that a child, born to be King of kings, is lying upon hay, and wonders why He was not born in a prince's hall. The Babe assures her

1) Mus. Brit. K.l.e.l. See List of Lullay Poems.

2) The poem in Ms. St.J.C.Camb. 259, f.6b should be included.



that lords and dukes and princes will come to worship Him. Then Mary would fain know how she herself can best serve Him, and He replies, by rocking Him gently in her arms and soothing Him to sleep!<sup>1</sup> The fact that her son is the Lord of all things impresses Mary very strongly, and in the last stanza she makes bold to ask him to grant her a boon:

Now, swet son, syn it is so, that all thyng is at thi wyll,  
 I pray the graunte me a bone, yf it be both ryȝt and skylle.  
     That chyld or man  
     That wyl or kan  
         Be mery upon my day,  
 To blyse hem bryng,  
 And I shal syng,  
     Lullay, by by, lullay.<sup>2</sup>

The four versions of this carol occur in the Mss. Bodley 29734, f. 17b; Advocates' 19.3.1, f. 210b; Balliol 354, f. 226a; and Royal App. 58, f. 50b. They have alike the introduction, serving generally as refrain:

Thys endris nyȝth  
 I saw a syȝth,  
     A stare as bryght as day;  
 And ever among  
 A mayden song  
     Lullay, by by, lullay.

The similarity of the versions in the three earlier Mss. is marked; they each have seven stanzas, and the points of difference are merely in words and occasional phrases--quite as one would expect to find in scattered examples.<sup>3</sup> In the Royal App. Ms., which dates

1) C.H.E.L. p.432.

2) From the version in Ms. Bodl.29734, f.17b.

3) Dyboski prints the Advocates' and Royal App. poems in parallel columns in his Notes, pp.175-176. He gives also a table of variations in the Bodley and Balliol versions. His reference to the Ms. Add. 31922 is erroneous, the result of a confusion in regard to Flügel's article in Anglia XII, 225-272. The Royal App. Ms. is meant.

from the early sixteenth century, we have a later and somewhat corrupted version.<sup>1</sup> It is in six stanzas, if one does not count the first six lines corresponding to the refrain of the earlier three versions.<sup>2</sup> Some of the material has disappeared, and some has been curiously altered. These are the terms of the boon which Mary asks:

that chylde or man  
may euer come  
be mercy on thys day.

And in this poem the child makes some stipulations in regard to the grant. This last stanza is added:

My mother sheme  
of hevyn quene  
your askyng shall I spede  
so that thy myrth  
dysplease me nott  
yn [wordys] nor in dede  
syng what ye wyll  
so that ye fullfyll  
my ten cōmaundements ay  
ay yow for to please  
let them not sesse  
to syng baby lullay.

One can not be far wrong in assuming this to be the happy afterthought of some pious member of the Church which pays homage to "Heaven's Queen".

(2) There is no indication that it serves also as a refrain here.  
(1) It is of interest to note that what may be a parody on the opening lines of the poem occurs at f.10b of the same Ms. (Printed in Anglia XII, 265.)

[f.50b]	:	[f.10b]
Thys ender nyȝth	:	Thys yonders nyght
I saw a syȝth	:	I herd a wyght
A ster as bryȝth as day	:	most heuyly cōmplayne
And <u>euer</u> among	:	And euer a mong
A maydyn song	:	thys was hys song
by by baby lullay	:	Alas I dye for payne
by by baby lullay	:	Alas I dye for payne.
	:	

We meet difficulties in classification in turning to the third type, which "is distinguished . . . by the melancholy character of the conversation. The Mother tries in vain to assuage the grief of her Child, and, when she fails to do so, inquires the cause of His tears; whereupon He foretells the sufferings that await Him."<sup>1</sup> Complications arise from the fact that the lullabies of this type merge into the complaint of Mary. "The song which blends these two types is one of great beauty. As in other lullabies, the Virgin tries in vain to soothe the Babe to sleep, and, distraught at His grief, enquires its cause. Thereupon, the Child foretells the sufferings that await Him, and each new disclosure calls forth a fresh burst of grief from the afflicted Mother: 'Is she to see her only Son slain, and cruel nails driven through the hands and feet that she has wrapped? When Gabriel pronounced her "full of grace", he told nothing of this!"<sup>2</sup> We may regard this as a fourth type of spiritual lullaby, admitting the justness of its claims to differentiation in spite of its close alliance with the third group. In a few poems similar in melancholy tone, the Virgin Mary is the only speaker and does not have to learn from her son of the sufferings he is to endure.

One of the best examples of the third type as defined by Prof. Padelford--exception being made in regard to the grief of the child--is the long poem of 37 stanzas which begins at folio 3b of the Advocates' Ms. 18.7.21. The lullay is the burden of the refrain:

Lullay lullay la lullay  
Mi dere moder lullay.

1) C.H.E.L. p.432.

2) Ibid.

The cradle scene is introduced as a vision:

Als i lay vp on a nith  
 Alone in my longging  
 Me pouthē i sau a wonder sith  
 A maiden child rokking.

Inexpressibly charming is the naivete of the next:

pe maiden wolde w<sup>t</sup> outen song  
 Hire child o slepe bringge  
 pe child pouthte sche de him wrong  
 & bad his moder sengge.

The child asks her to sing what shall befall him when he comes of age, for it is quite the thing to do:

So don modres alle.

The mother yields to his persuasive arguments and sings to her babe of the Annunciation and of his birth on a night in midwinter, just as it had been foretold. Mary then is at an end of her song:

Suete sone sikirly  
 No more kan i say  
 & if i koude fawen wold i  
 To don at al pi pay.

Then the child speaks again and offers to teach his mother more of which to sing:

Moder seide p<sup>t</sup> suete ping  
 To singen I sal pe lere  
 Wat me fallet to suffring  
 & don wil i am here.

Accordingly he tells of the circumcision on the eighth day, of the three kings to come on the twelfth, and says that on the fortieth day they shall go in fulfilment of the law to the temple,

per simeon sal pe sey a sawe

p<sup>t</sup> changen sal pi chere.

The child continues his narrative with the teaching in the temple when he shall be twelve years old. The baptism when he is thirty, the temptation by Satan, the gathering and sending forth of disciples, and the proclaiming of him as King are next foretold. Mary is pleased with this last prophecy, but her son tells her he cares naught about that. When a little more than thirty-two years have passed she shall "maken michil mon" and see him die on the cross.

Mary cries out:

Allas sone seyde p<sup>t</sup> may  
Sipen p<sup>t</sup> it is so  
Worto sal i biden p<sup>t</sup> day  
To beren pe to pis wo.

To assuage her grief the babe tells his mother he shall live again and take her when the time comes to dwell with him in bliss. He ends with:

Al pis werld demen i sal  
at pe dom risingge  
Suede moder here is al  
p<sup>t</sup> i wile nou singge.

For the artistic completeness of the poem the last stanza brings us back to the situation in the first:

Serteynly pis sithte i say  
pis song i herde singge  
Als i lay pis ȝolis day  
Alone in my longingge.

I have dwelt perhaps at disproportionate length on this single poem; my reasons are numerous and, I hope, sufficient. It is one of the very earliest of the lullay poems, occurring in a Ms. assigned by Dr. Brown to about the year 1372. Only the poem

in Harley 913, and possibly that in Harley 7358, is from an earlier Ms. Two other lullay poems in the same Advocates' Ms. may be judged to be older, but we have no evidence to that effect beyond their closer resemblance to the Harley 913 lullaby. At least this poem is the first that can be found which adopts the chanson d'aventure form; it is the first in which the mother and her child carry on a dialogue; and it is the first in which the child foretells his death on the cross. Furthermore, it is the most complete in point of view of the events included, virtually spanning from the Annunciation to the Resurrection and mentioning Judgment Day. Later poems may be more detailed in their picture of the child lying in hay without clothes to keep him warm and the mother singing to bring her son to sleep; but the substance of the song or the dialogue is usually limited to King Herod's decree, the coming of the three kings, or the nails and the cross. Moreover, but few of the later lullabies of this type approach it in artistic completeness and fitness of design. Because of these facts this Advocates' Ms. poem shines preeminently a star of the first magnitude in the lullay constellation; by it the other members of the group may be measured, their place assigned, and their history reconstructed.

Three fragmentary versions of this poem are to be found. On folios 4a and 4b of the St. John's College Ms. 259 are the first nine stanzas of the Advocates' lullaby. The text has been somewhat corrupted; the line--

Beren pu salt Messye

becomes, for example,--

y<sup>u</sup> xalte bere mercy.

Only the first five stanzas have been preserved in the Harleian

Ms. 2330, and these show even greater divergence from the earlier poem, although the reading is less corrupt. The mutilation is well nigh complete when we come to the fragment at folio 169a of the Cambridge Add. Ms. 5943. Here but the first stanza appears, decked out with the tatters of the refrain, 'lolay lolay'.<sup>1</sup>

Resembling somewhat these poems is a little group of three versions of another spiritual lullaby of the third type. The members of this trinity exhibit also likenesses to the four poems comprising the second type of religious lullaby. Compare, for instance, the refrain of the carol in Bodley 29734, f.17b<sup>2</sup> with the first stanza of the poem at folio 20a of the same Ms.<sup>3</sup>--

This endrys nyzt I saw a syzth,  
A mayd a cradyll kepe,  
And ever she song and seyde among,  
Lullay, my chyld, and slepe.

The Bodleian Ms. version has nine stanzas and a four-line refrain. The refrain and stanzas 1,2,3,5,6, and 8 appear, but slightly altered, in the poem in Add. Ms. 5666, f.2b, in the British Museum. A fragment presenting versions of only the first two and fifth stanzas besides the refrain is to be found in the Cambridge Ms. Add. 5943, f.145a.<sup>4</sup>

A much more finished literary production is the poem in Ms. Bodley 29003.<sup>5</sup> The refrain is somewhat akin to that of the

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1) The fact that this isolated stanza is provided with music suggests that possibly the function of the Ms. was merely to supply the melody for a poem committed to memory, though why a tune was more difficult to remember than a long poem is not so apparent. It may even be that the text was known to the singer or scribe from another source.

2) Supra, p.8.

3) As printed by Wright (P.S.) p.19. The first stanza of Wright's text is the refrain.

4) These two poems are edited in Part II.

5) Edited, Part II.

three poems just mentioned, and is similarly made up of the soothing words of the mother. Much happier, though, is the line--

If þu be a lytill chyld ȝitt may þu haue þi wyll.

The child refuses to be comforted either by the words or the hope. Here he is laid helpless "in a wispe of hay", the emissaries of Herod are seeking to harm him, and he dreads the day of his death on the cross; it is small wonder he questions his mother:

How suld i now þu fayr may fall apon a slepe?

Resignation seems to be his only refuge; the recurrent last two lines in each stanza form an answer and a challenge to the mother's refrain.

Bot wel i wate as well i may slepe & be now styll  
Suffre þe paynes þat i may it is my fader wyll.

And perhaps it is through resignation that Mary's son rises to his final consolation:

Bot ȝitt me thynk it well besett if man haue of me mynd  
& al my paynes well besett if man to me be kynd  
þar is no deth at sall me let & i hym trew fynd  
On þe rode for to sytt my handes for to bynd.

Altogether it is one of the most pleasing and satisfactory of the shorter lullay poems.

Another example of the third type is in the Harley Ms. 2380.<sup>1</sup> It is an extremely bad transcript of a really good poem. The original, we may judge, surpassed most of the vision lullabies. Even as it stands it is an extremely interesting specimen of the type as outlined by Prof. Padelford. Mary weeps because her child lies unclothed in hay. The babe bids his mother 'amend her chere', for it is his Father's will that he be 'in poor degree'. He then

1) Edited, Part II.



tells her what shall befall him and how he is to redeem Adam's kin on the cross. In answer to her wondering questions he informs her that he shall arise and sit upon his Father's right hand, and that she also shall 'wear a crown garland in bliss for aye'; therefore she is to weep no more, but lull him to sleep with sweet singing. The refrain, though sounding at times rather silly in relation to the dialogue, is, taken by itself, charming:

He sayd ba bay  
 Sco sayd lullay  
 pe virgin fresch as ros In may.

It relates the poem to the numerous religious lyrics in which Mary is referred to as "a lovely rose".<sup>1</sup>

There is no rose of swich vertu  
 As is the rose that bare Jhesu.

A song of a much later date which has numerous features in common is that in the Fairfax Ms.<sup>2</sup> It takes similarly the form of a vision which came to the poet "this endurs nyght". Mary sings to her babe and weeps because she has not means to keep him warm.. Joseph asks her what is the cause of her grief, and she tells him;--<sup>3</sup>

no thyng my spouse  
 is In pis howse  
 vnto my pay  
 my son a kyng  
pat made all thyng  
 lyth in hay.

The child then speaks:

my moder dere  
 amend your chere

1) Chambers and Sidgwick pp. 103 and 105.  
 2) Brit. Mus. Add. 5465, f.51a.  
 3) As printed by Fehr, Archiv CVI, 60.

and now be styll  
 thus for to ly  
 it is sothely  
 my fadirs will.

He shall, moreover, suffer 'derision, great passion', and 'many a wound' on Calvary, when he shall be nailed on a cross to redeem mankind. If this is indeed an abridged and modified version of the same lullaby as that in the Harley Ms., adapted and made suitable for a three-part musical setting probably composed by Fairfax, we have lost all but a single lullay in line 5. The older refrain, too, under this supposition, must have been either entirely lost or found out of date, for here it is supplanted with a more elaborate and proportionately less pleasing contrivance:

A my dere a my dere son sayd mary, a my dere (bis)  
 kys pi moder Jhesu with a lawghing chere.

Underlying the crudities of the Harley poem and the sophistications of the Fairfax text is an unmistakable connection, after all considerations have been made. In the faint light of the evidence at hand we can make out the shadowy bulk of a lost lullay poem of which these two are remote and battered copies.

With the carol at folio 335b of the Balliol Ms. 354 we cross the borderland into the lullaby-complaint. This poem is mentioned by Prof. Padelford as the epitome of this type. In alternate stanzas the child sets forth the cause of his grief and Mary bemoans the cruel fate which is cast for him. MacCracken uses resounding terms to describe this poem,<sup>1</sup> in calling attention to another and better version, earlier by at least seventy years, but unfortunately lacking the last five stanzas. It is found in

1) M.L.N. XXIV, 225.

the Laud Misc. Ms. 683, f.105b.<sup>1</sup> Another variant of this poem follows the Balliol version at folio 226a of the same Ms. It lacks, however, the stanzas in which Mary cries out at each new disclosure of the suffering that is in store for the child she has born; it can not, therefore, properly be classed with the others in what I have chosen to regard as the fourth type of spiritual lullaby. It is included merely because of its close relationship to the carol which precedes it in the Ms. known as Richard Hill's Common-place-Book.

Two poems that unmistakably belong to this group are those which have for refrain:

Modyr whyt as lyly flowr,  
 ȝowr lullyng lessyth my langour.

Six stanzas make up the lyric in Ms. Bodley 29734, f.34a, and all but the last appear in the version at folio 16b of the Sloane Ms. 2593. Owing to the brevity of the song, the poet slights that part of it which deals with Mary's grief. He does not venture to quote her words as he does the child's:<sup>2</sup>

The maydyn frely gen to syng,  
 And in hyr song she mad morning,  
 How he that is owr hevyn kyng  
 Shuld shed hys blod with gret dolowr.

And in the last stanza of the Bodley poem the singer admits with a show of frankness the futility of attempting to describe Mary's sorrow; 'let us rather make merry', says the caroler, glad enough to get out of it so easily:

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1) Bodley 798. MacCracken designates it Ms. Laud 683.  
 2) Stanza 4, Bodleian version.

Swych mornynge as the maydyn mad,  
 I can not tell it in this howr;  
 Therfor be mery and glade  
 And make us mery for our Savour.

So far it has been possible to classify the spiritual lullabies in a manner approaching precision; the poems considered have exhibited more or less distinctly characteristics which identified them as simple lullaby-carols, cradle-songs introducing dialogue in which the child asserts his Kingliness, dialogue-songs in which the Passion is foretold, or lullabies in which the Virgin laments over the Crucifixion. There remain to be dealt with five religious lullay poems which do not markedly fall into any one of these four divisions we have adopted. They are without exception, according to evidence internal and external, among the oldest of the lullay group. If, then, they can be shown to bear appreciable resemblances to one another, we may say they are nearer the parent trunk or the roots of the type than those others which exhibit the branching out along diverse, though similar, lines.

There is no difficulty in showing a likeness in the case of the two versions of essentially the same poem which are found in Mss. Sloane 2593, f.16a and St. John's College 259, f.11a. These are admittedly not the oldest in date of the manuscripts containing lullay poems; but the two examples just mentioned possess features pointing at least to their own antiquity. They are written partly in the four-accent couplets with a three-accent refrain line, a form of prosody which is simpler and very probably earlier than the quatrain--usually with internal rhyme--in which so many of the lullay poems are written. The middle portions of both carols are evidently couched in lines imitating not very successfully the

septenarius. The stanzas in which the latter form appears are those which contain the words presumably of the Virgin to her child<sup>1</sup>. The presence of two verse-forms--and both rather confused--in the same song, a duality of form which parallels a partition of material, seems to indicate that there has been here an incomplete fusion of two separate poems. The carol of rejoicing for the Saviour, on the one hand, and the mournful lullaby of the Virgin, on the other, have here been amalgamated without entirely losing their distinct identities. This process can only be conceived of as having taken place during a considerable period of time. Moreover, both versions of this lullay poem show--that from the St. John's College Ms. to a less extent--a tendency to the "incremental repetition" and even the "question and answer" characteristic of very old folk-poetry. These stanzas<sup>2</sup> from the Sloane version afford ample illustration:

Al in a clene maydyn our Lord was i-lyzt,  
 Us for to savyn with al his myzt.  
                   So blyssid be the tyme.

Al of a clene maydyn our Lord was i-born,  
 Us for to savyn that al was for-lorn.  
                   So blyssid, etc.

---

1) There may rightly be doubt as to the truth of this statement in regard to these stanzas (7 and 8) from the St. John's College Ms.--

lullay lay letyll chyld we owth myrthys to make  
 for many scharp schoures xall y<sup>1</sup> body schake

lullay lay letyll chyld we out to mak myrth  
 And so out euery cristen man to worchyp y<sup>1</sup> byrth.

The lullay indicates that originally these stanzas belonged, like the two preceding, to Mary's lullaby; now, however, they suffer from the invasion of the carol-singer.

2) 3-10 of Wright's text.

Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, myn owyn dere fode,  
 How xalt thou sufferin be naylid on the rode?  
 So blyssid, etc.

Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, myn owyn dere smerte,  
 How xalt thou sufferin the scharp spere to thi herte?  
 So, etc.

Lullay, lullay, lytyl child, I synge al for thi sake,  
 Many on is the scharpe schour to thi body is schape.  
 So, etc.

Lullay, lullay, lytyl child, fayre happis the befalle,  
 How xal thou sufferin to drynke ezyt and galle?  
 So, etc.

Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, I synge al befor,  
 How xalt thou sufferin the scharp garlong of thorn?  
 So, etc.

Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, qwy wepy thou so sore?  
 And' art thou bothin God and man, quat woldyst thou  
 be more?  
 So, etc.

The two versions are manifestly very imperfect and show numerous diversities, the marks, we are justified in saying, of their long bandying about before they came to a standstill in their written form. A comparison of the first two stanzas of each is sufficient to exhibit their general difference as well as to establish their underlying identity. The Sloane Ms. poem begins:

A new 3er, a newe 3er, a chyld was i-born  
 Us for to savyn that al was for-lorn,  
 So blyssid be the tyme.

The fader of hevne his owyn sone he sent,  
 His kyngdam for to cleymyn.  
 So blyssid be the tyme.

The St. John's College text shows greater erosion and is on the whole more confused. The opening stanzas are:

A newyr a newyr y<sup>e</sup> chyld was borne  
 fadyr of hewyn hys owyn son haue sende  
 hys [kyngdom] for to clemyn

y<sup>s</sup> chyld was borne y<sup>is</sup> endyr nyth  
vus for to saue w<sup>t</sup> all is myth  
 so blyssyd be tyme a newyr.

It is worth noting that one stanza, at least, of this version strikingly suggests the lullabies which are merged with the complaint of Mary:

lullay lay letyll chyld my own suete foode  
 how xall I suffyr y<sup>i</sup> fayre body forto be rent on rode.

The chief difference, of course, between this poem and those already considered under that heading lies in the fact that the earlier piece does not present dialogue between mother and child, and the Virgin does not have first to be told of the cross that is waiting at the end of the path her baby's feet are to walk.

One line from that part of the Sloane Ms. poem quoted above--

Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, qwy wepy thou so sore?  
 is found as the refrain of two of the three lullabies of Mary that remain to be considered.<sup>1</sup> Again we have versions in two different manuscripts of the same poem. The burden of Ms. Harley 7358, f.12b takes this form:

Lollay, lollay, pu lytel chyld,  
 Wy wepys pou so sore?

It has six stanzas in the measure most commonly employed in carols,<sup>2</sup> three lines of iambic tetrameter followed by a fourth in trimeter,

1) Heuser, in pointing out the resemblance between the Harley 913 and Harley 7358 poems (p.173), speaks also of this likeness in the Sloane carol. "Der älteren Version am nächsten steht eine Gedicht des Sloane-Ms. Nr. 37 bei Wright, denn es beginnt fünf Strophen mit dem Refrain des Kildare-Gedichtes: Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, und eine von diesen fährt fort: qwy wepy(e) thou so sore, was dem Anfang unseres Gedichtes genau entspricht."

2) See C.H.E.L. p.427.

rhyiming aaab,cccb,dddb, etc. through the poem. Similar in form and content is the version in the Advocates' Library Ms. 18.7.21, f.6a. But here the poet adds a seventh stanza not, as are the rest,<sup>1</sup> the words of the mother to her child. In this poem, Mary, "the second Eve", laments that her child must die to redeem mankind from the Fall; she feels the weight of the original sin upon her own shoulders:

Azenis my fadris wille i ches  
 An appel w<sup>t</sup> a reuful ris  
 Werfore myn heritage i les  
 & nou þu wepist þerfore.

Here it is Mary who is heavy with the knowledge of what is to come; and she, like the worldly-wise mother in the Harley 913 lullaby, addresses her babe, all innocent though a God:

ffor man þ<sup>t</sup> þu hast ay loued so  
 ʒet saltu suffren peines mo  
 In heued in feet in hondis to  
 & ʒet wepen wel more.

The melancholy tone is lightened by the expression of gratitude for the Redemption in the poet's epilogue:

þ<sup>t</sup> peine vs maken of senne fre  
 þ<sup>t</sup> peine vs bringge ihesu to þe  
 þ<sup>t</sup> peine vs helpe ay to fle  
 þe wikkede fendes lore Amen.

The likeness of these several poems last to be considered to the lullaby in the Kildare Ms. has been hinted at. The closest resemblance is reached in the cradle-song at folio 120a of the Advocates' Ms. 18.7.21. Here we have five stanzas in the same measure, in an obvious imitation of the structure, and with material

1) Line 3, stanza 1, Harleian version is exceptional.



resemblances as to content. The "Lollai, lollai, litil child" in the secular lullaby finds its counterpart in the "Lullay lullay litel child", which recurs as a sort of burden in the religious cradle-song. And lines such as the following touch the same springs of melancholy as the earlier poem:

Child it is a weping dale p<sup>t</sup> pu art comen inne.

But here the child is the infant Christ, and the pains that await him shall be wreaked upon his naked body at the foot of the cross. And so the stanza continues:

pi pore clutes it prouen wel pi bed mad in þe binne  
Cold & hunger pu must polen as pu were geten in senne  
& after deyzen on þe tre for loue of al man kenne.

We have in this poem, then, a religious counterpart or adaptation of the Kildare lullaby, the connecting link which Dr. Heuser lacked and needed in order to establish demonstrably the secular poem as one version of the prototype of the lullay poems. With this our catalogue of the spiritual lullabies is complete, having embraced in all twenty-nine separate poems, versions, or fragments.

Having considered in some detail the secular lullabies and those of the Virgin Mary, we come now to two poems which do not strictly fall into either of these divisions. The first of them is in a sense a religious lullaby, since it is a part of the text of the Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors from the Coventry Corpus Christi Plays. The "Coventry Carol" is sung in the pageant by three women to their children after Joseph and Mary have betaken themselves to the Egypt lying "Off stage". After line 829 of the text, the following directions appear:<sup>1</sup>

1) Manly Spec. Pre-S. Drama p.148.

Here the wemen cum in wythe there chyldur, syng-  
yng them; and Mare and Josoff goth away clene.

The words of the lullaby they sing appear at the end of the text,  
beneath the caption:<sup>1</sup>

Theise Songes / belonge to / the Taylors and  
Shearemens Pagant. / The first and the laste the  
Shepheards singe / and the second or middlemost  
the Women singe.

THOMAS MAWDYCKE

die decimo tertio Maij anno domini millessimo quin-  
gentesimo nonagesimo primo. / Praetor fuit ciuitatis  
Couentriae D. Mathaeus Richardson tunc Consules /  
Johanes Whitehead et Thomas Crauener.

The "middlemost" song has a stanza for each of the three women and  
deals with their anxiety on account of Herod's decree.<sup>2</sup> Besides  
the line--

By by, lully, lullay,

twice occurring in the text, the lullaby is plentifully supplied  
with the stock-in-trade of such songs in the refrain:

Lully, lulla, thow littell tine child,  
By by, lully, lullay, thow littell tyne child,  
By by, lully, lullay!

The dramatic effect reached by the singing of this lullaby can be  
imagined when we note that shortly after it is finished two "Myles"  
enter with drawn swords. That this song, along with the two others,  
was supplied by Thomas Mawdycke for the text "nevely correcte be  
Robart Croo" seems probable. The name, Thomas Mawdycke, occurs  
also at the head of the first song at the close of the Weavers'

1) Manly, Spec.Pre-S.Drama, p.151.

2) Sharp has printed the song with music, pp.116-117.

Pageant of the Coventry Cycle.<sup>1</sup> Whoever the author may have been, he found, we may suppose, in the numerous current lullay poems the hint for the right sort of thing to supply the needs he was called upon to fill.

Very much disputed and notoriously well-known is the lyric which represents a maiden weeping beside the couch of a bleeding knight. To say that it comes from folio 165b of the Balliol Ms. 354 will not mean very much, perhaps; but to quote the refrain alone would be enough to call it to the mind of anyone who has read a collection of Middle English poetry. Since it is brief, however, I may give not only the refrain but the entire poem.

Lully, lulley, lull(y), lulley;  
The fawcon hath born my make away.

He bare hym vp, he bare hym down,  
He bare hym in to an orchard browne.

In that orchard there was an halle,  
That was hangid with purpill & pall.

And in that hall there was a bede,  
Hit was hangid with gold so rede.

And yn that bed there lythe a knyght,  
His wowndis bledyng day and nyght.

By that bede side kneleth a may,  
& she wepeth both nyght & day.

& by that bedde side there stonidith a ston,  
Corpus Kristi wretyn ther on.

The refrain seems to have been responsible for many misconceptions in regard to the nature of the lyric. Flügel, in his Neuenglisch-

1) See Craig, p.70. The name Rychard occurs at the end of the song, but may be that of a musician. Compare the fact that James Hewyt stands at the end of the second song, and occurs again three times in the extracts (given on p.107, lines 14,ff.) from the accounts of the Weavers' Company as having been paid certain sums "for playing of hys rygols in the paygent."

es Lesebuch, put it among the love-songs; but he acknowledged his error later, recognising it as a spiritual allegory in which Christ is represented as a knight.<sup>1</sup> Manly has followed the example set by the Lesebuch.<sup>2</sup> More surprising is the fact that Dyboski prints it under the heading: Ballads and Worldly Songs.<sup>3</sup> Since then, however, its religious significance has generally been recognised. Padelford classes it as a variant of the third type of spiritual lullaby,<sup>4</sup> though the figure of the weeping maiden seems to bring it closer to the type of lullaby associated with the Planctus. Within the limits of the present discussion it will be sufficient to take a stand here.<sup>5</sup> That it is allegorical will not be challenged; that it represents the grief of the Maiden Mother may be allowed to pass for the present if we can account for the refrain. Since it is the most troublesome feature, and since it is responsible for the inclusion of the lyric among the lullay poems, some space may be devoted to a closer examination of it.

Lully, lulley suggests that the poem is a lullaby, as Prof. Padelford appears to regard it, though it has no other evidence of being addressed to a child. On the other hand, if it were simply a lyric of lamentation, one would expect something like 'alas and welaway' rather than the soothing burden. Experiments with such an exclamation have been unsatisfactory to my ear, at least; I am convinced that the softer accents "fit". I choose to regard the

1) Anglia XXVI, 175. "Dieses lied ist eine geistliche allegorie. Jesus als knight wie in der Anor. Riwle etc. Im Lesebuche 142 habe ich es irrtümlich unter das liebeslied gesetzt."

2) Eng. Poetry, 65.

3) Songs, Carols, etc. p.103.

4) C.H.E.L. II, 433.

5) For further discussion of the poem reference may be made to Peebles Legend of Longinus, and other works listed under this poem in the Appendix.

presence of the 'lullay' as an admirably suitable adaptation from the lullabies, and as such a measure of their influence. And, moreover, one can not dogmatically deny that this poem also may be a lullaby, even though the indications are rather against that supposition. A traditional version of the poem, written down in the nineteenth century,<sup>1</sup> presents a different burden--and incidentally names the weeping maiden:--

Over yonder's a park, which is newly begun,  
All belle in Paradise I heard them a-ring;  
 Which is silver on the outside, and gold within.  
And I love sweet Jesus above all things.

And in that park there stands a hall,  
 Which is covered all over with purple and pall.

And in that hall there stands a bed,  
 Which is hung all round with silk curtains so red.

And in that bed there lies a knight,  
 Whose wounds they do bleed by day and by night.

At that bed side there lies a stone,  
 Which is our blessed Virgin Mary then kneeling on.

At that bed's feet there lies a bound,  
 Which is licking the blood as it daily runs down.

At that bed's head there grows a thorn,  
 Which was never so blossomed since Christ was born.

The change in the refrain in this version, though not a change for the better, shows that the burden of the older song was not so integral a part of the poem as the first stanza would indicate. It may be considered a musically pleasing combination of words, and as such a suitable interlude.<sup>2</sup> The refrain, then, of this lyric

1) Printed, *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, II, 103. Reprinted (with Balliol text) *Ibid.*, 10th series, IV, 181. Chambers and Sidgwick, p.357.

2) A comparison with the traditional refrain suggests possibly a closer connection between song and burden. "I love sweet Jesus above all things" hints at that spiritual love which may represent

shows the taking of a step beyond the "Coventry Carol" in the borrowing of material from the popular lullabies.

Throughout the somewhat detailed presentation of the lullay poems I have dropped hints of 'prototypes', 'connecting links' and 'later adaptations'. By them I have hoped to mark the trail for a quick run over the ground to sketch in perspective the general lines of development of the type. More than once I have probed into the intricacies of relationship in regard to the few songs in a particular group or division. It is not my purpose, however, to elaborate upon these minutiae here. In the case of two or more versions of the same poem occurring in separate manuscripts of approximately the same period it is too often impossible to say which is the earlier poem or which is nearer the original. The history lying back of the presence of a certain song in a certain manuscript collection is for the most part irrecoverable; and one with only a modest amount of equipment can make at best little more than clever guesses at it. But in collecting, going over, and assorting my material I have become aware of a growing sense of the broad sweeping arcs which the evolution of the lullay poems has described. It is that larger organic relationship which will occupy the remainder of my discussion.

The Kildare lullaby furnishes the starting point, since it is by far the oldest of all the written poems which gain effect from the use of 'lullay'. Farther it is neither possible nor necessary to go. The next in a direct line of development is the poem

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Jesus in allegory as "my make". Confusion arises, though, if the Saviour is to be both "my make" and the bleeding knight; but confusion was not entirely absent from such poems in Middle English. At least the suggestion is worth making.

in Advocates' 18.7.21, f. 120a, in which the melancholy tone of the mother's singing to her child of the sufferings that await him in this world on account of the sin of Adam and Eve has become, by an almost imperceptible transition, the lament of Mary for her son. But one step removed are the cradle-songs in Advocates' 18.7.21, f.6a and Harley 7358. They have adopted the iambic quatrain instead of the six-line septenarius stanza, but they preserve the burden of the older poem. The melancholy tone is still evident in their emphasis of the woe wrought the infant Christ by Eve in plucking the apple. Traces of these poems are to be found, as we have seen<sup>1</sup>, in the middle portions of the poems in Sloane 2593, f. 16a and St. John's 259, f.11a, where the "Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld" is preserved with a single "qwy wepy thou so sore?" Up to this point the mother has been the speaker throughout the poems; but with the incorporation of the lullaby into a carol of rejoicing we have the words of the poet or singer at the beginning and at the end, with no provision made for smoothing over the abruptness of the change.<sup>2</sup> With these the first cycle of development of the lullay poems may be said to be completed. The emphasis, at first on the trials of this world, has been transferred, along the highways of the Fall and the Redemption, to the death on the cross of the Saviour. The original simple lullaby form has been preserved even when subjected to the influence of the carol of glad tidings.

The progress beyond this point can not be viewed as taking

1) Supra, p.22.

2) The carol at folio 6b of the St. John's College Ms. may be also associated with these. It has a lullaby refrain--introducing both a "lullay my chyld" and a "my dere moder"--which is quite apart from the immediate matter of the stanzas, in which the poet reiterates, "for us he deyde".

place in a single line; it is a vastly more complex matter than the inception of the type. If we turn to the long Advocates' Ms. poem --the earliest on record to employ the chanson d'aventure convention, and the first to present dialogue between mother and child, leaving the babe to foretell his own destiny,--the difficulties are not diminished, for we then see that before so highly organized a specimen could have come into being the type must already have long flourished. Perhaps the way out is to evoke the aid of a sort of "spontaneous creation" and attribute it to the hand of an accomplished poet, a solution than which no better can be found. If we regard it as marking a climax, or the highest point in the growth of the lullay poem, however, we shall fall into error, for the subsequent appearance of shorter and less inclusive poems will have to be made out the result of degeneration. Rather must this very complete poem be regarded as an individual instance of the culmination of several tendencies or features which manifest themselves separately thereafter. In other words, all the carols of a later date that begin with "This endere night" or that make use of dialogue are not necessarily descended from this one example. They may have co-existed in early versions, though chance has dictated they should come down to us in later manuscripts. It is in what is behind this poem rather than in the poem itself that we must establish the hypothetical sources of the large number of spiritual lullabies which follow. None of them have preserved Mary's lengthy account of the Annunciation. Those of the third type have emphasized the lugubrious tone of the child's disclosures. Nearly all of them--as vision poems--have heightened the coloring of the scene in which Mary sings to the child, whose pitiful state commands sym-



pathy. The four poems in the second group of spiritual lullabies above followed this picture with the child's promise of the three kings to come, and the further details of the Crucifixion have been dropped. The lullabies of these two types fall naturally together as illustrative of a general phase of development. With the exception of the one in Ms. Bodley 29003, which shows reversion to the earlier form, they are all vision-poems, though the poet's presence fades sometimes nearly into total obscurity.--<sup>1</sup>

So blessid a sight it was to see,  
How Mary rokked her son so fre!

Moreover, all of them present dialogue between mother and child; but here again exception must be made in the case of the Bodley 29003 lullaby, in which the Virgin speaks only in the refrain. Though the coming of the three kings from the Orient and the erection on the cross are both foretold among other events in the early Advocates' poem, the later songs have tended to lay stress upon one or the other alone of these major events.

Simultaneous has been the growth of the lullabies in which the grief of Mary receives a prominent share of the emphasis. They have borrowed from the other lullabies the vision setting, and either a suggestion or an actual presentation of dialogue. Yet they are nearer the earlier and simpler examples--what might be called the parent-stalk of the lullay poems. In the St. John's Ms. carol at folio 11a, as was pointed out,<sup>2</sup> at least one line strikes the key-note of this type. The evolution may rather adequately be represented by the working out of a simple problem in

1) Ball. 354, f.226a.

2) Supra, p.22.

algebra. Given a lullaby in which Mary sings mournfully about her child's suffering to come, add a chanson d'aventure introduction, add dialogue divided by the child's share in it, and multiply through by the Planctus Maria; the result will be a spiritual lullaby of the fourth type.

Between this and the first type, in which the details of the cross are eliminated altogether and Mary's only concern is to bring the helpless and rather fretful infant to sleep, may be placed the lullabies of which only a late example survives in Byrd's Collection.<sup>1</sup> The harm that threatens the child here is the immediate one of death at the hands of the soldiers of King Herod; but once that is escaped the future looms brighter. There is a connection of circumstance between this and the lullaby in the Coventry pageant, but whether or not there is a relation either way of indebtedness it is impossible to say. The other poems in the first group of spiritual lullabies lay stress principally on the "wonder sith", a maiden mother rocking a "Knave child". The marvel of the virginity of Mary appealed to the medieval imagination, we may judge. She was indeed a 'sovereign lady' who was a maid and bore a baby. Here we may find a connection between the religious lullabies and the one in the Sloane Ms. 1708.<sup>2</sup> The mother in this poem, though not a maid, is in a position somewhat analogous to that of the Virgin. In but two lullay poems is Joseph given any conspicuous part,<sup>3</sup> and he is generally lost sight of altogether. In both cases, then, we have a young mother whose circumstances are out of the ordinary. In the religious poems she is a maid by

1) Supra, p. 7.

2) Supra, p. 4.

3) Harl. 2380, f.70b and Brit. Mus. Add. 5465, f.51a. He is mentioned twice in Adv. 18.7.21, f.3b.

reason of the Immaculate Conception; in the secular poem the mother is left alone in the status of a maid, but is one no longer. And the child in each case is a son! The parallelism is flimsy, perhaps; but heavy superstructures have been built on less solid foundations. One is predisposed to grant the plea for the sake of the symmetry obtained by placing a secular lullaby at the beginning and at the end of the entire series. Assigning that position to this lullaby does not mean that it is the final outcome of the lullay poems; it has its roots in other soil, but cross-pollination has produced a blossom of a compounded hue and fragrance.

There are other examples of the effect of the wind and the honey-bee. Tradition and the poet are responsible for such hybrid creations as the allegorical "The fawcon hath born my make away". And scattered lullay's will be found in other poems not included in those which have been discussed here. A ready example is in these lines from Skelton:<sup>1</sup>

With lullay, lullay, lyke a chylde,  
Thou slepyst to long, thou art begylde.

Indeed, it would be remarkable if a class of poems which enjoyed a prominence attested by the diversity of the extant examples and their distribution through a period of nearly three hundred years should have traveled all the way down to us without having left numerous marks by the wayside.

1) Quoted by Bryant, p.26, from Skelton's Poems, ed. by A. Dyce  
Cambridge, 1855, p.27. 13