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This book contains a collection of political verses, venality satires and songs of social protest from medieval England. First edited by Thomas Wright in 1839, these so called 'political songs' are reissued here on behalf of the Royal Historical Society. The collection provides a fascinating insight into medieval responses to contemporary events. A new and wide-ranging introduction from Peter Coss offers observations on authorship, audience, the means of dissemination and the use of the languages involved. The reader is brought up to date on the critical study of the poems and on their significance and potentiality for the modern historian and literary scholar. Professor Coss corrects Wright's dating where necessary and puts each item into its full contemporary context, making these fascinating verses accessible to the modern reader.

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From the Reign of John to that of Edward II

WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION BY

PETER COSS

University of Wales College of Cardiff

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INTRODUCTION TO 1996 EDITION*

I

Political Songs was the inspiration of one of the great Victorian antiquaries. For this volume for the Camden Society, published in 1839, Wright collected together a host of scattered pieces of verse which he felt belonged under this heading and which he arranged chronologically, calling a temporary halt at the end of the reign of Edward II. As he explains in his preface, this was forced upon him by the quantity of material and the decision to provide translations. In the event, his projected second volume for the Camden Society failed to appear. Instead he published two volumes for the Rolls Series, one taking his project up to the deposition of Richard II and the other to the end of the Yorkist era.[1] Two related volumes, of satirical poetry from the twelfth century, followed from this prolific editor in 1872. In his introduction to

* I wish to thank the following for their generous help and advice in the preparation of this volume: Michael Clanchy, Françoise Le Saux, Simon Lloyd, John Maddicott, Linda Paterson, Ian Short, Thorlac Turville-Petre and Simon Walker.

[1] Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Poems and Songs*, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, London, 1859 and 1861). Meanwhile, however, he had edited, *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, Camden Society, o.s., xvi (London, 1841).

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these latter, Wright explained his basic premise: chronicles 'furnish the materials for the substance of history, but we must seek other materials in order to throw life and colour into this dry substance, and show the feelings and motives which set it to work'. And, again, 'A single passage of the satirist or poet will sometimes throw more light over the character of historical events than whole pages of research and discussion.'[2] This, then, was the motivation which inspired the great collection of political songs of which the present volume was but the first instalment.

However, strictly speaking, 'political songs' is a misnomer. Many of them are not really songs at all, and are most unlikely ever to have been sung. There are, of course, exceptions, the robust *Song against the King of Almaigne* for one. *Vulneratur Karitas* has a line of musical notation associated with it in the manuscript, although it is later than the text, while the songs on the death of Piers Gaveston were parodies of known hymns and hence could certainly be sung.[3] Moreover, the poems do not represent a single genre. Broadly speaking, we can divide the great majority of the

[2] Thomas Wright (ed.), *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, London, 1872), i. p. x.

[3] See below notes 24, 45, 48 and 54.

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items Wright collected into three categories. There are the political verses in the true, or at least the narrow, sense of the term, celebrating or bemoaning particular current events. There are the venality satires attacking either specific vices or the vices of various social classes and groups, a long tradition in West European culture going back to the late eleventh century.[4] And, finally, there are the verses of social protest which draw heavily upon the latter but which are more historically specific in that they are responses to particular and topical grievances. Nevertheless, Wright's volume has a clear validity. Despite the differences in form and genre, there are strong interconnections. The literature of social protest arose essentially out of venality satire whilst the political poems in the narrow sense most often contain a subtext of moral opprobrium in one guise or another. Thus a unifying feature across the three is the pervading undercurrent of moral condemnation. Wright's material, however, though it has often been utilised to good effect, has rarely been studied as a whole. The basic reason for this lies within the development of modern academic disci-

[4] The classic exposition is by John A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Mediaeval Venality Satire* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1963). See also Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire* (Cambridge, 1973).

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plines. It has been used as a ready quarry for illustrative material by historians interested in the reigns of specific kings or in particular aspects of social or institutional life. It has been compartmentalised by scholars working in either Middle English or Anglo-Norman language and literature. The Middle English peoms, for example, have been studied by scholars interested in the development of English lyrics. Six of the items were included by Rossell Hope Robbins in his collection of *Historical Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, where they are re-edited with extensive notes.[5] Others have studied the political songs in search of the antecedents of the great literary works of the late fourteenth century. Particular attention has been focused, for example, upon the *Simonie* or *Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II*.[6] Or, they have been used to provide commentary on Chaucer, as

[5] Rossell Hope Robbins (ed.), *Historical Poems of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (New York, 1959), nos. 2–7. The six are: *Song on the Flemish Insurrection*, *Song on the Execution of Sir Simon Fraser*, *Song on the Death of Edward I*, *Song of the Husbandman*, *Satire on the Consistory Courts* and *Song against the Retinues of the Great People*. Robbins noted all previous editions and these have not, therefore, been included here. The last three have recently been re-edited in Thorlac Turville-Petre, *Alliterative Poetry of the Later Middle Ages: An Anthology* (London, 1989).

[6] Elizabeth Salter, '*Piers Plowman* and *The Simonie*', *Archiv*, 203 (1967), 241–54, repr. in Elizabeth Salter (ed. D. Pearsall and N. Zeeman), *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 158–69.

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for example the *Satire on the Consistory Courts* to illustrate the historicity of the Summoner.[7] The Anglo-Norman poems have also excited interest, especially from the language point of view, and most have been re-edited by Isabel Aspin for the Anglo-Norman Text Society.[8] Strangely, though, given its contemporary vitality throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it is the Latin literature produced in England which has been the most neglected over the years. Here again, it is demarcation within academe which has been largely to blame. Recently A.G. Rigg has set out to remedy this situation in a full-scale survey of what he calls Anglo-Latin literature.[9]

Assessment of the vernacular poems in terms of their literary quality has tended to be harsh. Some, as Aspin says of the laments for Simon de Montfort and Edward I, are 'heartbreakingly pedestrian'.

[7] See, in particular, L.A. Haselmayer, 'The Apparitor and Chaucer's Summoner', *Speculum*, 12 (1937), 43–57.

[8] Isabel S.T. Aspin (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Political Songs*, Anglo-Norman Text Society, no. XI (Oxford, 1953). The reader may wish to turn to this for further textual criticism and the elucidation of obscurities. It should also be noted that Aspin includes several items that are not found in Wright's volume. They are: *The Prisoner's Prayer, Thomas Turberville, The Lament of Edward II, Sur les états du monde, Lettre du prince des envieux*, and *The Ingratitude of the Great*. To these Mary Dominica Legge added *La Piere d'Escoce*, a poem written soon after the death of Edward I and telling the history of the Scottish Stone of Destiny ('La Piere d'Escoce', *Scottish Historical Review*, 38 (1959), 109–13). See also M.D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 351–7.

[9] A.G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992).

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Interest in the 'songs' is always likely to be historical rather than aesthetic. Nevertheless, they cannot be denied a certain appeal, whether in terms of their craftsmanship, their rather racy quality, or indeed both. On the whole the Latin pieces tend to be of higher quality; the *Song of Lewes* for example is of real literary merit. To some extent, however, the division of these pieces according to language is also artificial. Genre cuts across language. Moreover, as Wright himself pointed out, a number of them employ more than one language and one of them, the *Proverbia Trifaria* or *Song on the Times*, is an amalgam of Anglo-Norman, Latin and English.

A growing interest among historians in the social context of this type of literature as well as recent shifts within literary scholarship have led to the realisation that the time is ripe for a deeper analysis of this material; hence the reissue of this volume.[10] J.R. Maddicott has recently led the way with an incisive discussion of the poems of social protest, in particular, and has called for further

[10] For a discussion of the similar material from the later fourteenth century, see Janet Coleman, *English Literature in History, 1350–1400: Medieval Readers and Writers* (London, 1981), esp. pp. 58–156. See also John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), and Richard W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988).

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work. He suggests that the protest literature which survives from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries onwards – and which is qualitatively different from the more general satire which went before – represents a genuine new development.[11] Admittedly, material of this nature tended to be ephemeral and we know that much has been lost.[12] However, as Maddicott stresses, there was now much more to protest about, particularly in terms of increased demands being made by the state and in terms of the onset of economic distress. 'On to the stem provided by the sermon and the satire – part homily, part artifice, part exercise – there is apparently grafted a newer type of complaint, rooted in genuine grievances, which moves the literature of protest from the general to the particular.'[13]

It is hardly surprising that scholars should have refined the dating of some of these poems since the publication of Wright's volume, and that he is sometimes found to be seriously in error. He had a tendency to assume that the date of a poem corre-

[11] J.R. Maddicott, 'Poems of Social Protest in Early Fourteenth-Century England', in W.M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 140–3.

[12] See R.M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (2nd edn., London, 1970), pp. 188,196.

[13] Maddicott, 'Poems of Social Protest', p. 142.

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sponded to its appearance in manuscript. Some of the Latin pieces belong, in fact, to the late twelfth century. On the other hand, two of the vernacular ones date from around 1340. As a result, the volume has a slightly broader chronological span than Wright gave it. Equally, we have a better understanding of the context of some of these poems than was available in Wright's day, although that is not invariably true. He was sometimes led into error, and his titles can be misleading. Moreover, as far as content is concerned, an editor today would undoubtedly make different decisions. There are some omissions and a few dubious inclusions.

Most of the poems have been re-edited over the years (many more than once), either individually or in various combinations. Nevertheless, the integrity of Wright's volume has been maintained here and it is being reissued in its entirety.[14] The breadth of his approach should be a stimulus to research, cutting across old boundaries. But, equally, the political poems should not be studied

[14] A revised edition was produced by Edmund Goldsmid under the title *Thomas Wright, Bibliotheca Curiosa: The Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1884). The longer Latin texts (and most of the Appendix) were omitted, leaving Wright's translations to stand alone, while his notes were severely pruned and brought to the foot of the text. A very few corrections were made, but little was added.

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as a single corpus, in isolation. To have re-edited the volume, quite apart from the size of the task, would have risked fossilising Wright's choices, discouraging newer approaches and combinations. Furthermore, his work is of historical interest in its own right. For various reasons, then, it was thought better to reissue Wright's volume intact whilst bringing the reader up to date with work undertaken in the meantime. The remainder of this introduction is divided into two parts. Section II is designed to update the reader on the individual items and their specific importance, noting refinements in dating, for example, and the existence of more recent editions. In this section the three subcategories of political poems in the strict sense, the venality satires and the poems of social protest and complaint, are dealt with in turn. Section III moves to more general considerations affecting their interpretation and hence to the broader significance of the material.

II

Among the earliest political songs, in the narrow sense of the term, are the topical *sirventes* of the troubadours, a number of which concerned the activities (or supposed inactivity) of John and

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Henry III in defence of their interests in southern France. The poem in which Bertran de Born the younger attempted to persuade his fellow poet, Savaric de Mauléon, to desert John's cause is especially famous and has helped to determine views both of the king's character and of his pertinacity, at least until very recently.[15] 'No man may ever trust him', wrote Bertran, 'for his heart is soft and cowardly.' Less justly perhaps, he tells us that John loved hunting, fishing and repose – his hounds and his hawks – better than he loved attention to war, and that he lost the hearts of his people through his failure to succour them, near and far.[16] The poem on the battle of Lincoln of May 1217 contains another judgement on John. The anger of the avenging God no longer allowed this furious king to reign. But his death was a glorious one, for in it he confounded his enemies, allowing the loyalist barons to defeat the rebels in the name of his young son. Henry III was also the subject of

[15] For a more recent edition, with commentary, see M. de Riquer, *Los Trovadores*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1975), ii. 952–4, and for a discussion of Bertran de Born *lo fils*, W.D. Paden, Jr., T. Sankovitch and P.H. Stäblein, *The Poems of Bertran de Born* (Berkeley and London, 1986). For Savaric see H.J. Chaytor, *Savaric de Mauléon, Baron and Troubadour* (Cambridge, 1939); his *Song on the Siege of Thouars* is discussed on p. 18. For a recent, wide-ranging discussion of the society which produced the *sirventes* see Linda M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c.1100–c.1300* (Cambridge, 1993).

[16] For a more judicious assessment see J.C. Holt, *The Northerners* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1992), pp. 147,159.

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sirventes. His Brittany campaign of 1230 had been urged on by an unknown troubadour who had called upon Henry to spurn the easy life and to show martial valour; that way he would win back his possessions in France.[17] Wright was surely mistaken, however, in connecting the first of his two *sirventes* by Bernart de Rovenac with this campaign. Aimed at James I of Aragon and Raymond VII of Toulouse as well as Henry III, it is closer in spirit to the time of Henry's Gascon campaign of 1242–3 which excited much interest among the troubadours.[18] It belongs, most probably, to 1241–2. The second Rovenac *sirventes*, aimed again at Henry and at James of Aragon, urges action at the time when Louis of France is on crusade. Given that it makes reference to King Alfonso (X, of Castile), it can be narrowed down to 1252–4.

[17] A. Jeanroy, 'Un sirventes politique de 1230', in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), pp. 275–83; F.M. Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1947), i. 181.

[18] A. Jeanroy, 'Le soulèvement de 1242 dans la poésie des troubadours', *Annales du Midi*, 16 (1904), 311–29. There is a critical edition of the poems of Bernart de Rovenac by Gunther Bosdorff in *Romanische Forschungen*, 22 (1908), 761–827. For some recent comment on Bernart see E.M. Ghil, *L'Age de Parage: Essais sur le poétique et le politique en Occitanie au XIIIe siècle* (New York, Bern and Frankfurt, 1989), pp. 19, 259–69, 292. For Henry III's campaigns see Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, ch. v, the same author's *The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1953), ch. iii, and Robert Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III 1216–45* (Oxford, 1987), ch. 5.

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As regards political songs in the narrow sense, however, the high water mark was of course the time of Simon de Montfort and the baronial reform. Never before had they contained such exhilaration and commitment. It would be difficult to overstate their value in recapturing the mood of the time.[19] They are, however, decidedly *parti pris*. As C.L. Kingsford, who re-edited the *Song of Lewes*, put it, 'All the songs on the Barons' War which have survived favour the constitutional cause.'[20]

Among the literary products of the mid-thirteenth-century struggle, however, the *Song of Lewes* has pride of place. It is clearly written by a partisan, shortly after the battle of Lewes on 14 May 1264. Kingsford believed that it was written by a Franciscan friar, perhaps educated at Oxford under the influence of Adam Marsh and Bishop

[19] The poetry arising from the political struggle of mid thirteenth-century England has been cited by its major historians, although none of them subjected it to a systematic analysis. Among those who notice these works are: W.H. Blauuw, *The Barons' War*, (2nd edn., London, 1871); G.W. Prothero, *The Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester* (London, 1877); C. Bémont, *Simon de Montfort* (Paris, 1884), and the translation of its second edition by E.F. Jacob, *Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester* (Oxford, 1930); Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*.

[20] C.L. Kingsford (ed.), *The Song of Lewes* (Oxford, 1890), p. vii. This is a full critical edition, with an introduction, emended text, translation and copious notes. There is a more accessible translation in H. Rothwell (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, iii (London, 1975), no.232, which incorporates some revisions made by Sir Maurice Powicke.

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Grosseteste and personally associated with either Simon himself or his close supporter, Bishop Stephen Berksted, or indeed both. There is no direct evidence for any of this, but none of it is inherently improbable given what is known of the contours of the Montfortian 'party'. Essentially a lengthy 'exposition for the benefit of educated men of the principles of opposition to Henry III',[21] it is by any standards a polished piece of work. Heavy with biblical allusion, it is nevertheless imbued with contemporary tension and strife, and not only in its partisanship for Simon and his followers. Among its most prominent concerns is the question of the right relationship of the king to the law. It also shows that the full contours of Continental chivalric knighthood had by this time invaded English thought. At the same time it is fervently anti-alien. Its most remarkable feature, however, is that it not only states the essence of the baronial cause but it fully engages with (and, of course, refutes) the arguments of the royalist side.[22]

[21] Rothwell, *English Historical Documents*, iii. 899.

[22] For further comment, in addition to Kingsford, see Powicke, *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, II, ch. xi. For the latest discussion of the battle of Lewes itself see David Carpenter, *The Battles of Lewes and Evesham 1264/5* (Keele, 1987), and for the issues in contention between the parties before and after the battle see also J.R. Maddicott, 'The Mise of Lewes, 1264', *English Historical Review*, 98 (1983), 588–603. For national identity at this period see M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066–1272* (Glasgow, 1983) ch. x. For knighthood at this period see P.R. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), chs. 2–3.

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Another product of the battle of Lewes is the *Song against the King of Almaigne*. Vastly different in tone, it nevertheless exhibits the same mood of triumphalism. The target is the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, elected king of the Romans in January 1257, and the poet makes great play with the fact that Richard had been forced to take refuge in a windmill when the battle turned ugly for the royalists.[23] The song is justly famous for its wonderful refrain which seems to encapsulate a contemporary view of Richard as well as the prevailing mood of the time:

> Richard, thah thou be ever trichard, [deceiver]
> trichen shalt thou never more[24] [deceive]

The same pun is alluded to in the *Song of the Peace with England*, a French poem which satirises, in a rather coarse fashion, both Henry III's delusions about his capacity to restore his lands in France and the empty bravado of his magnates. Wright inexplicably linked this poem with Louis IX's

[23] For a wide-ranging discussion of his career and activities, see N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (New York, 1947). Richard's personality and character are summarised on pp. 153–5.

[24] The song was edited by Carleton Brown in *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1932), no. 72, pp. 131–2, 222–4, where previous editions are cited. It is given the confusing title *A Song of Lewes*. It is printed again, with notes, in R.T. Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology* (London, 1963), pp. 55–6, under the title *Against the Barons' Enemies*.

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'arbitration' between the English king and his barons in the Mise of Amiens of January 1264. In fact, as George Prothero pointed out, 'nothing in the song agrees with this hypothesis'. The song is about conquest not mediation, and it would have been totally out of place after the kings had come to terms in the Treaty of Paris, published on 4 December 1259. On the other hand, Prothero's attempt to link it with Henry III's campaign of 1242 is also unconvincing in that it involves treating its reference to the king's son, Edward 'of the flaxen hair', three years old in 1242, as 'chivaler, hardouin et honest', as a 'satirical exaggeration of his father's pride in him'.[25] Edward was knighted in Gascony in October 1254, and it may be that the poem was composed about that time. However, it is probable that the poem does not reflect any specific debate at the English court but is a more general satire on the pretensions of the English. It is interesting to note that Simon de Montfort is shown as out of step with the king's other advisers, explicitly in not denigrating the military capacity of the French.

Two other songs reflect the course of the reform movement. The joyous and highly partisan *Song of the Barons*, which is unfortunately incomplete,

[25] Prothero, *The Life of Simon de Montfort*, pp. 55–6.

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belongs to 1263, almost certainly to the summer, after the return of Simon de Montfort to England in April and the plundering of the properties of the enemies of reform, to which the song refers.[26] The plaintive *Song upon the Division among the Barons*, on the other hand, with its particular castigation of the earls of Gloucester and of Norfolk, for their desertion of the cause and its continued, defiant, belief in Simon de Montfort and his dwindling number of supporters, belongs to the months before Simon's death at the battle of Evesham on 4 August 1265.[27]

Nor were these the only political poems produced during these years. A badly burned Cottonian manuscript, not noticed by Wright, contains, in addition to a chronicle written at Ramsey Abbey dealing with the barons' wars, a series of contemporary verses. They include a poem on the events of 1258 which speaks both of the famine and of the Provisions of Oxford, an attack on Louis IX for his verdict in favour of the king in the Mise of Amiens, and an account of the causes of the conflict. A longer but incomplete poem deals with the battles of Lewes and Evesham

[26] It is re-edited in Aspin, *Anglo-Norman Political Songs*, pp. 12–23.

[27] The poem is contained in Rishanger's chronicle (J.O. Halliwell, *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars*, Camden Society Old Series, no. 15 (1840), pp. 18–20).

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and their respective aftermaths. Simon's merciful behaviour towards his enemies is contrasted with the cruelty of the royalists.[28]

Not surprisingly, the fate of Simon de Montfort produced a batch of memorials. The *Lament for Simon de Montfort* considers the earl a martyr and compares him to Thomas Becket; like Thomas the earl died in the cause of justice, without flinching (*sauntz feyntise*).[29] Once again, the earl of Gloucester is blamed; this time for the deaths of Simon and his supporters. The *Lament* does not stand alone; far from it. In 1896 Maitland published a Latin poem on the same theme.[30] Although it is more literary than the French poem, the two have elements in common. A curious feature of the Latin poem is the six stanzas devoted to Simon's standard-bearer, Guy de Balliol. The Latin poem was written on the flyleaf

[28] The manuscript is BL Cotton Otho D. viii. The poems are printed in the notes to J.O. Halliwell, *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars*, pp. 112, 114, 118, 123–4, 139–46. For some discussion see Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 202–3.

[29] The Lament has been re-edited, with translation and notes, by Aspin in *Anglo-Norman Political Songs*, pp. 24–35, where its printing in four other collections is noted. Another text has since been discovered, in Trinity College Dublin MS 347. See H. Shields, 'The *Lament for Simon de Montfort*: An Unnoticed Text of the French Poem', in *Medium Aevum*, 41 (1972), 202–7.

[30] F.W. Maitland, 'A Song on the Death of Simon de Montfort', in H.A.L. Fisher (ed.), *The Collected Papers of Frederick William Maitland*, iii (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 43–9, repr. from *English Historical Review* 12 (1896), 314–18.

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of a Cambridge manuscript (Caius 85) which contains several treatises on canon law and was owned around 1270 by one Walter de Hyda. Not only were these laments composed shortly after the event, but they were undoubtedly fast disseminated. There was clearly some deliberate concern to report Simon's cause aright, and a sense of desolation felt by his followers. The *Chronicle of Melrose* reports the Franciscans' role in this. The French lament's comparison with Becket and its reference to Simon's hair shirt are mirrored, in fact, in the Melrose Chronicle, which itself contains very full accounts of the battles of Lewes and Evesham. It seems certain that these are based upon the knowledge of a member (or members) of the Montfortian party, perhaps one who had taken refuge there. The chronicler certainly knew of a poem on the battle of Lewes.

There are resemblances, moreover, between the *Song of Lewes* and the hymns which form part of the office for Simon de Montfort.[31] The latter, which contains three hymns and portions of a service, were printed by G.W. Prothero from a manuscript which belonged to Norwich Cathedral

[31] See Kingsford, *The Song of Lewes*, pp. 20–3.

[32] Prothero, *The Life of Simon de Montfort*, Appendix IV. Another fragment of an office, which concludes the manuscript containing the miracles at Simon's tomb, is given on p. 379. It was noticed by Wright (below, p. 124). See Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 201, 370, and Peter M. Lefferts, 'Two English Motets on Simon de Montfort', *Early Music History*, 1 (1991), 203–25.

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Library in the fourteenth century.[32] Simon was, of course, popularly venerated as a saint. Between 1265 and 1279 nearly two hundred miracles were recorded at his tomb.[33] Despite the royalists' attempt to suppress the cult, it clearly continued for some years.[34] His fame was even more enduring. When Edward II was at Whorlton Castle in the Cleveland Hills during his progress through the north in 1323, two women of the neighbourhood entertained him with songs about Simon de Montfort.[35]

The barons, it seems, had had all the best 'songs'. The poem *In Praise of the Young Edward*, written shortly after the accession of Edward I, by contrast, expressed the exuberance felt by a royalist during the years immediately following

[33] The collection of Simon's miracles contained in BL Vespasian A vi, and which appears to have been compiled at Evesham, was published by J.O. Halliwell together with his edition of the chronicle of these years written by William Rishanger, monk of St Albans, in 1312 (J.O. Halliwell, *The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars*).

[34] By 1280 it had died away. For discussion see D.C. Cox, *The Battle of Evesham: A New Account* (Evesham, 1988), pp. 21–4; Simon Walker, 'Political Saints in Later Medieval England', in R.H. Britnell and A.J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy* (forthcoming, Stroud, 1995), pp. 77–106; and R.C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977), pp. 131–5, 169–70. For the fascinating details of the visit of an ex-Montfortian to the shrine, on 11 September 1273, probably in search of a cure, see J.R. Maddicott, 'Follower, Leader, Pilgrim, Saint: Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, at the Shrine of Simon de Montfort, 1273', *English Historical Review*, 109 (1994), pp. 641–53.

[35] Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, p. 203, and Maddicott, 'Poems of Social Protest in Early Fourteenth-Century England', p. 131.

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the battle of Evesham, when the erstwhile 'conquerors were conquered by the vanquished', as he puts it. The author was the chronicler, Thomas Wykes, canon of Osney, a man of royalist temperament and associations.[36] He positively exults in the death of Simon de Montfort and revels in the countryside 'moistened with blood' by the vigour of Edward, the young knight. The *Song of Lewes* had referred to Edward as a leopard, that is a lion in his pride and ferocity but a 'pard' in his inconstancy. Now he is again compared to a leopard but strictly as a warrior. Moreover, he had already proved himself a crusader. 'Behold, he shines like a new Richard.' The two versions of the *Lament on the Death of Edward I* (one in French and the other, in all probability a loose translation, in English) are in similar vein. Edward, the *prodhomme*, was the 'flower of Jerusalem's chivalry', the 'flower of holy church'. The writer of the French version speaks of his desolation, whilst the English song calls for the wringing of hands. It will be a long time, ventures the author of the latter, before England finds such a king again.

[36] Wright misread Thomas de Wyca as Wyta in the poem's explicit. See Rigg, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 201–2, 371, who thinks the poem may be incomplete. The same manuscript, written about 1300, contains the poem on the battle of Lincoln of 1217. For Thomas Wykes and his chronicle see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550–c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 463–70.

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