II

DESCRIPTION AND PROVENANCE

1. Description

The Harington MS. at Arundel Castle is a folio volume, 204 x 309 mm. in size, with early nineteenth-century binding, full calf, with gold tooling on back and sides. On the spine of the binding is the title quoted above. There are now one hundred forty-five leaves of the original Manuscript. At one time there were two hundred twenty-eight, contemporaneously numbered 225, with 53, 67, and 99 appearing twice. Thus eighty-three folios are wanting, as follows: 1-15, 25, 38-48, 61, 62, 69-74, 76, 79-96, 103, 104, 120-27, 131, 140, 141, 154, 161, 165, 174, 175, 189-91, 197-204. The missing folios are supplied by blank leaves of modern paper with the exception of 69, 131, 141, 154, 161, 165. Folios 221 and 222 are blank, but the paper is that of the Manuscript. The lower half of fol. 30 is torn away. This half sheet may have been removed deliberately in the sixteenth century. A partial note in the hand of Sir John Harington of Kelston remains on the recto:

Iohn Harington
hoc vt obscoenissimū

Perhaps an improper drawing was on the lower part of the page. A tear in fol. 149 has been mended. The other leaves of the Manuscript are in good condition except for small worm holes on fols. 217, 224, and 225.

The paper is ruled with thirty-eight lines to the page. There are, therefore, missing from the Manuscript some five thousand three

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1 The numbering of the folios is contemporary, but that of the later folios differs from that at the beginning.

2 The statement is made in Hughey, p. 416, that eighty-one folios are missing, but the correct number is eighty-three, as given above.

3 For explanation of some of the lacunae in the Manuscript and of these blank leaves of modern paper, see the account below, pp. 14-16. Fols. 15 and the lower half of 48 were lost after the making of Nott's transcript in 1809-10, and the contents can be supplied from that copy, MS. Add. 28635. See Appendix I and the Note on No. 74. Contents of other missing leaves can be tentatively and partially supplied from poetry in the NA. See below, pp. 18-25.

4 Other complete pages are blank: fols. 162r, 163r, 223r. A few pages have only two or three lines of verse, e.g., fol. 163r, which contains only the heading and first line of No. 236, and fol. 220v, which has the last few lines of No. 320. Thus, in fols. 220v-223r there are five complete, consecutive blank pages, and the greater part of a sixth. Fol. 163 was evidently left blank for the purpose of completing No. 236.
hundred lines of poetry, if we suppose the pages to have been full, as they hardly would have been. The one hundred forty-five folios remaining in the Manuscript contain some ten thousand lines of miscellaneous Tudor verse, written in a number of different contemporary hands, with two predominating: Hand A, a clear, regular secretary, which occurs in other Harington MSS.; and the mature hand of Sir John Harington of Kelston, whose autograph appears in several other manuscripts. None of the poems is written in the hand of the elder Harington of Stepney; but corrections to some poems, the headings for No. 2 and for the group Nos. 24-64, and the ascriptions to Sir John Cheke of Nos. 282-85 may be in his hand. Statements written and signed by John Harington in February of 1548/9, regarding Admiral Seymour’s attentions to the Princess Elizabeth, are in Cecil Papers 150, Nos. 74-75. His signature is also appended to the funeral certificate of his wife Isabell, dated May 26, 1579. This signature differs from that written thirty years earlier, but it is of the same general cast.

Examination of the lines of poetry in the Arundel MS. shows that by a somewhat arbitrary count there are three hundred twenty-four compositions represented in whole or part. Many of the entries, but not all, are followed by a “finis,” which is useful in determining those regarded as complete and separate by the compiler. In the instance of unknown lines the lack of the “finis” may make it uncertain whether we have one or two poems, or whether we have an unfinished composition. Three hundred four entries are apparently com-

5 The handwriting is discussed in further detail in connection with the analysis of the contents. Specimens of Sir John’s handwriting occur in the manuscripts of his translation of the Orlando Furioso, of his epigrams, and of his Catalogue of Bishops, now British Museum MSS. Add. 18920 and 12049 and MS. Royal 17 B.XXII, respectively. There are also other examples of Sir John’s autograph, e.g., the fair copy of his manuscript of epigrams is now Folger Library MS. 4455. In 1947 the British Museum purchased from Miss Philippa Harington the autograph manuscripts of Sir John’s Metamorphosis of Ajax, his papers concerning Ireland, and the first draft of his Catalogue of Bishops, now MSS. Add. 46368, 46369, 46370. And still other examples of his handwriting are extant; he evidently enjoyed making copies of his work.

6 Heralds College MS. I.10, fol. 144r. The certificate itself is in the hand of a scribe. It is printed in Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, New Series, iv (1884), 195. John Harington of Stepney has frequently been confused with his kinsman Sir John Harington, Knight, of Exton, Rutlandshire, who died in 1553. This Sir John of Exton was Treasurer of the Wars under King Henry VIII, and his signature appears in the State Papers. In Hughey, p. 421, he is said to have become Lord Harington, but this is an error. His grandson John, tutor to the Princess Elizabeth of Stuart, became the first Baron Harington of Exton. In my forthcoming book on “The Life and Works of John Harington the Elder,” I have set out the evidence differentiating the several John Haringtons of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
I am very much surprised to hear that my lord, after having some thoughts about a matter, asked me about it and said he would pay me that my lord understood a matter but he would not answer it known to some of us. I asked what it was about the answer was my lord and the answer came from my lord to me. Elizabeth to some degree was a good wife taking up the body but my lord could not find out what the answer was of some was unfixed but of course it could not be said. I told my lord the answer and asked why the answer was not given. I answered that there was nothing after, after seven days there was nothing said but for all seven days and forty-th to be given away. Paying to hold account for the money for a body in your part. To Harington 88
INTRODUCTION

plete, although twenty-nine are couplets, and Nos. 61 and 309 are versions of the same poem, as are Nos. 98 and 108. No. 183 is an epilogue to No. 182, but each has its separate “finis.” Fifteen fragments of varying lengths result from the lacunae in the Manuscript: Nos. 73, 74, 130, 132, 133, 136, 144, 145, 169, 170, 180, 272, 273, 279, 280, this last consisting only of the last line and the “finis.” There are also five unfinished poems. Nos. 151 and 224 are single stanzas of longer poems, as apparently is No. 195. No. 181 is only partially copied, and No. 236 consists only of the title and first line.

Seventy-eight complete poems appear not to have been published: Nos. 5, 9, 12, 14, 16, 21, 23, 65, 69, 70, 146, 150, 152, 153, 172-75, 182-84, 186, 188, 228, 230-33, 237, 242, 244, 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 253, 256-61, 266, 268, 269, 271, 274-77, 279, 282-87, 289, 290, 294, 296, 301-03, 306-08, 314-20, 322-24. The majority of these, it is to be noted, occur in the latter part of the Manuscript. In addition six of the fragments seem to belong to unprinted material; and a good many of the short metrical proverbs, or sentences, and a metrical paraphrase of the Lord’s Prayer appear not to have been printed in the particular form in which they are written in the Arundel MS. Other poems have been printed only obscurely.

Inasmuch as an understanding of the make-up of the Manuscript

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7 Couplets are: Nos. 27-39, 41, 45, 47-56, 62, 248, 255. A couplet in the margin by No. 26 is referred to as No. 26a.

8 Three others have second versions which are crossed out and are not separately numbered: No. 4, fol. 16v, crossed version at top of same page, referred to as No. 4a; Nos. 7 and 8, fol. 17v, crossed versions on fol. 16v, between the two versions of No. 4, referred to as Nos. 7a and 8a. Nos. 43 and 195 have lines through them, but are numbered because there are no other versions. Nos. 201-21 are separate sonnets from Henry Constable’s Diana. Nos. 307 and 308 are, I now think, stanzas of one poem by William Cordall, but this conclusion was reached too late to change the numbering of the poems.

9 No. 151 is given a “finis,” as if it were regarded as complete. No. 195 has not been identified. I have not included in the list of unfinished poems those which appear to be merely shorter versions, nor have I included No. 223, the first of Sir Philip Sidney’s Astrophel and Stella sonnets, since it is complete in itself. The heading indicates that the whole of the series was intended to follow, but only the first was written.

10 I have made a careful search, but I am aware that some poems which I have listed as unprinted may be contained in published books or journals which I have not seen. Fragments are often particularly difficult to identify, but I have not discovered printed copies of Nos. 145, 170, 180, 195, 273, 280. The metrical sentences and paraphrases to which I refer are: Nos. 1, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13, 24-27, 29-34, 36-55, 57-63, 248, 254, 255, 309. Some of these do appear in versions differing only to a small degree.

Since the above statement was written, the edition of Sir Thomas Wyatt. The Collected Poems by Kenneth Muir has been published, 1949. Muir prints from the Arundel MS. Nos. 145 and 309 as two of Wyatt’s “Doubtfull Poems,” pp. 240-41, 235, respectively. In correspondence I pointed out to him that No. 309 was taken from Ovid, Ex Ponto, II.3. This derivation hardly indicates Wyatt’s authorship, as he is not known to have been concerned with Ovid. Furthermore, the other copy of the poem in AH, No. 61, is among the “dyvers sentences,” and seems to be written in the hand of Sir John Harington. I concur in the opinion that No. 145 was very probably written by Wyatt.
depends somewhat upon its relation to others which once formed a part of the same collection, the nature of the contents, their arrangement in the volume, and the hands in which the poems are written can best be considered later. It may be noted here, however, that the poems range in date of composition from the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII to about the end of Elizabeth's reign. The fact that there are sixty-seven poems which have been attributed to Wyatt, eighteen to Surrey, and twenty to the Uncertain Authors of Tottel's Miscellany accounts for the interest shown in the Manuscript by editors of those poets.\textsuperscript{11}

2. Provenance, 1809-1954

The Arundel MS. was given its present binding in 1810 under the direction of G. F. Nott, who had borrowed it in 1809 from Dr. Henry Harington of Bath, a lineal descendant of John Harington of Stepney.\textsuperscript{12} The flyleaves have the date 1807 as a watermark. The binding is identical with that of Egerton MS. 2711, the Wyatt autograph volume, formerly Harington MS. No. I,\textsuperscript{13} also borrowed by Nott, and differs only in small detail from that of two Tudor prose miscellanies among the Harington Family Papers.\textsuperscript{14} Nott instructed

\textsuperscript{11} Muir attributes seventy poems in the Arundel MS. to Wyatt. In addition to Nos. 145 and 309, mentioned in the preceding note, he includes No. 313 (Muir, p. 236) as another doubtful poem. In \textit{TM}, No. 187, it is grouped with the Uncertain Authors.

\textsuperscript{12} Henry Harington, M.D., 1727-1816, was born at Kelston, and moved to Bath in 1777. He was well known as physician, musician, alderman, and magistrate (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 39864, fols. 104'-105'; \textit{D.N.B.}). Eight letters, August 15, 1809-December 19, 1811, from Nott to Dr. Harington concern Nott's use of the family manuscripts and his queries on Harington's history. In the first of these letters Nott requested the loan of Dr. Harington's two sixteenth-century poetry manuscripts, later designated as Nos. I and II. Two days later Nott wrote, thanking Dr. Harington for so graciously acceding to his request. At that time, as he explained, Nott wished to consult the manuscripts in connection with his proposed edition of the \textit{Songs and Sonnets}. See above, p. 9, note 12, and below, p. 13, note 17. On August 28, 1810, Nott wrote Dr. Harington that the two manuscripts lent him had been bound up according to his directions. In Hughey, pp. 399, 405, the argument is made on circumstantial grounds that the Arundel MS. was bound by the Haringtons. Nott's letters, discovered after that article was in proof, and mentioned on p. 435, note 2, established the facts in the case. The letters were in the possession of the Harington family until 1947, when they were sold to the British Museum, where they are now MS. Add. 46382.

\textsuperscript{13} In the Catalogue of Christie, Manson, and Woods for the sale of the Library of James Bowker, December 11-12, 1888, the Wyatt MS., lot 466 (sold December 11), is described as bound by Herin. Charles Hering, best known of that firm, died in 1809, but others of the family carried on the work until about the middle of the century. See Charles H. Timperley, \textit{A Dictionary of Printers and Printing}, 1839.

\textsuperscript{14} Purchased by the British Museum in 1947; now MSS. Add. 46366 and 46367. For further account of them, see Hughey, pp. 399-401, and pp. 38-39 below. The MS. Prose II also has blank leaves of modern paper. The flyleaves of these two volumes have the date 1810 as watermark, and it might be argued from this circumstance that these
the binder to substitute the blank leaves of modern paper in the hope that he might later be able to supply some of the original sheets from among Dr. Harington's loose papers. But Nott was disappointed. The "chasms," as he called them, remain.

Nott also inserted two of his prints into the Arundel MS. On the verso of the modern leaf for fol. 14 is pasted the print of "Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. From an original Picture in the possession of the Right Hon.ble the Dowager Lady de Clifford. London. Published for Longmans, Hurst, Rees, & Orme. March 1st, 1809." On the recto of the next leaf there is a companion portrait, published at the same time by Longmans, of "The Fair Geraldine. From an original Picture in the possession of the Duke of Bedford." These are companion pieces to the print of Sir Thomas Wyatt found in Egerton MS. 2711 on the recto of the second flyleaf, also published by Longmans in 1809, with the caption, "Sir Thomas Wyatt Knight. From an original Picture in the possession of the Earl of Romney." The three prints were executed for Nott's projected, but unpublished, edition of the Songs and Sonnets, the text of which was in print in 1809, and they appear in the Arundel Castle copy of that work.

As has been previously mentioned, Nott had transcripts made both were the volumes bound by Nott in 1810. There is, however, no indication whatever that Nott borrowed the prose volumes. It is also certain that the Arundel MS. was bound after Nott made his transcript, not done before late 1809, because of the two extra folios of poetry in the transcript, now represented by blank leaves of modern paper in the Arundel MS. See p. 11, note 3, above.

On August 28, 1810, Nott wrote Dr. Harington: "... among your loose papers you must have some of the sheets wanting in the two invaluable MSS you have had the kindness to entrust to me. I desired my friend Duncan to inform you I have had the two vols. bound up in such a manner as to admit of every leaf being replaced (when) as found." Again on December 8, 1811, Nott wrote: "I think I mentioned from the first there are many chasms in the two books you were so good as to send me to London. Some of these chasms I doubt not could be supplied from the papers you have loose."

That this is a portrait of the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, seems doubtful. The face shows little resemblance to the Holbein painting of Surrey, used by Nott in his 1815 edition.

Nott wrote Dr. Harington on August 15, 1809: "Mr. Duncan mentioned to you some time ago, I believe, that I was engaged in publishing the Poems of the famous Earl of Surrey, with those of St Thomas Wyatt: and the Uncertain Authors annexed to them. The text is all printed (and) it is that of the best Edition, by Tottell, the original Editor in 1557. The publication is delayed however from my desire to give in my Notes, a collation of as many M.S.S. of the original pieces as I possibly can find: by which means alone I can hope to correct some errors that have crept into the printed copies: and ascertain by (who) whom some of the pieces among those of the Uncertain Authors were written." It seems evident that at this time Nott had not planned to bring out a separate edition of the works of Surrey and Wyatt. For a description of the copy of his Songs and Sonnets at Arundel Castle, see Hughey, pp. 394-95. The prints mentioned above do not appear in the British Museum copies of this projected edition.
of the Arundel and the Wyatt MSS., and these copies are now British Museum MSS. Add. 28635 and 28636, respectively. That the transcript of the Arundel MS. was made before the original manuscript was given its present binding in 1810 is evident from the fact that the transcript contains two folios of poetry, corresponding to 15 and 48, now supplied by blank leaves of modern paper in the original.

Notes in the handwriting of Nott occur on a few pages of the Arundel MS., indicating poems to be published in a “new edition,” or giving some bit of information about a poem.

On December 19, 1811, Nott wrote Dr. Harington that he would soon come to Bath, bringing the manuscripts with him. Whether this promise was fulfilled or not is unknown; but at that time or later Nott must have made arrangements for further use of the Arundel MS., either by loan or purchase, for it turned up at the sale of Nott’s library in January, 1842. It seems reasonable to suppose that Nott secured further use of the Manuscript in connection with the work on his 1815-16 edition of Surrey and Wyatt, and it is not impossible that he could have arranged to purchase the volume from the Haringtons; but there are no records of negotiations between Nott and the Haringtons about their manuscripts after 1811. Dr. Henry Harington died in 1816, giving his daughter, Mrs. Susannah Thomas, complete custody of his books, manuscripts, and pictures; and Mrs. Thomas, upon her death in 1836, left her books, manuscripts, and pictures, unless otherwise marked, to her son Henry. In 1825, however, her nephew and son-in-law, Lt. Harington, R.N., son of the editor of the Nugae, sold to Joseph Haslewood, through a bookseller, Sir John Harington’s autograph manuscripts of the Orlando Furioso and of the Epigrams. The bookseller’s letter, pasted to a flyleaf of the latter, describes Lt. Harington as being on his half-pay. The present Arundel MS. may, therefore, have been sold to Nott privately about 1825.

18 See above, p. 8.
19 Nott’s references to a “new edition” are to his 1815-16 Surrey and Wyatt as opposed to his projected Songs and Sonnets. His notes in pencil occur by Nos. 67, 75, 80, 86, 154, 168, 239, 240, 246, 247, 257; notes in ink by Nos. 20, 293. On Nott’s manuscript collations from the Arundel MS., see above, p. 9, n. 12.
20 After asking that other papers be sent, Nott wrote, “I would bring them with me when I came to Bath in a fortnight or three weeks, and restore the whole of your valuable MSS. into your hands.” This is the last letter of the correspondence.
21 Dr. Henry Harington’s will, proved February 23, 1816 (Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, now at Somerset House: Bk. Wynne, fol. 81, Codicil 2); will of Mrs. Thomas, made February 15, 1833, and granted administration January 16, 1836 (Wills at Somerset House: Ad/W. January, 1836; PCC [54] Stowell).
22 Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12409; the Orlando is now MS. Add. 18920.
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At any rate, following Nott's death in 1841, his library was advertised for sale, January 11–25, 1842, and included in the items were a manuscript he had borrowed from the Duke of Devonshire, now MS. Add. 17492 in the British Museum, and our Harington MS. No. II. The latter was bought on January 21 as lot 2624 by the bookseller Thomas Rodd, who may have been an agent for the Duke of Norfolk, for several copies of the Songs and Sonnets were acquired at that sale for the library at Arundel Castle. Sometime before his death in 1862, Canon Tierney, the chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, wrote the note quoted earlier on a flyleaf of the Arundel MS. We can, therefore, be certain that the Manuscript was in the Arundel Castle Library by 1862, and we may suppose that it was there in 1842 or shortly after.

In August, 1951, William Groves, Esq., Private Secretary to the Duke of Norfolk, wrote me that the Manuscript was still at Arundel Castle.

3. Provenance, 1769-1809

There are also in the Arundel MS. marginal penciled notations indicating such poems as were published in the second edition of the Songs and Sonnets, 1557, and other occasional notes, in the handwriting of Bishop Percy of Dromore, who borrowed the Manuscript from Dr. Harington in 1792 for work on the Percy-Steevens projected edition of the Songs and Sonnets, 1807.

23 Nott describes the Devonshire MS. in the Preface to his Surrey and Wyatt, vol. ii. For a further account see Foxwell's Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems, pp. 125-35; and for some discussion of the relation of the contents to those of the Arundel MS., see pp. 50-55 below.

24 Rodd's name is written in the margin of the British Museum copy of the catalogue of Nott's sale (T. Godwin, Winchester). The entry reads, "Harrington's MSS. No. 2." Nott's transcripts of Harington's MSS. I and II were also sold, and were very probably entered as lot 2607, January 21, described as, "Harrington's MSS. 2 vols."

25 These copies are described in Hughey, pp. 391-94. John Hayward in A Catalogue of First and Early Editions, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947, p. 9, says that the copy of the 1585 edition "said to be at Arundel Castle, cannot be traced."

26 See p. 6 above.

27 Notes in Percy's hand occur on the margins by the following poems: Nos. 17-19, 72, 73, 76-78, 85, 93-99, 102-10, 112-29, 135, 139-44, 245, 267, 270, 279, 291, 297, 298-300, 310, 311, 313. Another hand of approximately the same period as that of Percy and Nott has written the word "Imprimend" in the right margin by Nos. 1 and 2.

28 This is the Percy-Steevens projected edition of the two-volume Songes and Sonnettes and Poems in Blank Verse (not Dramatique) prior to Milton's Paradise Lost, destroyed by fire in 1808. See Rollins, TM, ii, 44. The text for the Songes and Sonnettes was set up from the second setting of the second edition. Percy had the Arundel MS. in 1792 according to the record quoted below. A note among the Harington Family Papers, dated 1791, states that Bishop Percy of Dromore is returning three manuscripts to Dr. Harington. Percy's notes also occur on the margins of Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 2711, borrowed from Dr. Harington, and in MS. Add. 36529, where they are ascribed to him by Thomas.
On the original covers of the Arundel MS., however, Percy left a record which is of far greater importance than any of these notes, explaining to some extent, certainly, the “chasms” in the Manuscript. His note reads:

Dr. Harrington’s Manuscript No. 2.

It is much to be lamented that when extracts from this MS. were printed in the Nugae Antiquae, (that) the Printer made use of the original leaves, instead of Transcripts properly copied there from as by these means several Poems were render’d imperfect, & others destroyed that were not used, &.—P. NB. From various extracts in the Nugae Antiquae, it shd seem that this MS. was dated 1564 Query [Torn]

In this Volume such Poems are pointed out as have been discovered to have been already printed among the Songs & Sonnets of the Earl of Surrey, & others, 1557. & 1792

Thus it was that original leaves from the Arundel MS. were used and later destroyed by the printer of that unfortunate medley of Haringtoniana, the *Nugae Antiquae*, which first appeared in 1769 with a succeeding volume in 1775, under the editorship of young Henry Harington, son of Dr. Harington of Bath. It was an unhappy hour when young Henry, aged fourteen in 1769, decided to disturb the family papers—and he used others besides the Arundel MS.—to make his contribution to the romantic revival of interest in antiquity. A second edition of three volumes was brought out in 1779, reissued in 1792. The first two volumes were somewhat revised before the 1779 printing. The third volume, designated the first, is filled mainly by a reprint of John Chetwind’s 1653 edition of Sir John Harington’s *A Briefe View of the State of the Church*, which, consequently, has no connection with the Arundel MS.; but this volume contains also seven paraphrases from the Psalms by Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, perhaps taken from the Arundel MS. After his purchase in 1800 of the former Harington MS., now

Park, owner of that manuscript in 1800, who says that Percy borrowed it from the Reverend William Sayle of Stowey in 1791. See above, p. 8, note 9.

29 With misguided care Nott transferred these important notes from the original manuscript to his own transcript, MS. Add. 28635. The first note, through the “Query,” in the handwriting of Percy, is pasted to the recto of the second flyleaf of the transcript (see above, p. 8). The second note is copied just below this pasted piece of paper in the handwriting of Nott, with his explanatory note following:

“The above notices are taken from the cover of Dr. Harrington’s MS. The latter of the two being written in pencil on the Board, could not be transferred, like first. I have copied it faithfully. The date 1792 marks the time I presume when the notices were written. Geo. Fred. Nott, The Close, Winchester.”

30 Henry Harington, 1755-91, second son of the physician, compiled the 1769 volume of the *NA* while the family still resided at Kelston. He later became Canon of Norwich Cathedral and died before the third edition of 1792 was printed.
Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 36529, another poetry miscellany, Thomas Park revised the *Nugae Antiquae* extensively, adding new material from his own manuscript, and omitting selections printed in Henry Har­lington’s editions.  

Park’s edition was published in two volumes in 1804, but there is no indication that he used the Arundel MS. It will, therefore, be readily evident that first printings of sixteenth-century poetic selections in Henry Harington’s editions of the *Nugae Antiquae* must be considered in relation to the Arundel MS.

Nott, no doubt as a result of information given him by Dr. Har­lington, as well as by Percy’s note, asserted that, “Pieces to be found in that publication [i.e., the *Nugae Antiquae*] may be considered as having the authority of a MS.” It is obvious that if all selections in the *Nugae* were printed directly and accurately from unedited original leaves of the family manuscripts, the publication would have the authority of a manuscript. We cannot, of course, check with destroyed folios, but fortunately material is available for estimating the re­liability of some of the texts in the *Nugae Antiquae*.

I mentioned above that Henry Harington used not only the Arundel MS. but other papers in the family collection. The manu­script containing Sir John Harington’s “Treatise of Play” and his discourse on the return of Elias was used by the printer but not de­stroyed. Except for punctuation, it was printed in Harington’s *Nugae* as written in the manuscript. The MS. Prose II (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 46367), letters from about 1540 to 1575, is, like the *AH* MS., mutilated, but in this instance the printer did not destroy all the folios. Two of Sir John Cheke’s letters are given in the *NA* almost *literatim*. A part of a letter by Queen Elizabeth and another of hers complete are printed in the *NA* as written, except for some spelling differences.

It is, therefore, evident that a portion of the *Nugae*, while not follow­ing the manuscripts in every detail, does present reliable texts and ascriptions. Other material exists, however, which indicates that edited transcripts were used for some selections, a circumstance at—
tested by notes in the *Nugae* itself. Thus a comparison of the autograph manuscript of Sir John Harington’s letters and papers relating to the war in Ireland, 1599, with selections in the *Nugae* shows that edited transcripts were followed, as is explained also by the editor’s note. Likewise, a note on the poem, “Erst in Arcadia’s londe,” on Admiral Sir Thomas Seymour, says that,

The quaint Phraseology in the original Copy occasioned some Liberties to be taken with it, which the candid Reader is desired to excuse, as the present Form is but little different in Sentiment from the Original.

Although the other poems in the Harington *Nugae* are printed without statement of editorial revision, we have to reckon on the possibility that in some of these also “Liberties” were taken. It is a reasonable supposition, however, that some poems, like some prose selections, were printed from original manuscripts. The problem is to determine poems so printed. A further complicating factor is the fact that Henry Harington evidently had at his disposal other sources besides the Arundel MS. for his poetic selections.

There are in the Harington *Nugae* forty-two sixteenth-century poems, of which nine are still common to the Arundel MS.: Nos. 2, 15, 19, 20, 22, 262, ascribed to John Harington in the *NA*, though not in the Arundel MS.; No. 238, ascribed in both to Queen Elizabeth; No. 278, anonymous in both; No. 291, ascribed in both to Sir Thomas Seymour. All nine poems show such different versions in the *NA* and the Arundel MS. that it is evident that the printed

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35 For a brief account of this manuscript, see Hughey, p. 401. A number of letters from the manuscript are printed in the several editions of the *NA*, but they are edited; some letters concerning Ireland in the *NA* are not in the manuscript. Henry Harington in his Preface, 1769, p. 4, has the following note on his copies of letters: “The original spelling in some of these Letters is not preserved; the great difficulty, attending the transcribing them from the very obscure and ill-written copies, occasioned the omitting that Particular, and only preserved the words as now spelt, to save time.” Such an attitude is hardly surprising in a fourteen-year-old boy.

36 *NA*, 1769, p. 95, printed in italics; the poem precedes, pp. 93-94.

37 As I have pointed out (p. 8, note 9), MS. Add. 36529 was not among these sources.

38 I have not included in this list poems imbedded in prose, except such as are common to the *AH* MS.


40 *NA*, 1769, pp. 58-59. This poem was omitted from succeeding editions, including that of Thomas Park, although there is no apparent reason for the omission. Authenticity is attested by the *AH* MS. copy.


42 *NA*, 1769, p. 86; ed. 1779, iii, 259; ed. Park, ii, 328-29. Seymour was beheaded in 1549.
INTRODUCTION

copies were not set up from the pages of that Manuscript. Two of the poems, Nos. 20 and 238, were set up for the \textit{NA} from prose sources, and the attribution of No. 20 to John Harington the elder is attested by his son Sir John, despite the fact that it lacks such ascription in the Arundel MS.\footnote{No. 20 was printed in the \textit{NA} from John Chetwind's edition of Sir John Harington's \textit{A Briefe View of the State of the Church}, 1653, and appears as a part of that work in the reprint given in the 1779 and 1792 editions of the \textit{NA}, i, 54-56; also in Park's edition, ii, 70-71. The poem was printed separately in the 1769 \textit{NA}, pp. 103-04. No. 238 is quoted in a letter, \textit{NA}, 1769, pp. 58-59.} Nos. 2 and 262 are said to have been printed in the \textit{NA} from copies in the handwriting of John Harington the elder. In the Arundel MS. they are written in Hand A. No. 291 may have been taken from a copy in the handwriting of Seymour.\footnote{The \textit{NA} heading for No. 291 (p. 86) reads, "Verses found written by the Lord Admiral SEYMOUR the Week before he was beheaded, 1549." This heading is not in the \textit{AH} MS.} No. 278 is said to be printed from a manuscript dated 1564, which is given as the source for several other poems in the \textit{NA}. Percy, therefore, raised the query as to whether the reference was to the present Arundel MS.\footnote{See above, p. 18.} The differences in the \textit{NA} and the \textit{AH} MS. versions of No. 278 do not seem to be editorial, but they may be. If the date 1564 does apply to the \textit{AH} MS., it could refer only to a portion of the contents.\footnote{For analysis of the contents, see pp. 29-36. For further discussion on the beginnings of the \textit{AH} MS., see pp. 36-62.}

The remaining three of the nine poems listed above present problems. They are printed in shortened form in the \textit{NA}, where they are attributed to John Harington and dated 1554. But No. 15 is ascribed, "huomo inconosciuto" in the \textit{AH} MS., and Nos. 19 and 22 are ascribed to D. Sand and Thomas, Lord Vaux, respectively, in \textit{The Paradise of Dainty Devices}.\footnote{Ed. H. E. Rollins, 1927, Nos. 47 and 17. Rollins accepts the ascriptions in \textit{The Paradise} and considers those of the \textit{NA} generally untrustworthy. See also his comments, \textit{TM}, ii, 90-92.} Nott, after referring to \textit{The Paradise} signature for No. 19, says, "We know on positive authority that it was written by John Harrington"; and Nott also assigned No. 22 to Harington.\footnote{Nott, \textit{Surrey and Wyatt}, vol. ii, Notes, p. 550, for No. 19, a later note than that in manuscript in a copy of his \textit{Songs and Sonnets} (British Museum, C.60.o.13, i, 144), where he points out the differences between the \textit{NA} and \textit{AH} MS. headings and versions. In another copy of his \textit{Songs and Sonnets} (British Museum, 11607.i.7, p. 11) Nott attributes No. 22 to Harington.} Nott's authority must have been Dr. Henry Harington, with whom he corresponded about the source materials, and whom he visited late in 1811. There is no final answer to problems...
of this kind, as each poem must be separately considered. The matter is more fully dealt with in the Notes to the poems.\textsuperscript{49}

Of the forty-two sixteenth-century poems in the Harington \emph{NA}, we have thus far been concerned with the nine which are still common to the \emph{AH} MS. It remains to consider briefly the other thirty-three poems of the \emph{NA}, particularly in their bearing upon possible reconstruction of some of the lacunae in the Manuscript. Seventeen of these, for which no source is named, are grouped under the heading, "SONNETS BY JOHN HARINGTON, ESQ., and SOME OTHERS, 1547."\textsuperscript{50} It would be helpful if one knew that the date 1547 did at one time appear in the Arundel MS., relating to some of the early poems. The first four poems in this group of seventeen in the \emph{NA} are attributed elsewhere to Surrey: "As ofte as I beholde," "When youth had led me," "O Happie dames," and "So crewell pryson"; but the third is in the \emph{NA} ascribed to John Harington and dated 1543.\textsuperscript{51} Here again is a problem in conflicting attribution. The style of the poem and the fact that it is printed in the midst of other poems by Surrey point rather to his authorship than to Harington's; but the \emph{NA} ascription may have manuscript authority. No. 85 in a group of Surrey poems in the Arundel MS. is ascribed to "Preston."\textsuperscript{52} The four \emph{NA} poems under consideration may have come from among the eleven folios missing in the Arundel MS. between Nos. 73 and 74, which begin the section of unascribed Surrey poems now in the Manuscript.

Seven poems by Sir Thomas Wyatt, but without his name, are included in this group of seventeen in the \emph{NA}. The two sonnets, "I fynde no peace" and "Caesar, when that the traitor," I suggest were

\textsuperscript{49} Charles Crawford, "Tottel's Miscellany, Sir Antony St. Leger, and Sir John Harington the Elder," \emph{N&Q}, 11th series, iii (1911), 201-03, 322-24, 423-24, upholds Harington's editions of the \emph{NA}, and accepts John Harington's authorship of the three problematic poems just discussed.

Another editorial note from the 1769 \emph{NA}, following "The Contents," should be noted, as perhaps indicative of the editor's point of view: "N.B. The Reader is desired to excuse any erroneous Dates or Names which may occur from the Transcriber's mistaking obscure Characters in the MSS; or if he finds any Pieces which may be inserted in some old scarce Publications, unknown to the Editor."

\textsuperscript{50} \emph{NA}, 1769, pp. 183-99; ed. 1779, iii, 240-58. All seventeen are omitted by Park. See Appendix II for the thirty-three \emph{NA} poems.

\textsuperscript{51} All four are assigned to Surrey in \emph{TM}, Nos. 24, 3, 17, 15. The first, second, and fourth are in MS. Add. 36529, fols. 53\textsuperscript{v}, 54\textsuperscript{r}, 51\textsuperscript{v}, ascribed to "H.S." The problematic third poem is not in this manuscript. A copy of it in MS. Add. 17492, fol. 55\textsuperscript{v}, is not ascribed, and the first stanza in MS. Harl. 78, fol. 30\textsuperscript{v}, is unascribed. The heading to the poem in \emph{NA} is, "By JOHN HARINGTON, 1543, for a Ladie moche in Love" (ed. 1769, p. 187).

\textsuperscript{52} No. 85 is attributed to Surrey in \emph{TM}, No. 19, and has been so accepted by editors of Surrey. See the Note on the poem, and below, pp. 30-31.
taken from the missing folios 61 and 62 of the Arundel MS., between Wyatt sonnets Nos. 98 and 99. The five epigrams, "The wandring gadling," "A Face that sholde content me," "Lucke, my faire fawlcon," "I am not deade," and "Venemous thornes," I suggest came from missing folios 69-74, between No. 129, the last of Wyatt's epigrams in the Manuscript, and No. 130, the first of the miscellaneous poems.  

Printed between Wyatt's "I fynde no peace" and "The wandring gadling" in the NA are three sonnets and one epigram of unknown authorship, but of the Tottel school: "Vengeaunce must fall on thee," "Spring of all woe," "Playne ye myne eyes," "I see my playnt." These four anonymous poems follow the same Wyatt poems in MS. Add. 36529. The NA versions of the four very probably came from missing folios of the Arundel MS. It may be that they were there grouped with Wyatt's poems, as are now Nos. 93-95 and 143. 

The final two poems in this group of seventeen in the NA are attributed to John Harington: the sonnet "Marvaylous be thie matcheles gyftes," and the poem "There was a battaill," said to be addressed by Harington to his mother in 1540. These may have been taken from missing fols. 1-14 of the Arundel MS., as several of Harington's poems appear in the first part of the Manuscript as it now exists. 

The remaining sixteen of the sixteenth-century poems in the NA—not common to extant portions of the Arundel MS. and not in the group of seventeen just discussed—consist of the following:

1. Two anonymous poems, both said to be taken from the manuscript dated 1564: (1) the edited "Erst in Arcadia's londe"; (2) "Why didst thou raise such wofull wayle," dated 1567 despite the statement about the 1564 manuscript. If these were taken from the Arundel MS., I suggest fols. 189-91, now missing.
2. Four poems attributed to John Harington, all said to be ad-

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53 These seven are printed as Wyatt's in TM, where, according to the numbering by Rollins, the sonnets are Nos. 49 and 45, and the epigrams are Nos. 55, 93, 92, 72, 267. Five occur in MS. Egerton 2711, ascribed to Wyatt: "I fynde no peace," fol. 20r; "The wandring gadling," fol. 32v; "I am not deade," fol. 40r; "Venemous thornes," fol. 50r; "Caesar," fol. 4v. All except the last-named sonnet occur in MS. Add. 36529, fol. 32v. The NA versions were not taken from these sources. 
54 MS. Add. 36529, fols. 35r, 35v. Fols. 33r, 35r blank; fol. 34 missing. 
55 The sonnet is headed, "JOHN HARINGTON to sweete ISABEL MARKHAM" (ed. 1769, p. 198), but it is in the form of an acrostic to "Margaret Wilobe," a friend of Isabella's, who married Sir Matthew Arundell. See No. 262 and the Note on it. 
dressed to his second wife, Isabella Markham, before or after their marriage in 1559: (1) "Whence comes my love," described as "From a MS. of John Harington, dated 1564," although the contemporary heading and the contents make it clear that the poem was composed at the beginning of the courtship, about 1548 or 1549; (2) "Lyke as the rage of rayn," dated 1549, no source given; (3) "Alas I love you overwell," signed, "JO. HAR.," dated 1549, no source given; (4) "Yf dutye wyf," headed, "JOHN HARINGTON to his Wyfe, 1564." This last is a companion poem to No. 21, still in the Arundel MS., and presumably was written on the missing fol. 25, just preceding No. 21, which has no indication of authorship. An unascribed copy of "Yf dutye wyf," with very slight variants, is written in another Harington poetry miscellany, MS. Add. 36529, on fol. 69, attesting further to the textual validity of the NA version. Nott was at one time doubtful about the date 1549 attached to the second and third of these poems, but in a letter to Dr. Harington, dated September, 1810, he expressed assurance of its correctness:

From several passages in Haynes State Papers, it is evident that Princess Elizabeth did live occasionally at Hatfield, previous to her going to reside there in 1556. Consequently the date assigned some pieces in the Nugae Antiquae which fix Harrington, having seen Isabella Markham there in 1549 are perfectly correct. The doubt I ventured to start on this point, in revising the MSS I shall therefore suppress.

As I have said, the fourth of these four Harington poems in the NA was probably taken from the missing fol. 25 in the Arundel MS.; the first three may have been set up from the missing fols. 1-14, since a number of Harington poems are written on the beginning extant folios of the Manuscript.

3. Three miscellaneous poems elsewhere ascribed to Wyatt: (1) "Marvell no more," attributed to Wyatt, source not given; (2) "My lewt, awake," ascribed in the NA to Lord Rochford, "In Manu-

References:
57 NA, 1769, p. 129; ed. 1779, iii, 279-80; ed. Park, ii, 324-25. Headed, "A SONNET made on ISABELLA MARKHAME, when I firste thought her fayer as she stood at the Princess's Windowe in goodlye Attyre, and talke to dyvers in the Courte-Yard." Isabella was an attendant upon the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield, about 1548-58, and continued in service after Elizabeth's accession to the throne. See No. 262 and Note. Evidence for Harington's marriage to Isabella in 1559 is set out in my forthcoming book, "The Life and Works of John Harington the Elder," but see the Note on No. 262.
58 NA, 1775, p. 256; ed. 1779, iii, 290-91; omitted by Park. Printed in TM, Uncertain Authors, No. 255.
60 NA, 1775, p. 259; ed. 1779, iii, 294-95; ed. Park, ii, 395-96.
61 For analysis of contents, see below, pp. 29-36.
script, dated 1564”; (3) “Once, as me thought,” attributed to Wyatt, no source named. These poems may have been taken from the missing fols. 79-96, between Nos. 136 and 137, in the group of Wyatt’s miscellaneous poems. If the poem attributed to Rochford was at one time in the Arundel MS., it is not entirely improbable that the ascription was so given there. I have referred to the example of No. 85, a poem always assigned to Surrey, which appears in the Manuscript in the section of Surrey’s poems, yet is there ascribed to “Preston.” Similarly, No. 298, attributed to Surrey in TM (Rollins, No. 9), is ascribed to Vaux in the Manuscript.

4. Metrical paraphrases of Psalms 51, 104, 137, 69, 112, 117, 120, in that order, by Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, with 112, 117, and 120 first published in 1779. No source is named, but it is quite possible that there was at one time in the Arundel MS. a section headed, “The Countess of Pembroke’s Psalms,” as there is one, left unfinished, headed, in Sir John Harington’s hand, “Sonnettes of S’ Phillip Sydneys (vppon) to y’ Lady Ritch,” introducing No. 223. These paraphrases may have been written on the missing fols. 120-27, between fragment No. 169, apparently the last of Wyatt’s religious poems, and fragment No. 170; or they may have been on the missing fols. 197-204.

It is thus possible to reconstruct from the Nugae Antiquae partially and tentatively lacunae in the Arundel MS.; but these thirty-three poems of the Nugae at best would not have filled one-half of the missing eighty-three folios. I have mentioned earlier that Nott’s transcript, British Museum MS. Add. 28635, contains two more folios of poetry, corresponding to the missing fols. 15 and 48. The latter actually has lines from the fragment No. 74 only on the lower half, recto and verso, indicating that the upper half of the leaf was torn away when the transcript was made. Three short poems, unascribed, but in the manner of John Harington, appear on the recto and verso of Nott’s first folio, corresponding to the missing fol. 15 of the original Manuscript. These additions from the transcript are given in Appendix I.

Thus far we have reviewed the history of the Arundel MS. in

62 NA, 1775, pp. 250-55; ed. 1779, iii, 284-89. Only the second, with the Rochford ascription, was retained by Park, ii, 400-01. The three are printed as Wyatt’s in TM, Nos. 65, 87, 86 (Rollins); they occur in Egerton MS. 2711, fols. 35, 43, 42, respectively, ascribed to Wyatt.

63 See above, p. 22, and below, pp. 30-31.

64 Psalms 51, 104, 137, 69 were first printed in NA, 1775, pp. 57-69; all seven are in ed. 1779, i, 277-96. Park, NA, ii, 407-10, kept only Psalms 137 and 112, in that order.

65 See above, p. 8, note 10.
the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For evidence of its beginnings and for an understanding of its compilation, we must examine the contents of the Manuscript itself and the handwriting, particularly in connection with other Harington MSS. This evidence points to the conclusion that the compilation was begun under the direction of John Harington of Stepney and Kelston, 1520(?)-1582, the poet named in the *Nugae Antiquae*, and the translator of Cicero's *De Amicitia*, 1550, and that the work was carried on by his son Sir John of Kelston, 1560-1612, epigrammatist and translator of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, 1591.

66 It has not been previously noted that record of the christening of Sir John Harington, August 4, 1560, is given in *The Registers of Christenings, Marriages, and Burials of the Parish of All-hallows, London Wall*, ed. E. B. Jupp and R. Hovenden, 1878, p. 2.