

A CRITICAL COMPANION TO JOHN SKELTON

# A CRITICAL COMPANION TO JOHN SKELTON

Edited by  
Sebastian Sobecki and John Scattergood

D. S. BREWER

© Contributors 2018

*All Rights Reserved.* Except as permitted under current legislation no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner

First published 2018  
D. S. Brewer, Cambridge

ISBN 978 1 84384 513 3

D. S. Brewer is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.  
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620-2731, USA  
website: [www.boydellandbrewer.com](http://www.boydellandbrewer.com)

A catalogue record for this book is available  
from the British Library

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

*In memoriam*  
John A. Burrow  
(1932–2017)

## Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
Contributors	x
Abbreviations	xi
Conventions	xii
Introduction	1
<i>Sebastian Sobecki</i>	
1 John Skelton (?1460–1529): A Life in Writing	5
<i>John Scattergood</i>	
2 Religion	26
<i>Thomas Betteridge</i>	
3 Law and Politics	37
<i>Sebastian Sobecki</i>	
4 Classical Literature	52
<i>John Scattergood</i>	
5 Humanism	71
<i>David R. Carlson</i>	
6 Satires and Invectives	88
<i>J. A. Burrow†</i>	
7 Lyrics and Short Poems	102
<i>Julia Boffey</i>	
8 Skelton's Voice and Performance	114
<i>Elisabeth Dutton</i>	
9 Literary Tradition	127
<i>Jane Griffiths</i>	
10 Skelton and the English Language	139
<i>Greg Waite</i>	
11 Skelton's English Works in Manuscripts and Print	163
<i>Carol M. Meale</i>	
12 Skelton's English Canon	180
<i>A. S. G. Edwards</i>	

13 Reception and Afterlife <i>Helen Cooper</i>	194
A Skelton Bibliography <i>Nadine Kuipers</i>	205
Index of Manuscripts	221
Index of Printers and Stationers	222
General Index	223

## *Contributors*

**Thomas Betteridge** is Professor of Theatre and Dean of the College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences, Brunel University, London.

**Julia Boffey** is Professor of Medieval Studies at the Department of English, Queen Mary, University of London.

**John Burrow** was Professor Emeritus and Research Fellow at the Department of English, Bristol University.

**David R. Carlson** is Professor of English at the University of Ottawa.

**Helen Cooper** is Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English (Emerita) at the University of Cambridge.

**Elisabeth Dutton** is Associate Professor of English at the University of Fribourg.

**A. S. G. Edwards** is Honorary Professor of Medieval Manuscripts at the University of Kent, Canterbury.

**Jane Griffiths** is Associate Professor in English at the University of Oxford and a Fellow of Wadham College.

**Nadine Kuipers** is a PhD student in medieval English literature at the University of Groningen.

**Carol Meale** is Senior Research Fellow in English at Bristol University.

**John Scattergood** is Professor of Medieval and Renaissance Literature (Emeritus) at Trinity College, Dublin.

**Sebastian Sobecki** is Professor of Medieval English Literature and Culture at the University of Groningen.

**Greg Waite** is Associate Professor of English at the University of Otago.

## *Abbreviations*

<i>CEP</i>	John Scattergood, ed., <i>The Complete English Poems of John Skelton</i> (Liverpool, 2015)
<i>LW</i>	David R. Carlson, ed., ‘The Latin Writings of John Skelton’, <i>Studies in Philology</i> 87:4 (1991): 1–125
<i>MED</i>	Hans Kurath <i>et al.</i> , eds, <i>Middle English Dictionary</i> (Ann Arbor, MI, 1956–2001)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> online edition (Oxford, 2008–)
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary Online</i> (Oxford, 2000)
<i>STC</i>	A. W. Pollard <i>et al.</i> , eds, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640</i> , 2nd edn (London, 1991)

## Conventions

All references to John Skelton's English works are to John Scattergood, ed., *The Complete English Poems of John Skelton* (Liverpool, 2015), abbreviated as *CEP*, cited by section (in lowercase Roman numerals) and line. Capitalised Roman numerals refer to the numbering of Skelton's English works in *CEP*. References to Skelton's Latin writings are to David R. Carlson, ed., 'The Latin Writings of John Skelton', in *Studies in Philology* 87:4 (1991): 1–125, abbreviated as *LW*. If notes or commentary from these two editions is cited, the abbreviations *CEP* and *LW* are used.

Short forms of citation for secondary works are given parenthetically in the text to author, citing author's surname and page of work. Where more than one work by an author appears in the list of works cited, the appropriate year of publication precedes page references; works by one author within the same year are distinguished by lower-case letters following the year. These citations are keyed to the list of Works Cited at the end of the chapter in question.

Individual primary works follow the same pattern, except that line numbers instead of page numbers are given. Where appropriate, book or chapter divisions precede the line or page numbers.

## *Skelton's Voice and Performance*

ELISABETH DUTTON

Many of John Skelton's poems appear to be the result of expansion, addition and revision, often across many years: they accrue envoys, epilogues, epitaphs and dedicatory epistles. As a poet who both performs and repeatedly revises and expands his poems, Skelton, Seth Lerer has argued, builds a poetic world infused by 'the fluidity of manuscript revision and public performance' (Lerer 1993: 199). The poet apparently adapts and adds to his poems as he observes his audience's responses, the real-world audience affecting, and to some extent effecting, the fictional creation.<sup>1</sup> Revision is facilitated by dissemination of the poem either in performance or in manuscript: some of Skelton's poems were printed, and there is evidence that he took interest in seeing certain poems disseminated in this way – that he circulated other poems in manuscript therefore makes his choice perhaps pointed (Edwards 2008).<sup>2</sup> It is possible, as W. R. Streitberger has argued, that Skelton performed some of his poems in court ceremonies or festivals, and he was certainly involved in producing court performances of various kinds (Streitberger 2008). Only one play by Skelton survives, but there were others,<sup>3</sup> and at least two further works now lost may have been pageant disguisings, a highly performative 'mixed' genre combining song, dance, poetry and martial display with drama: Skelton also certainly wrote a devotional poem, *Vexilla regis*, that 'he devysed to be displayd' (Streitberger 2008: 25–6). This chapter explores the ways in which Skelton deploys voices and creates audiences in his poems, and insists on and facilitates his poems' performance.

Many of Skelton's poems include performative elements that might nudge them in the generic direction of 'drama.' Most obviously, the polyvocality which structures poems such as *Phyllyp Sparowe* and *Speke Parott* requires that some type of 'performance' be created in order for the reader to receive the poems' meaning: if *Phyllyp Sparowe* were read aloud, then the words of Jane Scrope and of Dame Margery would be distinguished either through the use of

- 1 Susan Schibanoff argues that Skelton's audiences must perform what Skelton narrates in the text (Schibanoff 1986).
- 2 Particularly telling, perhaps, is the example of the *Garlande of Laurell*, which, although ultimately printed, depends for its frame of reference on the sort of coterie readership expected of manuscript (Boffey 2008).
- 3 In the *Garlande of Laurell* Skelton lists the plays he has written as *Achademios*, *Vertue* and *Magnyfycence*.

different readers or, more likely, by a single reader putting on different voices.<sup>4</sup> When the poem is received silently on the page, readers must 'hear' different voices in their heads in order to understand that poem's structure. That one of the voices must sing increases the sense of performance: the spacing between the syllables of the Latin liturgical words and phrases suggest the *mise-en-page* of plainsong, and Skelton even deploys musical notation – 'Fa, re, my, my' (5).

Intriguingly, the process of creation of '*the boke of Phyllyp Sparowe*' is presented not as composition but as 'compilation':<sup>5</sup> this suggests a process of collecting extant utterances, rather than creating new ones, and insists on polyvocality, while at the same time implying a derivative status for Skelton's poem.<sup>6</sup> In fact, this is clearly an under-estimation of Skelton's creative process: it does offer some insight into the rich web of literary and liturgical allusion that comprises the poem, but *Phyllyp Sparowe* quotes directly and extensively only from the liturgy of the Office for the Dead. Catullus fundamentally informs the poem, but is echoed rather than quoted at length – and expanded, interpolated and translated from Latin verse into English skeltonics.<sup>7</sup> In the vernacular, Marian lyric is briefly cited:

O mayden, wydow, and wyfe,  
Of what estate ye be,  
Of hye or lowe degre,  
Great sorowe than ye myght se,  
And lerne to wepe at me!

(53–7)<sup>8</sup>

but the creative re-contextualisation is absurdly parodic, almost blasphemous, since it forces the reader to compare Jane, holding her dead sparrow, with the Marian pietà. Conventionally, in medieval poetry, citation lends authority to the compiler's work, but in *Phyllyp Sparowe* it serves more to undermine the compiler's apparent aspiration to seriousness. Skelton's 'Jane' narrates her own creative process in a whimsical but also illuminating scene: she takes her sampler and begins to sew the image of her sparrow, thinking that the 'representacyon / Of his image and facyon' might bring her 'pleasure and comforte', 'solas and sporte' (210–18):

But whan I was sowing his beke,  
Me thought my sparow did spek ...

<sup>4</sup> For biographical details about the historical Jane Scrope see Scattergood 2014: 160–1.

<sup>5</sup> The poem is headed: 'Here after followeth the boke of *Phyllyp Sparowe* compyled by Mayster Skelton, poete laureate' (60).

<sup>6</sup> It is also possible that the term 'compyled' draws attention to the fact that the poem grew by accretion, and that this was known by Richard Kele, who printed the poem in c. 1545 and may have been responsible for the heading that calls the poem a compilation (Scattergood 2014: 161).

<sup>7</sup> On the Catullus poem that 'sets the tone' for *Phyllyp Sparowe*, and other influences including poems by Ovid, Martial and Statius, see Scattergood 2014: 158–60.

<sup>8</sup> Compare Brown 1958: IX, lines 6–9.

Saynge, 'Mayd, ye are in wyll  
 Agayne me for to kyll!  
 Ye prycke me in the head!  
 With that my nedle waxed red,  
 Me thought, of Phyllyps blode.  
 Myne hear ryght upstode,  
 And was in suche a fray  
 My speche was taken away.

(219–29)

Jane's conventionally female work of art, imitating life through needlework, is interrupted when the 'fictional' bird she creates challenges the processes by which, after death, his real world is fictionalised as it is memorialised. Or perhaps, art has imitated life so perfectly as to resuscitate it – since both the late bird and the sampler are of course poetic creations anyway, such an event is possible. The sparrow's words, accusing Jane of wanting to kill him again, blasphemously invoke the idea of re-crucifying Christ (Hebrews 6:6), an idea that was also central to polemical attacks on the Catholic mass. In response, Jane's needle turns blood-red – the syntactical positioning of 'Me thought' allows ambiguity as to whether it is only in her thought that the needle grows bloody, or only her opinion that the blood is Phyllyp's. In either case, the eucharistic echoes are absurd and the physiological response is real: Jane's hair stands on end, and – significantly – she loses her power of speech. The artistic creation has paradoxically struck its creator dumb. All she can now do is pray '*A porta inferi*', in borrowed words, using the Office for the Dead.<sup>9</sup>

Is Skelton's message that a real sparrow is always greater than any work of art? That the poet cannot escape his creation? Or that poetic creation is inevitably parasitic both of real life and of the words of others?<sup>10</sup> It is difficult to say, but a dramatic moment is presented in which the audience/reader observes Jane, the creator, suddenly herself made the audience of an animated scene: the image of her dead sparrow becomes an actor, with actions and lines, and suddenly there is a play within a play. Jane is bewildered to find herself thus repositioned by an image come to life, and her response is dramatised, shown in action and word: as she narrates of herself, 'I kest downe that there was, / And sayd, "Alas, alas, / How commeth this to pas?"' (230–2). The refuge she then takes in the prayers for the dead enables her to pin her sparrow back into the textual fixity from which he has disconcertingly stepped out; she prays for the soul of her sparrow that is 'Wryten in my bede roule' (242).

<sup>9</sup> For detailed analysis of the use of the Office for the Dead in this poem, see Brownlow 1979.

<sup>10</sup> J. L. Austin, in defining 'performativity', sought to distinguish between serious, substantial speech acts in the real world and fictional, literary utterances that were derivative, 'parasitic': this distinction has been repeatedly challenged, importantly by Judith Butler, who highlighted gender performance as an aspect of the way we 'act' our identities. Inevitably, illuminating the ways in which people perform identity has implications for the way we think about the relation between performance and the 'real' world. For a succinct discussion of these debates, see Loxley 2007.

Although the possessive pronouns marking 'my sparrow' and 'my bede roule' make it clear that the vernacular here is in Jane's voice, it is not certain who is performing the Latin phrases interspersing Jane's words. At the poem's opening the liturgical Latin is apparently chanted by Dame Margery, so it perhaps seems logical to assume that this continues to be the case in spite of the fact that here, exceptionally, a narrative frame might imply that it is Jane:

The best now that I maye  
Is for his soule to pray:  
    *A porta inferi,*  
Good Lorde, have mercy  
Upon my sparowes soule

(237–41)

Perhaps the intended effect mirrors the process by which liturgical recitation offers words on behalf of those present, rather than only those speaking. As Jane appropriates the prayers for the dead spoken by Dame Margery, they become hers, in an act of spiritual, as opposed to dramatic, performance.

In *Phyllyp Sparowe*, since the *mise-en-page* does not make explicit any change of speaker, the reader must discern changes of speaker from content and context.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Skelton in *Phyllyp Sparowe* includes no explicit *narrative* speech markers, such as 'she says' or 'Margery replies'. In other poems, such as *Elynour Rummynge*, by contrast, speakers are introduced with often detailed descriptions of their appearance and action, and their words are marked with explicit narrative speech markers:<sup>12</sup>

There came an old rybye;  
She halted of a kybe,  
And had broken her shyn  
At the threshold comyng in,  
And fell so wyde open  
That one might se her token.  
The devyll thereon be wroken!  
What neded all this be spoken?  
She yelled lyke a calfe!  
'Ryse up, on Gods halfe,'  
Sayd Elynour Rummynge,  
'I beshrew the for thy cummyng!'  
And as she at her dyd pluck,

<sup>11</sup> For an account of medieval conventions of speech marking, see Moore 2011. Moore argues that medieval texts 'use reported speech in shifty ways and stylistically employ indeterminacy in a manner that can enrich the aesthetic or rhetorical effect of the language' (p. 17).

<sup>12</sup> Of course, modern convention would mark speech through punctuation, but quotation marks are far from an established convention in Skelton's time: see Moore 2011, chapter 1. I use the term 'narrative speech markers' to denote verbal cues as opposed to punctuation.

'Quake, quake' sayd the duck  
In that lampatrams lap.

(492–506)

The introduction of this old woman as a 'rybye', a rebec, prepares the reader for the obscene suggestiveness of the 'duck' in her 'lap'; this obscenity is then heightened by the description of the woman exposing herself as she falls. Although 'old rybye' is a far from neutral epithet, the third-person narrative is itself unremarkable until the obscenity draws an apostrophe from the narrator, who apparently objects both to his subject matter, on whom he calls the devil's revenge (408), and to his own narrating of it (499). This is one of many moments in *Elynour Rummynge* of Skelton's 'mocking imitation of the minstrel intrusion of medieval oral verse' (CEP: 421, notes to lines 1–3). Even contained within the poem's narrator there is polyvocality – or at least bi-vocality, as the narrator seems to be in two minds about telling his tale. In this context, the narrator's apostrophe seems to add to the sense of noise and chaos: the old woman now cries out like a young cow, Elynour demands that she stands up and then curses her, the duck that the woman is carrying starts quacking, and on top of all this the narrator seems present at the scene, cursing and thus causing the devil, too, to be present. It is a moment of comic drama, in the general sense of the dramatic: the narrator creates for the reader a scene that can be (imaginatively) seen and heard. But that sense of drama rests entirely in the hands of the narrator, who controls his 'speakers' with 'she said' and 'the duck said' and directs the reader where – or perhaps where not – to look.

If we can imagine *Elynour Rummynge* being performed, it would perhaps be most appropriately performed by a single comic actor skilled in putting on voices: the vivid sense of place, person and action that is the source of the poem's exuberance is the narrator's creation. Such a style of performance is perhaps particularly effective for a comical poem with obscene content, since the narrator can humorously perform his shock at his own material. The English fabliau *Dame Sirith* is thought to have been performed by a narrator actor in this way: it includes narrative speech markers – 'thus he bigon', 'Quod this wif' – although it also includes character cues in its *mise-en-page*, marking the Clerk's speeches with a marginal 'C', the Wife's with 'V' (Uxor) and so on.<sup>13</sup> Copied around two centuries before Skelton's time (c. 1272–83), and telling a story that is similar only in its obscenity and its trope of female deceit, *Dame Sirith* is far from being directly connected to *Elynour Rummynge*; however, it is a sign of a possible tradition of poems comically performed by a single narrator, a tradition that can easily be imagined as appropriate to Skelton's poem. *Dame Sirith*, on the other hand, can also be successfully performed by an acting troupe.<sup>14</sup> *Elynour Rummynge* would less easily be adapted in this way, for the simple reason that the proportion of character speech is much

<sup>13</sup> The text is preserved in Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86; see Bennett and Smithers 1968: 77–95. The editors describe the performative reading by one Vitalis, who mimed and put on different voices (Bennett and Smithers 1968: 78–9).

<sup>14</sup> John McKinnell demonstrated this when he directed the 1995 Durham Medieval Players production in a double bill with *Calisto and Melibea*.

lower, and Skelton's narrator has the lion's share of the 'lines'. Nonetheless, we can imagine that Skelton's poem would have offered the opportunity for virtuoso performance were it to be read aloud. Lerer sees public performance as central to Skelton's creation of a 'narrative self' who is 'actively reading, speaking, writing, and re-writing' (Lerer 1993: 199).

The presence of explicit narrative speech markers, of 'she-said-he-said', can contribute to a sense of performativity where 'spoken' by a foregrounded narrator with a distinct character; however, the reader, or the modern reader at least, may perceive these narrative speech markers as indicating non-dramatic genre: in plays we would expect rather that each speaker is indicated only by their character name as a speech cue, marking each of their speeches in the *mise-en-page* but not, of course, voiced. However, this was not always the case in medieval and early modern drama: stage directions could include narrative speech cues even where these were rendered unnecessary by the presence of character cues. So in Henry Medwall's humanist play *Fulgens and Lucres*, written in the 1490s and printed between 1510 and 1516, the stage directions, though uneven, often combine direction with narrative voice: for example, '*Et exeat Gayus Flaminius, et dicat B*' [Let Gayus Flaminius exit, and B shall say ...] (685 sd), in which the '*et dicat*' is entirely unnecessary given that B's speech is marked with his name; the '*dicat*' is similarly unnecessary in the wonderfully evocative '*Et scalpens caput post modicum intervallum dicat*' [And, scratching his head, let him a little later say ...] (1779 sd).<sup>15</sup> In the vernacular scriptural drama, too, there are stage directions of a strongly narrative character: for example, in the *Mary Play* of the N-Town manuscript, copied c. 1463–7: '*Here Joachym and Anne, with Oure Lady between hem beyng al in whyte as a childe of iii yere age, present here in the Temple; thus seyng Joachym ...*' (270 sd).<sup>16</sup> In these cases the stage directions feature phrases that create a sense of a narrative voice for the *reader*, but when the text is performed these stage directions are of course unvoiced and so the *audience* is unaware of any 'narrator'. Since the manuscript of N-Town was possibly copied for a devotional reader (Granger 2009: 2), and since *Fulgens and Lucres* was printed and therefore presumably also read, it is possible that these narrative stage directions were added specifically for a reading, rather than watching, public; however, the plays were almost certainly at some point also performed, so this is far from certain.<sup>17</sup> What can be stated is that the now-conventional form of stage directions was far from established in the Tudor period,<sup>18</sup> and therefore *on the page* Skelton's readers probably had a much more fluid sense of the distinction between 'drama' and 'poetry.'

In his only surviving play Skelton sets up a prince, Magnyfycence, who is a political being not unlike the reigning Henry VIII, and also an allegory, and who as a character in the drama must find out the meaning of the word

<sup>15</sup> See the edition in Walker 2000: 305–48.

<sup>16</sup> See the edition in Walker 2000: 166–95.

<sup>17</sup> Bodleian MS e Musaeo 160 preserves texts that are presented as 'treatises' to be read and, through emendations and marginalia, as plays to be performed. See Davidson 2007: chapter 6.

<sup>18</sup> On stage directions and narrative see further McJanet 1999.

that names him, which is also the name of the play in which he appears. Vices corrupt the prince by exploiting his tendency to ‘take a word at face value, responding as if its mere occurrence guaranteed the presence of the quality to which it refers’ (Griffiths 2006: 71). *Magnyfycence* is allegorical, a morality play, but at the same time it challenges the conventions of morality play because allegorical drama rests on a device that looks very like that of Skelton’s vices: an actor is given the name of an abstraction and transparently embodies that abstract quality; the presence of that actor then does indeed ‘guarantee the presence of the quality’ named. Here the name given does not correspond with the reality of the embodiment. Skelton’s vices give themselves false names and *Magnyfycence* is taken in by them: for him, the morality play breaks down. The audience has seen the vices choosing their false identities, and is able to see their utterances as fictional, parasitic, by contrast with a ‘real’ world that is nonetheless itself contained within the drama. Sad Cyrcumspeccyon explains: ‘A myrroure incleryd is this interlude, / This lyfe inconstant for to beholde and se’. Skelton’s creation is neither entirely separate from life, nor at all parasitic on it; rather it reveals it. Or, as *Adversyte* says: ‘For though we shewe you this in game and play, / Yet it proveth eyrnest, ye may se, every day’. The difference between the fictional world and the real one is that the former can ‘show’ what the latter must ‘prove’: what is revealed playfully by the dramatic performance is the same as what is proved in earnest by the audience’s observations of the real world beyond the play (2524–5 and 1948–9).

In *Magnyfycence*, the stage directions range from the fulsome and narrative to the sparse and, occasionally, the absent. In the play’s opening scene no direction is given for the entry of Lyberte, but he is apparently not onstage for Felicity’s opening speech. Elsewhere, by contrast, entrances are marked with full description of the action that must accompany them:

*Hic ingrediatur Fany properanter cum Crafty Conveyaunce, cum fame multo adinvicem garrulantes; tandem viso Counterfet Countenaunce dicat Crafty Conveyaunce.*

[Here let Fany enter quickly with Crafty Conveyaunce, talking a lot, chattering by turns; at last, having noticed Counterfet Countenaunce, let Crafty Conveyaunce say ...]

Cra. Con.      What! Counterfet Countenaunce!

(493sd–494)

Possibly the second half of this stage direction, ‘tandem ... dicat Crafty Conveyaunce’, might help the reader, as opposed to the actor or audience member, to understand the relation between the action of Crafty Conveyaunce as he recognises Counterfet Countenaunce and his line. However, the narrative ‘*dicat*’ is, strictly speaking, unnecessary, given the character cue and given that Crafty Conveyaunce’s line names its addressee. Similarly, this time in an English stage direction, we can observe the intrusion of a narrative ‘and sayth’ that is unnecessary for both reader and actor:

*Here cometh in Crafty Conveyuance poyntyng with his fynger, and sayth*

Cra. Con. Hem, Colusyon!

(777sd–778)

If we imagine a continuum of performativity that would place a poem at one end and a play at the other, then the sense of narrative voice created by the 'dicats' and 'and sayth', while entirely unsurprising in Tudor drama, perhaps moves *Magnyfycence* and *Elynour Rummynge* closer together on this continuum than modern generic sense might expect.

Of course, all of the stage directions cited above include considerably more than 'dicat' and 'and sayth': they contain also directions for action. Occasionally, stage directions are, at least in part, redundant in terms of directing action or allowing a reader to imagine that action, since they describe action implicit in spoken lines; more often this is not the case, and the stage directions are vital for directing action. To give two examples from *Magnyfycence*, again one in Latin and one in English:

*Hic ingrediatur Foly quatiendo crema et faciendo multum, feriendo tabulas, et simila*

[Here let Foly enter shaking his bauble and doing many things, rattling clappers and such things.]

(1042 sd)

This stage direction gives information that is not available from the play's lines. It signals that Foly is a conventional fool, with a fool's bauble that has bells that can be shaken: this is essential information since, though other characters' costumes are described within the lines, there are no such costume comments for Foly. The lines also contain no comment on Foly's rattling clappers, so this information is only available from the stage direction, though it is the lines, and not the stage direction, that tell us that Foly is also leading a dog: 'What pylde curre ledest thou in thy hande?' (1054).

After the entrance of Adversyte:

Magn. Alas, who is yonder that grymly lokys?  
 Fan. Adewe, for I wyll not come in his klokys.  
 Magn. Lorde, so my flesshe trymblyth now for drede!  
*Here Magnyfycence is beten downe and spoyled from all his goodys and rayment.*

Adv. I am Adversyte, that for thy mysded  
 From God am sente to quyte the thy mede.

(1873–7)

Although Adversyte's lines describe generally Magnyfycence's sudden deprivation of all material comfort, and although he explains that he is sent to give Magnyfycence the punishment he deserves, it is only the stage direction that explicitly states what happens to the fallen prince. Intriguingly, it does not even specify the agent of this beating and despoiling: since Fany apparently leaves ('Adewe', 1874), only Magnyfycence and Adversyte are onstage at this point

– why does the stage direction not specify that Adversyte beats and despoils Magnyfycence? An intriguing possibility is that this is not a stage direction at all, but a narrative comment, describing the state to which Magnyfycence has been brought, and marking this moment as the moment at which the battering that the prince has suffered has taken its full effect. ‘Here’ is therefore not ‘at this moment’, but ‘by now’, or ‘by this point on the page’. The point at which Magnyfycence is stripped of his fine clothes is important, because his restitution will be both brought about and signalled by Redresse, or ‘Re-dress’. Just as some ‘stage directions’ include unnecessary narrative ‘and sayth’, so other stage directions look more like narrative description, the voice of a narrator, rather than an aid for an actor.

So the stage directions and *mise-en-page* of Skelton’s play, *Magnyfycence*, can sometimes look like narrative or poetry, and Skelton’s poems can sometimes look like plays. In the case of *Speke Parott* the reader is assisted by character cues for ‘Galathea’ and ‘Parrotte’ that create some resemblance to the *mise-en-page* now conventionally associated with drama; this is also true of *The Bowge of Courte*, which is a dream vision, a form epitomised by many works of the Ricardian poets, and one which shares suggestive characteristics with allegorical drama. In the person of the dreamer, the dream-vision stages its own audience: the dreamer sees and hears, and must interpret, figures that are presented as creations independent of his own conscious powers, like actors performing as distinct agents. Leigh Winser went so far as to argue that *The Bowge* was written to be acted (Winser 1976; Russell 1980); in fact, though dramatic performance would illuminate some aspects of the text, it would present problems for others.

Firstly, one of the most important differences between drama, performed by multiple actors, and either the dramatic reading by a narrator in different voices or the reception of a text on the page, is the dramatic possibility of silent presence. A reader will be aware of the presence of a character at a scene only if that character either speaks or is spoken about in that scene. But the audience of a play can be aware of a silent presence – indeed, a character onstage but not speaking can exert a powerful influence on a scene. Staging *The Bowge* would require some interpretive decisions that might limit the unsettling ambiguities that Skelton creates in relation to characters ‘real’ and ‘imagined’: for example, Dyssymulacyon points out to Drede a straw man: ‘Naye, see where yonder stondeth the teder man! / A flatteryng knave and a false he is, God wote’ (484–5). This mysterious figure neither speaks nor acts – the only evidence for his existence is the vice’s speech; it is therefore possible that he is nothing but a trick of – or more precisely here a trick played on – Drede’s mind. Drede later acknowledges a degree of subjectivity in his awareness of figures around him: ‘*Me thoughte* I see lewde felawes here and there / Came for to slee me’ (528–9, *italics mine*). Although ‘*me thoughte*’ could be simply a conventional trope of the dream vision, drawing attention to the perceptions of the dreamer as the medium by which the reader receives the vision, in this context it seems more forceful, because the operation of the vices on Drede has been largely to create in him a paranoia that might easily lead to him ‘seeing things’ in the modern, sceptical, sense. As Griffiths notes, ‘Favell and Suspecte have only

to imply the existence of animosity or conspiracy to bring it into existence' (Griffiths 2006: 62). Would this mean that staging the play would require the straw man and 'lewde felawes here and there' to be realised in the sinister presence of silent actors, or not? Performance requires that the question about the 'real' or 'imagined' nature of these figures be resolved, though Skelton seems deliberately to have left it open. 'The absence of any external reference points allows (the vices) to function according to a model directly opposed to the allegorical one, in which language is not mimetic, but creative' (Griffiths 2006: 62): dramatic presentation insists on external references, most obviously the presence or absence of an actor's body, and so undermines the vices' – but also Skelton's – project.<sup>19</sup>

A further example suggests *The Bowge of Courte* is best received on the page. The final vice to address Drede, the figure whose words cause him to leap overboard, is disguised beyond Drede's recognition. His words ring with religious and legal reference, and though he threatens to murder the other vices, his hand is stayed by fear of the truth – that 'mordre wolde come oute.' (524). He does not name himself, and Drede cannot name him: it is only his character cue that tells us this figure, who represents the ultimate state of corruption that might afflict Drede, is Disceyte. If the text were performed, the audience would have no way of perceiving the identity of this figure, and so would never have confirmation of the conclusion of Skelton's argument.

Griffiths refers, in her discussion of *The Bowge of Courte*, not to character cues but to 'section headings', and this certainly signals readerly engagement with *The Bowge*; however, the arrangement of the characters' names in the poem is much more consistent with dramatic character cues than division of the poem into sections. Firstly, under each of the names of the vices, the only words are those spoken in the first person by the named vice: there are no narrative interventions, no 'he-said-she-said', and no descriptions of action. Secondly, the exception to this is Drede, under whose name appears all the narrative, told by a first-person narrator who is observing the actions he describes. Also under the name 'Drede' are passages in which vices speak, but in these cases there *are* narrative interventions: "In fayth", quod Suspecte, "spake Drede no worde of me?" (183). The heading 'Drede' appears repeatedly to mark verses in a narrative voice: whereas it might be possible to argue that the headings 'Favell' and 'Suspicyon' mark the sections in which Skelton deals with these vices, the 'Drede' headings, which look the same, cannot function in this thematic way, and so it seems doubtful that 'section headings' accurately describe these appearances of character names, any more than they may be considered fully dramatic speech cues.

<sup>19</sup> In some cases (for example the appearance of Banquo's ghost in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*), some characters onstage apparently do not see an apparition that other characters and the audience do see. This may make the audience suspect that they are looking through one character's eyes, at a ghost produced by that character's imagination. However, the question of whether or not these ghosts are theatrically present – represented by an actor, for example – must still be resolved for a performance.

The mixed effects of the *mise-en-page* are possibly the result of Skelton's shifting of genre. The poem as a whole is called a 'lytell treatyse' in its heading, and the first 126 lines form an initially conventional dream-vision frame: the poet tells us about the time and place that he received the dream, employing astrological reference to signal that it is autumn, and specifying that he lies down to sleep at a particular house – 'Powers Keye', in the port town of Harwich. Unsurprisingly, he then sees a ship, though the subjectivity of the vision is marked by 'Me thoughte': this is a dream boat. He watches merchants boarding the ship to trade, and observes, enigmatically, that they are 'Fraghted with plesure to what ye could devyse' (42). The vague but tempting pleasure, and the subjectivity of 'your' devising, which draw attention to the world of the reader/dreamer observing the ship, inspire the dreamer to move in the opposite direction, from observer of his dream to participant in it: he 'puts' himself 'in prece', among the crowd.

Once inside his own dream, the dreamer does not recognise anyone, but an anonymous man begins to define the scene for us:

'Maysters', he sayde, 'the shyp that ye here se,  
The Bowge of Courte it hyghte for certeynte.

The awnner therof is lady of estate,  
Whoos name to tell is Dame Saunce-Pere.  
Her marchaundyse is ryche and fortunate,  
But who wyll have it muste paye therefore dere.'  
(48–53)

This is presented as narrative, with 'he sayde' narrative speech-markers: the man could function as the authority figure of the *oraculum*, interpreting the dream vision and giving its moral, but he also appears a little like the Prologue to a play, defining the scene – particularly since he moves both the dreamer and the reader forward into the narrative with his reference to Lady Saunce-Pere. The allusion seems to call the lady into being, but we do not see her directly; rather, we see first the thronging of the crowd eager to see her, as she sits behind a fine silk curtain, and then the throne on which she sits, which shines clearer than the sun, and then we are told only that the poet has 'to lytyll connyng to report' the lady's beauty (63). So now the dreamer has himself taken back the narrator/Prologue role, and repositioned himself as mediator – here, failed mediator – of the scene for the reader/audience. But he is still also within the dream, and alarmingly is about to reveal his 'identity': Lady Saunce-Pere's gentlewoman, Daunger, asks him his name, and 'I sayde it was Drede' (77).

It is a feature of the dream vision that the narrator present himself as the dreamer, who, in the past, could not understand his dream. He is an unreliable guide to the meaning of his own text, though usually the narrator in the present has been enlightened. But here the narrator is suddenly revealed to be an allegorical character who, by definition, cannot change: how, then, can we trust the dream vision to come, since it is narrated by 'Drede'? How, too, can we trust what we have already read? Disconcertingly, some lines later we read: 'Thus endeth the prologue, and begynneth the Bowge of Court brevely

compyled'. Although the reader has already gone 126 lines into 'a lytell trea-tyse named The Bowge of Courte', it is only now, apparently, that the *Bowge* begins. The dream frame is explicitly defined, now, as a 'prologue': is this a literary prologue, such as Chaucer gives each of his *Canterbury Tales*, or a theatrical one? The theatrical prologue, at least in later Tudor drama, should stand outside the action of the play, presented by an actor, also 'the Prologue', who has not yet taken on a character within it (Bruster and Weimann 2004: 1–2; Stern 2009: 81–119). But the *mise-en-page* now presents us with the character cue for 'Drede', which reinforces our sense that this prologue is, in some sense at least, theatrical, and ushers in the dramatic form of the main poem.

In fact, Tudor drama offers various figures who, prologue-like, begin plays through direct address to the audience, free of fictional persona, and then become part of the drama in front of the audience's eyes. For example, the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*, which was written some time after 1461 and copied mid-sixteenth century, opens with an actor with the character cue 'Aristorius', who tells the audience he will present the story of 'a merchant most mighty'. Two lines later in his speech has apparently become that merchant: 'of all Aragon I am most mighty of sylver and of gold' (5–7).<sup>20</sup> The 1490s play *Fulgens and Lucres* develops an entire sub-plot – the first in English drama – out of the two nameless characters who, presenting themselves as audience members who are confused as to when the play will start, nonetheless supply the Prologue's plot summary, and introduction to the setting, characters and theme. These two men then become caught up in the action of the play, employed as servants to the two men whose suit of Lucres is the main action, and indeed they end the play, Epilogue-like, by excusing any imperfections, asking the audience to amend as necessary. Throughout, these two characters, bridging the worlds of audience and dramatic action, are unnamed: their character cues are simply 'A' and 'B', and A proves unable to tell Lucres his name.

Medwall's sources were non-dramatic: a 1428 Latin treatise by Buonaccorso de Montemagna, the *Controversia De Vera Nobilitate*, which was translated into English as *The Declamacion of Noblesse* by John Tiptoft and printed by Caxton in 1481. *Fulgens and Lucres* too was printed, by John Rastell between 1510 and 1516, and so was perhaps received 'on the page' – but first it was presumably performed. It is perhaps no coincidence that *Fulgens and Lucres* is almost exactly contemporaneous with the composition of *The Bowge of Court*: it is impossible to know whether or not Skelton saw Medwall's play, but it is certain that his poetry shares with it a fascination with the relationship between fictional worlds and the 'real' or 'offstage' world, and with the nature of performance.

<sup>20</sup> See the edition in Walker 2000: 212–33. This moment is discussed in Dutton 2012: 63–4.

*Works Cited*

- Bennett, J. A. W., and G. V. Smithers, eds, *Early Middle English Verse and Prose* (Oxford 1968)
- Boffey, Julia, “‘Withdrawe your Hande’: The Lyrics in *The Garland of Laurel* from Manuscript to Print”, in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honouring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ, 2008), 135–46
- Brown, Carleton, ed., *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford 1958)
- Brownlow, F. W., ‘*The Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe* and the Liturgy’, *English Literary History* 9 (1979): 5–20
- Bruster, Douglas, and Robert Weimann, *Prologues to Shakespeare’s Theatre* (London, 2004)
- Davidson, Clifford, *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain* (Farnham, 2007)
- Dutton, Elisabeth, ‘The Croxton Play of the Sacrament’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford, 2012), 55–71
- Edwards, A. S. G., ‘Skelton’s English Poems in Manuscript and Print’, in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honouring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ, 2008), 85–97
- Granger, Penny, *The N-Town Play: Drama and Liturgy in Medieval East Anglia* (Cambridge, 2009)
- Griffiths, Jane, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak* (Oxford, 2006)
- Lerer, Seth, *Chaucer and his Readers: Imagining the Author in Late Medieval England* (Princeton, NJ, 1993)
- Loxley, James, *Performativity* (Abingdon, 2007)
- McJannet, Linda, *The Voice of Elizabethan Stage Directions* (Newark, NJ, 1999)
- Moore, Colette, *Quoting Speech in Early English* (Cambridge, 2011)
- Russell, J. Stephen, ‘Skelton’s *Bowge of Court*: A Nominalist Allegory’, *Renaissance Papers* 2 (1980): 1–9
- Scattergood, John, *John Skelton: The Career of an Early Tudor Poet* (Dublin, 2014)
- Schibanoff, Susan, ‘Taking Jane’s Cue: *Phyllyp Sparowe* as a Primer for Women Readers’, *PMLA* 101 (1986): 832–47
- Stern, Tiffany, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009)
- Streitberger, W. R., ‘John Skelton: The Revels, Entertainments, and Plays at Court’, in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honouring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ, 2008), 19–43
- Walker, Greg, ed., *Medieval Drama: An Anthology* (Oxford, 2000)
- Winser, Leigh, ‘*The Bowge of Court*: Drama Doubling as Dream’, *English Literary Renaissance* 6 (1976): 3–39

# *A Skelton Bibliography*

NADINE KUIPERS

## *Primary Sources*

### *Manuscripts*

#### Latin Works

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 432, fols 1v–3v  
Autograph annotations and dedicatory poems

#### English Works

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 357  
*Bibliotheca Historica* of Diodorus Siculus (translation)  
Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS VI. 18. 2  
*Manerly Margery Mylk and Ale*  
London, British Library, Additional MS 5465  
*Manerly Margery Mylk and Ale*  
London, British Library, Additional MS 22504  
*Elynour Rummynge* (fragmented transcript of early printed work)  
London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius E.x., fols 208r–225v  
*Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell*  
London, British Library, MS Harley 367  
*Agenst Garneshe*  
London, British Library, MS Harley 2252  
*Collyn Clout*  
*Speke Parott*  
London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 762  
*Collyn Clout* (fragment)  
London, British Library, MS Royal 18 Dii  
*Upon the Dolorus Dethe*  
London, Public Record Office, MS E 36/228  
*A Lawde and Prayse Made for Our Sovereigne Lord the Kyng*  
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.813  
*Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?*

Attributed Works

Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.5.18

*Qui Trahis* and other Latin verses

Dublin, Trinity College MS 661, pp. 3–5

*How Every Thyng Must Have a Tyme*

London, British Library, Additional MS 5465

*Hoyda joly rutterkin hoyda*

*Wofully araid*

London, British Library, Additional MS 29729

*Epitaph of King Edward IV*

London, British Library, MS Egerton 2642

Latin verses presented to King Henry VII

London, British Library, MS Harley 367

*Vox Populi, Vox Dei*

London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 794

*The Image of Ypocrysy*

Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS N.b.49

*On Cardinal Wolsey* and other poems attributed to Skelton, copied by Joseph Haslewood

**Early Printed Works**English Works

*Here begynneth a lytell treatyse named the bowge of courte*, STC 22597 (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1499)

[*The tunning of Elinor Rummung*], STC 22611.5 (London, [1521])

*A ryght delectable traytysse upon a goodly Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell by mayster Skelton Poete laureat*, STC 22610 (London: Richard Faukes, 1523)

*Skelton Laureate agaynste a comely coystrowne that curyowsly chawntyd and curryshly countred, and madly in hys musykkys mokyshly made, agaynste the. ix. Musys of polytyke poems [and] poettys matryculat*, STC 22611 (London: John Rastell, 1527)

*Here folowythe dyuers balettys and dyties solacyous deuysyd by Master Skelton Laureat*, STC 22604 (London: J. Rastell, 1528)

*A replycacion agaynst certayne yong scolers*, STC 22609 (London: Richard Pynson, [1528])

*Here after foloweth a lytell boke called Collyn Clout*, STC 22600.5 (London: Thomas Godfray, [1530])

*Magnyfycence, a goodly interlude and a mery*, STC 22607 (London: John Rastell, [1530])

*Here after foloweth certayne bokes compyled by mayster Skelton*, STC 22598 (London: Richard Lant, 1545)

*Here after foloweth a litel boke called Colyn Cloute*, STC 22601 (London: Richard Kele, [1545])

*Here after foloweth the boke of Phyllyp Sparowe*, STC 22594 (London: Richard Kele, [1545])

- Here after folweth a lytell boke, whiche hath to name, why come ye nat to courte*, STC 22615 (London: Richard Kele, [1545])
- Here after foloweth a litle booke called Colyn Clout*, STC 22602 (London: Iohn Wyghte, [1553])
- Here after foloweth a litle booke, of Phyllyp Sparow*, STC 22595 (London: Iohn Wyght, [1553])
- Here after foloweth a litle booke, whiche hath to name whi come ye not to courte*, STC 22616 (London: Robert Toy, [1553])
- Here after foloweth a litle boke called Colyn Clout*, STC 22603 (London: Anthony Kytson, [1560])
- Here after foloweth a litle boke of Phillip sparrow*, STC 22596 (London: Anthony Kitson, [1560])
- Here after foloweth a litle boke whyche hathe to name, whye come ye not to Courte*, STC 22617 (London: Anthony Kytson, [1560])
- Heare after foloweth certain bokes compiled by Master Skelton, Poet Laureat*, STC 2260 (London: John Day, [1563])
- Pithy pleasaunt and profitable workes of maister Skelton, Poete Laureate*, STC 22608 (London: Thomas Marshe for I[ohn] S[towe], 1568)

#### Attributions and Apocrypha

- Anon., *The epitaffe of the moste noble [and] valyaunt Iasper late duke of Beddeforde*, STC 14477 [London: Richard Pynson, 1496]
- Anon., *[Elegy on the death of Henry VII]*, STC 13075 [London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1509]
- Anon., *A Skeltonicall Salutation*, STC 22619 (Oxford: J. Barnes, 1589)
- Anon., *Pimlyco. Or, Runne Red-Cap*, 2nd edn, STC 19936 (London: John Busbie and Geoffrey Loftis, 1609)
- Hundred Merry Tales* (London: John Rastell, 1525)
- Merie tales newly imprinted [and] made by Master Skelton Poet Laureat* (London: Thomas Colwell, [1567])

#### **Modern Editions**

##### Latin Works

##### **Complete Editions**

- Carlson, David R., ed., 'The Latin Writings of John Skelton', *Studies in Philology* 87:4 (1991): 1–125

##### **Single Works**

##### *Bibliotheca Historica*

- Salter, F. M., and H. L. R. Edwards, eds, *The Bibliotheca Historica of Diodorus Siculus*, Early English Text Society, original series 233, 239 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956–7, reprinted 1968–71)

##### *Qui Trahis*

- Carlson, David R., 'John Skelton's Latin Verses "Qui trahis"', *Notes and Queries*, new series 35:1 (1988): 29

*Speculum Principis*

Salter, F. M., ed., 'Skelton's *Speculum Principis*', *Speculum* 9 (1934): 25–37

English Works**Complete Editions**

Dyce, Alexander, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Skelton*, 2 vols (London: Thomas Rodd, 1843)

Henderson, Philip, ed., *The Complete Poems of John Skelton, Laureate* (London: Dent, 1931; 4th edn 1964)

Scattergood, John, ed., *John Skelton, the Complete English Poems*, rev. edn, Exeter Medieval Texts (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015)

**Single Works***The Bowge of Court*

Boffey, Julia, ed., *Fifteenth-Century English Dream Visions: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

*Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell*

Brownlow, F. W., ed., *The Book of the Laurel* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990)

Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, ed., *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1927, reprinted 1965)

*Magnyfycence*

Happé, Peter, ed., *Four Morality Plays* (London: Penguin, 1979)

Neuss, Paula, ed., *Magnificence* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980)

Ramsay, R. L., ed., *Magnyfycence: A Moral Play* (London: Early English Text Society, 1908, reprinted 1958)

*Manerly Margery Mylk and Ale*

Edwards, A. S. G., and Linne R. Mooney, 'A New Version of a Skelton Lyric', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 10 (1994): 507–10

**Selections**

Dyce, Alexander, ed., *The Poetical Works of Skelton and Donne, With a Memoir of Each* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1856)

Graves, Robert, ed., *John Skelton: Laureate, The Augustan Books of English Poetry* 2:12 (London: Benn, 1925, reprinted 1970)

Hammond, Gerald, ed., *Selected Poems* (Manchester: Cararnet, 1980)

Kinsman, Robert S., ed., *John Skelton: Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969)

Pinto, Vivian De Sola, ed., *John Skelton: A Selection from his Poems* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1950)

Thwaite, Antony, ed., *John Skelton* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008)

Walker, Greg, ed., *John Skelton* (London: Dent, 1997)

*Secondary Sources***Books**

- Bardsley, Sandy, *Venemous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2006)
- Bevington, David, *Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968)
- Carlson, David Richard, ed., *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008)
- Carpenter, Nan C., *John Skelton* (New York: Twayne, 1968)
- Ebin, Lois, *Illuminator, Makar, Vates: Visions of Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (Lincoln, Nebraska, and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988)
- Edwards, A. S. G., ed., *Skelton: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981)
- Edwards, Harold Llewelyn Ravenscroft, *Skelton: The Life and Times of an Early Tudor Poet* (London: Cape, 1949)
- Fish, Stanley Eugene, *John Skelton's Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965)
- Fowler, Elizabeth, *Literary Character: The Human Figure in Early English Writing* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003)
- Fox, Alistair, *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989)
- Gayk, Shannon Noelle, and Kathleen Ann Tonry, *Form and Reform: Reading across the Fifteenth Century* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011)
- Gordon, Ian A., *John Skelton, Poet Laureate* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1943)
- Gray, Douglas, *The Phoenix and the Parrot: Skelton and the Language of Satire*, Otago Studies in English 10 (Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago, 2012)
- Green, Peter, *John Skelton* (London: Longmans, 1960)
- Griffiths, Jane, *John Skelton and Poetic Authority: Defining the Liberty to Speak* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)
- Hadfield, Andrew, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Happé, Peter, and Wim Husken, eds, *Interludes and Early Modern Society: Studies in Gender, Power, and Theatricality* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007)
- Harris, W. O., *Skelton's Magnificence and the Cardinal Virtue Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965)
- Hasler, Antony J., *Court Poetry in Late Medieval England and Scotland: Allegories of Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)
- Heiserman, A. R., *Skelton and Satire* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961)
- Holloway, John, *The Charted Mirror: Literary and Critical Essays* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960) [the essay on Skelton was first published in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 44 (1959): 83–102]

- Ikegami, Masa T., *Rhyme and Pronunciation: Some Studies in English Rhymes from 'Kyng Alisaunder' to Skelton* (Tokyo: Hogaku-Kenkyu-Kai Keio University, 1984)
- Kinney, Arthur F., *John Skelton, Priest as Poet: Seasons of Discovery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987)
- Kinsman, Robert S., and Theodore Yonge, *John Skelton: Canon and Census* (Darien, CT: Monographic Press for the Renaissance Society of America, 1967)
- Kipling, Gordon, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance*, Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute 6 (Leiden, 1977)
- Lancashire, Ian, *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)
- Lehrer, Seth, *Chaucer and his Readers: Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993)
- Lloyd, L. J., *John Skelton: A Sketch of his Life and Writings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1938)
- Nelson, William, *John Skelton, Laureate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, reprinted 1964)
- Pollet, Maurice, *John Skelton: Poet of Tudor England* (London: Dent, 1971) [translated from French by John Warrington]
- Richardson, J. A., *Falling Towers: The Trojan Imagination in The Waste Land, The Dunciad, and Speke Parott* (Newark, NJ: Delaware University Press, 1992)
- Scattergood, John, *John Skelton: The Career of an Early Tudor Poet* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014)
- Schulte, Edvige, *La Poesia di John Skelton* (Naples: Ligouri, 1963)
- Skura, Meredith Anne, *Tudor Autobiography: Listening for Inwardness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010)
- Spearing, A. C., *Medieval Dream Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976)
- , *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)
- Stevens, John, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen, 1961)
- Torti, Anna, *The Glass of Form: Mirroring Structures from Chaucer to Skelton* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991)
- Walker, Greg, *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)
- , *Persuasive Fictions: Faction, Faith and Political Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996)
- , *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

*Articles, Chapters in Essay Collections, Other Publications*General

- Archibald, Elizabeth, 'Tradition and Innovation in the Macaronic Poetry of Dunbar and Skelton', *Modern Language Quarterly* 51 (1992): 126–49
- Barnes, A. W., 'Constructing the Sexual Subject of John Skelton', *ELH* 71:1 (2004): 29–51
- Berdan, John M., 'Speke, Parrot: An Interpretation of Skelton's Satire', *Modern Language Notes* 30:5 (1915): 140–4
- Bose, Mishtooni, 'Useless Mouths: Reformist Poetics in Audelay and Skelton', in *Form and Reform: Reading across the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Shannon Gayk and Kathleen Ann Tonry (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), 158–79
- Burrow, John A., 'The Experience of Exclusion: Literature and Politics in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII', in *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 793–820
- Canino, Catherine G., and Nancy A. Gutierrez, "'Trouth ought to be rescude; / Trouthe should nat be subdude": Skelton and the Tudor Myth', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 167–88
- Carlson, David R., 'John Skelton', in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*, vol. 1: 800–1558, ed. Rita Copeland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 541–60
- , 'John Skelton and Ancient Authors: Two Notes', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 38 (1989): 100–9
- , 'John Skelton's Autograph Verse Annotations on the *Chronique* of the Minstrel of Reims for Prince Henry's Education', *Neophilologus* 99 (2015): 167–74
- , 'Joseph Haslewood's Manuscript Collection of Unpublished Poems by John Skelton', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 81 (1987): 65–74
- , 'Protestant Skelton: The Satire of 1519–1523 and the *Piers Plowman* Tradition', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 215–38
- , 'Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22:2 (1991): 253–79
- , 'The "Grammarians' War", 1519–21: Humanist Careerism in Early Tudor England and Printing', *Modern History* 18 (1992): 157–81
- Carpenter, Nan Cooke, 'Skelton and Music: Roty Bully Joys', *Comparative Studies* 22:2 (1970): 157–72
- , 'Skelton's Hand in William Cornish's Musical Parable', *The Review of English Studies* 6:23 (1955): 279–84
- Castro Carracedo, Juan Manuel, '*Pium Vestrum Catullum Britannum*: The Influence of Catullus' Poetry on John Skelton', *Sederi* 14 (2004): 3–16

- Edwards, A. S. G., 'Deconstructing Skelton: The Texts of the English Poems', *Leeds Studies in English*, new series 36 (2006): 335–53
- , 'Dunbar, Skelton and the Nature of Court Culture in the Early Sixteenth Century', in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England, and Scotland*, ed. Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 120–34
- , 'Skelton's English Poems in Manuscript and Print', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 85–97
- Erler, Mary C., 'Early Woodcuts of Skelton: The Uses of Convention', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 87 (1986–7): 17–28
- Fanego, Teresa, 'En Torno a John Skelton y Algunos Aspectos de su Dicción Poética', in *Estudios Literarios Ingleses: Edad Media*, ed. J. F. Galvan Ruela (Madrid: Catedra, 1995), 285–308
- Finkelstein, Richard, 'Reassessing Heywood's Debt to Skelton in "The Four P. P."', *Notes and Queries* 228 (1983): 408–9
- Fowler, Elizabeth, 'Misogyny and Economic Person in Skelton, Langland, and Chaucer', *Spenser Studies* 10 (1992): 245–73
- Graves, Robert, *Oxford Addresses on Poetry* (London: Cassell, 1962), first printed in *Encounter* 17 (1961): 11–18
- Gray, Douglas, 'Middle English Courtly Lyrics: Chaucer to Henry VIII', in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, ed. Thomas G. Duncan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), 120–49
- Griffiths, Jane, '"An Ende of an Olde Song": Middle English Lyric and the Skeltonic', *The Review of English Studies* 60:247 (2009): 705–22
- , 'Text and Authority: John Stow's 1568 Edition of Skelton's Works', in *John Stow: Author, Editor and Reader*, ed. Ian Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004), 127–34
- , 'What's in a Name? The Transmission of "John Skelton, Laureate" in Manuscript and Print', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67 (2004): 215–35
- Gutierrez, Nancy A., 'Beware the Cat: Mimesis in a Skin of Oratory', *Style* 23 (1989): 49–69
- , 'John Skelton: Courtly Maker / Popular Poet', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 4 (1983): 59–76
- Halpern, Richard, 'John Skelton and the Poetics of Primitive Accumulation', in *Literary Theory / Renaissance Texts*, ed. Patricia Barber and David Quint (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 225–56
- Hasler, Antony J., 'Cultural Intersections: Skelton, Barclay, Hawes, André', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 63–84
- Hatrick, A W., 'Politics in the Renaissance: Kingship in the Writings of Skelton, Sidney, Sackville, Norton, and Shakespeare' (MA Dissertation, Baylor University, 2016)

- Kaplan, R., 'Skeltonics', in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics: Fourth Edition*, ed. Stephen Cushman, Roland Greene *et al.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1309
- Kinney, Arthur F., 'John Skelton's Aesthetics of Incarnation', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 147–66
- Kinsman, Robert S., 'Skelton, John', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 660–1
- , 'Skelton Mocks the Muse: References to Romance Matters in his Poetry', *University of Southern California Studies in Comparative Literature* 1 (1968): 35–46, reprinted in *Medieval Epic to the "Epic Theater" of Brecht*, ed. Rosario P. Armato and John M. Spalek (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1968), 35–46
- Kipling, Gordon, 'Henry VII and the Origins of Tudor Patronage' in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, ed. G. F. Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 117–64
- , 'John Skelton and Burgundian Letters', in *Ten Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations*, ed. Jan van Dorsten (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1974), 1–29
- Lawton, David, 'Skelton's Use of Persona', *Essays in Criticism* 30 (1980): 9–28
- Nelson, William, 'Skelton's Quarrel with Wolsey', *PMLA* 51:2 (1936): 377–98
- Neuss, Paula, 'Proverbial Skelton', *Studia Neophilologica* 54 (1982): 237–46
- Norton-Smith, John, 'On the Origins of Skeltonics', *Essays in Criticism* 23 (1973): 57–72
- Phillips, Norma, 'Observations on the Derivative Method of Skelton's Realism', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 65 (1966): 19–35
- Pyle, F., 'The Origins of the Skeltonic', *Notes and Queries* 171 (1936): 362–4
- Ringler, William, 'John Stowe's Edition of Skelton's *Workes* and of *Certaine Worthe Manuscript Poems*', *Studies in Bibliography* 8 (1956): 215–16
- Salter, F. M., 'Skelton's Contribution to the English Language', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 39, section 2 (1946): 119–217
- Scattergood, John, 'A Defining Moment: The Battle of Flodden and English Poetry', in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England, and Scotland*, ed. Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 62–79
- , '"Portraying a Life": Skelton's Flytings and Some Related Poems', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 189–214
- , 'Skelton, John (c. 1460–1529)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- , 'Skelton and Heresy', in *The Early Tudors: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), 157–70

- , 'Skelton and the Elegy', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 84 (1984): 333–47
- , 'Skelton's Lyrics: Tradition and Innovation', in *The Fifteenth Century*, ed. David A. Lampe (Binghamton, New York: Centre for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1988), 19–39
- , 'The Early Annotations to John Skelton's Poems', *Poetica* 35 (1992): 53–63
- , 'The London Manuscripts of John Skelton's Poems', in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), 171–82
- Scott Blanchard, W., 'Skelton's Critique of Wealth and the Autonomy of the Early Modern Intellectual', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 45–62
- Segall, Kreg, 'Skeltonic Anxiety and Rumination in *The Shepheardes Calender*', *Studies in English Literature* 47 (2007): 29–56
- Sharratt, Bernard, 'John Skelton: Finding a Voice – Notes after Bakhtin', in *Medieval Literature: Criticism, Ideology, and History*, ed. David Aers (New York: St Martin's, 1986), 192–222
- Skelton, Robin, 'The Master Poet: John Skelton as Conscious Craftsman', *Mosaic* 6 (1973): 67–92
- Smith, Julia, 'The Poet Laureate as University Master: John Skelton's Woodcut Portrait', in *Renaissance Rereadings: Intertext and Context*, ed. Maryanne Cline Horowitz, Anne J. Cruz and Wendy Furman (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1988), 159–83
- Stevens, John, 'John Skelton's Inflated Reputation as an Enricher of English Vocabulary', *Language Quarterly* 30 (1992): 20–7
- Streitberger, W. R., 'John Skelton: The Revels, Entertainments, and Plays at Court', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 19–43
- Swallow, Alan, 'John Skelton: The Structure of the Poem', *Philological Quarterly* 32 (1953): 29–42
- Tillemans, Thomas, 'John Skelton, a Conservative', *English Studies* 27 (1946): 141–9
- Tonry, Kathleen, 'John Skelton and the New Fifteenth Century', *Literature Compass* 5:4 (2008): 721–39
- Tucker, Melvin J., 'Skelton and Sheriff Hutton', *English Language Notes* 4 (1967): 254–9
- Waite, Greg, 'Antedatings and Additions for OED from the Poems of John Skelton', *Notes and Queries* 223:1 (1988): 15–25
- , 'Approaching the Poet's Language: The Holograph Records of Skelton's English', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 99–131
- Walker, Greg, 'John Skelton and the Royal Court', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson

- (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 3–18; an earlier version of this chapter appears in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland*, ed. Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 1–15
- West, Michael, ‘Skelton and the Renaissance Theme of Folly’, *Philological Quarterly* 50:1 (1971): 23–35

### Individual Works

#### *A Ballade of the Scottyshe Kyng*

- Marc’Hadour, Germain, ‘Croisade Triumphale de l’Angleterre: 1513. Réflexions en marge de John Skelton: “A Ballad of the Scottyshe Kyng”’, *Moreana* 35 (1972): 63–8

#### *A Replycacion*

- Gillespie, Vincent, ‘Justification by Faith: Skelton’s *Replycacion*’, in *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*, ed. Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 273–311
- Scherb, Victor I., ‘Conception, Flies and Heresy in Skelton’s *Replycacion*’, *Medium Ævum* 62 (1993): 51–60

#### *Against Dundas*

- Allen, Valerie, “‘Scot’ as a Term of Abuse in Skelton’s *Against Dundas*”, *Studia Neophilologica* 59:1 (1987): 19–23

#### *Agaynste a Comely Coystrowne & Dyvers Balletys and Dyties Solacyous*

- Kinsman, Robert S., ‘The Printer and Date of Publication of Skelton’s “Agaynste a Comely Coystrowne” and “Dyuers Balettys”’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 16:2 (1953): 203–10

#### *Agensst Garneshe*

- Carlson, David R., ‘Skelton, Garnesche, and Henry VIII: Revels and Erudition at Court’, *The Review of English Studies* 66:274 (2015): 240–57
- Sale, Helen Stearns, ‘John Skelton and Christopher Garrnesche’, *Modern Language Notes* 43 (1928): 518–23

#### *Collyn Clout*

- Atchity, Kenneth J., ‘Skelton’s *Collyn Clout*: Visions of Perfectibility’, *Philological Quarterly* 52 (1973): 715–27
- Burrow, John A., ‘The Argument of Skelton’s *Collyn Clout*’, *The Chaucer Review* 54 (2016): 409–17
- Greene, Roland, ‘Calling Colin Clout’, *Spenser Studies* 10 (1992): 229–44
- Kinsman, Robert S., ‘Skelton’s *Colyn Cloute*: The Mask of Vox Populi’, in *Essays Critical and Historical Dedicated to Lily B. Campbell* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), 17–23
- , ‘The Voices of Dissonance: Pattern in Skelton’s *Colyn Cloute*’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 26 (1963): 291–313

McClane, Paul E., 'Prince Lucifer and the Fitful "lanternes of lyght": Wolsey and the Bishops in Skelton's "Colyn Cloute"', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 43 (1972): 159–79

*Elynour Rummynge*

Kinsman, Robert S., 'Eleanora Rediviva: Fragments of an Edition of Skelton's Elynour Rummyng, Ca. 1521', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 18:4 (1955): 315–27

Lecky, Kat, "'Come who so wyll": Inclusive Poetics in Skelton's *Elynour Rummyng*', *Exemplaria* 25:1 (2013): 59–78

Newman, Robert D., 'The Visual Nature of Skelton's *The Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng*', *College Literature* 12 (1985): 135–40

Spina, Elaine, 'Skeltonic Meter in *Elynour Rummyng*', *Studies in Philology* 64 (1967): 665–84

Wyrick, Deborah Baker, "'Withinne that develes temple": An Examination of Skelton's "The Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng"', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10 (1980): 239–54

*Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell*

Breen, Dan, 'Laureation and Identity: Rewriting Literary History in John Skelton's *Garland of Laurel*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40:2 (2010): 347–71

Boffey, Julia, "'Withdrawe your Hande": The Lyrics of *The Garland of Laurel* from Manuscript to Print', in *John Skelton and Early Modern Culture: Papers Honoring Robert S. Kinsman*, ed. David R. Carlson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 135–46

Colley, John Scott, 'John Skelton's Ironic Apologia: The Medieval Sciences, Wolsey and the "Garlande of Laurel"', *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 18 (1983): 19–32

Cook, Albert S., 'Skelton's "Garland of Laurel" and Chaucer's "House of Fame"', *The Modern Language Review* 11:1 (1916): 9–14

Gillespie, Vincent, 'Justification by Good Works: Skelton's *The Garland of Laurel*', *Reading Medieval Studies* 7 (1981): 19–31

Gingerich, Owen, and Melvin J. Tucker, 'The Astronomical Dating of Skelton's *Garland of Laurel*', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 22 (1969): 207–20

Lowenstein, David A., 'Skelton's Triumph: *The Garlande of Laurel* and Literary Fame', *Neophilologus* 68 (1984): 611–22

Scattergood, John, 'Skelton's *Garlande of Laurell* and the Chaucerian Tradition', in *Chaucerian Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer*, ed. Ruth Morse, Barry Windeatt and Toshiyuki Takamiya (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 122–38

Tarnoff, Maura, 'Sewing Authorship in John Skelton's *Garlande or Chapelet of Laurell*', *Journal of English Literary History* 75:8 (2008): 415–38

Tucker, M. J., 'The Ladies in Skelton's "Garland of Laurel"', *Renaissance Quarterly* 22:4 (1969): 333–45

Winser, Leigh, "'The Garlande of Laurell": Masque Spectacular', *Criticism* 19 (1977): 51–69

*Magnyfycence*

- Cavanagh, Dermot, 'Skelton's *Magnyfycence* and Tragic Drama', *Medieval English Theatre* 27 (2007 for 2005): 157–75
- Evershed, Elizabeth, 'Meet for Merchants? Some Implications of Situating Skelton's *Magnyfycence* at the Merchant Tailors' Hall', *Medieval English Theatre* 27 (2007 for 2005): 69–85
- Happé, Peter, 'Fancy and Foly: The Drama of Fools in *Magnyfycence*', *Comparative Drama* 27:4 (1993, 1994): 426–52
- Harris, William, O., 'Wolsey and Skelton's *Magnyfycence*: A Re-Evaluation', *Studies in Philology* 57:2 (1960): 99–122
- Kinsman, Robert S., 'Skelton's *Magnyfycence*: The Strategy of the "Olde Sayde Saw"', *Studies in Philology* 63 (1966): 99–125
- McCarthy, Jeanne H., 'Skelton's *Magnificence* and the Monastic Playing Tradition: Implications for the First and Second Blackfriars', in *Thunder at a Playhouse: Essays on Shakespeare and the Early Modern Stage*, ed. Peter Kanelos and Matt Kozusko (Cranbury: Associated University Press, 2010), 153–74
- Scattergood, John, "'Familier and Homely": The Intrusion and Articulation of Vice in Skelton's *Magnyfycence*', *Medieval English Theatre* 27 (2007 for 2005): 34–52
- , 'Skelton's *Magnyfycence* and the Tudor Royal Household', *Medieval English Theatre* 15:1 (1993): 3
- Sikorska, Liliana, 'Writing a New Morality Play: The Court as the World in John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* and John Redford's *Wit and Science*', in *Global Perspectives on Medieval English Literature, Language, and Culture*, ed. Noel Harold Kaylor Jr. and Richard Scott Nokes (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), 21–40
- Spinrad, Phoebe, "'Too Much Liberty": *Measure for Measure* and Skelton's *Magnyfycence*', *Modern Language Quarterly* 60:4 (1999): 431–50
- Winser, Leigh, '*Magnyfycence* and the Characters of "Sottie"', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 12:3 (1981): 85–94
- , 'Skelton's *Magnyfycence*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 23:1 (1970): 14–25

*Phyllyp Sparowe*

- Brownlow, F. W., '*The book of Phyllyp Sparowe* and the Liturgy', *English Literary Renaissance* 9 (1979): 5–20
- Daileader, Celia R., 'When a Sparrow Falls: Women Readers, Male Critics, and John Skelton's *Phyllyp Sparowe*', *Philological Quarterly* 75:4 (1996): 391–409
- King, Bruce, 'Skelton's *Phyllyp Sparowe*', *Revue des Langues Vivantes* 4 (1978): 151–63
- Kinsman, Robert S., 'Phyllyp Sparowe: Titulus', *Studies in Philology* 47:3 (1950): 473–84
- McConchie, R. W., 'Philip Sparrow', *Parergon* 24 (1979): 31–5
- McGuinness, Ilona M., 'John Skelton's *Phyllyp Sparowe* As Satire: A Revaluation', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22:2 (1991): 215–31

- Schibanoff, Susan, 'Taking Jane's Cue: *Phyllyp Sparowe* as a Primer for Women Readers', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 101:5 (1986): 832–47
- Wilson, Janet, "'Philip Sparrow': Skelton and the Sarum Primer', *Parergon* 32 (1982): 19–29
- Speculum Principis*
- Eade, J. C., 'The Saturnian Date of Skelton's *Speculum Principis*', *Notes and Queries* 234 (1989): 165
- Speke Parott*
- Brittan, Simon, 'Skelton's "Speke Parott": Language, Madness and the Role of the Court', *Renaissance Forum: An Electronic Journal of Early Modern Literary and Historical Studies* 4:1 (1999): 1–15
- Brownlow, F. W., "'Speke, Parrot": Skelton's Allegorical Denunciation of Cardinal Wolsey' *Studies in Philology* 65:2 (1968): 124–39
- , 'The Book Compiled by Maister Skelton, Poet Laureate, Called *Speake, Parrot*', *English Literary Renaissance* 1 (1971): 3–26
- Chalker, John, 'The Literary Seriousness of Skelton's *Speke Parrot*', *Neophilologus* 44 (1960): 39–47
- Coiner, Nancy, 'Galathea and the Interplay of Voices in Skelton's *Speke, Parrot*', in *Subjects on the World's Stage: Essays on British Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. David G. Allen and Robert A. White (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 88–115
- Considine, John, 'Pendugum: John Skelton and the Case of the Anachronistic Penguin', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen: Bulletin de La Société Néophilologique / Bulletin of the Modern Language Society* 100:2 (1999): 187–9
- Griffiths, Jane, "'Divers of language": The "Macaronic" Glossing of Skelton's *Speke Parrot*', in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520): Sources and Analysis*, ed. Ad Putter and Judith Jefferson, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe* 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 211–24
- , 'Parrot's Poetics: Fragmentation, Theory, and Practice in Skelton's Writing', in *Handbook of Medieval Literature in English* (online edition), ed. Elainereharne and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Johnston, M. R., 'The Sociology of Middle English Romance: Three Late Medieval Compilers' (PhD Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2007)
- Scattergood, John, "'Let se who dare make up the reste": Fear and the Interpretation of Skelton's *Speke Parott*', in *Enigma and Revelation in Renaissance English Literature: Essays Presented to Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin*, ed. Helen Cooney and Mark S. Sweetnam (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 16–34
- Torti, Anna, 'Reality of Allegory or Allegory of Reality? Skelton's Dilemma in the *Bowge of Courte* and *Speke Parott*', *Textus: English Studies in Italy* 1:1 (1988): 51–80

- Walker, Greg, "“Ordered Confusion?”: The Crisis of Authority in Skelton’s *Speke, Parott*”, *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 10 (1992): 213–28
- Wallace, Nathaniel Owen, ‘The Responsibilities of Madness: John Skelton, “Speke, Parrot”, and Homeopathic Satire’, *Studies in Philology* 82 (1985): 60–80
- The Bowge of Courte*
- Barr, Helen, and Kate Ward-Perkins, ““Spekyng for one’s sustenance”: The Rhetoric of Counsel in *Mum and the Sothsegger*, Skelton’s *Bowge of Courte* and Elyot’s *Pasquil the Playne*”, in *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*, ed. Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 249–72
- Brownlow, F. W., ‘The Date of *The Bowge of Courte* and Skelton’s Authorship of “A Lamentable of Kyng Edward III”’, *English Language Notes* 22 (1984): 12–20
- Carlson, David R., ‘Skelton’s “Garland of Laurel” and Robert Whittinton’s “Lauri Apud Palladem Expostulatio”’, *Review of English Studies* 42 (1991): 417–24
- Cooney, Helen, ‘Skelton’s *Bowge of Court* and the Crisis of Allegory in Late-Medieval England’, in *Nation, Court, and Culture: New Essays on Fifteenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. Helen Cooney (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 153–67
- Crawford, J. M., ‘*The Bowge of Courte* and the Afterlives of Allegory’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41:2 (2011): 369–91
- Dickey, Stephen, ‘Seven Come Eleven: Gambling for the Laurel in *The Bowge of Courte*’, *Yearbook of English Studies* 22 (1992): 238–54
- Evershed, Elizabeth, ‘John Skelton’s Courts, Real and Imagined’, in *Ambition and Anxiety: Courts and Courtly Discourse, c. 700–1600*, ed. Giles E. M. Gaspar and John McKinnell (Durham: Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, Durham University, 2014), 139–63
- Kozikowski, Stanley J., ‘Allegorical Meanings in Skelton’s “The Bowge of Courte”’, *Philological Quarterly* 61:3 (1982): 305–15
- , ‘Lydgate, Machiavelli, and More and Skelton’s *Bowge of Courte*’, *American Notes and Queries* 15 (1977): 66–7
- Larson, Judith S., ‘What is the *Bowge of Courte*?’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 61 (1962): 288–95
- Russell, Stephen J., ‘Skelton’s *Bowge of Court*: A Nominalist Allegory’, *Renaissance Papers* (1980): 1–9
- Sale, Helen Stearns, ‘The Date of Skelton’s *Bowge of Court*’, *Modern Language Notes* 52:8 (1937): 572–4
- Scattergood, John, ‘Insecurity in Skelton’s *Bowge of Courte*’, in *Genres, Themes, and Images in English Literature: From the Fourteenth to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Tubingen: Gunther Narr, 1988), 191–214
- Simpson, James, ‘Killing Authors: Skelton’s Dreadful “Bowge of Courte”’, in *Form and Reform: Reading Across the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Shannon

- Gayk and Kathleen Ann Tonry (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), 180–96
- Torti, Anna, 'Reality of Allegory or Allegory of Reality? Skelton's Dilemma in the *Bowge of Courte* and *Speke Parott*', *Textus: English Studies in Italy* 1:1 (1988): 51–80
- Tucker, Melvin J., 'Setting in Skelton's *Bowge of Courte*: A Speculation', *English Language Notes* 7 (1970): 168–75
- Winser, Leigh, 'The *Bowge of Courte*: Drama Doubling as Dream', *English Literary Renaissance* 6 (1976): 3–39
- Upon the Dolorous Dethe*
- Gustafson, Kevin L., 'Rebellion, Treachery, and Poetic Identity in Skelton's *Dolorous Dethe*', *Neophilologus* 82:4 (1998): 645–59
- Uppon a Deedmans Hed*
- Kinsman, Robert S., 'Skelton's "Uppon a Deedmans Hed": New Light on the Origin of the Skeltonic', *Studies in Philology* 50:2 (1953): 101–9
- Ware the Hauke*
- Burrow, John A., 'John Skelton's *Ware the Hauke*', *The Mediaeval Journal* 3:1 (2013): 127–38
- Scattergood, John, 'Skelton and Traditional Satire: *Ware the Hauke*', *Medium Aevum* 55:2 (1986): 203–16
- Wilson, Janet, 'Skelton's *Ware the Hauke* and the "circumstances of sin"', *Medium Aevum* 59:2 (1989): 243–57
- Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?*
- Kinsman, Robert S., 'The "Buck" and the "Fox" in Skelton's *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?*', *Philological Quarterly* 29 (1952): 61–4

### Reference Works

- Fox, Alistair, and Gregory Waite, eds, *A Concordance to the Complete English Poems of John Skelton* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987)
- Kinsman, Robert S., *John Skelton, Early Tudor Laureate: An Annotated Bibliography, c. 1488–1977* (London: Prior, 1979)
- Kinsman, Robert S., and Theodore Yonge, *John Skelton: Canon and Census*, Renaissance Society of America, Bibliographies and Indexes 4 (Fairhaven, MA: The Monographic Press, 1967)
- Staur, Susan C., 'Recent Studies in Skelton (1970–1988)', *English Literary Renaissance* 20:3 (1990): 505–16