PROJECT MUSE®

Lydgate at Long Melford: Reassessing the *Testament* and “Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum”

Matthew Evan Davis

The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures, Volume 43, Number 1, 2017,
pp. 77-114 (Article)

Published by Penn State University Press

➔ For additional information about this article

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/645843>

LYDGATE AT LONG MELFORD: REASSESSING THE *TESTAMENT* AND “QUIS DABIT MEO CAPITI FONTEM LACRIMARUM” IN THEIR LOCAL CONTEXT

Matthew Evan Davis
McMaster University

ABSTRACT

The extracodical stanzas of John Lydgate's *Testament* and “Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum” in the Clopton chantry chapel of the Great Church of Holy Trinity, Long Melford, not only are two intriguing witnesses differing in presentation and language from the manuscript copies but also can be considered as part of a rhetorical program wherein the Lydgate works serve to connect the Clopton family as the benefactors of the chapel to the fabric of the church and the larger community. With the careful selection of particular Lydgate stanzas and their placement alongside visual objects, the result is a text that is unique to the particular context of Long Melford and which reflects not only Lydgate but the parish community as a whole. For this reason, both context and content have to be considered when presenting these verses, rather than relying simply on the text itself.

KEYWORDS: parish church architecture, literature, John Lydgate, *Testament of John Lydgate*, “Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum”

Located in the small village of Long Melford, twelve miles south of Bury St. Edmunds and four miles north of Sudbury, the Great Church of Holy Trinity still contains many of its medieval architectural elements, including exterior inscriptions requested by the financiers of its fifteenth-century renovation. Most notable among these patrons was John Clopton, who appears to have shouldered the bulk of the expense.¹ In addition to these inscriptions, which generally ask that viewers pray for the soul of the patron or patrons, Clopton's chantry chapel at Long Melford contains a number of painted scrolls containing stanzas from John Lydgate's *Testament* and “Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum” as well as a single partial stanza from his “Balade at the Reverance of Our Lady.”

The stanzas at Long Melford are unique witnesses of the poems. Unlike any other versions, the texts are shaped for presentation in the chapel's architectural space. And—again unlike any other versions—the texts refer to their narrator in the plural rather than the singular. They address not the “I” of the individual reader but the “we” of the entire religious community. Both of these changes in presentation shift the intended audience from the single penitent intending to read and contemplate Lydgate's words as they exist in the codex to the larger community of churchgoers attending Holy Trinity. This creates a discrete audience that can then be examined to better understand how the poem would have been received, interpreted, and redeployed in the service of late fifteenth-century lay piety. As included in the rhetorical program of the church, the poems became part of a general framework of interlocking spiritual debt and responsibility, including inscriptions on the outer wall of the church and the language of wills in the area. In addition, the layout of the stanzas within the chapel radically changes the reading experience. A reader contemplating the text in the codex would be able to focus inwardly on the words. But a reader contemplating the text in the chapel does so as part of a penitential performance. It is impossible to read everything in the chapel without moving throughout the space, kneeling and turning as needed. Because of the multiple changed registers in which the Long Melford stanzas operate, it is not enough to treat the poem as one might a text in a codex. Instead, the changed context and its implications shift our understanding of Lydgate's utilization by local parish communities and the ways in which mid- to late fifteenth-century lay churchgoers would alter works in English to achieve their larger spiritual goals. The poems must be looked at within that shifted contextual framework.

Most work on the poems has not engaged with them in such a holistic frame. Where the scrolls are mentioned in scholarship it is either as a curiosity attached to the architecturally more important Holy Trinity, as in Sir William Parker's *History of Long Melford*, or in the service of a larger argument of which they are an important but ancillary support, as in the work of Anthony Bale, Jennifer Floyd, Gail McMurray Gibson, and Simon Horobin.² The closest thing to the study that this article attempts is the work of David Griffiths in describing the fourth stanza of the “Balade at the Reverance of Our Lady” that appears on the west wall of the chantry chapel and that of J. B. Trapp in examining the verses of the *Testament* and the “Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum.”³ Griffiths does not, however, attempt to examine all of the verses within

their full context—both the physical space they survive in and the religious community that commissioned and contemplated them—and Trapp's discussion of the relationship between the *Testament* and "Quis Dabit" has a number of errors that need to be addressed. This article thus intervenes in the discussion of the utilization of Lydgate in the decades following his death and the ways in which secular works were used in the service of lay piety.

HOLY TRINITY AND JOHN CLOPTON

There are other examples of painted extracodal inscriptions in parish churches, but the Clopton chapel poems are the only extant example to come from the Lydgate corpus.⁴ Moreover, the stanzas at Long Melford originate from poems with a comparatively limited survival rate. While the *Testament* does survive in fourteen manuscript witnesses, the "Quis Dabit" survives in five, and the "Balade" survives only in two. In comparison, the *Fall of Princes* has sixty-four surviving manuscript witnesses, the *Life of our Lady* has fifty, and the *Siege of Thebes* has thirty.

Not only are the stanzas at Long Melford from less common survivals, but they are also excised from the larger originals in order to better fit their context within the church. In all cases that adaptation—most notably in the shift from the singular *I* to the plural *we* in the *Testament* stanzas and the addition of a line to one of its stanzas in order to normalize the meter—changed the underlying meaning. These changes indicate that the poems were not viewed as inviolate, and their unique circumstances of production and display at Holy Trinity eliminate the possibility of unintentional removal as a result of the loss of manuscript leaves over time. Furthermore, despite the respect for Lydgate's poetic talents seen, for example, in his inclusion alongside Chaucer and Gower in Osborn Bokenham's poetry, the original structure and stated narrative function of his works were not considered in reproducing them for the Clopton chantry chapel. Thus, the Lydgate poems at Long Melford provide a unique example of how the poet's work was perceived and altered to fit its new architectural context and moreover show ways in which the text functioned not as the central focus for contemplation but as one of a number of elements intended to reinforce the concerns of the laity as regards the overall sacramental program of the church as a whole.

THE CLOPTON CHANTRY CHAPEL AND LYDGATE'S WORKS

While the *Testament* and “Quis Dabit” are often found together in manuscript witnesses, it is not enough to simply note the connection when dealing with the extracodical stanzas at Long Melford. Instead, the poems have to be considered alongside the inscriptions and architectural elements of the church. Such consideration reveals that in the architectural space they become part of a calculated rhetorical program, containing visual, performative, and textual elements, wherein Lydgate's words are used to request the salvation of not only John Clopton but others who concerned Clopton as well. As Simon Roffey notes, chantry chapels were “far from being primarily individualist or indeed ‘private’ monuments” and instead were an important and integral part of the entire community of worship in the church.⁵ Evidence of such a connection to the larger community and its interests can be seen in the particular choice and position of the *Testament* and “Quis Dabit” stanzas, which in turn connect the Clopton chantry to the church's Lady Chapel, underscore the likelihood that Long Melford was a pilgrimage site, and present the intriguing possibility that the memorial inscriptions also at Long Melford served a similar chantry function.⁶

The plan of the church shows that the Clopton chantry chapel is north of the high altar, with an entrance leading to it from where the Clopton family box was located (Figure 1). There would have been an altar along the eastern wall—one of six in the church including the high altar—and the tomb of John Clopton, which doubled as the Easter sepulcher for the church, was built into the southern wall of the chapel. The space between the tomb and its stone canopy provided an opening through which a viewer could see the high altar. Additionally, a double squint in the western wall between the Clopton family box and the chantry gave those praying in the box a line of sight directly to the altar across Clopton's tomb.

The open upper half of the wooden paneling of the Clopton box could also serve as a squint, and the now-missing rood screen and loft may have had similar openings in them as well.⁸ While the use of the wooden paneling in this way is speculative, it is clear from the remaining openings in the stone walls that viewing, contemplating, and understanding the text of Lydgate's poems in association with the architectural structure of the chapel requires penitents to be actively engaged in acts of penitential devotion—kneeling, turning, and moving throughout the space in ways

FIG. 1 Plan of Holy Trinity, Long Melford. The locations of the Clopton chapel, Clopton chantry, and Lady Chapel are marked.⁷

that are inconsistent with the more restrained actions undertaken while reading a poem in a codex. The lines of sight enforced by these squints required the viewer to kneel in order to see the altar, and the penitent in the Clopton chantry must do so not only to see the altar through the opening created by the tomb but to see the image of Christ and the associated text painted on the underside of the tomb canopy.⁹ The texts are only accessed completely through actions of devotion, and the process of reading, beginning with the central beam of the roof, is associated with the practice of faith through performative ritual.

The chapel roof consists of a central beam running parallel to the long axis of the church, with twenty-two paired crossbeams branching out from the center. “Jhesu Mercy / And Gramercy” is written twice on painted scrolls on each of these altar-side crossbeams but only once on those crossbeams and side facing away from the altar.¹⁰ The central beam’s scrolls are painted with the third portion of the Sarum litany, consisting of those portions between the litany of the saints and the *te rogamus*, laid out so that the set of phrases requesting those things that Christ should protect the speaker from appear on the northern part of the beam and thus are among what the speaker would first notice upon entering the chapel. The southern portion, closer to the altar, contains the set of phrases describing how Christ should protect the speaker. These painted scrolls, the scrolls containing the Lydgate poems, and the repeated phrase “Jhesu Mercy / And Gramercy” are all similar to other decorative panels in the church, now lost, based on a single surviving remnant outside of the Clopton chapel itself—a scroll reading “pro nobis” above the north clerestory. This uniformity of appearance indicates that despite its primary purpose as a chantry for the Clopton family, the chapel was also part of the church’s liturgical agenda beyond the tomb’s use as the Easter sepulcher.

The stanzas from the *Testament* appear on a carved and painted wooden frieze, and the stanzas from the “Quis Dabit” appear on a support beam, or bressummer, that is just below the noncontemporary window in the western wall today (Figure 2). While the *Testament* encompasses the entire roofline of the chantry, the “Quis Dabit” appears to have been intended to be part of a number of works on the western wall, including Latin texts derived from the *ars moriendi* and *contemptus mundi* traditions and the third Lydgate example—the single stanza from the “Balade at the Reverance of Our Lady” that appears under the squint (Figure 3).

FIG. 2 West wall of the Clopton chantry chapel, Holy Trinity, Long Melford. The stanzas from the “*Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum*” run along the edge of the bressummer at the top of the picture, the Latin verses are beneath the bressummer, and the stanza from the “*Balade at the Reverance of Our Lady*” is beneath the squint on the left. Also notice the remnants of wall paintings along the wall to the right of the squint toward the chantry entrance.

FIG. 3 Close-up of the “*Balade at the Reverance of Our Lady*” stanza, Clopton chantry chapel, Holy Trinity, Long Melford.

LYDGATE AT LONG MELFORD

As noted by J. B. Trapp, Gail McMurray Gibson, and David Griffith, the *Testament* and “Quis Dabit” appear together in Harley MS. 2255, the lyric collection made at Bury St. Edmunds and owned by William Curtys.¹² Griffith also remarks that the two works appear together in four of the existing manuscripts. Harley 2255 is named explicitly as one of these four, and another, Harley 2251, is mentioned to have significant connections to the London book trade and “probably acted as ‘stock copies’ for book purchases amongst the same mercantile and legal circles in which Clopton had moved since the 1450’s.”¹³ Similarly, Gibson suggests that the Clopton family could have owned a copy of Lydgate’s devotional poems or that the copy of the lyrics owned by the abbey at Bury St. Edmunds could have served as the copy text for the inscriptions. She also affirms that Lydgate must have been known personally to Clopton, citing the patronage of the abbey by Clopton’s father and the close proximity between the abbot’s retreat at Melford Hall and the Clopton estate at Kentwell Hall.¹⁴ As the two poems are adjacent in four of the six extant witnesses for the “Quis Dabit,” it appears less than coincidental that the two poems appear together at Long Melford.¹⁵

While the chantry chapel mirrors the manuscript witnesses by placing the two poems in relation to each other, the presentation of the *Testament* in Long Melford’s extracodical context also intentionally shifts the underlying meaning of the work in a unique way. In roughly half of the versions of the *Testament* available in the *Digital Index of Middle English Verse* it appears to have been intentionally produced as a fragment, and while it is possible that some of the missing stanzas in the extant manuscripts were lost as a result of damage, title information and scribal practice in the surviving witnesses show that at least some of the fragments had their own poetic life and circulation.¹⁶ However, the Clopton stanzas do not simply excerpt a section or group of sections as the manuscripts do but, rather, are primarily selected from parts III and V of the *Testament*, with some of the concluding stanzas of part I and the final stanza of part II serving as a brief introduction.¹⁷ Nor are the excerpts simply the result of adapting the *Testament* to the space requirements of the Clopton chantry chapel.

The stanza taken from part II, number 56, is changed from rhyme royal (ababbcc) to an eight-line ballade stanza (ababbcbc). This change is

necessary because parts I, III, and V of the *Testament* are in the longer stanzaic form, while parts II and IV are in the shorter form:

Early English Text Society

My wrecched lyf tamenden and correcte
 I me purpose, with support of thi grace,
 Thy deth thy passioun thy + crosse shall me directe,
 Which suffredest deth, Iesu, for our trespase.
 I, wrecche onworthy to lok vpon thy face,
 Thy fete enbracyng, fro which I shaʒl not twynne,
 Mercy requyryng, thus I wyʒl begynne.¹⁸

Clopton Chapel

O[.] wrecchid lif to amende and correcte
 we vs propose *with* support of th[.] grace
 thy deth thy passioun thy cros shall vs directe
 which suffredist deth ihesu for oure trespase
 w[.] wre[.]chis vnw[.]th[. ..] loke [..] thy face
 [.]hy feet enbrasyng [..]o which we shal[...]wynne
 wyll we have here leiserē tyme and sp[.]e
 mercy requyrenge thus wole begynne

The choice to include stanza 56 but alter it to fit the visual appearance of the other stanzas in the chapel indicates that visual, rather than textual, consistency is privileged. Lydgate's choices regarding stanzaic form are as incidental to the piece's context at Long Melford as his choice to use the singular to indicate a personal testament to be read and reflected upon is in opposition to the chapel's inclusive use of the plural. The interpolated line "wyll we have here leiserē tyme and sp[ac]e" ties the living penitent there to contemplate Christ in the physical space of the chapel with the Clopton family, the twelve apostles who likely occupied niches in the southern wall of the chapel below the *Testament* stanzas, and the Virgin Mary, who dominates the poetic output of the chapel's western wall. Rather than contemplation of Christ being an inward, mental action as it is in the codex—imagining the embrace of Christ's feet—here the act of contemplation is tied to a physical location, Long Melford, and specifically to the Clopton chantry chapel. This implication that the act of contemplation is tied to a physical location turns what should be an inward act of contemplation into part of a public performance.

The line's inclusion of the word *here* also underscores a fundamental difference between the codex book as devotional object and the chapel as devotional space. Both patrons of the parish church and owners of such lay devotional objects as books of hours inserted themselves into the physical object through techniques like the inclusion of donor portraits in illustrations or on stained glass,¹⁹ but the codex's devotional space was comparatively private and required penitents to imagine themselves inhabiting sacred space. The physicality of the chapel space, and indeed of the larger church as a whole, as a sanctified structure meant that rather than relying on an imagined sacred space, the penitent actually physically inhabited one while reading the text of the poem. Moreover, the public nature of the parish church meant that while reading the penitent would consider both the inward act of contemplative devotion and the outward act of performing that devotion for the larger world. The poem is not the sole vehicle for contemplation, as it would be in the surviving codex witnesses.

This transformation of inward contemplation from being grounded in the text to being part of a larger program in which the text is only a part is a principle of the alterations to the poem at Long Melford. The altered stanza is the only section of part II present, and the sections used from part I are taken out of order. Stanzas 29 and 30, which ordinarily come after Lydgate's declaration that this is his testament, here come prior to the declaration in stanza 27. Part III has its affective, internally focused stanzas removed, while part IV, directly relating to Lydgate's sins during his youth, his taking of orders, and the circumstances that caused him to write the poem in his old age, is entirely missing. What remains after these excerpitions is a much more generic framework of declarations of Christ's power and requests for his mercy. With the removal of these more affective and personal stanzas, the purpose of parts I–III on the southern, western, and northern walls of the chapel changes. Instead of a poem intended for the private devotion of a reader approaching contemplation using Lydgate's described experience as a guide, the poem in the chapel is a public performance of piety in keeping with the positioning of the text around the corbels of the chapel and the inclusion of action on the part of the penitent when experiencing the verses.

This subsequent shift in tone to a public, outward-facing piety is also reinforced by the shift from the first-person singular to the first-person plural throughout the stanzas as they are presented at Long Melford. The use of *we* instead of *I*, when combined with the removal of the more internally reflective stanzas, presents the possibility that the "we" here could, as Jennfier Floyd notes, refer to the Clopton family in general.²⁰ Coats of

arms still evident on the tomb as well as the descriptions of the chapel as “Mr. Clopton’s little chapel” and John Clopton as “one of [Mr. Clopton’s] ancestors” by Roger Martin in the sixteenth century suggest that this is one way the chapel was seen by the public.²¹ The role of the chantry chapel was not limited to a public representation of the Clopton family in the life of the church, however. Eamon Duffy notes that a chantry was valued at a parish church not only because of the benefits to the deceased who endowed it but also because it increased both the number and variety of masses available to parishioners.²² Moreover, as Roffey rightly states, chantries also “actively promoted inclusivity and communal participation” through visual accessibility via the same networks of squints seen at Holy Trinity.²³ Furthermore, Clopton’s particular consideration of the community beyond his immediate family is underscored by the inscription on the north porch of Holy Trinity, which requests that viewers “pray . . . for þe sowle of Alice Clopton & for John Clopton, and for alle thoo sowlis þat the seyd John is bounde to prey for.” Similar pleas to consider souls that are “bound” can be seen in numerous requests to pray for friends, benefactors, and other nonfamily members alongside their kinsmen in the wills of Clopton’s contemporaries.

Of the 827 items in the register “Baldwyne,” ninety-four specifically request that people consider not only the makers of the wills but those they are “bound” to using the same phrasing that the inscription at Long Melford provides.²⁴ In fact, Clopton’s will goes further, asking that the “ffader” of the priory of Sion have 6s 8d to “remember in xx^{ti} of hys masses my soule soules of my wif my ffader and my moder myn auncestoures and my children and of Sir Johnn Leynham and Dame Margarete hys wiff and for all the soules that the saide Johnn Clopton is bonde or indette to pray for and all *christen* soules.”²⁵ Here Clopton has set up multiple groups that are to be prayed for within two broad categories: direct relations (parents, ancestors, wife and children) and those he is connected to by means other than blood (Sir John and Dame Margaret Lavenham, those he is bound to pray for, and all Christian souls). When combined with the visual evidence of the squint and the increase in opportunity for masses the chantry provided, the documentary evidence of the wills and the inclusion of the above inscription alongside the chantry suggests that *we* in the chantry chapel *Testament* represents that larger community. The performance of piety, connected to the larger community as a network of benefactors and obligations, is thus at the heart of who the chapel’s “we” represents.

The first stanza on the eastern wall also provides a telling indication that the change from singular to plural was a conscious decision on the part

of the artists working at Long Melford, rather than that they were copying from a now-lost exemplar. That wall consists of stanzas from part V, which is Christ's response to the beseechers. Importantly, in the first line of the first stanza on that wall Christ asks the viewer to "lefte up thyn eye an see," which is consistent with the text in the manuscript witnesses. The following line, however, changes the pronoun from the second-person singular to the second-person plural, indicating that the viewer should see "what mortall payne i suffred for youre trespase." This change continues throughout the remainder of the stanzas on the wall. When taken in combination with the shift in number of the other stanzas in the chapel, the external inscriptions, and the similarity of this language to that of Clopton's will, it is clear that the designers of the chapel did not intend the space for the benefit solely of John Clopton, or even of Clopton's family, but of all those Clopton felt spiritually bound and indebted to.

While that first stanza on the eastern wall requests that the viewer "behold" Christ—a statement that almost demands reference to the central events of Christological time—at the Clopton chapel the Christ who speaks does not provide details for the viewer to contemplate. Instead, the reader receives a strangely fixed and timeless account of Christ's suffering. Christ immediately moves from the request that the reader "behold . . . what mortall payne i suffred for your trespase" to the entreaty that the reader "behold myn loue & yeve me your ageyn." Absent is Christ's recounting of the events of the Crucifixion, which takes up stanzas 102–13 in the complete manuscript witnesses. The choice of the Clopton artists to remove these stanzas does not necessarily mean that the reader is intended to ignore the central moment in salvation history, however. The inclusion of stanza 101, with its direct injunctions to behold Christ's wounds, his bloody face, and "therebukes"²⁶ that "myn enemyes that don me so despice" inflict upon him, requires the reader to consider the events of salvation history as another act of performance. Rather than engaging with the textual account of these events, however, the reader of the Long Melford *Testament* knows them from other visual and performative sources available in the church. Most notably, the penitent contemplates Christ's Passion by viewing the "goodly mount" Roger Martin describes, "carved very artificially" (in the archaic sense of being particularly well crafted, rather than false).²⁷ When the missing mount—which could be seen from its position behind the altar through the opening created by John Clopton's tomb—is considered as part of the full experience of the penitent, what appears to be missing is instead a cue to readers to contemplate the visual elements framed by

Clopton's tomb when they first enter the space and kneel to pray. Another intriguing possibility is that the Clopton chapel may have contained a relic, purported to be a fragment of the column on which Christ was scourged. John Clopton willed this relic to his son William, who in turn either gave or loaned it to Holy Trinity. If William's gift was relatively soon after his father's death, it could be that penitents were able to use the relic in their contemplation alongside the other visual and textual cues.

Reminders of Christ's suffering are therefore presented at Long Melford through physical, tangible objects that penitents can see in the chapel and through the tomb opening opposite the text. As such, there is no need to mention the extensive description Lydgate gives of Christ's suffering until the penitent is turned away from the physical objects and reading the text along the northern wall. The Crucifixion itself is represented by the visual signifiers in a much more affective way than Lydgate's words alone could accomplish, but the text serves as a means to cue that contemplation. Depictions of Christ's suffering at Long Melford are mediated thereby through the combination of visual and textual elements in much the same way that access to the high altar is mediated through the series of squints. Clopton's tomb, as the frame through which this occurs, directly connects him to the contemplative act of the penitent at Long Melford; underscores the importance of his requests that people outside of the church remember him, his family, and members of the larger community; and reinforces the chapel's role as a conduit between Christ and the religious life of the parish. Once the penitent has completed this act of contemplation, the remaining stanzas—focusing on Christ's mercy and the remission of sin rather than his suffering—can be taken as a promise of forgiveness for a reader who would have considered them alongside the visual and liturgical elements associated with the chantry altar.

THE CLOPTON "QUIS DABIT"

The Clopton "Quis Dabit" only has six of the nineteen stanzas of the manuscript witnesses, chosen to reinforce Christ's death on the cross as the savior of mankind and the Virgin Mary's role as intercessor. The absent stanzas deal with the Virgin's suffering and the events of the Passion, and their absence removes an important theme found in all of the surviving manuscript witnesses.²⁸ Stanza 4, where the Virgin requests of the "dough-ters of ierusalem" that they "come neer of routhe & helpe me for to wepe,"

is the closest the Long Melford “Quis Dabit” comes to the extensive meditation on the Virgin’s suffering experienced by readers of other witnesses of the text. Instead of the focus on affective meditation and the act of performing piety that Christ’s words on the opposite wall invoke, here the stanzas appear to be about establishing the bona fides of the speaker.

Although badly damaged, the figure to the left of the first “Quis Dabit” stanza on this wall is the Virgin (Figure 4). She lacks the blue cloak commonly associated with her, however. Instead, her cloak appears red underneath her white mantle, which may be in part why Trapp assumes that the figure is “a hooded female penitent, presumably the Magdalen herself.”²⁹

Even ignoring the evidence of the text of the poem, this interpretation is unlikely because the Magdalene is usually seen either with her hair unbound or carrying the alabastrum, in keeping with her role as a symbol of contrition and penance. Indeed, the stained glass now in the windows of the north aisle of Holy Trinity shows a figure with both unbound hair and alabastrum (Figure 5), indicating that the artists and artisans knew of this depiction of Mary Magdalene during the renovation of the church. The figure accompanying the “Quis Dabit” stanzas lacks either. Instead it is more likely that, as Gibson and Floyd indicate, this figure is meant to be the Virgin and exists as a visual adjunct to the textual reminder of her intercessory role in the chantry chapel.³⁰ Additionally, the figure of the Virgin seen in the stained

FIG. 4 Hooded female figure, likely the Virgin, from the Clopton chantry chapel, Holy Trinity, Long Melford.

FIG. 5 The Magdalene, with her unbound hair and alabastrum, from the stained glass currently in the north aisle of the nave of Holy Trinity, Long Melford.

glass Pietà on the northern aisle (Figure 6)—here as absent of outward sign of suffering as she is in the Clopton “Quis Dabit”—wears a red cloak under a white mantle, similar to how she is depicted in the Clopton chantry.

Moreover, the position of the stanzas on the western wall, when considered in relation to the *Testament* stanzas on the surrounding corbels, indicates that their purpose here was not to introduce the Christ who speaks in the stanzas from the *Testament* on the opposite wall. Instead, they are a final reminder to penitents after they have gone through the process of reading the *Testament*. Penitents would have focused on the southern wall upon walking into the room, most likely fixated on the altar in the chapel or the glimpse of the high altar afforded by the opening in Clopton’s tomb. From there they would have been led visually to the hand holding the scroll, signifying the beginning of a text, and proceeded through the western and northern walls before finally settling on the words above the chapel altar, where Christ is the speaker. Only when penitents turned to leave would the

FIG. 6 Pietà from the stained glass along the north aisle of the nave of Holy Trinity, Long Melford, with the Virgin wearing the red cloak seen in the Clopton chantry's Mary image.

"Quis Dabit" stanzas have been immediately noticeable. When combined with the likelihood that the "Balade" had at least four more stanzas in the Clopton chapel alongside the single stanza currently surviving, the western wall appears to be dedicated in part to the Virgin Mary, serving as a means of connecting the Clopton chapel to the larger Lady Chapel attached to the eastern side of the church proper.³¹

Structurally the layout of the Lady Chapel is similar to that of the Holy House at Walsingham, with an interior stone shrine surrounded by an aisle on all four sides.³² As G. H. Cook notes, this arrangement "suggests that it was a relic chapel and . . . the resort of pilgrims."³³ Furthermore, the 1529 inventory of the holdings of Holy Trinity indicates that it contained a cult statue of the Virgin Mary given an enormous amount of offerings in silver, clothing, and jewels.³⁴ Besides the abundant offerings, which likely came from pilgrims, the statue had a "Coat of Crimson Velvet," which would fit the image both in the Clopton chapel and on the stained glass of the north aisle.³⁵

As mentioned, Clopton was directly involved in the “garnysshyng of oure Lady Chapell and of the cloister ther abowte,” providing one hundred marks for the purpose. Much like the north porch of the church proper, the Lady Chapel also has an inscription surrounding it requesting that the viewer “pray . . . for John Clopton and for all his childrin and for all þe soulis that the said Johnn is bounde to pray for.” The added distinction made here—that the viewer is to pray both for his children and for the souls of others whom John Clopton was required to pray for—mirrors his will and reinforces that the “we” indicated by the Clopton chapel’s version of the *Testament* is not solely the Clopton family but a larger web of individuals whom Clopton was spiritually beholden to, up to and including the entire community for whom Holy Trinity was renovated.

The appearance of the “Quis Dabit” on the western wall serves, then, as a reminder to the penitent of the Virgin Mary’s intercessory role and suggests a visit to the Lady Chapel so conveniently placed as a pilgrimage site. When it is combined with the *Testament* stanzas, both poems function together to suggest that readers direct their thoughts not only toward their own salvation but also to the memory of John Clopton and those along with whom he wished to be commemorated—a suggestion that is reinforced by the inscription on the Lady Chapel. Those elements in the poems that would ordinarily assist readers in directing their inward thoughts toward their own sins or the suffering of Christ and the Virgin are removed. Instead, penitents were assisted by visual elements that are now missing—the mount and the statue of the Virgin in the Lady Chapel—in their meditation on Christ’s and the Virgin’s suffering. This associates the penitents’ prayers either directly with Clopton’s tomb, as the mount had to be viewed through the space formed by the open tomb canopy, or indirectly through suggesting that they go to the Lady Chapel, with its external inscription requesting that they remember and pray for Clopton and his associates. Intriguingly, scrollwork panels like those the *Testament* appears on in the Clopton chapel are in the Lady Chapel as well (Figure 7).

There are forty-four panels along the interior side of the four aisles and two groups of thirty-nine and thirty-four surrounding the exterior sides, respectively, with one section of panels in the western wall missing. While the thoroughness with which the panels were scrubbed clean of text precludes any identification of what stanzas might have been there, the layout of the panels indicates three separate poems, and the nature of the chapel almost demands that they be on the subject of the Virgin. Considering Lydgate’s extensive oeuvre regarding her, it does not seem unduly speculative to assume that his poetry was used here as well.

FIG. 7 Example of the paneling in the Lady Chapel of Holy Trinity, Long Melford. The layout, including the vine motif and hand, is similar to that in the Clopton chantry chapel.

Through the placement of the particular Lydgate stanzas at Long Melford in specific architectural contexts, the author's statement that the *Testament* serves as "a trites of surfetes don" to Christ by Lydgate as an individual is subsumed by its inclusion in a textual program extending from the chantry chapel through to the Lady Chapel and dedicated, at least in part, to the memory of John Clopton, his children, and those most intimately connected to him.³⁶ Rather than the personal testament of Lydgate (or, at its broadest, of the individual reader who sees him- or herself in Lydgate's words), the stanzas in this architectural context become a text in stone, paint, and wood, read by the parishioners and pilgrims in the performance of their piety and dedicated to the salvation of the "we" Clopton indicates: Long Melford as a whole.

APPENDIX: LYDGATE AND THE CLOPTON CHANTRY CHAPEL

Because the entire *Testament* and "Quis Dabit" do not appear in the chapel, Trapp does not attempt to transcribe the "Quis Dabit," and some restoration has occurred since Trapp's article, I have included a transcription of the stanzas at Long Melford alongside the MacCracken edition.

The stanzas begin with the hand holding the scroll at the southeastern corner of the chantry in the case of the *Testament* and the image of the Virgin near the tomb in the case of the “*Quis Dabit*.” I have not included the text of the “*Balade*” stanza as that can be found in Griffith’s excellent *Notes and Queries* piece. Images of the panels alongside their transcription, as well as a partial three-dimensional model of the chapel, can be found at www.minorworksoflydgate.net.

The partial damage to some of the lines at Long Melford has caused me to use the following guidelines in my transcription:

1. If the spelling of a word can be determined from what remains, I use that spelling whether or not individual letter forms are too damaged to recognize.
2. Where a word or a line is too damaged to comfortably determine the spelling—for example, if only the bottom portion of a number of minims remains or a number of letters are missing—the letters have been omitted, and the space has been indicated by square brackets: []. In these cases, the number of likely letters has been indicated via a series of dots: [...]. I have included a note regarding what I believe the intended spelling to be when such speculation could be done.
3. When I feel that a spelling is correct but ambiguity remains or peculiarities in the text warrant it, I have included a note explaining my logic in determining the spelling.
4. When more than one note is necessary on a line I include a single note, marked at the end of the line. This single comment will mention everything that needs to be discussed.

CLOPTON

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

*Southern Wall**Early English Text Society Testament*

Now in the name of oure lord
ihesus
of right hool herte & in oure³⁷ best
entent

(29)
Now in the name of my
lord Iesus,
Of right hole herte in all my best
entent,

CLOPTON

oure lyf remembryng froward and
vicious
ay contrarye to the comaundement
of crist ihesu now wyth avisement
the lord beseching [...] mercy
and pete
oure youthe & age that we have
myspent
wyth this woord mercy knelyng on
oure kne

O ihesu mercy wyth support of thyn
grace
for thyn meke passioun remembre
oure compleynt
duryng oure lyf *with* many gret
trespace
by many wrong path where we
haue myswent
we now purpose by grace influent
calle to remembraunce of surfetis
don to the
[...] oure laste testament
wyth ihesu mercy knelyng on oure
kne

And vnder support ihesu of thyn
favoure
or we passe hens this is hooly oure
entent
to make the ihesu to be chief
survioure
of oure laste wyll set in oure
testament
weche of oure self be insufficient

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

My lif remembryng, forward &
vicious,
Ay contrarye to the comaundement
Of Cryst Iesu, now with avisement
The lord besechyng, to haue mercy
and piete,
My youthe, mytn age, hou þat I
haue mysente,
With this word seid knelyng on my
kne.

(30)

O Iesu, mercy! with support of thi
grace,
For thi meke passioun, remember
on my complaynt!
Duryng my lyf, with many gret
trespace,
By many wrong path, where I haue
myswente,
I now purpose, be thy grace influent,
To wryte a trites of surfetes don
to the,
And calle[n] it my last[e] testament,
With Iesu mercy knelyng on my
kne,

(27)

And vndir supporte, Iesu, of thy
fauour
Or I passe hens, this hoolly myn
entent,
To make Iesu to be chief
surveieur
Of my laste wille sette in my
testament
Whiche of myself am Insufficient

CLOPTON

to rekene or counte but mercy and
 pite
 be preferred or thou do iugement
 to vs that calle to the ihesu on
 oure kne

O[.] wrecchid lif to amende and
 correcte
 we vs propose *with* support of thy
 grace
 thy deth thy passioun thy cros shall
 vs directe
 which suffredist deth ihesu for oure
 trespase
 w[.] wrecchis vnworthy to loke on
 thy face
 thy feet enbrasyng fro which we
 shalnot twynne
 wyll we have here leiserẽ tyme and
 space³⁸
 mercy requyrenge thus wole
 begynne

O myghty lord of power myghtyest
 wyth oute whom al force is
 febylnesse
 bounteuos ihesu of goode
 goodlyest
 mercy to *graunte* er thou thy domys
 dresse³⁹
 delayest *rigour* to punnysshe oure
 wikkednesse
 [...]ge[.]g [...]h[...] to [...]
 vengeance

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

To rekene or counte, but mercy &
 piete
 Be preferryd, or thou do Iugement,
 To alle that calle to Iesu on
 ther kne.

(56)
 My wrecched lyf tamenden and
 correcte
 I me purpose, with support of thi
 grace,
 Thy deth thy passioun thy + crosse
 shall me directe,
 Which suffredest deth, Iesu, for our
 trespase.
 I, wrecche onworthy to lok vpon thy
 face,
 Thy fete enbracyng, fro which I
 shałł not twynne,

Mercy requyryng, thus I wyłł
 begynne.

(57)
 O mighty lord, of powere myghtyest!
 Without whom alle force is
 febylnesse,
 Bovnteuos Iesu! of gode
 godlyest
 Mercy thy bedel, or thou thy domes
 dresse,
 Dylayest rigour, to punishe my
 wykednesse,
 Lengest abydyng, lothest to do
 vengeance,

CLOPTON

o blissed ihesu of thy hygh
goodnesse
graunte or we deye shrifte hosyl
and repentance

Though thou be myghty þou art
eke mercyable
to alle folkis that mekely theym
repente
we wrecchis contrarious⁴⁰ and
culpale
to alle outragis redy to assent
but of hool herte and will in oure
entent
of olde and newe all vicious
gouurance
of youthe or age and of tyme mys
spent
graunte orwe deye shrifte hosill
and repentance.

Of oure confessioun receive the
sacrifice
by oure tonge offerid vnto the
that we may seyn in all oure best
guyse
meekly *with* dauyd haue on vs
merce
saue alle oure sores that they not
cankered be
with non olde rust of
disesperance
whiche of hool herte knelynge on
oure kne

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

O blessed Iesu! of thyn high
goodnesse,
Graunt or I deye, shryfte, hosel,
repentaunce.

(58)
Though thou be myghty, thou art
eke mercyable,
To alle folkes that mekely hem
repente;
I a wrecche contagious and
coupable,
To alle outrages redy for tassent,
But of hole herte and wyll in myn
entent,
Of olde and new all vicious
gouernaunce,
Of youthe, of age, and of mystyme
spent.
Graunte or I deye, shryft, hosel,
repentaunce.

(59)
Of my confessioun receyve the
sacryfice
Be my tunge vp offered onto the,
That I may seyn in all my best[e]
guyse
Mekely with Daudid, have mercy
vpon me!
Sa[l]ue alle my sores, that they ne
cankred be,
With noon olde rust of
dysesperaunce;
Which of hole herte crye vpon
my kne

CLOPTON

graunte or we deye shrifte hosell
and repentance

Western Wall

O ihesu [...]
[.....]

[.....]

to fol[...]

lete thy [..... ..] vs right as alyne
with vmbill herte toleve to thyn
plesance
and blissed ihesu or we this lyf
shalfyne
graunte orwe deye shrifte hosell
and repentance

We be [...].ed and moeued of [.....]
[....] souereynly to preyse
[....]

which [....]

[.]

ageyn oure synnys weyed in [.....]
[....] shal [..]

graunte or [.. ..] shrifte hosyll &
repentance

Our fl[...].h oure hope t[.]

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Graunt or I deye, shryfte, hosel,
repentaunce.

(60)

O Iesu! Iesu! here myn orisoun;
Brydel myn outrage vnder thy
discipline;
Fetre sensualite, enlumyne my
resound,
To folowe the traces of spirituall
doctrine;
Lat thi grace lede me as right as lyne
With humble herte, to lyve to thy
plesaunce;
And blyssed Iesu! or I this lyf shal
fine,
Graunt or I deye, shryfte, hosel,
repentaunce.

(63)

I am excited and meved of nature
This name Iesu souereynly to preyse;
Name commended most highly in
scripture,
Which name hath powere dede
men to reyse
To lyf eternall, whos vertu doth so
peyse,
Ageyn my synnys weyed in balaunce
That grace and mercy shal so
counterpeyse,
Graunt or I deye shryfte, hosel,
repentaunce.

(65)

My feyth, myn hope, to the Iesu
doth calle,—

CLOPTON

[..... ..]]

[.] happe that euer
b[.....]

b[.] the fynde

[... ..] vnkynde

whiche for oure sake [...] perced
with alaunce

vnto the herte lefte not be hynde⁴¹
graunte or we deye shrifte hosell &
repentance

There is no [... ..] bo[.]ne

[..... ..]

[.....] of fayre erly late and sone
stable [...] most strong pytous [...]
rightfull

[.....] sinnerys that be in
vertu dull

[..... ..] proude mekenesse to
enhaunce

thy tonne of mercy euere ye

[...] full

graunte or we deye shrifte hosell
and repentaunce.

Sey to oure soules [...] thou art [...]
helthe

heryng this voys after we shal [...]
sue

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Whiche glorious name shall never
out of my mende.

I shall the seke what happe that
euer befall,

Be grace and mercy, in trust I shal
the fynde;

And but I dede, trewly I were
vnkynde,

Which for my sake were perced
with a launce,

Onto the herte, Iesu! left not behynde
Graunt or I deye, shryfte, hosel,
repentaunce.

(66)

Ther is no God, Iesu, but thou
allone;

Souerynest, and eke most mercyfull,
Fayrest of fayre! erly, late and sone,
Stable, and most strong, pious
and rightfull,

Reformyng synneres that ben in
vertu dull,

Dauntynge the proude, mekenesse
to enhaunce,

Thy tunne of mercy is euer a-liche
full;

Graunt or I deye, shryft, hosel,
repentaunce.

(68) **Dic anime mee salus tua ego
sum.**⁵¹

Sey to my soule, Iesu, thou art myn
helthe.

Heryng this voys, after I shal
pursue;

CLOPTON

scoure that place from al gostly
felthe
and vices all from thens
doremewe⁴²
thyn holy gost close in that little
mewe
parte not lyghtly make suche
cheuesaunce
to encrease in vertu and vices to
eschewe
and or we deye [...]e shrift hosell &
[.....]⁴³

[.....]

t[.....]

o[.]he nede

for our synnys to we[.]eyne

and blyssed ihesu of thyn mercy not
disdeyne

thyn *gracious* shoures lete re[... ..
.....]

[.....]

[...]

Northern Wall

Save vs thyn seruantes olord in thyn
mercy

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Skoure that place from all gostly
fylthe,
And vices alle fro thens to
remewe,
Thyn Holy Gost close in that lytel
mewe;
Part not lyghtly, make soche
chevisaunce,
Tencrece in vertu and vices to
eschewe,
And or I deye shryft, hosel,
repentaunce.

(69) ***Illustra faciem tuam super
seruum tuum.***⁵²

Shewe glad thy face, and thy light
doun shede,

The merciful light of thyn eyzen
tweyne

On me thi servaunt which hath so
moch nede

For his synnes to wepe[n] and
compleyne.

And blyssed Iesu! of mercy not
disdeyne

Thi gracious shoures lat reyne in
abundaunce

Vpon myn herte, tadewen every
veyne,

And or I deye shryft, hosel,
repentaunce.

(70) ***Saluum me fac in misericordia
tua domine.***⁵³

Saue me thy *seruaunt*, O lord! in
thy mercy,

CLOPTON

for lak of whiche late vs not be
 confundid
 for [..] oure hope stant
 fynally
 [...] the ihesu is
 groundid,
 for oure [..... ..] ihesu thou were
 woundid
 naked on the roode by mortall gret
 penaunnce
 by whiche the power of satan was
 confundid
 graunte or we deye shrifte hosell
 and repentaunce

With wepyng eyen and contrite
 chiere
 [.....]te vs ihesu and oure compleyn
 conceyue
 [..] vnworthy tofor th[.]
 t[.... ..]⁴⁴
 whiche in oure self[.] no vertu
 aperceyue
 but of thyn *mercy* [..] grace vs
 receyue
 by synfull leuyng brought [.]nto
 owtraunce
 praye we *with* good hope which
 may vs not deceyue
 graunte or we deye shrifte hosell
 and repentaunce

Cryenge to the t[... ..]
 the [.....]

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

For lak of which lat me not be
 confounded,
 For in the, Iesu, myn hope stant
 fynally,
 And all my trust in the Iesu is
 grounded,
 For my synnes thynke, Iesu, thou
 were wounded,
 Naked on the rode be mortall gret
 penaunce,
 Be which the power of Sathan was
 confounded,
 Graunt or I deye shryfte, hosel,
 repentaunce.

(74)

With wepyng eyen and contrite
 chere,
 Accepte me, Iesu, and my
compleyn conceive,
 As most onworthy tappere at thyn
 autere,
 Which in my-self no vertu
 apparceyve,
 But yf thy *mercy* be grace me
 receyve,
 Be sinful leuyng brought onto
 outraunce,
 Pray with good hope, which may
 not disseyve,
 Graunt or I deye shryfte, hosel,
 repentaunce.

(75)

Creyeng to the, that deydest on the
 rode,

CLOPTON

which *with* thyn blood werē s[.....]
 and made [....]
 and on sherthursday gaf vs to [...]
 foode
 Thyn blisshed body ihesu in forme
 of breed
 to vs most synfull graunte or we
 be ded
 to [.....]y f[.]er[.....]

 that wyth sharp thorne werē crowne
 on t[.] hed
 or we passe hens shrifte hosell and
 repentaunce

And yit on request in especiall
 graunte vs ihesu whill we be here
 alyue
 euyre to haue enprynted in oure
 memoriall
 the remembraunce of thyn
 woundes fyue
 nayles *with* the spere that dyd thyn
 herte ryue
 t[.]] of thorn which was no smal
 penaunce
 lang[....]s duely to shriue

 the holy vncion shrifte hosell and
 repentaunce

Alle the tok[...s] of thyn passioun
 we praye⁴⁵ the ihesu grave hem in
 oure memorie

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Which with thy blood were steyned
 & made reed,
 And on Sherthursday gaf vs to
 our fode
 Thi blessed body, Iesu, in forme of
 brede,
 To me most synfull graunt or I
 be ded,
 To cleyme be *mercy* for myn
 enheritaunce,
 That with sharp thorne were
 crownd on þi hed,
 Or I passe hens shryfte, hosel, and
 repentaunce.

(76)
 And one request in especiall,
 Graunt me, Iesu, whil I am here
 a-lyve,
 Euere to haue prented in my
 memoriall,
 The remembraunce of thy woundes
 five,
 Nayles with the spere that dyd thyn
 herte ryve,
 Thy crowne of thorne, which was
 no small penaunce,
 Language and tunge, me dewly for
 to shryve,
 The holy vnccion, shryft, hosel,
 repentaunce.

(77)
 Alle the toknes of thy passioun,
 I prey the, Iesu, grave hem in my
 memorye

CLOPTON

onely marked myd centre of oure
resoun
on calverie thyn tryumphal [.....]
man to restore to thyn eternall
g[.....]
by mediacoun of thyn meke
sufferauns⁴⁶
out of the exile vnsure and
transitorie
whan we hens passe shrift hosell
and repentaunce

Of mercy requyrenge now in tyme
of oure myende the myd poynte
most profounde
this woord ihesu our fyue wittes to
enlumyne
in lenghte and brede lyk alarge
wounde
alle idill thoughtis a voyde and
confounde
thyn cros thyn scorges thyn
garnemetes cast at chaunce
the roop the peler to wheche thou
were bounde
graunte or we deye shrifte hosell
and repentaunce

Of this prayere mekely we make
an ende
vnder thyn mercyfull supportacioun
o gracious ihesu graunte where euer
we wende
to haue memorie vp on thyn
passioun

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Dewly mark myd Centre of my
resound,
On Calvery thy triumphall victorie
Man to restore to thyn eternall
glorie
Be meditacioun of thi meke
sufferaunce,
Out of this exile, vnseur and
transitorye,
And whan I passe shryfte, hosel,
repentaunce,

(78)

Of thy mercy requyryng the to myne
Of my mende the mydpoynt most
profounde,
This word Iesu my .v. wittes
tenlumyne,
In length & brede like a large
wounde,
Alle ydel thoughtes tavoyde hem
and confounde,
Thi cros, thy skorges, thy
garnement cast at chaunce,
The rope, the peler to which thoue
were bounde,
Graunt or I deye, shryft, hosel,
repentaunce.

(79)

Of this prayere mekely I make an
ende,
Vnder thy mercyfull supportacioun,
O gracious Iesu, graunt where-
euer I wende,
To haue memorie vpon thi
passioun,

CLOPTON

testymonyall of oure redemcioun
[.]⁴⁷

[.... ..]

[.....]

Eastern Wall

Behold o man lefte up thyn eye
an see⁴⁸
what mortall payne i suffred for
your trespase
with pitous voys i crye and seye
to the
behold myn woundes behold myn
bloody face
behold therebukes þat doth me so
manace
behold myn [.....]es that don me so
despice
And how that i to reforme [...] to
grace
was like alambe offerid [...] sacrifice

Behold myn loue & yeue me your
ageyn
be hold i deied your ranssum for
to paye
se how myn herte open b[....] and
pleyn
your gostly enemyes only to affraye
a hardere batayle no man myght
[.....]
of alle tryumphes the grettest high
[.....]
wherfor ye men no lenger [...]e

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

Testimonyal of my redempcioun,
In my testament set for
allegeaunce,
This clause last of my peticioun,
Graunt or I deye shryft, hosel,
repentaunce!

(101)

Beholde, o man! lyft vp thyn eye,
and see
What mortall payne I suffer for thi
trespace,
With piteous voys I crye, and sey
to the,
Beholde my woundes, behold my
bloody face,
Beholde the rebukes that do me so
manace,
Beholde my enemyes that do me so
despice,
And how that I to reforme the to
grace,
Was like a lambe offred in sacryfice.

(114)

Behold my loue, and gyf me thyn
ageyn,
Behold, I deyde thy raunsom for to
paye,
Se howe myn herte is open brode
and pleyn,
Thy gostly enemyes onely to affraye,
An hardere batayle no man might
assaye,
Of all tryumphes the grettest hye
empryse,
Wher-for, O man! no longer to
dismaye,

CLOPTON

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

i gaf myn blood for you in sacrifice

I gaf for the my blood in sacryfice.

(115)

Turne hom a geyn youre synnys ye
for sake,
be hold and se if ought beleft
behynde
how i to *mercy* am redy you to take,
gyue [..] hertes and beth no more
vnkynde
your^e loue & myn to gedir doth
hem bynde
and lete hem neuere parte in no
wyse
whan ye were lost yo[.] s[....]s a [...]s
tofynde
myn blod i offerid for you [...]s
sacrifice

Turne home ageyn, thy synne do
forsake,
Behold and se yf ought be left
behynde,
How I to *mercy* am redy the to take,
Gyf me thyn herte and be no more
vnkynde;
Thy loue and myn, togedyr do hem
bynde,
And late hem neuer parte in no
wyse,
Whan thou were lost, thy sowle
ageyn to fynde
My blod I offred for the in
sacryfice.

(116)

Enprynte theise thyng in youre
inward thought
and graue hem depe in youre
remembraunce
thynke on theym wel & forgete
theym nought
al this i suffred to don you
allegeaunce
and with myn seyntis toyeve you
sufficiaunce
[.] the hevenly courte for you i did
deuyse
a place eternal a place of all
pleasuaunce
for which myn blood i offerid gaffid
in sacrifice⁴⁹

Emprente thes thynges in thyn
inward thought,
And graue hem depe in thy
remembraunce,
Thynke on hem [wel], and forget
hem nowght,
Al this I suffred to do the
allegeaunce,
And with my seyntes to yeve the
suffisaunce,
In the hevenly court for the I do
devyse
A place eternall, a place of all
pleasuaunce,
For which my blood I gaf in
sacryfice.

CLOPTON

And [...] myn [...] to put at
a preff
t[.]

[.....]

w[...] had so [.....]

w[...] he not frely wyth me to
paradys
haue this *in* mynde this is myn
guyse
all repentaunt to bryng theym
toblys
for whom my blood i gaf in
sacrifice

[.....d youre heritage

haste on youre weye and beth of
right [...] cheere
[.] eche day onward on youre
pylgrymage
[.....] how short tyme ye shal
a[..... . . .]
[.....]⁵⁰

non erthely paleys [.....]

cometh on myn frendes myn [.....]
most entyere
for you i offerd myn blood in
sacrifice

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

(117)
And more my *mercy* to putte att a
preef,
To euery synnere that non ne shal
it mysse,
Remembre how I gaf *mercy* to the
theef,
Which hadde so longe trespaced
and doon amys;
Went he not freely with me to
paradise?
Have this in mende, how it is my
guyse
All repentaunt to bring hem to my
blysse,
For whom my blood I gaf in
sacrifice.

(118)
Tarye no lenger toward thyn
heritage,
Hast on thy weye and be of right
good chere,
Go eche day onward on thy
pylgrymage,
Thynke howe short tyme thou hast
abyden here;
Thy place is bygged aboute the
sterres clere,
Noon erthly palys wrought in so
statly wyse,
Kome on my frend, my brother
most entere!
For the I offered my blood in
sacrifice!

"Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum"

Unlike the stanzas from the *Testament*, there are very few letter forms on these panels that are not in some way damaged. My general practice in transcribing this is similar to that used for the *Testament*: where spelling can be determined from the remaining letter forms I have done so, referring to the other manuscript witnesses or practice elsewhere in the chapel when necessary. Otherwise I have included only those letters whose form I could be sure of and left the rest as gaps, indicated by dots following either the number of letters on the panel or, in those cases where the damage was so extensive that nothing remains, the likely layout of the letters based on context. Notes will be used here when the damage was extensive enough that my reasoning for the spelling chosen should be explained.

CLOPTON

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

*Early English Text Society "Quis
Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem
Lacrimarum"*

[.]ke	(8)
to [..] the lord [..]e	O peple onkynde! why wil ye noon heed take
meke as alambe thus offerid for your ϵ sake	To se the lord of helle, erthe, and hevene,
to sle þe dragoun with his hedes seuene	Meek as a lamb, thus offred for your sake,
dauntyng the power of his infernall leuene	To sle the dragoun <i>with</i> his hedys sevene,
out of his thraldom to make you goo free	Dauntyng the power of his Infernal leveue,
[....]o w[....]s than [...] man kan ⁵⁴ neueue	Out of his thraldam to make yow go ffre,
[....] atree	<i>With</i> many mo wowndys than any man can nevene
	Whan he at Calvary was naylled to a tre?

CLOPTON

O alle ye [.....]s of ierusalem
 haue [...] com[.....]
 not like the glad[..... ..] h[..... ..]
 leem
 come neere of routhe & helpe me
 for to [...]
 a swerde of deth [... ..]gh [... ..]
 crepe
 i fele it well of [.....]y p[...]
 [..... ..] deth swownyng [. .]o
 slepe
 to see myn [....]e

For mannys love he f[.]ught [.]
 batail
 with his seuene heed^es he outrayed
 the dragon
 lyke myghty sampsoun wythoute
 plate or maile
 [..] his stronge fight he strangled
 the lyoun
 this was myn sone mankyndes
 champyoun⁵⁵
 th[.]rgh his [.... ..] magnanymyte
 [..] & bysshop [.... ..]
 oblacioun
 vpon þe high [.....] of the
 roode tre

Thus deth [....]
 mank[.]des quarell made [.....]

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

(4)
 O alle ye doughtren of Ierusalem,
 Haue som compassioun of my
 sihes deepe,
 Nat lyk the gladnesse wich I hadde
 in Bedleem,
 Kom neer of routhe and helpe me
 for to wepe,
 A swerd of deth doth thoruh myn
 herte crepe,
 I ffele it ffull well of modyrly pyte.
 Craunpisshe*d* with deth swownyng
 I do slepe,
 To se my sone thus naylled to a tre.

(14)
 For manhis love he faught a gret
 batayll,
 With his sevene hedys he outrayed
 the dragoun,
 Lyk myhty Sampson with-out*e*
 plate or mayll,
 In his strong ffyght he strangeled
 the lyoun,
 Thus was my sone mankyndys
 Champyoun,
 Thorugh his most myghty
 magnanymyte
 As kyng and bysshop made his
 oblacyoun
 Vpon the hih auhter of the
 Roode tre,

(17)
 Thus deth with deth was outraied
 and brought lowe,
 Mankyndys quarrel maad
 vycorious,

CLOPTON

for thanm leuyathan [... ..]
]
 [...] hys tryumphes most
 syngulere glorious
 myn sone had foughthe *with* his
 b[...] pre[.]ious
 conquerid þe [.....] for al his
 feel [...]st
 and draue hym h[. .] his infernall
 hous
 whan firste myn sone was nayled
 to atre

Lete [.....] [...] hys [.....] take [.....]⁵⁶

[...] euery w[.....] world alyue

come neer to me to [...] his
 woundes b[.....]
 hys [...] his deth his ky[.....]
 y[.]
 to see the mysteries of his [.....]
 fyue
 as bawme & triacle of most [.....]

cleerly] fynde socour [...]e

d[... ..]

Truste in his [.....]

and vmbuly knele [.]a[.]

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

For thane leviathan was bounde
 and over-throwe,
 Whan *with* his tryumphes most
 synguler glorious,
 My sone had faught *with* his blood
 precious,
 Conqueryd the dragoun for al his
 ffel pouste,
 And dryue hym home to his
 Infernall hous,
 Whan first my sone was naylled
 to a tre.

(18)

Let euery man in his mater take
 heede,

And euery woman in this world
 a-lyve

Come ner to me to seen his woundys
 bleede,

His love, his deth, his kyndenesse
 to descryve,

To se the mysteryes of his woundys
 ffyve,

As bawme and tryacle of most
 souereynthe

Cleerly dystyllyng to fynde socour
 blyve,

Down fro my sone [I]nayllyd to a tre.

(19)

Trust in his mercy and I wyl go
 be tween,

And humbly knele be forh hys
 fface,

CLOPTON

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

f[.] al[..... ..]

For almankynde be medyatrix and
mene,

[.]

Of sinful folk to releve the trespase,

[.... ..]

That he *with* vengauce shal them
nat manace,lyke there demerites to shewe his
cruelteLyk ther dysmeritees to shewe his
cruelte,but shewe to them his mercy and
his [....]But shewe to them his mercy and
his grace,[.... ..] there loue⁵⁷That for ther love was naylled to
a tre.

NOTES

Color Versions of figures 2–7 are available online at http://www.minorworksoflydgate.net/Articles/JMRC_43_1.html#fig2. The figures can also be viewed in color in the online version of this article through JSTOR or Project Muse.

Images of the panels referenced in this article can be found at http://www.minorworksoflydgate.net/Testament/Clopton/sw_test_1.html and http://www.minorworksoflydgate.net/Quis_Dabit/Clopton/ww_qd_1.html. Also, a partial three-dimensional model of the chapel can be found here: http://www.minorworksoflydgate.net/Model/three/examples/chantry_chapel.html.

1. Will of John Clopton, PROB 11/11/142–44, National Archives, London; will of Robert Sparrow, IC500/2/10, f., Sudbury Record Office, Sudbury, U.K. Clopton's will may also be seen in David P. Dymond and Clive Paine's *Five Centuries of an English Parish Church: 'The State of Melford Church,' Suffolk* (Cambridge: EAH Press, 2012).

2. William Parker, *The History of Long Melford* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1873); Anthony Bale, "From Translator to Laureate: Imagining the Medieval Author," *Literature Compass* 5, no. 5 (2008): 918–34; Jennifer Floyd, "Lydgate's Architectural Verses" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2008); Gail McMurray Gibson, "Long Melford Church, Suffolk: Some Suggestions for the Interdisciplinary Study of English Medieval Drama and the Visual Arts," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 21 (1978): 105–15; Gail McMurray Gibson, "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the N-Town Cycle," *Speculum* 56 (1981): 56–90; Gail McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Simon Horobin, "Politics, Patronage, and Piety in the Work of Osbern Bokenham," *Speculum* 82, no. 4 (2007): 932–49.

3. David Griffith, "A Newly Identified Verse Item by John Lydgate at Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, Suffolk," *Notes and Queries* 58, no. 3 (September 2011): 364–67; J. B. Trapp, "Verses by Lydgate at Long Melford," *Review of English Studies*, N.S., 6, no. 21 (1955): 1–11.

4. Lydgate wrote his *Legend of St. George* for public display at the armorer's guild of London, but these verses do not survive as painted or textile inscriptions. They do survive in four manuscript witnesses. For more information, see DIMEV 4108, *Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, accessed April 26, 2014, <http://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=4108>; and Jennifer Floyd, "St. George and the 'Steyned Halle': Lydgate's Verse for the London Armourers," in *Lydgate Matters: Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 139–64.

5. Simon Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, Vol. XXXIV (Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell, 2007), 6.

6. Lady Chapels were altars built east of the high altar as a projection of the main building in large churches and cathedrals. They are dedicated to the Virgin. In certain cases, such as at Ely Cathedral, they are separate from the church proper. The Lady Chapel at Long Melford was originally such a separate building.

7. Dymond and Paine, *Five Centuries of an English Parish Church*, 3.

8. The current screens for both the Clopton and Martyn chapels were restored in the nineteenth century but incorporate and are modeled on the existing medieval originals (themselves much repaired). In 1858 remnants of the rood screen, with solid panels and painted like the Clopton chantry chapel in red, green, and white, were discovered during renovations. See Parker, *History of Long Melford*, 74–75.

9. Floyd, "Lydgate's Architectural Verses," 48. Also see Roffey, *Medieval Chantry Chapel*, chap. 2, for a description of the ways in which the architectural layout of the parish church both limited visual access to the altar and more tightly bound the members of a parish community.

10. "Mercy, Jesus, and great thanks" (my translation).

11. Griffith, "Newly Identified Verse Item by John Lydgate at Holy Trinity Church," 365. Griffith rightly notes that there are at least four other scrolls visible on the western wall of the chapel, but their contents are largely unreadable.

12. Trapp, "Verses by Lydgate at Long Melford," 2. Confusingly, as has been noted by Gibson in her "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the N-Town Cycle," Trapp suggests that the "Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum" is actually a poem about Mary Magdalene. This error has been continued in some current scholarship that refers to the Clopton chapel—see Bale, "From Translator to Laureate," 930; and Horobin, "Politics, Patronage, and Piety in the Work of Osbern Bokenham," 944.

13. Griffith, "Newly Identified Verse Item by John Lydgate at Holy Trinity Church," 367.

14. Gibson, *Theater of Devotion*, 87.

15. This cannot be equally said for the "Balade," which survives in only two witnesses alongside the verse at Long Melford. Neither one of these witnesses contains the *Testament* or "Quis Dabit," so it is likely either that more than one source for the poems at Long Melford was used or that they came from a single source that no longer survives.

16. DIMEV 3937, *Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, accessed August 26, 2014, <http://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=3937>.

17. The only other witness missing stanzas that does not excerpt entire sections—San Marino, Huntington Library, Hm 140—has a missing leaf. If that leaf is considered, Hm 140 probably contained all of part I at the time of its composition, bringing it in line with the other manuscript witnesses.

18. John Lydgate, *The Testament of Dan John Lydgate*, in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, Early English Text Society, no. 107 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 329–62, at 345, ll. 416–22.

19. Indeed, such donor portraits, including one of Clopton, can be seen today in the north aisle of Holy Trinity, Long Melford.

20. Floyd, "Lydgate's Architectural Verses," 118–27.

21. Roger Martin, "The State of Melford Church and Our Ladies Chappel at the East End, as I Did Know It," COL/8/3/3, Norwich Record Office, Norwich, U.K. Also in Dymond and Paine, *Five Centuries of an English Parish Church*, 61.

22. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 370.

23. Roffey, *Medieval Chantry Chapel*, 6.

24. Will of Robert Sparrow, IC500/2/10.

25. Will of John Clopton, PROB 11/11/142–44.

26. "The rebukes," here run together.

27. Martin, "State of Melford Church and Our Ladies Chappel at the East End." Also in Dymond and Paine, *Five Centuries of an English Parish Church*, 63.

28. Unlike the case of the *Testament*, there is not the same intentional fragmentation of the "Quis Dabit" among the surviving witnesses. See DIMEV 6561, *Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, accessed August 26, 2014, <http://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=6561>, for the available sources. Also note that the digital index description misreads what Trapp is saying about the text and the reading of the portions of stanza V of the *Testament*, suggesting that they are the text of the "Quis Dabit." The correct stanzas as they appear at Long Melford are in the appendix.

29. Trapp, "Verses by Lydgate at Long Melford," 4. Another possibility for Trapp's erroneous connection between the Long Melford "Quis Dabit" and Mary Magdalene may have been the *Lamentation of Mary Magdalene* printed by Thomas Godfrey in 1532 and recorded by Charles Edward Tame in *Our Lady's Lament, and the Lamentation of Saint Mary Magdalene* (London: Washbourne, 1871). If Trapp misunderstood which of the two poems was "Our Lady's Lament," it would explain why the misattribution of the Clopton verses occurred despite his correct identification of the verses on the wall at Long Melford ("Verses by Lydgate at Long Melford," 5). Since the title of the text in MacCracken does not directly reference either the Virgin or Mary Magdalene and the latter is more closely associated with the act of weeping in association with Christ, Trapp's assumption would seem validated on quick reference to the title in MacCracken. This assumption would have been further underscored via the image of the Virgin, which Trapp takes for the Magdalene.

30. Gibson, "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the N-Town Cycle," 81 n. 145; Floyd, "Lydgate's Architectural Verses," 53.

31. Interestingly, the Clopton chantry chapel served as the Lady Chapel for the church prior to the fifteenth-century renovations.

32. Clopton refers to the aisle and the shrine as two separate items in his will and refers to the former as a cloister. Considering the function of the shrine as a pilgrimage site, a cloister both provides a means to keep pilgrims moving throughout the space and evokes monastic cloisters, itself interesting because Clopton was a lay brother at Sion, Hounslow, the Franciscan minorities in London, Sudbury, Clare, and Babwell, which are all remembered in his will. A plan of Walsingham, including the Holy House, can be seen in J. C. Dickinson's *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956). My thanks go to James Knowles for pointing out the similarity in layout between the Lady Chapel and Walsingham.

33. G. H. Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church* (London: Phoenix House, 1954), 121.

34. List of Church Goods, 1529, COL 3/8/5, 5–6, Norwich Record Office, Norwich, U.K.

35. Parker, *History of Long Melford*, 78–79, 81.

36. Lydgate, *Testament*, 238.

37. This rendering as "oure" is a linguistic outlier for the area based on the electronic *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* linguistic profiles for "oure," "our," and "oure."

38. This line is absent from any of the existing manuscript witnesses. It was likely added in order for this verse to match the rhyme scheme of the other stanzas.

39. The first portion of the line differs from the Early English Text Society edition, in a reading that is unique to Long Melford.

40. This reading is unique to Long Melford.

41. "Ihesu" is missing, an omission that is unique to Long Melford.

42. While the manuscript witnesses place a space between "do" and "remewe," the version of *r* following the *o* at Long Melford indicates that the scribes rendered this as a single word.

43. Most other witnesses follow the Early English Text Society edition, but Cambridge, Cambridge Library Trinity R.3.19 renders the line similarly: "Graunt or I dy shryft howslyll & repentaunce."

44. Most other manuscript witnesses as well as Pynson's 1520 print edition have "tappeare" and variations thereof in this line. However, Trinity R.3.19 has "to apere tofore." The Clopton verses omit "apere," unless it is in the missing text of the panel.

45. While the third letter of the second word is damaged, the straight rather than diagonal bow indicates an *a* rather than an *e* here.

46. The scribes/artists here deviate from their practice elsewhere in the chapel of pairing the spellings of rhyming words.

47. The remaining lines are missing, although there is some indication on the sixth line that there was text there at one point.

48. The artists neglected to change the second-person singular "thyn" to the second-person plural "youre" seen elsewhere on the wall.

49. The addition of the past participle "gaffid" at this line is unique to Long Melford.

50. This line is entirely missing due to damage.

51. "Say to my soul, you are my salvation" (my translation). This verse and the two following are all glossed with Latin citations from the Psalms, which are translated in the first lines of the stanzas. They are part of a five-stanza sequence treated in this manner in Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud 683; London, British Library Harley 218; and London, British Library Harley 2255 but not in the other extant sources. This line is from Psalm 34:3.

52. "Make clear your presence upon your servant" (my translation). From Psalms 30:17.

53. "Save me in your mercy, Lord" (my translation). From Psalms 30:17.

54. The remnants of the ascender with split finishing stroke here suggest that the missing letter is a *k* rather than the expected *c*.

55. "This" rather than "thus" is unique to the Clopton chapel and an interesting distinction considering the location of the verse, with the high altar and mount visible to the left of the penitents depending on where they stood in the room.

56. It appears that the fourth word began with *b* or *o* rather than the *i* of *in* based on the remnants of a rounded bottom and the bottom of a minim visible on the panel, but with the significant damage to the line, determining which word the scribes intended cannot be done.

57. The line is largely missing as the wood itself has been removed and repaired, likely when the shields nailed to the wood throughout were removed. I have only supplied those words within the gap that correspond to the topmost part of the minims still remaining, and the letter forms are determined via reference to the manuscript witnesses and the ascenders and top portions of the letters that remain.