

University of California
Southern Regional
Library Facility



THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

A

0000462853

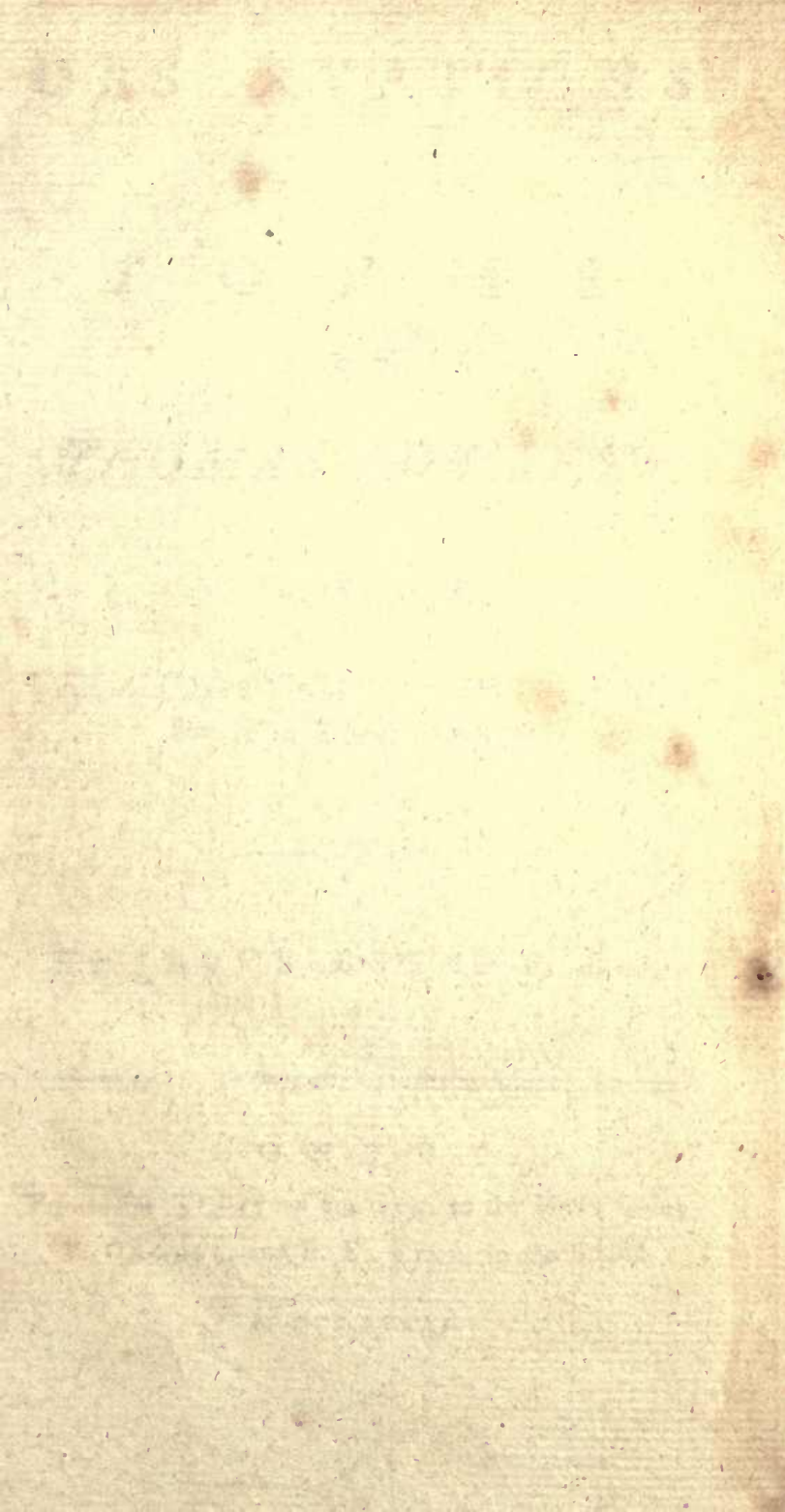


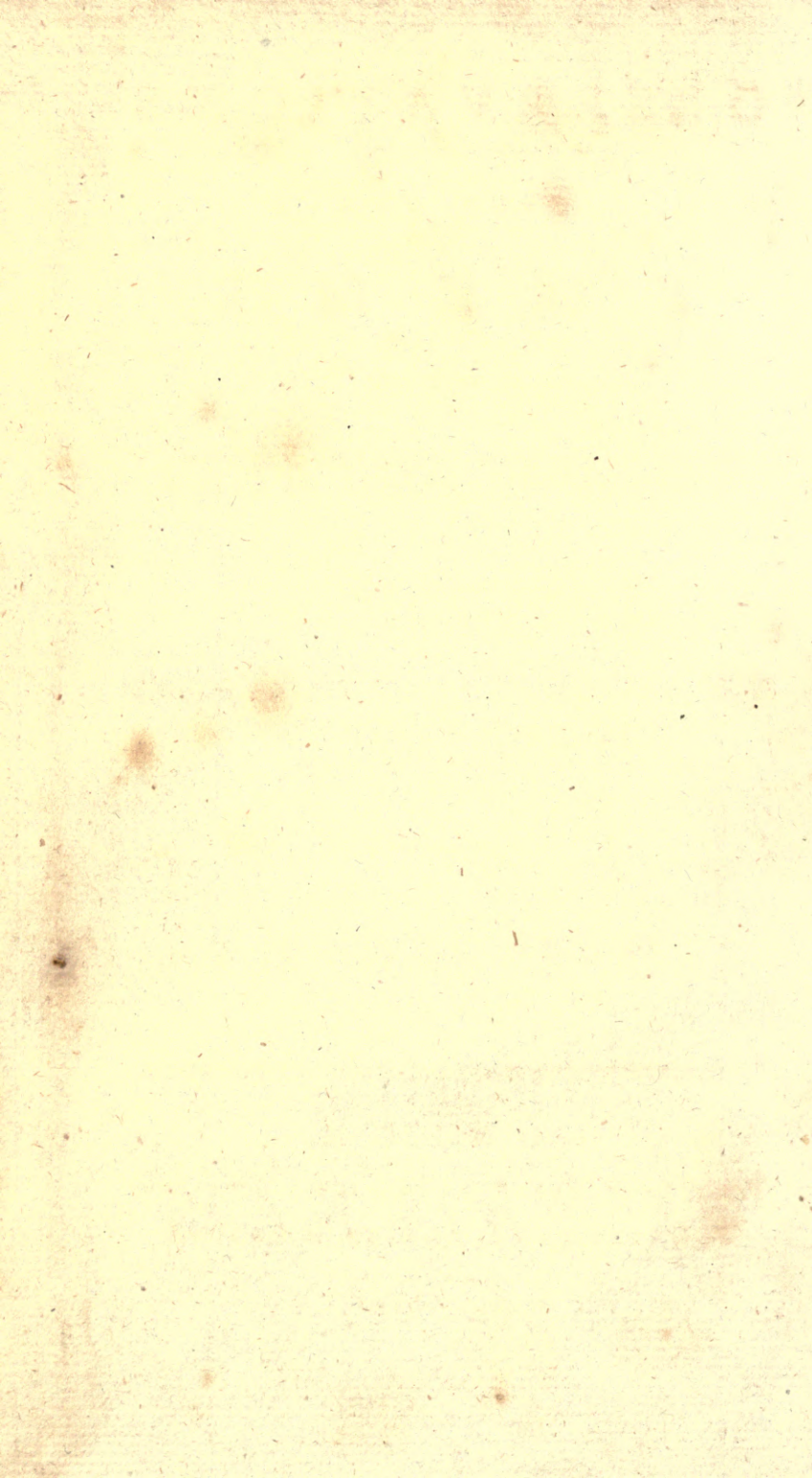
UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY











OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

POEMS

OF

THOMAS ROWLEY;

IN WHICH

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THOSE POEMS
IS ASCERTAINED.

BY JACOB BRYANT, Esq.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. PAYNE and SON, at the Mews Gate;
T. CADELL, and P. ELMSLY, in the Strand.

M,DCC,LXXXI;

0 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

T H E

P R E F A C E.

PR
3344
B840
v.1

I Little imagined, when I undertook the present work, that it would be carried to the length, to which I see it extended. This to me is matter of some concern; as the subject, from its nature, may appear to many very tedious, and unentertaining. It was my original purpose not to engage in the external evidence, with which I have since found the history of the Poems to be amply supported; but to rest my proofs intirely upon the internal. The encouragement of some very excellent friends, joined to their kind importunities, led me at last to engage in this new investigation. Induced by the lights, which they held out to me, I applied at the fountain head; and obtained my intelligence from those, through whom only it could be satisfactorily derived. This was from the mother, the sister, and the principal friends and acquaintance of the young man, through whose hands the Poems have been transmitted to us.

The great point in view has been, to prove the originality and antiquity of the Poems in question. The evidence in their favour is manifold; and if I am not greatly deceived, affords many convincing proofs of their genuine antiquity: also of the person,

person, by whom they were composed. I flatter myself, that this evidence will appear equally convincing to the Reader. It was my intention to have given an Historical Glossary to many of the most uncommon and obsolete terms; and I had carried it on to no small amount: but the extent of my work would not permit me to compleat my purpose. Indeed it would have been in a manner unnecessary: as this omission on my side, and, I trust, many others, will be made up to the Public by a more able hand:

ERRATA. PART FIRST.

Page	46, l. 17,	for	shemrynge	—	—	read	drieric
	50, <i>Notes</i> ,	—	Wigoniens	—	—	—	Wigoniens.
	51, l. 9,	—	hunc	—	—	—	hanc
	62, l. 9,	—	they twine	—	—	—	he twines
	74, l. 2,	—	945	—	—	—	345
	114, l. 8,	—	should find	—	—	—	thou'lt find
	117, l. 7,	—	Wharton	—	—	—	Warton; <i>passim</i>
	123, l. 20,	—	Guilliama Neubrigeus	—	—	—	Guillielm Neubrigens
	124, l. 12,	—	run	—	—	—	ran
	131, l. 14,	—	others	—	—	—	other
	190, l. 21,	—	interca	—	—	—	interea
	194, l. 24,	—	Celdmonde	—	—	—	Celmonde
	202, l. 10,	—	sebillam	—	—	—	Sebillam
	203, <i>Note</i> ,	—	Leland,	—	—	—	<i>dele.</i>
	205, l. 5,	after	Gloucestershire,	—	—	add	and of Somersetshire
	209, l. 3,	for	Brompton	—	—	read	Bromton
	219, l. 17,	—	Aldan	—	—	—	Aidan
	224, <i>Notes</i> ,	—	Polychratico	—	—	—	Polycratico
	231, l. 6,	—	Harrold's	—	—	—	Harold's
	233, l. 1,	—	dicti sunt	—	—	—	dicti sunt:
	238, l. 19,	—	Nostla	—	—	—	Nostla
	239, <i>Notes</i> ,	—	Notlely	—	—	—	Notely
	241, l. 2,	—	Dearmarchi	—	—	—	Dearmach
	247, l. 16,	—	in,	—	—	—	<i>dele.</i>
	270, l. 19,	—	Joyous	—	—	—	Joying
	271, l. 15,	—	secendus	—	—	—	secundus
	280, l. 24,	—	Cesauriens	—	—	—	Casauriens:
	289, l. 14,	—	Lhoyd	—	—	—	Lhuyd
	299, l. 1,	—	Abbat	—	—	—	Abbot
	300, l. ult.	—	St. Clement's Danes,	—	—	—	<i>dele.</i>

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the first positions, which I must lay down, is, that these poems were written in a provincial dialect: according to the idiom of the people, in whose county the author resided, and was probably born. It is indeed my opinion, that most of those, who wrote at a distance from the capital, copied more or less the peculiarities of the province, to which they originally belonged. Caxton was the most copious writer of his time: and he lived in the very age of Rowley: and he says expressly, that he wrote the language of his country: which was the weald of Kent. His peculiarities, he says, were so glaring, that he was often times censured upon that head, and particularly by the duchess of Burgundy, the king's sister. Of this

B

he

he takes notice in his preface to the Siege of Troy : a book, which he both translated, and printed abroad.—*On a tyme it fortunéd, that the ryght excellent and right vertuous prynces, my right redoubted ladye, (sister unto my soveraign Lord, the King of Englund and Fraunce) my Lady Mergaret by the grace of God, duchesse of Burgoine, &c. &c.—sent for me to speke with her good grace of dyverse maters : among the which I let her highness have knowledge of the foresaid beginninge of this worke : which anon commanded me to shew of the sayd v or vi quayers to her said grace. And when she had seen hem, anon she found a defaute in myne Englyshe, which she commanded me to amend.—In Fraunce was I never ; and was borne and lerned myne Englyshe in Kent in the weald : were I doubt not is spoken as brode and rude Englyshe, as in any place of Eng-land**. History of Troy by Caxton. He

* Copied from Ames, in his History of Printing, p. 2, 3. For the orthography I cannot answer, as I had not an opportunity of applying to the original. It may not be quite exact ; but the purport of the passage is the same.

speaks to the same purpose in a preface to another treatise †. *Fayn wolde I satysfye every man: and so to doo take an olde boke and redde therin: and certaynly the Englyshe was so rude and brood, that I coude not wele understande it. And also my lorde abbot of Westmynster ded do shewe to me late certayn evydences wryton in olde englyshe for to reduce it in to our englyshe now usid: and certaynly it was wretton in such wyse, that it was more lyke to dutche than englyshe. I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be understonden. And certaynly our langage now used varyeth from that which was used and spoken, whan I was borne. For we englyshe men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, whiche is never stedfaste, but ever waverynge: waxynge one season and waneth and dyscreaseth another season. And that comyn englyshe, that is spoken in one shyre, varyeth from another.—loo, what sholde a man in thysse dayes now wryte?—certaynly it is hard to playse every man, because of dyversite and chaunge*

† Taken from the preface of a boke intytuled *Eneydos*, translated from the French; and printed by W. Caxton, anno 1490.

of langage. For in these dayes every man, that is in any reputacyon in his countre, wyll utter his commynycacyon, and maters in such maners and termes, that few men shall understonde theym. And som honest and grete clerkes have ben wyth me, and desired me to wryte the moste curyous termes, that I coude fynde: and thus betwene playn, rude and curyous I stande abasshed. Preface to the boke intytuled Eneydos: printed by Caxton, anno 1490. In these extracts we have a clear account of the dialects of those times; and of the variety of terms, that prevailed in the days of Caxton, which were precisely the days of Rowley.

The like peculiarities, of which the writer above makes mention, are to be found still earlier in the author of Pierce Plowman. He has a great number of words, which appear to have been peculiar to the county, where he first drew his breath. Many in after times, who did not entirely devote themselves to the manner of speech of their province; yet did not totally depart from it: and continually introduced words not in common use.

use. This is apparent from Spencer, especially in his Shepherd's Calendar. Indeed the whole of his diction is more ancient than the times in which he lived. What are we to think of the *stithy*, the *molewarp*; and the *weird sisters* in Shakespeare? These, and many others, which might be produced, were not words in general use; and can only be found in the dialects, which he copied. The translation of the *Æneis* by Gawin Douglas, the learned bishop of Dunkeld, is intirely provincial: and contains in it the noblest and most curious remains of the ancient Saxon language. And as much of the same is to be found in the poems attributed to Rowley; there is no book, that can be applied to, preferable to this, in order to authenticate those writings, either in respect to orthography or stile.

Writers who have treated of this island, take notice not only of three languages essentially different; but also of three particular dialects, which seem to have prevailed in South Britain from the first settling here of the Saxons. We have a cu-

rious account of this circumstance afforded us by the learned monk Trevisa: who wrote about the year 1365; and speaks in the following manner: *As it is knowen, how many maner of peple ben in this ilond, there ben also many langages and tongues: (by which he means English, Scotch, Welch, and the Flemish in Wales.) Also Englysshe men they had fro the begynnyng the maner speches; southerne, northerne, and myddel speche in the myddel of the londe: as thie come of thre maner of people in Germania. * * * Hit semeth a grete wonder, that Englyssmen have so grede dyversyte in theyre owne langage in sowne and in spekyng of it, whiche is al in one yland.* He adds afterwards, that these dialects did through intercourse in some degree assimilate, and became reciprocally more intelligible. *For men of the este with the men of the west acorde better in sownyng of theyr speche, than men of the northe with men of the south. Therefore it is, that men of Mercij, that ben of myddel Englonde, as it were partyners with the endes, understand better the side langages, northern, and southern, than northern & southern*

*southern understand eyther other. Alle the langages of the Northumbres, and specially at York, is so-sharp, slytynge, frotynge, and unshape, that we sotherne men may unneth understand that * langage.* He had before taken notice, that the Saxon language in all its parts had been altered : and this we may be assured was most observable near the metropolis. *In many thynges the coun-trye langage is appayred : ffor somme use straunge wlaffyng, chyteryng, harrayng, garrayng, and grisbytyng.* It may be difficult after so long an interval to ascertain what the variations were, which are intimated by these terms. Thus much is certain, that changes were continually introduced. But there was a variation still prior ; an original variation. We have a further confirmation of this from the author of the Saxon Chronicle. He takes notice that the Saxons, who came into Britain, were of three different parts of Germany, and not of the same family ; *ða com þa menn of ðrum mægðum Leþmanie, of*

* Higden's Polychronicon, printed by Caxton, 1482. L. i. C. 59. p. 68.

Eald-Seaxum : of Anglum : of Jotum, p. 12. He afterwards specifies in what part of the kingdom each division settled. Hence proceeded that original difference in speech, which is mentioned by Trevisa. We may therefore be assured, that the Saxon tongue in this island was never uniformly the same. It commenced with a difference of dialect; which has ever more or less prevailed. And those who wrote at a distance from the capital, followed the idiom of the province, to which they belonged.

Before the art of printing became of general use, it is scarcely possible to conceive, but that people must have written in dialects: for they had no standard, by which they could be regulated; and if there had existed any thing of this nature in any particular place, it could not have been universally kept up, for want of that intercourse and correspondence, which are so essential to its influence and authority. The language of the metropolis is generally looked up to as the principal, by which all others are to be directed. For

it

it is esteemed the true standard, though it is as much a dialect, as any other; and oftentimes more novel and heterogeneous. To this however our mode of speech, and of writing, is for the most part made subservient. But in the times, of which we are speaking, the capital was comparatively small; and had not that great resort, which we find it to have at this day. All intercourse was attended with difficulties, which are now unknown; and correspondence by these means was rendered very rare. Hence they had no universal canon, by which they could be governed; nor any external helps, to which they could apply. The Bible, as soon as there was a version made of it, came in time to be universally read; and has certainly conduced both to the improvement and stability of language. But in those times no such assistance could be obtained. Printed books there were none; and manuscripts were very scarce, and those from different parts, and of different ages. The court and capital had undoubtedly a great influence over the people, who were in any degree

gree near them; consequently those who were at the extremities of the island, were the most rude and barbarous in their diction: not but that which we esteem in them barbarous and rude, was nothing more than their retaining a number of ancient terms, attended with a peculiarity of pronounciation, which might be as original as the terms themselves. As Rowley was of Somersetsshire, it may be worth while to lay before the reader an account given of the dialects there used, as we find it afforded us by a learned person in his *Logonomia Anglica*. At inter omnes dialectos nulla cum occidentali æquam sapit barbariem: et maxime si rusticos audias in agro Somersettensi. Dubitare enim quis facile possit, utrum Anglicè loquantur, an peregrinum aliquod idioma. Quædam enim *antiquata* etiamnum retinent; ut *sax* pro cultro: *nem* aut *nim*, accipe. Quædam sua pro Anglicis vocabulis obtrudunt; ut *lax* pro parte: *toit* pro sedili: et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt, quædam usu; quædam pronounciatione. *Logonomia Ang.* ab Alex. Gil. c. vi. p. 18.

There are vast collections of ancient poems preserved in the public repositories of this kingdom; many of which, from the specimens exhibited, may be perceived to be strongly tinged with a peculiarity of idiom. There are moreover two poets in particular, whose works have been published to the world, which seem manifestly to be written in a provincial dialect. In consequence of this they are observed to abound with words, which are either uncommon; or differently expressed: or else are taken in a different acceptation from that, in which they are admitted by people of other counties. The first of these is the author of the two poems called the *Visions*, and the *Crede*, of *Pierce Plowman*, of whom I have made mention before. He is said to have been named *Robert Langland*; and to have been born at *Cleyberie*, towards the lower part of *Shropshire*, at no great distance from the *Malverne hills*. He is supposed to have written about the year 1350, in the reign of king *Edward the Third*. The other poet is *Robert of Gloucester*, who

wrote

wrote in the reign of Edward the First; and composed a chronicle of English history from the most early times. His language is very broad and coarse: and his poem abounds with many obsolete words, and with others, which though not uncommon, yet are differently modified: and the whole favours strongly of the county, of which he appears to have been a native. Such are the words—*abbe, have. adrencte, drowned. bray, break. bode, bad. bivel, befell. brogt, brought. fow, foes. fowe, few. chere, high. besowt, besought. hure, bear. hupe, hope. hexte, highest. laste, leste. meuth, month. row, rough. dawe, day. prou, proof. lowe, laugh. thog, thought. couwe, cold. drou, drew. reigh, right. sipes, ships. stel, stole. softren, sisters. vair, fair. velde, felled. vane, vain. vareth, fareth. vorst, frost. verbere, forbear. vyfs, fish. woke, week. werse, worse. wolde, wild. tueie, two. vife, five. werste, first. zonge, young. zate, yet. zelde, yield.* Other terms might be easily added to a great amount. But it may appear more strongly, if we produce some quotations

at

at full length. A villain, who has killed king Edmund, comes to Canute the Dane with the bloody knife, and tells him what he has done in his favour. He then adds:

Thervore underftond the wel, and geld
mý mede blyve :

Vor ých abbe ýdo the more gode, than
alle the men alyve. P. 311. l. 19.

i. e.

*Therefore confider thee well, and yield
my reward forthwith,*

*For I have done thee more good, than all
the men alive.*

The king answers him very ironically in these words :

Thou feyft foth, quath the king; thou
aft muche ýdo vor me.

An ýchýlle wel thy mede geld by the
treuthe ých ou to the.

Ychýlle make the heymon, by tyme
ychabbe ýthogte,

That thou ne ssalt vor thy lýflod nevere
carye nogt.

B 7

i. e. Thou

i. e.

*Thou say'st sooth, quoth the king, thou
hast much done for me,*

*And I shall well thy meed yield, by the
truth I owe thee.*

*I shall make thee a high man, by time I
have thought,*

*That thou shalt not for thy livelihood
never care nought.*

He ordered him to be privately thrown into the Thames, and drowned.

There is a manuscript, to whose authority I shall sometimes have recourse; which belongs to the library of King's College in Cambridge. It seems to be written in the provincial dialect of one of the western counties, and is in many respects similar to that of *Pierce Plowman*. The subject of the poem is the history of William, a royal foundling, and of werwolf, by whom he was preserved. By a werwolf is meant a wizard wolf, the *λυκανθρωπος* of the ancients: which was supposed to have been a wolf so changed from a man; and to be gifted with human intellect.

The

The whole is a translation from a romance poem in French : for which we are indebted to Humfrey Bohun earl of Hereford, who was nephew to king Edward the Second, as we are informed in the poem. In the first part of the work are some lines, which afford intelligence to this purpose.

ze, that loven & lyken to listen any more,
 alle wyth on hole hert to the hey king of
 hevene
 preieth a pater noster prively this time
 for the hend erl of herford sir humfray
 de bowne,
 the king edwardes newe at glouceter that
 ligges
 for he of frensche this fayte tale ferst
 dede translate
 in ese of englyshmen in englysch speche
 and god graunt him his blis that godly
 so prayen. Fol. 3.

The poem concludes with an address to the same purpose.

zethat liken in love swiche thinges to here
 preyeth for that god lord, that gart this
 do make

the

the hende erl of hereford humfray de
bowne

the gode kinge edwardes dowter was his
dere moder

he let make this mater in this maner
speche

for hem that knowe no frensche ne ne-
ver understo

biddeth that blisful barn that bowt us
on the rode

and to his moder marie of mercy that is
welle

and if the lord god lif he in erth
lenges

and whan he wendes of this world welthe
with oute ende

to lenge in that liking ioye that leseth
ever more

and god gif alle god grace that gladly so
biddes

and pertli in paradys a place for to have.

Amen.

The person above mentioned is said to have been nephew of King Edward; which Edward was the second of that name. His sister Elizabeth married Henry Earl of Holland

Holland and Lord of Freezland : but becoming soon a widow, she married Humphry Bohun Earl of Hereford, the father of the person, concerning whom we are treating : who by these means was grandson to Edward the First, and nephew to Edward of Carnarvon. As the Princess his mother was married in 1286, it is probable that he was born towards the latter end of that century : and this work may have been translated towards the middle of the next. It favours strongly of a provincial dialect : which may appear strange. For though this person was Earl of Hereford, yet it does not follow, that he should adopt the language of that province : nor is it credible, that a principal person at the King's Court, of so great eminence as an English Earl, should give into the rude speech of any county. But I do not apprehend, that this person was the immediate writer of this poem ; though he was the first translator of the romance. And this I think is plain from the evidence before obtained. For towards the beginning of the work, before

C

the

the writer has got to the seventh page, he desires us to pray for the hend Earl of Hereford, Humphrey Bohun, who then lay buried at Gloucester. At the same time he speaks of him as the first translator of this little history from French into English. And towards the end of the book he makes an apology for himself, and for the metre.

but thowh the metur be nowt mad at
 eche mannes path
 wite him nowt that it wrowt he wold
 have do beter
 zif is witte in eny weyes wold him have
 served.

When he afterwards speaks of Humfray Bohun, he styles him again—the hend earl of Herford, that gart this work do make, i. e. *who * got this work done*: and he says to the same purpose, he let make this mater in this maner speche, i. e. *he per-*

* To gare, to make, or cause. Ray's North Country Dialects, p. 32. Hence gart, *made* or *caused*. God, who gart me. *ibid.* Gart, *caused*, *made*. See Gloss, to Robert of Gloucester.

mitted and directed this matter to be carried on in this manner of speech: alluding, I imagine, both to the language, and to the versification. From hence it seems to appear, that though the earl of Hereford had been the first translator, yet he was not the versifier, by whom the poem was made as we now have it: for this was not perfected, till after his death. He was then *ligging at Gloufeter*. That this poem was composed in a provincial dialect is, I think, plain from the peculiarity of stile; and from the variety of words, which are different, or else differently rendered, from those, which were in common use. Of these I will lay before the reader some examples. arnd, *around*. al one, *alone* and *only*. azein, *again*. azene, *against*. aleggit, *alayeth*. aunteteres, *ancestors*. bretages, *bridges*. dawes, *days*. to dawe, *to dawn*. chirche, *church*. eni, *uncle*. fort, *for to*. fode, *feed*. greece, *grass*. guy, *guide*. gif, and zif, *give*. gof, *if*. heo and hoo, *who*. hatches, *pains* and *aches*. ich, *I*. ich, *each*. mow, *may*. leve, *loved*. leve, *life*. leved, *believed*. kud, *good*. kinne, *can*. kin, *kin*

or *cattle*. kever, *cure*. leuth, *loft*. lawt, *took hold*. haldes, *holds*. mest, *most*. mai, *maid*. maid, *madam*. pult, *put*. onwar, *any where*. fikand, *fighing*. eft, *often*. nowth, *not*. nowthe, *now*. remewed, *removed*. fore, *sorrow*. farre, *fore*. tom, *time*. on fwowe, *in a swoon*. welt, *held*. dedus, *deeds*. hidus, *bides or skins*. za, *yea*. zis, *yes*. warder, *further*. zond, *yonder*. zow, *you*. zour, *your*. zeld, *yield*. zere, *a year*. zhe and fche, *she*. zit, zet, and zut, *yet*. wol, *will*. athis, *ashes*. fouche, *vouch*. ferche, *fresh*. knowlacheden, *acknowledged*. boggeslyche, *boyishly, or like a boy*. war-nished, *furnished*. To these I must beg leave to add some other words, many of which are still more uncommon: and some not elsewhere to be found. Among these may be reckoned the terms — com-fed, dolven, rowt, warched, sewed, busk-ed, dawed, bruttoned, kevered, drouked, dronked. Such also are *fad*, for *fixed* and *determinate*: blive, zare, lel, lelly, alderferst: to darken, to lork, to zeme, to fouche, to attele, to munge, to loute, to stytle, to sond: tit, titly, hetterly, wi-terly,

terly, gemlych, prestilyche, pertilyche, deliverly, lutherly, gamlych, kevely, zepli, felcouthly, spackly, zerne, famen, ferly: add to these, a forcer, a feyntise, a debate, dureffe, barret, bobance, speldes, komchaunce, feute, feuter. We must not in this place omit peculiarity of expression, such as, talliche hire attired. thei stint of hire wlouke mirthe. fatheli aschaped. manli sche melled hire. nest and no neege. thei henden hard hem to help. Then ferde thei alle forth 1 fere fayn of here * lives. The number of terms for a man or

* The surest way to afford a just idea of this poem, and its dialect, is to produce some whole lines.

Ak nowthe ze that arn hende haldes ow stille.

i. e.

And now ye, that are friendly hold you quiet. p. 2.

Leve son, this lesson me lerde mi fader. p. 5, 6.

They layked there at lyking al the long day. p. 15.

For zour feyful fader nath zou nowt for zete. p. 74.

Than Alefandrine at arst than antresse hem tille. p. 15.

I sai a selcouthe fyt mi self zister neve. p. 32. b.

i. e.

I saw an uncommon sight myself yesterday in the evening.

or a person is remarkable : these are —
burn, gome, fre, frike, feg, lud, kud,
wye, wyeth, rink, and kemp : but the last
is only applicable to a soldier.

From these peculiarities, I am induced
to suppose, that this poem was written in
a provincial stile. And from comparing
it with other writings, I judge it to be
one of the western dialects of this king-

Sche wept and wailed as sche wold have storve.

p. 22. b,

A Lady who was to be married to a Prince of Greece,
refuses her consent, and says—

——— were sche never so nobul

Of Emprours or Kings,——& come into grece,
Sche chold sone be bi schet here selve al one. p. 30. b,

i. e.

*However noble the Lady might be, she should soon be
shut up all alone by her self, and be condemned to perpet-
tual confinement.*

Let no feg myt have to fle our gode best,

Nere his wit & his werk we were fhent bothe. p. 41.

i. e.

*Let no man have power to slay our kind beast,
Ne were (nere) that is, were it not for, his art &
his assistance we should be both ruined.*

dom ;

dom ; and most probably of Hereford, or Gloucester.

That the diction of Rowley was in like manner provincial, may, I think, be seen from the numberless peculiarities, with which it abounds. It appeared so to me upon my first looking into these poems : and I am since confirmed in my opinion from a more intimate acquaintance with them. Instances to this purpose are very obvious : and I will accordingly lay some examples before the reader. Such is *bete* for *bid* : *bowk* for *bulk* : *caled* for *cold* : *fwote* for *sweet* : *stote* for *stout* : *gre* for *grew* : *drock* for *drink* : *mokie* for *murky* : *jintle* for *gentle* : *string* for *strong* : *seck* for *suck* : *roin* for *ruin* : *sheen* for *shine* : *loast* for *lost* : *cheorte* for *cheer'd* : *ying* for *young* : *eletten* for *enlighten* : *mees* for *meads* : *fleeter* for *slaughter* : *rou* for *rough* : *nete* for *nothing* : *feer* for *fire* : *astend* for *astound* : *gorne* for *garden* : *breed* for *broad* : *check* for *choak* : *ake* for *oak* : *ne* for *nigh* : *miesel* for *myself* : *ethie* for *easy* : *roder* for *rider* : *rayn* for *ran* : *yanne* for *then* ;

alleyne for *alone* : tore for *torch* : quan-
 fed for *quenched* : tynge for *tongue* :
 fwoltering for *swallowing* : anere for *an-*
other : meynt for *many* : fel for *self* :
 drented for *drayned* : blent for *blinded* :
 ftrev for *strive* : ftraught for *stretched* :
 pais'd for *poised* : fteers for *stairs* : widder
 for *whither* : pced for *ped* : dreynted for
drowned.

Nor is it only a variation in the mode
 of expreffion, which we meet with in this
 author ; there are numbers of entire words
 in every page, which have been for a long
 time obfolete. Some of thefe were pro-
 bably never in general ufe : but confined
 to particular provinces. Such is the term
 flughorne, fwarthe, geafon, chieve, weer,
 coiftril, anlance, brand, pheer, fchap : to
 which others might be added. The tran-
 fcriber has given fome notes ; in order to
 explain words of this nature. But he is
 oftentimes very unfortunate in his folu-
 tions. He miftakes the fenfe grofsly :
 and the words have often far more force
 and fignificance, than he is aware of.
 This could not have been the cafe, if he
 had

had been the author. His blunders would not have turned out to his advantage : nor could there have been more sense in the lines, than in the head, which conceived them. In short, chance could never have so contrived, that the poetry should be better than the purpose.

Many of the terms used by Rowley may be authenticated from the county dialects, which prevail at this day. Many may be found in books of etymology ; and particularly in ancient writings of those early times : in writings, which are too abstruse and remote, to have been ever entitled to the knowledge of Chatterton. Above all others, they are to be found in the version of Gawin Douglas : which, I think, it may be proved, that Chatterton could never have read. Indeed we may be morally certain, that he never heard of it.

Besides these terms, which, though obsolete, are native ; there are others, which are foreign, being partly borrowed, and partly framed, from other languages. These languages are the French and Italian ;

lian; together with the Latin and Greek: with none of which we may presume, that Chatterton was at all acquainted. The writers of the times in question * affected a shew of learning, and they often coined new words; and adopted others, by way of enriching their composition. This is particularly observable in the writers of romance: whose works in those days were in high request, and much read. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if in Rowley's poems there should be expressions of this nature; which were not in general acceptance. Among these we may esteem crine for hair: likewise inutile, fructile, lethale, protoflain, fructuous, arduous, magistrie, dexter, digne, divinistre, dolce, gottes (from guttæ, *tears*) ownδες, dispone, difficile, scond, volunde, cleem from *clamo*, ynhyrne from *inburnare*, affined, ewbrice from ὑβρις, superhallie, croched, uncted, zabalus, and the like. To these add words borrowed from

* Of this affectation see the learned Essay upon the English language, by Mr. Tyrwhitt, in his excellent edition of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 26, 42, 43.

the French : abassie, desclavate from esclavage, delievretie, estels for estoils, receivure, renombe, entendement, damoiselle, entremed, dureffed, battoné, bordelier, coupe, chapournette, couraciers, percase, paramente, vernage, persant, ribaude, blanch. From these and other circumstances we may be assured, that these poems were written in the Anglo-Norman stile : the same, of which the learned Hickes in his Thesaurus treats at large. And without any previous knowledge of the real author, we might be certain, that he was a man of learning ; and well acquainted with several languages.

These few examples out of many I lay before the reader, to whom at every turn of the book more will present themselves, should he choose to make farther inquiry. I never heard it surmised, that Chatterton was in the least acquainted with the French language : much less with the Latin and Greek. Whence then was it possible for him to have made such an exotic collection ? Many of these words he in a manner confesses, that he did not understand, by
his

his not attempting to give any explanation. How then could he possibly have inserted them? others he did attempt to interpret, but often failed in the solution.

It shall now be my business to give some examples of those mistakes, which appear in the transcript of this young man; and of that ignorance, which he sometimes betrays, in his notes. But before I proceed to this, it will be proper to state some few postulata, which, I think, cannot in reason be denied me; and which are necessary to be premised.

I lay it down for a fixed principle, that if a person transmits to me a learned and excellent composition, and does not understand the context, he cannot be the author.

I lay it down for a certainty, if a person in any such composition has in transcribing varied any of the terms through ignorance, and the true reading appears from the context, that he cannot have been the author. If, as the ancient Vicar is said to have done, in respect to a portion of the gospel, he for *sumpsimus* reads uniformly *mumpsimus*,

mumpsimus, he never composed the treatise, in which he is so grossly mistaken. If a person in his notes upon a poem mistakes Liber, Bacchus, for liber a book; and when he meets with liber a book, he interprets it, liber, free: he certainly did not compose the poem, where those terms occur. He had not parts, nor learning to effect it. In short, every writer must know his own meaning: and if any person by his glossary, or any other explanation, shews, that he could not arrive at such meaning, he affords convincing proof, that the original was by another hand. This ignorance will be found in Chatterton: and many mistakes in consequence of it be seen: of which mistakes and ignorance I will lay before the reader many examples. When these have been ascertained, let the reader judge whether this unexperienced, and unlettered, boy could have been the author of the poems in question.

A L I S T

OF SOME PARTICULAR TERMS

Which are authenticated and explained.

S Lughorne	Aluft
Grange	To the ourt array.
Borne	Drawen
Oares	Logges
Bollengers	Bordels
Cottes	Go do
Barks	Bie thanks
Knopped	Blent
Deyfde	Cuyen
Groffing	Coyen
Abounde	Applynges
Abrodden	Blynn
Bysmare	Fraye
Cleare	Amenges
Dyght	Amenged
Victualle	Almer
Honde-poinct	Bretful
Aledge	Cherifaunce
Onlyght	Bistoikerre
	Amenused

Amenufed	Adventayle
Amanafed	Borne and Brun
Corven	Dole
Breme	Keppened
Thee and Theie	Poyntelle
An Omiffion	Alyfed
Bettraffed	Amenufed
Burlie	Adente
Brond	After la goure.

S L U G H O R N E .

THIS word occurs more than once : and it is interpreted by Chatterton in one place *a musical instrument not unlike a hautboy*. In another it is said to be *a kind of clarion*. But a clarion and an hautboy are very unlike, being distinct instruments. It occurs in the second eclogue, p. 6, v. 9.

The water slughornes wythe a swotie cleme.

Also p. 30. v. 31.

Methynckes I heare the slughornes dynn
fromm farre.

Sounde, sounde the slughornes.

p. 40. v. 150.

A leegefull challenge, lette the slugg-
horne sounde. p. 35. v. 90.

It is plain, that Chatterton only formed a judgment from the context : and knew nothing precisely about this instrument.

In the first place, it was certainly an horn; such as the Danes, Saxons, and other Gothic nations used in war: and the name signifies as much: for by flug and flag is denoted *slaughter* and *battle*. Slag—prælium, strages. Olai Verelij Lexicon Sueo-Gothic. Hence came flogan, flægan, flagan, of the Saxons: which all signify to slay. A flughorne is properly Buccina Bellica, from the word before mentioned, flag, prælium. It is to be found in the version of the *Æneis* by Gawin Douglas, l. 7. p. 230. l. 36.

The draucht trumpet blawis the brag
of were,

The flughorne, encenze, or the watch cry
Went for the battle.

The whole is a paraphrase of the line
in Virgil:

Classica jamque fonant; it bello tessera
fignum.

The author of the glossary derives it from the A. S. flege, clades: and flegan, interficere: and very truly interprets it—Cornu Bellicum. Olaus Wormius has written

written a curious treatise upon an ancient horn of this sort.

G R A N G E.

A sheepster or farmer is speaking of his possessions : and among other things mentions his grange.

Mie Parker's grange, far spreedyng to the syghte. P. 3. v. 35.

And it is interpreted by *liberty of pasture given to the Parker*. But it is nothing like it. A Grange was properly a *granage*, granagium ; where the grain of monasteries, and of wealthy persons, was at the harvest brought. It was an inclosed piece of ground, secured on all sides by a wall or pale, within which were barns, stables, and * outhouses. A granary was a

* Grange, a Fr. G. *Grange*, granarium. Horreum. q. d. Granium vel granicum. Skinner. It is stiled Grangia by Sumner, who gives a better account of it. Grangia. Gall. et Angl. Grange. — He then quotes from Lindwood, Dicuntur (inquit) grangiæ, non solum, ubi reponuntur grana, ut sunt horrea, sed etiam ubi sunt stabula pro equis ; hostaria sive præsepia pro bobus et aliis animalibus, &c.

building in the grange ; where the grain, when it had been thrashed out, was carried, and locked up. It is called in the passage above—*Mie Parker's Grange*. But a grange had nothing to do with a park : nor could a sheepster, by which is meant a farmer, have either a park, or parker : by which last is signified a keeper to preserve * deer. A person in such an office belonged only to princes and great men. Hence I conceive, that we have here another mistake : which takes its rise from an error in transcribing. I am sensible, that many inclosures for other purposes are sometimes stiled parks : especially in North Britain. But in the south, the term is more particularly limited : and where a parker is mentioned, it is confined to a place for deer. Hence by Lye and other etymologists, it is very truly defined to be—*septum vivarium*. But as I said before, a sheepster or farmer, could not have any thing of this nature. The person introduced has been speaking of his

* Parker—a park-keeper. Kerfey.

flocks and herds ; of his meadows and orchards ; and then adds *mie Parkers grange*. This, I am persuaded, is a mistake of the transcriber ; and the original reading was *mie parklich* ; or as we express it now, *parklike grange* : which the person describes in this manner, on account of its extent ; and of its being secured, and fenced round, like a park.

Mie parklich grange far spreedynge to the fyghte.

The grange of the farmer was in extent equal to the park of a nobleman.

Chatterton, I make no doubt, had sometimes recourse to Skinner and to Kersey, in order to obtain the meaning of the ancient terms, which he found in Rowley. But he does not seem to have had an opportunity of applying uniformly : otherwise he would have known from those writers, that a * grange was a repository for corn. Granarium, horreum ; q. d. granium vel granicum : omnia a latino

* Grange (F) a building, that has granaries, barns, stables, &c.—Kersey's Eng. Dictionary.

granum, &c. prædium rusticum †. Skinner. Had he once cast his eye upon this obvious passage, he would never have idly interpreted the term by—*liberty of pasture given to the Parker*. And indeed, had he been the author of the poem, he could never have been so ignorant. He certainly imagined that the term *grange* was equivalent to *range*; and hence was led to think it was a liberty granted to some person, whom he has denominated a *parker*. But what has a keeper of a park to do with pastures? The whole is a boyish mistake.

B O R N E.

The author of the *Tragycal Enterlude* is describing the morning of that day, when Ælla obtained the signal victory over the Dacians or Danes. Among other things, he mentions the rays of light shining upon the borne; which by the tran-

† The author of the glossary to Gawin Douglas mentions this word. Grange—corne grangis, granaries. — F. Grange. Lat. Barb. grangium. a Lat. granum.

scriber is interpreted—*burnish*. As the description is remarkably fine, I will present the reader with the whole; as he will from the context more readily perceive the true meaning of this term.

Bryghte sonne han ynne hys roddie
robes byn dyghte

From the rodde caste he flytted wythe
hys trayne :

The Howers drew awaie the geete of
nyghte,

Her fable tapistrie was rente yn twayne.

The dauncynge streakes bedecked hea-
vennes playne,

And on the dewe dyd smyle wythe shem
rynge eie,

Lyche gottes of blodde, whyche doe
blacke armoure steyne,

Sheenyng upon the *borne*, whych ston-
deth bie.

The fouldyers stoode uponne the hillis
fyde ;

Lyche yonge enlesed trees, whyche yn
a forreste hyde. *Ælla*, v. 734.

The transcriber not knowing the mean-

ing of the term borne; looked into Skinner, and found *Borne pro burnish*: and accordingly interpreted *the borne, whych stondeth bie*, by the *burnish, whiche stondeth bie*. He was probably still further led to this notion by the word armour being mentioned in the preceding line. That *borne* may signify burnish, we grant: but not here: for how can it be with the least propriety said, that the *burnish* of armour *stands by*? The purport of the term is totally mistaken. There are two words in our language; which I believe are sometimes spelled alike. These are bourne and borne. The first signifies a small * stream or rivulet: from which many places, such as Winborn, Winterborn, Otterborn, Sittenborn, have been denominated. The other, is from the French word, *borne* and *bornè*; and denotes any extremity, limit, or boundary. It is used in this sense by Shakespeare: and we find Hamlet speaking of

* I was weary of wandering & went me to rest,
Under a brode bank by a *bourne* side.

Pierce Plowman, p. 1.

That

That undiscovered country, from whose
borne

No traveller returns.—

By this is meant—from whose *limit*, and *boundary*, no traveller comes back. It is also used for the extreme part or ridge of a hill: and for a hill it * self. Hence a person in the *Comus* of Milton says—

I know each lane, and every alley green,
Dingle, or bushy dell of this wild wood;
And every bosky bourn from side to side.

Every *bosky bourn*, signifies every *woody hill*, or *ridge* of a hill. *Bosky bourn* is here opposed by the poet to *bushy dell* in the foregoing line. This is the true meaning of the passage in *Rowley*. He mentions the rising sun, shining upon the *borne*; that is, upon the upper and *extreme part*, or *ridge*, of that hill, which was near the army. The soldiers were lower down.

* In the same writer, a person, speaking of *Dover cliff*, says,

From the dire summit of this chalky bourne
Look up a height.

LEAR.

The

The fouldyers floode uppon the hillis
fyde.

It is used in the same sense in the second battle of Hastings: where there is a noble description of a mountain convulsed by an earthquake.

Now here, now there, majestic nods
the bourne. . . . p. 247. v. 208.

The word *bourne* is here introduced in its true sense; and perfectly analogous in application to the same word mentioned before. This is what in the notes is interpreted *burnish*, though it in reality signifies the highest *range*, and *extremity* of an hill. I have sometimes thought that the latter part of the description was not right: and that what is expressed—*stondeth bie*, was originally—*stondeth kie*. There seems likewise to be another palpable mistake, where mention is made of the *dauncynge streakes*, which *bedecked heavens playn*. The poet had before described the solemn advance of *day*: and had mentioned, that

the hours drew away the * *geete*, i. e. the robe or veil, of night, and adds,

Her sable tapestrie was rente yn twayne.

Then comes—

The *dauncynge* streakes bedecked hea-
vennes playne.

But what is there, that has the least appearance of dancing in the approach of the morning; which comes on gently, and by imperceptible degrees?

The true reading was *daunynge*—

The daunynge streakes bedecked hea-
vennes playn,

And on the dew dyd smile wythe
shemrynge eie,

Lych gottes of blodde, whyche doe
blacke armoure steyne,

Sheenyng upon the borne, whych
stondeth hie.

* Sometimes expressed *gite*.—Gite, a gown. Kersey.

And she came after in a *gite* of red.

Chaucer, v. 3952.

O A R E S.

The gule depeyncted *oares* from the
black tyde,

Decorn wyth fonnes rare, doe them-
rynge ryfe. Ecl. 2. v. 13.

As no notice is taken by the transcriber concerning the purport of this term, we may presume, that he thought it related to an oar, that implement, by which boats are rowed. But this, I have reason to think, is by no means the true meaning. The objects here described are said to rise, and to be *decorn wyth fonnes rare*. Now oars may indeed be painted: but I should think never with any rare designs.

* *Fonne* is the same as the Saxon *fan*;
and

* Concerning this word I shall speak more particularly hereafter: for I cannot engage to give the meaning of every obsolete term, as I proceed, as it would be an hindrance to my present purpose. Hereafter I shall collect some of the most ancient and uncommon words; and bring authority for their usage; and at the same time explain their true purport,

However,

and signifies any curious device: but particularly vexillum, a standard or ensign. This cannot be supposed to relate to oars in the common acceptation: nor can they well be described—as *upswelling in dreary pride*. In short, the oares, here spoken of, were the same, which we now stile wherries; a kind of boats and pinnaces; made to attend upon ships. The name is very ancient; and by the Romans was expressed Horia: from whence came the word, mentioned above, *wherry*. It has at times been given to boats of not quite the same make; nor adapted to the same use: yet the similarity of name is manifest. Horia dicitur navicula piscatoria. Nonius Marcellus.—Salute horiæ, quæ me in mari fluctuoso—compotivit. Plautus Rud. Act. 4, 2, 5. Meâ operâ laboratur et rate et horiâ. Ibid. 4, 3, 81. From hence we find, that it was always esteemed a smaller kind of vessel: and it is by the poet set off

However, not a few will necessarily be taken notice of, as I go on: but these will be chiefly such as serve to my present purpose of discovering those mistakes, which have proceeded from the transcriber.

with streamers, and with the ensigns and devices of the troops, which were about to land. It was sometimes expressed *Oria*. *Malo hunc alligari ad oriam, ut semper piscetur, etsi sit tempestas maxima.* Plautus in *Cacisto*. Aulus Gellius mentions, among other names of vessels, *Celetes*, *Lembi*, *Oriæ*. L. x. Ch. 25. From the last came the *oares* above: which we now express *woberries*. In Rowley they signify barges, which were painted red; and as they approached within view of the enemy on the shore, they seemed to rise by degrees from the ocean; and from the reflection of the sun upon their rich ornaments are compared to stars.

Upswalyngē doe here shewe ynne shem-
ryngē pryde,

Lych gore-red † estells in the evemerk
skyes.

* * * * *

Alonge from bark to bark the bryghte
sheene flyes. v. 15, 19.

† From the French *etoile*, expressed formerly *estoile*.

BOLLENGERS and COTTES.

The *Bollengers* and *Cottes* so swyfte yn
fyghte.

Upon the fydes of everych *bark* appear.

Eclog. ii. v. 33.

The first of these is the name of a very uncommon vessel: concerning which however sufficient evidence may be obtained. Ships are sometimes denominated from the places, where they are built: or to which they particularly relate: as an *Hamburger*, *Lubecker*, *Groenlander*, and the like. Du Cange mentions *Brabant-garij*, ships of *Brabant*: whence some have thought, that the *Bollengers* might have been ships of *Boulogne*. But this certainly was not the case. It is to be observed, that there was formerly a sort of ship, called a *balaner*; which the same author calls *balanerijs*; and of which he gives the following description. *Balanerius navigij majoris genus*. He then quotes a passage *ex Archivis Massiliens*:
where

where these ships are mentioned in company with some others. *Ipforum naves, Balanerios, Galateas, Barchias, Caravellos.* I am led to think, that this Balaner, the Balanerius of Du Cange, is the vessel alluded to by the poet; and by corruption rendered Bollenger. It is undoubtedly the same, which is mentioned by Gawin Douglas, and expressed Ballyngare. It occurs in the beginning of the sixth book of the *Æneis*.—*Sic fatur lacrymans, &c.*

Thus wepand said & let his flote at
large,

Quhil at the bayth † Ballyngare and
barge,

* * * * *

Arrivit near the ciete of Cuma.

C O T T E S.

What is here stiled a Cotte, is the same as is called a Catt: which seems to have been a name of great antiquity. The

† Ballyngare, a kind of ship. *Gloss. ibid.*

Grecians

Grecians had a vessel, called Cetus, Catus; and Cetene; which is said to have been so denominated from Cetus, a whale. This name prevailed among many nations. There are vessels at this day, which are common upon the northern part of the English coast, and called Catts. Part of the harbour at Plymouth is called Catt-water: undoubtedly from ships of this denomination, which were once common in those parts. That there was such a kind of vessel as a Catt, and well known, we may farther learn from Du Cange. He mentions the name with all its variations, with which it has been at times expressed. It was called Cata, Catta, Cota, Cattus, Gattus, Gatus: concerning all which we find the following account. Cata, navis. * Cota, navigij species. Gata, navis. Gatus, navis species. The author having mentioned—Gata, navis: also Cattus, and Catta, quotes a passage from Wilhelmus Heda, which affords farther light concerning the nature of this vessel. *Immergitur ingens*

* The name of the vessel called a Cutter, is probably a variation from the Latin Cota.

navis in flumine Hemâ ad impediendum introitum Trajectinorum, quam Cattam nominabant. He quotes in another place to the same purpose — Cattus, qui pergebat Dyrrachio, perijt in pelago. He mentions again — Gentilium navis, quæ dicitur Cattus.

As the Catt was probably named from Cetus, and Catus a whale: so the ship Bolenger may have been denominated from Balæna, another name for the same fish. There was a vessel called a *Crab, so named from the Latin *carabus, analogous to the names above.

B A R K S.

The poet introduces the Bark as superior both to the Bollenger and Cotte: which seems to be extraordinary; and contrary to the idea, with which it is ge-

* Isidorus. L. 19. C. 1. Uffer de Ecclef. Britan. primord. p. 606. Tres Scotici viri carabum intrantes sine velo, &c. Florent. Wigoniens. ad annum 892.

nerally attended. On this account it may not be improper to define it. According to *Isidorus, by a bark is signified a boat or pinnace, which during a voyage was carried in the ship, but upon coming into port was hoisted out, for the conveyance both of men, and merchandise, to be landed. Barca est, quæ cuncta navis commercia ad littus portat.—Hunc navis in pelago propter nimias undas suo suscipit gremio : ubi autem appropinquaverit portui, reddit vicem barca navi, quam accepit in pelago. It is by Paulinus stiled scapham sequacem, from its being often tied to the stern of the ship, when it sails. See Du Cange. Skinner mentions—barca, *bark*, a Fr. barque : cymba, linter. Barca, Italicum, lembus.—Barga, navicula, scapha oneraria ; alijs barca et barcas : Græco-barb. *Καρκα*. Spelman.

From the above one might be led to think, that things have been strangely inverted : that the larger vessels have been diminished to boats ; and the boats raised

* Isidorus. L. 19. C. I.

to ships. We find, that the Bolengers and Cotts are described as lying by the sides of the barks, which seems contrary to all usage : for the smaller vessel is always represented as attending upon the larger, and lying beside it. Thus much satisfaction is however gained, that we find sufficient authority for the terms introduced, and that such vessels really existed. And in respect to the difficulty, and the seeming inversion of order, it must be considered, that ships and vessels of the same name at different times, and in different places, vary greatly. In the same country what is a barge at one place, has very little conformity with the vessel of the same name in another. A bark in its general acceptation is little better than a skiff or boat : and so we have seen it defined by several authors. Yet there are undoubtedly passages in writers, where it is described, as a vessel of burden. Du Cange, in a quotation introduced above, mentions Barks in conjunction with Carvels — Galateas, Barchias et Caravellos : which last were Spanish and Portuguese vessels,

vessels, and the largest, that were sent to sea. He quotes likewise a passage from Ugotius; where the bark is spoken of as a ship of * burden. Barca navis mercatorum, quæ merces exportat. Hence in the Saxon glossary of Ælfric we find it stiled plot-rcip; by which is signified *a ship of the sea*. It was certainly used in the same acceptation by writers far later; as may be seen from the accounts of some of our greatest navigators, Drake, Cavendish, and others. That it was used for a vessel of the sea, may be also known from the very terms *to embark*, and *disembark*: which are only applied to ships.

The same will appear from the celebrated passage in Shakespear, where he introduces a person, who gives an account of Dover cliff.

† The fishermen, that walk upon the beach,

* A hoy by Kersey is said to be a small bark. Therefore barks in general must be larger than hoys.

† Lear.

Appear like mice : and that tall an-
choring † *bark*

Diminish'd to her cock : her cock a
buoy,

Almost too small for fight.

I had once my scruples about the passage in Rowley : and I therefore began with stating in full force, what may be brought in objection to it. But I am now persuaded, that there is nothing amiss in the text ; and that the barks were transports, in which the army of King Richard was carried over. And though I do not think with the transcriber, that the bollengers and cotts were a kind of boats ; yet I imagine that they were a sort of galliots and tenders, which waited upon the larger vessels. We must not be too pre-

† Even the term boat is sometimes used for a ship, and it is not uncommon to say of a man of war that she is a good sea *boat*. This seems to have obtained of old : for when Tofto in the time of Harold landed in the Humber, and many of the shipmen deserted him, it is said in the Saxon Chronicle, *7 pa Butrecapler hine for-rocan* *i. e. and the boatscarles him forsook.* p. 172.

cisely determined by the primitive meaning of their names : but consider in what acceptation they were held at the time spoken of, and by the people, among whom they are found. The bollenger is mentioned by Kerley, who expresses it Bullenger ; and speaks of it as a sort of small sea vessel or boat. This affords sufficient authority for the term : though I imagine, as I have before said, that it was rather a kind of tender or galliot. But this is of little moment. The poet has all along been describing the process of the Christian navy through the Levant seas, and their approach to the Holy Land ; when they come near enough to disembark, he mentions the * transports ad-

* The terms for the vessels, which were employed in these expeditions to the Holy Land, are in Rob. of Brunne—*Busses* and *Gallais*. p. 149. l. 24. p. 158.

Dight us thider ward our busses and galais.

p. 149. l. 24.

A grete busse and gay, fulle hie of faile was he.

p. 169. l. 16.

In bargeis and galeis he set mylnes to go,

The failes, as men fais, som were blak and blo.

Som were rede and grene.

p. 173. l. 27.

vancing with their barges and tenders by their side, and the knights and soldiers leaping into them, in order to get as soon as possible to land. Then comes the passage in question.

The bollengers and cottes, soe swyfte
yn fyghte,

Upon the sydes of everych bark appere;
Foorte to his offyce lepethe everych
knyghte,

Eftsoones hys squyer with hys shielde
and spere.

There is in the same poem a mistake of the transcriber, which it may be worth while to rectify. It was suggested to me by a learned friend; and is to be found in v. 28.

The banner glesters on the beme of day;
The mittie cros Jerusalem ys sene.

How could Jerusalem, which was a city, and the great object of the armament, be stiled a *cross*? The true reading was manifestly this.

This mittie cros, Jerusalem, ys sene.

The

The cross of Jerufalem was the device upon every flag; and the badge of every knight: and it was to be seen upon the masts of all the ships.

K N O P P E D.

Theyre myghte ys knopped ynne the
froste of fere. p. 197. v. 14.

This is interpreted — *fastened, chained, congealed*; and such may sometimes be the purport of it; but not in this place. What is here expressed knopped is provincial for knapped, from the verb to knap: by which is signified to * *bite off* and *crop very short*: to *pinch off very close*. It is certain, that in some of the dialects of this island, man is pronounced *mon*; captain *coptain*; to leap to † *lope*. In like manner

* See Kersey, Johnson, and other etymologists.

† So con for *ken*: dolve for *delve*: mory for *miry*: mowe for *may*: nouse for *noise*: vorst for *first*: wor for *war*: wop for *weep*: in Rob. of Gloucester; in which author many more instances to the same purpose may be obtained.

to knap is here rendered to knop. The short browning of deer upon underwood is by Kersey stiled *knapping*: and both *knopping* and *knapping* seem to be the same as nipping, differently exhibited. The purport of the line is certainly very different from that which is exhibited in the notes: and amounts to this,

Their might was * *nipped* in the frost of fear.

The transcriber has neither expressed, nor explained it truly. He was at a loss about the meaning of the word; and had recourse to Chaucer and Skinner, where he found, that the term knop, and * knopped related to *tying* and *fastening*. In consequence of which he imagined, that this was the sense here: he has accordingly interpreted, what signifies *diminished, nipped, and blasted*, by *fastened, chained, and congealed*: to which it has no relation.

* Kersey has, knopped, *tied, laced*.

D E Y S D E.

The Lady Birtha says to Ælla—

Ofte have I seene thee atte the none-
daie feaste,

Whan deysde bie thieselfe for wante of
pheeres. p. 79. v. 45.

This is in the notes interpreted—*seated on a deis*. By a deis of old was signified, a raised place or suggestrim, where a feast was held. It was afterwards used with a greater latitude: and it is interpreted in the Glossary to Gawin Douglas—a *desk*, *seat*, or *table*. It is accordingly said, when Achates brings Ascanius to Dido at Carthage,

And as they come the Quene was set at
deis. L. 1. p. 35. l. 20.

i. e. at table.

It is so interpreted by Matthew Paris, where he mentions the answers given to Pope Gregory by the convent of St. Albans.—Non permittitur ciphus cum pede
in

in refectorio nisi tantum in majori mensâ,
quam Deis appellamus. In ductuario ad-
dit. p. 229, 14. As from *seat*, and to
seat, came the participle *seated*; so from
deis, and to *deis*, must be formed *deised*:
and this was certainly the true reading.

Whan *deised* bie thieselfe for wante of
* pheers.

i. e.

Seated by thyself for want of equals.

GROFFYNGELYE.

Wordes wythoute sence fulle *groffyngelye*
he twynes. p. 69. v. 33.

It is spoken of a poet, and supposed to
signify *foolishly*: and it is so explained in
the notes. But the meaning is, that the

* The word is expressed both *pheers* and *feers*.
In the version of Gawin Douglas it is *feris*.

It is said of Mifenus —

Some tyme he was ane of grete Hector's feris.

p. 168. l. 46.
One of his companions. Of this word I shall say
more hereafter,

person

person alluded to strung together a number of unmeaning words in a very low, and abject manner. Gruff and groff signify *prone*, and *flat upon the ground*. Hence it is said in Chaucer,

* They fallen *groff*, and crien pitiously.
p. 38. v. 951.

It occurs in another place,

And *groff* he fell al platte upon the
† ground. p. 229. v. 13605.

When Nifus tumbles in the middle of the race, it is said in the Scottish version—

He flaid and stummerit on the sliddry
ground,

And fell at erd *grufelingis* amid the fen.
p. 138. l. 41.

The term *grufeling* is the same, which we express *groveling*; and relates to a person brought low and rolling on the ground. Hence I should imagine that

* See Edition of Chaucer by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

† The like occurs in the Hist. of William Wallace.

In anguish greit on grouf than turnit he.

L. 12. p. 170.

the passage in Rowley has not been truly copied by the transcriber: and that for *groffyngelye* we should read *groffelynglye*. As from *loving* is formed *lovingly*: from *feeling*, *feelingly*, so from *groffelynge*, *groffelynglye*. By *groffelynge* is meant any thing low and abject. Hence the meaning of the line above is—

Words without sense full *abjectly* they
twine.

When the transcriber interpreted this word by—foolishly, he proceeded merely by guess: and knew nothing of the real purport. In another part of the poems, there is a word of nearly the same signification—*Groffile*.

Thou beest a worme so *groffile* and so
smal. p. 114. v. 547.

This is analogous to the former: and signifies groveling and contemptible.

ABOUNDE.

A B O U N D E.

His crested beaver dyd him smalle a-
bounde.

1 Batt. of Haft. p. 212. v. 55.

It is plain from the context, that *his helmet* did him very little *good* or *service*. Hence I should be led to think, that the transcriber has made a mistake, and expressed by *abounde*, what was originally *aboune*, or *abone*. By which is signified any *good* or *advantage*. *Abone*, vox antiqua obsoleta, quæ mihi in solo Dict. Angl. occurrit. et exp. maturum facere. Author vult esse Italicæ originis: mallet declinare immediate a Fr. G. *abonnir*, bonum facere: mediate ab It. *abbonare*, *abbonire*, bonum facere, vel bonum fieri. Skinner. The purport therefore of the line above is—

His crested helmet did him little *good*.

Chatterton was not at all acquainted with the Latin tongue: and did not uniformly

formly apply to Skinner: otherwise he would have taken advantage of this intelligence. There is a provincial term of nearly the same purport—to boon, or beun, to do service to another as a landlord: Ray's North Country Dialects.

A B R O D D E N.

Twayne lonelie shepsterres dyd *abrodden*
 fle. Eclog. i. v. 6.

This is interpreted *abruptly*. The shepherds fled from home *abruptly*. But according to the ancient Saxon, where the very word occurs, it has a different and more peculiar sense. *Abroden*, erutus, extractus, avulsus—Dict. by Lye and Manning. The meaning therefore is, that they were by the civil wars *exiled* and *driven* from their homes. Nos patriæ fines, nos dulcia linquimus arva.

B Y S M A R E.

B Y S M A R E.

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre cleere,
 Roarynge, and rolleyng on yn course
bysmare. p. 202. v. 94.

This term *bysmare* is by the transcriber interpreted, *bewildered, curious*: which epithets he couples together, as if they were synonymous. But they, neither of them, convey the true meaning. The word occurs in Chaucer, and is said to betoken *abusive speech*. So does the term *billingsgate* at this day: yet they had both a prior, and a very different meaning. In the glossary to Gawin Douglas it is mentioned as denoting a *bawd* or *pimp*. But this likewise must be in a secondary acceptance. Junius mentions its being found in Chaucer, and thinks, that it relates to *scorn* and *indignation*. *Bismare* Chaucero denotat indignationem, contumeliam, despectum. When William the Conqueror lay dropfical at Rheims, Philip of France jested upon him, and said, that

he had got a big belly, and had taken to child-bed.

The Kynge, he seyde, of Engelond halt
 hym to hys bedde,
 And lythmyd hys gret wombe at Rheyms
 achyld beede.

Robert of Gloucester, from whom this is taken, says, that he—*drof hym to * bysmare*: by which may be signified, that he drove him to *scorn*; or rather, I should think, to wrath, and indignation. The word is of great antiquity, and we must therefore go higher for its original purport. Accordingly from the best, and most early authorities we find that by *bysmare* was signified any thing loud, and turbulent: also any thing, which caused terror and veneration either in sound or appearance. *Bysmare*, horrendus. Olaus Verelius. Lex. Goth. p. 48. In Bede, *Bysmarfullum Gode* is interpreted, *Deo borrendo*.—L. i. C. 7. p. 37. And in

* *Bysmare*—mocking, scorn. Gloss. to Rob. of Gloucester.

the best Saxon † Dictionary, where the various senses of this word, are enumerated, *Bismorful* is among others rendered *horrendus*. This seems to be the original purport of the word: and from hence I think we may be pretty certain, that there is nothing *curious* alluded to: but by *course bysmare* is signified *curfu fono*, vel *horrendo*: which is a description very applicable to the Severn.

Had Chatterton been the author of these compositions, he would have introduced the word in the same acceptation, in which it is to be found in Chaucer: for if there be any writer, with whom we may presume him to have been acquainted, it was with him. But he deviates from him in this place, and in many other instances. The reason was, because he had an original before him: and the term, as it is to be found in Chaucer, could not be made to agree with the context. He therefore gave it the best interpretation, that

† *Bismorful*, contumelia, ludibrium. *Bismorful*, *horrendus*. Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning.

he was able : but was wonderfully wide of the mark.

There seem likewise to be other signs, that our transcriber often copied, what he did not understand : and that he probably made some small alterations, when he could not precisely make out the original. He uses the word *Bysmare* as an adjective, which I believe by all other writers is introduced as a substantive. Hence I have a suspicion, that he has not copied the text truly : and that what he has rendered *course bysmare* was in the original *hoarse bysmare*.

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre cleere,
Roarynge and rolleynge on yn *hoarse
bysmare*.

i. e. rauco terrore fluens.

At all rates there is nothing in the original, which signifies either bewildered, or curious. We meet with the like term, introduced in the *Storie of William Cannyng* as a participle.

Next Radcleeve Church (oh worke of
hande of heav'n,

Where Canynge sheweth as an instru-
mente)

Was to my *bismarde* eyne fyghte newlie
giv'n. p. 285. v. 139.

Bismarde in this place signifies—*astonish-
ed, filled with veneration*; being a partici-
ple from the substantive *bismar*.

It is moreover to be observed, that this river is stiled *cleere*. Now this is an epithet of all others the least applicable to the Severn. No person born at Bristol could possibly have spoken of it in this manner. Indeed the term must appear very ill adapted to any river, which is described as *roaring and rolling on*. It is not consistent with the description of the Severn, which is given in the *Storie of Master William Canynge*.

Whylst blataunt Severne, from Sabryna
clep'de,

Rores * flemie o'er the † san-des, that
she hep'de. p. 278. v. 11.

* *Flemie*—the same as *flema* in *Sumner*: *Flema*, *Flyma*, *Flyman*. fugitivus. from Saxon *flyma*,

† A sandy stream could not be clear.

Such a stream could never be pure, and transparent. It is a character, which Chatterton of all others would not have bestowed upon the Severn. He would never have called it *cleare*, unless he had been apprised, that the word had another latent meaning. But his silence shews, that he knew nothing of any such hidden purport: for he would otherwise have inserted it among his other interpretations, and avoided the seeming inconsistency. But Rowley was well acquainted with that which was a secret to his transcriber; and has written with great propriety. The Severn was famous both for its trade and navigation, and also for its ancient history and fabulous original. For it was supposed to have taken its name from Sabrina, daughter of Lochrine, who was drowned in its stream. Our poet tells the story differently, and says, that Sabrina was overwhelmed by a mountain, which was hurled upon her by a giant knight: and that after her death a river issued from her body.

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre *cleere*,
Roarynge and rolleynge on yn course
bysmare.

Now the word *cleere* does not in this place relate to transparency ; but signifies *fine, noble, famous, renowned* : all which was a secret to the transcriber. It occurs in this acceptation in ancient authors ; and in particular in the version of the New Testament by * Wiclif. In the glossary *cleere* is rendered fine and gallant : Clerte, *glory*. Apoc. C. 21. and Luke C. 3. Also clereness, *glory*. John C. 2. v. 17. It is thus used in an ancient recommendatory † prayer for a dying person. The ryght splendaunt companie of Angellis be atte thy departure. The ryght *clere* senate of the Apostolys wyll defende the. The words in the gospel of St. John, C. 17. v. 16. — *And I am glorified in Thee*, are in the old

* And whanne he was gon out Jhesus seide, nowe mannes sone is clarified, and God is clarified in him. John xiii. v. 32. *

† The Art and Crafte to knowe welle to dye.
Printed by Caxton, 1490.

Suevic version rendered—Och jag ar *forclaret* 1 them. We find the same passage of the Evangelist paraphrased in an ancient metrical version at King's College, Cambridge, where the word occurs in this sense repeatedly: the present reading is as follows. *These words spake Jhesus, and list up his eyes to heaven and said; Father, the hour is come: glorify thy son, that thy son also may glorify thee.* Again—*I have glorified thee on earth: I have finished the work, which thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory, which I had with thee, before the world was.* This in the metrical version is paraphrased after the following manner.

As oure lord Jhesus his eyen caste an
hei,

Toward hevене, he seide, fader, the
tyme is ney

I come, that thou *clernesse* on thi sone
do,

That the sone the mowe mak *cler* also.

Ich

Ich habbe y mad the *cler* in erthe, &
that work also

To end Ich have now y browt, that you
tok me to do.

And, fader, bifore thi fulf make me now
cler,

In thilke *clerneffe*, that ich hadde ar ich
come her.

From thefe evidences, I think, we may be affured, that by a river *cleere* in the pafage above is fignified—*rivus * clarus : a noble and renowned stream* : and that the term has not here any relation either to the purity or transparency of the water.

* In the hiftory of William and the Werwolf, a Mff. in K. C. C. it is faid of a Queen, that

Sche went

Into a choys chaumber, the *clerli* was painted. p.66.

i. e. finely, nobly.

Hence probably came the prefent word *cleverly* and *clever* ; both from *clere*.

D Y G H T E.

Telle mie Bristowans to dyghte yn stele.

p. 100. v. 945.

The transcriber does not seem to have observed that in this line both rythm and grammar are affected. Mr. Tyrwhitt has restored the true reading.

Telle mie Brystowans to be dyghte yn
stele.

i. e. to be accoutred in their armour,

V Y C T U A L L E.

Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the false God, whom they did Tau-
ran name,

Dightyng his altarre with greete fyres
in Maie,

Roastyng their vyctualle round aboute
the flame.

2 Batt. of Hastings, p. 264. v. 345.

ETHIC

Mr.

Mr. Tyrwhitt with his usual accuracy has cancelled the term *vyctualle*, and restored the true reading—*vyctimes*.

Rostyngge theyr *vyctimes* round aboute
the flame.

But does not this correction shew, that the person, who made the mistake, from the evidence of that mistake, could not have been the author of the original composition? I think nothing can be more plain. He seems to have had a Mss. before him, which he could not always read, as it was probably in some degree imperfect: and he has supplied the deficiencies to the best of his ability; but oftentimes not very happily.

HONDE POYNCTE.

The foemenn everych honde poyncete
getteth fote. p. 95. v. 273.

This word is omitted in the notes, as unintelligible; yet it plainly relates to the
marks

marks upon a dial : and to the hand or gnomon, by whose pointed shadow time was distinguished. We should now a days express the same ideas by saying, that the enemy *every moment* got footing. There is a particularity in the expression above, which may well be expected from a person of the times : whether it were Turgot or Rowley : but such, as the boy of Bristol could never have thought of. In truth he did not in the least know, to what the term related.

A L E D G E.

— Ne aledge stonde. p. 177. v. 5.

This Chatterton interprets *idly* : and that was certainly the original purport of the passage, before it was sophisticated by him. For he has transposed the letters, and formed his opinion by guess. The word *idle* is from the Saxon *ydel*, the adverb of which is *ydelech*. Therefore instead of aledge, he should have expressed it

it *adelege*, which is analogous to *ydelech*. This was undoubtedly the true reading, of which *aledge* is a transposition. There is such a word as *aledge*, but it is of a different meaning. *Aledge, ease*: Chaucer. *Aledge, alleviate*. Gloss. to Chaucer, by Mr. Tyrwhitt. It is the same, which we now express *allay*. But the word in the line quoted is of quite a different purport.

O N L Y G H T E.

Ælla threatens destruction to the Danes, who have invaded his country; and in describing his purpose he says—

Theyre throngynge corfes shall *onlyghte*
the starres,

The barrowes braстыnge wythe the slenne
schall swelle. p. 123. v. 678.

Every body knows, that the Danes buried their slain upon plains and open places in *tumuli*, which were called *lowes* and *barrows*. And Ælla in these fine
lines

lines tells his soldiers, that the enemy's dead shall be so numerous, that they shall swell their tombs, till they burst for want of room, and not suffice to hold them. But what is the meaning of the first line, where it is said, that the dead bodies should *onlyghte* the stars? Here is certainly a great mistake of the transcriber, who did not know the author's meaning; and has substituted one word for another. Instead of *onlyghte* I make no doubt but that the original was *onlyche*; which signifies to be like, or equal to. *Onlych* is the same term, which we now express *liken*: and the meaning of the line is this, that the corpes of the Danes should be *like*, or *equal to* the stars of heaven.

Theyr throngynge corpes shall *onlyche*
the starres.

i. e. match them in number.

Onlych comes from the Saxon *onlic*, *similis*: whence also comes *onlicniſſe*, *likeness*, *an image*. *Onlic*, *similis*: *Spīðe onlice*, *valde similis*. *Onlicniſſe*, *fimilitudo*, *simulacrum*. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

A L U S T E.

Then Alured coulde not hymself *aluste*.

p. 214. v. 88.

Chatterton has certainly, as Mr. Tyrwhitt with great ingenuity proves, mistaken the word *aiust*, and read it *alust*. This he has done by looking into Skinner, where the term sought for is printed very obscurely. The letter i, particularly, resembles an l: which undoubtedly led him into this mistake. The word, which he sophisticates, occurs in the first battle of Hastings; where Alured is described as encumbered with his dead horse fallen upon him.

Then Alured coulde not himself *aiust*.

This is certainly the true reading: and what was in those times termed *aiust*, or *ajust*, is the same as by the French is expressed *ajuster*; and by us at the present time *adjust*. The meaning therefore is—
Alured could not extricate himself, and reco-

ver

ver his right position. The true word is very proper, though misrepresented. But the person, who was so grossly mistaken, could not have been very conversant in ancient authors. And he, who was so fundamentally ignorant in writings of this nature, could not have been the author of these poems. Skinner says, *Aiust, submovere, tollere*: as if it signified to *hoise*, or *hoist*: *he could not lift himself up.* At this rate it should answer to the *hauffer* of the French. But it undoubtedly comes from the verb *ajuster*; as I have mentioned before.

TO THE OURT ARRAIE.

This expression occurs in the second battle of Hastings, where it is said—

The Normannes all emarchialld in a
lyne

To the ourt arraie of the thight Sax-
onnes came. p. 266. v. 587.

The purport of the lines seems to be obscure as they now stand; but by a small
change

change in arrangement the author's meaning may possibly be obtained. What is above rendered *to the ourt*, was perhaps in the original, *toward the*. The Normans came *toward the* arrai of the Saxons. That which we express *toward* was oftentimes rendered *toward*.

Eneas sterne in armes tho present,
 Rolland his ene toward Turnus did stand.

G. Doug. Eneis. L. 12. p. 447. l. 29.

Again—

The bargis did rebound,
 In rowand fast *toward* the latine ground.
 ibid. p. 326. l. 12.

I have however sometimes thought, that possibly by *the ourt arraie* might be meant the *overt array*: and that *our* was a contraction for *overt*, or *ouvert*. By this would be signified the *open array*: the fair front of the Saxon battalions. * *Overt*: *open* or *manifest*. Kersey's Dict. *Overt*: a Fr. *ouvert*. *apertus*. Skinner. If it be,

* *Overte*. adj. Fr. *open*. Gloss. to Chaucer by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

as I surmise, the line—To the ourt arraie
of the thight Saxonnes came—intimates,
that the Normans marched up to the op-
posite ranks of the Saxons ; who stood in
full view ; and were also *thight*: *i. e.* close-
ly joined, and firmly united. Thight.
well joined, and knit together. Kersey. See
also Gloss. to Rob. of Brunne.

DRAWEN, or DRAWNE.

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle,
Downe to the depthe of helle
Thousands of Dacians wente.

p. 24. l. 9.

The word *Drawne* may be right: yet I
suspect that it has been in some degree al-
tered from what it was in the manuscript.
I imagine, that in the original it was
drav'n, or *drov'n*, from the verb *drive* and
drove. The Danes *driven* by Ælla's fell
sword sunk by thousands to the grave.
Drawne may be provincial for *drov'n*: at
all rates I think, that it has no relation to
the word *draw* (*traho*) to which the tran-
scriber

scriber probably referred it : as he has not given us any interpretation ; nor any caveat to the contrary.

LOGGES and BORDELS.

The third Eclogue begins with these lines.

Wouldst thou kenn nature in her better
parte ?

Goe, serche the *logges* and *bordels* of the
hynde. p. 12.

There is certainly a mistake in the second verse : for the plural *logges* is a disyllable ; and makes a fault in the rhythm. Besides in those times an hind had but one lodge or bordel : and he was perhaps well off to have that. Even now we never speak of the cottages of the shepherd, nor of the huts of the labourer. The passage therefore for the sake of metre, and of sense, should be corrected ; and the words rendered lodge and bordel in the singular.

Goe serch the *logge*, and *bordel* of the
hynde.

That is, go look into the weatherboarded cottage of the peasant.

Bordel in Chaucer signifies a brothel ; and bordeller, a person, who kept such a place. But the author above uses the words in their true and original meaning : borrowing them from the French writers ; from whom they were first imported. In the language of that nation a bordel in its primitive sense signified a *cottage* ; and a bordeller, a *cottager*. And that our author has an eye to the original language is plain by his terming such a person in another place, not a *bordeller*, but a * *bordelyer* : which is undoubtedly put for the French *bordelier*. The word is a diminutive from *bord* or *bourd*, an *house*, or *shop*. As *bord* is an house, so *bordel* is an inferior habitation ; a cottage or hovel. *Bordel*, a *small cottage*. Kersey's Dict. The term *bord*, from whence *bordel* was derived, occurs in the poem of William and the Werwolf more than once : and is sometimes expressed *bourdes*,

* Ælla. v. 410.

He was at a *bourdes*, ther bachelers
pleide. p. 22. b.

i. e.

*He was at a public house, where young
people gamed.*

Again—

Sche—blive atte a *bourde* borrowed
boyes cloaths.

i. e.

She readily at a shop borrowed boys cloaths.

G O D O—&c. &c.

The poet is upbraiding men of a timorous disposition; and bids them get away, while he sings of war and bloodshed.

Go, do the weaklie womman inn mann's
geare :

And sccond your mansion, if grymm war
come there. p. 211. v. 19.

I think, that there is a mistake in these lines: For what can be meant by *do the womman in man's gear*? The poet is speaking to effeminate courtiers; and he has before said, *Lordynges, awaunt*. I therefore cannot help thinking, that in the

original the lines run thus : not go do,
but

Go to, ye weaklie wommen inne mann's
geare,
And scond your mansions, if grymm
war come there.

In the second verse the word *scond* signifies to disgrace, from the Saxon *sconde*, *dedecus* : *scondlic*, *turpis*, *ignominifous*. It was sometimes expressed *scande* ; whence comes the modern term *scandal*. By *scond your mansions* is, I imagine, meant *disgrace the house of your ancestors*.

We have a similar passage in p. 224. v. 300. where the poet is speaking of some recreant knights who did not act up to their duty in battle.

But manie knyghtes were men in wo-
mens geer,

Here however is a manifest transposition of the terms, which originally ran thus—

But manie knyghtes were women in
mens geer.

This may have been the blunder of a transcriber ; but could never be the mistake

of the real composer of these poems. The author's meaning cannot be better explained, than from his own words above, and from another similar passage.

Thus Leofwine: O women cas'd in
stele. p. 242. v. 101.

i. e. *Women in mens gear.*

B I E T H A N K S.

The Lady Birtha being seized by the Danes fears every thing, which is bad; and desires them to take away her life, and she shall be indebted to them for ever: as that would free her from violence and dishonour.

Bie thanks I ever onne you wylle be-
stowe:

From ewbryce you mee pyghte, the
worste of mortal woe.

p. 157. v. 1084.

It is plain, as the learned Editor of these poems has * observed, that bie thanks is a mistake for mie thanks.

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's observations in the Errata.

Mie thanks I ever onne you wylle be-
stowe, &c.

B L E N T.

Sir Roger in the 3d Pastoral, p. 14.
has been reasoning upon the fate of all
things; which are mixed, and alike doom-
ed to perish. The flower, he says, wi-
thers, as well as the weed :

See, the fwote flourette hathe noe fwote
at alle.

i. e. hath no sweetness.

He then proceeds to man.

The cravent, warrioure, and the wyfe
be blent :

Alyche to drie awaie wythe those theie
dyd * bement.

Chatterton interprets the term blent, by
ceased, dead, no more : but he is, I think,

* From the verb to mene, lugere : the same as
moan.

O douchty child, maist wourthy to be menit.
Hence bemenit, and bement.

Gawin Douglas. p. 361. l. 2.

mistaken.

mistaken. He looked into Skinner or Kersey for information: and the word is certainly so rendered by those authors. But this is not the purport of it here. Blent in this passage plainly means mixed and blended: and it is derived from the Saxon *blendan*, *miscere*: from which * *blent* is a participle. The words *dyd bement* may be right, but they are not according to analogy. However the purport of the lines, if rendered paraphrastically, amounts to this—The Coward, the Brave, and the Wise, are blended together; alike to moulder away with those, whom they formerly bemoaned,

CUYEN and COYEN.

These seem to be two words of nearly the same purport, though differently exhibited.

The author here makes use of a participle in a very primitive sense, which he

* Blent: *blended*. Chaucer. T. v. 1194. See Gloss. by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

expresses

expresses both *cuyen* and *coyen*: or the difference in spelling may be owing to the transcriber. The former term occurs in the first Eclogue, p. 3. v. 35. where the farmer is made to say

not cuyen kine
by for Cow
attle: Dury
now a real on
the stable

Mie *cuyen* kine, mie bullockes stringe in
fyghte.

This *cuyen* is in the notes explained *tender*: but it is nothing like it. It is certainly the same in purport as the French * *coy* and *quoy*; which signify *tame* and *quiet*. In short, it is a participle from the verb to *coy*: from whence is deduced *coyen* and † *cuyen*: just as from *drive* comes *driven*; from *shrive* *shriven*: also *laden*, *graven*, *carven*, *mowen*, *laven*, *shapen*,

* *Cambinhoy* beres him *coy*, that fende's whelp.
Rob. Brunne. p. 281. l. 21.

This in the French is —

Kambyn hoÿe se tient coÿe, ne volt eyder. See the notes. The meaning is that *Kambyn*, or *Cambin*, was tame and peaceable, and would not lend his assistance.

Coy—quiet, still, peaceable. Rob. Brunne Gloss.

Coy—quiet. Gloss. to G. Douglas.

† *Coy* and *coyen*—to quiet. Kersey.

from their respective verbs. We retain the verb now, but instead of to coy we express it to cow: by which is meant to keep under: to depress and tame. The word occurs often in ancient writers, from whom the original sense may indisputably be obtained.

* In worde nor dede nedeth him not
to *coie*.

† She kept him *coye*, and eke prive.
i. e. tame.

‡ He nist how best her hart for to *acoie*.

§ Then is your careles courage ac-
coyed. *i. e. cowed and tamed.*

By Cuyen kine we must understand the quiet and domestic part of the farmer's herds. These are opposed to others, which were more wild and unruly.

Mie cuyen kine, mie bullockés stringe
yn fyghte.

* Chaucer. R. R. prol. v. 71.

† R. R. v. 4257. Edition of Mr. Tyrwhitt.

‡ Tr. lib. 5. v. 782.

§ Spencer. Shepherd's Cal. Feb. p. 4.

That is—My tame cows, and my disorderly bulls and bullocks.

The word, when expressed *coyen* is of nearly the same analogy and purport.

Comme, and doe notte *coyen* bee.

p. 84. v. 125.

What we now express by—*do not be very coy*, of old meant, *do not be afraid; do not be shy*. *Coy* and *Coyen*,—*nice, dainty, also shy, finical*. Kersey's Diction.

A P P L Y N G E S.

Mie tendre *Applynge*s and embodye trees. Ec. i. p. 3. v. 33.

In the notes it is explained *grafted trees*: but very untruly. *Applynge* is a diminutive of apple. It is to be observed, that the fruit is often put for the tree, which bears it. Nothing is more common than to say, we plant a codling, or a fig: and cut down a crab, or a floe. Moreover all words terminating like the
word

word in question betoken something diminutive and tender: and which has not arrived at maturity. This may be seen in the word *codling* before mentioned: also in *yearling*, *firstling*, *kitling* for *catling*, *bantling*, *nursling*, *fondling*, *fappling*, *foundling*. These are all diminutives, and relate to the most early part of life, and to that imbecillity, with which it is attended. An *Appling* is a young apple-tree: and *tendre* is for *tender*: when therefore the poet mentions—

Mie tendre Applynges and embodyde
trees,

he opposes his young and weak plants of late growth, to the trees which are strong and full bodied.

B L Y N N—stop, impede, cease.

Blynne your contekions, Chiefs.

P. 115. v. 533.

i. e. *cease your contests.*

Thus in *Gawin Douglas* the Sibyl says to *Æneas*,

Blyn not, blyn not, thou grete Trojan
 Enee,
 Of thy bedis, nor prayeris.

p. 164. l. 22.

The word is not * uncommon : and it occurs more than once in Rowley : particularly p. 8. v. 40.

The reynyng foemen—
 Boun the merk fwerde, theie feche to
 fraye theie blyn.

The term to boun signifies expedire : of which I shall say more hereafter. I have introduced the passage above, because there seems to have been a great blunder committed by the transcriber. Indeed, were we to take in a little more of the context, still more mistakes would be found : but I shall confine myself to that, which is before us. And, I think, nothing can shew more satisfactorily, than this passage, that Chatterton had an original before him, which he did not understand.

* In the Mss. poem at K. C. C.

Be stille, barn, quath themperour, blinne of the
 forwe.

P. 5.

Whether the Mss. was at all impaired, and the words in some degree effaced: or whether it were owing to his ignorance, and carelessness, I know not: but thus much is certain, that the terms are sadly transposed, and changed, to the ruin of the context. We know, that to blynn was a verb, which signified to *stop, delay, and hinder*. But he has so perverted the passage, that it is not easy to make any sense of it. The natural order of the words was not *to fraie theie blynn*: but *the fraie to blynn*. And even here we have mistake upon mistake: for what he has rendered *fraie*, was undoubtedly *faie*, the foe. To *blynn the faie*, signifies *to stop the enemy*. King Richard is represented with his ships as just upon the point of landing. Upon this the Saracens run together, not to *stop* the contention and battle, but to begin it by opposing the enemy's landing: this is termed *blynnning the faie*: for *faie* signifies *a foe*. The term was often so expressed from the Saxon *pa* of the same signification. *Fa*, inimicus. Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. In the version

sion of Gawin Douglas, Nifus says to Euryalus—

Grete harm is done, ynuch of blude is
sched,

Throw out our *fayis* ane patent way is
led. p. 288. l. 40.

Again,

Amyd his *fais* rufchis redy to de.

p. 297. l. 7.

In another place Camertes tells the Rutilians, the Trojans are in number so few, that

The half of al our menzes grete and
smal

Sal not fynd zounder ane *fa* to mache
with al. p. 416. l. 17.

The true meaning of Rowley was certainly this. The people on land, whom he represents as running together at the sight of the Christian navy, have recourse to their arms, and make a stand.

The reyning * foemen—

* Fomen—Enemies. Rob. Brunne.

Boun the merk fwerd, and * *seche* the faie
to blynn.

i. e. they draw out their deadly swords, and
endeavour to impede, and stop the land-
ing of the enemy.

It must not be objected, that in other places
Rowley makes use of the word *foe*: for the
terms are introduced in the same manner,
and used indifferently, by Gawin Douglas.
He mentions

How Camilla hir *fais* down can ding.

p. 287. l. 33.

He speaks afterwards of Turnus—

Turnus schakand his hede, said, thou fers
fo,

Thy fervent wourdis compt I not ane stro.

p. 445. l. 36.

Again—

Ane ald crag stane, &c. he

Hynt in hys hond & swakkit at his *fo*.

p. 445. l. 52.

* This word is expressed in Gower after the same
manner.

Whan Jason came the flees to *seche*.

i. e. to seek.

Conf. Amant. p. 105. The like to be observed in the
Mss. of K. C. C.

The text, if we were to take in the whole, would perhaps be found to be farther corrupted: but I shall not meddle with it. All my endeavour is to shew from the nature of these mistakes, that Chatterton had an original poem before him: and could not have been the author of these compositions. For this purpose the passage above is sufficient.

AMENGED, and AMENGES.

Orr seest the hatchedd stede
 Ypraunceynge o'er the mede,
 And neighe to be amenged the poyntedd
 speeres. Song to Ælla. p. 25. l. 1.

The meaning of the word is *mixed* or *mingled*: but it does not seem to make any sense here in this acceptation; and it is besides not to be reconciled with grammar. It moreover spoils the verse by being a trisyllable; and gives a time too much. What has been introduced as a participle, was originally a preposition; and expressed *amenge*, or *amenges*: which answered to the words *among* and *amongst* with us. It is a variation of the Saxon *amanz* and *amænges*: and is by several writers introduced in nearly the same manner. We may find it often in the version of Gawin Douglas; particularly where Æneas is accompanying Evander.

Amangis

Amangis thame with sic carpyng and talk
Toward Evandrus pure lugeyng thay stalke.

L. 8. p. 224. l. 35.

The word therefore seems to be the preposition, amenge or amenges; but altered by the transcriber to a participle. The meaning of the passage in Rowley is, that the * stede was seen to prance and neigh to be *amongst* the pointed spears.

We have like authority for the word in another part of the same version. Virgil is speaking of the Rutilians, who were found sleeping in their camp at night: *inter lora rotasque*: which is thus translated.

The men ligging the hames about thare nek;

Or than *amangis* the quhelis and the thetis.

p. 287. l. 6.

The word occurs in another place: where it does not seem to be truly represented: and the text appears to be so corrupted, that it may not be easy to restore it. What I mention is at the beginning of the Storie concerning William Canynge.

Anente a brooklette, as I laie reclyned,

Lifteyng to heare the water glyde alonge,

Myndyng how thorowe the grene mees yt

wyn'd,

Awhilst the cavys respons'd ytts mot-

tring songe,

* Of the term *hatched* I shall speak hereafter.

At dystaunt ryfyng Avonne to he sped,
 Amenged wyth ryfyng hylles dyd shewe yts
 head. p. 278.

The transcriber seems to have taken some liberties here, either from not having truly read, or not perfectly understood, the original. We meet with *ryfyng* Avon joined with *ryfyng* hills, which could not well be the words, or meaning of the original composer. And when something is said to *shew its head*, it is not easy to find out, what is referred to: for there seems to be a verb without a nominative case. How the lines stood at first may be difficult to determine. If I might venture a conjecture or two, I should think that for *dystaunt* we should read *distaunce*: and for *amenged* with *ryfyng* hylles, which contains an aukward repetition, we should put—wyth *ryfen*, or *riven*, hilles: by this is meant—surrounded with *interrupted* and *broken* hills, in the midst of the highland cliffs, the river was seen to rise. *Amenged* certainly signifies mixed, and surrounded. Robert of Gloucester expresses it *ymenged*: and speaking of the ancient Britons, he says

Thus were heo in werre and wo ymenged
 by the Saxones. p. 278. l. 1.

It occurs in another place—

Tho

Tho heo were thorg out * ymenged with
 fwerd and with mace. p. 48. l. 21.

But there is still some farther mistake: for in the last line something is predicated: and it is not clear of whom or what it is spoken. I should therefore read the two last lines in the following manner. The poet has mentioned his situation—Anente a brooklette as I lay reclined: and given an account of the prospect, which was afforded him.

At distaunce rising Avonne, as he sped,
 Ameng'd with ryfen hilles dyd shewe his
 head.

To rive: discerpere, frangere. Lye's Etymolog.

These liberties in correcting the text may perhaps be thought too great to be consistent with true criticism. But there is reason to think, that the transcriber has taken as great, and the remedy must be adequate to the disease.

A L M E R.

The poet, in the truly excellent ballade of Charity, describes a person overtaken by a

* Y menged five ymenged, vel ymengd: *mingled*.
 Gloss. to Rob. Glocester.

Menge: mingle, mix. Gloss. to Rob. Brunne.

sudden storm, whom he stiles an *Almer*. It is not impossible, but that there might have been such a word to denote an *asker of almes*: but it is contrary to analogy: and I think improbable. After a noble description of the clouds gathering, and the approaching of the tempest, the person spoken of is thus introduced.

Beneathe an holme, faste by a pathwaie side,
Which dide unto Seyncte Godwine's co-
vent lede :

A hapless pilgrim moneynge did abide,
Pore in his view, ungentle in his wede.

Longe Bretful of the miseris of neede.

Where from the hail-stone could the *Almer*
flie ?

He had no housen there, ne anie covent nie.

p. 204. v. 15.

He is again mentioned by the same title, v. 76. We find that the person, thus denominated, is spoken of above as a pilgrim: and when afterwards the Abbot of St. Godwin appears, and this person applies to him, we read agreeably to what preceded—

An almes, fir prieste, the droppynge *pilgrim*
saide.

Now we know, that a person, who had been upon a pilgrimage, was stiled a *Palmer*: It was a word in a manner synonymous with
that

that of Pilgrim. In the vision of Pierce Plowman a person is introduced, who purposes setting out upon one of these holy expeditions then in vogue. He accordingly says—

—Hang mi hoper at mi hals in stede of a
sripe,

A bushel of bread-corn bring me therein,
For I wil sowe it my selfe, and fith will I
wend

To *Pilgrimages*, as * *Palmers* do, pardon to
have. p. 31. b.

We may, I think, be assured, that this was the true reading in the two places above. Likewise what is expressed *bailstone*, was, I believe, *bailstorm*. In consequence of which, I should imagine, that the lines at first were after this manner,

Where from the *bailstorm* could the *Palmer*
flie?

Instead of

Where from the *bailstone* could the *Almer*
flie?

Again—

And from the pathwaie side then turned hee,
Where the poor *Palmer* laie beneath the
holmen tree.

* Palmer, a pilgrim, that travels to visit holy places.
Kersey's Dict.

Instead of the poor *Almer*. So far am I from supposing that this youth could have been the author of this excellent composition, that I am persuaded, he did not understand the context. And as he had an ancient and impaired manuscript before him, he had not sagacity to supply the deficiencies, wherever such happened. Yet he acted for the best, as we find in the present instance, where he introduced Almer for Palmer, thinking that it related to almes.

B R E T F U L.

Longe bretful of the miseris of neede.

This in the notes is interpreted *filled with*: and by * Skinner—*top-full*: all which seems to be mere surmise. We find the word occur in the Crede of Pierce Plowman, where he is describing a Fryar Preacher, to whose order he had no great regard.

A greet churl & a grum, growen as a tonne,
With a face so fat, and as a ful bleddere
Blewen *bretful* of breth, and as a bagge
honed.

The word is to be found also in the Prologue of Chaucer, where he is describing a Pardoner.

• See also Kersey. *Bretful, top-full.*

* His wallet lay beforne him in his lappe,
Bret-ful of pardon, come from Rome al
 hote. v. 686.

It is also introduced in the Knight's Tale.

A mantelet upon his shouldres hanging
Bretful of rubies red, as fire sparkling.
 v. 2166.

What is the true etymology of the word I cannot pretend to determine. It may possibly be deducible from † breed and bred, which answer to the Latin, *latus* — *broad*. *Bret-ful* may signify *latè oppletus*, i. e. *filled the whole breadth*; and be analogous to *brim-full*: but of this I cannot speak with any certainty.

C H E R I S A U N E I.

Some *cherifaunei* 'tys to gentle mynde.

P. 75. v. 1.

Mr. Tyrwhitt with his usual judgement has restored the original reading: which was certainly, as he represents it.

Some *cherifaunce it is* to gentle mynde.

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Edition.

† Brede, *breadth*. Gloss. to Robert of Gloucester. The same to be found in Robert of Brunne. Hence perhaps — *bredful* and *bretful*.

In

In respect to the word itself, it is borrowed from the French : and to be found in Chaucer and other writers. In this instance before us, as in many others, the mode of error will shew, from whom the mistake proceeded : and we may be assured, that it could not have originated in the author of the work ; but in the transcriber. This is not an oversight, and slip of the pen. There is design and industry in this variation ; however ill conducted and misapplied. The person, with whom the blunder began, must have had a Mss. before him ; which he could not perfectly read and copy : as it was probably impaired with age ; and the letters not clearly defined. He has in consequence of this left out by mistake the letter c in cherifaunce ; and rendered it *cherifaune*. In the next place he has added to this mistake by taking the initial i from *it is* ; and joining it, as final, to the word, which is antecedent. By these means, it is made *cherifaunei*. Then with a seeming regard to accuracy he puts the mark of an aphæresis to the word, which he had abbreviated, and expresses it *'tys*. For as he has unnecessarily added a syllable in one place ; he is forced to take it away in another for the sake of the verse. Now, as I before said, we have in this example all the misconception of a bad critic ; who has been

guilty

guilty of a complication of mistakes. Had the real author left out a letter in the manner above; he would upon observing his omission have inserted it at once. He must have been apprised of his own purpose; and been acquainted with the terms, which he used. But the transcriber was not master of them: he did not know their intrinsic worth: nor even the elements, of which they were composed. He therefore by trying to remedy one mistake has run into others; and ruined, what he would amend. In short I must recur to my original postulatam, that every author must know his own meaning; and his own terms, and diction. But Chatterton was by no means a judge of these before us; as is evident from his mistakes. We see plainly in many instances, that he was perplexed, and at a loss to find out the purport of the subject matter: which could never be the case of a real composer. The mistake above is very similar to others, which have preceded: particularly to that about fraying they blynn; instead of blynning the fraie, or faie: a mistake, of which the true author of the poem could not have been guilty. The very terms, which we use, when we say, thus and thus was the original reading, plainly intimate, that there was an original work; not an original by Chatterton, who
was

was guilty of these misconceptions; but of a writer far prior. Thus in the list of the errata, we are referred to the original (that is, *the author's*) reading. But this is always contrary to the reading of Chatterton. What is then the natural inference to be made? certainly—that Chatterton was not the author. He was the very person, who perverted and confounded the original. He must therefore have been only a transcriber, and commentator. The original reading was prior to his mistakes, and by another hand. The learned Editor of Rowley's poems styles them *the evident mistakes of the transcriber*. Of these mistakes the transcriber would never have been guilty, if he had possessed a fiftieth part of the learning and sagacity of the Editor: with whom I agree in every thing: saving only that I am obliged to make this inference from the same premises, viz. that these mistakes prove this young man to have been *merely* a transcriber, and that the author was a different person.

B E S T O I K E R R E .

No, bestoikerre, I wylle go. p. 82. v. 91.

No, foule bestoykerre, I wylle rende the
ayre. p. 154. v. 1064.

Chatterton seems to have mistaken the com-
position

position of this word, and out of the old *wo* (or *w*) to have formed two letters, *t* and *o*. Hence instead of the true term *beswicerre* or *beswikerre* he has idly expressed it *bestoi-kerre*. The word, when truly rendered, signifies *a deceiver*; from the Saxon *berpican*, *fraus*; and *berpican*, *illicere*, *fallere*. See Lye and Manning's Dict. Gower speaks of the Sirens, as singing in notes

Of fuche measure, of fuche musycke,
Wherof the shippes they (did) beswyke.
Confess. Am. l. i. p. 10. b.

It occurs in the same sense in the Saxon Chronicle. *þ nouþer sculde berpican oþer*. See Hickes. Thesaur. v. i. p. 158. The word simply was *swyke*: the preceding *be* is merely the old Saxon prefix; which we still retain in many words; such as *becalmed*, *benighted*, *belimed*, *bespoken*, *betoken*. The word is found in Robert of Gloucester. Anlaf says to King Athelstan, who wondered, that he did not disclose a secret to him—

Syre, he seyde, ych was ysuore to hym ar
to the,

And gyf ych adde hym bysuyke, the wors
thou wost leve me. p. 272. l. ult.

It occurs also simply. *Suyke*, a *traitor*, *seducer*. *Suykedhede*, *treachery*. *Suykedom*, *treachery*. Gloss. *ibid*.

It is plain from what has preceded, that this young man could not read the characters, with which he was engaged. The old black letter to , having its first stroke elevated above the line, made him conclude, that the former part was a t : and the latter, not differing at all from an o , determined him in his notion. It could not be from Skinner, that he was led into the mistake : for there the letters are too well defined ; and he was too well acquainted with the common black letter to have been deceived. The elements there could not have afforded room for this deception. It was from a *Mss.* that he was misled ; where the characters are more confused, and of a more antique cast. Of this particular letter many examples may be seen in *Hickes's Thesaurus* : especially v. 1. p. 144. In the first Editions of Caxton, and in other black letter books, as low down as *Spencer's Shepherd's Calendar*, 1591 : we may see it expressed much after the same manner, as we find it in *Mss.* to . This in an old writing, impaired by time, might easily be taken for to : especially if the strokes were not well defined, nor the letters separated, as they are now a days. For the characters in old writings are often brought so very near, and are so blended with one another, that it requires much use, and a distinguishing eye, to decipher

cipher them. It above all things requires a competent knowledge in the language which they transmit. But of this Chatterton was confessedly destitute.

A M E N U S E D.

It is said, upon the Christian fleet approaching towards the Holy Land—

The *amenused* nationnes be aston.

p. 6. v. 5.

In the notes it is interpreted—*the diminished* or *lessened*. But how could these nations be lessened or diminished, before they were defeated, or even attacked? The word is not truly expressed; and the meaning of it is very different. It signifies the *accursed*, the *abominable* nations; alluding to the infidel Saracens; whom those of the Crusade held in detestation. By this term are denoted all such as lie under a curse, and are excommunicated. By Robert of Gloucester it is truly expressed—*amanased*, and *amanfed*: and it occurs in that writer more than once. Speaking of Thomas Becket he tells us,—

He amanfede all thulke, that such unrizt
had ido,

To the church of Canterbury, & the King
ycrowned so. p. 474. l. 21.

The proud Archbishop, it seems, cursed and excommunicated all those, who had done, *unrixz*, that is, *injustice*, to the See of Canterbury, and usurped his office in crowning King Henry the Second. These were the Archbishop of York ; the Bishop of Salisbury ; and the Bishop of Exeter.

There are two words, which the transcriber has strangely confounded. The first is, that concerning which we are now treating. It comes from the Saxon Amanruman, excommunicare : and is to be found in many old writers. The other, *amenufed*, signifies, as he truly supposes, to *lessen* ; and is derived from the French amenuiser, to *diminish*. Of this I shall speak hereafter.

It is to be observed, that our early writers often laid the stress, or accent, very differently from what we do now. From not attending to this we are apt to think their verse more rough and hobbling, than in reality it is. The word *nationnes* in the quotation above, seems to be lengthened to four syllables, and to have the accent upon the penultima. From hence I am inclined to think, that the true reading of the word in question, was neither amenufed, nor amanafed ; but abbreviated amanfed. This the transcriber did not understand, and altered it to another word ; for which indeed he had some authority : but it was to the detriment of the author's meaning.

Amanfy,

Amanfy, *curse*. Amanfeth, *curseth*: *excommunicateth*. Amanfed, *curfed*. Amanafed, *excommunicated*. Gloss. to Rob. of Gloucester. It is sometimes found abbreviated — mansed, as in the Vision of Pierce Plowman.

By mary, quoth a *mansed* priest of the
march of Ireland

I count no more conscience, by so I catch silver,
Than I do to drink a draught of good ale :
And so sayde sixty of the same contrey.

P. 115.

From hence it is plain, that the amanafed, or amanfed nations were the infidel Saracens.

If what I have supposed, be true, that by the amanafed, or amanfed, nations, was signified the accursed race ; then we may see the process of error in this young man. As he did not know the purport of the term, he had recourse to Skinner's Etymologicum ; or to Kersey : but no such word was to be found in either of them. However a word not very unlike in sound, *amenufed*, does occur in both ; and betokens, *diminished*. *Amenufed*, *diminutus*. Skinner. *Amenufed*, *diminished* or *lessened*. Kersey. This he took for granted was the very term, of which he was in quest : and accordingly altered *amanafed* to *amenufed*, and explained it by *diminished*. But this seems to prove almost to a demonstration, that he had a Mss. before him : and consequently was merely a transcriber.

CORVEN, YCORVEN, YCORN,
DECORN.

This gentleness doth corven them foe grète.
p. 79. v. 56.

Dyd so ycorvenn everrie shape to joie.
p. 42. v. 170.

Onn mie longe shielde ycorn this name
should find. p. 102. v. 170.

It is interpreted—*mold*: but it signifies to frame and fashion by cutting: Ang. to *carve*, from the Saxon *ceoppian*. It is to be found in the Crede of Pierce Plowman, where he says,

I femed upon that hous, & yerne theron
loked,

Whow the pileres weren ypaint & * pulched
ful clene,

And quaintly *ycorven*.

He mentions the Chapter house—

Corven and covered & queyntelych en-
tayled.

Sometimes the word is used for to cut in general.

He vel doung as a gret ok, that beneathe
ycorve were.

Rob. of Glouc. p. 208. l. 14.

* Polished.

i. e. *He*

i. e. *He fel down as a great oak, that was cut beneath.*

It is sometimes expressed Decorn; which signifies very much carved: for *de* in composition is often intensive. It is said by Robert of Gloucester—p. 529. l. 21.

—Sir Gilebert the Marschal

Defouled was thoru misfauntre & *debrused* al,
And deide.

Debrusede, five *debrused*, — *sadly bruised*:
all bruised, — *mightily crushed*. Gloss. to Rob.
of Gloucester.

B R E M E.

To ken fyke large a fleet, fyke fyne, * fyke
breme. p. 6. v. 6.

This word by the transcriber is interpreted *strong*: but it has no relation to *strength*. On the contrary it denotes any thing, which makes a fine and beautiful appearance: also any thing terrible and alarming. Hence *breme* winter is mentioned by Spencer: and in the poem of William and the Werwolf, the term is very frequent. We accordingly read of—

* This term occurs often in Gawin Douglas, expressed sic, sik, and sich.

Lat us beseik for peace at sic distres. p. 177. l. 32.

Truist in na wise that this my werk be sich. p. 7. l. 48.

a *breme* number of bestes : a *breme* wild bere :
breme dedus, or deeds : *breme*, battle.

—To abate the hoste of that *breme* Duke.
 p. 18.

Be that time was that barn ful *breme* of
 his age. p. 61.

It is an intire Saxon word without any alteration, and expressed by *breme*. By this was signified—*solennis, clarus, notabilis*. Lye and Manning. Sax. Dict.

This leads me to consider another passage, which this person has equally mistaken. Godwin is telling his son Harold, that he knows him to be noble and brave ; but fears, that he is too much led by appearances.

And that thie rede bee ofte borne down bie
breme. p. 177. v. 12.

Here *breme* is introduced as a substantive ; and agreeably with the interpretation given before, it is rendered strength. But it relates here, as it did above, to something fine, and specious. Godwin therefore, when he has assured his son of his good opinion, still intimates, that he is too much a Courtier ; and that his *rede* or understanding, is often borne down by the magnificence of King Edward. The answer of Harold shews, that this is the meaning.

— his Normans know,
I make no compheers of the themrynge
trayne.

That is—so far am I from being misled by
the gaudy appearance of the King and his
Courtiers, that I have made no acquaint-
with the tinsel tribe.

In an ancient song, quoted by Mr. Whar-
ton, a lover speaks of his mistress as a beau-
tiful bird—

That brid so *breme* in * bower.
i. e. so *fine* and *exquisite*.

In another place mention is made of the season,
When Briddes singeth *breme*.

In none of these instances is there any re-
ference to strength.

T H E and T H E I E.

The Poet speaking of Alfwold, one of those,
who at the Battle of Hastings led on the
bands from Bristol, says a great deal in his
praise, and to the honour of those, whom he
commanded.

O Alfwolde, saie, how shalle I singe of thee;
Or telle how manie dyd benethe thee falle?

p. 253. v. 321.

* P. 26.

He adds farther—

Like thee their leader eche Bristowyanne
foughte, &c.

* * * * *

Fore theie, like thee that daie bewrecke
ywroughte.

He then intimates, that of the Normans slain by them, one third fell by the hand of Alfwolde.

Did thirtie Normans falle upon the grounde,
Full half a score from *thee* and *theie* receive
their fatale wounde. v. 329.

All the preceding stanzas end with an Alexandrine, which consists of twelve feet: but this contrary to all rule consists of fourteen. And the supernumerary words in the middle (*and theie*) entirely ruin the rythm of the verse. The lines, I imagine, stood originally thus: the former being a question.

Did thirtie Normannes falle upon the
grounde?

Full half a score from *thee* received their
fatale wounde.

It may be said, that the address is not only to Alfwolde, but to the Bristowans in general: and that the meaning of the poet is, that if at any time thirty Normans fell in the battle, one third were killed by the people from Bristol. This may be the case, but the

the verse is still wrong, and must then be rectified in the manner following —

Like thee their leader, each Bristowyan
foughte,*&c.

* * * * *

Did thirtie Normannes fall upon the
grounde ?

Full half a score from them receiv'd their
fatale wound.

The original reading may possibly be in some degree uncertain : but that the verse is faulty, I think, can admit of no doubt. The particle *and*, with either *thee*, or *thie*, must be left out.

O M I S S I O N.

I have mentioned, that every stanza ended with an * Alexandrine : and that it uniformly consisted of twelve syllables. But there is an exception to this, which I imagine has arisen from the inadvertency of the transcriber. Gyrrh, at the Battle before mentioned, goes forth with a small number of men, and makes an attack upon the advanced guard of the Normans. And he tells Tankerville, who had wished him not to be so eager to engage,

* I mean only in the first part of the second poem. The other parts vary.

that he despises the whole power of his Duke: and then adds,

Here single onlie these to all thie crewe
Shall shewe what Englysh handes and
heartes can doe. p. 240. v. 59.

The sense is certainly compleat, as the lines here stand: yet the verse manifestly shews, that something is still wanting: and the last verse should undoubtedly be in the manner following.

— These to all thie crewe
Shall shewe, what Englysh handes and
Englysh heartes can doe.

BURLIE BROND—BETRASSÉD.

Am I *betraffed*? fyke shulde mie *burlie
bronde*

Depeyncte the wronges on hym, from
whom I bore. p. 177. v. 7.

Chatterton in his notes upon *burlie bronde* seems to be quite wide of the purport of these terms. There cannot be a stronger instance of his ignorance. But as the preceding word *betraffed* may perhaps appear suspicious, and create prejudice; I will bring some authorities in its favour, before I advance any farther. *Betraffed* is provincial for *betrayed*; and seems to have been used in different parts
of

of the kingdom. Æneas is described by Virgil as looking at a painted representation of the Thracian camp, where Rhesus was slain : which is thus described by Gawin Douglas.

— not fer thence saw he quhare
The quhite tentis of Refus evill kep
Betrafit were. L. 1. p. 27. l. 40.

One chapter in the historical poem of William Wallace begins thus.—How Wallace was betrafit by Schir Johne Menteith, &c.

B. 12. p. 176.

Again—

For covetife Menteith upon fals wayis
Betrafit Wallace. B. 12. p. 174. b.

Betrafit : *betrayed*. Gloss. to Gawin Douglas.

In the poem of Ælla it is found expressed betraisted :

Oh ! heaven, and earthe ! what is itt I do
heare ?

Am I betraisted ?

It is found much in the same manner, though more simply expressed, in the story of William and the Werwolf.

— Whan these were told,
How the two trattes, that William would
have *traysted*. p. 71.

* P. 151. v. 1030.

Again—

Again—

Has that untrewe traytour *traysted* me nouth.

P. 31.

I come now to the terms *burlie brand*, which the transcriber has so greatly mistaken. He interprets *burlie*, *fury*: by which I conjecture, that he takes *brond* for an adjective; and supposes it to signify *burning*. According to him the sense of the passage is—*My burning fury shall witness my wrongs*. But *bronde* is a † *sword*: and *burlie* denotes any thing *large*, and *unwieldy*. It is often applied to men. *Burly*, *obesus*, *corpulentus*. Lye's Etym. That *brond*, or *brand*, was used for a *sword*, may be shewn from many examples; particularly from the version of Gawin Douglas.

The bytand *brand* uphenit heppit he,
And can resist, and stynt the grete Ene.

L. 10. p. 348. l. 31.

Let me stand to my chance. I tak on hand
For to dereyne this matter wyth thys brand.

p. 436. l. 41.

But the authority most to my purpose is to be found in the poem of Blind Harry upon Sir William Wallace, before mentioned. Among the accoutrements of this hero are mentioned—

† Brand, gladium denotat. Lye.

Ane gude girdell, & fyne ane *burlye brand*.

B. 8. p. 104.

The same is mentioned in the testament of Cressyde annexed to the Troilus of Chaucer.

A burlye brande about his middle he bare.

v. 180.

It was a term applicable to any thing large and overgrown: hence in the storie of William Wallace the poet upon an occasion says of him—

Wallace returnit besyde ane buirlye aik.

p. 46. l. 2.

i. e. a large oak.

The like appears in the original Ballad concerning the Battle of Otterburn, commonly called Chevy Chace. The word is in the copy published by Hearne expressed brylly by mistake for byrly. The poet is speaking of the *doughetie Douglas*—

and commyng with him a myghtte
meany

Both with spear *byrly* and *brand*.

(See Guïllialm Neubrigeus, by Hearne—Preface, p. lxxxiii.) By this is meant both with *burly spear and brand*: and what is meant by a burly spear may be known by a description given of it in another place.

With

With fuar fpears off myghtte tre the cum
in on every fyde.

Again—

He fet uppone the lorde Perfe a dynt, that
was fulle foar

With a fuar fpear of a myghtte tre.

i. e. a large and *burly* fpear.

The paffage in Rowley has not only been mifinterpreted by the tranfcriber; but not truly expreffed. In the firft verfe there is a fyllable too much: and the original probably run thus.—

Am I *betrafs'd*: fyke fhulde mie burlic
bronde, &c.

The purport of it amounts to this. *Am I betrayed?* fyke. *i. e.* *affuredly my mighty fword* fhall imprint my wrongs in wounds, upon him, from whom I have received them.

From the authorities above we may perceive the true meaning of the words in queftion. And we may fee farther, how little acquainted Chatterton muft have been with hiftorians and etymologifts: and how cafually and superficially he muft have looked into * Skinner. For this perfon explains *burlic brand* by *magnus enfis*. Had he got the terms

* He probably applied to Kersey, who mentions the terms in both acceptations.

from this writer, he would at the same time have borrowed the purport of them: of which we find him utterly ignorant. This is another instance out of many, where the lines contain very good sense; though the supposed author knew nothing of the matter. But as it is manifest, that he did not understand the context; so it is equally plain, that he could not have been the real composer. On the contrary, he had an original before him, from which he transcribed.

ADVENTAYLE and BORNE.

An Herald is introduced, as speaking of himself, and proclaiming his office at a tournament.

I sonne of honnoure, spencer of her joies,
Must swythen goe to yeve the speeres a-
rounde.

Wythe *advantayle* and *borne* I meynthe em-
ploie, &c. p. 29. v. 11.

It occurs more than once in Rowley: and is exhibited much in the same manner.

Upon the Normannes brazen adventayle.
p. 271. v. 681.

Peers'd

Peers'd thro hys adventayle & skyrts of

* lare.

p. 271. v. 686.

In the notes adventayle is interpreted *armer*, and borne, *burnish*. In the passage above there seem to be several mistakes. The transcriber has expressed the former word with a d, adventayle, and advantayle: in which if there be any propriety, he was, I believe, little aware of it. The true spelling is supposed to be *aventayle*, from the French *avant*. It was some part of a suit of armour, which projected: and this might have been known from Skinner. *Aventaile: credo a Franco-Gallico jam obsoleto, aventail; prætentura ferrea: προσερυδιον: ab adverbio—avant.* A like account is afforded by Du Cange: but neither of them define precisely, what piece of armour it was. However from the accounts, which are uniformly given of it, we may be assured, that it was something which stood forward; and is therefore supposed by

* Lare is provincial for leather, and is sometimes expressed *lere* and *lire*. The meaning of the passage is, that some person pierced through this piece of armour and the leather, with which it was skirted and lined. There is a passage exactly parallel in the storie of William Wallace.

Upon the craig with his sword hes him tane,

Throw brane and lyre in funder break the bane.

B. iii. p. 14.

Du

Du Cange to be — anterior armaturæ pars. In the Mss. of William and the Werwolf, mention is made of the hero seizing upon a person, with whom he is engaged in fight, which circumstance is thus described.

William thant witli by the aventayle him
hente

To have with his fwerd swapped of his
heade. P. 54.

We find, that he laid hold of a particular part of the armour ; such as most facilitated his cutting off the head of his enemy. This therefore must have been part of the helmet : and that part especially, which was most prominent, and liable to be seized upon : and this I take to have been the beaver. There were several sorts of helmets of different denominations : and I imagine, that one of them was stiled an aventaille or adventaille, from a moveable beaver, which was made to slide up and down. The name was given from its affording, when the beaver was up, an opening to the air for respiration : and seems to have been derived, not from *avant*, but from *ad* and *ventus*, or *ventilo* : from whence was formed the French word *aventail*. Du Cange quotes from Rymer's Fœd. an order, Tom. 8. p. 384. Tredecim loricas, quinque *Aventailles*, quadraginta arcus, &c. The beaver of an helmet projected beyond the

the helm; and stood hollow: so that it gave an opportunity for a person to lay hold of it; and to force the head of his enemy downward. From hence I am induced to think, that an adventail was properly that fore part of the helmet, the beaver, but which often gave name to the whole. When this beaver was put up, it afforded an opening to breathe more freely, and to receive fresh air; which opening was from thence stiled a *ventail*, from *ventilo*. When Æneas was healed of his wound by Iapis, and was returning compleatly armed to battle, he embraced his son, who stood by his side, and kissed him: which is thus described by Gawin Douglas.

Ascanus zoung tendirly the ilk place
 With all his harnes belappit dyd embrace,
 And throw his helmes *ventall* a lytell we
 Him kissit. p. 425. l. 18.

It is expressed after the same manner in an ancient poem quoted by Mr. Wharton. *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, v. 1. p. 163.

Upon his shoulders a shelde of stels,
 With the lybardes painted wele.
 And helme he had of ryche entayle,
 Trusty and trewe was his *ventayle*.

From *Hist. of Richard Cueur de Lyon*.

There

There is a passage in the Interlude of *Ælla*, where the adventaile is mentioned in conjunction with the helmet.

Who haveth trodden downe the *adventayle*,
And tore the heaulmes from heades of
myckle myghte. p. 109. v. 469.

Ventale or ventall, *a vent hole, and breathing part of an helmet*: a Fr. *ventaille*. Gloss. to Gawin Douglas.

Hence I imagine, that the beaver, and the helmet itself had the name of adventail and aventail, from being constructed in such a manner, as to afford occasionally such an opening.

B O R N E.

By this word is signified a kind of gorget or breast-plate; expressed more commonly burn, and byrn; from the byrna of the Saxons. *Byrna, lorica*. Sax. Dict. In the laws of King Athelstan, mention is made of a person's having a *burn* and helm. And *ðeah he bezȳtuð, ꝥ he hæbbe byrn 7 helm, &c.* c. 72. In the laws also of King Ina, a *burn* and sword are spoken of, c. 55. It was sometimes expressed *bryne*, and *brynia*. *Brynia, lorica: hringa brynia, lorica annulis ferreis concatenata*. Olai Verelii Lex. Suseo-Goth. It is taken

notice of by Du Cange, as it is differently exhibited. Brunea, brunia, bronia, *lorica*. Gloss. Lat. Theotisc. *thorax, militare ornamentum, lorica*. He also expresses it byrnan and byrn. Turnus is described in the Scottish version of the Æneis, as arming himself in the following manner.

He clethis him with his scheid & femys bald,
 He claspis his gilt habirihone thrinfald,
 He in his breistplait strang, and his *birnye*
 Ane four sward beltis law down by his the.

p. 230. l. 42.

Among the English it seems to have been called burn: and in the poem, from whence I have quoted the passage, it appears to have denoted — *militare ornamentum*: probably something like a gorget; with which the Heralds presented the Knights, at the same time, that they gave them their helmets and spears.

I sonne of honour spencer of her joyes,
 Must sythen goe to yeve the speeres a-
 rounde,
 Wyth adventayle & borne. I * meynthe
 emploie,
 Who without me would fall unto the
 ground.

So

* This word is uncommon, and may, like several more, create unnecessary scruples in the minds of those, who

So it should be stopt. After the Herald had mentioned, that he was to present to the Knights, what belonged to them; he magnifies his own office; and speaks of himself as the dispenser of all honour. *I, says he, employ many, who without me would sink to nothing.* In short, he intimates, that all honours, and badges of honour, come through the hands of the herald: which seems to have been not at all understood by the transcriber.

Such, I imagine, is the purport of the two words in question, *adventaile* and *borne*. By the former of these is meant, an helmet with a sliding bever: by the others a kind of *cuirass* or *gorget*: which two by the transcriber have been interpreted *armer* and *burnish*.

D O L E.

By a dole is meant, a *part, lot, or portion*. The Poet in the story of his friend William Canynge mentions all his virtues from the earliest part of his life. But having

are not very conversant in ancient compositions. It signifies *many*; and is to be found in the *Visions of the Ploughman*.

For ere I have breade a meale of, mote I swete;
 And ere the comen have corne inough, *mant* cold
 morning. p. 68. b. l. 16.

occasion to introduce some account of his father and brother, he is obliged to speak of them in a far less favourable manner. Canynge was all generosity : but of the brother and father he seems to say—*The Lord have mercy upon them: while they lived, they were devoted to gain.* This he expresses in the following manner.

He had a father (Jesús rest hys soule)

Who loved money, as hys charie joie.

He had a broder (happie be hys dole)

Yn mynde & boddie hys own fadre's
boie.

p. 284. v. 115.

This was certainly the original reading ; but the transcriber not knowing the purport of the third line, has altered that part, which is put in a parenthesis, and introduced the word *manne*. *Happie manne* be's dole. By this insertion he has ruined the verse, as well as the purport of the line. By—*happy be his dole*—is meant—*Peace to his ashes. Happy be his portion in the other world.* This, I think, is very plain. But what sense can be made of—*Happy man be his dole*, is past my comprehension. From hence it appears farther manifest, that the transcriber sometimes took liberties with the text.

K E P P E N E D.

A *keppened* poyntelle restyngge at eche lyne.

Letter to Canyngge, p. 73. v. 44.

To this no interpretation is given : but it signifies *careful, elaborate*. In Robert of Gloucester—*kepte*, is explained *cared*: from *kepe* to *care*. See Gloss. This author, speaking of the delicacy and good-breeding, which was supposed to prevail in the court of King Arthur, tells us—

Wymmen ne *kepte* of no Kyngt, as in
druery. p. 191. v. 13.

i. e. took no notice, or care, of any Knight.

P O Y N T E L L E.

This word in the notes is explained by *a pen, metaphorically used for a muse or genius*. The transcriber took it from Skinner. *Poyntell* exp. *a writing pen*. But this does not seem to be the meaning in the passage before us : for how can it be said, that a careful *pen*, or a *muse* and *genius*, rested at each line ? By *poyntell* is undoubtedly meant something scrupulously nice and exact ; analogous to *puncto* and *punctilio* now in use. The words

relate to unnecessary care in writing and composing: by which each line was made to terminate at a point, without proper regard to the sense. Some light may be obtained from Du Fresne's Gloss. in the article—De puncto ad punctum. Phrasis Gallica de point en point; accurate, diligenter, summâ cura: in litteris Philippi VI. Reg. Franc. an. 1339, &c. ipsas ordinationes et litteras Regis supradictas de puncto in punctum observantes. He mentions letters of Henry the Sixth of England—observari de puncto ad punctum. De puncto ad punctum totum scribimus præsens scriptum. *Pointelle* seems to have been formed from punctillum, a diminutive from punctum: whence came likewise the term punctilio. It seems often to signify something, which suited well, and was happily adapted: something, that in composition corresponded with great nicety. In the Crede of Pierce Plowman mention is made of a Cloyster in an Abby, which was finely built—

And y paved with poyntill, ich point after
other.

Every figured stone was made exactly to correspond with the others. Such compositions seem to have been stiled *Point Devise*, according to Skinner. *Point Devise, cujus membra exactâ*

exactâ et geometricâ proportione constructa et conformata sunt.

Gawin Douglas speaking in a particular passage of the Trojans, describes them—

In popill tre branches dycht at poynt.

p. 132. l. 2.

In the Glossary the terms *at poynt* are interpreted *exactly, fitly*.

In like manner, what the poet stiles—

To put to poynt and ordinance—

p. 466. l. 24.

Is rendered in the same Glossary—*to put in perfect order*.

In short, there were two words expressed nearly the same; but of a quite different purport and original. The one, *pointel*, came I imagine from the Latin *penicillus*, or *penicillum* (quasi *penicle*) and these from * *penis* (*κερκος*) *cauda*. This denoted a hair *pencil* or painters *brush*. The other, *pointil* or *pointel*, was derived from *pungo*, *punctum punctillum*; and signified a *nice point* or *mark*; and with a greater latitude, *neatness*, *order*, and *exactness*. This is the *keppened poyntelle* mentioned above: which had no relation to a *pen*: much less to a *musé* and *genius*.

* See Pompeius Festus: and other Etymologists.

A L Y S E .

Somme drybblette share you should to yatte
alyse. p. 72. v. 29.

The word is interpreted very truly—*allow*: but as it comes under different acceptations, and no authority is brought for its being at all used, I will take some notice of it: and this I do more readily, as the very existence of such a word may be doubted. The true history of it is this. It comes from the Saxon *lyre* (*lisse*) which among other significations has these: * *cessatio*, *permissio*, *gratia*, *favor*. Hence—*land to lissun*, *land for a property, or grant*. See Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. Hence came the words, *lyran*, *solvere*; *redimere*: and *lyrand*, *redemptio*. Hence also the very word in question—*alyran*, *to alyse*; i. e. *liberare*, *solvere*. *ibid.* The word we find comes from the Saxon *lyre*, *favor*, *gratia*: and signifies *to pay tribute, and regard: to quit ones self of any obligation: also to permit, grant, and allow*. Our word *lease* is of the same original, and signifies a *grant*

* Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. For *cessatio* we should rather read *cessio*,

or *permit* of particular land from the proprietor to the tenant. Hence *alised* is by Kersey interpreted *allowed*: and to him probably Chatterton was indebted for the purport of this term. We may therefore very plainly see the meaning of the poet, when he says,

Somme drybblette share you should to yatte
alyse.

By which is signified—that some small share of your regard you should pay to the science of poetry, which you seem to hold so cheap.

The word occurs in another place, where it may be further explained from the context. Earl Goodwin is speaking to his son Harold concerning the incroachments of the Normans at the English court; and of the countenance, which was given to them by King Edward. His son joins in lamenting the times; and seems determined to take up arms, and free his country. The old Earl upon this addresses him in these words.

Botte lette us wayte untylle somme season
fytte,
Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall
ryse.

* * * * *

Englonde, oh Englonde, t'ys for thee I
blethe,

Whylste

Whylste Edwarde to thie sonnes wylle nete
alyse,

Shulde anje of thie sonnes fele aughte of
 * ethe? p. 179. v. 30.

It is to be observed, that Goodwin was Earl of Kent, as Harold was of Somersetshire. There are several ancient records, which contain ordinances of King Edward to Harold, wherein the latter is mentioned in that capacity. One of these begins in the following manner. † Eadward King gret Harold Erl, and Tovid minne Schyre-refen, and alle mine þeines inne Somersæten frendliche. Again— ‡ Eadward King gret Harold Erl, and Aylnoð Abbot, and Godwine Schyre-reven, & alle mine þeynes on Sumersæten frendliche. Other examples precisely to the same purpose are to be † found. Hence it is, that those words are by the author given to Goodwin.

Mie Kentyshmen, thie *Summertounes* shall
 ryse.

i. e. *The people in thy province of Somersetshire.*

* Etthe for ease—See Gloss. to Rob. Brunne: so blethe provincial for bleed. For words of this sort I shall bring authority hereafter.

† Hicke's Thesaur, vol. i. p. 160.

‡ In the same author, p. 161, 2.

In the passage above, Goodwin in his great concern makes an apostrophe to his country :

Englonde, oh Englonde—

Whyllste Edwarde to thie sonnes wylle nete
alyse,

Shulde anie of thie sonnes fele aughte of
ethe?

By this is manifestly meant, *Whilst the King will not * allow any of their rights to his own people ; whilst he will not pay any regard to those, who are his natural subjects, how can it be expected, that they can sit in a state of unconcern and ease ?*

Our word to *loose*, or disengage, is of the same original ; from the Saxon verb *alyran*. Hence it is said, in the life of St. Margaret, concerning our Saviour—

† Ant seþen into helle þe holi gost he
send,

To alesen cristine men.

i. e. *to loosen or set Christian men free.*

In like manner *to alyran land* is to pay the rent, and free it from all incumbrances. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

* The poet uses the word in the same sense, p. 193. v. 180.

Full twenty mancas I will thee *alise*.

i. e. *allow, remit, and cause to be issued.*

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 226.

A M E N U S E D.

A M E N U S E D.

There are several faults in that passage, from whence I took my first quotation. I mean the letter to Master Canynge.

Somme drybblette share, &c.

The author is speaking of persons, who abode too rigidly by the rules of history; and would not pay a proper regard to poetry: with the liberties of which they were unjustly offended.

Pardon, yee Graiebarbs, gyff I saie, on-
wife

Yee are, to stycke so close and bysmarelie
To historie: you doe ytte tooe moche
pryze:

Whyche amenufed thoughtes of poesie,
Somme drybblette share you shoulde to
yatte alyse;

Nott makynge everyche thyng bee hyf-
torie. p. 72. v. 25.

In the first place the transcriber explains the word *bysmarilie* by *curiousslie*: whereas it signifies here *extravagantly*: or with so much *veneration*. In the next place the word *amenufed*, which he has expressed in the past tense, should be amenufeth in the present, as is plain from the context. This is a different
word

word from *amanased*, and *amansed*, of which we treated before. It comes from the French *amenuisir*, and signifies, as he very justly intimates, *to lessen* or *diminish*. It is to be found in ancient * writers, particularly in the Treatise called the *Pylgremage of the Sowle*. In this a person, after his departure from the world, is supposed to have a view of the earth at a great distance. † *Thenne bybelde I the centre even in the myddes, whiche was aboute envyronned by ordre of lesse derke mater and lesse, so that the overmoost of the erth was moost clere; and alwey the clerenesse AMENUSSYNG downward by veray formal processe anone to the centre.* And here I think we may perceive the means by which the transcriber was led to this mistake. It is to be observed, that the old Saxon ‡ theta, which some called the *spina*, was not out of use in the time of Rowley. The word, of which we are treating, was in the manuscript expressed *amenufēð*. This final letter the transcriber took for a common *d*: the cross stroke being probably effaced: and

* *Amenused. exp. diminutus. Skinner.*

† Printed by Caxton, 1483. L. i, Fol. 4.

‡ *Hæc litera þ, anglica that est nominata: et ponitur pro quod. Ista tres literæ, þ ð ð, thorn sunt vocatæ, et ponuntur pro th. This is taken from a Miss. in the Cott. Lib. and quoted by Hickes in his Thesaurus. L. 2. p. 287. a.*

he has accordingly, contrary to all rule, introduced the term in the præter tense: but it certainly should be *amenufeth* in the present. The purport of the whole passage is this. *Pardon me, ye old greyberds, if I think, that you are not wise in sticking with such a wild and extravagant regard to history. Ye do it too much honour. For it diminishes, and restrains the powers of poetry: to which you ought to make some small allowance: and not confine all writings to the strict rules of historical evidence.*

When the art of Printing was first introduced into England, it was for the most part carried on by foreigners; who had no type, that corresponded with this Saxon character. By these means it came to be difused, first in printed books, and afterwards in writings. This is taken notice of by the learned Alexander Gil in his treatise stiled *Logonomia Anglica*, before mentioned. *Nam cum prudentissimus ille Rex, et una faventissimus literarum, Henricus Septimus typographum Winken de Word (qui primus scripta Anglica prælo exprefit) huc e Germaniâ evocaret, neceffe habuit typographus illis, quos habuit, typis nostras voces excudere. Sic primum accepti sunt th pro ð. See his Preface, p. 6. He mistakes about Winkin de Word; for he was by no means the first*

printer : but the other part of his account is very consonant to the truth. He afterwards proceeds in this manner. Cui etiam rei hoc argumento esse potest, quod Germani sonos illos non habent, in quibus maxime erratum est : neque enim pronunciant *thing*, sed Ding : pro řađer, vater. We may obtain the like intelligence from Sir Thomas Smith, in his curious treatise upon the English language. He is speaking of the Saxon theta ; and says — hâc literâ sive caractere, quam spinam vocant avi nostri, et qui proxime ante librorum impressionem vixerunt, sunt abusi (it should be corrected — sunt usi) ad omnia ea scribenda, quæ nunc magno magistrorum errore per th scribimus. — Spina autem illa videtur mihi referre prorsus Græcorum θ. De rectâ et emendatâ Ling. Ang. scriptione : p. 33. We find from these two very learned persons, that the Saxon character, of which I have been speaking, lasted till the art of printing prevailed ; at which time it began first to be discountenanced. And this art was not known in England till towards the latter part of Rowley's life : about the year 1474. At this time Caxton first set up a press in Westminster, and made use of the types which he had procured in Germany. Even then these characters were not totally laid aside : for so late as

1502 there was printed a Latin Missal, in usum Ecclesiæ Helfordensis, by Henry Pepwell : where one clause in the order of matrimony is expressed in English, and occurs in the following manner. Wyþ þys ryng y þe wede, and wyþ þys gold and selver ych þe geve : and wyþ myne body ych þe honour. See Ames Hist. of Printing, p. 136.

From what has been said, I think, it is pretty clear, that the transcriber of these poems did in his expressing of the word *amenused*, instead of *amenuseth*, mistake an old Saxon character ; and consequently must have had an original manuscript before him. The nature of the mistake seems to prove it beyond all doubt.

That some of the Saxon characters were retained in these Mss. seems farther clear from the words Dheie, Dhere and Dhereof, which occur at the beginning of some lines. These seem apparently to be thus rendered from the Saxon Ð ; which is always prefixed to words, which are either capital, or with which the line commences. Of this we have the following example.

This mittie cross, Jerusalem, ys seene :

Dhereof the syghte their corrage doe affraie.

p. 7. v. 28.

i. e. the

i. e. the sight of which cross abates the courage of the Saracens, concerning whom he is treating.

Thereof in old writers is continually put for *whereof*; and *there* for *where*; and expressed *Dereof*, and *Dere*:

I will borrow a few extracts from some ancient writings in verse, which were antecedent to the art of printing: and by these it will be seen, that these Saxon characters were more or less retained, when the others were obsolete. They will likewise shew, that there was not any uniformity in writing in those times: and by their anomalies will account for the peculiarities in Rowley: and likewise for those French words, which are so often to be found in him. This will appear more apparently to those, who will consult the whole history: instead of taking up with the short extracts, which I am obliged to make. I will begin first with a few lines from an old version of the Creed of Athanasius, which will afford some evidence to what I say.

† Who so wil be sauf to blis,
 Before alle þinges nede to is,
 Ðat he hald with alle his miht
 Ðe heli trauthe and leve it riht.

* * * * *

† The Creed of St. Athanasius in an ancient version, See Hickes's Thesaur. Ling. Septemp. vol. i. p. 233.

Dat o god inne þrinneſſe,
 And þrinneſſe in * onneſſe,
 Worſhip we þe more and leſſe.
 † Ne þe hodes oht mengande,
 Ne þe ſtayelnes fondrande.

The next extract ſhall be from the life of St. Margaret, which is to be found in the ſame † author.

Olde ant yonge i preit ou oure folies for
 to § lete.

Denchet o god þat yef ou wit, oure finnes
 to ¶ bete.

þere i mai tellen ou. wid wordes faire ant
 ſwete,

De vie of one meidan. was hoten Mare-
 grete.

* prinneſſe and onneſſe.—i. e. *trinity and unity*. I ſhould imagine that the next line is not truly copied. It ought to be

Worſhip we ne mo, ne leſs.

The terms—*ne mo, ne* have been altered to *the more*: after which the particle *and* was inſerted to help out the ſenſe and metre.

† Not confounding the perſons,
 Nor dividing the ſubſtance.

‡ Carmen Anglo-normanicum de paſſione Sanctæ Margaretæ—quoted at large by Hickes, *ibid.* p. 224.

§ To ſtop: check: put an end to. Ou and oure for you and youre.

¶ To amend, better,

þere

þere faber was a * patriac. as ic ou tellen
may,

In auntioge (a) wif e ches. † i ðe fals lay.

‡ Deve godes ant ðoumbe. he served nitt
ant ðay,

So ðeden mony oþere. þat fingeþ weilawey.

After the death of Margaret, the poem con-
cludes as follows.

De heie king of hevene lef us to ðon so.

Ðat we habben þe blisse, § þat laft over
ant oo.

Of the swete meiden. þis is her vie.

De twenteuþe ðai is hire. i þe time of
iulie.

Ihū christ þat was born. of seinte Marie

Far seinte Maregrete love. of us have
mercie.

Amen. Amen. checun ðie amen.

The same characters are found in the Mss. of Robert of Gloucester; and are retained in the printed copy by Hearne. And in many instances where they are omitted in the printed copies of ancient writings, they are to be found in the manuscripts. The like is to be seen in Robert of Brunne.

* A chief citizen.

† In the false law, or religion. *i. e.* pagan.

‡ Deaf gods and dumb.

§ The bliss, that lasts ever and aye.

There are many things to be observed in the extracts above. In the first place we may learn, that people in those times varied greatly both in respect to orthography and language. The same word is differently exhibited: and there are also many particular terms, which were not in common use. We find the words *thrinneffe* and *onneffe*, which seem to be of this class, in the creed of Athanasius. In the other extract *o god* is put for one god, *ou* for you, and *oure* for your: all which is particular; and, as I should imagine, provincial. I should judge the same of the terms *over ant oo*; which are put for *ever and ay*. We likewise find here, as may be seen more fully in other parts of this composition, French words introduced, in the same manner as they are found in Rowley. There are also words borrowed from the Latin, like *ardurous*, *inutile*, *volunde*, in Rowley: which do not seem to have been at all current: but coined merely for the present occasion. Such is the term *pouste* for *potestas* in a part which I have not quoted.

Nou þou haveſt pouſte of my fleiſce ant bon.
 to * deruen myne ſoule pouſte neves τὸν
 non. ibid. Stanza 38.

i. e. Now

* What in *Pierce Plowman*, *Rowley*, and other writers is stiled to *dere* and *derne*: *i. e.* to *hurt*, and *injure*; is

i. e.

Now haft thou power over my flesh and
bone :

To injure my foul power ne haft thou none.

It is observable that Rowley has mee for mead ; and mees for meadows. We find analogous to this the word mai used by this other writer for maid.

Olibrius haft þat mai in prison don.

p. 226.

At the same time there are instances of his using the word maiden at full length, which shews that there was no uniformity in the writings of those days. The language, as well as the spelling, in the verses above is not unlike that in Rowley, though far more ancient. The principal reason for my making these quotations was to shew, that the Saxon theta was retained, when some other of the principal characters were out of use : which is from hence made sufficiently evident.

is here expressed to *deruen*. Of this I shall say more hereafter.

It is observable, that *i* is sometimes put for *in*; and that letter has never any apex or dot.

A D E N T E.

Ontoe thje veste the rodde sonne ys *adente*.
Ælla, p. 104. v. 396.

The word is in the notes explained *fastened*. From hence we may perceive, that when Chatterton at any time comes near the truth, he does not precisely know the meaning of the word, which he interprets: nor is he perfect master of the intelligence, which he has gained. The term above comes from the Saxon* *dýnt*, *ictus*; which is expressed *dint* and *dent* at this day. By these words is signified force; and any forcible impression. We often say, that a thing was effected by *dint* of study; by *dint* of labour; by *dint* of perseverance. The verb above signifies to impress forcibly, and with some latitude to *adapt*, *join*, and *fasten*. But in the line above it cannot well be admitted in the last sense. We cannot with any propriety say, that the sun was *fastened* to a *garment*. The meaning here is, that the rays of the sun were forcibly impinged upon the robe of the person

* And wyth hard dunt & gret yre togadere suthth hij
come. Rob. of Gloucest. p. 185. l. 2.

And smyte eyther other, her & ther, & harde dunts
caste. ib. l. 12.

Dunt. blow. stroke. Gloss.

spoken of. It may therefore be explained and rendered

Upon thy vest the red sun is *imprefs'd*.
i. e. *shines strongly*.

It however does certainly mean also to be *annexed*, and strongly *joined* to any thing : of which we have an example in Ælla.

As thou's faste dented to a loade of peyne.

p. 94. v. 263.

i. e. forcibly annexed, from δύντ, a stroke or pressure.

The like occurs in Godwin, p. 179, v. 32.

Adented prowefs to the gite of witte.

This in the notes is explained *fastened* : and it does in some measure so signify : but it may more properly be rendered, *annexed* and *adapted*. But though this be the meaning of the term, yet it seems not to be truly expressed : and I suspect that there is some error which has arisen through the fault of transcribing. For this reason I will lay, what precedes, as well as what is subsequent before the reader. Godwin in the play is giving advice to his son Harold, who appears too warm, and eager to rise in arms.

Botte lette us wayte untylle somme seafon
fytte,

Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall
ryse ;

Adented prowess to the gite of witte,
 Agayne the argent horse shall daunce yn
 skies. p. 179. v. 30.

We find here the terms *adented prowess* put absolute and independent: which is uncommon and contrary to grammatical construction. From hence I am led to suspect, what I have before mentioned, that the Saxon theta has been passed over without notice: and that the spina δ has been taken for a common d. In short I imagine, that what is here a participle—*adented*, was the imperative mood *aden-teth*. Where we say give, they formerly said *giveth*: and for love, *loveth*. Thus in Wiclif's Testament, instead of *take heed*, it is expressed *taketh heed* that ye do not youre rightwisnesse bifore men, Matt. C. 5. Thus it occurs in Chaucer—

Now draweth cutte, or that ye forther
 twinne.

Now draweth cutte, for that is min accord.
 Cometh nere (quoth he) my lady Prioreffe.

* Vol. i. p. 34. v. 837. 840. 1.

From

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Edition. So verse 3700.

Awaketh, Lemman mine, and *speaketh* to me.

Now *ge* kynde men of þys lond *cutheth* zoure mon-
 hede;

And *awrekeþ* zou of þis luper men.

Rob. of Gloucest. p. 136. l. 12.

Armeþ

From hence I am led to imagine that Godwin in this passage bids his son to join his courage, and pin it, to the † gite, or robe, of wisdom: that is, make a union of these two necessary qualities. The lines seem to be not truly stopped: and the whole should probably be read as follows.

Botte lette us wayte untylle somme seafon
fytte,
Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall
ryse.

Adenteth prowess to the gite of witte,
Agayne the argent horse shall daunce yn
skies,

That is—If we do but wait for a proper opportunity, both my people, and those of your earldom, will presently be in arms. Temper your courage with wisdom and art, the Saxon standard will soon be seen displayed in the air.

The verb indent is still current: and signifies to make a bargain; to contract. See Johnson's Dict. It originally betokened to

Armeþ gou nou hastelyche, armeþ gou anon,
Vor we stolle to day myd god help overcome ur son.
ibid. p. 172. l. ult.

† And she came after in a gite of red. Chaucer, v. 3952. A gite, a gown. ibid. Glossary to Chaucer. Gite, a gown. Kersey's Dict.

tally,

tally, make a coalition, and to be united. It comes from Dýnt, ictus. dýntas, plagæ. Sax. Dict. L. and M.—Dint, a *stroak* or *impreſſion*. ab AS.—Dýnt. Gloſſ. to Gawin Douglas.—Dint, *force, power*. Johnſon.

It is to be remembered, that at ſetting out, I laid it down for a certainty, that if any perſon tranſmitted a learned and curious compoſition, and was found not to underſtand the context, he could not be the author. Or if he varied any of the terms through ignorance, and the true reading appeared from the context, or from any good authorities, that perſon could not have been the author. Of this ignorance, and of ſuch miſtakes, I have ſhewn Chatterton in many inſtances to have been guilty; and ſome probably may ſtill occur in the courſe of my progreſs. I have inſiſted, that every author muſt know his own meaning. But this young man is continually betraying his ignorance in reſpect to the purport of theſe poems. They are therefore undoubtedly by another hand. His deviations, and miſconceptions, cannot be attributed to him as an original compoſer; but they may be eaſily accounted for in a tranſcriber: in one too, who was very young: who was a novice in the hiſtories, which are recorded; and not accuſtomed to the diction, in which they

they are transmitted. He had manuscripts before him, which were probably not always distinct, and legible: and he had terms to explain, which were often above his capacity. He had therefore recourse to glossaries, whenever they were to be obtained; and from them he altered some things, and explained others: giving the best interpretation that his scanty knowledge could afford. But there are a great number of words, with which he confessedly does not pretend to be acquainted: for he does not attempt a solution. And where he has attempted, we see, notwithstanding the helps afforded him, how often he has failed. Of these mistakes, there are none, of which he has been supposed guilty as an author, but may be more reasonably attributed to him, as a transcriber and critic. Indeed, as I have before said, they are incompatible with an original composer. An author, when very intent upon his subject, may possibly write *there* for *their*: *then* for *than*: but he will never put *tears* for *fears*; *stytbe* for *swytbe*: much less *viçtualle* for *victims*. These are not slips of the pen, but real errors of judgment. The word Astrologer used sometimes to be expressed *Asterlagour*: and so it seems to have occurred in the second Battle of Hastings. He was so ignorant as to read it *Asterlagour*: and has absolutely

lutely disjoined the constituent parts, and taken it for a proper name; the name of a Norman of some consequence. He accordingly forgets the real person spoken of; and addresses this After la gour, as a person of science.

Couldst thou not kenn, most skylld After
la gour. p. 255. v. 354.

He thought it was analogous to Delacoure, Delamere, and other compounded French names. So puerile are the mistakes of the person, who is supposed to have been the author of these excellent poems.

R E F E R E N C E S

T O

A N C I E N T H I S T O R Y

E X P L A I N E D A N D I L L U S T R A T E D .

A L I S T
O F S U B J E C T S

Æ L L A
Rafne

Watchet

Bristol

Summertons

Gronfrye

Argent Horfe

St. Cuthberte

Turgotte

Battle of Haftings

Standrip Tower

Matraual

Powys-land

Howel ap Jevah

Oswald

Hibernie's Wood

Goodrick

Elms

 R E F E R E N C E S

T O

A N C I E N T H I S T O R I E S.

I SHALL now proceed to consider some passages in these poems; which though they may at first appear obscure and uninteresting, yet will be found true in fact; and may be illustrated, and ascertained from the evidences of the best historians. Our distance from the scene of action renders the traces somewhat faint: yet upon a diligent inquiry they may be plainly descried; and will be found to lead ultimately to valuable discoveries. Among other considerations, they will strongly intimate the age, which gave birth to these poems; and the hand, by which they were originally composed. In short, it is my purpose to shew, that the allusions in these poems are too refined and curious, and relate to circumstances too remote and obscure, to have proceeded from the young man, to whom these poems have been by

M many

many ascribed. That he was unacquainted with them will in a manner appear from his own evidence: as he either did not pretend to explain them; or else explained them untruly. I shall therefore in the course of my procedure produce many more mistakes, of which he has been apparently guilty.

But my suspicions do not terminate here. We have seen, that the obsolete terms are wonderfully authenticated, as well as illustrated, by being compared with the like words in other writings: and the most manifest analogy of all is to be found in the version of the *Enëis* by Gawin Douglas; and some other early writers of his nation. Hence, though I am persuaded, that all these compositions are of a genuine antiquity; yet I believe, that some few of them are of a date prior to that of Rowley; and have been transmitted to us through his hands from the north. This person, under whose name the poems have been published, has left us some account of his own life in the * *Memoires of Sir William Canynge*: concerning the authenticity of which in general I have not any doubt. In these *Memoires* he tells us, that when he was sent by his friend to purchase for him curiosities, he availed

* Among the *Miscellanies in prose and verse by Thomas Chatterton*, printed at London, 1778.

himself of that opportunity to procure manuscripts for his own use. And he particularly mentions his being at Durham; where Turgott had been formerly Prior. He flourished long before Rowley, yet the latter acknowledges great obligations to him for the light obtained from his writings: and he seems likewise to have been fond of ancient terms, and to have retained them with a kind of religious reverence. Hence many of the poems are of a far more ancient cast, than is observable in the language of the times, in which he lived. And as some of them have such an affinity with the Scottish diction, I believe, that those of such an appearance came from the vicinity of that country, and were the produce of the learned Turgott: who, as I have before mentioned, was Prior of Durham; and resided several years in Scotland. They have been new modelled, and put into a more modern dress by Rowley of Bristol: yet much of the language, and many of the historical allusions, point to another æra, and to a different part of the world. Of this I shall say no more here: as sufficient evidence will, I believe, accrue to this purpose in the course of these inquiries.

Æ L L A.

Among the poems of Rowley is a *Tragycal Enterlude*, or *Discoorsynge Tragedie*, called *Ælla*. Now it has been said, that there were no plays so early written as this is supposed to have been : and that this must upon that account be a forgery. But how is it possible for us to know precisely, at what time plays of this sort were composed ? They must have had a beginning : and why not in the age of Rowley ; or even in a time far antecedent to him ? No argument should be admitted, which is founded upon mere inexperience. That there were plays written before the time in question seems to be plainly intimated by Bale the Bishop of Offory. In speaking of Lydgate the Monk of Bury, he tells us, that he wrote many things in prose and verse : and having enumerated several of his works, he concludes with saying—that he also composed *Tragedies* and *Comedies* with other things of an entertaining nature. Lydgate is said to have died at the age of sixty, anno 1440 : and to have been buried at St. Edmonds-bury in Suffolk. But there is reason to think, that he lived a few years longer. I am sensible, it may be said, that under the title of *Tragedies* and *Comedies* nothing more was meant than

than serious and ludicrous poems : and without doubt under this denomination such compositions are often denoted. On this account we will not lay too great stress upon this evidence : though when both poems and plays are specified and distinguished, we might naturally imagine, that the one article could not be included in the other. The words of Bale are as follow—

* Poemata et Odas,
Satyras et alia poemata.

Tragedias quoque ac Comædias, aliaque non injucunda edidit. Mr. Wharton, who has gone very deep in these researches, affords us proofs of plays not being uncommon in the year 1489 : and he quotes a passage from an old curious memoir concerning shews and ceremonies exhibited that year in the Palace at Westminster. † *This Christmasts I saw no disguysings, and but right few plays. But there was an Abbot of misrule, that made much sporte; and did righte well his office. And again—At nighte the Kinge and the Queene, and my Ladie, the Kinges moder came into the Whitehall, and ther hard a play.* In William of Worcestre, mention is made of a play being acted at a Monastery in Norfolk in the year 1477.

* Balæus. de Script. Illust. Britannie. L. 8. p. 587.

† Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 239.

* *Comædia ad Monasterium Hulmi, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Diocesis Norwicensis, directa ad reformationem sequentium: cujus data est primo die Septembris sub anno Christi 1477: et a morte Johannis Fastolf militis (eorum benefactor † præcipuus) 17°. in cujus monasterij ecclesiâ tumultatur.* There are other evidences concerning plays, and the decorations of plays, as far back as the reign of King Richard the Second: and even of his grandfather, Edward the Third. Mr. Tyrwhitt mentions Chester's Whitfun Plays, which are esteemed as early as 1326: and he quotes passages from them, as may be seen in his very learned notes upon ‡ Chaucer.

I am sensible, that the plays mentioned above seem to have been confined to religious subjects. They were acted in monasteries and churches, which made a scriptural history the most eligible for their composition. But though the monks of the times may have confined themselves to these subjects; it does not follow, that people of more learning, and genius, were limited in the same manner. As plays certainly existed, the plan might some-

* *Itinerarium Willelmi de Worcestre, p. 161. Edidit. Jacobus Nasmith, Coll. Corp. Christi Cantab. Socius. 1778.*

† I quote the whole, as I find it, without making any alteration in the Latinity.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 244.

times be varied; and the transition from sacred history to profane was very natural and easy. Many generous attempts may have been made towards the improvement of the rude drama, and the introduction of compositions upon a better model: but the ignorance of the monks, and the depraved taste of the times, may have prevented such writings being either countenanced, or preserved. It may be said, that we have no examples of any compositions of this sort. But this is begging the question, while we have the plays of *Ælla*, and *Godwin*, before us. The former of these is particularly transmitted to us, as *Rowley's*. It is said to have been produced upon a private stage: and the chief persons before whom it was acted, as well as the place where, are mentioned. Those also, who sustained the chief characters, are specified by name. We have nothing to offer in contradiction to this evidence, but suspicions and scruples, which arise merely from inexperience; and have no real foundation. Let us then consider this composition well; and the history, with which it is attended: and see whether from its texture, language, and references, it will not be found as old as it is said to be. I must confess, I have sometimes suspected that the original plan was older.

It is remarkable, that *Rowley* in the title

to the play of *Ælla*, stiles it a *discoorsynge Tragedie*. This was done; because, though there were undoubtedly plays written at this time, and long before; yet there were exhibitions of another nature; some of which consisted of scriptural representations, without any regular dialogue: and some without any dialogue at all. He therefore gives this title to the composition, in order to distinguish it from the more ordinary shows and representations: a caution, which would never have been thought of by the boy Chatterton.

The tragedy is denominated from the principal character, *Ælla*: upon whose misfortune the plan of the play is founded. He is said to have been Warden of Bristol Castle; and to have protected the province where he resided, from the incursions of the Danes. At what time the particular event happened, which gave birth to this excellent sample of ancient composition, may be a circumstance not easy to be determined. We may suppose, that the principal facts are true: that the Danes did land near Portlac and Watchet; and in other parts of Somersetshire: and that they were defeated by a person named *Ælla*. In order therefore to form some judgment concerning the æra of this transaction, it will be proper to consider the various depredations,
made

made by the Danes at different times in these parts: and to collect the additional histories, which relate to these events. Though the groundwork of the play be true, yet I imagine, that the author has taken the common liberty of a poet; and introduced many foreign circumstances, in order to set off his composition to advantage. Among these possibly may be reckoned the treachery of Celmonde in respect to the Lady Birtha; and all the fatal consequences, which ensued from it. But still there was a real descent made by the Danes: and they were repulsed with loss by a person of Bristol, and the people of that country.

We learn from the Saxon Chronicle, and other histories, that there were more persons than one of the name of Ælla. So early as the time of Hengist, a Saxon Prince, called Ælla, came over with his two sons, anno 477, and defeated the Britons near Andredswald, where he landed; and afterwards in other * places. There was likewise an Ælla, the son of Uffa, a descendant of Woden; who obtained the kingdom in † Northumberland, anno 560. Another Prince of this name reigned in the same kingdom, anno 867; having been put up in the room of Osbryht,

* Chron. Sax. p. 14. l. 15. 30.

† Ibid. p. 20.

whom

whom a faction had * deposed. This Prince was slain by the Danes at York, together with Osbryght; and the whole happened anno 867, in the time of Etheldred King of the West Saxons, and of Alfred his brother. By these means one would expect to gain a little light; and to be brought towards the æra, with which we are concerned. And we might naturally imagine, that great helps would accrue from the evidence of the Danish historians. But the Danes were as yet in a state of paganism, and unacquainted with science. On this account their chronology is often defective, and their histories very confused. Saxo Grammaticus makes mention of these events; and says, that the Danish King was Regner Lodbrog. He landed upon the eastern coast; and finding upon his arrival, that the Prince, who had been deposed, was greatly disaffected, he gained him to his interest: and afterwards meeting Ælla, (whom he calls Hella) in battle, he defeated him near Norwich. According to Saxo, the name of the deposed King was not Osbryght, but † Ivar. Quippe Angli, fugato eo, in Hellam

* Tyrannum quendam Ællam nomine, non de Regali prosapia progenitum, super regni apicem constituerunt. Florent. Vigorn. p. 585. See Henry of Huntingdon. L. 2. p. 314.

† This circumstance and many others cannot be true. Ivar was a Danish name. One of the sons of this very King

Hellam quendam Hammonis filium, falsam Regis contulerant potestatem. Quo (Ivaro) duce Regnerus perinde atque locorum usu perito usus, editâ classe, portum, qui Norwicus appellatur, accessit: ubi expositis copijs, Hellam, Gallicâ virtute subnixum, post extractam in triduum pugnam, fugæ amantem fecit. L. ix. p. 175. Thus far this writer agrees with the English historians, that there was such a person as Ælla or Hella: that he was King of Northumberland: and came to the crown not in his own right, but by a party, which had deposed the true king. But that he was in those early times assisted by the French, and fought the Danes at Norwich, cannot be believed. For Hella of Northumberland was dead, as I have before taken notice. The best English historians mention his being slain at † York. After this we have an account from Saxo of Regner's going to Ireland, and taking Dublin: and of its being recovered by a person named

King Lodbrog was Ivar. The English historians concerning these times, are far more to be depended upon than the Danish: though the latter sometimes contain circumstances not mentioned by the former.

† ——— interfectus est Rex Osbric et Ellan; et innumera multitudo gentis Northumber. — See Hen. Hunt. L. 5. p. 349. See also Sax. Chron. p. 79. Florent. Wigorn. p. 585.

Hella,

Hella, who slew Regner. He speaks of him as if he were the same person, as the former. But I have repeatedly shewn, that this could not be. Besides it is not to be believed, that a petty Prince of Northumberland could at that time, or at any time, have a fleet of ships; and that he should invade Ireland, when he could not maintain himself in his own dominions. It must have been another Ælla or Hella: for at this time the Danes were in possession of * Northumberland, and all the northern parts of the kingdom. This therefore could not have been the hero of the play. Pontanus also makes mention of a person named Hella going over to Ireland; and there defeating Regner; and putting him to death. For this he quotes the authority of Aimonius. *Regnerum Lothbrogum ab Ellâ apud Hibernos truculentissimâ nece confectum.* L. iv. p. 100. It is said of this king, that he was by Ella thrown among a number of serpents; and that when he had a viper gnawing his heart, he sang his funeral song, in which he commemorated all his heroic deeds. *Cum cor ipsum coluber—obfideret, omnem operum suorum cursum, animosâ voce recensuit.* *ibid.* The song is extant, and consists of twenty-nine long

* See Sax. Chron. p. 79, and 83. and the authors above.

* stanzas. I should not have thought, that a person would have had either inclination, or ability, to shew his musical talents, when he had a serpent at his bosom. At the same time it is to be considered, that in Ireland there are no vipers. The old Danish writers deal very much in the marvellous: on which account we must not trust to them too implicitly, when they treat of ancient occurrences. If there were any truth about a person named Ella going with a fleet to Ireland, and there defeating the Danes; it is more probable on many accounts that he should be of Bristol, than of any other part of England. It is said by Saxo, that in process of time, Ivar the son of Regner, invaded Hella; and by a stratagem defeated him; and at last put him to death. L. ix. p. 177. The like is mentioned by Pontanus: who speaks of † Ella as a King: whereas the Ella or Ælla, concerning whom we are treating, could be

* In this song he is made to describe the serpents, with which he was surrounded; and particularly the viper at his heart.

Crudele stat nocumentum vipera:

Anguis inhabitat aulam cordis. Strophe 28.

At the same time he is made to foretel the death of Ella; which was to be by the sons of Regner. See Olai Wormij Lit. Run. p. 198.

† The person, by the one stiled Hella, is by the other expressed Ella.

no more than a Regulus; and accordingly called the Warden of Bristol Castle. But this would not amount to much; did the other circumstances sufficiently coincide. For the Danish writers often call governors, and generals, kings. In the battle, which Athelstan fought with the Danes near Brunenburgh, anno 988; no less than five kings are said to have been slain. * Sax. Chron. p. 113. There are other instances to the same purpose.

These histories afford us some insight into the times, with which we are concerned: though they may not point out the very object, which we want to have determined. Thus much may with certainty be concluded; that Ælla, or Ella, was a name of consequence among the Saxons: the same may be said of Celmonde; of which name there was an † Earl of Kent; who died in the year 897.

* See Flor. Wigoniens. p. 603. *Quinque Regulos, septemque duces.* See Ingulphus, p. 865. l. 46, and 48. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 354.

† Regner in his funeral Dirge says, that he slew three Kings in the island Lundy: or rather Lindsey. It was a part of Lincolnshire. Stanza xx. Robert of Gloucester, speaking of these inroads of the Danes, says

And by Eflangle & Lyndeseye hij wende vorth atte lastes
i. e. by Lincolnshire. p. 260. l. 17.

‡ Sax. Chron. p. 97.

Birtha was an appellation equally noble. The wife of Ethelbert, the first Christian King of Kent, and the daughter of Chilperic King of France, was so * called. I mention these things merely to shew, that there is a propriety in the names: and that possibly there were such persons, as are represented in the play.

As the two Danish commanders, who land at Watchet, are named Magnus and Hurra; I was once led to suspect, that the transcriber here, as in many other instances, might have been guilty of a mistake: which circumstance, if it could be ascertained, would afford us means to approach with more certainty towards the time of these occurrences. Notwithstanding that I have with some care looked into the Danish and English historians; yet I cannot meet with a person named Hurra. Such a one may have existed: but the name, does not, as far as I can find, occur. On this account I was led to surmise, that Hurra may have been substituted for Hubba. The name, when described in small characters, and in print, cannot well be mistaken. But when expressed in capitals, and those in manuscript, the proper name HUBBA by an unexperienced young man

* Bede's Eccles. Hist. p. 76. See also Hugonis Candidi Cænob. Burgensis Hist. p. 37.

might be easily taken for HURRA. The sons of Regner, who passed into England, and Ireland, are said in the Danish histories to have been in number seven, * *Eric, Orbec, Godofred, Inguar, Ulfer, Biorn, and Ubbo*; the same as *Hubba*. *Halfdeane* is not mentioned here, though as celebrated, as any of his brethren. He may possibly be included among those above under another appellation. *Hubba* was particularly famous; and is often joined with *Ivar*, or *Inguar*; and always mentioned with terror by the English writers. Matthew of Westminster speaks of their first coming upon the English coast; and describes the numbers, with which they were attended. † *Quorum Duces fuerunt Hinguar et Hubba, diræ perversitatis homines, et fortitudinis inauditæ*. They carried on a piratical war in Ireland; and in coming from thence used to winter in South Wales. This is taken notice of by the same writer, who cannot speak of their cruelty without horror. ‡ *Iniquitas detestanda Hinguaris, Hubbæ, et Haldeni, qui cum viginti navibus ex Demeticâ regione, in quâ hiemaverant, egressi, ut lupi rapaces,—ad*

* *Historia Suecica operâ et studio Erpoldi Lindenbruch. Anno 1595., p. 22.*

† P. 161.

‡ P. 169. See also Henry of Huntingdon, p. 348.

Devoniam navigârunt. Another writer speaks of them almost in the same words. * Inguar, et Haldene, egressi, ut lupi feroces, a ministris Regis Elfredi fortissimis occisi sunt ante Cimwich. If Hubba were the person, who was defeated by Ælla near Watchet, we might be assured so far concerning the time of the occurrence, that it was in the days of King Alfred; and prior to the battle of Kenwith, or Cimwich: for there Hubba was slain; and buried at a place, called from him Hubba's-low. Henry of Huntingdon mentions, that Alfred had many conflicts with the Danes, in the western parts of England: and in these battles he was particularly assisted by the people of Somersetshire. † Pugnavit sæpe cum exercitu (Danorum) auxilio Somersetensium, qui ibi propinqui erant. ‡ The Danish historians certainly mention Ella by name; and say, that he was attacked by the sons of Regner Lodbrog: one of whom we know to have been Hubba. They add, that Ella was slain. Thus much is certain, that the coast of Somersetshire lay very open to the insults of the Danes, when they came

* Roger Hoveden, p. 417.

† L. v. p. 350. The same is repeatedly said by Asser Menevensis.

‡ See Saxo Grammaticus. L. ix. p. 177. Pontanus, p. 104.

from Ireland, or Demetica, which was the southern part of Wales. Watchet was often attacked by them, and ruined. In the time of King Alfred, they must frequently have landed in these parts; as we may judge from the people of Somersetsshire being particularly specified as opposing them.—* *Auxilio Somersetenfium, qui ibi propinqui erant.* Robert of Gloucester speaks of them in the same light, as opposing the Danes in those parts.

† — and *thet folc of Somersete, &c.*
Hii come and fnyte an batayle.

Our poet alludes to events of this kind, when speaking of the river Severne, he says—

‡ Howe onne the bankes thereof brave Ælle fought,
 Ælle descended from Merce kynglie bloude,
 Warden of Brystowe towne, and castel stede,
 Who ever and anon made Danes to bleed.

After all I must confess, that the whole of this inquiry is attended with great uncertainty. I do not therefore produce these evidences, as by any means tending towards a proof; but merely as an illustration of the history, upon which the play of Ælla is founded: and as such they may be acceptable to the reader.

There are other accounts afforded us con-

* Henry Huntingdon above. † P. 260. l. 14.

‡ Rowley, p. 279. v. 15.

cerning the Danes infesting the western coast of England: and one in particular, which may throw some further light on the circumstances of the poem. This inroad was of a later æra: and happened in the reign of Edward the Elder, in the year 918; at which time the Danes landed to the north of Somersetshire, under the conduct of Ohter and Hroald: and having committed many depredations in Herefordshire and Wales, were at last defeated. In this engagement they lost one of their Generals; and were forced to take shelter in a wood or inclosure. This by the author of the Saxon Chronicle is stiled a pearruc, or park: which we may suppose to have been part of a wood, fenced in: for parks, such as are now, did not then exist. * 7 bedrūpon hie on ænne pearruc. *The English drove them into a pearruc, or inclosure.* This part of the history seems in some measure to agree with the words, which the Danish General in the poem is supposed to utter—

I heere the anlacis detested dynne:

Awaie, awaie, ye Danes, to yonder penne. v. 727.

It seems to have been part of a forest: as we may judge from that, which is said by the Danes in another part.

Heere ynn yis forreste lette us watche for pree. v. 976.

* Saxon Chron. p. 105.

It is farther said upon the flight of this people, that they were opposed in their rout southward by the people upon the Severn: but they got by them twice, and made their way towards * Watchet and Portlac: in both which efforts they were defeated with great loss: and particularly to the east of Watchet. They were here totally routed, so that but few survived. Those, who did escape, got first into the small island Stepeholme: and from thence to Demetica, a part of South Wales; and at last to Ireland. The name of the person, who was principal in these victories, is not mentioned. The two Danish commanders are said to have been Ohter and Hroald: which names do not well agree with the Hurra and Magnus of Rowley. Some of the leading circumstances are on both sides similar. The Danes invade the western coast of England; and are defeated in their progress: on which account they make towards Watchet: and are obliged to take shelter in a wood or forest. We have a farther account of this affair given us by Henry of Huntingdon. † Rex autem (Edwardus:

* Saxon. Chron. p. 105.

† Henry of Huntingdon, L. v. p. 353. A like inroad is mentioned in the time of Etheldred, the son of Edgar. Edelredi Regis anno decimo nono Daci circa Cornu Galliam perrexerunt in Savernam, prædantes in Davene,

wardus : anno 918) fecit custodiri littora Saverne ex australi parte ; a Walliâ usque Afenam — &c. Ipsi tamen (Dani) bis furtim exierunt : unâ vice ex orientali parte *Weced* : aliâ vice apud Porducam, (Pordlucam) : et utrâque vice pauci evaserunt, qui occisi non essent, præter illos, qui poterant natare ad puppes, &c. Tunc evaserunt ipsi in Diomedum (sive Demeticam) et inde in Hiberniam. In all these engagements we may suppose the people of Somersetshire to have been concerned. Watchet, which the Saxons called *Weceb*, *Weced*, lay very opportunely for the Danes, whenever they came from Ireland or Wales. They * burnt it in the year 987 : and did much damage to the place and inhabitants about ten years afterwards.

The history given above may possibly be the same, which is alluded to in the play. *Ælla* for the honour of Bristol is made the chief character : and by him *Hurra* and *Magnus* are said to have been defeated ; though there might be other persons of equal note concerned. But after all I must confess my doubts about it : and have many reasons to suspect, that this affair was not of so early

Davene, et *Sudwales* ; egredientesque ad *Weche-port* cum ferro et flammâ, inde reversi sunt circa *Penwistrit*. *ibid.* *ibid.* p. 358.

* *Chron. Saxon.* p. 126, notes. Also p. 129.

date. Besides Ohter and Hroald can never be esteemed the same as Hurra and Magnus. I am persuaded, that the latter name was not then known to the Danes. The first upon record, that I can find, was Magnus, the son of Olaus the Martyr : which Magnus was by Canute the Great dispossessed of Norway. After the death of Canute, he in his turn attacked the Danes, and brought their King Swain to great difficulties. He is mentioned by Robert Brunne, and called both *Magnus* and *Magnum*.

Suane—

Praied him for his navy to help him with summe,
Bataile was gyven in the se ageyn the kyng Magnum.

* * * * *

For alle the help that he had, Magnus on him so ran,
And chased away Suane & Danmark on him wan.
Bot this Magnus lyved there no longer.

p. 57. l. 8. l. 13, 14.

It is farther to be observed, that according to this history the Danes did not land at Watchet ; but began their depredations in North Wales ; and then proceeded southward through Herefordshire and Gloucestershire ; and so on to the coast of Somersetshire. Here was their final defeat : and from hence the remains of their army escaped to Deme-tica and Ireland. These circumstances do not agree with the history of Ælla. It shall therefore be my business to proceed upon other

other grounds : which may possibly bring us nearer to the truth.

There is an intimation given in one part of the play ; by which I think we may investigate very nearly the time of the transaction. It is said by the hero of Bristol, by way of encouragement to those about him,

Let cowarde Londonne see herre towne onn fyre,
And strev wythe goulde to staie the royners honde.

p. 120. v. 623.

*i. e. and strive by money to stop the hand of the ruiner,
the destroying Dane.*

This plainly relates to a compact made by the Londoners not long before this event at Bristol : which compact is mentioned by Ælla as a base treaty ; and unworthy of the people, who made it. If we can find out, when this convention happened, we may be pretty certain of the age, in which this person lived : and to what reign the transaction at Watchet may be referred.

There are more instances than one, when the people of London sued for peace to the Danes ; and obtained it for a sum of money. This piece of policy seems to have been first carried into execution by Etheldred, the elder brother of Alfred. In the year 872, at which time Inguar and Hubba were so formidable, the Danes are said to have marched towards London ; and wintered there.

As the city was the capital of Mercia, and indeed of the whole kingdom; and not, as far as we can find, either besieged or taken; we must suppose that the Danes were admitted there upon a composition; and that the security of the people was purchased for a sum of money. That some such compact was made we have intimation from the histories of the times. The Saxon Chronicle takes the following notice of the enemy's march, and the treaty in consequence of it. An. DCCCLXXII. þer for se hefe to Lundebýrig fram Readingum, 7 þær wintes setl nam. And þa namon Wýpce frud wíð þone hefe. p. 82. *This year the Pagans marched from Reading to London: and in that city took up their winter quarters: and the Mercians entered into a treaty with them.* After Menevensis gives the same account. Anno Domini carnationis DCCCLXXII. nativitatis vero Ælfredi regis vigesimo quarto; præfatus Paganorum exercitus Londoniam adiit, atque ibi hiemavit: cum quo Mercij pacem * pepigerunt, p. 26. As we may be assured, that no truce nor treaty could be well obtained from that powerful and insolent ene-

* See also Simeon Dunelmens. p. 127. Alfreði Regis anno primo exercitus (Paganorum) venit Londinium a Reding, et ibi per hyemem fuit: et Mercenses ceperunt inducias cum exercitu. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 349.

my but by purchase; there is reason to think, that the Londoners, and the Mercians in general, gained their short-lived advantage by these means. There were other exactions, to which the nation was obliged to submit, at different times afterwards. In the reign of King Etheldred the Second, anno 1012, they were obliged to pay largely to preserve the country from ruin: of this we have an account given by the Abbot John of Peterborough. *Perfidus Dux Edric, et omnes primates Angliæ, Londoniæ congregati, Danis tributum, scilicet quadraginta et octo millium librarum, persolvebant.* p. 35. Five years afterwards in the reign of Edmund Ironside, the whole nation was exposed to fire and sword under Canute: when at last a treaty was made between the two Kings in the island of Athelney, in the year 1016. Upon this Canute retired into Mercia; and a * tribute was imposed. Also a large body of the Danes came to London, where the people gave them an ample gratification in money, and then opened their gates to receive them. *Chron. Sax.* p. 150. The exaction was so large, that the people do not seem to have been able to levy the whole at once. Hence we are told in the same history, that

* See Johannes Brumton apud Scriptorum Ang. Decem. p. 907. Pontani Hist. Rerum Danicarum. L. v. p. 152.

two years after the nation made its payment. *In this year, 1018, was the gabel payed throughout the whole kingdom to the Danes, which amounted to seventy-two thousand pounds; besides that, which the people of London were obliged to pay: ꝥ pær xi þyrend punda. that was eleven thousand pounds.* Chron. Saxon. p. 151. It is said, that the Danes had before in the same year made an attack upon the city; but were repulsed with loss. They upon this retreated into the provinces of Mercia, and destroyed with fire and sword every thing, which came in their way. They afterwards made a second attempt: when the Londoners, as has been shewn above, opened their gates to them, having purchased their mercy for the sum specified; by which means their city was saved. Simeon of * Durham speaks of these times as very calamitous: and says, that at last a truce was agreed upon: which the Danes do not seem in the least to have regarded. *DANI tamen cum prædâ, quam diripuerant, suas ad naves redierunt; cum quibus PACEM DATO PRECIO Cives Londonienses fecerunt; et eos secum hiemare permiserunt.* This, I imagine, was the particular fact alluded to, when Ælla is made to say to his people—

* De Gestis Reg. Ang. p. 174.

Let cowarde Londonne see herre towne onn fyre,
 And strev wythe goulde to staie the royners honde,
 Ælla and Bristowe havethe thoughtes, thattes hygher.

The Danes probably had set fire to some part of the city, which induced the inhabitants to compound for the rest. This composition was made, as I have before mentioned, in the year 1016: and about the same time, but somewhat subsequent to this event, was the landing of the Danes at Watchet; who were repulsed by Ælla, and the people of Somerset. They were part of a large body, which had forced themselves into some provinces of Ireland: from whence they often came over in a piratical manner; and made depredations upon the Welch, and upon the people of Devonshire, Somersetshire, and * Cornwall. Hence without determining precisely this event, upon which the play is founded, I will only presume to place it in the reign of Canute the Great, soon after the Danes had got possession of London: for that fact seems

* There is an instance of a later landing upon the coast of the Severne, and of depredations in consequence of it. Anno MCLXIX. — Hybernienfes Piratæ, triginta et sex navibus ostium Sabrinæ intrantes, cum auxilio Griffini regis australium Britonum, super Anglos apud Wileſceaxan irruerunt, igne et ferro multa mala facientes. Chron. John. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo. p. 41. I however take the former event to be that, which is referred to by the poet: as the time is so particularly pointed out by the tribute paid at London.

to be alluded to as a recent event. On this account I should place the engagement at Watchet to the reign of the first Danish monarch, and about the year 1020, or it may possibly have been a few years later.

RAF N, RAFEN, and RAFN-FAN.

There are many curious histories alluded to in these poems, which may not be obvious to every reader. I am confident, that they were for the most part a secret to the person, who by many has been looked upon as the author. An history of this sort is contained in the following lines.

The Danes, wythe terroure rulynge att their head,
Threwe downe theyr bannere talle, & lyche a Ravenne
fledde. P. 131. v. 792.

Celmondé in the play of Ælla is giving an account of the victory gained by that General near Watchet: and of the precipitate flight of the enemy. It may be asked, why they are said to have fled away like a raven, rather than like a deer, or any other fugitive animal. The reason was, because the banner, which they are said to have thrown away, had this very bird for a device. The raven was held by the Danes in great reverence. It is said in the Edda, that Odin was stiled Rafna-

Gud; *the deity of ravens*: and that two of these birds, were continually at his ear in Valhal, to inform him of every thing, which passed in the world: see Fab. 34. De mensâ et victu * Odini. On this account a raven was esteemed sacred; and was described in the chief standard of the Danes. Spelman in his life of King Alfred, speaking of the great defeat given to the Danes near Kenwith Castle by Osdun Earl of Devonshire, has the following words. Hâc factâ strage, dum hostium exuvias colligunt, opibus haud parvis refertas, in manus Victoris venit inclytum illud vexillum Danicum, Reafan, seu corvus, dictum: ingens ethnicorum istorum fiducia. Quippe vexillum illud corvi simulachro magice intextum fuerat a tribus Hinguari et Hubbæ sororibus. Ælfredi vita. L. 1. p. 31. Affer Menevensis had before mentioned the same circumstance. Anno 878. Eodem anno Frater Hynguari et Healfdenæ cum 23 navibus de Demeticâ regione, in quâ hyemaverat—ad Damnaniam enavigavit; et ibi a ministris Regis—occisus est ante arcem Cynuit.—Quo tempore etiam acceperunt illud vexillum, quod Reafan nominant: dicunt enim, quod tres Sorores Hungaræ et Hubbæ, filiæ videlicet Lodebrochi, illud vexillum texuerunt, p. 33. The brother of Inguar

* See also Snorro Sturlosonius. C. 7. p. 8.

and Halfdeane said to be slain in this battle, was the Hubba here mentioned, whom they buried at a place, denominated from him, Hubba's-Lowe. There seems to have been another battle fought with the Danes at Chipenham; which Pontanus styles, Chipenham pagum prope Bristolum. L. iv. p. 105. It was not properly at Chipenham; that this battle was fought: nor was this place in the vicinity of Bristol. There were two victories gained; the one by Osdun over Hinguar and Hubba, as has been before mentioned: the other by Alfred in person. This last was at a place, named in the Saxon Chronicle, and by Affer Menevensis, Ethandune. It is a town in Wiltshire, where it is said of Alfred, Paganos maximâ cæde prostravit. Affer, p. 34. It is very near to Chipenham; and here, I imagine, that a second time a raven standard was taken. *Interca post pascha illius anni (scil. 878.) coop-tavit bellum Ælfred Rex adversus exercitus, qui in Cippenhamme fuere in loco Ethandune; victoriæque obtinent numen.* * Ethelwerdi Chron. p. 845. The place is now called Eddington, and lies in Wiltshire. That this standard was again taken may be inferred from Pontanus. And he here corrects the English historians, who called it

* See also Simeon Dunelm. p. 146.

Reofan; and informs us, that the name was a compound, and properly expressed Ravn-fan; from Ravn, or Rafn, *a raven*; and fan a *banner*. The Saxon Chronicle seems to be pretty exact in respect to this matter; and describes this standard nearly according to the sentiments of Pontanus. The author of it is speaking of the first battle at Kenwith Castle; and informs us — þar pæs re Luð-pana genumen, þe hi pæfen heton. *There was the Guth-fan, or war standard, taken, which they called the Raven.* p. 84. l. 34. It was by the Saxons stiled simply the Rafen: but in composition both Guth-fana, and Ravn-fana: for Fan, and Fana, signified an ensign; and also any device upon it. Guth-fana signified the * *war-standard*; Rafn-fana, the *Raven standard*. In the same Chronicle we have an account of a victory gained by King Athelstan about the year 938. In this battle there are said to have been seven standards taken from the Danes, the devices of which are specified. They were the Eagle, the Kite, the Toad, the Dog, the Wolf: also Hpærn Bryttian þalu pipadan, *the Raven, devouring the flesh of Britons*; and þone ppeartan hpærn, hynnéd nibban: *and the swart Raven, with the hard horned nib or beak.*

* Guth, prælum, bellum. Lye and Manning Sax. Dict.

p. 113. l. 33. As this device was so common among the Danes; the poet with great propriety says, when they were seen to run away—Fear gave them wings, and that they fled like a *raven*.

The Danes wyth terroure rulynge att their head,
Threwe downe theyre bannere talle, & lyche a ravenne
fledde.

The Raven was used for an ensign by other nations. Sigurd of the Orkneys, a Norwegian by family, had a sacred standard with the same device, given him by his mother, who was said to be an enchantress. Tradito vexillo, in hoc, inquit, omnem artem impendi. Cui præfertur, nunquam non victoriam, sed ferenti lethum, portendit. Miro artificio formam Corvi repræsentabat: flanteque vento sublatum, volantis speciem. Torphæi Hist. Orcadum. L. i. C. 10. p. 27. The like description is given of the raven made by Hubba's sisters. It is said to have had motion; and to have appeared, as if alive.

This reference in the poem to the standard, which this people held so sacred, is very natural, as well as poetical. The Danes themselves in their songs had the like references. Regner Lodbrog in his funeral dirge alludes to the devices upon the Danish standards, when he speaks of the Eagle, the Hawk, the
Wolf,

Wolf, the Dragon. And in recounting the many battles, in which he had been engaged, he mentions that these animals were fatiated with blood. The Rafn, occurs more frequently, than any.

* Omnis erat oceanus vulnus,
Vadebat Rafn in fanguine cæforum.

This may explain, what is said in another part of the play; which otherwise would not be intelligible. That, which I refer to, is in p. 122. v. 663, where the foldiers of Ælla beg to be led on against the Danes.

Onn, Ælla, onn; we long for bloodie fraie:

We longe to here the Raven syng in vain.

Onn, Ælla, onn, we certys gayne the daie,

Whanne thou doste leade us to the leathal playne.

In another place (p. 137. v. 865.) a person says—

Harke the Ravenne flaps hys wing.

Again, p. 121. v. 641.

Thanne, whanne the Ravenne crokes uponne the playne,

Oh! lette ytt bee the knelle to myghtie Daciens flayne.

In all these passages the poet alludes to the sacred standard: which is spoken of as if gifted with life: and it was in some measure esteemed so by the Danes. Dicunt enim,

* Olaus Wormius, p. 199.

quod in omni bello, ubi præcederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi, quasi Corvus vivus volitans. Sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, penderet directe, nihil movens : et hoc sæpe probatum est. Affer Menevensis ad annum. 878.

W A T C H E T.

I have mentioned, that one of the principal places, where the Danes landed, in the west, was Weched, by the Saxons expressed Weced : among whom the letter c was often pronounced like ch. They called it Weched, and Weched-port : and from hence came the name of Watchett : by which it has been distinguished in later times. It occurs in Rowley, p. 118. and p. 125. where the army is said to be near *Watchette* ; and the Danes are represented as running away near *Watchette*. Celmonde, v. 1078, speaks of his engaging in fight near *Watchette* : and Ælla is said to have been detained there after the battle, on account of his wounds. Birtha says

* Celmonde dyd come to me at tyme of reste,
Wordeynge for mee to fle, att youre requeste,
To *Watchette* towne, where you deceafynge laie.

* P. 1231.

Now,

Now, though it is a matter of no great moment, yet I am persuaded, that in all these instances the original reading was *Weched*: which has been unduly altered to the more modern name, *Watchet*. *Lambarde*, comparatively a late writer, mentions it by the name of *Weched*, and *Weched-port*: and so it is called by every ancient historian. Besides the transcriber does not seem to have observed, that the place expressed by him *Watchett*, where *Ælla* lay wounded, was the same, which before had been called *Wedecester*, v. 943.

Ælla fore wounded ys yn bykerous fraie;
In *Wedecester's* wallid toune he lyes.

It was the very place, which they set out to defend from the enemy, who was advancing towards it.

Haste swythen, fore anieghe the towne theie bee,
And *Wedecesterres* rolle of dome bee fulle. v. 244.

There seem to be in this passage more mistakes than one. The term *fore* may be instead of *for*: or else an abbreviation of *before*. If this be the case, there will not need any alteration. But what is here expressed *fore*, I imagine to have been in the original *ore*, sometimes expressed *or*, and *eer*. The sense is to this amount. The Danes are upon the coast:

Haste swythen, ore anieghe the towne theie bee,
And *Wedecesters* rolle of dome bee fulle:

That is, *Make hast; ere they beset the place and take it*: for it was the key of the country, and had been fortified accordingly. In the next place it is plain from history, as well as from the poem, that this *Wedcester* was the same as *Watchet*: for here *Ælla* is said afterwards to have been confined by his wounds. It should therefore have been rendered in every instance, not *Wedcester*, for there was no such place: but *Wecedcester*; as is manifest from the best authorities. We find it called *Weceb*, and *Weceb-port*, *Weched*, and *Weched-port*, by various authors. So it occurs in the *Saxon Chronicle*; in *Affer Menevensis*, in *Matthew of Westminster*, *Henry of Huntingdon*, *Lambarde*, *Camden*, and other writers. *Roger Hovedon* names it *Weced-port*, and says, * *Anno 988, Weced-port a Danicis Piratis devastatur*. From this *Weced*, and *Weched*, came the modern name *Watchet*: and they reciprocally prove each other to be one and the same place from the history, with which they are accompanied. We may therefore be assured, that what the transcriber has expressed *Wedcester* should be rendered *Weced-cester*, or *Weched-cester*; for that was the true name. And we may, I think, be further certified, that, if the place was called in composition *Weched-cester*, the

* P. 427.

name uncompounded must have been in every instance *Weched*. When therefore we find it rendered *Watchet*, we may presume, that it is an innovation of the transcriber; who was not versed in antiquity. He accordingly, as he was ignorant of the propriety of the ancient term, altered it to another, with which he was better acquainted.

It may be urged, *that it does not seem likely that the name should be sometimes used in composition; and sometimes simple and alone. The author would have been more uniform, if the poems had been genuine.* But this objection is of no weight: and the mode of procedure amounts to no more, than if a writer, in speaking of King Edward the Third, should in one part of his work say, that he kept his court at *Windsor*; and in another at *Windsor Castle*. The very thing, of which we are speaking, we find done by the author of the Saxon Chronicle. He tells us, p. 105: that anno 918, the Danes landed at *Portloc and Weched*. He afterwards, anno 987, alludes to another landing, and says—*Weched-port pær geherygod: Weched-port was harried and laid waste.* Again, anno 997, he tells us, that the same people came up to *Weched-port*; and did great mischief. Hence we find, that the place was called *Weched, Weched-port*, and by our author, *Weched-
O 3 cester*;

cester; according as it was referred to, as a town, a port, or a castle. London is stiled Lundene, Lundene, Lundenwic, Lundenburgh, and Lundenbyjug (Londonbury) in the same * volume.

It has been my purpose to shew from the best authorities two things: first, that what has been expressed *Wedecester*, was originally *Wecedcester*, or *Wechedcester*: and secondly, that *Wachett*, the modern name, must in the poem have been expressed *Weched*.

B R I S T O L.

As Ælla is said to have been the Warden of Bristol Castle, it may be proper to say something concerning the history of this place; and above all to shew that it existed in the times spoken of: otherwise our labour hitherto will have been but ill expended. I mention this, because that very celebrated antiquary Lambarde has furnished, that it was a place of no great antiquity. Now if there were no such place as Bristol, we may presume, that there was no such person as Ælla: and all, that we have been building upon this supposition, falls to the ground. The words of Lambarde, which immediately re-

* Saxon. Chron. See also Lambarde.

late to my purpose, are these. Bristow, Venta Belgarum. Lat. Caernante Badon—Brytan:—*There is no mention of it in the Saxon Chronicles, wherby I gess it to have takinge the begynninge not long before the Conquest,* p. 30. The Saxon Chronicles are so very few and short, that we must not wonder, if several places of great antiquity are not mentioned in them. But how can this learned man suppose it to have been rather of a modern construction; if the ancient name were Venta Belgarum, a name mentioned by the Romans? But in reality the city stiled Venta Belgarum was Winchester: as, I believe, our most experienced antiquaries agree. And as to the omission of the name by Saxon writers, it is not precisely true: for it is to be found in the * Saxon Chronicle: where it is said, that in the year 1088, Gosfrith the Bishop of Constance, and Rodbear, a Norman nobleman, went to Bricg-rtope, *Bricstowe*, and spoiled it, together with the castle. This last they made the repository of the plunder, which they got in the neighbouring parts. The same history is mentioned by Simeon of † Durham, and Radulfus de Diceto, and others: but this was after the Conquest. Florence of Worcester

* P. 192.

† P. 632. See Simeon Dunelmens. p. 185, l. 36:

speaks of it as a place of some consequence, and a sea-port, in the time of the Saxon King Edward : at whose command Harold is said to have set sail from thence. * De Bricstowe classicâ manû profectus magnâ ex parte terram Walanorum † circumnavigabat. We may from hence perceive, that it was a place of shipping in the times of the Saxons. William of Malmſbury, who lived very early, speaks of it as a town of note; and, as we may infer, of ancient répute. † In eâdem valle (Glocestrenſi) est vicus celeberrimus Bristow, in quo est navium portus ab Hyberniâ, et Norvegiâ, et cæteris transmarinis terris venientium, receptaculum, p. 283. He speaks of it only as a town, vicus celeberrimus: and so does Robert of Gloucester: but it is in a place, where he is enumerating all the most ancient cities of the land, which he stiles towns: so that under whatever denomination Bristow may occur, it was of the same rank and estimation, as they were. Among the ancient places mentioned by this writer, are

London, and Everwik, Lyncolne, and Leicestre, Colcheſtre, and Canterbury, *Bristow*, and Wirceſtre. p. 2. l. 21.

* P. 632. See Simeon Dunelmens. p. 185. l. 36.

† It is mentioned by Robert Brunne,

Godwÿn went to Flanders, unto the erle Baldwÿn.

At Bristowe in tille Ireland schipped Harald & Lof-

wÿn. p. 59. l. 1.

Henry

Henry of Huntingdon also, enumerating the most ancient cities, mentions this as one among twenty-eight. Civitatum autem nomina hæc erant Britannia: Kair-Ebranc, id est Eboracum: Kair-Chent, i Cantuaria. Kair-Gorargon i Wigornia: Kair Lundene, i Lundenia: Kair-Legion i Leiceastria: — Kair-BRISTOW, &c.—L. 1. p. 298. The place is certainly of great antiquity: and was of old looked upon as a city. It was well known before the days of King Athelstan; for his brother King Edward was slain at a place, which is pointed out by its being in the vicinity of Bristow.

Suthth aday, as the king sat at ys mete

At Pokelchyrche bysyde Brystow—

There one Lof, or Leof, — *a luther traytor* —

Smot the king wyth a knyf in the breste, &c.

Rob. of Gloucest. p. 277. l. 9.

After the Conquest it was very much improved by different persons, and particularly by Robert, a natural son of Henry the First. This was the person, whom the king wanted to marry to Mabile, the heiress of Robert Fitz Haym, or Haymon; who had been a nobleman of great estate in these parts. The lady, it seems, knew her worth; and refused to give her hand to a person, who had but one name, and no title. The king promised to remedy this default; and to give him both title and name. He accordingly denominated him

him Fitz Roy, and made him Earl of Gloucester. Robert residing in the vicinity of Bristol, saw very soon the excellence of its situation; and improved it greatly. Of Robert the Father of Mabile we have the following histories in Leland. * *Gulielmus Rufus processu temporis dedit honorem Glocestriæ Roberto Filio Haymonis cum omni libertate, quâ eum tenuit † Brictricus. Robertus Filius Haymonis duxit in uxorem sebillam sororem Roberti Belesmi, Comitis Salapiæ. Genuit ex eâ filias, Mabiliam, Hawisiam, Ceciliam, Amiciam.*

‡ Anno D. 1102, Robertus Filius Haymonis—Ecclesiam de Theokesbyri ex novo fecit, et novis possessionibus ditavit.—Obijt, id. Mart. a°. D. 1107, an. 7. Henrici primi. Sepultus est Theokesbirix in domo capitulari. This person is likewise mentioned by Robert of Gloucester.

§ *Syre Roberd le fyz Haym, that let vorst arere
The abbey of Teukesbury & monekes broghte there.*

He also takes notice of the king's offer to the fair Mabile of his son Robert, whom she refused for his failure in point of nobility, She is accordingly made to say—

* Itin. v. 6. p. 73.

† Of this person I shall speak hereafter.

‡ Leland. supra.

§ P. 431. l. 5.

* Sýre Roberd le Fýz Haym my fader name was,
And that ne mýght nogt be hýs, that of hýs kunne
nugt nas.

Thervore, fyre, vor Gode's loue, ne let me non man
owe,

Bote he abbe an tuo name, war thoru he be ýknowe.
Damaysele, quath the kýng, thou seýst wel in thýs
cas,

Sýre Roberd le Fýz Haym thý fadere's name was,
&c. &c.

The king assures her further to the same
purpose.

† Damasele, he seýde tho, thý lovedr fal abbe an
name,

Vor hým & vor hýs eýres vayr wýth out blame.

Vor Roberd erl of Gloucestre hýs name fal be
and ýs ;

Vor he fal be erl of Gloucestre, and hýs eýres, ýwis.

Sýre, quath the máyde tho, wel lýketh me thýs :

In thýs fourme ýholle, that al mý thýng be hýs.

The author afterwards mentions his great
services to the town of Bristol.

† — The vorst erl of Gloucestre thus was ýmad
there—

Roberd, that spoused the rýgt eýr, Kýng Henry fone,
That vor hýs gode dede worth, ých wene, évere in
mone,

And Brýstow thour hýs wýf was also hýs,

And he broght in gret sta the toun, as he gut ýs.

And rerde ther an castel mýd the noble tour,

That of al the tours of Engeland ýs ýholde flour.

The priorýe of Seyn Jemes in the north sýde alute

He rerde of blake monckes, as hýs body lýth gute.

* Leland. p. 432. l. 1.

† P. 432. l. 15.

‡ P. 433. l. 5.

I quote from this writer very often : for though he is far inferior to Rowley in rythm and harmony ; yet he is often fimilar to him in language. Hence he may sometmes be introduced by way of illustrating the latter writer : and may serve to take off many objections, which are brought against him. It has been urged against Rowley, that oftentimes, if we only change the spelling, his verses will appear in great measure modern ; and the language of the present times. The same will be found in many other writers, and particularly in * Robert of Gloucester, though older by two centuries.

* The former part modernised.

*Damsel, he said then, thy lover shall have a name,
For him and for his heirs, fair without blame :*

*For Robert Earl of Gloucester his name shall be, and is :
For he shall be Earl of Gloucester and his heirs ywis.*

(i. e. assuredly.)

Sir, quoth the Maid then, well liketh me this.

In this form (ycholle) I will, that all my things be his.

The first Earl of Glocester thus was made there.

*Robert, that espoused the right heir, King Henry's son,
That for his good deeds worth, I ween, (was) ever in
mind. (i. e. remembered.)*

And Bristow thorough his wife was also his,

*And he brought into great stead (or state) the town as it
(gut) yet is, &c.*

SUMMERTONS.

Godwin in the tragedy is made to say to his son Harold, p. 179. v. 31.

Mie Kentyshmen, thie Summertons shall ryse.

I have taken notice before, that Godwin was Earl of Kent, as Harold was of Gloucestershire; of which county Somerton was the principal place. I mention this, because in all the Danish wars, with which this part of England was particularly afflicted; I do not remember, that the name of this place occurs. Yet it must have been a town of note, and of long standing; for it seems to have given name to the county. This may serve to take off our wonder, if the name of Bristol, which must have been of equal * antiquity, is not more frequently mentioned. The people in the passage above are called Summertons, from their town, just as the Londoners are so denominated from their city. In the Saxon Chronicle mention is made, that Summerton, anno 733, was taken by Ethelbald, who was a king of Mercia. But Lambarde thinks, that this Summerton, was a place in Lancashire.

* I have shewn, that it was numbered among the most ancient cities of Britain.

GRONFYRE.

G R O N F Y R E.

I have taken notice, that in these poems there are often allusions to circumstances of the times; to remote and obscure events: to which, one would think, nobody but a person of the same age could have been induced to refer. And I have shewn by many examples, that the transcriber, through whom we receive these writings, could never arrive at this occult knowledge. There are many dark hints and intimations, with which he was totally unacquainted. From these secret allusions I have been induced to think, that some of these poems were not even of the age of Rowley; but far antecedent: being composed by some person, or persons, who were not far removed from the times and events, which they celebrate. Such was the Battle of Hastings, and the account of King Richard in his progress to the Holy-land. The article above, upon which I am going to treat, will fully explain my purpose.

In the chorus to the tragedy of Godwin, the poet in some very fine lines describes a formidable personage, and says,—

Alyche twaie brendynge *Gronfyres* rolls hys eyes.

p. 195. v. 200.

The term by the expositor is explained a *meteor*.

The like occurs in the second eclogue.

Kynge Rycharde lyche a lyoncel of warre,
Inne sheenyng goulde, lyke feerie * *gronfers* dyghte.

P. 9. v. 45.

It is here said to be derived from *gron*, a *fen*, and *fer*, a corruption of fire. Hence we may perceive, that it is taken for a common ignis fatuus; the same, which the country people stile a *Will of the wisp*, and *Jack a lantern*. On this account the expositor has been induced to derive it from *gron*, a *fen*. But there is nothing in an ignis fatuus, which agrees with the descriptions here given. This meteor, the ignis fatuus, is represented as a vague, playful, and innocent light; in which there is nothing terrible or alarming. Besides a Gronfire is plainly a *ground-fire*, from † *gron*, and *grun*, solum. See Olai Verelii Lexicon Sueo-Gothic. It was expressed A. S. *grunð*. solum. fundum. Al. *grunt*. B. *grond*. See Lye's Etymolog. Ang. Moreover from the comparison it is evident, that something is alluded to, which was of a very fearful nature, and of an uncommon appearance. Whatever it may have been, we find it again

* It should be *gronfer* in the singular.

† *Gron* signifies undoubtedly a marshy place: but also solid ground.

referred to, though in different terms, p. 180. v. 50.

Lyche a battent lowe mie swerde shalle brende.

Now what have we similar, by which these descriptions can be explained? Nothing, that I am apprised of, now a days. But I think, that there were of old some phenomena, mentioned by the more early historians of this country, which will illustrate the point greatly. In the Saxon Chronicle we read, that in the year 1032, there were earthquakes in many parts of this kingdom: and that a sad mortality ensued: and, what is very particular, there were seen fires of an uncommon appearance, *such as were never seen before*. They broke out of the earth in different places, and did a great deal of * mischief. Simeon Dunelmensis takes notice of earthquakes happening; and of a like fire appearing a few years after, anno 1048. He speaks of it as breaking out in Derbyshire, and some neighbouring counties; and being of an alarming nature: and he concludes

* þer on þyrum gear azyde þat pilde fire, þe

Nan man ænon nan oþer, spyle ne gemunde, &c. p. 154.

See also Roger de Hoveden, p. 440. Hence we may perceive, that the artificial fire, called *wild fire* at this day, took its name from the similitude, it bore to these *battent lowes* and *gronfires*, which broke out in the times specified.

with

with saying —villas et fegetes multas ustulavit. Hist. Ang. Script. Decem. p. 183. It is recorded by John Brompton nearly in the same manner. He mentions the mortality, which then prevailed; and the mischief, which was done by these fires. *ibid.* p. 939. l. 48. The like phenomenon is said to have appeared in the next century, according to Hollinshed, as well as other writers. He mentions in the reign of Henry the First, that there were earthquakes similar to the former: and that fires came out of the earth with great violence; which could not by water, nor by any means, be * subdued. *Holling.* v. 2. p. 44. Fires of this nature must have had a very formidable appearance. And it was not any fenny meteor, but undoubtedly these groundfires, to which the poet alluded. It is remarkable, that the first appearance of them was anno 1032: and the second, if not a continuation of the same phenomenon, was anno 1048: both in the days of Earl Godwin, from whom the tragedy has its name. So that the comparison, there made, agrees very well with the times; and with the event, by which they were distinguished. The last instance of such fires

* See an account of a similar phenomenon in Germany, mentioned by Tacitus.

was not indeed in the days of King * Richard, who is the person concerned in the second Eclogue, yet not so far removed, but that there might have been persons living, by whom they were seen. The memory of them could not have been soon effaced. Hence it was natural for persons, who were treating of these times, to introduce those circumstances, which so particularly marked them. For the justness of these comparisons was very apparent in those days: which fitness and propriety is lost, if they are introduced at a later season, and by another hand. It is from such remote and secret references, that I am induced to think, that some of these poems are of a greater antiquity, than has generally been attributed to them. As to the person, who has attempted to explain them, it is manifest, that he proceeded merely by surmise, and conjecture. He was not acquainted with the latent purport of these references: and the conclusion, which necessarily follows, is, I think, very plain.

* They happened anno 1135, in the last year of King Henry the First. See Polydore Vergil. p. 195.

THE ARGENT HORSE.

Earl Goodwin says to his son Harold, that if he will but wait for a proper opportunity, he may depend upon the people of Kent rising in arms: and adds—

Agayne the Argent Horfe shall daunce in skies.

p. 179. v. 33.

There is great propriety in the words here mentioned: for though the White Horfe may have been an emblem among many of the Saxon Kings in their several principalities; yet it was more particularly adopted by the Kings of Kent. The name of *Hengist* is well known to have signified an *horse*: and it is, I believe, allowed, that a white Horfe was the constant device in his standard. And he was in this copied by the princes, who succeeded him, as long as that kingdom lasted. During the Heptarchy, the kings in other parts had their several devices. Among the West Saxons mention is made of a Red Dragon, which was borne before Cuthred, in his engagement with Ethelbald, the Mercian, by Edelhun, his standard-bearer. *Aciebus igitur dispositis, Edelhun, præcedens Westfaxenses, Regis insigne, Draconem*

scilicet aureum, gerens, transforavit Vexilliferum hostilem. H. Huntingd. L. 4. p. 341. There are other evidences of the Saxons having often a Dragon in their standard. Matthew of Westminster supposes the custom to have been transmitted from Uther Pendragon. Uther Caput Draconis; unde usque hodie mos inolevit Regibus terræ hujus, quod pro vexillo Draconem in bellicis expeditionibus ante se statuerint * deferendum. p. 94. ad. ann. 498. Camden mentions the like from the authority of Hoveden, p. 24. and speaks of the custom as subsisting in the time of Richard the First. The same is to be found in Matthew Paris. Rex igitur—cum suis mox progreditur, vexillis explicatis, præcedente eum signo regio, nuncium mortis prætendente, quod Draconem vocavit. p. 995. There was also a standard called Tuffa, mentioned by Bede, L. ii. C. 16. and likewise by Henry of Huntingdon, as carried before King Edwin. Ubique autem ante Regem vexilla gestabantur, nec non per

• The like history is given by Robert of Gloucester.

To riche dragons of gold *he lette make anon.* p. 154. l. 9.
It is said of King Arthur—*he ys dragon yverd of gold.*

ibid. p. 214. l. 1.

Also of Edmund Ironside.

And Edmond ydygt hys standard—& hys dragon up yset.

ibid. p. 303. l. 18.

plateas illud genus vexilli, quod Romani Tuffam, Angli Tuf, appellant. p. 316. From hence we may perceive, that our poet had many examples of standards: and out of these he might have chosen that, which most pleased him, to embellish his poem. But he abides by the truth, and gives to the people of Kent an Argent Horse salient; which was their proper national device, transmitted to them from their first King Hengist.

S A I N T C U T H B E R T.

King Harold at the Battle of Hastings says,
Godde & Seyncte Cuthbert be the worde to daie.

p. 212. v. 40.

The same person is mentioned more than once; for his name was held in high esteem, and reverence. He had been a monk, and afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarn, and for his piety was fainted. Out of regard to his memory, a large extent of country was given to the church of Durham; which was called the patrimony of St. Cuthbert. King Egfrid, while Cuthbert was still living, gave on his account much land to the church of York; as we learn from * Simeon Dunelmensis. This saint was particularly honoured

* De Eccles. Dunelmensi. p. 4.

in the north, as being esteemed the patron of those people against the Scots. In process of time the veneration for him increased; and his name is more than once mentioned in these poems. Hence in the second Battle of Hastings it is said—

* Adhelm, a knyghte, whose holie deathless fire
For ever bended to St. Cuthberts shryne.

He is referred to in other parts of the poem.

† Tapre as candles layde at Cuthbert's shryne.

Again in another place.

‡ O Affem, son of Cuthbert, holie sayncte.

Again—

§ Then praid St. Cuthbert, and our holie dame,
To blesse his labour, and to heal the fame.

The reason of this arose from his being looked upon as a tutelary saint by the Saxons in general; and from the particular assistance, which he was supposed to have afforded to King Alfred, when he was well nigh ruined by the Danes. The story is told by Robert of Gloucester, who mentions Cuthbert's appearing to the king the night before the battle of Assendune, and accosting him in the following words.

|| Ich am, he seyde, Cutbert, to the ycham ywend,
To brynge the gode tytynge, fram God ycham
ywend.

* P. 256. v. 391. † P. 259. v. 441. ‡ P. 213. v. 61.

§ P. 231. v. 459. || P. 264. l. 23.

He

He assures him of victory; and as a token, that he may depend upon his words, he mentions a miracle by way of confirmation. Your men, says he, are gone to fish in a bad season; but they shall catch such a quantity, as at any time would be surprising, but especially now, when the rivers are all frozen.

And the mor vor the harde vorste; that the water yfrore
hys

That the more agen the * kunde of vÿssÿnge yt ys.

Of serve yt wel agen God, and ylef me ys messager,

And thou sial thÿ wÿlle abyde, as ycham ytold her.

Alfred upon this engaged in battle with the Danes, and gained a compleat victory. In consequence of this Cuthbert was looked upon as a † guardian angel; and he seems to have been esteemed a particular patron of the Saxon soldiers.

The same history is told at large by the Abbot of Rievall; by William of Malmshury, p. 276; and Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 71. who wrote the life of St. Cuthbert: and from these it is retailed by Serenus Cressy, p. 753, 4. Affer Menevensis, who lived at the time, mentions, that the battle was fought, divino nutu; but says nothing of Cuthbert and the vision. Nor does the au-

* i. e. the nature.

† *Iste Deus Septentrionalium Anglorum tutelaribus habebatur.* Bale, p. 82.

thor of the Saxon Chronicle take notice of it. However such a story being propagated, got the saint great * esteem : and it must not be wondered at, if he was invoked at the battle of Hastings ; as he was supposed to have been particularly averse to the Normans. Even after the conquest, when William the Conqueror was at Durham, with some of his principal friends, and they all doubted of St. Cuthbert's sanctity ; he is said to have vindicated his honour in a wonderful manner. John Brompton, p. 972. Also when his church in the same place, through some tumults raised by the Normans, had like to have been burnt, it was in a like extraordinary manner preserved. Simeon Dunelmens. p. 38. l. 43. He died about the year 687.

T U R G O T T E.

Oh Turgotte, whersoever this spryte dothe
haunte, &c. p. 267. v. 591.

This person seems to have been of note in his time ; and is accordingly spoken of with great respect. He lived in the reign of the

* In consequence of it, by the liberal donations of several Saxon princes, the patrimony of St. Cuthbert became very extensive, as we may learn from Camden, p. 933. One instance see in Roger Hoveden, p. 658. being a gift of King Richard the First : also p. 667.

Conqueror, and of his son Rufus; and survived to the fifteenth year of King Henry the First. He was * Archdeacon of Durham, anno 1087; and Prior of the monastery in that place: and was invited by Malcolm the Third to be Archbishop of St. Andrew's; where he presided eight years. Among other things said of him by Bale, we have the following history. † Turgottus Dunelmensis Monasterij secundus Præses; Decanus et per diæcesim Primarius, multarum rerum peritus vir erat: et in operationibus externis sobrius, prudens, et modestissimus.—Vitâ functus est anno a nostri Messîæ nativitate 1115. His great worth was particularly known to Margaret, the wife of Malcolm above mentioned, and the sister of Edgar Atheling: and it was by her advice, that the king sent for him to Scotland. He must have answered the hopes, which had been conceived of him by that prince; as we have the following history transmitted in his favour by Hector Boethius. ‡ Post hæc Wilhelmus Anglorum Rex Normannus vitâ functus est, anno regni vigesimo, et salutis nostræ supra millesimum octogesimo sexto, &c. Eo-

* Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 53, 54. See Hist. Ang. Script. Decem.

† Bale, p. 169.

‡ P. 260, 1.

dem anno Malcolmus, diruto veteri Dunelmensi templo, novi fundamenta jecit; Wilhelmo sacrae illius sedis Episcopo, et Turgoto Priore; viro sanctissimo eruditissimoque; qui post aliquantum temporis sancti Andreae factus Episcopus, vitam Margaretæ et Malcolmi Regis conscripsit, vernaculâ quidem lingua, &c. Idem Turgotus, ubi aliquamdiu maximo cum fructu munus suum administrâisset, vitâ defunctus, et in Dunelmiam delatus, ubi prioratûs officium antea gesserat, sepultus est.

Simeon * Dunelmensis has given a much larger account of his life: and says, that he was of a creditable family; and intimates, what is very natural to suppose, that he was no friend to the Normans. He was in his youth one of the hostages, which the Conqueror demanded for the security of some of the western provinces; on which account he had been kept under a guard in the castle at Lincoln. But he found means to escape; and got on board a Norwegian ship upon the coast; where he for a time hid himself. It unfortunately happened, that in this very ship went over persons, whom William had sent to treat with Olave King of Norway. Turgot was discovered: but by his address so won upon the people of the ship, that they would not suffer the Normans to do any

* Simeon Dunelmens. De Gestis Reg. Ang. p. 206.

thing to his prejudice. When they came to land, he was presented to Olave; and behaved with so much discretion, and was of so much service to the people of the country, that after some time he was sent home loaded with presents. But encountering with a storm, he was shipwrecked, and lost all his wealth. He upon this took to the church, about the year 1074: and was afterwards admitted as a monk by Aldwin, who had been Prior of Winchelcomb, and was now of Durham. This was performed at Wermouth: *ibi* *Aldwinus Turgoto monachicum habitum tradidit. About this time there was uncommon reverence shewed to the memory of St. Cuthbert; and to his remains, which had been deposited by Bishop Aldan in the church at Durham. Neither Aldwin nor Turgot were behind hand in zeal towards this person. And Walcherus, who was bishop, about this time, purposed to have built a monastery for the sole reception of the saint's body; but was prevented by death, being slain in a popular tumult. Turgot having for eight years presided at the see of St. Andrew's, grew at last disquieted, on account of some things not answering to his wishes; and purposed taking a journey to Rome for

* Simeon Dunelm. Hist. Eccles. Dunelmens. L. 3. C. 22. p. 45.

the advice of Pope Paschalis. But he grew too weak in body for such an expedition: and having requested to retire to Durham, he set out accordingly; and stopped first at Weremouth. Towards this place he bore a great affection: as it was here that he first received the monk's habit at the hands of his beloved master Aldwin. Here he performed mass, and then proceeded to Durham. His illness seems to have been a slow fever, which held him for two months, when he died. *Intra manus Fratrum suorum animam exhalavit, &c.—impetrato munere a Deo, quod seculo rogaverat, ut apud sacrum Cuthberti corpus animam redderet.—Obijt autem anno ab incarnatione Dominicâ M. C. xv. Simeon Dunelm. p. 53. also 206, 7, 8.*

The following works are attributed to him by Hector Boethius, and by Bale.

The History of the Kings of Scotland.

The Chronicles of Durham.

The Annals of his own time.

The Life of King Malcolm the Third.

The Life of Margaret his Queen.

They mention other writings, which are not specified. The History of his own time, according to the very learned Mr. Selden, is suspected to be the same, which goes under the name of Simeon of Durham; who is supposed to have unjustly taken the honour of

of it to himself, and put it off for his own. Leland mentions, that Turgot was buried with Aldwin, and Walcher, and that the tomb remained in his time. * *Sepulchra Episcoporum Dunelmensium in Capitulo.*—*Turgotus Episcopus, Aldunus, et Walkerus in uno tumulo.*

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

I am persuaded, that the original poem of the Battle of Hastings, was by the hand of the person, concerning whom I have been treating. How far it may have been altered by Rowley, is uncertain. A great change may have been wrought by him: and other alterations may have been made afterwards by the person, through whose hands we more immediately receive it. Yet after all, there are strong marks of originality; numberless curious allusions; with references to past histories; which are many times irretrievable. That Rowley had such a composition before him, from whence he copied the principal parts of the poem, seems I think to be intimated in that invocation to Turgott, wherein he acknowledges, that at times he had been greatly indebted to him.

* *Itin.* v. 8. p. 7.

Oh Turgotte,——

Whereer thou art, come & my mynde enleme
Wyth such greete thoughtes, as dyd with thee abyde,
Thou sonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme.

p. 267. v. 591.

In these verses he plainly acknowledges his obligations to Turgott; though he does not precisely tell us, how deeply he may have been indebted; nor wherein the obligation principally lay. He however owns, that he had been often obliged. Indeed he was in every respect so far removed from the person, to whom he addresses himself; and was otherwise so totally unconnected with him; that all invocation had been idle; and in a manner impossible; had not the other led the way; and treated of the same subject.

There are other reasons, which lead me to think, that among the Mss. of Rowley, there were writings of Turgott; or at least copies from some of his compositions: and moreover, that they were subscribed Turgottus *Dunelmensis*. Otherwise I cannot conceive, what could have induced Chatterton, who was of Bristol, to choose this title for his own signature; and uniformly to subscribe himself *Dunelmensis* *Bristolensis*. This is the title subjoined to many of the compositions sent abroad by him, especially to those, which he thought proper to mark as his own. Hence I am persuaded, that among the writings

ings in Rowley's possession, and afterwards deposited in Redcliff Tower, there were transcripts from the compositions of Turgottus Dunelmensis; and from hence Chatterton assumed his title. There were particularly some, which related to the Battle of Hastings. In the Memoires of Sir William Canynge by * Rowley, which, I think, may be proved to be a genuine work, this is plainly intimated. In consequence of which we find, that the account of this battle is very particular, and abounds with references to ancient and abstruse history. Some of these may be explained and authenticated: others are too remote and obscure to admit of any explanation: yet there is no reason to imagine, but that they are well founded. Upon the morning of the engagement, a just description is given of the over security of the English; who had been wassailing in drink: and were for the most part intoxicated: and on the other hand of the decency, which prevailed in the opposite army; and of the religious concern, which appeared in their leader, the Duke of Normandy. The matin-bell and mass-song are very properly remembered. The author takes notice of the brown-bills, in which the English particularly con-

* See Tracts published under the name of Thomas Chatterton.

fided, and of the bows of the Normans ; which then seem to have been first known in these parts : and by which the advantage was at last gained. They were soon adopted by the English, who in a short time excelled their masters in the use of the long bow : and by means of it obtained many important victories. The author very properly makes the Kentish men take the lead in the commencement of the engagement, for the van was always the post assigned to them in all battles : a piece of history not very obvious, yet founded in * truth.

The Kentysh men inne fronte for strengt renowned.

P. 243. v. 112.

The name of Saint Cuthbert being so often repeated, agrees well with the times ; and with the history of the person, from whom I suppose the poem to be borrowed. There appears a like fitness and propriety in other articles : such as the Duke of Normandy, when he advanced, singing the famous song of Rowland.

This Willyam saw, and foundynge Rowland's songe,
He bent his yron interwoven bowe. p. 249. v. 241.

All this is consonant to true history ; and is mentioned by Matthew Paris. † Tum Ro-

* Johannes Salisburiensis in Polychratico. Rapin. v. i. p. 141.

† Matthew Paris, p. 3.

landi carmine inchoato, ut animos militum accenderet, prælium commisit. When Harold kills a person of great stature, and he tumbles dead at his feet; his fall is compared to that of an high building.

So fell the myghtie *tower* of Standrip, whenne

It felte the furie of the Danish menne. p. 213. v. 59.

We know, that in the north there were numberless castles built, to prevent the incursions of the Scots and Picts. Many of these were taken and ruined by the Danes; by whom the provinces in the north were very early infested. And though we have no account of this particular fact, nor was it indeed of sufficient consequence to be inserted in history; yet the town of * Standrip exists; and is situated not far from Raby Castle, in the county of Durham. Here we may reasonably suppose, that the above mentioned tower stood; till it was undermined and ruined: the overthrow of which might well be recorded by the people of those parts. It was a natural circumstance for a poet to allude to, who lived in the neighbourhood, and to whose church the manor belonged. Of this place we have an account in Lambard, taken partly from the Chronicon Lindisfar-nense, together with his own comment.—

* It is now called Standrop: and was once a market-town. See Camden, p. 939.

* *After that Aldanus, and his wandring mates had reposed the reliques of their great patron, St. Cuthbert, and builded somewhat at Durham; then begged they hard, not for cantels of chese, as other poore men doe; but for large corners of good countries, as al their profession used: and obteyned of King Canute (whom they persuaded to go five myles of his way barefooted to see St. Cuthbert) the manor of Standrop, with all the apendances thearta.— This Standrop is a market town, and had a Colledge valued at 126 poundes by year. Leland speaks to the same purpose. † Canutus Rex dedit St. Cuthberto Stanthorpe et Raby cum alijs terris. We find the same mentioned by Simeon of Durham: Mansionem Standrope cum omnibus suis appendicijs libere in perpetuum possidendum (dedit Rex ‡ Canutus.)*

From these particular and pointed references I am led to think, that the poems concerning the Battle of Hastings originated in the north. They were new modelled by Rowley; and he may for the honour of his country have introduced the Bristowans, whom he opposes for bravery to the Kenters: and he may possibly have inserted those lines about the Hygra and Severn, with other little his-

* Lambard, p. 324.

† Itin. vol. viii. pars. 2. p. 10.

‡ De Eccles. Dunelmensi. p. 33.

ories, which correspond well with his situation. But still I think it is plain, that he had an original poem from whence he copied: and he points out the poet by acknowledging his obligations.

* Oh Turgotte, wherefoer thie spryte dothe haunte,
Whither wyth thie lov'd Adhelme by thie syde,
Where thou mayste heare the swotie nyghte larke
chaunte;

Orre wyth some mokynge brooklette swetelie glide.

* * * * *
Whereer thou art, come and my mynde enleme,
Wyth such greeete thoughtes as dyd wyth thee a-
byde,

Thou sonne; of whom I ofte have caught a beeme;
Send me agayn a drybblette of thie lyghte,
That I the deeds of Englyshmenne maie wryte.

From these authorities, as well as from some particulars in the language of the poem; I am led to think, that it was of Saxon original. And I am of the same opinion about the plays of Godwin and Ælla. Great changes may have been since brought about in respect to the diction; and a new colouring in many places have been added: yet there still remain strong marks of their great antiquity. In short, I am persuaded, that Rowley made a large collection of obsolete writings, both in prose and verse; which he committed to that repository, from whence these poems were taken. They seem to have been of dif-

* P. 267. v. 591.

Q 2

ferent

ferent ages, as well as of different parts of the kingdom; from the Conquest downward to his own time. And if we may judge from those, which remain, they must have been a most valuable collection: all which were once in the hands of Chatterton. He would have faithfully produced them to the world. But his veracity being questioned, and his pride repeatedly hurt, it produced in him an unconquerable resentment: and there is reason to think, that he consigned the greater part of them to the flames. Thus have we by some very justifiable, but unfortunate, scruples been deprived of an inestimable treasure.

MATRAVAL and POWYS LAND;
also HOWEL AP JEVAH.

Mention is made of a person of consequence from Wales, who fought on the side of Harold in the battle of Hastings.

Howel ap Jevah came from Matraval. p. 218. v. 181.

He is in another place stiled *the noble Flower of Powys-land*, p. 231. v. 453. and he brought with him a friend, named Merwyn ap Teudor. It is to be observed, that Matraval was once a place of consequence, being the chief seat of the princes of Powys: and the country about

about it, which was upon the Severn in Montgomeryshire, was stiled Powys-Land. It is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 875: and called Powisia. It is also taken notice of by Camden, when he is speaking of the place above mentioned, Matraval, near Lhan Villin. *This Mathraval (so he expresses it) lies five miles to the west of the Severn: and (which in some degree asserts the antiquity of it) though it be now but a bare name, was once the royal seat of the princes of Powys: and is also noted in authors, who tell us, after these princes left it, Robert Vipont an Englishman built a castle there.—The princes of Powys, descended from the third son of Roderick the Great, possessed this country, with some others, till the time of Edward the Second. p. 781. and 783. Powel speaks to the same purpose, when he treats of Matraval or Powys: the sum of which is contained in a treatise, borrowed from Mr. Humfrey Lhoyd. The second kingdom was Mathraval.—To this belonged the countrie of Powys; and the land betwixt Wy and Seaverne: which part had upon the south and west South Wales.—This part called Powys was divided again into Powys Vadoe and Powys Wenwynwyn. p. 11.*

The name of Howel ap Jevah seems to have been sometimes expressed ap Jevaf, and ap Jorveth. It occurs in Giraldus; but is by

him appropriated to a person, who lived in the time of King Henry the Second.—Hœlus, Filius Jorveth de urbe Legionum. p. 876.

The name is however to be found in earlier times : for when the Great Howel Dha, Lord of Powys, and King of all Wales, died, he was succeeded in part of his dominions by his relation Jevaf. *After the death of Howel Dha, his sonnes did divide South Wales and Powys between them : and Jevaf and Jago, the second and third sonnes of Edval Voel, ruled North Wales.—In those daies Jago and Jevaf by force and strength ruled all Wales as they thought good.* Powell's Hist. of Wales, p. 59, 60. The son of this Jevaf was named Howel ap Jevaf ; and reigned after him about the year 980. Of the same family was the Howel ap Jevah, *Lord of Powys Land*, mentioned in the poem : as is apparent from that circumstance, from his being a lord of the same district.

It may be asked, how it could possibly come to pass, that a prince of this country, with his companions, should be found in Harold's army, fighting for the Saxons, against whom they had a national antipathy. We are told indeed, that Howel had killed a man ; and had therefore retired. But this would not necessarily make him engage in fight ; nor be so zealous in the Saxon cause.

We find, that he was summoned by Harold; that he came at his call; and was captain of his body-guard.

Howel ap Jevah came from Matraval,
 Where he by chance had killed a noble's son;
 And now was come to fight at Harrold's call,
 And now in battle he much good han done.
 Unto King Harold he foughte nickle near,
 For he was yeoman of the bodie guard;
 And with a targyt, and a fighting spear,
 He of his boddie han kepte watch and ward.

p. 218. v. 18f.

This connexion may seem unnatural; but the reason of it was this. From the death of Howel Dha there had been continual animosities between the people of North and South Wales; and many cruel battles had been fought. At last Griffyth ap Lewelyn, in the time of Edward the Confessor, got possession of the whole kingdom: and, being elated with his good fortune, he made many inroads into Herefordshire, and the neighbouring * counties. Upon this the King of England sent Harold the son of Goodwin, who with a fleet of ships sailed from Bristol; and coasted the western part of † Wales. And, being joined by his brother Tostie with a force by land, he worsted

* Powel's Hist. of Wales, p. 93, 4. See Matthew of Westminster, p. 427. Simeon Dunelmensis, p. 185. Florence of Worcester, p. 632.

† Powel, p. 100.

the Welch in several encounters, and distressed them greatly. * Some time after he got together a large power, and entered into South Wales: where he so alarmed the natives, that they sent him the head of their King Griffyth, and swore fealty both to King Edward, and to him. † Cui Edwardo et Heraldo Comiti fidelitatem illi juraverunt; et ad imperium illorum mari terrâque se fore paratos. We therefore need not wonder at finding a nobleman of Wales attending upon a Saxon King: Howel ap Jevah, mentioned in the poem, must have been a descendant of Howel Dha, by being a Lord of Powysland; and also from his name; by which a former king of that family had been called. The ‡ persons substituted by Harold as governors in North Wales, after the death of Griffyth, were descendants of Howel Dha; so that Howel ap Jevah must have been their relation, and in the same interest. And what that interest was may be seen in || Giraldus Cambrensis, where these persons are spoken of. Hi non Principes, sed Domini, in suâ quisque

* Powel. p. 103.

† Simeon Dunelmens. de Gestis, &c. p. 192.

‡ Meredyth the son of Owen, by some said to have been the son of Howel Dha, succeeded to the government in South Wales; and Blethyn and Rywallon, the sons of Conwyn in North, all three in alliance with Harold, and appointed by him. See Powel's Hist. p. 102.

|| Girald. Cambrensis, p. 877. notes.

regione, dicti: sunt et Regum Angliæ adversus Cambriæ Principes fere semper secuti sunt partes. If they would join with the Saxons against their own country; we may imagine, that they would not scruple to engage against foreigners. Hence it is, that we find two Welch chiefs in the army of Harold.

O S W A L D.

The poet speaking of Kenewalcha, the Lady of Adhelm, a noble Saxon, dwells long upon her beauty, and accomplishments: and describes her person and appearance in some very fine lines.

Majestic, as the grove of oaks, that stood
Before the abbie, buylt by Oswald King.

Second Batt. Hastings, p. 259. v. 431.

The person of whose abby the poet makes mention, is the same, who for his piety was stiled St. Oswald; and who built the monastery of Lindisfarne. He succeeded Osric in the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, which were united under * him. They comprehended what was afterwards called the kingdom of Northumberland: which consisted of all the provinces north of the Humber.

* Chron. John Bromton, p. 785. Gervas. Durober-
nensis, p. 1635. Henry Huntingdon. L. 3. p. 330. J-

He was a zealous propagator of Christianity in these counties; where it had been in a manner extinguished. This was effected by the help of Aidan, a monk of Scotland; whom he had invited to his assistance: and by this man and his associates the gospel was preached again. In consequence of this in a little time the king is said to have restored Christianity throughout his kingdom: and accordingly must have built many places of worship. Among others was that above mentioned, which consisted of a monastery and church in the island Lindisfarne, of which Aidan was made * bishop about the year 685. Concerning the fate of this place, we have the following account in Lambarde. After having mentioned the building and establishing of the church under Aidan, he tells us, that it was in a state of improvement to the time of Bede: but—*within fifty yeares after the Danes landed in this ile; spoiled and pulled downe the churche, and put to the sworde man, woman, and childe. Notwithstandinge the Bysbops Sea remayned, and after a while suche monkes as escaped, assembled to the place againe.*

* Concerning these histories, see Bede, Hist. Eccles. L. 3. c. v. p. 170. Malmesbury de Pontif. L. 3. p. 275. Henry of Huntingd. L. 3. p. 330. Serenus Cressy, L. 15. p. 349. Matth. Westminst. p. 115. See especially Simeon Dunelmensis: de Dunelmensi Eccles. C. 1, 2, 3.

But er they had rested other fifty yeares, they bearde that Inguar, Hubba, Halfdene, and sundry other Capitaines of the Danes, with an infinite number of souldiours, weare landed in the realme. Hereupon Eardulf then Bysshop took up the bodies of Aidane, Cutbbert, and the reliques of sundry other religious and noblemen, and wandered about a new habitation in suche wise as in Durham is before declared. (see p. 84.) Thus the Holy Ile, which was the mother of all the religiouse places in that part of the realme, became a handmayde to Durham, which was nothing but a rude grove. For after the Sea settled at Durham, it was made a cell of that ricke monasterye, beinge it selfe in yearly valew not above 49 poundes, p. 145.

Though the monastery of Lindisfarne is the only one specified to have been built by Oswald: yet, as he invited monks from all parts of Britain; and they came in great numbers upon his invitation; he must necessarily have provided religious houses for their reception. And as all places of this nature upon his coming to his kingdom were in an absolute state of * ruin; it is natural to suppose, that many of them were rebuilt by him. In the beginning of his reign he

* Concerning monasteries in these parts, see Harpsfield—Septimum Sæculum. De Cænobijs Northumbriæ—p. 105, 6, 7, 8, 9.

gained a great victory over Cadwalla and Penda, at a place called afterwards Heavenfield, near Hagustadesham in Northumberland. It is said to have been obtained by a miracle: and the field was denominated Heavenfield from the event. Bede takes notice of it; and says, that in after times the brethren of the church at * Hagustadesham or Hexam, by which I understand the monks of the place, had a custom of going yearly to Heavenfield, and praying for the soul of Oswald. From hence we find that there was a church erected in this place: and Richard Prior of Hexam tells us, that it was dedicated to St. Andrew; and built forty years after that of Lindisfarne, c. 1. p. 290. There was also a monastery, according to Lambarde, which was dedicated to Saint Peter; and he farther adds, that Hexam was once a bishop's see. p. 143.

I have dwelt upon these circumstances at large: because, though Oswald did found a monastery at Lindisfarne, the same as Holy Island, yet as it was a place of small extent, and surrounded by the sea, I cannot well suppose, that the stately oaks, mentioned by the poet, grew there. I imagine, that some other monastery is alluded to: and possibly that of Hexam. If the trees spoken of were

* L. 3. C. 2. p. 163, 4.

natives of this spot, we may conclude, that they were demolished by the Danes in the general devastation, which they brought upon the northern provinces. Among other places, Lindisfarne, Weremouth, Babbenburgh, and Hexam, are known to have repeatedly suffered.

If the words of the poet instead of *an abbie, built BY Oswald King*, had been, *an abbie, built TO Oswald King*, the circumstances might have been more easily illustrated by history. For there were many monasteries and churches erected to his memory, and denominated from him. Such a one was situated in Gloucestershire, and we have this short account given of it by Leland. *The priory of Saint Oswald stood north north west from Gloucester abbey upon the Severne ripe. Etheldredus, Earl of Marches, and Ethelfleda, his noble wife, daughter to Edward the First, before the Conquest, founded originally this house; instituting Prebendaries in it: and thither translated from Bardney the body of St. Oswald, King of Northumberland.* Itin. vol. iv. part 2. p. 78. The like is to be found in the Chronicle of John * Bromton. But as most of the

* Hoc anno (906) Dux Merciarum, Ethelredus, & uxor sua Elfleda, ossa Sancti Oswaldi Regis, et Martyris, ex Bardenay monasterio Lindeseyæ, usque ad

the references in the Battle of Hastings seem to be taken from the north, I should imagine, that if the abby were built *to* King Oswald, it was that at Nosthill upon the Went, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It may possibly have been originally built by him; for it was of great antiquity; and I believe, that the name of the first founder does not any where * occur. Thus much we know, that it was repaired by King Henry the Second; and denominated from the above King of * Northumberland. In the grant of King Henry it is spoken of under the title of † Prioratus S^ti Oswaldi de Nostel — juxta Castellum Pontefracti — cum Ecclesiâ S^ti Oswaldi in Agro Eboracensi—&c. It is mentioned in the same manner again—Ecclesiam Beati Oswaldi Regis et Martyris in loco, qui dicitur Nostlâ, &c. And among the donations specified, we find this particular one—et totum NEMUS, quod circa eandem Ecclesiam est. † Ex Chartâ Donationis Henrici Canonicis Sancti Oswaldi. A second donation is specified, where another wood, or part of the same, is given by Aulinus de Dacio.—Canonicis S^ti Oswaldi — nemus et terram,

ad urbem Glovernæ transfulerunt: ubi in ejusdem Sancti honorem monasterium condiderunt. Chron. Johan. Bromton. p. 833. l. 39.

* See Camden, Britan. vol. ii. p. 851.

† Dugdale's Monast. vol. ii. p. 34. a.

ficut

ficut jacet ex occidentali parte Ecclesiæ et Stagni S^ti Oswaldi. Again — * totum NEMUS, quod circa eam Ecclesiam est, et quod dicitur NEMUS S^ti † OSWALDI.

This pious prince, after a reign of nine years, was, anno 642, slain in battle by Penda, King of Mercia, at Marsfield near Ofwestre in Shropshire. See Bede. L. 3. p. 185. also Chron. Saxon. p. 31. Lambard. Histor. Dict. p. 254. 262.

* Dugdale's Monast. vol. ii. p. 36. a.

† It is to be observed, that the monasteries of which I have made mention, are stiled priories: whereas the convent spoken of by the poet was an abby. But this does not amount to much. For many monasteries mentioned as abbies in one age, are in another stiled priories: and the Principal, or Abbot, is afterward spoken of as the Prior. Prior pro Abbate crebro occurrit in regulâ S. Benedicti. Du Cange. The Prior of Bath is called an Abbot. Chron. Sax. p. 192. l. 13. Prior of Ely called Abbot. ibid. p. 118. l. 9. Aldwin is stiled Prior of Winchelcomb, which was an abby. Simeon Dunelmens. L. 3. c. 20. p. 43. Osney Priory, founded by Robert D'Oiley, by the advice of his wife Edith, for Black Canons, is called an abby. Dugdale Monast. vol. ii. p. 136. See also the account of the Abbot and Priory of Notlely, and of Cherwode. ibid. p. 340. b. Ela Nobilis Comitissa de Sarum made Abbess of the Priory of Lacock anno 1326. Dugdale Monast. vol. ii. p. 341.

H I B E R N I E S W O O D.

Majestic as Hibernies Holie Wood,
 Where faintes and foules departed masses
 syngē. p. 259. v. 433.

We have here another reference to an ancient grove: the scite of which, I believe, may be more easily determined than the former. I once imagined, that it might have been in the province of Kildare: as this seems of old to have been the residence of some of the Druids: and there was probably in the times of paganism a temple, in which the priests preserved a perpetual fire. For when a monastery was erected upon its ruins, the same rite was maintained: and the nuns of St. Bridget took it by turns, day and night, to attend, that this fire might never be * extinguished. Besides as Dare and Darch are said in the Irish language to signify an † oak, I imagined, that the name of Kildare might have a reference to that object. But notwithstanding these appearances, I am persuaded, that the place alluded to was in a different part of the country; and more

* Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 729.

† Dearc-abhal, an oak-apple, see the Irish Diction. of Obrien. An Oak, † Darach, Darag. Galic Diction. of the Revd. Mr. Shaw.

easily to be ascertained. The sacred wood of Hibernia, was undoubtedly that at Dearmach; where St. Colomb is said, before he passed over to Britain, to have founded a celebrated monastery; which seems to have been the most famous of any in Ireland. We have a short, but curious account of it afforded us by Bede. *Fecerat autem (Columba) priusquam Britanniam veniret, Monasterium nobile in Hiberniâ; quod a copiâ ROBORUM DEARMACH, linguâ Scotorum, hoc est Campus Roborum, cognominatur. Ex quo utroque Monasterio per plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus et in Britanniâ, et in Hiberniâ, propagata sunt. L. 3. c. iv.* By the Scoti the author means the Irish people of Ireland: among whom Dear and Dearch signified an *Oak*. At this day an oak-apple is Dearc-abhall; as may be seen in the Irish Dictionary of O'Brien. Bede in the passage above makes use of the words *ex quo utroque monasterio*, because he had before mentioned another religious house founded by the same person. One was, as I have shewn, at Dearmach in Ireland: the other in the province of Bernicia, called *Candida Casa*, on account of the white stones, of which it was constructed.

Some have imagined, that the Irish monastery, alluded to above, was situated at Der-

fough in Leinster : but Adamannus and from him * Mr. O'Halloran, insist, that it was in Ulster, where was the Dear-mach before mentioned. They moreover say, that the region was called Daire-Collum-Chille : by which is denoted a place situated near the Oak grove of Columba. All this is analogous to the Dear-mach of Bede : which is a compound of Deare, or Dearch, an *Oak* ; and mach a *plain*.

We may from hence correct a mistake in Henry of Huntingdon ; who mentions, that this monastery was at Armach, consequently in a different part of Ireland. At least so it appears, as the text now stands. † *Erat autem et aliud monasterium nobile in Hiberniâ de Armach, id est CAMPUS ROBORUM.* But this is manifestly an error of some transcriber ; who has substituted the terms *de Armach* for *Dear-mach*, the name mentioned above by Bede : whom the historian certainly copied.

From these data I think we may perceive the true place, to which the poet alludes, when he speaks of the Holy Wood of Hibernia. He adds—

Where faintes & souls departed masses syng.

* See the Hist. of Ireland by Mr. O'Halloran, vol. ii. p. 79.

† L. 3. p. 330.

The awfulness of groves and forests made people in the times of paganism imagine, that they were frequented by deities: and that strange cries and voices often proceeded from them. Virgil takes notice of this notion.

Vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentes
 Ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris
 Visa sub obscurum noctis. Georg. L. I. v. 476.

Livy also makes mention of the God Aius Locutius, to whom altars were raised on account of a mighty voice, supposed to have been heard out of the wood Arfia. After Christianity took place, the same notions in many parts still prevailed: and these recesses were attended with a religious horror. That this in some degree obtained in Ireland, we may infer from the testimony of our poet above: and it also appears from the history of Saint Patrick, of whose coming the Druids foretold: and infant voices were said to have been heard in the woods of Fochlaidh, invoking him to come among them.

Salutaris erat Hiberniæ
 Adventus Patricij ad Fochlaidios.
 Audiebat longe vocem invocantium
 Infantum de sylvis Fochlaidh.

It is part of an hymn supposed to have been composed in the year 434, by Fieco an Irish * Bishop, in honour of the Saint above.

* Translated by Colonel Vallancey. See his Irish Grammar, p. 167.

GOODRICK'S ABBY.

The poet having compared the majestic appearance of the Lady Kenewelchae to an ancient and awful grove of trees, proceeds to describe the beauty of her shape by a comparison of the same nature, taken from that symmetry and regularity, which elms of a fine growth are known to exhibit. Nor must references of this sort be deemed unnatural. * Theocritus, having likened Helen to a mare, and to a furrow in a ploughed field, enlivens his similitudes by comparing her to a cypress. Our English poet specifies the situation of the trees, which he mentions, by saying, that they were at the abby of Goodrick. His words are as follow.

† Tapre as candles layd at Cuthberts shryne ;
Tapre as elmes, that Goodrickes abbie shrove.

Of the attachment, which Turgott had to Saint Cuthbert, I have already taken notice : on which account we need not wonder at the repeated allusions to the worship and sanctity of this person. He was Prior of Durham, where Cuthbert was enshrined, and esteemed the patron saint. From a writer so circumstanced as Turgott appears to have been, these

* Idyl. 18. v. 29. † Battle of Hastings, p. 259. v. 441.
references

references are very natural and proper ; which would be unaccountable in another person of a different situation. The abby, which is afterwards mentioned, and was so distinguished for its grove of trees, may have been that of Croyland ; as the region around it abounded with woods. To this monastery one Goodrick belonged, when Inguar, Hubba, and Halfdean, made their inroads into the eastern provinces of the * kingdom. Among other places Croyland suffered most, being reduced by their barbarity to a state of ruin. This happened about the year 870, in the reign of Ethelred, the brother of Alfred. After this misfortune, some of the monks, who had escaped in the neighbouring woods, returned : and having rendered the place in some degree habitable, they chose Goodrick Abbot. † *Eruderato ergo monasterio toto cum longo, maximoque labore, et de cineribus, ac alijs immundissimis sordibus, juxta possibilitatem temporis expurgato, de pastore inter eos eligendo invicem colloquuntur : celebratâque electione, venerabilis pater GODRICUS omnium consensu, licet invitus, et multum renitens, abbas tandem est effectus.* This may possibly be the abby spoken of ; and distinguished by the title of Goodrick's

* Ingulphus, p. 866.

† Ibid. p. 867.

Abby: and I have accordingly laid this account before the reader, that he may determine. I must own, I sometimes have been inclined to believe that it was the abby of Winchelcomb in Gloucestershire. It was erected anno 796 by Kenelm King of Mercia; and seems to have been of great extent; as there originally belonged to it no less than three hundred monks. It suffered by the Danes equally with that above, but was restored in the time of King Edgar, by Oswald, Bishop of Winchester. One of the abbots of this monastery was named *Goodrick*, who lived in the time of Turgott; and had been appointed by Bishop * Aldred in the year 1054. It is very probable that Turgott was acquainted with this person; and he might otherwise have a regard for the place: for his beloved friend, and patron, Aldwin, belonged to this monastery, before he came into the north; and there is room to suppose, that he had been a monk under Goodrick. We have the following account of Aldwin's coming to Durham from the writer before quoted. † *Qualiter Aldwinus de Wincen-*

* See Simeon Dunelmensis de Gestis Reg. Ang. p. 187. Mortuo Godwino Wincelcumbensi Abbate, Aldredus Wigornensis Episcopus — Godricum Godmanni, Regis Capellani filium, loco ejus Abbatem constituit.

† P. 43.

cumb cum duobus fratribus de Eoveſham in Northanhymbriam advenerit: et quomodo ab Epifcopo Walchero ſuſcepti ſint, et fructificaverint. His temporibus quidam in provinciâ Merciorum Preſbiter, ac Prior, in Monafterio, quod in Wincelcumb ſitum eſt, habitu et actione monachus, vocabulo Aldwin, habitabat: qui voluntariam paupertatem et mundi contemptum cunctis ſeculi honoribus prætuleraſt. Hic didicerat ex historiâ Anglorum, quod provincia Northanymbrorum crebris quondam choriſ Monachorum, ac multis conſtipata fuit agminibus Sanctorum, &c.: quorum loca, videlicet monaſteria, licet jam in ſolitudinem ſciret redacta, deſideravit viſere: ibique in ad imitationem illorum pauperem vitam ducere. Pervenientiſ ergo ad Eoveſhamenſe monaſterium, deſiderium ſuum quibuſdam fratribus patefecit: e quibus duos mox in ſui propoſiti ſocietatem ſibi * adjunxit. In this manner Aldwin with his two companions came to the province of Durham: and ſettled firſt at Gyryva, or Iharrow. After a

* The ſame hiſtory is given by John Bromton. He ſays that the aſſociates of Aldwin were from Lincoln: and adds Horum nomina fuerunt Aldwinus, Alfwinus, et Reynefridus. Ex his tribus tria ſunt in regione Northumbriorum Monaſteria inſtaurata. p. 973. Eweſham was in Worceſterſhire, in the way of Aldwin to Durham: and this was undoubtedly the place, from whence he had his aſſociates; and not from Lincoln.

while he was invited by the Bishop to come to Durham itself: which summons he accordingly obeyed, and was graciously received. In this journey he was accompanied by Turgott; who seems to have first known him at Iharrow; and to have kept up his regard for him ever after. * At Aldwinus de Gyrvenfi monasterio egrediens, comitem itineris et propositi, in CLERICALI adhuc habitu, habuit Tungotum; amore tamen et actu vitam MONACHORUM † imitantem.

From the account above given, it is possible that the place called the Abby of Goodrick may have been that of Winchelcomb; of which this Goodrick was Abbot; and to which Aldwin had once belonged: and the trees alluded to must have been a grove before that monastery. I have mentioned, that Winchelcomb was originally very ample and splendid: but in the time of King Edgar it was in a state of ruin, having suffered greatly by the ravages of the Danes. It was afterwards in some degree restored by † Oswald Bishop of Worcester. The poet seems to speak of the trees, with which the monastery was

* Simeon Dunelm. p. 45.

† He was afterwards shorn, and received the monastic habit at Weremouth.

‡ See William of Malmesbury, de gestis Pontif. L. 4. p. 283.

sheltered,

sheltered, as *having* existed. By which we may suppose, if this be the place alluded to, that they suffered in the general calamity, and were cut down by the Danes.

There is another monastery, which perhaps may be thought to have some faint pretensions. In these dark researches it is not in our power to speak with a thorough degree of certainty. All, that can be done, is to produce the best evidence afforded; and to leave the whole to the determination of the reader. The monastery to which I allude, was that of * Finkhale, or † Finchale, near Durham. It had its name from one Goodrick, an hermit; who chose it for a place of retirement, in the reign of Henry the First. He was esteemed in those days, a person of great sanctity: and his cell was held in uncommon repute. It became afterwards an appendage to the church of Saint Cuthbert; and was erected into a priory by Hugo de ‡ Puteaco; who made Thomas the sacrist of Durham Prior of it in the year 1196. The region hereabouts was thick covered with trees; and it was undoubtedly upon this account, that the hermit Goodrick chose it for his hiding-place. William of

* See Lambarde Topograph. Hist. p. 115.

† So expressed by Camden, p. 949.

‡ Called also Hugh de Pudsey. See Camden, p. 947.

Newbury speaks of it, and says — * *memoratus quidem locus sylvosus est: sed modicam habet planiciem.* As the monkish life was held in much esteem, Goodrick in consequence of it is spoken of with great † respect; and particularly by Matthew Paris. He styles him ‡ *Venerabilis Heremita Godericus*: and mentions the place of his residence. § *Sanctus Godericus apud Finchale vitam heremiticam inchoavit.* He adds, that he died, || *cum annos sexaginta in heremo apud Finchale peregisset.* The construction of this monastery was after the time of Turgott: so that this reference to the abby must have come from Rowley: if this be the place alluded to. He was a priest, and an antiquary: and as he tells us, that he was at Durham; he may possibly have visited a place so very ** near, and of such reputed sanctity, as Finchale. In consequence of this he may have introduced it in the poem.

* *Guil. Neubrigens. L. 2. c. 20. p. 170.*

† *Idem, ibid.*

‡ *P. 117. l. 30.*

§ *P. 64. l. 55.*

|| *Ibid. p. 119, and 120.*

** It is not above two miles from Durham upon the river Were.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS.

We may perceive from the evidences, which have been produced, how much these little histories illustrate the poem, though they may not always arise to a proof. Many of them apparently point the same way; and have a manifest reference both to persons and occurrences in the northern provinces of the kingdom: and by these means they seem to afford some indication of the hand, by which they were originally produced. They likewise favour much of the age, when monkery was at its height; and when it prevailed so far, as that a regular priest was scarcely held in any estimation. I have taken notice of one Adhelm, a noble Saxon; who is represented as a particular friend of Turgott. His history, short as it may appear, will afford a farther confirmation of what I have been saying.

Oh, Turgotte, wheresoer thie spryte dothe haunte,
Whither wyth thie lov'd Adhelme by thie syde, &c.

p. 267. v. 591.

The person upon inquiry seems to have been a Northumbrian, and probably of a noble race: the third king of that country was of the same name: as was also the father of Ida; and other persons of consequence. This appears

appears from the Saxon Chronicle, p. 53. and may be likewise seen in Simeon Dunelmensis, L. 1. c. 13. p. 7. and other writers. He is represented as much devoted to the worship of Saint Cuthbert; as his fire had been before him. This fire is highly spoken of by the poet: and yet his chief merit seems to have arisen from his having bestowed all his fortune upon the church of Durham, and the saint above; and left his son to the wide world for subsistence.

Adhelm, a knyghte, whose holie deathless fire
 For ever bended at St. Cuthbert's shryne;
 Whose breast for ever burn'd with sacred fyre,
 And een on erthe he myghte be calld dyvine;
 To Cuthbert's churche he dyd his goodes refygne,
 And lefte hys son hys Gods and fortunes knyghte, &c.

p. 256. v. 391.

He is said to have had for his wife Kenewalchae, the daughter of Adered; a lady of whom we have spoken before; and whose excellence the poet celebrates very highly,

He married was to Kenewalchae fair,

Indeed he expends more time in speaking of her appearance and beauty, than is well decent for a disciple of Cuthbert; and one devoted to celibacy and a cloyster. But there may have been a reason for this panegyric, though not at this distance of time to be discovered. The name Adered was expressed by

by different writers Edered, Edred, Ederedus : and there was a Bishop of * Durham so called, as well as some other persons of note. Kenewalch also, from whence the feminine Kenewalchae came, was the name of a † West Saxon king.

E L M S.

As the author mentions the Elms, which grew before the abby of Saint Goodrick, some may possibly make an objection to this ; and insist, that no trees of this species were in England at the time alluded to. For I am sensible, that it is a common notion, that Elms are not indigenous ; but have been introduced at *no* great distance of time. But the opinion seems to me to be by *no* means well founded : and I think, it may be proved from references made to those trees in history ; and from various places of antiquity, which have been denominated from them. Such are Elmham, Elmsley, Elmhurst, Elmet, Elmin, Elmeden : to which others might be added of nearly the same purport. Hollinshed wrote above two hundred years ago ; and speaking of the various products of

* See Simeon Dunelm. p. 34, and p. 181.

† Matth. Westminst. anno 658. p. 120. Will. Malmesb. c. 2. p. 13.

the island, he takes notice of Elms: and seems to mention them, as natives of the country. Descript. of Brit. vol. i. p. 213. Turner also, who published his Herbal in the reign of Edward the Sixth, speaks of these trees, and describes them: but gives no intimation, that they were imported, p. 169. Plot takes notice of two Elms, which were mentioned to have been in two places in Oxford, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and of his son Edward the Sixth. One of which is particularly spoken of as an old tree in those times. L. 6. p. 169. Hist. of Oxfordshire. If we allow a century for the growth of such an Elm, we must date it from 1440, or 1450.

In respect to places denominated from these trees, those stiled Elmley, and Elmsley, are of the same analogy, as those called Oakley, Ashley, Apsley, Boxley, Berkley. By *ley* is signified a land, ground, or place in general. And as *Oakley* denotes a place of oaks; *Ashley*, a place of *ash-trees*; *Apsley* of *asps*, &c: so *Elmley* and *Elmsley* relate to places, where *elms* grew. Elmham in Norfolk was in the times of the Saxons a Bishop's See; which was afterwards translated to Thetford. This place is said to have been denominated from *Elms*. It is on this account

count by Bishop Bale stiled *Ulmetum*. He is speaking of two bishopricks being founded at Elmham and Dunwich, and expresses himself in the following manner.—* At historia Icenensis Ecclesiæ, in divisione Episcopatus Orientalium Anglorum, Bedwinum Episcopum Dunwico, urbi antiquissimæ, &c.—designat : Eceam vero Ulmeto, pago aliqui ignobili. There seems to have been an Elmleh in Worcestershire, as we find from a Mss. quoted by Hearne. † Carta Dimissionis—quâ concedit Lyfingus, in Wigornia civitate Episcopus, &c.—suo fideli homini Ægelric 2 manfas in loco, quem illius terræ solicolæ Elmlæh vocitant. Elmley castle, which stood upon the Bredon hills in Worcestershire, is supposed to have received its name upon the same account.

There was a place of great antiquity called Elmsley in the North Riding of Yorkshire; which, as Camden intimates, was so named from a wood. It stood in a particular dale, mentioned by William of Newbury, as a place of solitude and horror. ‡ Camden imagines, that this was the Ulmetum of Bede. In another place || he speaks of Elmet; which

* Balæus de Script. Britan. Cent. Dec. p. 29.

† Hemingi Chartulæ Eccles. Wigorn. v. ii. p. 599.

‡ Camden. Brit. p. 912.

|| Ibid. p. 862.

seems to have been a district in the West Riding of the same province. || *The country for some little way about Winwinfield was anciently called Elmet, i. e. the grove of Elms, which Edwin King of Northumberland, the son of Ella, brought under his dominion. Bede says, that out of the fire, which burnt the royal villa Donafeld, one altar was saved, being of stone, and was kept in the wood Elmet.* It is to be observed, that Bede takes notice of two places in this part of the world; one of which he stiles * *Elmin*, and the other *Elmet*. *Elmin* was in the province of Bernicia, where a royal palace was erected in the room of one, which had been destroyed; and where Paulinus first preached the gospel.—† 7 oðer pær forþon 7e timbred on þære stope, ðe man Elmen hatt. *Elmet*, called *Sylva Elmete*, was a different place from this, and stood in another province. I take this latter to have been the forest, stiled *Ulmetum* by the Romans: though they are both named from the same object, the species of trees, concerning which we have been treating. *Elmet* was part of the region, which surrounds Leeds in the West Riding

|| Camden. Brit. p. 862.

* *Elmin* in some copies was expressed *Melmin*: but Lambarde observes, that it was an error. p. 104.

† Bede. L. 2. c. 14.

of Yorkshire: and according to that curious antiquary Thoresby, was once of great extent. The limits of it, he owns, could never be truly determined. * *To confess, says he, the truth, all my endeavours and enquiries are fruitless in respect to the boundaries thereof: places at a considerable distance being so denominated. I shall therefore confine myself to four places; viz. Berwick in Elmet, Ledsham, Ledston, and Sberburn in Elmet, which seem to have had a peculiar relation hereunto. This tract received its name from the great woods of Elm, that then, and many ages after, abounded here: where doubtless was Bede's Sylva Elmetæ. And that so great a tract should be denominated from trees, will be no surprize to such, as have observed, that even whole counties have been so: as Berkshire. † Ita vocatur a Berroc, sylva ubi buxus abundantissime nascitur: and Buckingham, Fagorum Villa, from beech-trees, then called buccan. The Elm was in so high reputation among the ancients, that it was sometimes carried in the most solemn ‡ triumph.*

We are informed by that venerable antiquary § Lambarde, that West Smithfield at London was once called the *Elmes*: at least he thinks, that it is the place, which occurs

* Topog. of Leeds, p. 232.

† Bp. Gibson's Reg. gen. nom. Locorum.

‡ Bp. Usher's Annals, p. 608. quoted by Thoresby.

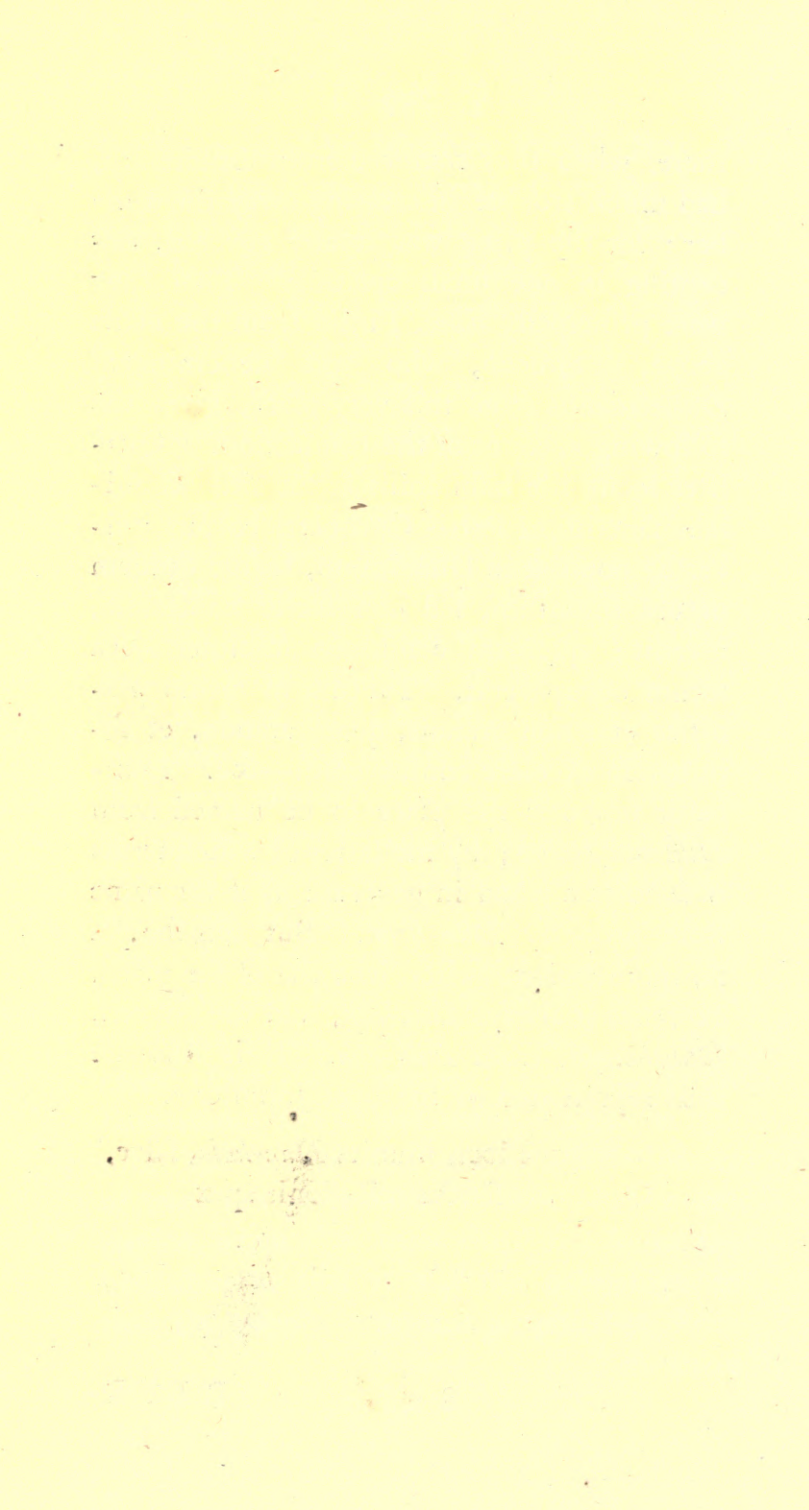
§ P. 173.

so denominated in Matthew Paris. It is of no great consequence in respect to the present subject, whether this was the identical spot so called. It is sufficient to my purpose, to shew from such authority, that there was a piece of ground close to the city, which had been named from *Elms*. But nothing can prove more satisfactorily, that there were elms in ancient times, than the Saxons having a name for them; by which they are specified in their writings. They expressed this tree Elm- $\tau\pi\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\pi$; and sometimes Elm; the very term, of which we make use at this day. Evelyn mentions in his *Sylva*, that he had once doubted, whether Elms were indigenous. But we are told in a note, that they were assuredly natives: and of this, it is said, we may be certain from there being near forty names of places in this kingdom, which are denominated from this species of tree. Most of these names are to be found in *Doomsday Book*. One of the most remarkable places of this sort was Durham, called *Dun-elm*: whence came the Latin *Dunelmum* and *Dunelmensis*. *Dun-elm* signifies *the Hill of Elms*: with which species of trees the place seems to have been so occupied, when they came thither to found the first church, that it was not habitable: so that the people, who first purposed to settle there

there, when they removed from Lindisfarn, had much trouble in clearing away the timber : for the place was totally covered, excepting in one small opening. That they were principally *Elms*, I infer from the name above. Simeon, who was denominated *Dunelmensis* from this very place, gives the following account of the transaction. * *Qualiter locus ille habitabilis factus fit. Comitans sanctissimi Patris Cuthberti corpus universus populus in Dunelmum, locum quidem naturâ munitum, sed non facile habitabile, invenit; quoniam densissima undique sylva totum occupaverat. Tantum in medio planities erat non grandis, quam arando, et seminando excolere consueverant—&c.* Lambarde supposes the place to be named from *Dun* and *Holme*; by the latter of which terms is denoted a wood in general : as if the name were properly *Dun-holm*. But Simeon, a far more ancient writer, who was of the place, expresses it always *Dun-elm*, and the church, *Dunelmensis*, from *Dun-elm*. It is likewise thus represented by the poet Johnstone.

Arte situque loci, munita *Dunelmia*, salve,
Quâ floret sanctæ religionis apex.

* L. 3. c. 2. p. 28.



R E F E R E N C E S

T O

A N C I E N T H I S T O R Y

EXPLAINED AND ILLUSTRATED.

PART SECOND.

A L I S T
O F S U B J E C T S.

B LUE Bruton	Temple Church
Minstrel's Song	History of Will. Canyng
Green Verte	
Delievretie	Widdeville
Snette	Sir T. Gorges
Aborne	Sir Ch. Baldwin
Flemed	Robt. Consul
Lordyng	Rowley's Tower
Nedder	Gaunts
Bertin	Fitz Hardyng
Tinyan	Brithric
Dynefare	Feschampe
Nyghte Mares	Nigille
Shoon-pykes	Christmas Games
Paramentes	Fortunies
Wooden blue	Farther Obs. on W.
Hoke-day	Canyng
Convent of Goodwin	

 R E F E R E N C E S

T O

A N C I E N T H I S T O R Y .

T H E B L U E B R U T O N .

AS the blue Bruton, ryfinge from the
wave,

Like sea-gods seeme in most majestic
guise,

And rounde aboute the risynge waters lave,
And their longe hayre arounde their bo-
die flies.

Such majestie was in her porte displaid,
To be excelld bie none but Homers martial
maid.

p. 257. v. 405.

These lines seem to have been retouched by the transcriber: as I am inclined to think from the mistakes in the former part, and the modern cast of the latter. Instead of the blue Bruton, it should be blue Brutons in the plural, as is manifest from the context. It

is farther to be observed, that the same word occurs twice within too small an interval to be allowed. We read of a person *rising* from the wave; and in the next line but one we find *rising* waters. Add to this, that the martial maid of Homer is, I should think, too trite and modern to be admitted as genuine. We may however be assured from the nature of the mistakes, that there was an original, which has been in some degree transposed; and upon the model of which the last lines were formed. Perhaps, instead of *rising* waters in the third line, we should read *swifing*: for to *swize* denotes the sound of waters either running; or otherwise put in motion. The author of *Pierce Plowman*, speaking of a bourn or rivulet, says

As I lay and leanid and lokid on the water,
I flombred into a sleping, it *swysed* so merye. p. 1.

The poet in the passage above, is speaking of the fair *Kenewalcha*: concerning whose excellence mention had been made before. He compares her noble appearance to that of the ancient Britons, when they took their pastime either in rivers, or in the sea. There is great beauty as well as propriety in this similitude, more perhaps than may at first appear: and the lines, as well as the conception, are very noble. It is to be observed, that the Britons of old wore their hair
very

very long : and at the same time painted their bodies with the juice of an herb, called glastum, and vitrum. This afforded a fine blue colour ; which by being admitted beneath the skin, could never be effaced. Cæsar speaks of their painting themselves ; as also of their long hair. * Omnes se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem : atque hoc horribiliori sunt in bello aspectu : capilloque sunt promisso — &c. The herb, of which they made use, is mentioned by Pliny, who styles it glastum. Simile plantageni glastum in Galliâ vocatur ; quo Britannorum conjuges nurusque toto corpore oblitæ. L. 22. C. 1. He speaks as if the custom had been appropriated to the women, whereas it was equally common, with the men : who indeed are more frequently mentioned for this practice. They had not only † figures of animals delineated with much care ; but also circles, and lines in all directions. And as these were intended by way of ornament, they went in great measure ‡ naked, that they might exhibit them in all places. Indeed no people, who paint

* Comment. L. 5. Παντες δε προς τυτοις οι Βριταννοι χρωνται γλασφ. φυτον δ' εστι το γλασφον κυανεαν χροισαν απεργαζομενον. Cæsar's Com. Vetus Versio Græca. L. 5. p. 116.

† Herodian. L. 3.

‡ Ibid.

their bodies, are ever closely, or uniformly, vested. As these blue marks, by being thus exposed, must have been liable to dust and soil ; nothing could set them off to more advantage, than a person's plunging into the water, and then rising again above the surface. And this was a constant practice of the ancient Britons ; who according to Dion * Cassius, were continually seen in groups bathing in lakes or rivers. The whole therefore of this fine comparison is perfectly consonant, in every minute article, to the history of the people spoken of. Kenewalcha, as a beauty, must be supposed to have had fine hair : and all persons of a delicate texture have, from the blueness of their veins, an azure tint communicated to their complexion. Hence nothing could be more just, than to compare a person of this appearance to a blue Briton, emerging from the water, where he had been bathing, with his long hair floating upon his shoulders. These references to ancient history are as just, as they are curious.

MINSTREL'S SONG.

The Minstrel's Song in the Tournament.
p. 31.

I come now to the explanation of some other ancient matters in different parts of

* L. 26. p. 1281.

these

these poems. In the song above, the poet is describing the Norman King William, either the father, or son, going to hunt in some large forest: and makes mention of his knights following him in proper state. He manifestly writes with great dissatisfaction: and desires the king to pursue his game; to be contented with destroying the savage herds; and not to embroil his hands in the blood of men. He particularly warns him to abstain from brother's blood:

Forslagen atte thie feete lett wolvyngs bee,
 Lett thie fies drenche theyre blodde, bott do ne bre-
 dreñn flec.

The song seems to be far more ancient, than the poem in which it is introduced. I once imagined, that it alluded to the preparations made by William Rufus, against his brother Robert of Normandy; whose title to the crown of England had been revived about the year 1089; and was espoused by many of the most powerful barons. But the first line of the poem seems plainly to point out the conqueror: and all the circumstances must relate to him.

William the Normannes floure, botte Englonde's thorne.

The time, when the poet makes him set out upon his expedition, may have been the particular season, when his half-brother, the bishop of Bayeux, had deceived him; and

was flying out of the land. The king was greatly exasperated against him: nor was it known, how far he might carry his resentment. It is certain, that he never forgave him. The bishop had been guilty of cruel extortions; and was got to Portsmouth, in order to fly to Rome. William set out in good time to secure him; and accordingly seized him, just as he was leaving the coast.

But after all, the purport of the poem may be more general, than I have supposed. It may possibly relate to the English at large; who had very good reason to be stiled the *brethren* of the Normans, and particularly of the Conqueror; being in many respects allied to them. The king had founded his pretensions to the crown upon such relation. The propriety of the admonition about blood and cruelty is in either respect the same.

* Forslagen wyth thie floe lette wylde beastes bee,
Feste thee upponne theirre fleshe, doe ne thie Bre-
drenn flee.

This sort of request is repeatedly made: and I should think, that it related to the arbitrary proceedings of the conqueror; and to his acts of cruelty towards the people; who were irritated upon that account, and often shewed their resentment. It is to be observed, that towards the latter part of his reign, the king grew very suspicious and severe. There had

* P. 34. v. 83.

been

been some conspiracies against him : and in consequence of them he had alienated the lands of many persons ; and had proceeded to the lopping off of limbs, and putting out the eyes of those, whom he esteemed his enemies. Numbers likewise had been put to death. His fondness for hunting was carried to a great excess ; which he continually prosecuted in the forest of *Itene*, in Hampshire ; called afterwards the *New Forest*. The making of this forest was looked upon as an act of great injustice, and even sacrilege ; on account of the many parishes desolated ; and churches in consequence of it ruined. The English writers shew great severity upon this head ; and the words of Matthew Paris are very remarkable.—*Amabat enim feras Rex ferus, quasi pater ferarum.* p. 12. These circumstances seem to be covertly alluded to in the poem. The king, it is true, at his setting out, is represented as gallantly equipped for the chase : yet the writer shews great dissatisfaction and bitterness through the whole. It was natural for the English to dislike a foreign prince ; by whom they had been kept in such an abject state of dependance : and from whom they had experienced so many instances of cruelty. And though the poet describes him in truly royal state ; yet he makes him attended in his progress

gress with every thing frightful and ominous. With this clue, I think, the song of the Minstrel may be easily understood. In the following lines, which are remarkably fine, the king is described as taking his way through a dark forest, in order to begin the chase.

Throwe the merke shade of twyfstende trees he rydes,
 The flemed owlett flapps her eye-speckte wynges;
 The lordynge toade ynn alle hys passses bides;
 The berten neders att hymm darte the stynges:
 Styll, styll he passses onn, hys stede astrodde,
 Ne hedes the daungerous waie, gyff leadynge untoe
 bloodde.

The conclusion is to the same purpose, and the poetry very fine.

Wyth murtherr tyred he sleyns hys bowe alyne;
 The stagge is ouchd wythe crownes of lillie flowers:
 Arounde their heaulmes their green verte doe entwynce
 Joyous & revelous in the green woode bowers.
 Forslagen wythe thie floe lette wylde beastes bee,
 Feeeste thee upponne their fleshe: doe ne thie Bre-
 drenne flee.

When I consider the severity, with which these lines are attended; and the bitterness, which is every where to be discovered; I am induced to believe, that the whole proceeded from some person, who thought himself and his friends particularly aggrieved. Now, though the whole nation suffered greatly from the tyranny of the Conqueror; yet the people of the north experienced more than others
 his

his hostile purposes, and resentment. On which account I am persuaded, that this satire originated in those parts; and that it was the composition of Turgott, the Prior of Durham. It is well known, that the king had been greatly exasperated against the people of this province: and his brother the Bishop of Bayeux, whom he sent to quiet some disturbances in these parts, laid waste most of the country, which lay north of the Humber. The province of Durham in particular was reduced to a wilderness: so that for the space of nine years, it lay in a manner desolated. Odo Baiocensis Episcopus, qui tunc a Rege secendus fuerat, et multum cum eo Primates Regni, cum multâ armorum manu Dunelmum venerunt; et dum mortem Episcopi (Walcheri) ulciscerentur, terram pere totam in solitudinem redegerunt: miseros indigenas, qui suâ confisi innocentia domi resederant, plerisque ut noxios aut decollari aut membrorum detruncatione præceperunt * debilitari. The Northumbrians had confederated with the Danes, and incurred the Conqueror's displeasure greatly: so that at last he marched against them in person. † Quod

* Simeon Dunelm. L. 4. C. 24. p. 48.

† Idem. de Gest. Reg. Ang. p. 198, 9. See John Bromton: ad annum 1068. p. 966. Dunelmensis Ecclesia facta est quasi spelunca latronum.

ubi Regi Willielmo innotuit, exercitu mox congregato in Northynbriam efferato properavit animo, eamque per totam hiemem devastare, hominesque trucidare, et multa alia non cessabat agere. For sixty miles between York and Durham, they did not leave an house * standing. Upon this a † famine ensued, so that people are said to have died in heaps. They did not spare the churches: and at Durham the king is said to have violated the shrine of St. Cuthbert: and was only withheld by a miracle from offering the greatest indignities. The monks at last deserted the cathedral, and carried the body of their saint away; secreting it in different ‡ places. All these acts of cruelty and violence must have rendered the Conqueror abhorred by the people, who had suffered so severely from him: and as nothing could exceed their zeal for St. Cuthbert, the violation of his church and shrine must have necessarily been held in the greatest abomination. But indeed the slaughter of so many innocent persons must have made the Conqueror's name detestable to the people of Durham. Hence I am led to think, that

* Malmſbury, p. 103.

† Simeon Dunelm. p. 42. Roger Hovedon, p. 451.

‡ Sim. Dunelm. p. 38. l. 43. John Bromton, p. 972. l. 43.

this

this poem was written from the heart by one, who had suffered from these acts of violence: and that the author of the composition was Turgott, the Prior of that place; who was afterwards archbishop of St. Andrew's. He must at that time have been upon the spot; and consequently a witness to the desolation of his country: and to all the miseries, and indignities, which ensued. He must accordingly have felt for the church, to which he belonged; and for the people, who so grievously suffered. Hence arose that severity in the poem, and the particular admonition to the mighty hunter—

Forslagen wyth thie floe lette wylde beastes bee,
Feesste thee upponne their flefche: doe ne thie Bred-
renne flee.

The language is far more ancient, than that which prevailed in the time of Rowley: though perhaps modified by him.

GREEN VERTE.

It may not be improper to introduce a few remarks upon some of the terms in this poem; as they deserve our attention. I will begin with a part of the last stanza, as it was so lately under the eye of the reader. The poet here takes notice, that at the end of the

T

chafe,

chafe, the persons, who have been concerned in it, now enjoy a repast; and adorn their heads with a sort of garlands, which are composed of *green verte*.

Arounde their heaulmes their *green-verte* doe entwyne.

We have here two words, which seem to be nearly of the same purport. This has led me to imagine, that what is expressed *green-verte*, should be rendered *green worte*; or rather *gron worte*, the same as *ground worte*, from *gron* and *grun*, *solum*. But it may be said, that the scene of the poem is in a forest: and *verte* is a well known forest term of great antiquity, and occurs in all the forest laws, and charters. It was in Latin expressed *viride*; and is to be found in the charter of liberties granted 1215 by King John. * *Nullus Castellanus vel alius teneat placitum de forestâ, sive de viridi, sive de venatione: sed quilibet forestarius de feudo attachiet placita de forestâ, tam de viridi, tam de venatione.* Again in *Additamentis*. † *Inquiratur etiam, qui fecerint, vel facere consueverint, vastum vel destructionem de viridi, vel de venatione.* Upon this the author of the glossary affords us the following observations. *Per viride intelligunt leges forestæ nostrates, quicquid frondes fert, aut folia viridia, ubi pascantur,*

* *Matt. Paris*, p. 260. l. 57.

† *P.* 154.

aut ubi tegantur cervi damæque. This word *viride* was in English expressed *verte*: and became in common use with people in all forests and chases. It signified, we find, both the grass of the ground, and the leaves of trees and shrubs: in short, whatever served for browse and fodder, and for shelter to the deer. Those, who had the care of these things intrusted to them, were stiled *Verderers*: a name in use at this day; and very well known. The person above mentioned takes farther notice in the same glossary of the different sorts of *verte*. He first informs us, that the term is the same, as the French *verd* and the Latin *viride*: and among the different sorts of verdure he specifies *Over-vert*, *neather-vert*, and *green-hue*. As my notion about the antiquity of the poem is particular, it may be objected, that the forest laws are more recent, than the times, when I suppose the original to have been planned. It is very true: but the terms were many of them antecedent to those laws. *Verte*, however expressed, is a pure Saxon word, *þiſt*, *berba*: and *over-verte*, *neither-verte*, and *green-hue*, are all of the same original: all true Saxon terms; and prior to the Norman laws. In short, the ancient term has been confounded with the more modern: for *green-verte* in the common acceptance is re-

dundant; each term being of the same signification. This makes me suspect, as I before intimated, that what is rendered green-verte, was in the original green-worte, or gron-worte, analogous to ground-wort; by which is signified the herbs and flowers of the field, with which the king and his company crowned themselves.

D E L I E V R E T I E.

William, the Normannes flowre, botte
 Englonde thorne,
 The manne, whose myghte *delievretie* hadd
 knite,
 Snette oppe hys long strunge bowe, &
 sheelde aborne. P. 31. v. 43.

Delievretie seems to have been an ancient term, from the verb deliver, (affranchir) and signifies, activity, freedom, dexterity, and address. It occurs differently modified in several old authors. It is said of a person in the Mss. K. C. C.

* *Deliverly* was he dyt uch day at morrwe.

† *Deliverly* on the morrwe the day gan dawe.

‡ A douti man and *deliver* in dedus of armes.

* P. 11.

† P. 49.

‡ P. 53.

The

The like is to be found in the version of Gawin Douglas.

* The zounkeris tho of Troy and Sicilly
Gan stertin al on fut *deliverly*.

Deliverly, *nimbly, cleverly*, from deliver, *nimble agilis*: quæ vox nondum profus exolevit. Gloss. ibid. By *the man, whose myghte delievretie had knite*, we are to understand, *the person, to whose prowess activity and dexterity were superadded*. To knit is to *join*.

† I wol ben his, to whom that I am knit.

S N E T T E.

The word Snette in the notes is interpreted *bent*: but people seldom bent their bows, before they got to the place, where they were to use them. The word seems to be of quite a different purport. It is certainly a provincial term for *snatched*: just as *scrat* is often used for *scratched*: *fet* for *fetch*. Evander when he is informing Eneas of the ancient state of Italy, mentions the savage life of the first inhabitants: who

Thare fude of treis did in woddis *fet*.

Gawin Doug. l. 8. p. 252.

* P. 142. l. 50.

† Chaucer. v. 11298.

The same term is used by Robert of Gloucester.

Heo stode, & bi thogt hem best, & cables *fette* ynow.
i. e. fetched. p. 148. l. 5.

Analogous to the word *fnette*, we find *stret* used by our author for *stretch*: p. 87. v. 154.

And *stret* and engyne alle the human witte.

So *twitte* is used in the first Eclogue for *twitch*.

From her galled necke did *twitte* the chayne away.

The meaning of the lines, about which we are concerned, seems to be this. William, the pride of the Normans, but the bane of England; the man, whose prowess was joined with address, and activity, snatched up his long bow, and called his knights to attend him to the chase.

A B O R N E.

Snette oppe his long strunge bowe & sheelde
aborne.

This is interpreted—*burnished*: but I do not see, why it is taken for a participle. His shield *aborne* may possibly mean nothing more than his *awburn* shield. *Awburne* from *awbour*: French: brown of a tan colour.
Johnson's

Johnson's Dict. Nothing is more common than to meet in old poems with accounts of *brown* bills, *brown* blades, and *brown* armour.

There dwelt a Lombard in the town,
A doughtie man of great renowne,
And he gathered a great hoast,
And rode foorth with great boast;
And in his hand a good fauchowne,
That was made of steele *browne*.

The Hist. of Bevis of Hampton.

Thus it is said of Sir Lionel in la Mort d'Arthure—

Sir Lyonel he gonne to tene,
And hastily he made hym bowne;
To Launcelotte with herte kene
He rode with helme and sword *browne*.

This may be the meaning of the word: but I have sometimes thought, that the line was not truly copied: and, that instead of—

hys long-strunge bow, & sheeld *aborne*,
we should read—

hys long strunge bow, & sheeld, and *borne*.

When a person was preparing for the field, or the lists, the things, with which he was generally presented by his squire, or by the herald, were his spear, his shield, and his born or byrn: which last was a sort of corset. This is shewn manifestly by our author a few pages before; where the herald says, that he

must go to the knights, who were to engage, and present them with these things.

I sonne of honnoure, spencer of her joyes,
Must swythen goe to yeve the speeres arounde,
Wyth adventayle, and borne. p. 29. v. 11, 12.

Here instead of the shield he mentions the adventayle, or helmet; and then subjoins the *borne*. Of the adventaile I have spoken before. What is here called a borne, is sometimes expressed burn, and byrn, from the Saxon *Beppn-Thorax*. *Byrn*, *Byppn-homa*; *lorica*. *Byppnþiga*, *loricatus miles*. See Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning, Appendix. In G. Douglas it is expressed *Birnye*.

He in his breistplait strang, & his *birnye*,
Ane four sward beltis law down by his the.

p. 230. l. 44.

It is in the glossary expounded—*a kind of corslet, or brigandine used in old time: from the old French brugne or brunie: thorax, lorica*. See Du Cange—*Byrn*, and *Byrnan*: also *Brunea*, and *Bronea*. He interprets it: *lorica*. Gloss. Lat. Theotisc. *Thorax: militare ornamentum, lorica, brunea*. *Bronea*. *Tabul. Cefauriense: cum cæteris debitibus, et caballis, et bronea, et cætera arma*. As the Conqueror was going only to the chase, and not to battle, we find him furnished with a bow instead of a spear, as being more necessary for that purpose. This bow is stiled
—his

—his long *strunge* bow : which I suspect to be a false reading. People going to the field did not string their bows at a distance : but waited till they came to the place of operation. I should therefore think, that the original was — his long *stronge* bow ; or *strange* bow, which is of the same purport, and analogous to the *breistplate strang*, quoted above from G. Douglas.

F L E M E D.

The *flemed* Owlet flapps her eve-speckte wynges.

— This by the transcriber is interpreted in the notes — *frighted*. But the true meaning is the *wandering*, the *fugitive*, owl. The word is derived from the Saxon *plema*, and *plyma*, profugus. See Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning. To *fleme* is to *drive* away. Enut cýng aþlymde ut Æðþiꝝ aþelínꝝ. Chron. Sax. p. 151. l. 8. In the version of Gawin Douglas, Æneas speaks to Pallas, the son of Evander, concerning the Trojans, who were driven from their country.

Quos illi bello profugos egere superba.

Quhilk flemyt of our realme newly agane
Unto the King Evander al feik we.

L. 8. p. 244. l. 23.

Under

Under the same acceptation it occurs in David Lyndsey.

Abel lay flane upon the ground :
Curst Cain *flemit*, and vagabond.

Flemed, *banished*. While he flemed was, —*While he was banished*. Gloss. to Rob. of Gloucester. In the laws of King Ethelred, No. 13, it is said, Et omnis flima sit flima in omni terrâ, qui fuerit in unâ. Johan. Bromton, p. 897. Flima, vox Saxonica, fugitium significat. Gloss. In the storie of William Canynge, the river Severne is said to roar *flemie* oer the sands, p. 278. v. 12. This *flemie* is the same as the Saxon *flema* above : by which is signified *vagabundus*.—*The wandering stream* roared, as it passed onward. From hence we may perceive, that when the transcriber could obtain intelligence concerning the purport of any word, he very prudently adopted it. But when no such assistance could be procured, he proceeded by guess : forming his opinion by the context. By these means we are often treated with conjectures, which are very remote from the truth. It likewise shews, that he had not opportunities of applying uniformly to Dictionaries : for this word is to be found in Kersey ; who explains flemed by—*daunted* or *frighted*. But even Kersey does not come up to the truth. And here it may be observed

in respect to these Etymologists, Kersey, and Skinner: that we may safely trust to them for their authority about any ancient term: but concerning the purport of it, as explained by them, we have often reason to doubt.

L O R D Y N G E.

The *lordynge* toade ynn all hys passēs bides,

There seems here to be another great mistake of the transcriber; who interprets *lordynge toade*, by the *toad standing upon his hind * legs*. But who ever saw a toad in this strange attitude? By *lordyng* is signified *dull* and *heavy*; any thing stupid, and that will not get out of one's way. It was more generally expressed *lourdan*: and we accordingly read in Lye's additions to Junius—*lourdan*, *bardus*, *stupidus*, *hebes*. G. *lourdant* B. *loerd*. It is still used in some parts of England; and expressed, *lourdy*. Accordingly Ray says, *Lourdy*, *sluggish*, from the French *lourd*, *focors*, *ignavus*. † *Lourdant*, *lourdin*, *bardus*. East and South country words. p. 105. When then the poet says

The *lordynge* toade ynn alle hys passēs bides,

• He found this probably in Skinner.

† *Lordant*, or *Lordane*, a *dull heavy fellow*. Kersey.

the

the meaning is, that the *dull, heavy, lumpish* toad abode in every place, through which the king passed. It was constantly in his way, wherefoever he turned.

BERTEN NEDERS.

The berten neders att hymm darte the
stynge.

The viper or adder was by the Saxons stiled nedder, and nedder; and by the English writers, who came after them, nedder. Robert of Gloucester, speaking in praise of Ireland, says —

For *nedres* ne other wormes ne mow ther be nocht,
And gef he beth thider bi cas from other londes y
brought
Heo dyeth, &c. p. 43. l. 11.

The same is to be found in Chaucer. v. 9660.

Like to the *nedder* in bosom slie untrew.

A nedder, coluber. Northumb. Ray's county dialects. Mr. Tyrwhitt in his learned observations upon Chaucer observes, that the word Newt has certainly been formed by a corruption from *an ewt* or *est*: and he adds — *perhaps NEDDER, n: Saxon, may have been formed in the same way from AN ADDER.* The

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Gloss. to Chaucer. v. 5. p. 138.

word in Teutonic is *adder*, without the initial *n*: which makes his opinion highly probable.

B E R T E N.

This word in the notes is interpreted *poisonous*: but I imagine, that the transcriber proceeded here, as in other instances, by guess; thinking, that it was an epithet the most applicable to a serpent. *Bertin* is probably a contraction of *beretin*, and relates to colour. It denoted any thing which had a dark gray; or rather an obscure and disagreeable brown appearance. *Berretinus*, *cine-reus*; *leucophæus*. *Du Cange*. He quotes for it a passage, containing the words—*tunicas—non berretinas, aut griseas, et ad nigredinem tendentes*. It was the same colour, as the Grecians stiled *leucophæus*, which is mentioned by *Pliny*: and is thus interpreted by *Harduin*. *Leucophæus color fuscus est, mixtusque ex albo nigroque*. L. 24. p. 344. notæ *Harduini*.

T Y N Y A N.

The poet, speaking of *Sarum* and *Stonehenge*, subjoins the following account of it, p. 224. v. 305.

Where

Where auncient Bardi dyd their verses syng
 Of Cæsar conquered, and his mighty hoste :
 And how old Tynyan, necromancing kyng,
 Wreck'd all hys shyppe on the Britishe coaste,
 And made him in his tattered barks to flie,
 Till Tynyans deth and opportunity.

Cæsar gives an account of two storms, by which his shipping suffered greatly. The latter was of most consequence: as his whole fleet was greatly damaged; and forty ships were intirely lost. Thus far the poet's account is conformable to history: and the precipitate retreat of Cæsar in his *tattered barks* seems likewise to be well founded. See Cæsar's Com. L. 4, and 5. We are also informed by our own historians, that there was such a person as Tynian; who by Matthew of Westminster is stiled *Tennancius*: p. 37. by Caxton *Tenancius*: Chron. Fol. 176. and he is mentioned by Fabian and others. Geoffry of Monmouth, speaking of the first encounter of Cassibelane with the Romans, says, *aderant etiam duo nepotes ejus, Androgeos, et Tenuancius, Dux Cornubiæ.* C. 3. p. 24. He is said to have been the son of King Lud; and to have reigned himself after the death of Cassibelane. Thus far therefore, we find history to be consonant to the poet's account, that there was such a person as Tynian: that he lived at the time of the invasion of the Romans: and that he was a
 king

king of the country. But that he was at that time an old man, and that by his magic the storm was raised, by which the Roman navy suffered, does not agree with the commonly received accounts. It is an history probably taken from a romantic description by some bard of Wales. All the British accounts of these times are extravagant and fabulous; and never uniformly related.

D Y N E F A R E.

In the Battle of Hastings the poet mentions a noble Saxon, who was in some degree related to a prince of this title.

Yonge Egelrede, a knygte of comelie mien,
Affin'd unto the kyng of *Dynesfarre*.

p. 216. v. 131.

It may possibly have puzzled many people, to find out, who this prince was; and where his territories lay. I must confess, that I was for some time in a state of suspense; before I could recollect the true history of the place, from whence this king is denominated: looking round at a great distance, for that, which was more immediately under my eye. What the poet expresses *Dynesfarre* was the same, which was more truly rendered *Dynevore*; and by the Welch *Dinevour*. It was
in

in South Wales; and one of the three places of royal residence, where the Welch monarchs kept their court. This we may learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, who specifies these three places. *Tres enim fuerant Walliæ totius Curiaë principales: Dinevour in Sudwalliâ:—Aberfraw in Norwalliâ; Pengwern in * Powisiâ. p. 884.* As it was a place of such eminence, it gave name to the whole region, of which it was the capital.

Powel having given a description of the two northern principalities of this country, adds.—*Now remaineth the laste kingdome of Wales, called Dinevour; which although it was the greatest, yet was it not the best, as Giraldus witnesseth: cheeflie bicause it was much molested with Flemings and Normans; and also that in divers parts thereof the lords would not obey their prince, &c. p. 17.* In other respects he speaks of it as a fine country.

It is said, that Roderick the Great, about the year 870, first divided Wales into three kingdoms: though many think, that it was from the beginning parted out in this manner. However Powel in his account abides by the former opinion: and gives us the following history of the event. He tells us,

* He says the same in another place. *Fuerunt enim antiquitus tres principales in Walliâ Curiaë. Dinewor in Sudwalliâ, &c.—p. 847.*

that Rhoderick before his death divided the kingdom in the manner before mentioned; and that he gave Aberfraw, or North Wales, to his eldest son Anarawd: Cadelh, the second son, had Dinewour, and South Wales; and Merwyn, the third, had the country of Powys. But after his death, Cadelh seized upon Powys-land and Mathraual; which he kept from the right heirs by force. Powel, p. 35. Dinevour, or South Wales, consisted properly of six counties: and sometimes, by the addition of Radnorshire, of seven. Of this we are informed by the same writer, in his extract from Humfrey Lhoyd. *These six shires being subject to the territorie of Dynevor with Radnorshire, which was belonging to Mathraual, are now commonlie called South Wales: which countrie is both great and large, with manie faire plaines and vallies for corne; high mountaines and rocks; full of pasture for cattel: great and thicks woods, with forrests; and parks for red deere and fallow; cleare and deepe rivers full of fish, &c.* p. 21.

It is said of Egelrede, the Saxon, that he was *affined* to the king above mentioned: which relation was probably by a marriage into that prince's family. Who the person was to whom he was thus related, may be with great probability made out: for the king, who reigned at the time alluded to in

the poem, was Meredyth ap Owen; who had been so constituted by Harold in the year 1064. Powel informs us, that *Caradoc ap Gruffyth was the first, that procured Haroald for to come to Wales against Gruffyth ap Lhewelyn, hoping by him to atteine unto the governe-ment of South Wales: but it fell out otherwise. For when Haroald understood, that he should not get that at the hands of Caradoc, which he looked for (which was a certaine lordship within Wales, nigh unto Hereford) and knowing also Caradoc to be a subtile and deceiptfull man; compounding with Meredyth ap Owen, for that lordship, he made him king, or prince of South Wales, p. 104.* This was two years before the battle of * Hastings.

N Y G H T E - M A R E S.

Harke, the Dethe-Owle loude dothe syng,
To the Nyghte-Mares, as heie goe.

Ælla, p. 137. v. 867.

The night-mare is a disorder, arising from an oppression, to which people are subject in their sleep. But the true author of the sonnet, who seems to be well acquainted with the Gothic mythology, has a further allusion,

* See Florent. Wigornienfis ad annum 1064. p. 633.

He accordingly speaks of the Night-Mares in the plural; and introduces them as persons: for they were looked upon as so many infernal hags, or dæmons. The chief, from whom the others had their name, was stiled *Mara*; and esteemed a foul incubus; though mentioned in the Edda, as one of the original deities, which attended upon Friga and Odin. Mytholog. xxx. Olaus Wormius calls her *Mara*: nocturnum spectrum, et dormientibus infidiosum. Mon. Dan. p. 18. Junius speaks to the same purpose. Mare, night-mare, incubus, ephialtes. Belgis quoque dicitur mære, merrie, &c.—Su. mara. Ang. Sax. mara. There were more than one of this character; and they are thus described by Junius in a quotation from a German glossary. Huc etiam pertinet alter locus, Al. Glo. O. 5. Phylosi, Dæmonum genus: Hos nonnulli Doctissimorum Incubones et Satyros, &c putaverunt. Etymolog. Ang. These are the Night-Mares which the author supposes to take their flight in the depth of darkness, at the time when the Death-Owl was screaming.

S H O O N E - P Y K E S.

Ne browded mantell of a scarlette hue ;
 Ne *shoon-pykes* plaited o'er with ribbande
 geere.

Ne costlie *paraments* of woden blue.

Storie of Master Canynge. v. 43.

This is a piece of history, with which I should not imagine, that the transcriber was at all acquainted. Mr. Tyrwhitt has given us the true purport of the term *shoon-pykes* ; and explains them by *shoes with piked toes*. He farther tells us, that the pikes were restrained to two inches by 3 Edw. 4. c. 5. It is very certain, that they had been for a great while increasing, till at last the pikes were so long, that they were forced to be supported by silver chains, and other helps, according to the estate of the person, who kept up to the fashion. Stowe tells us—Anno 1463. 29. April, *began a parliament at Westminstre : in the which was ordained—that no man weare shooes, or bootes, having pikes passing two inches in length : or shoemaker to make them above that size.* Chron. p. 417. He speaks of it afterwards more fully, when he treats of the transactions of the year 1465. *It was proclaimed thorowout England, that the beakes or pikes of*
shoone

shoone or boots shoulde not passe two inches, upon paine of cursing by the clergy, and forfeiting 20s. to be payd, one noble to the king, another to the corwainers in London. And for other cities and townes the like order was taken. Before this time and since the yeare of our Lord 1382, the pikes of shooes and boots were of such length, that they were faine to be tyed up to their knees with chaines of silver, gilt: or at least with silk laces, p. 419. Camden quotes from an history, which he calls Eulogium, to the same purpose. *Their shoes and pattens are snowted and piked more than a finger long, crooking upwards; which they call Crackowes, resembling the divel's clawes; which are fastened to the knees with chaines of gold and *silver.* The clergy gave into this extravagant fashion, as we learn from the author of Pierce Plowman's vision.

Proude priestes come wyth him, mo than a thousand
In paltokes & *piked shoes*, & pissers long knives. p. 114.

P A R A M E N T S. *ibid.*

This word in the notes is interpreted robes of scarlet as may be seen in the tragedy of Ælla, p. 79. v. 52. and in the glossary. According to Du Cange, it is taken in a more

* Camden's Remains, p. 232. See Holinshed. v. 3. p. 668.

extensive signification. *Paramentum*, apparatus, sive bellicus, sive alius quivis: rerum necessariorum copia, instructio. The word is again introduced by Rowley in the English *Metamorphoses*, v. 36.

Eftsoons the gentle Locryne was possess
Of swaie, and vested in the *paramente*.

This too is supposed by the transcriber to have been a garment: and it is accordingly interpreted *a princely robe*. But he seems to have been mistaken. For in this place it appears rather to have been a suggestum, or throne, where kings at the commencement of their reigns were invested with all the ensigns of royalty. Du Cange quotes Hincmarus Rhemenfis, who is advising the prince, to whom he writes concerning the disorders committed by soldiers: and he begs to have them restrained by the king's personal injunctions. He concludes with these words—*et antequam de Paramento vestro ad mansiones redeant, commonete eos secundum sapientiam vestram*. Again—*Ut si tales sint, qui antea hanc admonitionem non audierint, eis quotidie, quando ad paramentum vestrum venerint, relegat*. Upon this Du Cange observes—*paramentum videtur esse tribunal paratum, seu adornatum*. When it is therefore said by the poet, that Locrine upon his succeeding to the kingdom, was vested in *the paramente*,

paramente, it does not necessarily mean—*a robe*: but it alludes to the * throne, in which he was crowned, and likewise vested with every ornament suitable to his dignity. The word occurs in two different acceptations; of which the transcriber was not at all aware.

W O D E N B L U E. *ibid.*

He was probably not acquainted with the purport of this term, as he has nowhere given his opinion concerning it. Woden blue is that colour obtained from the herb called woad, which is used in dying. It is the same as was of old stiled glastum; and which is mentioned by Du Cange. *Glastum. Gallis herbæ genus, quo Britanni tingendis corporibus usi, ut auctor est Cæsar. L. 5. de bello Gall. et Plinius. L. 20, 22. c. 27. p. 267, &c.*—I have spoken of it before.

H O K E D A Y and H O K E T I D E.

This is the name given to an ancient festival, the origin of which is very uncertain;

* To my ear there seems to be a difference in sense between a person's being said to be vested in *a* parament; and in *the* parament. The words in *a* parament mean *in a robe of state*. In *the* parament signifies, *in the throne*.

nor is the purport of the term assuredly known. We find, that it is more than once mentioned in this collection of poems.

As mastie dogs, at *Hocstide* set to fyghte.

First Batt. of Haft. p. 226. v. 348.

Browne as the nappy ale at *Hocstide* game.

Second Batt. of Haft. v. 422.

Orre Cornysh wraflers at a *Hocstide* game.

ib. v. 486.

All our Etymologists suppose, that this festival was observed in commemoration of the Danes being in one day destroyed through the kingdom. This is said to have been put in execution by order of King Ethelred, the son of Edgar, in the year 1002. Accordingly Spelman affords us this account of it. Hocday, Hokeday, Hocstuesday, festiuitas, quam, derisis eiectisque Danis, Angli (ut exactis Regibus Romani fugalia) annue in lætitiā celebrabant: quæ nec hodie apud mediterraneos penitus exolevit. Lambardus (in itinerario Cantij, Tit. Sandwich) dictum putat quasi þucxtuerðæg, id est dies Martis irrisorius—&c. Origo rei inde videtur petenda, quod Æthelredus Rex sub armorum lustrandorum specie, uno eodemque die per uniuersum regnum Danos omnes occidit: ut testantur L. L. Edvardi Confessoris, ca. 35. I omit the various etymologies given by Spelman, as well as those by Skinner, Du Cange,

Cange, and others. I shall only observe, that they, and, I believe, most modern writers upon the subject, suppose the festival to have been instituted on account of the slaughter of the Danes. But this seems on many accounts impossible; however in later times asserted, and believed. That there was a cruel and unwarrantable slaughter of this people, cannot be doubted; though it could not be so general as represented: for they were in the provinces of Northumbria, and of the East Angles, too powerful not to have made some defence. But let the commands of the king have been ever so fully executed, yet why should so cruel, and so ineffectual a piece of policy be commemorated by a festival? What good accrued to the nation from it? None at all: for the very next year in consequence of this cruelty, the Danes came with their King Swain at their head; and over-ran all the western provinces with fire and sword; nor did their fury cease, till they became masters of the kingdom: which misfortune had never happened, but for this instance of Ethelred's cruelty. Besides this extirpation of the Danes is expressly said by our best historians, to have been effected upon a Wednesday the 13th of November, which was the feast of St. Brice: but Hockday was upon a Tuesday in March; which was termed *Huxtuesday* and

Quindena

Quindena Paschæ. This seems to shew, that the transaction spoken of could have no relation to the festival. Add to this, that if there had been any connexion between them, we should find it appear in the accounts given of this event by the most ancient historians. They mention the slaughter of the Danes; but not one of them takes notice of any commemoration being instituted. Not the least reference to this Hocktide is to be found in any of them. Thus William of Malmfbury enumerates many instances of folly and inhumanity in Ethelred; and particularly his cruelty towards the Danes; which he holds in detestation. * *Nam præter Anglos, quos nullis causis extantibus exhæredebant, vel afficto crimine opibus emungebat; præter Danos, quos levibus suspicionibus omnes uno die in totâ Angliâ trucidari jufferat; ubi fuit videre miseriam, dum quisque charissimos hospites, quos etiam arctissima necessitudo dulciores effecerat, cogebatur prodere, et amplexus gladio deturbare. Præter hæc etiam in uxorem, &c.*—This fearful event is taken notice of by the author of the † *Saxon Chronicle*; by Simeon ‡ *Dunelmensis*; by the

* *De Gestis Reg. Ang. L. 2. p. 64.*

† *Sax. Chron. p. 133. l. 1. anno 1002. on Bricuþ mæryðæg.*

‡ *Sim. Dunelm. p. 165.*

Abbat of * Rievall ; by † Radulphus de Diceto ; by ‡ Henry de Knyhton ; by || Florence of Worcester ; by § Matthew of Westminster ; and by other writers. The last mentioned historian is very full upon this head : and informs us, that this massacre took place from the evil advice of one Huna, an officer in the king's army. Tunc Rex, non mediocriter commotus ejusdem Hunæ consilio misit literas in omnes regni fines, mandans nationibus singulis, et universis, ut sub unâ die, in festo scilicet Sancti Britij Episcopi, omnes Dani per Angliam constituti furtivo impetu morti traderentur.—Sicque Dani, qui firmo fædere, paulo ante utrinque jurato, cum Anglis pacifice habitare debuerant, opprobriose nimis sunt perempti ; mulieres cum liberis ad domorum postes allisæ miserabiliter animas effuderunt. Cum igitur hujus decreti sententia apud urbem Londoniarum absque misericordiâ exequeretur, fugerunt multi Danorum ad quandam ** Ecclesiam in civitate, ubi omnes sine pietate,

* Abbas Rievall. p. 362. l. 63.

† Radulf. de Diceto. p. 461. l. 57.

‡ —In nocte Sancti Bricij : set Swanus Rex execrabiler hoc vindicavit. H. de Knyhton. p. 2315. l. 40.

|| Florent. de Worcestre. p. 611. l. 29.

§ Matt. West. p. 200. l. 44.

** St. Clement's Danes.

ipsis astantes altaribus, sunt perempti. He proceeds afterwards to inform us of the evils, which came upon the nation in consequence of this cruelty. But not a word is here mentioned of any celebrity established by way of memorial. Indeed it was almost impossible in the nature of things: for before that day next year, the Danes were in the heart of the* kingdom: so that there was more reason to grieve than to rejoice.—Quod Daci transmarini audientes, in furorem versi, duce Swaino, cum innumerabili exercitu Angliam intrantes, diffusi sunt per provincias, et dispersi, non ordini, non sexui, non ætati parcentes; nec ab Ecclesiarum vel monasteriorum sacris et sanctuarijs manus sacrilegas continentes. Abbas Rievallis. p. 362, 3. l. 65. Let any body judge, if any holyday could be established in consequence of an event, which entailed such misery on the nation. Hence John Ross, and Speed, supposed the memorial to have been on account of Hardiknute, the last Danish king. But he died at Lambeth on the 6th of June: how can his death relate to a festival in the middle of March? And how comes it, if it were so, that not one of the more ancient writers should have mentioned it? See J. Ross, p. 105, 6. Speed, p. 392. It is moreover

* St. Clement's Danes.

to be observed, that as those, who speak of the slaughter of the Danes, take no notice of Hocktide, or any festival : so Matthew Paris, who speaks of Hock-day, makes no mention of the Danes. Hence I think, we may be assured, that there was no relation, nor correspondence between the two circumstances. The festival is mentioned more than once by the historian above (M. P.) and from hence we may learn something about the time of the celebrity. The first instance occurs in the reign of King Henry the Third. * *Anni quoque sub ejusdem circulo, die videlicet lunæ, quæ ipsum diem præcedit proximo, quam *Hokedai* vulgariter appellamus, fecit Dominus Rex omnes Londinenses a minimo usque ad maximum voce præconiâ convocari.* Again.—† *Circa idem tempus, scilicet in quindenâ Paschæ, quæ vulgariter *Hokeday* appellatur, &c.—Again—‡ *Et post diem Martis quæ vulgariter *Hokedaie* appellatur, factum est Parlamentum Londini : Rex enim multis et arduis rebus sollicitabatur.* We do not from these extracts find, that this festival had any reference to the murder of the Danes : nor indeed have we, as far as I can learn, any account of its original. The author however of the Glossary supposes, that it did re-*

* P. 834. anno 1252. † P. 904. l. 39.

‡ P. 963. l. 43.

late to this history, and mentions a custom, which prevailed in most parts of England, for women upon this day to stand in the public ways with ropes, and stop people, who passed by; and beg a gratuity from them. The whole was carried on with jokes and laughter. This the author thinks was done by way of commemoration. *Diem observatum tradunt in memoriam omnium Danorum eâ die clanculo, et simul in Angliâ, ubi tum dominabantur, a mulieribus fere occisorum.* But not one historian gives the least hint, that any women were partakers in this massacre: and it is to be hoped for the honour of the sex, that they were not in the least concerned in it. The ceremony of standing in the public ways with cords, and stopping people and asking for a piece of money, has no relation to the object, which it is supposed to commemorate. All that we can learn is that the festival was ancient, and held upon or near the 15th of March: and the season seems to have been in great measure allotted to festivity and carousing. The common people had their sports of different sorts, such as wrestling, baiting of the bull; and other manly amusements. One peculiar custom among the women has been mentioned above: and it is farther said of them, that when they stopped any person, with their
cords,

cords, they used to beg a gratuity, which they expended upon pious uses: Plot speaks of this celebrity as still subsisting in Oxfordshire, when he wrote: He stiles it * Hoc-day, Hockday, Hokeday, Hocketide, HokeMonday, and Hocketuesday; and supposes, as others have done, that it was in memory of the great slaughter of the Danes. He mentions, that there were two Hokedays observed in Oxfordshire, the one for men, and the other for women; which latter he says, was the more solemn. Upon this day they had ropes and chains, with which they stopped passengers, and exacted a small piece of money. With part of this they regaled themselves; and bestowed the remainder upon pious uses. The whole probably is the remains of an ethnic custom: for March was looked upon as the first month of the year; and there were particular ceremonies and holidays observed by most nations in different parts of the month. Among the Romans were the Hilaria; and the festival of Anna Perenna: which last was upon the fifteenth of the month. At this season they drank, both men and women, in larger cups of wine: and for every cup wished each other an additional year of life. At the same time there was a deal of laughter and occasional wit, though not of the purest kind.

* Hist. of Oxfordshire, C. viii. p. 201, 2.

• Inde joci veteres obscœnaque dicta feruntur.

† Strabo mention, that the young women of Babylon used to sit with a rope round their middle; and whoever laid hold of it in order to gain their acquaintance, they demanded a piece of money of that person, which they presented at the temple of Venus. Whether the Hockday has any relation to these ancient ceremonies, cannot be easily determined; as we have not a sufficient history concerning it. There are many different etymologies of Hockday and Hocktide. Those seem to be nearest the truth, who derive it from hock, high. Hockday, quasi high-day. Hoga, hoghia, hogium et hogum. mons; collis. Hoch al. hog: Belg. hook: altus; editus. Spelman. This seems in some degree to be confirmed by its being also called Hext-Tuesday; for Hext is the superlative of hoch, high: and answers to highest now. John Ross above mentioned, expresses it in this manner, p. 105.—In cujus signum usque hodie illâ die, vulgariter dictâ *Hextuisday*, ludunt in villis, trahendo chordas partialiter cum alijs jocis. That *Hext-Tuesday* signified *Highest Tuesday*, may be known from many passages in ancient English wri-

* Ovid. Fast. L. 3. v. 695.

† Lib. 16. p. 1081. See also Herodotus. L. 1. c. 199. p. 94. He says the rope was upon their heads:
ters :

ters: and especially from Robert of Gloucester. Thus he introduces the term, where he is speaking of the foundation first laid for Salisbury Cathedral.

* Ther was Pandulf the legatē, & as *hext* of ech on
He leide vive the verfte stones, as vor the Pope that on.

Speaking of King Edgar's dream, he says—

† Upe the *hexte* bowe tuiye applen he seÿ.

i. e. *He beheld two apples upon the highest bough.*

From hence I am induced to think, that by *Hock*-day was meant the *high*-day: and by *Hext*-tuesday, the *highest* Tuesday. And as I before mentioned, I imagine, that it was an ancient celebrity, which was observed about the middle of March: but interfering with the preparation for Easter, it was postponed till after that Sunday; and was kept under the title of an high day on the Tuesday following. In some places it seems not to have been celebrated till the fifteenth day after Easter, called *Quindena Paschæ*. It was at this season, according to Dr. Plott, observed in his time by the people of Oxfordshire.

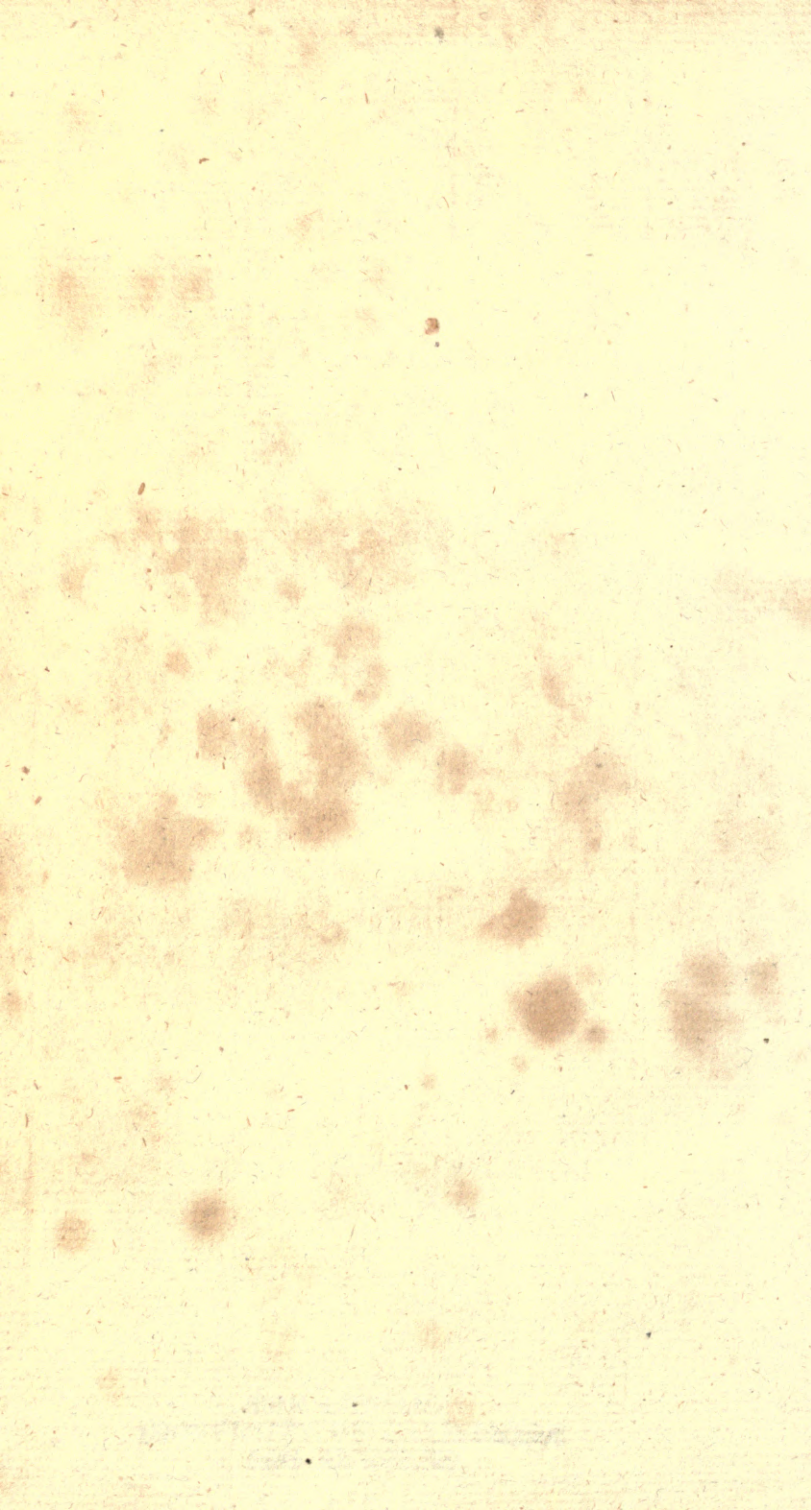
* P. 518.

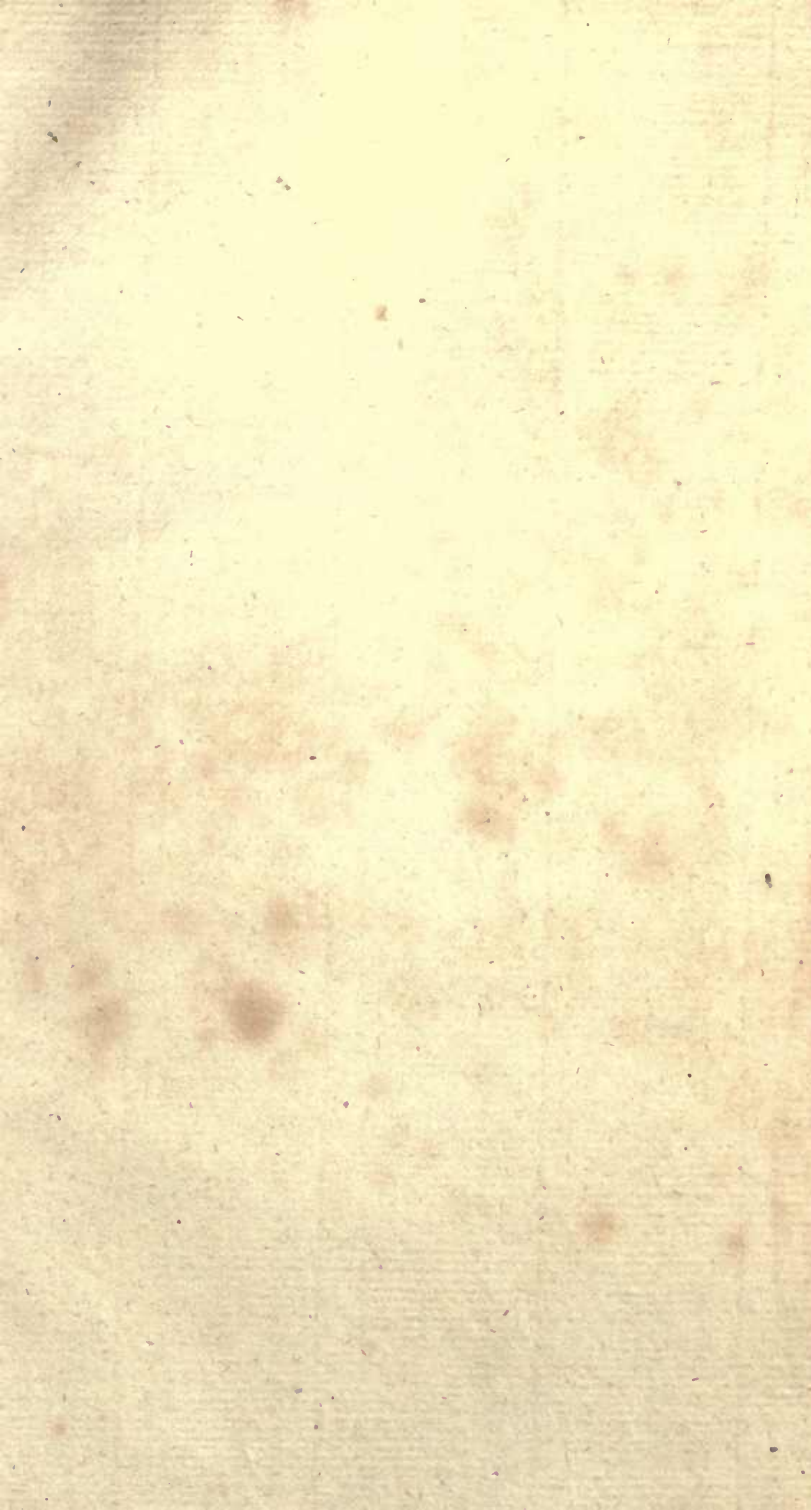
† P. 283. In another place he mentions, King Gurmund the *hexte* king. Rob. of Glouc. p. 266. Thretty of her *hexte* dukes. *ibid.* l. 10. i. e. *highest*.

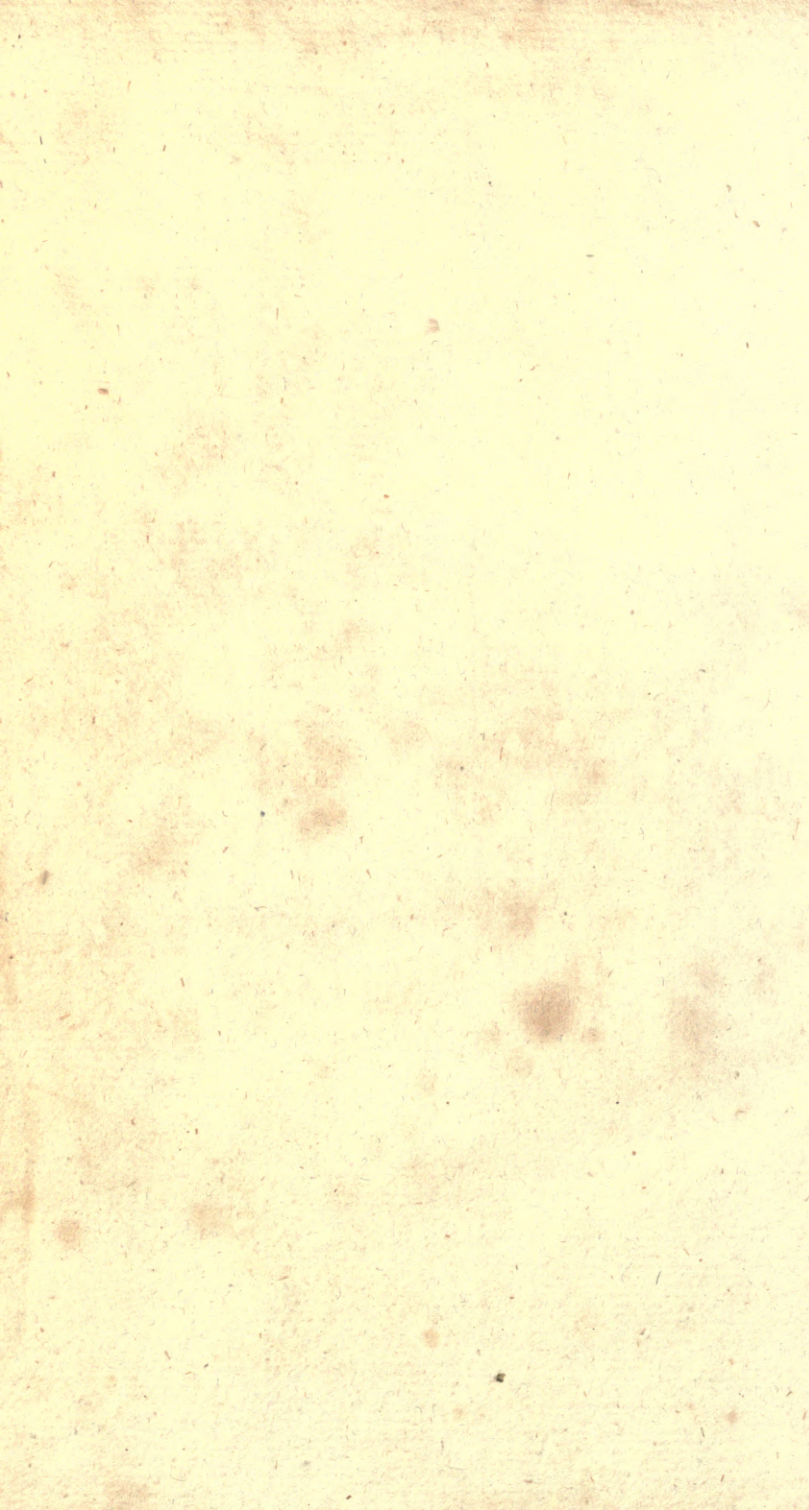
END OF THE FIRST PART.

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES







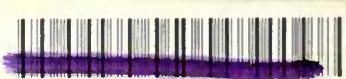




University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388
Return this material to the library
from which it was borrowed.

AL OCT 18 1991

SEP 19 1991

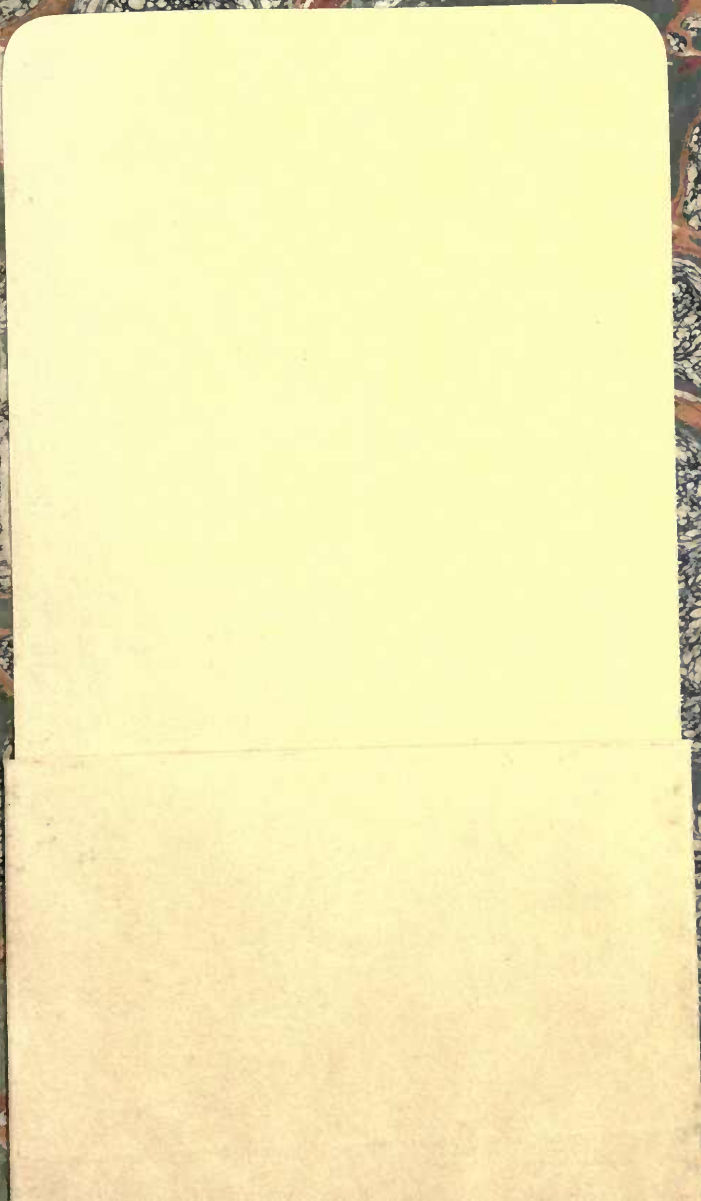


3 1158 00384 6135

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 046 285 3



University
Southern
Library