THE ONLY ENGLISH

PROCLAMATION OF HENRY III.,

18 OCTOBER 1258,

AND ITS TREATMENT BY FORMER EDITORS AND TRANSLATORS,
CONSIDERED AND ILLUSTRATED;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED EDITIONS OF

THE CUCKOO SONG AND THE PRISONER'S PRAYER,

LYRICS OF THE XIII TH CENTURY;

BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS, F.R.S.,

FELLOW OF THE CAMBRIDGE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY; MEMBER OF THE LONDON MATHEMATICAL
SOCIETY; MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY; FORMERLY
SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, B.A., 1837.

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GENERAL

CONTENTS.

PROCLAMATION OF HENRY III.

THE only English proclamation issued by Henry III. of England, of which we have any record, which was also the first English proclamation, so far as we know, that was published by any of our Norman kings, is an historical, philological, and literary curiosity, which seems to deserve more attention than has hitherto been bestowed upon it in this country where it ought to be best appreciated. It is probably the oldest piece of English, as distinguished from Anglo-Saxon, of which we have an indisputably contemporary manuscript.[1]

I. *History of the Proclamation.*

The quarrels between Henry and his barons are well known. The nobles and lieges of the kingdom were summoned to Westminster fourteen days after Easter, that is, on Sunday, 7 April, 1258, for the dispatch of important business, and this ended with Henry's submitting to a council of twenty-four nobles, twelve to be chosen by himself and twelve by the nobles,[2] or as they are termed in the documents of the time, the commonalty of the kingdom. This

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[1] The Harl. MS. 978, containing the *Cuckoo Song*, is supposed to have been written in 1240. The MS. of *Genesis and Exodus*, which was composed about 1250, is supposed not to have been written before the close of the century.

[2] In the Annales de Burton (1004-1263) printed in the Annales Monastici edited by H. R. Luard 1864, vol. i. p. 447 (henceforth cited as Ann. Mon.), we have the following list of twenty-three out of the twenty-four nobles thus appointed. The English notes are those of the editor. For (*) see next footnote.

Electi ex parte domini regis.[a]—Dominus Londoniensis episcopus.[b] Dominus Wintoniensis electus.[c] Dominus H[enricus] filius regis Alemaniæ. Dominus

council was to institute a great reform in the government of
the country, and both the king and his eldest son swore to
obey its behests, or rather the decisions of a majority of the
council.[1] Upon its appointment the parliament was sum-
moned to meet at Oxford, a month after Whitsuntide, that
is, on Tuesday, 11 June, 1258, ostensibly on account of the
Welsh troubles, and the uncertain truce with France. The
council of Twenty-four then selected four of their number to
appoint a committee of Fifteen to form the royal council or
cabinet, and in this the barons succeeded in having ten of their
own party and only five of the king's. Simon de Montfort,
Earl of Leicester,[2] a Frenchman, who had asserted his right
to the earldom and married Henry's sister, was the principal
nobleman in this committee that was opposed to the king.

J[ohannes] comes Warennæ. Dominus Guido de Lysinan. Dominus W[il-
lelmus] de Valentia. *Dominus J[ohannes] comes Warewici. Dominus Johannes
Mansel. Frater J[ohannes] de Derlington. Abbas Westmonasterii.[d] Dominus
H[enricus] de Hengham.

Electi ex parte comitum et baronum. — Dominus Wygornensis episcopus.[e]
* Dominus Symon comes Leycestrensis. * Dominus Ricardus comes Gloverniæ.
*Dominus Humfridus comes Herefordiæ. *Dominus Rogerus Marescallus. Domi-
nus Rogerus de Mortuo Mari. *Dominus J[ohannes] filius Galfridi. *Dominus
Hugo le Bigot. Dominus Ricardus de Gray. Dominus W[illelmus] Bardulf.
*Dominus P[etrus] de Monte Forti. Dominus Hugo Dispensarius.

Et si contingat aliquem istorum necessitate interesse non posse, reliqui istorum
eligant quem voluerint, scilicet alium necessarium loco absentis ad istud negotium
prosequendum.

EDITOR'S NOTES.—[a] Only eleven are given on the king's side.   [b] Fulk Basset.
[c] Aymer de Lusignan.   [d] Richard de Crokeslye.   [e] Walter de Cantilupe.

[1] Rymer, i. 373. Letter of the Commons to the Pope. " Cæterum præfatus
dominus Rex . . . . ut de procerum et magnatum consilio . . . . dicta refor-
matio proveniret. Hoc videlicet modo, ut duodecim ex parte ipsius electi, et
alii totidem ex parte communitatis nominati, disponerent, statuerent ac etiam
ordinarent super melioratione et reformatione regni Angliæ, et ipsum regnum
contingentibus, prout eis melius expediens videretur : Promittentes tam ipse, quam
dominus Edwardus primogenitus suus, et affirmantes propriis juramentis, quod
per prædictos viginti quatuor, vel majorem partem eorum ordinatum existeret,
inviolabiliter observarent." Signed by the Earl of Albemarle, Peter of Savoy,
James Audley, and the eight of the Council marked * in the previous footnote,
" vice totius communitatis."

[2] The life of this nobleman has been lately made the subject of an historical
essay by Reinhold Pauli, under the title of " Simon von Montfort, Graf von
Leicester, der Schöpfer des Hauses der Gemeinen," Tübingen, 1867, to which,
as also to the same author's " Geschichte von England," vol. 3, Hamburg,
1853, I am much indebted.

In the Royal Letters[1] vol. 2, p. 127, there is the following letter which shows that the Four who had to choose the Fifteen were Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and his brother Hugo Bigod, the Earl of Warwick, and John Mansell; and in Ann. Mon. i. 449, against the first two names is written "Les duze de par le rei unt eslu les duze de par le commun," and against the second two, " E la partie ver le commun ad eslu des duze ke sunt de par le rei," and it is added :—

" E ces quatre unt poer a eslire le cunseil le rei, et quant il unt eslu, il les mustrunt as vint et quatre ; et la u la greinure partie de ces assente, seit tenu."

The king's letter is given at length as it illustrates many expressions in the proclamation. It is printed in the Royal Letters 2, 127, from Rot. Pat. 42, Hen. III., memb. 6, and the present copy has been compared with the original :

" Rex Johanni Mansell, thesaurario Eboracensi, salutem.

" Cum nuper concesserimus proceribus et magnatibus regni nostri, juramento firmato in animam nostram, ut[2] per duodecim fideles de consilio nostro jam electos, de quibus vos estis unus, et per alios duodecim fideles nostros electos ex parte ipsorum procerum, fiat reformatio et ordinatio status regni nostri, ad honorem Dei, fidem nostram, et utilitatem regni nostri, secundum quod melius viderint expedire ; et nihilominus promiserimus prædictis proceribus et magnatibus nostris quod reformationem et ordinationem per prædictos viginti et quatuor vel majorem partem eorum faciendam ratam habebimus et firmam, et ipsam faciemus teneri et inviolabiliter observari ; vobis mandamus, in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tene-mini et sub debito juramenti nobis præstiti, quatenus ad reforma-tionem et ordinationem prædictas procedere non omittatis indilate cum aliis, sicut volueritis nostram et nostrorum heredum indigna-tionem vitare in perpetuum.

" Præterea cum vos una cum comite de Warrewico, Rogero le Bygod, comite Norfolchiæ et marescallo nostro Angliæ, et Hugoni le Bigod, fratre suo, electi sitis a prædictis viginti quatuor ad nominan-dum illos qui de nostro esse debent consilio, et postmodum ad illos in quos vos quatuor vel tres vestrum concordaveritis aliis coordinatoribus nostris præsentandos, ut vos omnes simul vel major pars vestrum ipsos ad

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[1] The full title of this work is—" Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III., from the originals in the Public Record Office, selected and edited by the Rev. Walter Waddington Shirley, D.D., published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls."   [2] " et," MS.

nostrum consilium deputandos confirmetis vel infirmetis ; vobis præ-
cipimus, firmiter injungentes in fide qua nobis tenemini, quatenus una
cum dictis comitibus et Hugone prædicto ad prædictum consilium
nostrum sicut superius est expressum nominandum, prout Dominus
vobis inspiraverit, indilate procedatis, sicut nostram et heredum
nostrorum vitare volueritis indignationem pro[1] perpetuo. Nos enim
firmiter vobis promittimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod si ad
hujusmodi ordinationem et reformationem et consilii nostri nomina-
tionem, sicut superius est expressum, processeritis, in nullo nos vel
heredes nostri contra vos vel vestros futuris temporibus movebimur,
sed nos et prædicti heredes nostri in hac parte vos conservabimus
indemnes.   In cujus, etc. Teste me ipso apud Oxoniam, vicesimo sexto
die Junii."

Pauli, in his Geschichte von England, 1853, (3, 717,) gives
as the names of the Fifteen the whole of those whose names
are appended to the French version of the proclamation
(infrà p. 15), with the exception of the Earl of Albemarle ;
citing however only that very document, whence it is not
clear why the Earl of Albemarle was omitted.   The names
of the Fifteen are given in Ann. Mon. 1, 449, as follows, and
among them is found the name of the Earl of Albemarle.
From the names appended to the French proclamation are
omitted the names of the Earl of Winchester and Hugo
Spenser, while the name of John Mansel is inserted.

"Ceo sunt ceus ke sunt jurez del conseil le rei.   Archiepiscopus
Cantuariensis. Episcopus Wygornensis. Comes Leycestrensis. Comes
Glovernensis. Comes Marscallus. Petrus de Sabaudia. Comes Alber-
marliæ.   Comes Warewik.   Comes Herefordensis.   Johannes Mansel.
Johannes filius Galfridi.   Petrus de Monte Forti.   Ricardus de Gray.
Rogerus de Mortuo Mari.   Jacobus de Aldithelege."

Pauli says that the five of the king's party out of these
Fifteen, were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of
Warwick and Winchester, Peter of Savoy, and James Audley.
As the Earl of Winchester did not belong to the Fifteen, pro-
bably John Mansell was the fifth of the royal party.

The powers of these fifteen are thus described in Ann.
Mon. 1, 452.

"Quinze serrunt nomez par ces quatre, ... les queus serrunt de conseil
le rei.   E serrunt cunfermez par les avant dit xxiv. u par la greinure
partie de els.   E averunt poer del rei conseiler en bone fei del governe-
ment del reaume, et de totes choses ke al rei u al reaume pertenent.

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[1] "n̄ro," MS., i.e., "nostro."

E pur amender et adrescer totes les choses ke il verrunt ke facent a adrescer et amender. E su le haute justice, et sur totes autres genz. E si il ne poent tuz estre, ceo ke la greinure partie fra, serra ferm et estable.

In confirmation of these arrangements Henry issued the following proclamation in the form of letters patent on 4 Aug. 1258, Rot. Pat. 42 Hen. III. memb. 4, which is here reprinted from Royal Letters 1, 129, (compared with the original) as it illustrates the subsequent proclamation.

"Henri, par la grace Deu rei de Engleterre, etc., a tous ceus, etc. Sachiez qe pur le profit de nostre reaume, e a la requeste de nos hauz hommes et prodes hommes e du comun de nostre reaume otreyames, qe vinte quatre de nos hommes eusent poer qe qe tout ce q'il ordeneraient del estat de nostre reaume fust ferm e estable, e ce feimes jurer en nostre alme, et donames de ce nos lettres overtes. Et ce meosmes jurra Eadward nostre fieuz einzne, e de ce dona ses lettres overtes. Les queus vinte quatre desus nomez eslurent quatre, is queus quatre il donerent leur poer de eslire nostre conseil des prodes hommes de nostre terre. Le quel conseil nos avum promis et promettuns craire al adrescement e al amendment de toutes les besoignes qe apartiegnent a nos e a nostre reaume. Et nos voluns qe lavant dit conseil ou la greinure partie puissent eslire prodehomme ou prodeshommes qe saient en lui de celi ou de ceus qui defauderunt. Et nos averum ferm e estable quanqe lavant dit conseil ou la greinure partie fera. E comandum fermement qe touz nos feaus e nos hommes ausi laient e saient tenuz fermement garder touz les establissemenz, les queus il ferunt al honur de Deu e nostre foi, e au profist de nostre reaume. Et en tesmoign de ceste chose nos avum fet mettre nostre seel a ceste presente lettre. Ceste chose fu fete a Lundres le dimainge prochein apres la Gaulehaust, en lan de nostre corounment quarante secund. Ceste lettre est doublee e livere al cunte le Marescal par le rei e sun conseil."

Under the superintendence of the council and committee were framed the celebrated "Provisions of Oxford."[1] Among other ordinances, a parliament was summoned regularly for 6 October, 2 February, and 1 June in each year, at which only the committee of fifteen, and a further committee of twelve magnates *(prodes homes)* were to appear. The fol-

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[1] Called, in the award of the king of France, 22 January, 1263 (Rymer's Fœdera, 1816, vol. i., p. 434), "*provisiones*, ordinationes, statuta et obligationes Oxonienses," and referred to afterwards simply as *provisions*, "ante tempus provisionum ipsarum." In Rymer, i. 411, 7 December, 1261, they are termed "ordeinemens *purveances* e establissemens fez a Oxinford."

lowing is the order for the assembling of the parliaments given in Ann. Mon. 1, 452.

"*Des parlemenz, quanz serrunt tenuz per an et coment.* Il fet a remembrer ke les xxiv. unt ordene ke treis parlemenz seient par an. Le premerein as utaves de Sein Michel. Le secund le demein de la Chandelur. Le terz le premer jor de June, ceo est a saver, treis semeines devant le Seint John. A ces treis parlemenz vendrunt les cunseilers le rei esluz, tut ne seient il pas mandez pur ver le estat del reaume, et pur treter les cummuns bosoingnes del reaume et del rei ensement. E autre fez ensement quant mester serra per le mandement le rei.

"Si fet a remembrer ke le commun eslise xii. prodes homes, ke vendrunt as parlemenz et autre fez quant mester serra, quant le rei u sun cunseil les mandera pur treter de bosoingnes le rei et del reaume. E ke le comun tendra pur estable ceo ke ces xii. frunt. E ceo serra fet pur esparnier le cust del commun."

The names of the first twelve thus elected are given in Ann. Mon. 1, 449, as follows :—

"Ces sunt les duze ke sunt eslu par les baruns a treter a treis parlemenz per an oveke le cunseil le rei pur tut le comun de la terre de commun bosoine. Episcopus Londoniensis. Comes Wintoniensis. Comes Herefordensis. Philippus Basset. Johannes de Bailol. Johannes de Verdun. Johannes de Gray. Rogerus de Sumery. Rogerus de de Monte Alto. Hugo Dispensarius. Thomas de Gresley. Ægidius de Argenten."

It was apparently at the meeting of this so-called parliament at Westminster in October 1258, that the proclamation now under consideration was issued. The object of this proclamation was to bind every man in the kingdom to obey the council of Twenty-four. The people were not only to keep the ordinances of the majority of the council, but to *swear* to keep them, as the king and prince had already done. The king nominally, the committee of council actually, ordered every one in the country in virtue of his oath, to take part in supporting these ordinances, against all others, "doing and receiving justice." No one was to make use of any land or other possessions to the detriment of the ordinances, and those who opposed them were to be held mortal enemies of the people. This proclamation was issued in the form of letters patent, and sent into every county to be preserved among the archives, and also into Ireland.

The Council itself was first sworn, in the following terms, Ann. Mon. 1, 448.

"*Ceo est le serment a vint e quatre.* Chescun jura sur seintes Euuangeles, ke il al honur de Deu, e a la fei le rei, e al profit del reaume, ordenera e tretera ovekes les avant dit jures sur le refurmement e le amendement del estat del reaume. E ke ne lerra pur dun, ne pur premesse, pur amur, ne pur hange, ne pur pour de nulli, ne pur gain, ne pur perte, ke leaument ne face solum la tenur de la lettre, ke le rei ad sur ceo done et sun fez ensement."

And then the oath administered to the Commons at Oxford, and hence probably the oath which every one was to take according to this proclamation was as follows, Ann. Mon. 1, 447:

"*Ceo jura le commun de Engleterre a Oxeneford.* Nus tels et tels fesum a saver a tute genz, ke nus avum jure sur seintes Euuangeles, e sumus tenuz ensemble par tel serment, e promettuns en bone fei, ke chesun de nus e tuz ensemble nus entre eiderums, e nus e les nos cuntre tute genz, dreit fesant, et rens pernant ke nus ne purrum sanz mef fere, salve la fei le rei e de la corune. E premettuns sur meime le serment, ke nus de nus ja ren ne prendra de tere ne de moeble, par que cest serment purra estre desturbe, u en nule ren empeyre. E si nul fet encontre ceo, nus le tendrums a enemi mortel.

To be effective this proclamation had to be made intelligible to the whole community, both gentle and simple, lay and clerical. Hence appears to have arisen the conception that it should be couched in the language of the nobles, and the language of the people, in Norman French and English.[1] The French was addressed in general terms, "A tuz ses feaus Clers et Lays." The English was directed to particular counties, and the copy preserved is that written, "To alle hise holde ilærde and ileawede on Huntendon'schir'."[2] This

[1] I can find no mention of any but the English and French versions in the Kalendar of the Patent Rolls of 42 and 43 Henry; but in Ann. Mon. 1, 453, it is stated that the proclamation was also written in Latin, and that it had to be read by the sheriffs. The words are:—" Eodem tempore de communi domini regis et communitatis consilio factæ sunt chartæ domini regis subsequentes, et scriptæ *Latine,* Gallice, et Anglice, et per totum regnum Angliæ ad omnes comitatus transmissæ, ut ibidem per vicecomites lectæ, et intellectæ firmiter ab omnibus in posterum observarentur illæsæ."

[2] Mr. Maule, the clerk to the magistrates of Huntingdonshire, at my request, obligingly made a search to see if any record of this letter patent existed in the archives of the county, but he found none. It is most probable that other copies may still exist in some of the county archives, and any gentleman who could find them would be conferring a benefit upon our Early English Literature, as no

proclamation is therefore historically the first appeal to the
people on record, the first in which the people were made to
feel that they were worth addressing.   Half of the council,
whose ordinances are to be defended, is expressly stated to
have been elected by the people of the country, "þurȝ þæt
loandes folk."   And the assistance of the people is invoked
to protect the governing power of this council, which was
thus supposed to be half of their own choice.   There can be
little doubt that this direct appeal to the people was made by
the popular leader, Simon de Montfort, himself a foreigner,
whose object was to enlist the sympathies of the people on
his side against the other foreigners who were of the royal
faction, and this object he sought especially to promote by
issuing a proclamation in the language of the people them-
selves.

The regnal years of Henry III. commence on 28 October,
1216, on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, the day of his
coronation or "making," according to Robert of Gloucester.[1]
Hence Friday, 18 October, 1258, was towards the close of the
42nd year of his reign.   The French version of the procla-
mation is duly preserved in the patent roll of the forty-*second*
year in the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, London; but
singularly enough the English version, though bearing the
same date, is in the patent roll of the forty-*third* year.   To
this must be probably attributed the fact that the French
version, although printed in the Record Commissioners' edi-
tion of Rymer's Fœdera, has been overlooked by most com-

doubt various readings and spellings may be found.   In Ann. Mon. 1, 455, there
is another copy of the French Version, which presents great differences of ortho-
graphy and one or two different words, as will be seen hereafter.   There is no
importance to be attributed to the fact that the copy preserved in the Patent
Rolls is addressed to the people of Huntingdonshire.   This is precisely similar to
the important letter patent entitled " Henry III. to the Men of Rutlandshire,
Rot. Pat. 42 Henry III. memb. 1 " (that is in the same skin as the French
version of the present proclamation), printed in Royal Letters 2, 130, and also
in Ann. Mon. 1, 453, from another copy.   Also we have the letter already
quoted (supra p. 3) to John Mansel, which is only one of four actually issued,
one to each of the four appointers of the Fifteen.

    [1] " Henry was king imad, after is fader Jon,
        A Sein Simondes day and Sein Jude at Gloucestre anon."
as cited by St. Harris Nicholas, Chronology of History, p. 291.

mentators,[1] which is unfortunate, as it might have served to prevent the extraordinary blunders which have been made in transcribing and translating the English version.

II. *Description of the Original Document.*

The present publication of this proclamation will form the sixteenth, at least, which has appeared, and yet it is the only one which faithfully reproduces the original. It is this circumstance which makes this proclamation a curiosity of literature. Here was a public document, preserved among our records, and easily accessible,[2] which has been published by Somner, Tyrrel, Lyttelton, Henry, Latham, Koch; Hearne; Henshall; the Record Commission, Craik, Pauli, Regel, Marsh; Ellis, and Latham again,—either as a specimen of early English, or as an historical document; and not one of the versions agrees with any other; and, moreover, all, without exception, contain grave mistakes, which not only present false forms of words, but in most editions, false words, entirely obscuring and perverting the sense of the original. It seems worth while, as the document is not lengthy, to print all these editions in a manner which will allow them to be readily compared word for word, in order that we may see what blunders have been committed in editing a very simple, easy, and straightforward monument of our language, by men whose names would lead us to expect correctness, and thus feel the value of the labours of those who endeavour to give us manuscripts as they are, with diplomatic accuracy. The errors committed by the previous editors of this proclamation are of all kinds of atrocity, from simple mispelling, to glaringly false, or absolutely nonsensical, expressions, with altogether unwarranted alterations and transpositions, and with conjectural insertions that have no grammatical connection with the following words. The

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[1] In Rymer it commences on the preceding page, so that a person consulting the work for the English version might readily overlook it. This seems to have been the case with Craik, who took his version from Rymer. Pauli is the only editor who seems to have observed the French version.

[2] Any one may now go to the Search-room of the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, and examine the Rolls, gratuitously.

versions which have been given also deserve consideration,
for they read us a very important lesson. They shew how
when one word has been misunderstood in a sentence, even
men who are looked upon as trustworthy teachers will
deliberately pervert the meaning of perfectly clear and
distinct words, neglect all grammatical relations, and all
traditions as to the existence of words, to try and force a
meaning out of the meaningless. When we consider how,
in attempting to restore the lost meaning of a word—as in
the modern attempts to read the Assyrian and the Egyptian—
we give it a signification to suit what we suppose to be the
context, let the versions of this simple English proclamation
rise up in judgment against us, and shew how apt we are to
alter the meaning of the known words to suit our precon-
ceived notions of the unknown, so that the properly hard
context becomes plastic in our hands, or else how the igno-
rance of the meaning of a single word leads us to misconceive
that of all its neighbours. How much better is it to confess
ignorance than by pretending knowledge to mislead disciples!

The two original versions of the proclamation are contained
on rolls of parchment of the usual form. The Patent Roll of
43 Henry III., which contains the English version, consists
of fifteen skins of parchment, of which the 15th is the first in
order of date, loosely stitched together, with a thicker skin
12 inches long, cemented over three inches of the first skin,
forming the outer cover. It is fourteen inches wide, and its
whole length is 28 feet 11 inches. The lines, about twelve
inches long, run across the roll, so that there is a margin of
about two inches on the left hand, and none at all on the
right hand. It is closely written on both sides, with a few oc-
casional blanks; thus there are 3 inches blank in the 10th,
and 10 inches in the 11th, and 9 inches in the first skin on
front side. The strong cover only contains the title. The
English proclamation begins 11 inches below the top of the
15th or last skin, on the 42nd line. About one inch above
the commencement of the writing on the 15th skin is the
following title: "Patentes de Anno regni reg' Henr' filii reg'
Joh'ns Anno xliij."

In the margin of the English version there is the Latin title "Carta in Idiomate Anglico missa ad singulos Comitss Angl'." There is no title to the French. In the Kalendar, or written index to the patent rolls in the Search Room of the Public Record Office, the English proclamation is referred to thus: "Vicecomitibus. Carta in Idiomate Anglico," without a date. But the French is referred to thus: "Omnibus. Quod omne quod per consilium sit ordinatum firmum sit, &c. London, Oct. xij." 1258. Here the day of the month is wrong, and neither title conveys the idea that the object of the proclamation was to make every one *swear* to obey the Council of Twenty-four.

The French and English versions were transcribed by different copyists. The writing of the English is very different from that of the other documents in the same roll, leading to the conclusion that a special scribe, and evidently a very practised and careful writer, was employed for the English, so that we can feel greater confidence in the accuracy of the orthography. Probably it was written by a person familiar with the language, and not by one of the usual French and Latin copyists.

Both versions of the proclamation are written in remarkably clear and distinct courthand, into which the Anglo-Saxon letters þ, ȝ, æ, are introduced in the English version. The letter t is written like ꞇ as usual, and the long ſ is generally written at the end of words; this use of long ſ rarely occurs in manuscripts later than the xiiith century. The y is dotted thus ẏ, and the i undotted thus ı, as is usual in old manuscripts. But the letter ı occasionally bears a curved stroke above it, sloping to the right, which may be represented by an acute accent, thus: níme. This flourish is generally placed over an ı which comes next to m, n, r; but it is also occasionally used over an ı which lies next b, h, and seems to have been intended as a mark of distinction, to prevent the confusion that would arise from the use of the simple ı as in "nıme." The a, æ are formed like the Roman letters, not like the italic *a, æ*.

The ink is brown, and in a few places indistinct, and the

thin vellum on which it is written is much crumpled, so that some few difficulties occur.   The following remarks may assist any future consulter of the original.   The words will in this place, and hereafter in this paper, be referred to by the number of the line in the patent roll original in which they occur, as marked in the following copy, and if the same word occurs more than once in a line the letters *a, b, c,* etc. will be annexed to the number to shew whether the first, second, third, etc. occurrence of the word is referred to.

French version.   Line 5, v i e g n e n t, the italic *e* is inter-lined in the MS., and its place is marked by ˏ.

Line 5, c h o s e, the e is extremely indistinct, being nearly worn away by rubbing the outer edge of the roll.

Line 6, e n u e o n s, the initial e n have a false appearance of G ı, dissipated by a reference to other words beginning with G and with e n, e u, e m, but sufficient to deceive the Record Commissioners, and, for some time, the present writer.   Careful examination establishes e n, which obviates the great linguistic difficulty of G ı u e o n s, and makes this version agree with the Burton version e m v e i m s, on p. 25, last line, and with the English version f e n d e n.

English version.   Line 2, " *w e,*" the italics point out that this word was interlined in the MS., and its place is marked by ˏ.

Line 6, *h o a t e n,* the italics show that this word is written over an erasure, some other word of apparently the same length having previously occupied the space.   These interlineations and this erasure shew that the whole manu-script was re-read with great care, so that we may feel sure that we have the best copy that a contemporary scribe, who was not quite so fastidious as a modern printer's reader, could furnish.

Line 1, A n · ı o w, the inverted period may be a mere accident.   h o l d e, the o in the manuscript seems to have been made by first drawing the left side thus ɕ, and then drawing the right side ; but in doing so the right side is often made rather straight, and frequently does not fit on exactly to the terminations of the first stroke, the result being like ₐ, which may be readily mistaken for a.   Thus the Record Commission has h a l d e, and in my first printed

copy I also read the word thus. A very careful examination and comparison of the forms of unmistakable o's throughout the MS., have convinced me that h o l d e is the correct reading. As h a l d e was supposed by Regel to be a new word, and as such a word is not known elsewhere, this result has some philological value.

Line 3, r e d e ſ m e n, the second e is mixed up with the d so as to require some care in recognizing it. a b u t e n, the a is joined on to the b without any break at all, so that there is no reason to suppose that the writer meant a b u t e n, as Regel writes.

Line 4, h e a l d e n, the a is very indistinct, the lower part being scarcely more than indicated. w e r í e n, the flourish, here printed as an accent (p. 11), is high above the letter and removed from it.

Line 5. R ı ȝ t, the capital R is at first sight not unlike an O, but a comparison of the initial R in R ı c', lines 9 and 10, and R o g', line 9, will shew that it can be none other but R. The written form of the ȝ is like ꝣ, and when the top stroke is extended to the left, so as to join the ı, the combination ıȝ has something of the effect of a written g, but it is not at all like the written g used in this MS., as for example, k ı n g, ı g r e t ı n g e, line 1. Hence R ı ȝ t has a false look of O g t, which Somner and the Record Commissioners exhibit as the word. n í m e, the flourish, printed as an accent (p. 11), is here quite distinct and almost touches the stem of the i, so that it would seem impossible to misread m i n e, with Somner and the Record Commissioners.

Line 6, o n í e w i ſ e, here the flourish, printed as an accent (p. 11), ascends obliquely in the usual way, and is distinct throughout, but in o þ e r o n í e, the base of the flourish is very faint, and further disguised by a crumple in the parchment, with an indentation in the middle of it. On my recent examination of the roll I was obliged to use a strong magnifying glass before I could distinctly trace the flourish from its base throughout. Add to this that the mark is rather longer than usual, and terminates horizontally instead of obliquely, and it will be evident that o n í e will take the

appearance of o n ι ē. Hence on my original examination (1859) I considered that the true reading was o n ι e n, which would have given an abnormal form to the plural. There is no doubt that the real reading is o n í e. d e a d l ι c h e ι f o a n, the words are really quite distinct, but there is more flourish than usual about the f, so that the top loop descends to the o. The mode in which o is made in the MS. has been explained under h o l d e. It seems as if the commencing stroke c were nearly the same for o, ð, e, so that the character of the letter depended chiefly on the obliquity of the second stroke, the shape of the stroke being nearly the same in all the letters. A slight carelessness will make any one letter very like the other. Thus in ι f o a n the "fo" have a false air of f τ, and hence Somner and the Record Commissioners, who do not seem to have examined the text with much care, read ι f t a n, and as this is no word, they joined it on to the preceding, to which the letters are approximate in MS., though clearly separated from it.

Line 7, a m a n g e s, the a is quite separated from the m a n g e s, but this may have been unintentional. í n e h o r d, the e is at about equal distances from n and h, almost like ín e h o r d, so that it may have been an error for ín þe h o r d, but as the form í n e is used, í n e h o r d may have been meant.

Line 9, H u r t f o r d, the u is quite distinct, bearing no resemblance to an a. The pronunciation Hartford belongs to the XVII th century, and hence Somner, who belonged to that period, was misled. The u was sounded as (i) or (e) most probably, being an alteration of (y). The French has Hertford. N o r t h f o l k, the mark represented by the apostrophe (') has much the appearance of an unfinished e.

Line 10, F o r t, the capital is like *ff*, as usual.

The original French version is contained in ten lines, of which the last is incomplete. The English version is also in ten lines, of which the last is incomplete, but the two do not correspond line for line, and there is an eleventh line appended to the English version, which forms no part of the proclamation, but is merely a note, stating that exact copies of this proclamation had been sent to every other English shire besides

Huntingdon, and also into Ireland. There are sixteen names attached to the French, and only thirteen to the English version, the order being the same, with the exception of the omitted names. The following is the French list; the names in Italics are omitted in the English version, and those with a star (*) before them are omitted in the Burton copy of the French version in Ann. Mon. 1, 455, given below, p. 25 :—

Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Worcester, Earls of Leicester, Gloucester, * Northfolk, and *_Hereford;_ Peter of Savoy; Earls of Albemarle, Warwick, and _Winchester;_ Fitz-Geoffrey, Peter de Montfort, de Grey, de Mortimer, Audley, and _Spenser._

At the end of the English list are however appended the words, _and ætforen oþre moȝe,_ which Somner translates " et coram aliis pluribus," or in his English translation, " and before others moe." There is no corresponding French expression. Whence Somner derived his notion that _moȝe_ could mean _several, more,_ it is difficult to say. He surely could not have confused it with _moche,_ which would not have been written with ȝ. The word seems to be the plural of _mog,_ which occurs in Genesis and Exodus, 1761 (_min mog, min neue, and felage,_ my relation, my nephew, and companion), a poem of nearly the same date (about 1250) with which therefore this proclamation may be properly compared. The Anglo-Saxon would then be _mæg,_ which seems to be a general word for _kinsman,_ so that _mægeð_ is used for a family, or clan, _mægscipe,_ relationship, and many compounds.[1] Now, as noblemen are termed the sovereign's cousins or kinsmen, and as the proclamation is issued in the name of the king, it is probable that these words should be translated " and in the presence of other kinsmen," meaning _nobles._ Regel translates " in gegenwart andrer _edlen,_" and Marsh " before other nobles [?]."

[1] See Diefenbach, Goth. Wört. ii. 3, _d._ In Middle High German occurs the form _mâc,_ pl. _mâgen_ for relations, and in the Straszb. Stat. a. 1429 (quoted in A. Ziemann's Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch), the relations included under this term are defined as brothers and sisters and their children, uncles and aunts and their children, children of male and female cousins and all nearer relations; _diz sint die mâge : bruoder,_ etc.

Who were the persons whose names are attached to the proclamation? They are all denominated sworn councillors, *isworene redesmen*, in the English version, but they have no designation in the French. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Peter of Savoy, the Earl of Albemarle, and James Audley, whose names are in the English version, and the Earl of Winchester, whose name is in the French version only, do not occur among the twenty-three names of the Twenty-four given in the Ann. Mon. The Earl of Winchester and Hugo Spenser, whose names occur in the French only, were not of the Fifteen. But they were among the Twelve appointed to assist the royal council of Fifteen as representatives of the commons in parliament, and all such persons were no doubt included under the general name of sworn councillors. The conclusion seems to be that this proclamation was approved by the whole parliament, consisting of the Fifteen and the Twelve, and that it was signed by some of each in the French, but that only thirteen members of the Fifteen signed the English version, the approval of the other two and of the Twelve being indicated by the final words: *and ætforen opre moȝe.*

III. *The Present Edition of the Proclamation.*

Struck with the diversity of the versions I had seen and with the incomprehensibility of many words, I proceeded to the Public Record Office, and made tracings of the two versions of the proclamation,[1] which I transcribed and then set in type with my own hands, and after revising the proof by my tracing, took it to the Public Record Office and revised it by the original. Notwithstanding this care in two or three places I found that I had left an ordinary Roman g in place of the Anglo-Saxon ȝ, whereas the original MS. used both g and ȝ at different times and in different senses, and I had also printed *halde, onien* for *holde, onie.* Infrà, p. 50. The following copies have been most carefully re-read with the originals, letter by letter, and the original writing has been viewed frequently under a strong magnifying glass.

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[1] These tracings were shewn to the Philological Society when this paper was read.

In the present sixteenth edition I give at one opening,— on the left-hand page, first the French version, and below it a modern English translation from the Old English text ; and on the right-hand page, the English version, and below it the pronunciation, in palaeotype, as nearly as I can conjecture, according to the principles explained in my previous paper on Early English Pronunciation.[1] The figures in brackets in the old versions mark the commencement of the lines in the original manuscript. The contractions are generally not extended, being marked simply by an apostrophe, an exception is however made in favour of the stroke for final *n*, and the contraction for *et* in the French version. The italic *n, et* mark these extended contractions.

In the following copy and in the Interlinear Comparison given p. 52, the ordinary court-hand letters will be represented by Roman characters, but þ, ȝ, æ, ı, í, ẏ, ſ, s, will be all distinguished. In citing the passages hereafter, the i, y, s alone will be used in place of ı, í, ẏ, ſ, s, but the letters þ, ȝ, æ will be preserved.

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[1] Transactions of the Phil. Soc. for 1867 Supplement, Parts I. and II. To save the trouble of referring to the complete account of palaeotype, I annex an explanation of so much of the system as is used in this exhibition of the pronunciation. The consonants (b, d, f, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, w, z) have their usual English meanings. The letter (g) always has its hard sound, as in *go, get*, and (q) is used for the sound of *ng* in *sing*. The letters (h, j) have no independent meaning but only serve to modify the value of the preceding consonant, thus, (dh, gh, kh, sh, th, zh) are sounded as the italic letters in *th*ey, German tau*g*en and tau*ch*en, *sh*oe, *th*in, vision, and (*gh, kh*) as in German ei*g*en, ei*ch*en. Hence (tsh, dsh) are the English sounds at the beginning of *ch*est, *j*est. The small capitals (ʜ, ᴊ) represent the English *h*ot, *y*acht. (Lh) is a whispered (l), the breath escaping on *both* sides of the tongue, whereas in the Welsh *ll* it escapes on the *right* side only. The vowels (a, e, i, o, u) have their German sounds, which, when long, are represented by (aa, ee, ii, oo, uu) as in English father, there, mach*i*ne, ore, p*oo*l. And (*a, i*) have the deep sounds of the French â*ge*, and English p*i*n. The French *u, eu*, German *ü, ö* are represented by (y, œ). Hence (ai, au, eu) are true diphthongs, the first two as in German h*ai*n, h*au*s ; the last as in Italian *Eu*ropa. The reader should be careful *not* to pronounce them as in modern English. The apostrophe denotes a faint indistinct vowel sound, as heard sometimes before *l* as in *stableing* in three syllables, for *stabling* in two syllables. The position of the accent is marked by an inverted period placed after the vowel or following consonant belonging to the accented syllable. Single letters and isolated words in the palaeotypic writing are inclosed in ( ), as above.

OLD FRENCH VERSION.

Patent Roll, 42 *Henry* III. *m.* 1, *n.* 1.

[1] Henrí par la grace deu Reÿ de Englet're Sıre de Irlande. Duc de Normandıe de Aquı'en *et* Cunte de Angou. a Tuz ſes feaus Clers et Laÿs saluz. Sachez ke nuf uolons *et* otrıons ke ce ke noſtre conseil [2] v la greıgnure partíe de eus ki est esluz par nuf *et* par le co'mun de noſtre Reaume a fet v fera al honur de deu *et* noſtre feí *et* pur le p'fit de noſtre Reaume ſicum ıl ordenera ·' feıt ferm *et* eſtable [3] en tuttef choseſ a tuz íurz. Et comandons *et* eníoínons a tuz noz feaus *et* leaus en la feí kıl nus deíuent kıl fermement teígnent *et* íurgent a tenír *et* a maíntenír les eſtablıſſemenz [4] ke funt fet v funt a fere par lauant dıt Cunseıl v la

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[1] Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, sends greetings to all his lieges, clerical and lay, in Huntingdonshire. [2] That know ye well all, that we will and grant that that which our councillors, all or the greater part of them, that have been chosen by us, and by the people of the country of our kingdom, have done, and shall [3] do, to the glory of God, and in furtherance of our allegiance, for the benefit of the country, by the provision of the aforesaid councillors, be stedfast and lasting in all things ever without end. And we call upon [4] all our lieges in the allegiance that they owe us, that they stedfastly hold and swear to hold and to defend the acts that have been passed, or shall be passed by the aforesaid councillors, [5] or by the

OLD ENGLISH VERSION.

Patent Roll, 43 *Henry III. m.* 15., *n.* 40.

[1] ¶ Henr' þurʒ godef fultume kıng on Engleneloande. Lhoauerd on Ẏrloand'. Duk on Norm' on Aquıtaın' and eorl on Anʹıow Send ıgretınge to alle hıfe holde ılærde and ıleawede on Huntendon'fchır' [2] þæt wıten ʒe wel alle þæt *we* wıllen and vnne*n* þæt. þæt vre rædefmen alle oþer þe moare dæl of heom þæt beoþ ıchofen þurʒ uf and þurʒ þæt loandef folk on vre kunerıche. habbeþ ıdon and fchulle*n* [3] don ín þe worþneffe of gode and on vre treowþe. for þe freme of þe loande. þurʒ þe befıʒte of þan to forenıfeıde redefmen ꞉ beo ftedefæft and ıleftınde ín alle þínge abuten ænde. And we hoaten [4] alle vre treowe ín þe treowþe þæt heo vf oʒen. þæt heo ftedefæftlıche healden and fweríen to healden and to weríen þo ıfetneffef þæt beon ímakede and beon to makıen þurʒ þan to foren ıfeıde rædefmen [5] oþer þurʒ þe

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Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.

[1] Henʹrai thur*k*h God·es ful·tume k*i*q on Eqʹlenelan·de, lhav·erd on Iir·lande, Dyyk on Normandai, on Akitain·e and ee'rl on Andzhuu·, send igreet·*i*qe to al·e нis·e нold·e ileer·de and ilee·wede on Hun·tendooneshii·re. [2] Dhet wii·ten ᴊe wel al·e, dhet we w*i*l·en and un·en dhet, dhet uu·re ree·desmen al·e odh·er dhe m*aa*·re deel of нeum, dhet beuth itshoo·zen thur*k*h us, und thur*k*h dhet land·es folk on uu·re k*i*n·eriitshe, нab·eth idoon· and shul·en [3] doon, *i*n dhe worth·nese of God·e and on uu·re treuth·e, for dhe free·me of dhe land·e, thur*k*h dhe bes*i*k·h·te of than to foo·renisaide ree·desmen, beu stee·defest and iles·t*i*nde *i*n al·e th*i*q·e abuut·en en·de. And we наa·ten [4] al·e uu·re treu·e *i*n dhe treuth·e dhet нeu us oogh·en, dhet нeu stee·defestlitshe нee'ld·en and swee·rien to нee'ld·en and to weer·ien dho iset·neses dhet beun imaa·kede and beun to maak·ien thur*k*h dhan to foo·ren isaid·e ree·desmen, [5] odh·er thur*k*h dhe

Old French Version.—(Continued.)

greígnure partíe de eus. en la maníere kil est dɪt defuz.
et kil fentreeɪdent a ce fere par meɪfmes tel s'ment
cunt' tutte genz [5] dreit fefant et p'nant. *et* ke nul
ne preɪgne de t're ne de moeble par queí cefte purueance
puɪffe eftre defturbee v empɪree en nule manere. *et* fe
nul v nus vɪegnent encunt' cefte chose [6] nuf uolons
et comandons ke tuz nof feaus *et* leaus le teígnent a enemí
mortel. *et* pur ce ke nus volons ke ceste chose feɪt ferme *et*
eftable ∴ nof enueons nof lettres ou'tes feelees de n're [7] seel
en chefcun Cunte a demorer la entrefor. Tesmoín Meímeɪfmes
a Londres le Dɪfutíme Iur de Octobre lan de noftre regne
Q'raunte fecund. Et cefte chose fu fete deuant Boneface
Arce[8]eueske de Cantrebur'. Gaut' de Cantelou. Eueske de
Wyreceftr'. Símoɴ de Montfort. Cunte de Leýceftr'. Richard
de Clare Cunte de Glouceftr' *et* de Hertford. Rog'

Modern English Translation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

greater part of them, as it has been before said. And that
each help the other so to do by that same oath, against all
men, doing and receiving justice. And let no man take
any land or [6] chattel, whereby this provision may be
let or impaired in any wise. And if any person or persons
oppose this provision, we will and enjoin that all our lieges
hold them as mortal enemies. And because [7] we will
that this should be stedfast and lasting, we send you this
letter patent signed with our seal, to hold among you in
the treasury. Witnesses ourselves at London, the eigh-
teenth day of the month [8] of October, in the two and
fortieth year of our reign. And this was done in the
presence of our sworn councillors, Boneface, archbishop of
Canterbury ; Walter of Cantelow, bishop of Worcester ;
[9] Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester ; Richard of Clare,
earl of Gloucester and Hertford ; Roger

Old English Version.—(Continued.)

moare dæl of heom alfwo alfe hít ıf bíforen ıfeıd.   And
þæt æhc oþer helpe þæt for to done bí þan ılche
oþe aȝenef alle men.   Rıȝt for to done and to foangen.
And noan ne níme of loande ne of [6] eȝte. wherþurȝ
þıf befıȝte muȝe beon ılet oþer ıwerfed   on oníe
wıfe.   And ȝıf oní oþer oníe cumen   her onȝenef·'
we wıllen and *hoaten* þæt alle vre treowe heom healden
deadlıche ıfoan.   And for þæt [7] we wıllen þæt þıf beo
ftedefæft and leftınde·'   we fenden ȝew þıf wrít   open
ıfeíned wıþ vre feel. to halden a mangef ȝew ínehord.
Wítneffe vf feluen æt Lunden'.   þane Eȝtetenþe daý.
on þe Monþe [8] of Octobr' In þe Twoandfowertıȝþe
ȝeare of vre crunínge.   And þıf wef ıdon ætforen
vre ıfworene redefmen.   Bonefac' Archebıfchop on Kant'-
bur'.   Walt' of Cantelow. Bıfchop on Wırecheftr'.   [9]
Sım' of Muntfort.   Eorl   on   Leırcheflr'. Rıc'   of
Clar' eorl   on   Glowcheftr' and   on   Hurtford.'   Rog'

Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

m*aa*·re deel of Heum al·swo als·e H*i*t *i*z bifoo·ren isaid·. And
dhet eetsh odh·er Help·e dhet for to doon·e bai dhaan *i*l·tshe
ooth·e aɹee·nes al·e men, ri*k*ht for to doon·e and to f*a*q·en.
And n*aa*n ne nii·me of l*a*nd·e ne of [6] e*k*ht·e, ᴡheerthur*k*h·
dh*i*s bes*i*kht·e muugh·e beun ilet· odh·er iwers·ed on on·ie
wiis·e.   And ɹif on·ai odh·er on·ie kum·en Heer onɹee·nes,
we w*i*l·en and H*aa*·ten dhet al·e uure treu·e Heum Hee'ld·en
deed·l*i*tshe if*aa*n·. And for dhet [7] we w*i*l·en dhet dh*i*s beu
stee·defest and lest·inde, we send·en ɹeu dh*i*s wr*i*t oop·en
isain·ed with uu·re seel, to Hald·en amaq·es ɹeu *i*n·e Hoord.
W*i*t·nese us selv·en et Lun·deene, dhaan·e e*k*ht·etenthe dai,
on dhe moonth·e [8] of Oktoo·ber *i*n dhe twoo and foour·ti*k*hthe
ɹee'r·e of uu·re kruun·*i*qe.   And dh*i*s wes idoon· etfoo·ren
uu·re iswoo·rene ree·desmen,Bon·efaase,Ar·tshebish·op onKan·-
terber·ai; Walt·er of Kan·teloou, bish·op on Wii·retshester; [9]
Sii·moon of Munt·fort, ee'rl on Lair·tshester; Rii·tshard of
Klaa·re, ee'rl on Gloou·tshester and on Hert·ford; Rodzh·er

Old French Version.—(Continued.)

le Bigod Cunte de [9] Norf' et Marefchal de Englet're
Humfreẏ de Bohun Cunte de Hereford.   Pıere de Saueẏe.
Guılame de fort. Cunte de Aubemarle.   Iohan de Plesseız
Cunte de Warrewẏka.   Rog' de Quencẏ [10] Cunte de
Wẏnceſtr'.   Iohan le Fiz Geffreẏ.   Pıere de Muntfort.
Richard de Greẏ Rog' de Mortemer Iames de Audithel.
et Hug' le Despens'.

Modern English Translation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

Bigod, earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England : Peter of
Savoy; William de Fort, earl of Albemarle; [10] John de
Plessis, earl of Warwick; John Fitz Geoffrey; Peter de
Montfort ; Richard de Grey ; Roger de Mortimer; James
Audley, and in the presence of other kinsmen.

[11] And in exactly the same words it has been sent
into every other shire throughout the kingdom of England
and also in till Ireland.

Old English Version.—(Continued.)

Bıgod eorl on Northfolk' and Marefcal on Engleneloand.'
Perref of Sauueẏe.   Will' of Fort eorl on Aubem'.
[10]   Ioh'   of   Pleffeız.   eorl   on   Warewık'   Ioh'
Geffreef fune.   Perref of Muntfort. Rıc' of Greẏ.   Rog'
of Mortemer.   Iamef of Aldıthel and ætforen oþre
moʒe.

[11] ¶ And al on þo ılche worden ıf ıfend ín to æurıhce
oþre shcíre ouer al þære kunerıche on Engleneloande.
and ek ín tel Irelonde.

Conjectured Pronunciation of Old English Version.—(Con.)

Bii·god, ee'rl on North·folke and Maa·reskal on Eq·leneland·e.
Per·es of Savai·e; Wıl·нelm of Fort, ee'rl on Au·bemarle;
[10] Dzhoon of Ples·aiz, ee'rl on Waa·rewiike; Dzhoon
Dzhef·rees suun·e; Per·es of Munt·fort; Rii·tshard of Grai;
Rodzh·er of Mor·temer; Dzhaam·ez of Al·dithel, and etfoo·ren
odh·re moogh·e.

[11] And al on dho ıl·tshe word·en ıs isend· ín to ev·rıtshe
odh·re shii·re oo·ver al dhee·re kın·eriitshe on Eq·lenelande,
and eek ın tıl Iir·lande.

IV. *The Former Editions and Translations of the Proclamation.*

The various editions of this proclamation are as follows, so far as I have been able to discover. They are not arranged in chronological order, but in the natural groups into which they fall. First comes the second copy of the French version given in the Annales de Burton, in which those words which are entirely different from the corresponding words in the patent roll are italicized. Then follows the edition of Somner, 1659, with his Latin and English translations. This seems to be the oldest printed edition, and has had many followers. Tyrrell intended to follow it exactly, though his copy abounds with errors. Lyttelton transcribed Tyrrell, and Henry only made a few changes. Latham transcribed Henry with a few variations, and Koch seems to have depended on Latham. Henry, Latham, and Koch do not name their authorities. This forms the first group. Hearne and Henshall are the sole representatives of the second and third groups, for they seem to have had no followers. The Record Commissioners' Edition of Rymer gave rise to Craik's copy, and also to Pauli's, who however corrected it by the French; Regel followed Pauli almost exactly, and Marsh transcribed Regel. The fifth group is due to my efforts to give the proclamation correctly, first in a privately printed edition, followed by Latham in his Dictionary, and lastly in the present paper, which must be considered as an independent edition because it has been corrected by the original documents. A fragment facsimiled by Astle closes the list. The only persons who have consulted the original are Somner, Hearne, Henshall, the Record Commissioners, Astle, and myself. The rest are all copies, continuing old errors and committing new, and none of the editions except the present reproduces the original with sufficient exactness. After the account of each edition, with the translations they contain, the texts of (1) Somner, (2) Tyrrell, (4) Henry, (5) Latham, (6) Koch; (7) Hearne; (8) Henshall; (9) Rymer, (10) Craik, (11) Pauli, (12) Regel, will be arranged interlinearly under a copy of the present

version, and in groups, so as to shew the relations of one to the other, and the cruel way in which this piece of English has been treated. (3) Lyttelton and (13) Marsh are such exact reproductions of (2) Tyrell and (12) Regel that they need not be reproduced. The differences of (14) my first edition and (15) Latham's copy of it, from the original are slight and will be sufficiently indicated below.

Duplicate of the French Version.—In Ann. Mon. 1, 455, occurs the following version. The orthography is very different from that in the patent roll, but agrees with that of the other French documents in Ann. Mon. already cited. The italicized words are those which differ otherwise than orthagraphically from the French version already given. The word [feus] seems to have been supplied by the editor.

"*Carta domini regis.*

"Henri par la grace, *etc.*, a tuz ses feus, clers et lais, saluz. Sachez ke nus volumz et otriumz ke co ke nostre conseil ou la greinore partie de eus, ke est eslu par nus *ou* par *la* commune de nostre reaume, a fet et fra al honur de Deu et *de* nostre fei et pur profit de nostre reaume, si come il le ordenera, seit ferm et estable en tutes choses a tuz jurs. E comandums et *amonestums* a tuz [feus] et leaus en la fei *ke* nus deivent, ke il fermement tengent, et jurgent a tenir et a meintenir, les establissemenz ke sunt fet ou sunt a fere pur le avant dit conseil ou *par* la greinure partie de eus, en la manere *ke* est dit de sus. E ke il se *entremettent* a co fere par memes *cest* serment *encuntre* totes genz *dun*[1] fesant et pernant. E ke nul ne prenge de tere ne de moble, par quei ceste purveance pusse estre dest ┌ ┘ ou empeire en nule manere. E si nul ou nuls vengent encontre ceste chose, nus volums et comandums[2] nos feus et leus *kes* tengent *nostre* enemi mortel. E pur co ke nus volums ke ceste chose seit ferm et estable, nus emveims nos lettres overtes *aselez* de

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[1] This is clearly a mistake for *dreit*, but whether made by the old or modern copyist cannot be determined without consulting the original, to which I have not access. The passage is nonsense as it stands, as is well shewn by Mr. Luard's translation, which follows.

[2] The words *ke tuz* here occur in the other copy.

nostre sel en chescun cunte a demorer la en tresor. Test-
moigne *memes apud* Londonias, xviii. die Octobris, anno
regni nostri xlii.

" E ceste chose fu fite devant Boneface archiepiscopo
Cantuariensi, Waltero de Cantelupo episcopo Wigornensi,
Simone de Munfort comite Leycestriæ, Ricardo de Clare
comite Gloverniæ,[1] Petro de Sauve, Willelmo de Fortibus
comite Albemarliæ, Johanne Plesiz comite Warewik, Rogero
de Quenci comite Wintoniæ, Johanne filio Galfridi, Petro
de Munfort, Ricardo de Gray, Rogero de Mortemer, James
de Aldithel, Hugone Dispensario."

The following is Mr. Luard's translation of this French
document, Ann. Mon. 1, 507. The italicised words corres-
pond with those in the French copy just given.

" Charter of the King.

"Henry by the grace of God, &c., to all his subjects, clerk
and lay, health. Know that we will and grant that that
which our council, or the majority of them, which is elected
by us *or* by the commonalty of our realm, has done and shall
do to the honour of God and *of* our faith, and for the profit
of our realm, as it shall ordain, shall be firm and established
in all things for ever. And we command and *admonish* to
all our faithful and loyal subjects in the faith *which they* owe
us, that they firmly hold and swear to hold and to maintain
the ordinances which are made or are to be made by the
aforesaid council, or *by* the majority of them, in the manner
which is mentioned above. And that they *take upon them-
selves* to do this by *this* same oath *against* all persons giving
and taking a *bribe.* And that no one take land or moveables
by which this provision can be disturbed or impaired in any
way. And if any person or persons go against this, we will
and command our faithful and loyal subjects that they hold
them as *our* mortal enemies. And for that we will that this
thing be firm and established, we send our letters patent,

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[1] The second title of the Earl of Gloucester, viz. Earl of Hertford is omitted,
as also the signatures of the Earls of Northfolk and Hereford. The signatures
and date are here latinized, but this is not likely to have been the case in the
original proclamation.

sealed with our seal, in each county, to remain there in the treasury.　Witness *ourselves in* London, Oct. 18th, the 42nd year of our reign.　And this thing was done before Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, etc."

1. *W. Somner.*　Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum. Oxon. 1659.

" *Unnan.* Dare, donare, concedere, indulgere, to give, to grant, to bestow, to give leave or license, to permit.　Verbum est purum putum Anglo-Saxonicum; Anglo-Normannis autem eorem expugnatoribus, transmissum, et in horum monumentis post aliquot secula ævo scil. Henrici Regis Anglo-Normannici, istius nominis tertii, inter ejusmodi multa, repertum.　Rotul. Paten. de anno 43, Hen. 3, membrana 15. —þæꞇ ꞃiꞇen ᵹe þe alle ᵹ̇ þe ꞃillen ꞇ unnen þæꞇ þæꞇ uꞃe ꞃæꝺeꞃmen, etc.　In eorum gratiam qui cum linguæ tum historiæ et politicæ gentis nostræ sunt studiosi, chartam integram, sive literas (quas ita vocant) patentes, publici juris facere, et Latinè interpretari, non pigebit."

He then gives the version marked (1.) in the following interlinear comparison, the whole being printed in the Anglo-Saxon character,[1] which would convey the notion that the document was written in that character, but, as has been already pointed out, this was not the case.　It will be seen that this edition contains some remarkable errors, which led Somner into extraordinary flights of translation.　In line 3, we find " freine" for *freme ;* in line 5, we have "þam" for *þan* ; the insertion, after " alle men" of the words "*paucula quædam hic deesse videntur hæc scilicet aut similia,* in alle þinᵹe þæꞇ," the necessity for which arose from his reading " oᵹꞇ" for *Rigt;* and again " mine" for *nime.*　In line 6, we find " eᵹꞇephær þurᵹ" for *egte wherþurg,* and " deaꝺlicheꞃꞃꞇan" for *deadliche ifoan.*　In line 8, the name " Canꞇelop" is printed for *Cantelow,* and this error is repeated in his Latin, but corrected in his English translation.

He concludes his notice of the word *unnan* with the following conjecture : " Verbum autem (unnan) licet à Saxonibus

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[1] The Roman letters C, G, e are regularly used instead of the corresponding Anglo-Saxon characters, and i is occasionally misprinted for ı.

et Normannis usurpatum, fortasse tamen originitus Latinum, et à verbo *annuo*, ni fallor, oriundum." This is an example of how etymological relations used to be assumed from a mere fortuitous resemblance of sound and sense. The word is strictly German; the Gothic form is *ansts*, modern high German *g-unst*, favour. See Dieff. Goth. Wört. i., 52, and the references there given.[1]   Bopp refers the word to the Sanscrit root *an*, to breathe.

The following is the Latin translation annexed to Somner's edition of the proclamation in his Dictionary. The peculiarities of this and the following translations will be considered hereafter. The original is in italics, the names being in roman letters; this peculiarity has been neglected as unimportant.

"Henricus Dei adjutorio Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegaviæ, Salutem mittit (i. dicit) omnibus fidelibus suis, clericis et laicis in Comitatu Huntindoniæ.   Vobis omnibus notum facimus, quod volumus et concedimus ut quod Consiliarii nostri omnes, sive major eorum pars, qui fuerint electi à nobis et à gentis plebe in Regno nostro, fecerint et facturi sint (i. decreverint) in honorem Dei, et fidelitatis quâ nobis obligantur intuitu, pro bono gentis, per consilium antedictorum consiliariorum, (eo nomine scilicet) firmum sit et stabile per omnia in perpetuum.   Et præcipimus omnibus fidelibus nostris, per fidem (vel, fidelitatem) quam nobis debent, ut firmiter observent et observare (vel, observaturos se) jurent et tueri, consulta quæ ab antedictis Consiliariis, sive à majori ipsorum parte, facta et facienda sunt, sicut prædictum est.   Et quod unusquisque, vigore ejusdem juramenti, contra omnes homines, in omnibus tum faciendis, tum recipiendis, ut id ita fiat et observetur, alter alteri sint auxilio.   Et (quod) nullus sive de terrâ (vel, gente) meâ, sive quacunque aliâ, per consilium hujusmodi (hujus scil. consilii obeundi causâ) impediatur, sive damnum patiatur, ullo modo.   Et si quis, sive vir sive fæmina, huic (edicto) contravenerit, volumus et mandamus ut omnes fideles nostri eos habeant infensissimos.   Et quia

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[1] The reference to Pott's list of roots should be 215* not 220*.

volumus ut hoc firmum sit et stabile, mittimus vobis hoc scriptum patens, sigillo nostro signatum, penes vos in archivo reponendum.   Teste nobis ipsis Londini decimo octavo die mensis Octobris anno Coronationis nostræ (vel, regni nostri) quadragesimo secundo.   Hoc autem gestum fuit coram juratis consiliariis nostris, Bonifacio, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Waltero de Cantilupo, Episcopo Wigorniensi, Simone de Monteforti, Comite Leicestrensi, Richardo de Clare, Comite Glocestrensi et Harfordiensi, Rogero Bigod, Comite Norfolciensi et Angliæ Marescallo, Petro de Sabaudia, Willilmo de Fort, Comite Albermarliæ, Johannis Plessiz, Comite Warwicensi, Johanne filio Galfridi, Petro de Monteforti, Richardo de Grey, Rogero de Mortuomari, Jacobo de Aldithel. et coram aliis pluribus.   Et omnino eisdem (vel totidem) verbis missum est in unumquemque per universum regnum Angliæ Comitatum, ac etiam usque in Hiberniam."

In Tyrrel's History of England, vol. 2, appendix, p. 26, (see next page,) there is given the following English translation by the same hand.

"*HENRY* by God's help, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Normandy*, and of *Aquitain*, and Earl of *Anjoy*, Greeting to all his faithful Clerks and Laics of *Huntingdonſhire* : This know ye all well, that we Will and *Grant*,[1] that which our Counſellors all, or the moſt part of them that be choſen by us, and the People[2] (or *Commons*) of our Land, have done, and ſhall do, for the Honour of God, and of their Allegiance to us, for the Benefit[3] (or Amendment) of the Land, by the Advice or Conſideration of our foreſaid Counſellors, be ſtedfaſt and perform'd in every thing for ever. And we Command all our Liege People in the Fealty that they owe us, that they stedfastly hold, and ſwear to hold [or keep] and to defend [or maintain] the Statutes [or Proviſions] which be made, and ſhall be made, by thoſe aforeſaid Counſellors, or by the more part of them, also as it is beforeſaid ; and that they each other aſſiſt the ſame to perform,

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[1] "Vnnen."

[2] "*Loandeſſolke* ſignifies the Common People, called by us *Folk* at this day. *Vid.* Dr. *Brady's Com. Hist.* p. 68."   [3] "Freme."

according to that fame Oath, againſt all Men, both for to do, and caufe to be done : And none neither of my Land, neither from elfewhere may for this be hindered, or damnified in any wife : and if any Man or Woman oppofe them againſt, we Will and Command that all our Liege People them hold for deadly Enemies ; and because we will, that this be ſtedfaſt and laſting, we fend you this Writ open, ſigned with your[1] Seal to be kept amongſt you in Store ;[2] witnefs our ſelf at *London* the 18*th* day of the Month of *October*, in the two and fortieth Year of our Coronation ; and this was done before our fworn Counfellors, *Boniface* Archbifhop of *Canterbury, Walter* of *Cantelow* Bifhop of *Worceſter, Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leiceſter, Richard* of *Clare* Earl of *Glouceſter* and of *Hartford, Roger Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* and Marefchal of *England, Peter* of *Savoy*, William of *Fort* Earl of *Aubemarle, John* of *Pleſſeiz* Earl of *Warwick, John Gefferiſſon, Peter* of *Montfort, Richard* of *Grey, Roger* of *Mortimer, James Aldithly*, and before others moe.

"AND all in thefe fame words is fent into every other Shire over the Kingdom of *England* and alfo into *Ireland.*"

2. *J. Tyrrel.*—The General History of England both Ecclesiastical and Civil, from the Beginning of the Reign of King William I (Commonly called the Conqueror) to the End of the Reign of King Henry the Third. Taken from the most Antient Records, Manuscripts & Printed Historians, 1696–1704, 3 vols folio. (Title to the Second Volume.)

Vol. 2. A.D. 1700. Appendix, p. 25. Here is given the edition marked No. 2 in the Interlinear Comparison. It is headed, " A Charter of King Henry the Third, in the old English of that Time, inforcing the late Provisions of Oxon. *Rot. Pat.* 43. *H.* 3. *M.* 15. *n°.* 40." With the following marginal note : " You may see this also in Somner's Saxon Dictionary, *sub verbo unnan,* to *give* or *grant.* It is written in *Saxon* Characters, and should have bin so here, but that it would have rendred it difficult to be read by most ordinary Readers." It is evident from this that the text is meant to be a transcription of Somner's. It gives all Somner's errors,

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[1] An evident misprint for *our.*   [2] " Hord."

and makes the same insertion, introduced by the same words, "paucula quædam hic deesse videntur, hæc scilicet aut similia: *in alle thinge thæt.*" But this version is also full of other and most extraordinary errors, whether of the press or the transcriber it is impossible to say, which have been more or less carefully repeated by Lyttelton, Henry, Latham, and Koch. Subjoined to this is the English translation by Somner given in the preceding number, p. 29.

In the body of his history (vol. 2, p. 990) Tyrrel says: "But I cannot omit another memorable old *English* Record in *Saxon* Characters of this year[1] which Dr. *Brady* hath either carelesly or else wilfully passed by, as perhaps not liking the Contents of it, being the King's Charter or Declaration to the Clergy and Laiety of *Huntingtonshire,*" and then he proceeds to abstract the proclamation, introducing the mistaken clause " that no Person whatsoever should be damnified in any wise on this account," which has therefore, through the error of Somner, crept into the history of our country.[2] At the conclusion of this abstract Tyrrel makes the following important remarks:—" There is also a Clause at the end of this Record, whereby it appears,

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[1] "Rot. Pat. 42. H. 3, M. 3. M. 15. Vid. Somner's *Saxon* Dictionary, Verb. *Vnnan.*"

[2] There is an important mistake in the translations of 34 Ed. 3, c. 1, pointed out in *J. B. Sharpe,* An Inquiry into the Origin of the Office and Title of the Justice of the Peace, 1841, p. 164, which is comparable to the above, because the translation also says exactly the reverse of the original, and the error has become part of the legal history of our country. The clause in the Royal Edition of the Statutes at large is, according to the work cited : " Et de prendre et arester touz ceux qils purront trover par enditement ou par suspecion et les mettre en prisone, et de prendre de touz ceux *qi sont de bone fame* ou ils serront trovez suffisant seurete et meinprise de lour bon port devers le Roi et son poeple, *et les autres duement punir.*" The sense is here clear ; all suspects are to be arrested, those having good characters are to give security, and the others are to be punished. But the translation orders " to take of all them *that be NOT of good fame,* sufficient surety, etc., *and THE OTHER duly to punish,*" that is, those of *bad fame* are to give security, and those of *good fame are to be punished !* Leaving out the latter nonsense, the practice of taking surety from those " not of good fame " is said to be founded on this statute. Mr. Sharpe observes that " in the royal edition . . . the word *not* in the English version is printed within brackets, with a note upon it stating ' all translations read thus,' " and also says that Rastall inserts the *ne* in French, but Cay omits it.

that the same was sent into every Shire of *England*, and also into *Ireland;* which is a plain proof, that that part of it which was then under the *English* Government, was obliged by the Laws made by the King and his Parliament of *England*, without the Consent of the Parliament there. This Writ or Charter, as appears by the Date, was made by the King and his new Counsellors, to confirm and reinforce the late Provisions made at *Oxford;* and since it is therein express'd, that these Counsellors were chosen by the *Folk* or *People* of the Land, it seems, that the *Commons* (as we now call them) had also a hand in the making of them."

3. *George Lord Lyttelton.*—The History of the life of King Henry the Second, and of the age in which he lived, in five books, etc., 2nd ed. 1767.

In the Second Book, vol. 2, p. 320, he says : " Ingulphus tells us,[1] that, in the reign of William the Conqueror, children were taught their first rudiments, not in the English but French language. Yet the desire, which, he says, was shewn by the Normans, to abolish the use of the English was never effected : but on the contrary, from the intermixture of the two nations a language was formed, in which the Saxon was much more prevalent than the Norman or French. We have a charter of King Henry the Third in the English of that time, which, as it is curious to see how near the language then written approached to that of the present century, I have given, with a translation of it into modern English, in the Appendix to this book, from Mr. Tyrrel's Appendix to the third[2] volume of his history of England. No small part of the difference between the original and the translation appears to be in the comparative length of the words, which we have now abridged, by leaving out some of the vowels then inserted, and omitting the syllable *en* at the end of many verbs ; as, for example, writing *land* instead of *loande,* and *send* instead of *senden* : an alteration which has not added to the harmony of the tongue."

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[1] " Gale's edit. p. 71."

[2] The reference should have been to the Appendix to the *second* volume, p. 25.

In a note on this passage, vol. 4, p. 130, he quotes the lines—

> Ure fadyr in heaven rich
> Thy name be halyed ever lich, etc.,

from Camden's Remains, p. 24, where they are asserted to have been sent in the time of Henry II. to Pope Adrian, an Englishman, but says that they appear to him to be more like the English of Lord Lyttelton's time than that of the Charter of Henry III.

In vol. 4, p. 253, being the N[o.] xxii. of the appendix to the third[1] book, is the copy of this proclamation. It is identically the same with the version in Tyrrel, No. 2 in the Interlinear Comparison, with the following trifling exceptions, the Italics being Lyttelton's and the Roman letters Tyrrel's words ; *worthness* worthnes, *that heo* thet heo, *foangen* foangen, *witness* witnes, *egtetenth* egtetenthe, *Warwick* Warwik, *inter* intel ; which are of course all misprints. It has therefore not been given as a separate edition in the Interlinear Comparison.   Then follows Somner's English translation, already given, as exhibited by Tyrrel.

4. *Rob. Henry.*—History of Great Britain from the first invasion of it by the Romans, under Julius Cæsar.   Written on a New Plan.   Six vols. 4to.   Edinburgh, 1781-1793.

Vol. 4, p. 584. "The Anglo-Saxon that was spoken in England about two hundred years after the conquest was surprisingly pure, with very little mixture of Latin, French, or any other language.   Of this the reader will be convinced, by perusing the specimen of that language which he will find in the Appendix, with a translation into modern English interlined."

Then in vol. 4, App. 4, p. 625 (wrongly referred to as App. 3), he gives the version marked (4) below, which he calls "A charter of Henry III., A.D. 1258, in the vulgar English of that time," without any indication of the source whence he derived it, but it is evidently taken from Tyrrel, as it reproduces Tyrrel's principal errors, and intro-

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[1] The marginal note says : "This was omitted in the Appendix to the Second Book, where it ought to have been placed as referring to p. 320 of that book," an error which made the discovery of the document rather difficult.

duces a few more, so that his version represents no state of
the language which could have been spoken.   Henry has
adopted the Roman type throughout, using the g in all cases,
but retaining æ.   He does not give the signatures or the
following remarks.   The inserted words *in alle thet heo* are
slightly different from those in Tyrrel *in alle thinge that*,
which were taken from Somner, and no notice of their not
forming part of the original is appended.   The translation,
which is original, and does not follow Somner's English
translation as given by Tyrrel,[1] is in many places a remark-
able instance of " forcing a construe," as they say at school.
Reserving the consideration of its principal absurdities, the
complete translation runs thus :

" Henry, through God's support, King of England, Lord
of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Acquitain, Earl of Anjou,
sends greeting, to all his subjects, learned and unlearned[2]
of Huntington-shire.   This know ye well all, that we will
and grant, what our counsellors all or the more part of
them, that be chosen through us and through the land-folk
of our kingdom, have done, and shall do, to the honour of
God, and our allegiance, for the good of the land, through
the determination of those before said counsellors, be stedfast
and permanent in all things without end, and we enjoin all
our lieges, by the allegiance that they us owe, that they
stedfastly hold and swear to hold and to maintain the
ordinances that be made and be to be made, through the
before said counsellors, or through the more part of them
also, as it is before said.   And that each other help that for
to do by them each other, against all men, in all that they
ought for to do, and to promote.   And none either of my
land, nor of elsewhere, through this business, may be im-
peded or damaged in any way.   And if any man or any
woman cometh them against, we will and enjoin, that all our
lieges them hold deadly foes.   And for that we will that

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[1] Tyrrel printed his copy of Somner's English version at the back of his page
containing the text, and with no indication on the preceding page (which is not
full) that the translation followed.   Hence Henry may have overlooked it.

[2] " Clergy and Laity."

this be stedfast and lasting, we send you this writ open, sealed with our seal, to keep amongst you in store. Witness ourself at London, the eighteenth day of the month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our crowning."

5. *R. G. Latham.* The English Language. First Edition, 1841.

4th edition, 1855, vol. 1, p. 314. "The following extract from *Henry's History*, (vol. viii.[1] append. iv.) is the proclamation of Henry III. to the people of Huntingdonshire, A.D. 1258. It currently passes for the earliest specimen of English." Then follows version (5) below, which, however, varies from Henry's in many minor points, and especially in a bold transposition of the words "mine of"—a mistake in Henry for "nime of"—into "of mine," by which the translation of Henry was apparently sought to be justified. The translation given by Dr. Latham is a verbatim transcript of Henry's, and he has not added a word of comment.

6. *C. Fr. Koch* Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache, 1863.

In vol. 1, p. 15, footnote, there is a copy of this proclamation, source unstated, and a translation. On comparing this edition with the other published texts, it seems to have been taken mainly from Dr. Latham's transcript of Henry's, with a few conjectural corrections and an attempt, not always consistently carried out, to restore þ ð ʒ on theoretical grounds. The translation that follows seems however to have been taken from Regel or from the French, as it does not translate Koch's text. It is certainly strange that the learned author of this valuable grammar should have allowed so faulty and incorrect a text to receive the sanction of his name. It has been printed as No. 6 immediately below Dr. Latham's in the interlinear comparison. The translation is as follows :—

"Heinrich, durch Gottes Gnade König in England, Herr in Irland, Herzog in der Normandie und in Aquitanien

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[1] Vol. iv. of the 4to. edition. I have not seen any other edition. It is possible that there may be a more recent one, and that the variations of Latham's text from Henry's may be due to the misprints in that later edition.

sendet Grusz an alle seine Getreuen, gelehrte und ungelehrte, in Huntingdonshire.   Das wiszet alle wohl, dasz wir wollen und wünschen, dasz alles, was unsere Räthe alle oder die Majorität derselben, welche durch uns und durch diese Landesgemeine gewählt worden sind, zur Ehre Gottes und in der Treue gegen uns durch die Verordnungen der vorgenannten Räthe zum besten des Landes gethan haben oder noch thun werden, immer und ohne Ende fest und bleibend sein sollen in allen Dingen; und wir gebieten allen unseren Getreuen bei der Treue, die sie uns schuldig sind, dasz sie die Gesetze, welche durch die oben genannten Räthe oder die Majorität derselben, so wie es zuvor gesagt ist, gemacht sind oder noch gemacht werden, beständig halten und sie zu halten und zu schirmen schwören, und dasz jeder dem anderen helfe nach demselben Eide gegen alle zu handeln, Recht zu üben und zu empfangen, und dasz keiner an Land und sonstiger Habe etwas nehme, wodurch diese Verordnung auf irgend eine Weise gehindert oder entwerthet werde, und wenn sich einer oder einige hiergegen vergehen, so wollen und gebieten wir, dasz alle unsere Getreuen sie als Todfeinde betrachten.   Und weil wir wollen, dasz dies fest und bleibend sei, senden wir euch diesen Brief offen, mit unserem Siegel bedruckt, bei euch im Schatze aufzubewahren.   Dessen sind wir selbst Zeuge zu London am 18. October im 42. Jahre unserer Krönung."

Koch gives no explanations, but merely remarks that as there is no French element in the language of this proclamation, it is not properly English, but Anglo-Saxon with with degraded forms (mit abgeschwächten Formen).

This completes the Somner group of editions, which, starting from one incorrect transcription, has gradually become extremely different from the original.

7. *Tho. Hearne.* Textus Roffensis. Accedunt, Professionum antiquorum Angliæ Episcoporum Formulæ, de Canonica obedientia Archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus præstanda, et Leonardi Hutteni Dissertatio anglice conscripta, de antiquitatibus Oxoniensibus.   E codicibus MSS. descripsit ediditque T. H. Oxonii e theatro Sheldoniano, 1720.

Preface, p. xxiii. § 8. "Quinimmo et ipsi Anglici codices, quorum vis ingens exstat, post Normannorum in hanc insulam introitum, usque ad cœnobiorum dissolutionem, Codicum Anglo-Saxonicorum adeo similes sunt, ut sæpissime tam verba, quam et ipsos characteres Anglo-Saxonum retineant. Atque id genus est Charta quædam, Anglice scripta, Henrici tertii, quam è pugillaribus nostris ad calcem operis hujus subnexui, quippe è qua et res gestæ tunc temporis in publico regni ordinum conventu illustrari queant."

Appendix, Num. VI., p. 391, "E Coll. nostris MSS. vol. lxxxviii., p. 49. Pat. 43, H. 3, no' 40. m' 15. Intus." With the marginal title, "Carta in idiomate Anglico missa ad singulos Comitatus Angliæ." Then follows the version marked (7) below, in a curious mixture of Roman and Anglo-Saxon characters. Thus the Anglo-Saxon ᴛ ρ ᴣ, are almost, not quite, invariably used for *t*, *r*, *g*, and no other Anglo-Saxon characters are employed. As Hearne has not pursued the same plan in other parts of his book,[1] this very singular application of Anglo-Saxon letters joined to the expression "ipsos characteres Anglo-Saxonum retineant," would naturally lead the reader to suppose that it was an imitation of the original MS., which, however, never employs ρ, but does employ þ, a letter that Hearne never uses. There will be found a large number of minor errors of orthography, but the gross blunders of Somner are generally corrected. Hearne had only printed from his own notes, and either these were inaccurate, or he had not corrected the proofs perfectly enough. Two strange errors, *ileamede* near the beginning and *and And* near the end, have a footnote with 'sic' attached; but they are not in the MS. Still the many errors here found make one feel doubtful as to the correctness of Hearne's numerous other publications in early English. After giving the proclamation, he adds : "Indorsed by Dr. Barlow : Rot. Pa. de Anno 43'. Hen. 3. in Turri Londin. In confir-

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[1] At least as regards old English or Anglo-Saxon, but in Appendix V. p. 387, Hearne has printed portions of a *Latin* MS., the original of which, he says, was "in a sort of Longobardic character" in the same way. In the body of the work, pp. 1 and 110, he prints Anglo-Saxon in the complete Anglo-Saxon alphabet.

mation of what the Parliament had done or should doe."
This endorsement is erroneous; the proclamation does not
relate to the Parliament, but to the council of twenty-four
nobles.   The apostrophe used in the present transcription of
Hearne's edition represents his line over the preceding letter.
No subsequent editor seems to have followed Hearne.

8. *Sam. Henshall.*—The Saxon and English Languages
reciprocally illustrative of each other ; the impracticability
of acquiring an accurate knowledge of Saxon literature,
through the medium of Latin Phraseology, exemplified in
the errors of Hickes, Wilkins, Gibson, and other scholars,
and a new mode suggested of radically studying the Saxon
and English Languages, by S. H., M.A., Fellow of Brazen-
nose College, Oxford, and Author of Specimens and Parts of
the History of South-Britain.   4to.   1798.

This curious book, for a knowledge of which I am indebted
to Mr. Payne, of the Philological Society, has the following
introductory remarks : "The Study of the Anglo-Saxon
Language has certainly engaged the attention of able Scholars
and learned Divines.   The ancient Records of this realm
have been collected with laudable assiduity, many of them
have been printed with a Version, and more liberally trans-
lated.   To assert that no correct idea can be collected from
the laborious exertions of a Hickes, a Gibson, or a Wilkins ;
to affirm that their Latin interpretations are of little autho-
rity, unintelligible, and delusory ; argues certainly a daring
Challenger, or a Champion conscious of the merits of his
cause, and therefore not easily intimidated.   The present in-
vestigator relies little on his own knowledge, but is confident
in the errors of his opponents ; he is better acquainted with
antient Latin Records than Saxon Documents, but having
been compelled, in the course of his investigations, to con-
sult the Thesaurus of Hickes, the Leges Saxonicæ of Wilkins,
&c. and finding it impossible to form any certain inference
from their Latin jargon, he was necessitated to examine the
Original, in its vernacular idiom.   Of the result of this inves-
tigation let others judge ; but before condemnation is passed,
let the evidence be candidly weighed by the judgment of a

discerning jury. For this purpose we shall submit the
Original in Saxon Characters, with the Version and Inter-
pretation of the Editor's in one page; the Original, in
Roman Characters, with the literal verbatim Rendering,
in italics, on the other, that a just verdict[1] of their merits
may be returned by an honest and impartial juryman."

It might seem scarcely worth while to give the edition and
translation of this extremely ignorant and confident writer.
But he had actually examined the original of the proclama-
tion, and he does amend some of the grossest errors of
Somner, although he makes at the same time most extra-
vagant errors of his own, some of them being conjectural
emendations! It was therefore necessary to print his
edition in the interlinear comparison of all known editions,
and to annex his translation, which is a curiosity of litera-
ture. The following are the principal peculiarities of his
edition, the italic representing his words. *King ou Englene-
loande*, king on Engleneloande; and throughout the title *ou*
for on;[2] *hol theilærde*,[3] holde ilærde, *uunē* vnnen, *othe* other,
beoh beoþ, *freime* freme, *besighte* besiȝte, *thantsforen iseide* þan
to foreniseide, *mine of loande* nime of loande, *egte-whær, thurg
his besigte*, egte, wherþurȝ þis besiȝte, *deadliche. If than*,
deadliche ifoan, *wi selven*, vs seluen. He has given Somner's
edition in Anglo-saxon characters[4] and translation in Latin.
His own version with the footnotes is as follows; the words
which he supposes he translates have been here occasionally
annexed in italics. His complete text forms No. 8 in the
interlinear comparison. He introduces it thus: "The next
Specimen we shall exhibit is an antient Proclamation of

[1] "Vere-dictum."

[2] "In Bibliotheca Astleianâ uniformly ou not on." Henshall's book is dedi-
cated to Thomas Astle, F.R.S., and this note apparently refers to a MS. in Mr.
Astle's private collection, as I cannot find any notice of such a work as Biblio-
theca Astleiana, although it is again quoted by Henshall on p. 30, for his
extracts from King Alfred's Will, which was published as a separate work by Mr.
Astle. But see Astle's Fragment, infrà p. 51.

[3] "A different division of letters is adopted."—*Henshall.* He does not notice
that he has also written *th* for *d.*

[4] This transcript is generally correct, even to Somner's erroneous *freine* for
freme, whence perhaps Henshall's own *freime*, but exhibits *ilewed, his writ* for
Somner's *ilæwed, þis writ.*

Henry the third, which Somner considers a Saxon Record, Lord Lyttleton an Old-english Document. — *Som. Dict. ad verbum unnan.*" The allusion to Lyttelton must be to his heading, after Tyrrel, "A Charter in the old English of that time," see above No. 2 and No. 3, pp. 31 and 32.

"Henry, through God's fultume,[1] King of Englandsland, Lord[2] of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou, send I greeting (*send igretinge*) to all his whole (*hol*) servants of the Lord[3] (*theilaerde*), and allowed[4] (*ilewede*) of Huntingdon Shire, that ween[5] (*witen*) ye well all, that we will and wull,[6] that that our Read-men[7] all, or the more Deal of them, that be chosen thorough us, and thorough that Lands-folk[8] in our King's Reach (*Kyneriche*), haveth done and shall do, in the Worthiness of God, and in our Truth, for the Freemen (*Freime*) of the Land, thorough the sight (*besighte*) of the heretofore said Read-men, be stedfast and lasting, in all things without end. And we ordain[9] all our true (men)

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[1] "Fultume, or Fulture, from Fultura, Support."

[2] "Lif·erth—Life-earth—Source of Life, or of Bread, *Loaf*, hence *Bread* is the *Stuff*, or *Staff*, of *Life*."

[3] "From theow Servants, hence modern thief, and the Provincialism, 'Do you *thou* me, *i.e.* call me a slave?'—in Lancashire Dialect still theow."

[4] "Allowed, lawful—Pacem Regis habentes in the Law—neither Villains or Thiefs—hence Alloy, or Allay—lawful money with a proportion of lawful base Metal."

[5] "The true Derivation of Words will so easily and naturally appear, from these Sources, that it will be frequently unnecessary to comment on them."

[6] "Somner gives this Charter in his Dictionarium Saxonico-latino-anglicum, under the Verb unnan, a word no where found but in this passage, according to his conception of the passage.—The Original is abbreviated thus, wunē, and from the common expression in Lancashire, 'I will and wull,' we have little doubt that our Interpretation is correct.—Lye is subject to this error." [Henshall prints uunē in his text and wunē in the note; the word is distinctly vnnē in the original.]

[7] "Men of Letters—Reading—Witens—or Wisemen."

[8] "The Folk of that County—Knights of that County—Communitas—for similar Writs were directed to each Shire of England and *Ireland*—Tyrrel's Common People is ridiculous, for there never was a Knight from an Irish *Election*, a *Representative* to an English Parliament—but of this in our History." [This allusion to Tyrrel is evidently to the note to Somner's English translation on the words *Loandes folke*, suprà p. 29, note 2. It was this allusion which led me to discover Tyrrel's edition.]

[9] "Higt, to command—Skinner—hence English ordain — heaten, a thing ordained."

in the Truth that they us owe, that they stedfastlike holden, and swearen to holden, and to warden, the settinesses[10] that bin maked and bin to make, thorough the heretofore said Read-men, or thorough the more deal of them, also as it is beforsaid. And that each other help that for to do by their ilk[11] Oath, against all men right for to do, and to fang.[12] And none nor of mine Land, not of oughtwhere,[13] thorough his setting (*besigte*) may be lett, or worsed in any wise. And if ony[14] or any come here against, we will and ordain that all our truemen them holden deadly.[15] If then, and for that we will that this be stedfast and lasting, we send you this Writ open signed with our Seal to hold amongst you in Herd.[16] Witness ourselves at London the eighteenth Day in the Month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our crowning. And this was done afore our sworn Read-men Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter of Cantilupe Bishop of Worcester, Simon of Montfort Earl of Leicester."

9. *Tho. Rymer*. Fœdera, Conventiones, Litteræ, . . . ab. A.D. 1066 ad nostra usque tempora habita aut tractata. Accurantibus A. Clarke, et Fred. Holbrooke, 1816–30. (Published by the Record Commission.)

The French version, not quite correctly printed,[1] and

[10] "Setnesses, things set at the Sitting, what was determined at the Sitting or Sessions, synonymous to Assize Assia.—Hence behest, be sit, or set—what ordained at the Session."   [11] "Ilk, Spencer the *same*."

[12] "Destruction fang Mankind—Shakespeare, Timon.—We still have Dogsfangs, Teeth, the Holders, consequently hold." [The passage in Shakspere, is Timon, Act 4, Sc. 3, v. 23; in the folio 1623, it is spelled "Destruction phang mankinde."]   [13] "Any where—a Lancashire provincialism."

[14] "Ony, Lancashire for any.—Here oni and onie are the masculine and feminine gender, Man or Woman."

[15] "In the language of that age, wolf-headed, gerentes caput-lupinum."

[16] "In Congregation—a Number assembled."

[1] The following are the principal errors, the numbers refer to the lines of the original French MS.

	Rymer.	*Original.*		*Rymer.*	*Original.*
				Giueons.	enueons.
1	le grace.	la grace.			
	Aquitien.	Aqui'en.	7	checun.	chescun.
	ke se ke.	ke ce ke.		testmoin.	tesmoin.
3	establemenz.	establissemenz.		arceveske.	arceeueske.
4	s'entreeident.	sentreeident.	9	Forz.	fort.
5	purveaunce.	purueance.		Warrewyk.	de Warrewyka.
6	ea us.	feaus.			
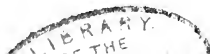
with the uniform substitution of *v, j,* for the consonant, and *u, i* for the vowel, is contained in vol. 1, p. 377. The contractions are all extended.

Vol. i. p. 378, exhibits the Old English version. This copy contains the principal blunders of Somner, which had been avoided by Hearne, and is disgraceful in a work issued by Government, and professing to give a copy of a public record. The errors are not merely philological or orthographical, but seriously affect the signification of the document. This Old English version is printed in the Anglo-Saxon character throughout, with, therefore, no distinction between *th* þ and *g* ȝ, and with the contraction ꝺ for *and.* The signatures are appended, and are arranged in a column. No translation is given. It is entitled : " Carta Regis in idiomate Anglico, ad singulos comitatus Angliæ et Hiberniæ, super reformatione statûs regni, per proceres ejusdem regni," which is not quite a correct description. This is the version marked (9) below.

10. *George L. Craik.* Outlines of the History of the English Language, for the use of the Junior Classes in Colleges and the Higher Classes in Schools. London, 1851, by G. L. C., Professor of History and English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast.

On p. 125 Prof. Craik gives this proclamation, professedly copied from the Record Commission edition of Rymer's *Fœdera,* as in No. 9. Prof. Craik has, however, adopted the Roman character throughout, using th, ae for þ, æ, and sometimes g, sometimes gh,y for ȝ. He has corrected one error in Rymer, ꞇꞃeop oꞃe in line 6 for *treowe* alone. But he has been induced by the stupid mistake in Rymer of oȝꞇ for Riȝt, to insert the words *in alle thaet heo,* inserted without comment by Henry as a correction of Somner, saying : " These words are not in the copy here followed, but seem to be required by the sense," although the extraordinary false grammar *heo oȝt* for *heo oȝen,* which they introduce, ought to have shewn a professor of English literature that the words could not have formed part of the original. He has not given the signatures or subsequent remarks, but he has added a translation

(chiefly from Henry, and indeed following him in one in-
stance where his own text differed from Henry's, viz., in
having *bi tham ilche othe,* line 5, for Henry's *bitham ilche other*),
which may be taken as a warning to those who would trans-
late the untranslateable. This is the following version (10).

Craik's translation is as follows : — "Henry, through
God's help, King in England, Lord in Ireland, Duke in
Normandy, in Aquitain, and Earl in Anjou, sends greeting
to all his subjects, learned and lay, in Huntingdonshire.
This know ye well all that we will and grant that that our
counsellors, all or the more part of them, that be chosen
through us and through the land's folk in our kingdom,
have done and shall do, in the honour of God and in our
truth (allegiance), for the good of the land, through the
business (act) of those toforesaid counsellors, be steadfast and
lasting in all things but (without) end. And we enjoin all
our lieges, in the truth (allegiance) that they us owe, that
they steadfastly hold, and swear to hold and to defend the
ordinances that be made and be to make through the to-
foresaid counsellors, or through the more part of them, also
as it is before said. And that each other help that for to do,
by them (to) each other against all men (in all that they)
ought for to do and to promote. And none, nor of my land
nor elsewhere, through this business may be let (hindered)
or damaged in any wise. And if any man or any woman
come them against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges
them hold deadly foes. And, for that we will that this be
steadfast and lasting, we send you this writ open, signed with
our seal, to hold amongst you in hoard (store). Witness
ourselves at London, this eighteenth day in the month of
October, in the two and fortieth year of our crowning."

11. *Dr. Reinhold Pauli*, Geschichte von England, mit
einem Vorworte von J. M. Lappenberg, vol. iii. Hamburg,
1853.

On p. 909-11, Dr. Pauli gives the French and English
version of the proclamation from Rymer.

In the French version the contractions are extended, the
u, i consonants are printed *v, j*, the *v* vowel is printed *u*, and

the capitals are modernised. A few variations both from
Rymer and the original, which the author had clearly never
seen, occur. As compared with the original we may note
the following, where the italics represent Dr. Pauli's words
(merely extended contractions are not noticed): *establemenz*
establissemenz ; *s'entreeident* sentreeident ; *purveaunce* pur-
ueance ; *Giueons* enueons ; *checun* chescun ; *en tresor* entresor ;
Testmoin tesmoin ; *Wyrcestr'* Wyrecestr' ; *de Forz* de Fort ;
Warrewyk de Warrewyka.

The English version is evidently a conjectural restoration
from Rymer's text, which he says truly is *arg verstümmelt*,
cruelly mutilated. By the help of the French Pauli has been
able to avoid all the serious errors which make nonsense
of the passages in which they occur. He adopts the Roman
character with the exception of þ, and he rightly uses *th* in
Northfolk and *Aldithel*. But he does not employ ȝ in any
part of the proclamation. The *u, i* consonants are made into
v, j, and *v* vowel into *u*. The contractions are not generally
extended. This version, although conjectural, comes so
close to the original that it will be interesting to mark the
differences, in addition to those depending on the use of *g* for
both ȝ and *g,* the use of *u, v, i, j,* punctuation, capitals, and
extended contractions. The italics represent Pauli's words :
Irloand Yrloand' ; *toforeniseide* to foreniseide ; þe *isetnesses*
þo isetnesses ; *toforeniseide* to foren iseide ; *whereþurg* wher-
þurȝ ; *or* oþer ; *gif onie oþer onie* ȝif oni oþer onie ;
amanges a manges ; *ine hord* inehord ; *usseluen* vs seluen ;
two and fowertigþe Twoandfowertiȝþe ; *Cantelop* Cantelow ;[1]
Engleneloand Engleneloand' ; *Geffreessune* Geffrees sune.
An accidental omission, either in copying or in printing,
makes Pauli read in line 9, *Will' of Fort eorl on Warewik'*,
for, Will' of Fort eorl on Aubem' ; Joh' of Plesseiz, eorl on

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[1] The Bishop of Worcester's name is generally Cantelupe. But in the English
version it is very distinctly *Cantelow*, and in the French *Cantelou*. Somner and
Rymer give *Cantelop*, with a distinct *p*, not the Anglo-Saxon *p*, but Somner
has *Cantelow* in his English Version ; the letters p þ are easily confused, but in
the original MS. w and not þ is used. If the copy of the Burton version of the
French in the Ann. Mon. (suprà p. 26) is to be trusted, that copyist gave the
name as de *Cantilupo*.

Warewik'. This is certainly far superior to the other versions which had appeared, but it had not the authority of the original document, with which it had never been compared. The only serious errors are *þe* for *þo*, *whereþurg* for *wherþurȝ*, *or* for *oþer*, and *Cantelop* for Cantelow, and these would not alter the meaning. Pauli gives no translation.

12. *Haupt's* Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum. Leipzig. In vol. xi., pp. 294-358, published in 1856, there is an article headed "*Der offene brief könig Heinrichs III. vom 18. October* 1258," signed Karl Regel, and dated Gotha. The contents of these sixty-four pages are as follows :—Account of the versions in Rymer, and the historical circumstances which gave rise to the issue of the proclamation, p. 294. The English text, after Pauli (see No. 11 above) with conjectural emendations, p. 297; German translation of the same, p. 299. Consideration of the words of foreign origin, *Aquitain', Aniow, Muntfort, Sauveye, Plesseiz, Grey, Mortemer, duk, marescal, bischop, archebishop, ilaewede, iseined, seel, cruninge,* as he writes them, p. 300. Observations on the words, as he writes them (1) *a buten aende;* (2) *fultume;* (3) *halde;* (4) *unnen;* (5) *moge;* (6) *ilet;* (7) *other;* (8) *ilche, aehc, aeurihce;* (9) *aetforen, to foren, biforen;* (10) *agenes, ongenes, amanges;* (11) *in to, in tel,* (12) *alswo, alse;* (13) *al;* (14) *ek, gif, for thaet, ne, nimen, egte, freme, besigte,* p. 303. Relation of the orthography to the Anglo-Saxon, *a, u, i, e, ae, ea, eo, o, oa, ȝ, ch, hc, lk,* p. 326. Consideration of the inflexions, p. 354. Conclusion, p. 358.

Regel concludes that the language is "decidedly semi-Saxon," being nearest to Layamon, but in respect to its efforts to be orderly, closer to the Ormulum, while it surpasses both in particular archaisms, but shows traces of transition to a later form.

The copy which Regel gives uses only Roman letters, employing *th, g, ae,* throughout, for þ, ȝ, æ. The *v* vowel is made *u,* and *u* consonant is written *v.* The capitals and punctuation are changed. Taking no notice of these, certainly important and arbitrary alterations, there will be found the following variations from the original MS., Regel's words

being in italics: *Irloand* Yrloand', *ilaewede* ileawede, *a buten* abuten, *the isetnesses* þo isetnesses, *amanges* a manges, *ine hord* inehord, *Cantelop* Cantelow, *Aubern'* Aubem', *Roger of Mortemer* Rog' of Mortemer.   These changes, after allowing for the *ae, u, v, th, g,* are with the exception of *þe, Cantelop, Aubern,'* for *þo, Cantelow, Aubem,'* utterly insignificant. The alterations *ilaewede, a buten,* for *ileawede, abuten,* have been made on theoretical grounds.   Regel's text is given as No. 12 in the Interlinear Comparison.

The following is Regel's translation :—"Heinrich, durch gottes[1] gnade könig in England, herr in Irland, herzog in der Normandie (und) in Aquitanien, und graf in Anjou, sendet grüsse an alle seine getreuen, gelehrte und ungelehrte, in Huntingdonshire.   Das wisset alle wohl dass wir wollen und verfügen dass alles was die gesamtheit oder die majorität unserer reichsräthe, welche durch uns und durch diese landesgemeinde in unserem königreich erwählt worden sind, zur ehre gottes und in der treue gegen uns kraft der verordnungen der vorbesagten räthe zum besten des landes gethan haben und noch thun werden, fest und bleibend sein soll in allen stücken immer and ohne ende; und wir gebieten allen unseren getreuen bei der treue welche sie uns schuldig sind dass sie die gesetze, welche durch die vorbesagten räthe oder durch die majorität derselben in der art wie es vorher angegeben worden ist bereits abgefasst sind oder noch abzufassen sein mögen, beständig halten und sie zu halten und zu schirmen schwören,—und dass jeder dem andern kraft desselben eides gegen jedermänniglich helfe das zu vollbringen, recht zu thun und sein recht zu empfangen, und dass keiner weder an land noch an sonstiger habe etwas annehme wodurch diese verordnung auf irgend eine weise gehindert oder entkräftet werden könne, und wenn sich einer oder einige hiergegen vergehen, so wollen und gebieten wir dass alle unsere getreuen diese als todfeinde betrachten sollen; und weil wir wollen dass dies fest und dauernd sei, senden wir euch diesen brief offen mit unserem siegel be-

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[1] The article is printed in Roman type, and no capital letters are used for substantives.   The *ss* and *sz* are both printed "fs," for which *ss* only is here used.

zeichnet, bei euch im schatze aufzubewahren. Dessen sind
wir selbst zeuge zu London am 18n October im 42sten jahre
unserer krönung. und dies wurde vollzogen in gegenwart
unserer geschworenen reichsräthe Bonifacius, erzbischof von
Canterbury u. s. w. und in gegenwart andrer edlen, und
wird in ganz gleicher wortfassung in jede andere grafschaft
überall im königreiche von England und auch bis nach Ireland
geschickt."

With regard to the alteration *a buten aende* Regel cites,
Ormulum 2228

> And tatt him shollde hiss kinedom
> á lastenn *butenn ende.*

and says that the full phrase is to be found in Orm. 2090
æfre á butenn ende. The simple formula *a buten ænde* cor-
responds to the Prayer Book translation, "We worship thy
name ever world without end," of the Latin "laudamus
nomen tuum in sæculum et in sæculum sæculi," in the *Te
Deum.* But the proclamation writes *abuten ænde* very dis-
tinctly, so that probably the habitual recurrence of *a*, ever, in
connection with *buten ænde* had entirely obliterated the con-
sciousness of its being anything but the common *a* prefix.

As regards *kuneriche* which is here used as a feminine, *ouer
al þære kuneriche,* Regel remarks that it is neuter in Ormu-
lum, *þatt halge kineriche* 17173, though feminine in Laȝa-
mon, of *þessere kineriche* 28755, to *þissere kineriche* 11217,
28777.

No other editor has given so complete and careful an
account of this document. It is a pity that he did not give
the French original as well as the English, and that he
should have committed the error of saying that Pauli pub-
lished the text *nach dem originale,* after the original, citing
a note of Pauli's which only shews where the original was to
be found. It is very evident that Pauli had never seen the
original.[1]

[1] Regel says: "Ich lasse nun zunächst den text dieser urkunde folgen, und
zwar wie ihn Pauli (gesch. v. England bd 3 s. 910, 911. vergl. s. 725 anm. 3 und
909 anm. 1) nach dem originale (Rotul. 43. Pat. 15) mit mehrfachen wichtigen
berichtigungen des abdruckes in den Foederibus mittheilt ; die abweichungen
dieses letzteren werde ich unter dem texte hinzufügen." Regel however omits to

13. *G. P. Marsh.* The origin and history of the English Language and of the Early Literature it embodies. London, 1862.

In Lecture 5, pp. 189–199, there is a long account of this proclamation. The writer acutely remarks that as the proclamation was sent into all counties, " the probability is strong, that this translation . . . was not written in the peculiar local dialect of any one district, but in the form which most truly corresponded to the general features of the popular speech, in order that it might be everywhere intelligible. It must then be considered the best evidence existing of the condition of English at any fixed period in the thirteenth century.[1]" He also combats the notion that the writing is antiquated because legal, inasmuch as no legal documents were written in Early English, and this is " the only *public* document known to have been promulgated in the native tongue during the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries . . . . there were, then, at that time no ' established phrases of form' in the political dialect of the English language." The text which Mr. Marsh gives is an accurate transcript of Regel's (No. 12 above), but Mr. Marsh attributes it to Pauli; from whose text it differs in the following words (the italics are Pauli's text): *duk* duk'; *alle* all; *abuten* a buten; *or* other; *gif onie* gif oni; *usseluen* usselven. Of these, *all* is erroneous, and *other, oni* are correct. Mr. Marsh justly observes that the changes of þ ȝ, into *th g*, " are as unjustifiable as it would be to substitute *g* for γ, or *ch* for χ in printing a unique Greek manuscript."

As regards *gif oni other onie*, as he reads, he says : " Regel supposes the *e* final in the latter example to be the sign of the plural; others have treated it as a feminine singular ending. The question cannot be determined by the syntax, for the plural [of the following verb *cumen* might] have been used after an alternative, but the distinction of the gram-

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name Rymer's error of *ne mine of loande* for *ne nime of loande.* He points out Pauli's slip by which Will of Fort is made Earl of Warwick, and attributes it to an error of the press.

[1] In point of fact, it will be seen hereafter that the dialect is very mixed showing marked peculiarities of the Southern, Midland, and Northern uses.

matical gender was now so little regarded[1] that the *e* is, most probably, a plural sign.   The original French of the proclamation, which, unfortunately, my authority does not give, would decide the question."   He translates " if any [sing.] or any [plural] transgress here against."   The French *se nul v nuz viegnent* of course decides the matter.

As respects Regel's orthographical remarks, Mr. Marsh says : " However ingenious may be his views, it appears to me that, in the excessive irregularity of all orthography at that period, we may find sufficient reason for doubting whether we are yet in possession of sufficient data to justify any positive conclusions on the relations between the spoken and the written tongue of England in the middle of the thirteenth century."   It seems, on the contrary, that the orthography of any careful writer, not a mere copyist, at that time was wonderfully regular, considering the defective character of the alphabet, which obliged the scribe to form his own habits sometimes in the course of his work, and the individual and local differences of pronunciation.[2]   But Regel makes little attempt to fix the pronunciation ; his only object is to shew the Anglo-Saxon spellings to which those in the proclamation correspond.

The following is Mr. Marsh's translation :—

" Henry, by the grace of God, king in (of) England, lord in (of) Ireland, duke in (of) Normandy, in (of) Aquitaine,

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[1] Yet just before in this very proclamation we have " iwersed on *onie* wise," where *onie* is feminine.

[2] The following observations of Mr. Marsh will shew that he is not particularly well versed in phonetical considerations.   He finds that " the combination *hw*, *wh*, is not only incapable of prolongation, but cannot be uttered at all without the aid of a third element namely, a vowel following," p. 172, note.   Of course (wh) can be readily prolonged indefinitely.   He goes on to say, " There are, however, a few sounds which may be indefinitely prolonged, and yet seem to be composed of two still more elementary articulations.   I refer to those into which the *y* consonant appears to enter as a subordinate component.   The English *ch*, *sh*, are very nearly *t+y*, and *s+y*, and in some orthographies, the Swedish, for example, in which *j* corresponds to our *y* consonant, they are expressed accordingly, as t j ä d e r, in English spelling, *chader*, s j ä l, *shall*," etc.   Here *sh* = (sh) is a simple sound, distinct though often derived from *s+y* = (sɹ), and *ch* = (tsh) is a compound sound, distinct though often derived from *t+y* = (tɹ), and when *ch* is prolonged the only sound heard is (sh), which, being simple, can be prolonged indefinitely.

and earl in (of) Anjou, sends greeting to all his lieges, clerk
and lay, in Huntingdonshire.   This know ye well all, that
we will and grant that what our councillors, all or the major
part of them, who are chosen by us and by the land's people
in our kingdom, have done and shall do, to the honour of
God and in allegiance to us, for the good of the land, by
the ordinance of the aforesaid councillors, be stedfast and
permanent in all things, time without end, and we command
all our lieges by the faith that they owe us, that they sted-
fastly hold, and swear to hold and defend the regulations that
are made and to be made by the aforesaid councillors, or by
the major part of them, as is before said, and that each
help others this to do, by the same oath, against all men,
right to do and to receive, and that none take of land or
goods, whereby this ordinance may be let or impaired in any
wise, and if any [sing.] or any [plural] transgress here
against, we will and command that all our lieges them hold
as deadly foes, and because we will that this be stedfast and
permanent, we send you these letters patent sealed with our
seal, to keep among you in custody.   Witness ourself at
London the eighteenth day in the month of October in the
two and fortieth year of our coronation.   And this was done
before our sworn councillors : [Signatures] and before other
nobles [?]   And all in the same words is sent into every
other shire over all the kingdom in (of) England and also
into Ireland."

14. *A. J. Ellis*, March, 1861, the privately printed copy
of the proclamation already named.   This edition does not
distinguish the extended contractions, interlineations or era-
sures, nor the differences ɪ, í or ſ, s, nor does it mark ẏ, or
the commencement of the original lines.   Though ȝ, g are
usually distinguished, *agenes, ongenes, Rigt* are printed for
aȝeneſ, onȝeneſ, Rıȝt.   The errors *halde, onien,* for *holde,
onie* also occur ; their origin is explained on p. 12 and 13.
Both had been the result of an examination, but not of a
sufficiently careful examination of the MS.   It has not been
considered necessary to give this or its transcript, No. 15, in
the Interlinear Comparison.   The same edition contains the

French Proclamation also with the errors e n i o n i o n s, G i u e o n s, s c e l e e s, s c e l, for e n í o í n o n s, e n u e o n s, s e e l e e s, s e e l. The correct readings were not ascertained till after repeated careful examination of the original manuscript, and comparison of various words containing the same combinations of letters.

15. *R. G. Latham*, Dec. 1866. This is a transcript of No. 14, in Dr. Latham's new edition of Johnson's Dictionary, preface, p. lxxxiv,[1] in which all the errors in both versions mentioned under No. 14 occur, with the exception of *Riȝt*, which is correct.

16. *A. J. Ellis*, the edition in the present paper, which is as far as possible a correct reprint of the original manuscript. The proofs and the revised proofs of the English Version have been most carefully corrected by the original, every letter of which has been viewed through a strong glass for this purpose.

To the above more or less complete editions, we may add the following :—

T. Astle. Facsimile of a Fragment of the Proclamation. Henshall, as we have seen (p. 39, note 2), refers to the *Bibliotheca Astleiana*, a work which I have not been able to find. But Thomas Astle, F.R.S., keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, and Cataloguer of the Harleian and Cottonian MSS., to whom Henshall dedicates his work, and to whose library he had access, wrote: The Origin and Progress of Writing as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary, illustrated by engravings taken from Marbles, Manuscripts, and Charters ancient and modern ; also some account of the Origin and Progress of Printing, 2nd ed. 1803, 4to. In this work, plate 20, No. 11, he gives what is intended to be a fac-

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[1] I had printed the two versions side by side, with the heading "French and English Proclamation of King Henry III., 18 Oct. A.D. 1258," the first four words happening to lie over the French Version which was placed on the left, and the last words over the English Version on the right, Dr. Latham has placed the English Version first (although the French stands first on the record,) and has headed it with the date "18 Oct. A.D. 1258," while over the *French* Version, which he has appended, without a word of explanation, remains the now incomprehensible heading "French *and English* Proclamation." There seems to have been a fate against any accurate publication of this unhappy proclamation.

simile of the first four lines of the proclamation, those in which
fewest errors have been commonly made.   In this facsimile,
which Mr. Astle from his position had peculiar opportunities of
making, and should have had peculiar aptitude, or at least an
acquired habit, for accurately correcting, reading, and trans-
lating, I find the following errors : Line 1, h a l d e very
distinctly and unmistakably marked for h o l d e.   Line 2,
after k u n e r ı c h e, the point (:) instead of the period (.) ;
and, strangely enough, ı d e n for ı d o n.   Line 3, ı n for í n,
the flourish over the í is generally mistaken, either omitted,
or made horizontal ī, as if a contraction for i*n* ; r o d e f m e n.
for r e d e f m e n:, þ ı n g e for þ í n g e ; h a a t e n most dis-
tinctly for h o a t e n.   Line 4, h e ı l d e n very distinctly for
h e a l d e n, s w e r e n for s w e r í e n, and w e r ı e n for
w e r í e n.   We ought certainly to have expected better
things in a *facsimile*.   What trust can be reposed in any of
Astle's engraved plates after such sins as the above ?

On p. 143 we read : " Although the writing called the Law
English is much like the modern Gothic, we shall mention it
in this place, because the instruments written by the English
lawyers, in the English language, from the thirteenth to the
sixteenth century, are in characters very different from those
used by our Ecclesiastics and Monks, which last is descended
from the Saxon, as will presently appear under the head of
Modern Gothic writing. The twentieth plate contains several
specimens of this first kind of writing, The eleventh number
in this plate is taken from the Patent Roll of the 43d of king
Henry III. (M. 15,) and contains a curious specimen of the
English language of that time, which is to be read :

"' Henr̃ thurg Godes fultume King on Engleneloande
Lhoaverd on Yrland Duk on Norm. on Aquitain 7 Eorl on
Aniow. send igretinge to alle hise holde ilærde 7 ilæwedl on
Huntendon Schir—that witen ge wel alle that we willen and
unnen that that ure rædesmen alle other the moare del of
heom that beoth ichosen thurg us and thurg thæt loandes
folk on ure kuneriche habbeth iden and schullen don in the
worthnesse of Gode and on ure treowthe for the freine of the
loande thurg the besigte of than to foren iseide radesmen beo

stedefast and ilestinde in alle thinge abuten ænde. And we haaten alle ure treowe in the treowthe that heo us ogen thæt heo stedefastliche heilden and sweren to healden and to werien the isetnesses that beon i maked and beon to makien thurg than to-foren iseide rædesmen.'"

Here Mr. Astle differs in many places from his own fac-simile! Leaving out of consideration the th, g, v, s, i, for þ, ȝ, u, ſ, ı, we find, as compared with the facsimile, Y r l a n d for Y r l o a n d', N o r m. for N o r m', A q u i t a i n for A q u ı t a ı n', 7 twice for a n d, h o l d e for h a l d e, i l e a w e d l for ı l e a w e d e, H u n t e n d o n S c h i r for H u n t e n d o n' ſ c h ı r,' t h a t several times but not always for þ æ t, d e l for d æ l, k u n e r i c h e without any point after it, f r e i n e for f r e m e (for it is to be ob-served that the writer would have put a flourish over the í if he had meant i n, thus f r e í n e, as in ı f e í n e d, which Hearne prints ı f e m e d, and there is no such word as a f r e í n e,) r a d e s m e n for r o d e ſ m e n, s t e d e f a s t for ſ t e d e f æ s t, t h e for t h o meaning þ o, i m a k e d for í m a k e d e. Such a transliteration would certainly puzzle the reader of the facsimile. As regards the original, the alteration of h a l d e into h o l d e restores the proper reading, the use of f r e i n e for f r e m e introduces a fresh error, and r a d e s m e n for r o d e ſ m e n, which should have been r e d e ſ m e n, is another form of error. The blunders i d e n, h a a t e n, h e i l d e n, s w e r e n, for ı d o n, h o a t e n, h e a l d e n, ſ w e r í e n, are faithful reproductions of his fac-simile, shewing that although he was actually the keeper of the original, he did not refer to it, but trusted to an ignorant facsimilist.

Astle's translation is taken without acknowledgment from Somner's (suprà p. 29), with these differences:—the explana-tory or second translations inclosed in ( ) or [ ] in Somner are omitted; *Anjoy* is corrected to *Anjou, sendeth* is inserted before *greeting, owe to us* is used for *owe us,* and the spelling, capitals, and punctuation have been slightly changed, so that the keeper of the Records did not venture to give his own translation of the ancient document he had so cruelly mis-represented.

This fragment (for a reference to which I am indebted to Mr. Payne) cannot be considered as an edition, and it will therefore not be necessary to take any further notice of it. But it is at any rate a warning.

The above versions, with the exception of No. 3 (a mere transcript of No. 2), No. 13 (also a mere transcript of No. 12), No. 14 (which differs from No. 16 only in two letters, and in the mode of representing *i, s, y*), and No. 15 (which differs from No. 14 in one letter only), will now be given in an Interlinear Comparison, to shew their relations with one another and with No. 16, which, being regarded as the original, is placed first. The utmost care has been taken to make these versions accurate copies of the originals, with which the proofs have been diligently read, so that although sad experience shews the improbability of complete success in such an attempt, there is some reason to suppose that all errors, however fantastic, which the reader may discover in the following pages may be considered as existing in the originals. The punctuation and the long ſ of the originals have also been scrupulously followed. The numbers of the lines in the patent roll itself are inserted between brackets as before.

It is very probable that many other transcripts of this proclamation may exist in treatises upon the English language which I have not seen, and these may contain many additional errors. But those here furnished are more than enough to show the mode in which Anglo-Saxon and Early English scholars, as Somner and Hearne, or public functionaries, as the Record Commission and Astle, have ventured to edit a unique MS. of the greatest interest in the history of our language and our country; and how critical writers, as Latham and Koch, have been content to transcribe the blunders of uncritical historians, as Tyrrel and Henry; and again, how other critical writers, as Pauli and Regel, have been able by sheer conjecture to effect a nearly perfect restoration of a sadly mutilated text.

V.—Interlinear Comparison of Eleven Editions of the Proclamation, with the Original.

The first line is the accurate transcript of the original as previously given, the other versions are distinguished by numbers, (1) Somner, (2) Tyrrel, (4) Henry, (5) Latham, (6) Koch— (7) Hearne—(8) Henshall—(9) Rymer, (10) Craik, (11) Pauli, (12) Regel. See the account of these versions given above under these numbers. Numbers 3, 13, 14, 15 are omitted for the reasons there given. The unnumbered line which stands first is a correct representation of the original document. All apparent errors and misprints in the other lines are faithful reproductions of the originals with which they have been carefully compared.

[1] Henr'	þurȝ	godef	fultume	king	on
(1) Þenn.	þunȝ	Goðeʀ	ʀulcume	Kinȝ	on
(2) HENRY	thurg	Godes	fultome	King	on
(4) Henry,	thurg	Godes	fultome,	King	on
(5) Henry,	thurg	Godes	fultome,	King	on
(6) Henry	Ðurg	Godes	fultume,	king	on
(7) Henɲ'	thuɲȝ	ȝodef	fulcume	King	on
(8) Henr.	thurg	Godes	fultume,	King	ou
(9) Þenɲ'	þuɲȝ	Ɫodeʀ	ʀulcume	Kinȝ	on
(10) Henr',	thurg	Godes	fultume,	King	on
(11) Henr',	þurg	Godes	fultume	King	on
(12) Henr',	thurg	Godes	fultume	King	on

Engleneloande.	Lhoauerd	on	Ẏrloand'.
(1) Enȝlene loanðe.	Lhoaveɲð	on	Yɲlanð.
(2) Engleneloande	Lhoauerd	on	Yrloand
(4) Engleneloande,	Lhoauerd	on	Yrloand,
(5) Engleneloande,	lhoaurd	on	Yrloand,
(6) Engleneloande,	Lhouard	on	Yrloand,
(7) Enȝleneloande	Lhoaueɲd	on	Yɲloand,
(8) Engleneloande,	Lhoaverd	ou	Yrland,
(9) Enȝleneloanðe,	Lhoaveɲð	on	Yɲloanð,
(10) Engleneloande,	Lhoaverd	on	Yrloand,
(11) Engleneloande,	lhoaverd	on	Irloand,
(12) Engleneloande,	lhoaverd	on	Irloand,

	Duk	on	Norm'	on	Aquitain'	and
(1)	Duk	on	Noþm.	on	Ꝗuitain	⁊
(2)	Duk	on	Normand.	on	Acquitain	and
(4)	Duk	on	Normand,	on	Acquitain,	
(5)	Duke	on	Normand,	on	Acquitain,	
(6)	Duke	on	Normand,	on	Acquitain	
(7)	Duk	on	Norm'	on	Aquitain	and
(8)	Duk	ou	Norman,	ou	Aquitain,	and
(9)	Duk	on	Noþm'	on	Ꝗuitain'	⁊
(10)	Duk	on	Norm',	on	Aquitain',	and
(11)	duk	on	Norm',	on	Aquitain'	and
(12)	duk	on	Norm',	on	Aquitain',	and

	eorl	on	An'iow	Send	igretinge	to	alle
(1)	Eoþl	on	Æniou.	ſenð	iȝþetinȝ	ꞇo	alle
(2)	Eorl	on	Anjou,	fend	I, greting	to	alle
(4)	Eorl	on	Anjou,	fend	I greting,	to	alle
(5)	Eorl	on	Anjou,	send	I greting,	to	alle
(6)	Eorl	on	Anjou,	send	igreeting,	to	alle
(7)	Eoþl	on	Aniow	fend	i ȝþetinge	ꞇo	alle
(8)	Earl	ou	Anjou,	fend	igretinge	to	alle
(9)	eoþl	on	Æniou,	ꞃenð	iȝþetinȝe	ꞇo	alle
(10)	Eorl	on	Aniou,	send	igretinge	to	alle
(11)	eorl	on	Aniow,	send	igretinge	to	alle
(12)	eorl	on	Aniow,	send	igretinge	to	alle

	hiſe	holde	ilærde	and	ileawede	on
(1)	hiþe	holðe	ilæpðe	⁊	ilæpeð	on
(2)	hise	holde	ilærde	and	ilewede	on
(4)	hise	holde,	ilærde	and	ilewede	on
(5)	hise	holde,	ilærde	&	ilewerde	on
(6)	hise	holden,	ilaerde	and	ilewerde	on
(7)	hiſe	holde	ilaþde	and	ileamede	on
(8)	hiſe	hol	theilaerde, and	ilewede,	ou	
(9)	hiþe	halðe	ilæpðe	⁊	ilæpeð	on
(10)	hise	halde,	ilaerde	and	ilaewed,	on
(11)	hise	halde	ilærde	and	ileawede	on
(12)	hise	halde	ilaerde	and	ilaewede	on

	Huntendon'fchir'	[2] þæt	witen	ȝe	wel	alle
(1)	Þuntɩndonn ɼchɩn.	þæꞇ	pɩꞇen	ȝe	pe	alle
(2)	Huntindonn-fchiere;	thæt	witen	ge	wel,	alle
(4)	Huntindonn-fchiere.	Thæt	witen	ge	wel	alle,
(5)	Huntingdon-schiere.	That	witen	ge	well	alle,
(6)	Huntingdonschiere.	Ðat	witen	ge	wel	alle,
(7)	Hunꞇendon fchɩn'	Thaꞇ	wiꞇen	ȝe	well	alle
(8)	Huntendonn Schir,	that	witen	ge	well	alle,
(9)	Þunꞇenꝺon'ɼchɩn'.	þæꞇ	pɩꞇen	ȝe	pel	alle
(10)	Huntendon'schir'.	Thaet	witen	ye	wel	alle
(11)	Huntendon' schir'.	Þæt	witen	ge	wel	alle,
(12)	Huntendon' schir'.	Thaet	witen	ge	wel	alle,

	þæt	we	willen	and	vnnen	þæt.	þæt	vre
(1)	þæt	pe	pɩllen	ꝯ	unnen	þæꞇ	þæꞇ	uɲe
(2)	thæt	we	willen	and	unnen,	thæt		ure
(4)	thæt	we	willen	and	unnen,	thæt		ure
(5)	thæt	we	willen	&	unnen	thæt		ure
(6)	þæt	we	wellen	and	unnen	þæt		ure
(7)	ꞇhaꞇ	we	willen	and	vune'	ꞇhaꞇ,	ꞇhaꞇ	vɲe-
(8)	thæt	we	willen	and	uunē,	thæt	thæt	our
(9)	þæꞇ	pe	pɩllen	ꝯ	unnen	þæꞇ	þæꞇ	uɲe
(10)	thaet	we	willen	and	unnen	thaet	thaet	ure
(11)	þæt	we	willen	and	unnen,	þæt	þæt	ure
(12)	thaet	we	willen	and	unnen,	thaet	thaet	ure

	rædefmen	alle	oþer	þe	moare	dæl	of	heom
(1)	ɼæꝺeɼmen	alle.	oþeɲ	þe	moaɲe	ꝺæl	oɼ	heom
(2)	rædefmen	alle	other	the	moare	del	of	heom,
(4)	rædefmen	alle	other	the	moare	del	of	heom,
(5)	rædesmen	alle	other,	the	moare	del	of	heom,
(6)	raedesmen	alle	oðer,	þe	moare	del	of	heom,
(7)	ɲeꝺefmen	alle	oꞇheɲ	ꞇhe	moaɲe	del	of	heom
(8)	Rædefmen	alle	othe	the	moare	Dael	of	heom,
(9)	ɲæꝺeɼmen	alle	oþeɲ	þe	moaɲe	ꝺæl	oɼ	heom
(10)	raedesmen,	alle	other	the	moare	dael	of	heom,
(11)	rædesmen	alle	oþer	þe	moare	dæl	of	heom,
(12)	raedesmen	alle	other	the	moare	dael	of	heom,

	þæt	beoþ	ıchoſen	þurȝ	uf	and	þurȝ	þæt
(1)	þæꞇ	beoþ	ıchoꞃen	þuɲȝ	uꞃ	Ꞙ	þuɲȝ	þæꞇ
(2)	thæt	beoth	ichoſen	thurg	us	and	thurg	thæt
(4)	thæt	beoth	jchoſen	thurg	us	and	thurg	thæt
(5)	thæ	beoth	ichoſen	thurg	us	and	thurg	thæt
(6)	þæt	beoð	ichoſen	þurȝ	us	and	þurȝ	þæt
(7)	ꞇhaꞇ	beoſ	ichoſen	ꞇhuɲȝ	vſ	and	ꞇhuɲȝ	ꞇhaꞇ
(8)	that	beoh	ichoſen	thurg	us,	and	thurg	thæt
(9)	þæꞇ	beoþ	ıchoꞃen	þuɲȝ	uꞃ	Ꞙ	þuɲȝ	þæꞇ
(10)	thaet	beoth	ichoſen	thurg	us	and	thurg	thaet
(11)	þæt	beoþ	ichoſen	þurg	us	and	þurg	þæt
(12)	thaet	beoth	ichoſen	thurg	us	and	thurg	thaet

	loandeſ	folk	on	vre	kuneriche.	habbeþ	ıdon
(1)	loanðeꞃ	ꞃolk	on	uɲe	kuneɲiche	hebbeþ	ıꝺon
(2)	*Loandes Folk,*		on	ure	Kuneriche	habbeth	idon,
(4)	loandes-folk		on	ure	kuneriche,	habbith	idon,
(5)	loandes-folk		on	ure	Kuneriche,	habbith	idon,
(6)	landesfolk		on	ure	kuneriche,	habbið	idon,
(7)	loandes	folk	on	vɲe	kuneɲiche	habbeſ	idon
(8)	Loandesfolk,		on	ure	Kyneriche,	habbeth	idon
(9)	loanðeꞃ	ꞃolk	on	uɲe	kuneɲiche	habbeþ	ıꝺon
(10)	loandes	folk	on	ure	kuneriche,	habbeth	idon,
(11)	loandes	folk	on	ure	kuneriche,	habbeþ	idon
(12)	loandes	folk	on	ure	kuneriche,	habbeth	idon

	and	ſchullen	[3] don	ín	þe	worþneſſe	of	gode
(1)	Ꞙ	ꞃchullen	ðon	ın	þe	þoꝥþneꝛꝛe	oꝝ	Goðe
(2)	and	ſchullen	don	in	the	worthnes	of	Gode,
(4)	and	ſchullen	don,	in	the	worthnes	of	God,
(5)	and	schullen	don,	in	the	worthnes	of	God,
(6)	and	schullen	don,	in	þe	worðnes	of	God,
(7)	and	ſchullen	don	in	ꞇhe	worꞇhneſſe	of	ȝode
(8)	and	ſchullen	don,	in	the	Worthneſſe	of	Gode,
(9)	Ꞙ	ꞃchullen	ðon	ın	þe	poꝥþneꝛꝛe	oꝝ	Ᵹoðe
(10)	and	schullen	don,	in	the	worthnesse	of	Gode,
(11)	and	schullen	don	in	þe	worþnesse	of	Gode
(12)	and	schullen	don	in	the	worthnesse	of	Gode

	and	on	vre	treowþe.	for	þe	freme	of	þe
	and	on	vre	treowþe.	for	þe	freme	of	þe
(1)	⁊	on	uƿe	tꞃeopþe	ꝼoꞃ	þe	ꝼꞃeme	oꝼ	þe
(2)	and		ure	treowthe	for	the	freme	of	the
(4)	and		ure	treowthe,	for	the	freme	of	the
(5)	and		ure	threowthe,	for	the	freme	of	the
(6)	and		ure	treowðe,	for	þe	freme	of	þe
(7)	and		vƿe	tꞃeowche	foꞃ	che	fꞃeme	of	the
(8)	and	on	ure	Treowthe,	for	the	Freime	of	the
(9)	⁊	on	uƿe	tꞃeopþe	ꝼoꞃ	þe	ꝼꞃeme	oꝼ	þe
(10)	and	on	ure	treowthe,	for	the	freme	of	the
(11)	and	on	ure	treowþe	for	þe	freme	of	þe
(12)	and	on	ure	treowthe	for	the	freme	of	the

	loande.	þurȝ	þe	besiȝte	of	þan	to	foreniseide
	loande.	þurȝ	þe	besiȝte	of	þan	to	foreniseide
(1)	loanðe.	þuꞃȝe	þe	beꞃiȝte	oꝼ	þan	to	ꝼoꞃen iꞃeiðe
(2)	Loande,	thurg	the	besigte	of	than	to	foren iseide
(4)	loande,	thurg	the	besigte	of	than	toforen	iseide
(5)	loande,	thurg	the	besigte	of	than	toforen	iseide
(6)	loande,	þurȝ	þe	besiȝte	of	þan	toforen	iseide
(7)	loande,	chuꞃȝ	che	besiȝte	of	chan		foꞃem i seide
(8)	Loande,	thurge	the	besighte	of	thantsforen		iseide
(9)	loanðe.	þuꞃȝ	þe	beꞃiȝte	oꝼ	þan	to	ꝼoꞃeniꞃeiðe
(10)	loande,	thurg	the	besigte	of	than	to	foreniseide
(11)	loande	þurg	þe	besigte	of	þan		toforeniseide
(12)	loande	thurg	the	besigte	of	than		toforeniseide

	redeſmen :′	beo	ſtedefæſt	and	ileſtinde	ín
	redeſmen :′	beo	ſtedefæſt	and	ileſtinde	ín
(1)	ꞃæðeꞃmen	beo	ꞃteðeꝼæꞃt	anð	ileꞃtinðe	in
(2)	rædeſmen	beo	ſtedefæſt	and	ileſtinde	in
(4)	rædeſmen,	beo	ſtedefæſt	and	ileſtinde	in
(5)	rædesmen,	beo	stedfæst	and	ilestinde	in
(6)	raedesmen,	beo	stedfaest	and	ilestinde	in
(7)	ꞃedeſmen,	beo	ſcede feſc	and	ileſcinde	in
(8)	Rædeſmen,	beo	ſtedefæſt	and	ileſtinde,	in
(9)	ꞃeðeꞃmen	beo	ꞃteðeꝼæꞃt	anð	ileꞃtinðe	in
(10)	redesmen,	beo	stedefaest	and	ilestinde	in
(11)	redesmen,	beo	stedefæst	and	ilestinde	in
(12)	redesmen,	beo	stedefaest	and	ilestinde	in

	alle	þinge	abuten	ænde.	And	we	hoaten
(1)	alle	þinʒe	abutan	ænðe.	Anð	þe	heaten
(2)	alle	thinge	abutan	ænde,	and	the	heaten
(4)	alle	thinge	abutan	ænde,	and	the	heaten
(5)	alle	thinge	abutan	ænde,	and	we	heaten
(6)	alle	þinge	a butan	aende,	and	we	heaten
(7)	alle	thinʒe	abuten	ende.	And	we	hoaten
(8)	alle	thinge	abutan	ænde.	And	we	heaten
(9)	alle	þinʒe	abuten	ænðe.	Anð	þe	hoaten
(10)	alle	thinge	abuten	aende.	And	we	hoaten
(11)	alle	þinge	abuten	ænde,	and	we	hoaten
(12)	alle	thinge	a buten	aende,	and	we	hoaten

	[4] alle	vre	treowe	ín	þe	treowþe	þæt heo vf oʒen.
(1)	alle	uþe	tþeope	in	þe	tþeopþe	þæt heo uþ oʒen.
(2)	alle	ure	treowe	in	the	treowthe	thet heo us ogen,
(4)	alle	ure	treowe,	in	the	treowthe	thet heo us ogen,
(5)	alle	ure	treowe,	in	the	treowthe	thæt heo us ogen,
(6)	alle	ure	treowe,	in	þe	treowðe	þæt heo us ogen,
(7)	alle	vþe	tþeowe	in	the	tþeowthe	the heo vfozen,
(8)	alle	ure	treowe	in	the	Treowthe	thætheo us ogen,
(9)	alle	uþe	tþeope	in	þe	tþeopþe	þæt heo uþ oʒen
(10)	alle	ure	treowe,	in	the	treowthe	thaet heo us ogen,
(11)	alle	ure	treowe	in	þe	treowþe,	þæt heo us ogen,
(12)	alle	ure	treowe	in	the	treowthe,	thaet heo us ogen,

	þæt	heo	ftedefæftlıche	healden	and	fwerien
(1)	þ	heo	rtede-þæþtlıche	healðen	ꝛ	þpeþen
(2)	thet	heo	ftede-feftliche	healden	and	weren
(4)	thet	heo	ftede-feftliche	healden	and	weren
(5)	thet	heo	stede feslliche	healden	&	weren
(6)	þet	heo	stedefaestliche	healden	and	sweren
(7)	that	heo	fteðfeftliche	healden	and	fweþen
(8)	thæt	heo	ftede-fæftlich	healden,	and	fweren
(9)	þæt	heo	rteðeþæþtlıche	healðen	ꝛ	þpeþıen
(10)	thaet	heo	stedefaesliche	healden	and	swerien
(11)	þæt	heo	stedcfæstliche	healden	and	swerien
(12)	thaet	heo	stedefaestliche	healden	and	swerien

	to healden	and	to	werien	þo	ifetneſſeſ	þæt
(1)	ꞇo healðen	⁊	ꞇo	pepien	þe	ıꞃetneꝼꝼeꞃ	þæt
(2)	to healden	and	to	fwerien	the	ifetneſſes	thæt
(4)	to healden	and	to	fwerien	the	ifetneſſes	thet
(5)	to healden	&	to	swerien	the	isetnesses	thet
(6)	to healden	and	to	werien	þe	isetnesses,	þet
(7)	ꞇo hoilden	and	ꞇo	wepien	ꞇhe	ifeꞇneſſes	ꞇheꞇ
(8)	to healden,	and	to	werien,	the	ifetneſſes	that
(9)	ꞇo healðen	⁊	ꞇo	pepien	þe	ıꞃetneꝼꝼeꞃ	þæt
(10)	to healden	and	to	werien	the	isetnesses	thet
(11)	to healden	and	to	werien	þe	isetnesses,	þæt
(12)	to healden	and	to	werien	the	isetnesses,	thaet

	beon	ímakede	and	beon	to	makien	þurʒ	þan
(1)	beon	makeðe	⁊	beon	ꞇo	makıen	þuꞃʒ	þan
(2)	beon	makede	and	beon	to	makien	thurg	than
(4)	beon	makede	and	beo	to	makien,	thurg	than
(5)	beon	makede	and	beo	to	makien,	thurg	than
(6)	beon	makede	and	beon	to	makien,	þurʒ	þan
(7)	beon	imakede	and	beon	ꞇo	makien	ꞇhuꞃʒ	ꞇhan
(8)	beon	maked	and	beon	to	makæn,	thurg	than
(9)	beon	ımakede	⁊	beon	ꞇo	makıen	þuꞃʒ	þan
(10)	beon	imakede	and	beo	to	makien,	thurg	than
(11)	beon	imakede	and	beon	to	makien	þurg	þan
(12)	beon	imakede	and	beon	to	makien	thurg	than

	to	foren	ifeide	rædefmen [5]	oþer	þurʒ	þe	moare
(1)	ꞇo	ꝼopen	ıꞃeıðe	pædeꞃmen.	oþep	þuꞃʒ	þe	moaꞃe
(2)	to	foren	ifeide	rædefmen,	other	thurg	the	moare
(4)	to	foren	ifeide	rædefmen,	other	thurg	the	moare
(5)	toforen		iseide	rædesmen,	other	thurg	the	moare
(6)	toforen		iseide	raedesmen,	oðer	þurʒ	þe	moare
(7)	ꞇo	ꝼopen	ifeide	pedefmen	oꞇhep	ꞇhuꞃʒ	ꞇhe	moaꞃe
(8)	to	foren	ifeide	rædefmen,	other	thurg	the	moare
(9)	ꞇo	ꝼopen	ıꞃeıðe	pæðeꞃmen.	oþep	þuꞃʒ	þe	moaꞃe
(10)	to	foren	iseide	raedesmen,	other	thurg	the	moare
(11)	toforeniseide			rædesmen	oþer	þurg	þe	moare
(12)	toforeniseide			raedesmen	other	thurg	the	moare

	dæl	of	heom	alfwo	alfe	hít	ıf	bíforen
(1)	ðæl	oꞃ	heom	alꞃpo	alꞃe	hıꞇ	ıꞃ	be ꞃopen
(2)	dæl	of	heom	alſwo,	alſe	hit	is	beforen
(4)	del	of	heom	alſwo,	alſe	hit	is	biforefe
(5)	del	of	heom	alswo,	alse	hit	is	before
(6)	del	of	heom	alswo,	alse	hit	is	before
(7)	del	of	heom	alfwo	alfe	hiꞇ	is	bifoꞃen
(8)	dæl	of	heom,	alfwo	alfe	hit	is	beforen
(9)	ðæl	oꞃ	heom	alꞃpo	alꞃe	hıꞇ	ıꞃ	biꞃopen
(10)	dael	of	heom,	alswo	alse	hit	is	biforen
(11)	dæl	of	heom	alswo	alse	hit	is	biforen
(12)	dael	of	heom	alswo	alse	hit	is	biforen

	ıfeıd.	And	þæt	æhc	oþer	helpe	þæt	for
(1)	ıꞃeıð.	Ånð	þæꞇ	æhc	oþeꞃ	helpe	þæꞇ	ꞃoꞃ
(2)	ifeid.	And	thæt	æhcother		helpe	thæt	for
(4)	ifeide.	And	thet	æhcother		helpe	thet	for
(5)	iseide.	And	thet	æhcother		helpe	thet	for
(6)	iseide.	And	þet	æhc	oðer	helpe	þet	for
(7)	ifeid.	And	ꞇheꞇ	ech	oꞇhep	helpe	ꞇheꞇ	foꞃ
(8)	ifeid.	And	thæt	æhc	other	helpe	thæt	for
(9)	ıꞃeıð.	Ånð	þæt	æhc	oþep	helpe	þæꞇ	ꞃoꞃ
(10)	iseid.	And	thaet	aehc	other	helpe	thaet	for
(11)	iseid,	and	þæt	æhc	oþer	helpe	þæt	for
(12)	iseid,	and	thaet	aehc	other	helpe	thaet	for

	to	done	bí	þan	ılche	oþe	aȝenef	alle	men.
(1)	ꞇo	ðone	bı	þam	ılche	oþe	aȝeneꞃ	alle	men
(2)	to	done	bitham		ilche	other	agenes	alle	men
(4)	to	done	bitham		ilche	other,	aganes	alle	men,
(5)	to	done	bitham		ilche	other,	aganes	alle	men
(6)	to	done	biþam		ilche	oðe,	aganes	alle	men
(7)	ꞇo	done	bi	ꞇhan	ilche	oꞇhe	aȝeneſ	alle	men
(8)	to	done	bi	them	ilche	othe,	agenes	alle	men
(9)	ꞇo	ðone	bı	þam	ılche	oþe	aȝeneꞃ	alle	men
(10)	to	done,	bi	tham	ilche	othe,	agenes	alle	men
(11)	to	done	bi	þan	ilche	oþe	agenes	alle	men,
(12)	to	done	bi	than	ilche	othe	agenes	alle	men,

				Riȝt	for	to	done	and
(1)	(in	alle	þinȝe þæt)	oȝt	ron	to	bone	ꝛ
(2)	[in	alle	thinge thæt)	ogt	for	to	done	and
(4)	in	alle	thet heo	ogt	for	to	done,	and
(5)	in	alle	thet heo	ogt	for	to	done,	and
(6)	in	alle	þat heo	oȝt	for	to	done,	and
(7)				Riȝt	for	to	done	and
(8)				rght	for	to	done	and
(9)				oȝt	ron	to	bone	anb
(10)	[in	alle	thaet heo]	oght	for	to	done	and
(11)				rigt	for	to	done	and
(12)				rigt	for	to	done	and

	to	foangen.	And	noan	ne	níme	of	loande
(1)	to	roanȝen.	Anb	noan	ne	mine	or	loanbe
(2)	to	foangen.	And	noan	ne	mine	of	Loande
(4)	to	foangen.	And	noan	ne	mine	of	loande
(5)	to	foangen.	And	noan	ne	of mine	loande,	
(6)	to	foangen.	And	none	ne	nime	of	loande,
(7)	to	foanȝen	And	noan	ne	nime	of	loande
(8)	to	foangen.	And	noan	ne	mine	of	loande,
(9)	to	roanȝen.	and	noan	ne	mine	or	loanbe
(10)	to	foangen.	And	noan	ne	mine	of	loande,
(11)	to	foangen,	and	noan	ne	nime	of	loande
(12)	to	foangen,	and	noan	ne	nime	of	loande

	ne	of	[6] eȝte.	wherþurȝ	þif	befiȝte	muȝe
(1)	ne	or	eȝtephæp	þunȝ	þir	beriȝte	muȝe
(2)	ne	of	egetewher	thurg	this	befigte	muge
(4)	ne	of	egetewher,	thurg	this	befigte,	muge
(5)	ne	of	egetewhere,	thurg	this	besigte,	muge
(6)	ne	of	egete,	whereþurȝ	þis	besiȝte	muge
(7)	ne	of	eȝte	whepthupȝ	this	befiȝte	muȝe
(8)	nor	of	egte-whær,	thurg	his	befigte	muge
(9)	ne	or	eȝteohæpo	þurȝ	þir	beriȝte	muȝe
(10)	ne	of	eghteohaero,	thurg	his	besigte,	muge
(11)	ne	of	egte,	whereþurg	þis	besigte	muge
(12)	ne	of	egte,	wherethurg	this	besigte	muge

	beon	ılet	oþer	ıwerſed	on	oníe	wıfe.	And
(1)	beon	ıleꞇ	oþeꞃ	ıpeꞃꝛeꝺ	on	oꞁıe	pıꞃe.	Ꞧnꝺ
(2)	beon	ilet	other	iwerſed	on	oniewiſe.		And
(4)	beon	ilet	other	iwerfed	on	oniewiſe..		And
(5)	beon	ilet	other	iwersed	on	oniewise.		And
(6)	beon	ilet	oðer	iwersed	on	oniewise.		And
(7)	beon	ileꞇ	oꞇheꞃ	iweꞃſed	in	onie	wife	And
(8)	beon	ilet,	other	iwerſed	on	onie	wife.	And
(9)	beon	ıleꞇ	oþeꞃ	ıpeꞃꝛeꝺ	on	oꞁıe	pıꞃe.	Ꞧnꝺ
(10)	beon	ilet	other	iwersed	on	onie	wise.	And
(11)	beon	ilet	or	iwersed	on	onie	wise,	and
(12)	beon	ilet	other	iwersed	on	onie	wise,	and

	ȝıf	oní	oþer	oníe	cumen	her	onȝeneſ?	we
(1)	ȝıꞃ	onı	oþeꞃ	oꞁıe	cumen	heꞃ	onȝeneꞃ	pe
(2)	gif	oni	ether	onie	cumen	her	ongenes	we
(4)	gif	oni	ether	onie	cumen	her	ongenes,	we
(5)	gif	oni	ether	onie	cumen	her	ongenes,	we
(6)	ȝif	oni	oðer	ni	cumen	her	ongenes,	we
(7)	ȝif	oni	oꞇheꞃ	onie	cumen	heꞃ	onȝeneſ,	we
(8)	gif	oni	other	onie	cumen	her	ongenes,	we
(9)	ȝıꞃ	onı	oþeꞃ	oꞁıe	cumen	heꞃ	onȝeneꞃ,	pe
(10)	gif	oni	other	onie	cumen	her	ongenes,	we
(11)	gif	onie	oþer	onie	cumen	her	ongenes,	we
(12)	gif	oni	other	onie	cumen	her	ongenes,	we

	wıllen	and	hoaten	þæt	alle	vre	treowe	heom
(1)	pıllen	ꝥ	heaꞇen	þæꞇ	alle	ure	ꞇꞃeope	heom
(2)	willen	and	heaten,	thæt	alle	ure	treowe	heom
(4)	willen	and	heaten,	thæt	alle	ure	treowe	heom
(5)	willen	&	heaten,	thæt	alle	ure	treowe	heom
(6)	willen	and	heaten,	þat	alle	ure	treowe	heom
(7)	willen	and	hoaꞇen	ꞇhaꞇ alle		vꞃe	ꞇꞃeawe	heom
(8)	willen	and	heaten	thæt alle		ure	treowe	heom
(9)	pıllen	ꝥ	hoaꞇen	þæt	alle	ure	ꞇꞃeop ope	heom
(10)	willen	and	hoaten,	thaet	alle	ure	treowe	heom
(11)	willen	and	hoaten,	þæt	alle	ure	treowe	heom
(12)	willen	and	hoaten,	thaet alle		ure	treowe	heom

	healden	deaðliche	ifoan.	And	for	þæt
(1)	healðen	beaðlicheiꞃtan.		Ānd	ꝼoꞃ	þæꞇ
(2)	healden	deadlichiſtan.		And	for	thæt
(4)	healden	deadlichistan.		And	for	thæt
(5)	healden	deadlichistan.		And	for	thæt
(6)	healden	deadliche	ifoan.	And	for	þat
(7)	healden	deadliche	ifoan.	And	ꝼoꞃ	ꞇheꞇ
(8)	healden	deadliche.	If than,	and	for	that
(9)	healðen	beaðlicheiꞃtan.		Ānd	ꝼoꞃ	þæꞇ
(10)	healden	deadlicheistan.		And	for	thaet
(11)	healden	deadliche	ifoan,	and	for	þæt
(12)	healden	deadliche	ifoan,	and	for	thaet

[7]	we	willen	þæt	þiſ	beo	ſtedefæſt	and	leſtinde⸮
(1)	ꝥe	ꝑillen	þæꞇ	þiꞃ	beo	ꞃꞇebeꝼæꞃꞇ	ꝛ	leꞃꞇinbe
(2)	we	willen	thet	this	beo	ſtedefæſt	and	leſtinde,
(4)	we	willen	thet	this	beo	ſtedefæſt	and	leſtinde,
(5)	we	willen	thæt	this	beo	stædfast	and	lestinde,
(6)	we	willen,	þat	this	beo	stedfaest	and	lestinde,
(7)	we	willen	ꞇheꞇ	ꞇhiſ	beo	ſꞇedfeſꞇ	and	lefꞇinde,
(8)	we	willen	thæt	this	beo	ſtedefeſte	and	leſtinde,
(9)	ꝥe	ꝑillen	þæꞇ	þiꞃ	beo	ꞃꞇebeꝼæꞃꞇ	ꝛ	leꞃꞇinbe
(10)	we	willen	thaet	this	beo	stedefaest	and	lestinde,
(11)	we	willen,	þæt	þis	beo	stedefæst	and	lestinde,
(12)	we	willen,	thaet	this	beo	stedefaest	and	lestinde,

	we	ſenden	ȝew	þiſ	writ	open	ifeíned	wiþ
(1)	ꝥe	ꞃenben	ȝeꝑ	þiꞃ	ꝑꞃiꞇ	open	iꞃeineb	ꝑiþ
(2)	we	ſenden	gew	this	Writ	open	ifeined	with
(4)	we	ſenden	gew	this	writ	open,	ifeined	with
(5)	we	senden	gew	this	writ	open,	iseined	with
(6)	we	senden	ȝew	þis	writ	open,	iseined	wiꝺ
(7)	we	ſenden	ȝew	ꞇhiſ	wꞃiꞇ	open	ifemed	wiꞇh
(8)	we	ſenden	gew	this	writ	open	ifeined	with
(9)	ꝥe	ꞃenden	ȝeꝑ	þiꞃ	ꝑꞃiꞇ	open	iꞃeineb	ꝑiþ
(10)	we	senden	yew	this	writ	open,	iseined	with
(11)	we	senden	gew	þis	writ	open	iseined	wiþ
(12)	we	senden	gew	this	writ	open	isenied	with

	vre	feel.	to	halden	a mangef	ʒew
(1)	uɲe	ɼeel	ʈo	halðen	amanʒeɼ	ʒep
(2)	ure	Seel	to	halden	amanges	gew
(4)	ure	feel,	to	halden	amanges	gew
(5)	ure	seel,	to	halden	amanges	gew
(6)	ure	seel,	to	halden	amanges	ʒew
(7)	vɲe	feel,	ʈo	halden	amangef	ʒew
(8)	ure	feel	to	halden	amanges	gew
(9)	uɲe	ɼeel	ʈo	halðen	amanʒeɼ	ʒep
(10)	ure	seel,	to	halden	amanges	yew
(11)	ure	seel	to	halden	amanges	gew
(12)	ure	seel	to	halden	amanges	gew

	ínehord.	Witneffe	vf feluen	æt	Lunden'.
(1)	ıne honð.	ᵽıtneɼ	uɼ ɼeluen	æʈ	Lunðæn.
(2)	ine Hord.	Witnes	us feluen	æt	Lundænthane
(4)	ine hord.	Witnes	usfelven	æt	Lundænthane,
(5)	ine hord.	Witnes	usselven	æt	Lundæn,
(6)	ine hord.	Witnes	usselven	aet	Lundaen,
(7)	in e hond	Witneffe	vf feluen	eʈ	Lunden',
(8)	ine hord.	Witnes	wi felven	æt	Lundæn
(9)	ıne honð	ᵽıtneɼɼe	uɼɼeluen	æʈ	Lunðen'
(10)	ine hord.	Witnesse	usselven	aet	Lunden',
(11)	ine hord.	Witnesse	usseluen	æt	Lunden'
(12)	ine hord.	Witnesse	usselven	aet	Lunden'

	þane	Eʒtetenþe	daẏ.	on	þe	Monþe[8] of	Octobr'
(1)	þane	eʒʈeʈenþe	ðaẏ	on	þe	monþe oɼ	Oʈʈobɲ.
(2)		egtetenthe	day	on	the	Monthe of	Octobr,
(4)		egtetenthe	day	on	the	monthe of	Octobr,
(5)	thæne	egetetenthe	day	on	the	monthe of	Octobr,
(6)	þaene	egeteten'ðe	day	on	þe	mon'ðe of	October,
(7)	ʈhane	eʒʈeʈenthe	day	on	ʈhe	monʈhe of	Oʈʈobɲ'
(8)	thane	egtetenthe	Day	on	the	Monthe of	Octobr,
(9)	þane	eʒʈeʈenþe	ðaẏ	on	þe	monþe oɼ	Oʈʈobɲ'
(10)	thane	eghtetenthe	day	on	the	monthe of	Octobr',
(11)	þane	egteten þe	day	on	þe	monþe of	Octobr'
(12)	thane	egtetenthe	day	on	the	monthe of	Octobr'

	In	þe	Twoandfowertiȝþe	ȝeare	of	vre
	In	þe	Twoandfowertiȝþe	ȝeare	of	vre
(1)	ın	þe	tpo ꞇ ꝼopeꞃtıȝþe	ȝeaꞃe	oꝼ	uꞃe
(2)	in	the	two and fowertigthe	geare	of	ure
(4)	in	the	two and fowertigthe	geare	of	ure
(5)	in	the	two and fowertigthe	geare	of	ure
(6)	in	þe	two and fowertigðe	ȝeare	of	ure
(7)	in	þhe	two and foweꞃtıþhe	ȝeaꞃe	of	ure
(8)	in	the	two and fowertigthe	geare	of	ure
(9)	ın	þe	tpo ꞇ ꝼopeꞃtıȝþe	ȝeaꞃe	oꝼ	uꞃe
(10)	in	the	two and fowertighthe	yeare	of	ure
(11)	in	þe	two and fowertigþe	geare	of	ure
(12)	in	the	two and fowertigthe	geare	of	ure

	crunínge.	And	þıf	wef	ıdon	ætforen
	cruninge.	And	þıf	wef	ıdon	ætforen
(1)	cꞃunnınȝe.	Anꝺ	þıꞃ	peꞃ	ıꝺon	ætꝼoꞃen
(2)	crunninge.	And	thir	wes	idon	ætforen
(4)	crunning.					
(5)	crunning.					
(6)	crunning.					
(7)	cꞃunınȝe.	And	þhif	wef	idon	eþfoꞃen
(8)	crunninge.	And	this	wes	idon	ætforen
(9)	cꞃunınȝe.	Anꝺ	þıꞃ	peꞃ	ıꝺon	æþꝼoꞃen
(10)	cruninge.					
(11)	crunınge.	And	þis	wes	idon	ætforen
(12)	cruninge.	And	this	wes	idon	aetforen

	vre	ıfworene	redefmen.	Bonefac’	Archebıfchop
	vre	ıfworene	redefmen.	Bonefac’	Archebıfchop
(1)	uꞃe	ıꞃpoꞃen	þæꝺeꞃmen	Boneꞃac.	aꞃchebıꞃchop
(2)	ure	ifworen	redefmen,	Bonefac.	Archebıfcop
(7)	vꞃe	ifwoꞃne	ꞃedefmen	Bonefac’	Aꞃchebıfchop
(8)	ure	ifworen	Rædefmen	Bonefac	Archebıfchop
(9)	uꞃe	ıꞃpoꞃene	ꞃeꝺeꞃmen,	Boneꞃac’	aꞃchebıꞃchop
(11)	ure	isworene	redesmen,	Bonefac’	archebischop
(12)	ure	isworene	redesmen:	Bonefac’	archebischop

	on	Kant'bur'.	Walt'	of	Cantelow.	Bifchop
(1)	on	Kanꞇeꞃbuꞃ.	paꞁꞇeꞃ oꞃ		Canꞇelop	bɪꞃchop
(2)	on	Kanterbur.	Walter of		Cantelop,	Bifchop
(7)	on	Kanꞇeꞃbuꞃ'.	Walꞇ' of		Canꞇelow	Bifchop
(8)	on	Canterbur,	Walter of		Cantelop	Bifchop
(9)	on	Kanꞇeꞃbuꞃ'.	paꞁꞇeꞃ oꞃ		Lanꞇelop	bɪꞃchop
(11)	on	Kanterbur'.	Walter of		Cantelop	bischop
(12)	on	Kanterbur'.	Walter of		·Cantelop	bischop

	on	Wirecheftr'. [9]Sim' of	Muntfort.	Eorl on
(1)	on	ꝥiꞃecheꞃꞇꞃ. Sim. of	Ꝿunꞇꝼoꞃꞇ	Ꞔoꞃl on
(2)	of	Wirechefter, Sim. of	Montfort	Eorl on
(7)	on	Wiꞃecheꞃꞇꞃ', Sim' of	Munꞇꝼoꞃꞇ	Eoꞃl on
(8)	on	Wirecheftr, Sim. of	Muntfort	Eorld on
(9)	on	ꝥiꞃecheꞃꞇꞃ'. Sɪm' oꞃ	Ꝿunꞇꝼoꞃꞇ	Ꞔoꞃl on
(11)	on	Wirechestr'. Sim' of	Muntfort	eorl on
(12)	on	Wirechestr'. Sim' of	Muntfort	eorl on

	Leircheftr'.	Ric' of	Clar'	eorl on
(1)	Leiꞃcheꞃꞇꞃ.	Ric. oꞃ	Claꞃ	Ꞔoꞃl on
(2)	Leicheftre,	Rich. of	Clare	Eorl on
(7)	Leiꞃcheꞃꞇꞃ',	Ric' of	Claꞃe	Eoꞃl on
(8)	Leircheftr, &c.			
(9)	Leiꞃcheꞃꞇꞃ'.	Ric' oꞃ	Ꝉlaꞃ'	Ꞔoꞃl on
(11)	Leirchestr'.	Ric' of	Clar'	eorl on
(12)	Leirchestr'.	Ric' of	Clar'	eorl on

	Glowcheftr'	and on	Hurtford'.	Rog'	Bɪgod
(1)	Glopcheꞃꞇꞃ.	ꝺ onHaꞃꞇꝼoꞃꝺ.		Roᵹeꞃ	Bɪᵹod
(2)	Glochester	and on	Hartford;	Roger	Bigod
(7)	Glowcheꞃꞇꞃ'	and on	Huꞃꞇꝼoꞃꝺ,	Roᵹ'	Bɪᵹod
(9)	Ꝉlopcheꞃꞇꞃ'	ꝺ on	puꞃꞇꝼoꞃꝺ.	Rogeꞃ	Bɪᵹoꝺ
(11)	Glowchestr'	and on	Hurtford.	Roger	Bigod
(12)	Glowchestr'	and on	Hurtford.	Roger	Bigod

	eorl	on	Northfolk'	and	Marefcal	on
(1)	Eopl	on	Noñþrolk.	ꝥ	Maпeɼcal	on
(2)	Eorl	on	Northfolk	and	Marefcal	on
(7)	Eopl	on	Noñꞇhfolk	and	Maпefcal	on
(9)	Eopl	on	Noñþrolk	ꝥ	Maпeɼcal	on
(11)	eorl	on	Northfolk	and	marescal	on
(12)	eorl	on	Northfolk	and	marescal	on

	Engleneloand'.	Perref	of	Sauueẏe.	Will'
(1)	Enȝle loanꝺ.	Peппeɼ	oɼ	Sauueẏe.	pill.
(2)	Engleloand,	Perres	of	Sauueye,	Will.
(7)	Engleneloanꝺ,	Peппef	of	Sauneye,	Will'
(9)	Enȝleneloanꝺ.	Peппeɼ	oɼ	Sauveẏe.	pill'
(11)	Engleneloand.	Perres	of	Sauveye.	Will'
(12)	Engleneloand.	Perres	of	Sauveye.	Will'

	of	Fort	eorl	on	Aubem'.	[10]Ioh'	of	Plefferz.
(1)	oɼ	Foпꞇ	Eopl	on	Aubem.	Ioh.		Pleɼɼiz
(2)	of	Fort	Eorl	on	Aubem,	John	de	Pleffe
(7)	of	Foпꞇ	Eopl	on	Aubem',	Joh'	of	Pleffeiz
(9)	oɼ	Foпꞇ	Eopl	on	Aubem'.	Ioh'	of	Pleɼɼeiz
(11)	of	Fort						
(12)	of	Fort	eorl	on	Aubern'.	Joh'	of	Plesseiz

	eorl	on	Warewık'	Ioh'	Geffreef	fune.
(1)	Eopl	on	parepık.	Ioh.	Geɼɼпeeɼɼune.	
(2)	Eorl	on	Warwik,	Joh.	Gefferees-fune	
(7)	Eopl	on	Waпewik,	Joh'	Geffпeeffune,	
(9)	Eopl	on	papepık'.	Ioh'	Ꞁeɼɼпeeɼɼune.	
(11)	eorl	on	Warewik'.	Joh'	Geffreessune.	
(12)	eorl	on	Warewik'.	Joh'	Geffreessune.	

	Perref	of	Muntfort.	Rıc'	of	Grey.	Rog'	of
(1)	Peппeɼ	oɼ	Munꞇɼoпꞇ.	Rıc.	oɼ	Gпeẏ.	Roȝeп	oɼ
(2)	Perres	of	Muntfort,	Rich.	of	Grey,	Rog.	of
(7)	Peппef	of	Munꞇefoпꞇ,	Ric'	of	Gпey,	Roȝ'	of
(9)	Peппeɼ	oɼ	Munꞇfoпꞇ.	Ric'	oɼ	Ꞁпeẏ.	Roȝeп	oɼ
(11)	Perres	of	Muntfort.	Ric'	of	Grey.	Roger	of
(12)	Perres	of	Muntfort.	Ric'	of	Grey.	Roger	of

	Mortemer.	Iameſ	of	Aldithel	and	ætforen
(1)	Mortemeꞃ.	Iameꞃ	oꝼ	Aldiþel.	ꜩ	ætꝼoꞃen
(2)	Mortemer,	Iames	of	Aldithel,	and	ætforen
(7)	Mortemeꞃ,	Iameſ	of	Aldithel,	and	etfoꞃen
(9)	Mortemeꞃ.	Iameꞃ	oꝼ	Aldiþel',	ꜩ	ætꝼoꞃen
(11)	Mortemer.	James	of	Aldithel	and	ætforen
(12)	Mortemer.	James	of	Aldithel	and	aetforen

	oþre	moʒe.	[11]And	al	on	þo	ilche
(1)	oþꞃe	moʒe.	And	al	on	þo	ilche
(2)	othre	moge.	AND	all	on	tho	ilche
(7)	othꞃe	moʒe.	End	al	on	tho	ilche
(9)	oþꞃe	moʒe.	And	al	on	þo	ilche
(11)	oþre	moge.	And	al	on	þo	ilche
(12)	othre	moge.	And	al	on	tho	ilche

	worden	iſ	iſend	in to	æurihce	oþre	shcire
(1)	poꞃden	iꞃ	iꞃend	into	auꞃichte	oþꞃe	ꞃchiꞃe
(2)	worden	is	iſend	in to	aurichte	othre	Schire
(7)	woꞃden	if	iſend	into	euꞃiche	othꞃe	ſheiꞃe
(9)	poꞃden	iꞃ	iꞃend	in to	auꞃihce	oþꞃe	ꞃhciꞃe
(11)	worden	is	isend	in to	æurihce	oþre	shcire
(12)	worden	is	isend	in to	aeurihce	othre	shcire

	ouer	al	þære	kuneriche	on	Engleneloande.
(1)	oueꞃ	al	þaꞃe	kuneꞃiche	on	Enꜩlene loand.
(2)	ouer	al	thare	Kuneriche	on	Engleneloande
(7)	oueꞃ	al	theꞃe	Kuneꞃiche	on	Engleneloande
(9)	oueꞃ	al	þaꞃe	kuneꞃiche	on	Enꜩleneloand
(11)	ouer	al	þære	kuneriche	on	Engleneloande
(12)	ouer	al	thaere	kuneriche	on	Engleneloande

		And	ek	in	tel	Irelonde
(1)		ꜩ	ek	in	tel	Iꞃelonde.
(2)		and	ek	intel		Irelonde.
(7)	and	And	ek	in	tel	Iꞃelonde.
(9)		ꜩ	ek	in	tel	Iꞃelonde.
(11)		and	ek	in	tel	Irelonde.
(12)		and	ek	in	tel	Irelonde.

VI. *Orthography and Pronunciation of the Old English Version.*

The Anglo-Saxon þ is generally employed for the modern *th,* but *th* is found in *Northfolk'* 9[1] and *Aldithel* 10, both proper names.

The Anglo-Saxon ȝ is generally employed for the modern *y, g, gh,* but *g* is found in *godes* 1, *igretinge* 1, *gode* 3, *Glowchestr'* 9, *Rog' Bigod* 9, *Geffrees sune* 10, *Grey* 10, and also in the combination *ng* when representing (q) that is, *ng* in *sing,* as in *Engleneloande* 1, *igretinge* 1, *þinge* 3, *foangen* 5, *a manges* 7, but as we have *aȝenes* 5, so we find *onȝenes* 6. It is evident that this different use implies a different pronunciation. The *g* represented most probably (g), and ȝ when final or medial (kh, *k*h, gh, *g*h) and when initial (ɉ). The transcript of the proclamation either entirely into Roman or entirely into Anglo-Saxon characters, disguised this important difference.

The diphthongal form æ occurs in *ilærde* 1, *þæt* 2, *dæl* 2, *stedefæst* 3, *stedefæstliche* 4, *ænde* 3, *æhc* 5, *æt* 7, *ætforen* 8, *æurihce* 11, *þære* 11, and twice in *rædesmen* 2, 4, which is also twice spelled *redesmen* 3, 8, implying apparently that *æ* was pronounced like *e* (e), as is natural in *ilærde, dæl, ænde, æhc, æurihce, rædesmen,* but seems affected in *þæt, stedefæst, stedefæstliche, æt, ætforen, þære,* and similarly in the form *wes* for *wæs.* These spellings may imply an affected thinness of utterance, which may have been more or less peculiar to the scribe. In the Cuckoo Song, we have the contrary tendency shewn in *awe* for ags. eawu, eowu, eaw, eow, modern *ewe, nauer* for never, and *lomb* for lamb. The form æ does not occur in the Cuckoo Song, Genesis and Exodus, or Hali Meidenhad.

The following diphthongal forms occur, *ea, eo, ew, oa. Ea* is found in *ileawede* 1, *healden* 4, *deadliche* 6, *ȝeare* 8. The first word, as compared with the more usual *lewede,* shews that *ea* was occasionally used as (ee), that is, the

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[1] The numbers after any word or phrase refer to the original lines of the proclamation, as explained on p. 12.

modern *ea* in *great, break*, (see p. 17, note), a use which became more common in later years. It may previously have been (eea) or (ee'), and perhaps the *l* in *healden* may have preserved the sound (ee'), thus (ʜee'lden). This divided vowel does not occur in the Cuckoo Song and seldom in Genesis and Exodus. It is not uncommon in Hali Meidenhad, which probably represents a Dorsetshire dialect. Thus eare, leareð, heaued, leadeð, read, ſcheawest, occur in the first page, against G. & E. eares, lereð, heued, ledeð, rede, shewede. In these cases the spelling apparently indicates a different pronunciation.

Eo and *ew* had probably both the same sound (eu) or (eeu), as in *beo* 3, *beoþ* 2, *beon* 4, *treowe* 4, *treowþe* 4, *heo* 4, *heom* 6, *ӡew* 7. In *eorl* it may have been (ee'). As late as 1621, Dr. Gill (*Logonomia*, p. 15) says: "*E* rarò præponitur *a* nisi fortè sequatur *r*; dicimus enim *an Earl* comes, ita vt *a*, aliquantulum audiatur . . . . (p. 16) *earl* mobilis; apud alios enim diphthongus valet, hîc *ërl*" = (eerl), "auditur, illîc *erl*" = (erl).

Oa appears as a substitute for *a* as in *loand-e-es* 1, 2, *noan* 5, *ifoan* 6, *lhoauerd* 1, *moare* 2, *hoaten* 6, *foangen* 5, which in several, but not all cases, became *o*. The orthography seems to indicate a transitional sound, which I assume to be (*a*) the broader sound of (a), which was ready to become (ᴀ) or (o), or else to revert to (a) in future times. *Hond, lond* are common forms in Chaucer and other writers of the four-teenth century, and it is shewn by their rhymes that they must have had the sounds (ʜond, lond), not (ʜand, land).[1] The combination *oa* does not occur in the Cuckoo Song, nor in G. & E., nor in Hali Meidenhad apparently. It is possible that it may have represented a real diphthong, as it probably would have done at an earlier period.

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[1] Mr. Richard Morris, editor of *Alliterative Poems, Genesis and Exodus, Chaucer*, etc., who has kindly favoured me with some remarks on the language of this document, observes here: "The *oa* seems to represent a sound between the Southern *ō* (oo) and the Northern *ā* (aa) = Anglo-Saxon *á*. *E.g.*

lhoauerd	=	Southern	*lhôuerd*,	Northern	*lāverd*.
moare	=	,,	*môre*,	,,	*māre*.
hoaten	=	,,	*hôten*,	,,	*hāten*.
&c.	=	,,	&c.	,,	&c.
noan	=	,,	*nôn*,	,,	*nân*."

The combination *ch* occurs in *ichosen* 2, *kuneriche* 2, *stede-fæstliche* 4, *ilche* 5, *deadliche* 6, and the termination *chestr* 8, 9. There can be no doubt that it had its present sound (tsh). But it is spelled *hc* in *æhc* 5, *æurihce* 11, and as the termination of the second word is generally supposed to be a form of the first, it might be supposed that there was some reason for the transposition. That however it was mere accidental carelessness appears from comparing *Huntendon' schir'* 1 with *shcire* 11 as *sch* bears the same relation to *sc*, that *ch* does to *c*, that is, the added *h* shews that the palatisation of simple *c* had generated (tsh), and of that of *c* preceded by *s*, or *sc*, had produced (sh), as in many English, German, and Italian words. Generally *sch* is used as in *schullen* 2, *bischop* 8. In the Prisoner's Prayer v. 4 we have also *ihc*. Dr. Gill gives (*i*tsh) as a South of England dialectic pronunciation of the pronoun I, in 1621, (*ibid.* p. 17.)

The system of orthography employed is consequently simple and regular, and may with great probability be considered as the normal orthography of the time (compare p. 11, l. 18). Assuming the conclusions of my *Early English Pronunciation*, chap. v., the value of the letters will be nearly as follows :—

a   long (aa), *imakede*, *makien* 4, rare; the Anglo-Saxon long *a* being generally written *oa*. Short (a), *alle* 1, common.

æ   long (ee), *rædesmen* 2 ; short *e*, *þæt* 2.

c   (k), *cruninge*, 8, rare, not found before *e, i*, being generally replaced by *ch*. See *ch, sch*.

ch   (tsh), *ichosen*, 2.

d   (d) *holde*, 1.

e   long (ee), *igretinge* 1, *redesmen* 2; short (e), *ilet* 6 ; final, short (e), probably somewhat indistinctly pronounced, as in German mein*e* erst*e* lieb*e*, *alle* 1.

ea   long (ee), *deadliche* 6 ; diphthongal (ee') *healden* 4 ; possibly always diphthongal as (ea, eea).

eo   (eu), *heo*, *beon* 4, but possibly (eo).

ew   (eu), *ʒew* 7.

f   (f), *freme* 3.

g   (g), *godes* 1 ; not found before *e, i* ; see *ng*.

ȝ   (gh) between vowels when following an accented vowel *oȝen* 4 ; (*k*h) after liquids (?) and before mutes, *þurȝ* 1, *besiȝte* 3, 6 ; (ᴊ) beginning a syllable and followed by *e, i, aȝenes* 5, *ȝeare* 8.

h   (ʜ) *holde* 1.

hc   the same as *ch*.

i   vowel ; long (ii) *witen* 2, rare ; occasionally (ai), *Henri* 1, *oni* 6 where a *c* or ȝ has been absorbed ; short (*i*) *king* 1 ; consonant (dzh), *Ioh'* 10.

j   not used.

k   (k) *Duk* 1, *folk* 2, rare.

l   (l) *alle* 1.

lh   (lh) *lhoauerd* 1.

m   (m) *moare* 2.

n   (n) *vnnen* 2 ; see *ng*.

ng   (q) *king* 1, *foangen* 5 ; distinct from *nȝ* = *n* + ȝ.

o   long (oo), *don* 3 ; short (o), *holde* 1, *folk* 2 ; written for *oa* in *Irelonde* 11.

oa   long (*aa*), *moare* 1 ; short (*a*) *loandes* 2, but possibly diphthongal, as (oa, ooa).

p   (p) *bischop* 8.

q   not used.

r   (r) *vre treowe* 6.

s   (s) *godes* 1, the (z) sound of *s* does not seem to have been developed.

sch   (sh) *schullen* 2.

shc   the same as *sch*.

t   (t) *witen* 2.

þ   (th) *þurȝ* 1, *treowþe* 3, *þinge* 3 ; (dh) *þæt* 2, *oþer* 2, *þe* 2, *þo* 4, etc.

th   (th) *Northfolk* 9, *Aldithel* 10, rare.

u   vowel, long (uu), *vre* 2, rare ; short (u) *þurȝ* 1, and also (y) or (i) *kuneriche* 2, or (e), *Hurtford* 9, as was still usual in the xiv th century. The Cuckoo Song which in the word *cuccu* unmistakeably uses *u* for (uu, u), yet writes *murie* = (mir·ie) or (myr·ie). In Hali Meidenhad we have constantly *u* for *i* or *y* as

bliðeluker, lustsni, brudlac, cluppinge, hwuch, þunckeð,
on the first page, and perhaps in *euch*. It is possible,
however, that these may be dialectic forms. Con-
sonant, (v) *lhoauerd* 1.

v   considered as the same letter as *u*.

w   (w) *willen* 2.

x   not used.

y   considered as the same letter as *i*, compare *Yrloand'* 1,
Irelonde 11.

z   (z) *Plesseiz* 10.

The palaeotypic representation of the pronunciation of
this document in accordance with the above system has been
given on pp. 19, 21, 23.

VII. *Dialect and Grammar of the Proclamation.*

With respect to the language, there is not one French
word from beginning to end with the exception of titles
and names of persons and places.[1] As being a formal
legal document the language is necessarily somewhat stiffer
and more precise than that of every day speech; which
may be inferred, for example, in the long and somewhat
involved sentences. We may leave out of consideration
the question whether English had or had not been in use
for legal documents. Legal language had already existed
in Anglo-Saxon, and in translating or explaining public
documents to the people, the same style of language must
have been inevitably followed. See also the remarks on the
language of the Contemporary Songs, § IX.

The dialect in which the proclamation is written is not
that of any part of England in particular.[2] Thus *æt* 7,

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[1] The words *bischop* 8, *archebischop* 8, *ileawede* 1, *iseined* 7, *seel* 7, *cruninge* 8,
had been so thoroughly Saxonised, that they are certainly not to be attributed
to Norman influence, and are therefore not here considered.   *Duk* 1, *marescal* 9,
are perhaps both of French origin as regards English, though the last is ulti-
mately Germanic. Regel draws attention to the thoroughly Saxon *Geffrees sune*,
10, as opposed to the French *le Fiz Geffrey*.

[2] Mr. Morris says : " The scribe who drew up the English document evidently
spoke a *mixed* dialect, but whether this represented the ordinary dialect of
Huntingdonshire is perhaps rather doubtful." Still there is much to favour the

ætforen 8, *in tel* 11, are strictly Northern, or at most East and West Midland words.[1] But though the plurals of verbs are mostly of the Midland form in *-en*, as *we willen* 2, *þæt vre rædesmen schullen don* 2, *heo vs oȝen* 4, etc., yet *habbeþ* 2 has the Southern plural in þ, and one word occurs in both forms as *vre rædesmen þæt* beoþ *ichosen* 2, and *þo isetnesses þæt* beon *imakede and* beon *to makien* 4. The imperative *witen ȝe* 2, is remarkable. The Southern genitive plural in *-ene* occurs in the name of the country *Engleneloande*.[2]

The pronouns are nom. *we* 1, *ȝe* 2, *heo* 4, accusative and dative *vs* 7, *ȝew* 7 (not *eow*), *heom* 6.

The definite article is sing. nom. *þe* 2, dat. and acc. *þan* 5 ; dat. fem. *þære* 11, pl. nom. and acc. *þo* 4, 11, dat. and acc. *þan* 3. The neuter art. seems to be *þæt* in *þæt loandes folk* 2, which is southern. In the phrase *ouer al þære kuneriche* 11, *þære* occurs as the dat. fem., although the accusative would be naturally expected. The nom. *þis* 6, this, is once employed.

The relative is expressed by *þæt* 2, indeclinable, which serves also for the demonstrative adjective, and the conjunction. In "*þæt₁ witen ȝe þæt₂ we willen þæt₂ þæt₃ vre rædesmen þæt₄* beoþ *ichosen þurȝ us and þurȝ þæt₅ loandes folk*," 2, *þæt₁* is the demonstrative adjective, *þæt₂* the con-

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supposition that a native of Huntingdonshire would have spoken a mixed dialect of this kind, having a strong infusion of Southern with Midland forms, among which even some of the more pronounced Northern forms may be classed. On the other hand there is no reason whatever for supposing that a Huntingdonshire scribe would have been employed, as this was not a proclamation sent into that county only, but copies in *precisely the same words* " al on þo ilche worden " were sent over the whole kingdom.

[1] Mr. Morris says : " I have never found *til* in any pure specimen of the Southern dialect. It is common in the East and West Midland, and Northern dialects. It occurs too, I think, in that portion of the *Chronicle* (reign of Stephen) which is supposed to have been written in Northampton. *On* is the Northern form of the Southern *an*, compare *on sleep* and *asleep*. In the Southern dialects *eȝtetenþe* would be written *eȝteteþe*, A.S. *eahta-teóþe*. In the Northern dialect *achtetende*, and in Midland *eȝtetenthe*, compare our double forms *tithe* and *tenth*, A.S. *teoþe* tenth."

[2] Mr. Morris says : " In later works we have *Englë* and in Chaucer *Englëland* is a word of three syllables." And with regard to another Southern form, he observes : " The A.S. *-lice* = *-liche*. In the Northern dialects it is *-like, -lik*, or *-ly*; Chaucer has *-liche* and *-ly*." And with respect to the plural *hise*, he adds, " In the Southern and Northern dialects, *his* has no plural when used adjectively."

junction, *þæt₃* stands for the modern *that which* or *what*, *þæt₄* is the relative plural, *þæt₅* the neuter article.

The adverb in *-e* is shown in the phrase *stedefæstliche healden* 4.

The adjectives have generally a definite form in *-e*, as *þe moare dæl* 2, and also a feminine singular and a plural form in *-e*, as *on onie wise* 6, *ʒif oni oþer onie* 6, Old Fr. *se nul v nus*.

The infinitive and gerund both generally end in *-en*, but *to done*, the full form, occurs twice in line 5.[1] The present participle has the southern form *-inde*, as *lestinde*.

The *i-* prefix seems rather vaguely put in *igretinge* 1, *ifoan* 6. In *ileawede* 1, the *i* seems to have been added by a sort of attraction from *ilærde*. In *ilestinde* 3, the initial *i* appears to be an error, as the second time that this word occurs it is corrected into *lestinde* 7.

In the phrase *wherþurʒ þis besiʒte muʒe beon ilet* 6, *muʒe* seems to be a subjunctive form.[2]

For the etymological and grammatical relations, explanations of obsolete words, extensions of the contractions, and observations upon each word of the proclamation, see the Glossarial Index, § X.

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[1] Mr. Morris says: "The gerundial form was retained as late as 1340 in *maki-en-e*. We have it in *to done*, but not in *to foangen*."

[2] The following additional observations are due to Mr. Morris : "*Ilærde*, *ileawede* 1; the final *e* as sign of plural is retained in the past participle of weak verbs as *iseide* 3, etc. In strong verbs it is sometimes omitted as in *ichosen* 2." [In which case the word is used predicatively.] "It is retained in *isworene* 8," [where the word is used attributively, and in modern High German, the *e* would be used in the latter but not in the former case.] "*Worþnesse* 3 fem., *in* and *on* govern accusative and dative.—*Of God-ë* 3, *of* governs dative, nom. *God*, compare *of þe loande* 3.—*Freme* 3, A.S. *freme*, feminine, *for* governs dative and accusative.—*Of þe loande* 3, *loand* is neuter ; *of* governs dative and we naturally expect *of þan* (=*of þam*) *loande*, compare *bi þan ilche oþe* 5, where *bi* governs dative, and *e* in *ilche* represents an older *-en* for *-um*; *e* in *oþe* is the dative inflexion, nominative *oþ*, A.S. *aþ*.—*Ine hord* 7. This form of the preposition is used in the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*.—*Vs seluen* 7 the dative used reflexively.—*Word* is properly a neuter, and has *word* for the plural; *worden* 11, is properly a dative plural (*en*=*um*). The article *þo* shews that *worden* is the accusative plural."

VIII. *Present and Former Translations considered, with Illustrative Remarks.*

1.[1] *Henr' þurȝ godes fultume,* Henry, by the grace of God; *Old French,* Henri par la grace deu. *Somner,* (*Latin,*) Henricus Dei adjutorio, (*English*) Henry, by God's help. *Henry,* Henry through God's support. *Craik,* Henry through God's help. There seems no reason for altering the set phrase, *Dei gratiâ,* sanctioned by the French, and used by Marsh, Regel, and Koch. Hearne's *fulcume* is of course a misprint. Tyrrell's *fultome* is probably only a mistake, not a correction, though this form does occur as a Saxon word.

1. *King on Engleneloande,* king on or over Angles' land, *i.e.* king of England. *Old French,* Rey de Englet're. *Somner,* (*Latin*) Rex Angliæ, (*English*) King of England. *Henry,* king of England. Craik, Marsh, Regel, and Koch prefer the unusual phrase "King *in* England." We have had many kings in England who were not kings *of* England. The French *de* shows the precise meaning of the English *on* in this place and afterwards. Henshall's correction of the MS. *on* into *ou,* (p. 39, note 2) which he evidently reads as *ov,* that is *of,* is simply ludicrous. He indeed refers apparently to some paper in Mr. Thomas Astle's library, but he has evidently confused the written *u, n,* which are not usually distinct in old MSS.

1. *Lhoauerd on Yrloand',* Lord on or over Ireland, Lord of Ireland. *Old French,* Sire de Irlande. Craik, Marsh, Regel, and Koch again use *in.* Now Lord Palmerston was a lord *in* Ireland (not in England), but certainly was not lord *of* Ireland. Latham's *lhoaurd* seems to be a clerical error. The initial *lh* is not unfrequent at this time, and corresponds to ags. *hl, hlaford.* Similarly in the Cuckoo Song, *lhud, lhouþ* correspond to ags. *hlúd, hlowan.* This initial was probably (lh) in ags. It may be doubtful whether the sound remained (lh) in English, but it certainly was also (l) in parts of the country, as the form of the word is *louerd, louered* in Genesis and Exodus. Dr. Rapp assumes the

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[1] These numbers refer to the line or lines of the MS. in which the passages occur, as shewn by the bracketed numbers on pp. 19, 21, 23.

ags. form to have been (khl). The three forms (khl, lh, l)
are precisely similar to the North Welsh (khwip) ; the South
Welsh (whip) for *chwip*, the same as the general English
(wh*i*p) ; and the Southern or rather London (w*i*p) for (wh*i*p).
For the *oa* see supra p. 72. The use of *u* or *v* for ags. *f* in
this, as in other words, seems to indicate that this *f* between
vowels was pronounced as (v) at an early period. The use of
-*erd* for -*ord*, perhaps points to an early indistinct utterance
of the final syllables in ags.

1. *Duk on Norm' on Aquitain' and eorl on Aniow*, Duke of
Normandy, of Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou. *Old French*,
Duc de Normandie, de Aqui'en, *et* Cunte de Angou. Here
the French final -*en* for -*aine* in *Aquitaine*, is noteworthy as
indicating a double pronunciation (ain, een) at this early
period. The orthography of Anjou is remarkable ; Tyrrel
gives the modern form, Somner and Rymer have *Aniou*,
Somner, in his English translation, reads *Anjoy*, and the
original is *Aniow*, while the French gives *Angou*. Should
then *g* in French words be occasionally pronounced *dzh* in
English, even before *a, o, u*, as *Angou* (Aundzhuu) ? Simi-
larly *gayler* in Chaucer (Knightes Tale, 206) ? At a later
period *e* was inserted, or *g* became *j*.

1. *Send igreetinge*, sends greetings, *Old French* saluz, in the
plural but without a verb ; *Somner (Latin)* salutem mittit
(*i.e.*, dicit) in the third person singular ; (*English*) Greeting,
only, leaving *send* untranslated ; *Henry* who following Tyrrel
reads most extravagantly *send I greting*, translates, sends
greeting, as does *Craik*. As the preamble proceeds to use
the third person singular we should have expected *sendeþ*.
It is possible that *sendeþ* contracted into *sendþ*, assimilated þ
to *t*, as we know that þ was assimilated in the Orrmulum, (com-
pare " and forþedd *te* þin wille," in the address to Walter,),
and then on account of the difficulty of pronouncing *sendt*,
altogether omitted, so that *send* represented the third person.
Compare *ilet* for *ileted* line 6, and *isend* for *isended* in line 11,
and the Anglo-Saxon form *he sent*. Marsh, Regel, Koch, all
translate *send* as if it were the third person singular. It
is only Henshall that ventures upon " send *I* greeting to

all *his*, &c.," (p. 40).   *Igretinge* would appear from the
French to be a plural form, and the initial *i* seems super-
fluous.   At a later time *-inge* was the termination of the
participle *-inde*, but the *e* was not properly added to the
verbal noun in *-ing*.

1. *to alle hise holde ilærde and ileawede on Huntendon' schir'*,
to all his lieges, learned (i.e., clerical) and lay in Huntingdon
Shire, *Old French*, a tuz ses feaus Clers et Lays, with no
mention of the county.   Somner, Hearne, and Henshall give
the vowel in *holde* as *o*, but Rymer has *halde*.   See p. 12, on
the difficulty occasioned by the MS. letter.   In place of
ileawede, which is not a common form, Somner and Rymer
give ılæpeð, omitting the inflection.   Hearne's *ileamede* has
an especial note " sic " placed against it, but it is distinctly
wrong.   Latham's *ilewerde* looks like a misprint, and as Koch
has the same error, there seems to be no doubt that he
followed Latham, trusting that the latter had critically re-
vised the text.

2. *þæt witen ȝe wel alle þæt we willen and vnnen þæt. þæt
vre rædesmen alle oþer þe moare dæl of heom þæt beoþ ichosen
þurȝ us and þurȝ þæt loandes folk on vre kuneriche. habbeþ idon
and schullen don.*   That know ye well all, that we will and
grant, that that which our councillors, all or the greater part
of them, that have been chosen by us and by the people of
the country of our kingdom, have done and shall do.   *Old
French*, Sachez ke nus uolons et otrions ke ce ke nostre con-
seil v la greignure partie de eus ki est esluz par nus *et* par le
co'mun de nostre Reaume a fet v fera.   The Burton French
version has " ke est eslu par nus *ou* par la commune," where
the *ou* must be an error, as it would imply that the council
had not been elected partly by the king and partly by the
commons, but either by one or the other.   Somner in his
Latin version correctly translates *vnnen þæt. þæt* as " conce-
dimus ut quod," but in his English he has " grant that
which," and similarly, Henry, who omits the first *þæt*, has
" grant, what."   Regel has "verfügen, dass *alles* was," where
the *alles* is superfluous ; Marsh has more correctly, " grant
that what."   To leave out the *that*, is to make the king grant

what the council ordered, but the English will be really found defective in all those translations which omit *that*. As to the use of *þæt* for *that which*, compare Matth. xx. 14, where the Anglo-Saxon version is, *nim þæt þin ys*, and the authorized version has, *Take that thine is*, though the elder Wycliffite version has *Take that that is thine*, with the variation *Take thou the thinge that thine is*, while the late Wycliffite version has the variation *Take thou that thing that is thine*. The Douay, translating the vulgate, *tolle quod tuum est*, has *take what is thine*. The full form, *we willen . . . þæt þæt þæt vre rædes-men . . . habbeþ idon*, using the word *þæt* three times in succession in three different senses, seems to have been too much even for such a document as this. *þat beoþ ichosen*, should be "that *have been* chosen," as Regel and Koch give "welche erwählt worden sind," although the *worden* might have been omitted, as in the Old English. The old French " Ki est esluz" quite implies this. Somner's Latin *qui fuerint electi* is correct, but his English "that *be* chosen," which is the phrase used by Henry and Craik, and Marsh's more dis-tinct "which *are* chosen," are incorrect for modern English. Þurᵹ us, by us, has been translated "*through* us" by Henry and Craik, and Regel and Koch also use *durch;* the French however has distinctly "*par* nus," and there seems no reason for falsifying the modern expression in order to imitate the ancient. *þæt loandes folk*, the old French gives simply *le com'un*, but Somner in his Latin has *à gentis plebe*, in his English "the People (or Commons)," with an explanatory note that he means "the Common People." (Supra, p. 29, note 2.) Henry gives *land-folk*, Craik *land's folk*, Marsh *land's people*, which are not translations at all, and the ideas which such expressions convey to modern ears, are incorrect. Regel and Koch have Landesgemei*nde* and Landesgemei*ne*, neither of which seem to be quite correct. It is clear that the *loandes folk* meant all except the king. The nation con-sisted of two parts, the king and all others. These others were not merely the " common people" or *gentis plebs* as Somner calls them, although they included these. " Le Commun" comprised the nobility and gentry as well as the

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commonalty, and in fact consisted mainly of the nobility.   In
the letter of the Commons to the Pope, Rymer i., 373, partly
quoted in p. 2, note 1, this "commun" is called : " *Commu-
nitas* comitum,[1] procerum, magnatum, *aliorumque regni*,"
and in the king's letter to Mansell suprà, p. 3, the second half
of the Council is denominated " alios duodecim fideles nostros
electos ex parte *ipsorum procerum*," and in the proclamation of
the 4 Aug. 1258, suprà p. 5, Henry is said to have consented
to the appointment of the Twenty-four " à la requeste de nos
hauz hommes et prodes hommes e du comun de nostre
reaume," the last words giving the full translation of *þæt
loandes folk on vre kuneriche*, and we know that the *plebs* had
nothing to do with this "request," as the stringent compul-
sion is mildly termed.   Hence it seems best to translate the
phrase by one which embraces the whole of the people in the
country with the exception of the sovereign. Regel translates
þurӡ þæt loandes folk by "durch *diese* landesgemeine," making
þæt demonstrative, but the French, par *le* co'mun, shows that
it was simply the definite article.

3. *in þe worþnesse of gode and on vre treowþe. for þe freme of
þe loande*, in or to the honour of God, and in furtherance of
our allegiance, for the benefit of the country ; *Old French*, al
honur de deu et nostre fei et pur le p' fit de nostre Reaume.
Somner, (*Latin*,) in honorem Dei, and fidelitatis quâ nobis
obligantur intuitu, pro bono gentis ; (*English*,) for the
honour of God and of their allegiance to us, for the benefit
(or amendment) of the land. *Henry*, to the honour of God,
and our allegiance [he omits the *on* before *vre treowþe*], for
the good of the land. *Craik*, in the honour of God and in our
truth (allegiance) for the good of the land. *Marsh*, to the
honour of God and in allegiance to us, for the good of the
land. *Regel* and *Koch*, zur Ehre Gottes und in der Treue
gegen uns, zum besten des Landes. The prepositions *in, on,
for* are varied, and I have tried to give the force of each in
the translation. This saving clause was of importance.
Henry agreed to obey the barons, provided they decreed

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[1] In the copy in the Annales de Theokesberia (Ann. Mon. p. 170), we have
communitatum for *comitum*, which must be an error.

nothing contrary to religion (to secure the clergy), nothing which interfered with his own feudal power, and nothing which was not intended for the good of the kingdom in general. Hence the Twenty-four had to swear that they would decree " al honur de Deu, e a la fei le rei, e al profit del reaume " (see the oath, suprà p. 7). Hence also the king in his letter to Mansel (suprà p. 3), states that he had granted that there should be a reformation of the kingdom "ad honorem Dei, fidem nostram, et utilitatem regni nostri," and the proclamation of 4 Aug. 1258 (suprà p. 5), talks of " les establissemenz, les queus il [lavant dit conseil] ferunt al honur de Deu e nostre fei e au profist de nostre reaume." Again, in Henry's letter to his brother the king of the Romans, asking him to take the oath, 4 Nov., 1258, Royal Letters, p. 132, we have : " Verum quia tantæ necessitati necessario convenit subvenire, providimus ut ad honorem Dei, necnon ad fidem nostram et regni nostri utilitatem, corrigatur, melioretur et reformetur status regni nostri supradicti." By these passages the meaning of every word is established. *worþnes*, ags. weorðnes, was honour, not worthiness, so Chaucer's knight was " a *worthy* man," i.e. an honourable man, Cant. Tales, 43. *treowþe* was the faith, *fei*, i.e. fidelity of the subject to the prince, allegiance, " our allegiance," meaning the fidelity due to us. *freme* was profit, utility, advantage generally.

3. *Þurȝ þe besiȝte of þan to foreniseide rèdesmen:* by the provision of the aforesaid councillors. *Old French*, sicum il (le conseil) ordenera. *Somner*, (*Latin*) per consilium antedictorum consiliariorum (eo nomine scilicet), which is not very intelligible ; (*English*,) by the advice or consideration of our aforesaid counsellors. *Henry*, through the determination of those before said counsellors. *Craik*, through the business (act) of those toforesaid counsellors. See *besiȝte* in the Glossarial Index.

3. *beo stedefæst and ilestinde in alle þinge abuten ænde*, be stedfast and lasting in all things ever without end. *Old French*, seit ferm *et* estable en tuttes choses a tuz iurz. The king had been often made to assert this eternity and invio-

lability of the decrees of the Council, which his object was to defeat, and from which the king of France and the Pope finally freed him.   Thus in the letter to Mansel (suprà p. 3), he says : " Promiserimus . . . . quod reformationem et ordinationem . . . ratam habebimus et ipsam faciemus teneri et inviolabiliter observari."   And in the proclamation of 4 Aug. (suprà, p. 5), he says : " nos averum ferm e estable quanqe lavant dit conseil . . . . fera, et comandum fermement qe touz nos feaus e nos hommes ausi laient e saient tenuz fermement garder touz les establissemenz." The words *abutan ænde* are written *a butan ænde* by Regel, who, as well as Koch, translates, " immer and ohne Ende," and Marsh has, " time without end."   See the remarks, suprà, p. 47.   Somner gives *abutan ænde* as *sine fine* in his dictionary.   The MS. writes the word *abuten* without any separation.

3, 4. *And we hoaten alle vre treowe in þe treowþe þæt heo vs oȝen,* and we call upon all our lieges in the allegiance that they owe us.   *Old French,* Et comandons *et* enionions[1] a tuz noz feaus et leaus en la fei kil nus deiuent.   *Somner, (Latin)* et·precipimus omnibus fidelibus nostris, per fidem (vel, fidelitatem) quam nobis debent ; (*English,*) and we command all our liege people in the fealty that they owe us.   *Henry,* and we enjoin all our lieges, by the allegiance that they us owe.   *Craik,* And we enjoin all our lieges, in the truth (allegiance) that they us owe.   The *per fidem* and *by the allegiance* (*Marsh* by the faith, *Regel and Koch* bei der Treue) seem to be erroneous ; the king does not conjure them *by* their allegiance, but orders them, expecting them to obey, *in consequence of* their allegiance.   In Henry's letter to the community of the Island of Oleron, (at the mouth of the Charente, in Aquitaine,) which is the first document in the patent roll of 43 Henry III. he uses the same phrase, in Latin, *Vobis mandamus, in fide quâ nobis tenemini firmiter injungentes.*   Compare the old French *enionions,* and in the

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[1] The Burton version reads " comandums e amonestums," command and admonish, instead of command and enjoin (suprà p. 25), but the old English has only one word, *hoaten,* which may be translated, command or enjoin, at pleasure.

letter to Mansel (suprà p. 3) *vobis præcipimus firmiter injungentes in fide qua nobis tenemini.*

4. *þæt heo stedefæstliche healden and swerien to healden and to werien þo isetnesses þæt beon imakede and beon to makien þurʒ þan to foren iseide rædesmen oþer þurʒ þe moare dæl of heom alswo alse hit is biforen iseid,* that they stedfastly hold and swear to hold and to defend the acts that have been passed or shall be passed by the aforesaid councillors, or by the greater part of them, as it has been before said. *Old French,* kil fermement teignent *et* iurgent a tenir *et* a maintenir les establissemenz ke sunt fet v sunt a fere par lauant dit Cunseil v la greignure partie de eus. en la maniere kil est dit desuz. *Somner,* (*Latin*) ut firmiter observent et observare (vel, observaturos se) jurent et tueri, consulta quae ab antedictis Consiliaris, sive à majori ipsorum parte, facta et facienda sunt, sicut prædictum est; (*English*), that they stedfastly hold, and swear to hold [or keep] and to defend [or maintain] the statutes [or provisions] which be made, or shall be made by those aforesaid Counsellors, or by the more part of them, also as it is before said. *Henry,* that they steadfastly hold and swear (here he reads *weren*) to hold and to maintain (here he reads *swerien*) the ordinances that be made and be to be made, through the before said counsellors, or through the more part of them also, as it is before said. *Craik,* that they steadfastly hold, and swear to hold and to defend the ordinances that be made and be to make through the toforesaid counsellors, or through the more part of them, also as it is before said. *alswo alse* means all so as, precisely as, *en la maniere ke.* Marsh, Regel, and Koch are correct. Somner is right in his Latin and wrong in his English, Henry points the passage wrongly, and entirely misapprehends the force of the *alswo.* Craik points correctly, but translates wrongly. Koch points wrongly, but his translation often disagrees with his text, see p. 35. Henry following Tyrrel has interchanged *swerien* and *werien,* reading *weren* (also a mistake) and *swerien,* but translating rightly.

Politically this was the important clause of the proclamation. The oath itself which they had to take has been given

above, p. 7. It is alluded to clause by clause in the next lines of the proclamation, which have been thoroughly mis-understood by our English translators. Great virtue was and still is attached to these political oaths. Formerly the Pope had to be persuaded to annul an oath which it was inconve-nient to keep, and in this case he did absolve the king and his subjects from their oaths to obey the ordinances of the council (except so far as the interests of the church were concerned), by bulls dated 13 April and 7 May, 1261, Rymer i., 405, 406. In modern times, a new revolution, and "the force of circumstances" dispenses with the papal dispensation.

Up to this point there was not much room for the trans-lators to go astray, as the copies, although full of minor errors, were sufficiently correct for them to divine the sense. The next few passages swarm with extravagant mistakes.

5. *And þæt æhc oþer helpe þæt for to done bi þan ilche oþe aȝenes alle men. Riȝt for to done and to foangen:* and that each help the other so to do by that same oath, against all men, doing and receiving justice. *Old French, et* kil sentre-eident a ce fere par meismes tel s'rment cunt' tutte genz. dreit fesant et p'nant. In the words of the oath itself: Sumus tenuz ensemble par tel serment, e promettuns en bone fei, ke chesun de nus et tuz ensemble nus entre eiderums, e nus e les nos cuntre tute genz, dreit fesant, et rens pernant ke nus ne purrum sanz mef fere [= méfaire] salve la fei le rei et de la corune (suprà p. 7). The king also orders Mansel to act "sub debito juramenti nobis præstiti" (suprà p. 3). The sense is therefore clear. The whole people were to swear not merely to obey the council, but to assist each other to make the council obeyed, acting against[1] any that were refractory, and in doing so they would be doing what was right or the law of the land "dreit fesant," or, as the English has it, they were to act thus in *order* to do what was right, *Riȝt for to done.* Then follows an expression which is slightly more difficult; not only would they be *doing*

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[1] *Aȝenes* might mean, respecting, towards, like the German *gegen;* but the French *cuntre*, both in the proclamation and the oath, points to *against* as the proper meaning.

(fesant) but *receiving* (p'rnant, pernant, parnant, modern pre-
nant) justice ; or, in the English, they should act thus not
only to obey the law, but to receive their legal rights, *Riȝt
for to foangen;* meaning that it was only by so doing that
they could fulfil their duties towards the sovereign, and
therefore be under the protection of the law.   This interpre-
tation is confirmed by Henry's proclamation of 2 May, 1262,
Rymer i. 419, after the final defeat of the barons, wherein he
reassumes his sovereign power, and says : " Nos . . . tibi
præcipimus quod . . . scire facias universitati comitatus præ-
dicti, quod cum omni securitate et confidentiâ *justitiam obti-
nendi jus suum* authoritate nostrâ *prosequantur.*"   The oath,
however, varies this second phrase, and says, " and taking,"
or, as Mr. Luard translates *pernant, under*taking, "nothing
which we are not at liberty to take without violating our
allegiance to the king and the crown."   The Burton version
(suprà p. 25) here departs very widely from the two Patent
Roll versions, " E ke il se *entremettent* a co fere par memes
cest serment *encuntre* totes genz *dun* fesant et pernant," that
is, and that they should *interfere* in doing this by that same
oath against all people, doing and receiving *gift ;* and as this
is nonsense, Mr. Luard translates " that they *take upon them-
selves,*" a new sense of *s'entremettre,* " to do this, by this same
oath, against all persons giving and taking a *bribe,*" as if
they were only to act against those who were bribed, a sense
which the French will not bear, as *fesant et pernant* could
not refer to *totes genz.*   The Burton version is clearly cor-
rupt, and has led its translator into a scrape.

Pauli having conjecturally corrected his text by the
French, Regel and after him Koch and Marsh translate
correctly ; thus, *Regel,* recht zu thun und sein recht zu
empfangen, *Koch,* Recht zu üben und zu empfangen, *Marsh,*
right to do and to receive.   Even Henshall, who consulted
the MS., reads "rght [sic] for to done and to foangen," and
translates "right for to do and to fang."   But Somner and the
Record Commissioners having read " oȝt " for *Riȝt* were in
great straits.   The passage in Rymer, using Roman charac-
ters, is : " And þæt æhc oþer helpe þæt for to done, bi þam

ilche oþe agenes alle men ogt for to done and to foangen."
If this passage can have any meaning *ogt* must be a noun
and must therefore represent the Anglo-Saxon *oht, aht,*
meaning aught, anything, or the A.S. *oht,* fear ; and the
passage might have been translated : " and that each help
the other to do that, in virtue of that same oath, against all
men, in order to do and to receive *fear* or *anything* ! " But
the translators seeing *oȝen* in line 4 thought of *oȝt* for *aht,*
preterit of *agan,* and considered it to be the same as the
modern English *ought.*[1] Somner then reading *ogt*[2] could
only think of helping himself out of the difficulty by sup-
posing that some words were missing, and hence supplies
in alle þinge þæt, so that, his passage runs, *And þæt æhc oþer*
helpe þæt for to done bi þam ilche oþe agenes alle men in alle
þinge þæt ogt for to done and to foangen, which, although
untranslatable, he ventures to translate thus : " Et quod
unusquisque, vigore ejusdem juramenti, contra omnes homines
in omnibus tum faciendis, tum recipiendis, ut id ita fiat et
observetur, alter alteri sint auxilio." Surely the writer of
an Anglo-Saxon dictionary must have had great qualms of
conscience before he could have ventured to translate, *in alle*

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[1] In Genesis and Exodus, line 1, we have

> Man *og* to luuen ðat rimes ren,
>
> ðe wisseð wel ðe logede men,

" one *ought* to love that verses sound, that teacheth well the lewed men." On
which Mr. Morris says, " *og,* another form of *agh,* =*ow* =ought." And again 197

> And for hise sinne *oc* he to munen,
>
> ðat moste and leiste him ben benummen,

" and for his sins he ought to remember, that greatest and least things have been
taken away from him." Also 15,

> Christene men *ogen* ben so fagen
>
> so fueles arn quan he it sen dagen.

" Christian men *ought* [to] be as glad, as birds are when they (*he*) see it dawn."
In 924 Mr. Morris in his Glossary makes *bi-agt* ought, should, but the passage
seems corrupt,

> Abel primices first bi-gan,
>
> And decimas first abram ;
>
> Nu ist so boden and bitagt,
>
> Quo-so his alt him bi agt.

" Abel first began first fruits, and Abram first tithes, now [it] is so ordered and
taught, who so his . . . ." a syllable is missing, and the line is unintelligible.
Mr. Morris suggests *halt* holdeth for *alt.*

[2] How it was possible to read *Ogt* for *Riȝt* has been already explained, p. 13.

þinge þæt ogt for to done and to foangen, as "in omnibus tum faciendis, tum recipiendis," that is to take *þæt ogt* as the English *that ought,* and *for to done* as the English *to be done,* instead of *to do.* Somner's English version is still more mysterious than his Latin, for he says: "and that they each other assist the same to perform, according to that same oath, against all men, *both for to do, and cause to be done,*" where *ogt* now seems to be taken as *both,* and *foangen* as to *cause,* the words *to be done,* being supplied "aus der Tiefe seines Bewusstseins," and what they were to do or cause to be done being enveloped in a mystery certainly unusual in stringent proclamations.

Henry is if anything rather worse, for, not being satisfied with Somner's insertion, he reads, *and thet æhcother helpe thet for to done bitham ilche other, aganes alle men in alle thet heo ogt for to done, and to foangen,* having not only *ogt* for *Riȝt,* but putting the plural *heo* as the nominative to the singular *ogt,* (which should have been *oȝeþ*) notwithstanding a previous *heo vs oȝen,* and also through Tyrrell's misprint transforming *oþe* into *other !* No wonder that an unintelligible mess of English results, viz., "And that each other help that for to do by *them each other,* against all men, *in all that they ought* for to do and to *promote.*" But *Craik,* who followed the Record Commission, is also bewildered with the *ogt,* and inserts in brackets [*in alle thaet heo*] like Henry, saying: "These words are not in the copy here followed, *but seem to be required by the sense,*" certainly not by the *grammar,* in which *heo oȝt* is simply barbarous. Craik, of course, has *othe* and not *other;* but he seems to have blindly followed Henry as a guide to the sense (?), and has produced the following translation: "And that each other help that for to do, *by them (to) each other* [1] against all men (in all that they) ought for to do and to promote." We have seen (p. 13) that there was no excuse for a careful reader to make the mistake of *ogt* for *Riȝt,* which Hearne and even Henshall avoided, and the French *dreit* should have at any rate pre-

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[1] Since Craik reads *othe* after Rymer, and not *other* with Henry after Tyrrel, it it difficult to understand how he could translate the word by *other.*

vented the Record Commission, who printed the French, from making this egregious error, as that version enabled Pauli to correct it.

5, 6. *And noan ne nime of loande ne of eʒte. wherþurg þis besiʒte muʒe beon ilet oþer iwersed on onie wise,* and let no man take any land or chattel, whereby this provision may be let or impaired in any wise. *Old French, et* ke nul ne preigne de t're ne de moeble par quei ceste purueance puisse estre desturbee v empiree en nule manere. Here the oath (suprà p. 7) has: "E promettuns sur meime le serment, ke nus de nus ja ren ne prendra de tere ne de moeble, par que cest serment purra estre desturbe u en nule ren empeyre," which, notwithstanding numerous evident corruptions, has the same meaning. The sense is so clear and simple that it would seem impossible to bungle over it. But Somner, and his followers, and the Record Commission, unhappily read *mine* for *nime,* and not seeing, or else disregarding, the written point between *eʒte* and *wherthurʒ,* divided the words differently, thus producing the monstrosities eʒtephæp þupʒ, *egetewhere, thurg,* and eʒteohæpo þupʒ. It required a bolder man than the one who first eat an oyster, to translate the result; but the editors buckled themselves to the task, and this is the remarkable result. *Somner's* passage, in ordinary type, is, *And noan ne mine of loande ne of egtewhær þurg þis besigte muge beon ilet oþer iwersed on onie wise;* which he renders: Et (quod) nullus sive de terrâ (vel, gente) meâ, sive quacunque aliâ per consilium hujusmodi (hujus scil. consilii obeundi causâ) impediatur, sive damnum patiatur, ullo modo." Or in his English version: "and none neither of my land, neither from elsewhere may for this be hindered or damnified [1] in any wise." Most considerate of the king to say that no Englishman, or *foreigner* should be injured by obeying the council; but certainly not very intelligible. Nor is it clear how *egtewhær* could mean *sive aliâ,* from elsewhere, or why *mine of loande,* should mean *of my land.* So at any rate seems to have thought

[1] This was the translation which misled Tyrrel. See suprà p. 31, l. 16, and n. 2.

Dr. Latham, as he boldly reads *of mine loande,* without, however, giving any notice of this transposition.—Henry, after Tyrrel, reads, *And noan ne mine of loande ne of egete-wher, thurg this besigte, muge beon ilet other iwersed, on onie-wise,* and translates : "And none either of my land, nor of elsewhere, through this business, may be impeded or damaged in any way," putting interlinearly, *ne* either, *mine of* of my, *loande* land, *ne* nor, *of* of, *egetewher* elsewhere.   One is re-minded of the theological student, who being required to trans-late word for word, and having only a knowledge of the au-thorized version, said, φήμη there went out, ἐξῆλθε a fame of him (Luke iv. 14).—*Craik,* going to the Record Commission, read, *And noan ne mine of loande, ne of eghteohaero, thurg his besigte, muge beon ilet other iwersed on onie wise,* and emulating Henry, translated : "And none, nor of my land nor elsewhere, through this [1] business may be let (hindered) or damaged in any wise."—Of course when the i is undotted it is difficult to distinguish 'mıne' and 'nıme,' but all readers of MSS. are prepared for this, and will generally read correctly at a glance, and we have seen (supra p. 13, l. 25) that there was not even this excuse in the present instance, as the manuscript has *nıme,* with a distinctive flourish over the *i.*   Hearne has rightly 'nıme,' but Hen-shall fell into *mine.*   For the extraordinary forms *eʒtewhær þurʒ, eʒetewhere thurg, eʒteohæro þurʒ,* I am unable to account, as the MS. is perfectly clear and distinct, and the separation of the words is in this particular case indicated by a period.   Possibly the minds of the editors were so warped by the mistake *mine* for *nime* that these frightful forms, meaning nothing in any language under the sun, were con-jectural emendations (!)   If so they should be a warning to all conjecturers.   The French would have set all right, but only Pauli made use of it (see p. 9, note 1).   It is strange that the translators should not have seen the utter absurdity of making the proclamation, which is, in reality, highly penal, declare that, first, no subject, and, secondly, that no *foreigner,* was to be damnified by it.

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[1] This translation shows that Craik's *his besigte* was a misprint for *this besigte.*

6. *And ӡif oni oþer onie cumen her onӡenes? we willen and hoaten þæt alle vre treowe heom healden deadliche ifoan.* And if any person or persons oppose this provision, we will and enjoin that all lieges hold them as mortal enemies. *Old French, et* se nul v nus viegnent encunt' ceste chose nus uolons et comandons ke tuz nos feaus *et* leaus le teignent a enemi mortel. Or, as the oath says (suprà p. 7) : E si nul fet encuntre ceo, nus le tendrums a enemi mortel. And again referring to this portion of the oath, the king of France in his award, cancelling the provisions of Oxford, says, 22nd January, 1863, (Rymer i. 434) : "nec propter non observantiam prædictorum debeat aliquis alterius *capitalis* vel aliter *inimicus* haberi." Misled, perhaps, by *onie wise* at the end of the last sentence, the English translators were possessed with the idea that *onie* must be the feminine singular, and not the plural of all genders, which had of course the same form then as it still has in modern high German. Hence they conceived that the words *oni oþer onie* must relate to *any one* in the masculine, or *any one* in the feminine, that is, any man or woman. They did not pause to consider the absurdity of the mention of women as having the least political significance in a proclamation 600 years old ! Having overcome the two preceding paragraphs, they were prepared to admit any nonsense under the hand and seal of a king, and approved by his governing council. Again the editors having calmly received the monstrosities *eӡtewher, egetewhære,* eӡteohæro into our language, did not find it very terrible to admit another, equally strange, and so were satisfied, Somner and the Record Commission with ƀeaðlıcheırꞇan, and Henry after Tyrrel with *deadlichistan.* They seem to have thought it a form of superlative; barbarous indeed, but what could you expect in our language 600 years ago, when Anglo-Saxon was broken up, and we had only a corrupt jargon spoken by the peasantry ! We know better now, perhaps ; but then *Somner* read: *And gif oni oþer onie cumen her ongenes we willen and hoaten þæt alle ure treowe heom healden deadlicheistan,* translating, "Et si quis, sive vir sive fœmina, huic

(edicto) contravenerit, volumus et mandamus ut omnes fideles nostri eos habeant infensissimos." Or in his English version : "If any man or woman oppose them against, we will and command that all our liege people them hold for deadly enemies." *Henry*, reading almost the same, translates : "And if any man or any woman cometh (= *cumen !*) them (= *her !*) against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges them hold deadly foes." *Craik* has : "And if any man or any woman come them against, we will and enjoin that all our lieges them hold deadly foes." It is curious that the last words of Henry and Craik did not suggest the right reading *deadliche ifoan*, which is given by Hearne, and is, of course, correctly restored by Pauli from the French, so that Marsh, Regel and Koch have not made these extraordinary blunders. Henshall quietly puts a period at *deadliche.*, and transforms *ifoan* into *If than*, which he places at the beginning of the next sentence. On the origin of the misreading *istan* for *ifoan*, see suprà p. 14. In Somner's, Henry's, and Craik's translations, observe that *her onʒenes encunt' ceste chose*, against this provision, *besiʒte*, is translated "against *them*." This must clearly have referred in their minds to those who were not to be damnified by this decree ! Thus the sense, as they seem to have conceived it, was : Every one is to assist each other against all men, and no one, whether English or foreign, is to be injured by this ordinance, but all who oppose them, are to be considered deadly enemies ! How astonished would be the bold and clever barons who concocted this proclamation, if they could only know that such utter nonsense had been seriously attributed to them !

6, 7. *And for þæt we willen þæt þis beo stedefæst and lestinde :' we senden ʒew þis writ open iseined wiþ vre seel. to halden a manges ʒew inehord.* And because we will that this should be stedfast and lasting, we send you this letter patent signed with our seal, to hold among you in the treasury. *Old French*, et pur ce ke nus volons ke ceste chose seit ferme et estable :' nos enueous nos lettres ou'tes scelees de n're scel en chescun Cunte a demorer la entresor. Here the French introduces the fact, mentioned only in the note at the end

of the English, that the proclamation was sent into each county. The Record Commission, followed by Pauli, who corrected the English by the French but did not venture to correct the French by the English, here exhibits *nos Giueons*, a false Saxonism, the origin of which is explained on p. 12, l. 14. Instead of *scelees* the Burton version has *aselez*, that is, both French versions read *sealed* instead of *signed*. Henry translates *sealed*, perhaps because he could only refer the word *sign* to *writing* a name, instead of merely making a distinctive mark. The ags. *senian, segnian*, was properly to mark with the *sign* of the cross, the common mark still used by those who cannot write; the Latin *signum* (*crucis*) having penetrated with the Christian religion through the whole Germanic languages. The *g* therefore was lost thus early in English, giving rise to *iseined* = (isain·ed). In Dutch *sein* also exists. In high German *Segen, segnen*=(szeegh·en, szeegh·nen) to bless, retain the *g*. *Somner* in his Latin has : " sigillo *nostro* signatum ;" but in his English : " signed with *your* seal," an evident misprint. *Ine hord* seems to mean, in the muniment room or strong box, where the county archives or records were kept or were supposed to be kept ; see p. 7, n. 2.

7, 8. *Witnesse vs seluen æt Lunden'. þane Eʒtententþe day. on þe Monþe of Octobr' In þe Twoandfowertiʒþe ʒeare of vre cruninge.* Witnesses ourselves at London, the eighteenth day of the month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our reign. *Coronation* is employed, because the regnal years were reckoned from the day of coronation 28 Oct. 1216, and not from the death of King John, 19 Oct. 1216. *Old French*, Tesmoin Meimeismes a Londres le Disutime Iur de Octobre lan de nostre regne Q'raunte Secund. The form *meismes* is not plural, as we see by *meismes tel s'rment* above ; Burton version, *memes cest serment*, although a final *s* is not usual in this word, which Roquefort derives from *maxime* and Diez from a Latin *semetipsimus* for *semetipsissimus*, see Diez Rom. Gram. vol. ii. p. 421, 2nd ed. The common Latin form of attestation at the time was *teste meipso*. It is singular that the French version, written throughout in the

first person *plural*, should have here fallen suddenly to the first person *singular*, *mei* meismes. The old English, more consistent, gives the plural form, *witnesse vs seluen*, where *witnesse* seems to be meant as a plural, though *isetnesses* would have led us to expect *witnesses*. *Witnesse* is however also used as a singular, Stratman, p. 651. *Henry*, Witness ourself at London, the eighteenth day of the month of October, in the two and fortieth year of our crowning. It is observable that Henry, giving an interlinear version, and following a misprint of Tyrrel's, makes *Lundænthane* one word—a remarkable form of *London*, and that he has therefore had to supply the word *the* before *eighteenth*, without any original. Also he doubles the *n* in *crunning*, and omits the final *e*. When such little care was taken to reproduce the old spelling no wonder that its meaning was not appreciated, and that it should have been stigmatized as irregular and confused—terms, which applied in greater force to the printed than to the manuscript text.

8. *And þis wes idon ætforen vre isworene redesmen* . . . . . . 10, *and ætforen oþre moʒe*, And this was done in the presence of our sworn councillors . . . . and in the presence of other kinsmen. *Old French*, Et ceste chose fu fete deuant . . . . here follow the names only, without any mention of their being the names of councillors, and without the epithet *sworn*, or the final remark. *Somner* (*Latin*), Hoc autem gestum fuit coram juratis consiliariis nostris . . . et coram aliis pluribus; (*English*) and this was done before our sworn counsellors . . . . and before others moe. This *aliis pluribus*, "others moe," is Somner's last effort as a translator; the passage has been already considered in reference to *moʒe*, p. 15. The names appended have been shewn (p. 16,) to be *partly* those of the Council of Fifteen, and *partly* those of the Twelve sent to form a parliament with the Fifteen. From the expression *sworn* it is probable that they all took an oath resembling that of the Twenty-four, already given (suprà p. 7.)

11. *And al on þo ilche worden is isend into æurihce oþre shcire ouer al þære kuneriche on Engleneloande. and ek in tel Irelonde.* And in exactly the same words it has been sent

into every other shire throughout the kingdom of England, and also in till Ireland.—This addition, though evidently not a part of the proclamation, and introduced by a paragraph marked ¶, is in the same handwriting as the rest, and is placed in a line below the proclamation, not as a marginal note.   See Tyrrel's remark upon it, suprà, p. 31-2.

It may appear, perhaps, that too much space has been devoted to exposing the extraordinary errors of our English translators.   But it seems important that the degree of reliance which we can place upon such well-known editors of Anglo-Saxon and Early English, as Somner and Hearne, or upon such a work as the Record Commissioners' should be ascertained in a crucial instance, where proof is easy, brief, and crushing.   It is also well to know how boldly (to use a mild term) translators venture upon impossibilities, and how content they are to publish nonsense as a translation, without any explanation or justification.   Have we any reason to suppose that the editing of this proclamation has been exceptionally bad?   It is only too much to be feared that the opposite is the fact; that much of the older reprints of Early English manuscripts is only to be looked upon as an *index*, shewing us where we are to seek materials, and that those who attempt to build with the rotten bricks they furnish, will only waste time and thought in erecting an edifice which the first earthquake of accurate investigation will infallibly demolish.[1]   Let us rejoice that editors, on whose work we can rely, now exist, and that the Early English Text Society has opened a channel for the diffusion of their labours.   It cannot be too much insisted on that what is at present wanted in an edition of any Early English work, is not a conjectural text, however cleverly it may be formed,[2]

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[1] See Rev. W. Skeat's remarks in the preface to his addition of "Lancelot of the Laik" upon the errors in Mr. Stevenson's edition.   The following italics represent some of these errors, the roman letters giving the corrections:—*fatil*, fatit; *unarmyt*, enarmyt; *can here*, cam nere; *rendit*, vondit; *refuse*, reprefe; *felith*, setith; *vyt*, ry*ch*t; *cumyng*, cunyng; *ane desyne*, medysyne; *born*, lorn; *Hymene*, hyme; *such*, furth; *chichingis*, thithingis; etc.

[2] Pauli and Regel have been, on the whole, happy in their conjectures, having had the guidance of a French translation, but Somner has utterly failed, and Henshall is purely ridiculous.

but a diplomatically correct presentation of the best manuscript or manuscripts which exist[1] with conjectural emendations relegated to the footnotes, or given in a separately printed text, as in Mr. Collyer's Shakspere, or the corrected text of the *Prisoner's Prayer* (infrà p. 104). Our editors and our critics are yet in the learning stage, and they have to complete their studies by careful examination of original documents. Hereafter the time may come,—and, if the study of Early English, so well begun in our schools, prospers as we could wish, we shall not have to wait long,—when school texts will be required which will give, not all the various forms from which the critic has laboriously to make his choice, but the one form of any dialect, which criticism has determined to be most probably correct. Then it will be proper to correct the errors of the original and to adopt a uniform orthography for each dialect and period. Till then we must strive to put the actual letters of our old writers into as many hands as possible in the clearest and most legible form. Any presentation of those ancient documents from which the forms of our language have to be acquired, that contains unnoticed or unexplained departures from the original, even if they only embrace extensions of contractions, alterations of orthography, or the correction of what the editor at the time believes to be manifest errors, is a literary *fraud*, which cannot be too severely reprobated.

IX. *Contemporary Songs.*

The question which has been raised as to whether the language of the proclamation was or was not older than the language used by the people at the time it was issued, although it might seem to be decided by the fact that the proclamation was meant for the people and would have entirely failed in its object, if, when the sheriffs read it out (p. 7, note

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[1] The source whence any text is derived should be carefully stated. It is strange that such a scholar as Koch, for example, should have given a copy of this proclamation without naming his authority. Henry, Latham, and Koch absolutely introduce a whole phrase into the text without hinting that it was not in the original.

1), the people had not comprehended, yet is best answered by producing decidedly popular verse of nearly the same date. It will therefore not be out of place to exhibit here the well-known Cuckoo Song from the Harleian MS. 978, to which Sir F. Madden assigns a date anterior to 1240, and the Prisoner's Prayer (from the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, Record Room, Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall,) which is probably earlier than 1274.[1]　That the language of the Proclamation should be stiffer was to be expected, just as a royal proclamation now-a-days is stiffer than a pastoral song or a devotional lyric, but the language will be seen to be in all essential points the same. In the Cuckoo Song, we have one decidedly French word, u e r t, probably borrowed from the chace, the Norman's delight, and the words c u c c u, s t e r t are not found in Anglo-saxon, but the first is onomatopoetic, and the latter is Teutonic.　The Prisoner's Prayer has p r i s u n, which however, belongs to Anglo-saxon times, and i p e l t, a word of uncertain origin, but thoroughly Saxonized. Otherwise the whole language of both is Saxon, with the same final *e* answering all purposes of a final vowel.

The Cuckoo Song was originally written in English, and the music is adapted to the English words; it is, however, accompanied by a monkish Latin hymn, which perhaps gave it admission into a monk's common place book, as the Harl. MS. 978, may be described.　The Latin has nothing to do

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[1] These songs will be considered with especial reference to their date and pronunciation in my Essay on *Early English Pronunciation*, chap. v.　The handwriting of the Prisoner's Prayer is precisely similar to that of the Cuckoo Song. The Cuckoo Song has been correctly printed by Ritson (Ancient Songs, first edition, 1760, p. 3), and incorrectly printed and translated by Hawkins (History of Music, 1786, vol. ii. p. 93), and Burney (History of Music, 1782, vol. ii. pp. 405-412).　The two latter give interpretations of the music, which is the oldest catch or canon known.　Mr. William Chappell (to whom I am much indebted for information on this subject) has given a facsimile of the MS. as the frontispiece to his *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, together with Mr. G. A. Macfarren's setting of the same, and has many interesting remarks upon it.　The Prisoner's Prayer has never been printed, and is not even mentioned by T. Stapleton in his transcript of the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* for the Camden Society, 1846, nor by H. T. Riley in his translation of the same (*Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, 1188 *to* 1274, London, 1863).　The present edition is from a careful transcript made by myself, and the proof has been read with the original.

with the English, and has no words corresponding to the *Pes* or Burden. In the following copy the Early English is printed strictly from the original, but is broken up into lines as indicated by the rhymes, and the conjectured pronunciation[1] is given in an adjoining column. At the foot of the page are added a verbal translation, and the text of the Latin Hymn already named, in the old spelling, the lines being separated by dashes, with a verbal translation.

The Prisoner's Prayer was originally written in French, and the musical notes were adapted to the French only. The English words are written under the French, but often spread beyond them, blank spaces being left in the music. The writing seems to have been left uncorrected, as not only are the final French words, et J o r *et* d o i n t i o y e c e r t e y n e, and the corresponding English, left without music, and in v. 39 of the French a word required for the metre has been erased, without any other being substituted for it, but several evident errors occur. Thus v. 4 s h o l y e, which is no word at all, has been written for t h o l y e, v. 6 o ſ for o f, and v. 31, 44 b l i ſ c e for b l i ſ f e. This last error makes one almost suppose that the scribe was a Norman; at any rate, the Norman French and Early English are in the same handwriting, and the other errors may arise from the scribe not being used to write English. Thus we have h a b b e t v. 13, for h a b b e t h, which stands for h a b b e þ, and possibly the use of t h, g h, or y h for þ, ʒ is due to the same cause. The use of c t for ʒ t, the omission of the h in w o ſ v. 23, w u v. 42,[2] and its occasional insertion in h u ſ v. 37, 38, 40, 41, are found in other MSS., as is also the use of d for þ in v. 7 f o d, v. 30 d e d f e l l e d, v. 31 h a d, v. 34 l a s t e d. In v. 13 the scribe wrote f o r o t h r e h a b b e t m i ſ n o m e, thinking, probably, that he

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[1] In the Conjectured Pronunciation of the Cuckoo Song and Prisoner's Prayer (i) has been used in lieu of (*i*) which was employed in the proclamation, partly for convenience in printing, and partly owing to the uncertainty which necessarily attends the determination of such minute shades of difference as that of (i, *i*). But my own opinion is that (*i*) always prevailed in England.

[2] *Wo* for *who* occurs in R. Gloucester, p. 215, l. 20, and in the Seven Sages, ed. T. Wright, Percy Society, 1845, l. 1093, p. 38.

had reached the end of the line, and then detecting the omission
of the word b e n which should have preceded, he subjoined
it.   That h a b b e þ b e n m i f n u m e is the proper order
appears from the metre and the rhyme to f u m e v. 11; at
the same time the writer evidently forgot an a n d at the
beginning of v. 14, which is wanted for grammatical con-
struction, metre, and music.   It appears to me that v. 9,
t h a r i c h i n a m, is a similar transposition of t h a r i n
i c h a m, and probably also v. 30 should be d e þ f e l l e þ
h i m, in place of d e d h i m f e l l e d.   In v. 34 b u t e n
o n f t u n d e contains a syllable too much for the music,
and so probably b u t e o n should be used, the form b u t e
occurring in the *Ancren Riwle*.   In v. 4 we have i h c for the
usual i c h, a transposition also found in the Proclamation.
V. 42, i n t h o f l i u e g o w n f i t.   g o., is evidently
erroneous, whether we read w n or w u, which would be indis-
tinguishable in the MS., and is difficult to correct.   The first
g o seems to be an error of the same kind as in v. 13, where
the last word was written too soon and then the remainder of
the line subjoined.   This view is confirmed by the evidently
erroneous period after f i t, which shews that the writer
thought he had reached the end of the line, and then dis-
covering his mistake inserted the last word.   But in t h o f
l i u e w u f i t g o is nonsense, because f i t is a sub-
stantive and requires the preposition i n before it, see the
passages cited sub *syt* in Mr. R. Morris's Glossary to the
Alliterative Poems, published by the Early English Text
Society.   Hence I suppose w n to stand for w o i n,
so that the line may have been i n t h o f e l i u e w o
i n f i t g o, which has a superfluous syllable, unless
we omit the final e in l i u e, or read w o ' n.   We
might indeed suppose f i t to be an error for f i c, and
then i n would not be required, so that, i n t h o f l i u e
w u f i c g o would fill all the required conditions.   The use
of w o or w u as the pure relative referring to h u f in the
line before, is the earliest example of this use, being fully a
century prior to the Wicliffite versions, which contained the
earliest instance formerly known.   The occurrence of t h a t

in v. 43 as the apodosis to s w o in v. 41, would have rendered the intermediate use of t h a t in v. 42 extremely awkward, and even embarrassing, and may have led to the employment of w u in the present case.

Following the rule of diplomatic accuracy, the French and English texts are given below literatim as in the MS., with the exception of the extended and italicised contractions, but broken into verses as indicated by the rhymes, and into stanzas as pointed out by the paragraph marks. A corrected text is furnished in a third column, in which also þ ʒ are restored, and the omission of the final e, when necessary for the metre, indicated by an apostrophe. A fourth column gives the conjectured pronunciation, and verbal translations of the French and English are subjoined at the foot of the pages.

These verbal translations will supersede the necessity of any lengthened remarks on the language. In the Cuckoo Song, the only obsolete words are 10 u e r t e t h apparently from French *vert*, feuille ou branche verte, Roquefort: "mettre des chevaux au vert," is still used for "to turn out horses to grass;" and 14 f w i k ags. swican, *to deceive, cease, offend*. In the Prisoner's Prayer the list is longer. 3 f y c h e ags. sican, *to sigh*. 4 t h o l y e ags. þolian, *to suffer*. 6 r i c h e ags. rice, *a kingdom*. 11 f e r e n pl. of f e r e ags. fera, gefera, *a companion*. 11 f u m e ags. samod, somod, *together*. 13 m i f n o m e, past part. of m i s n i m e n, ags. mis- and niman, *to take*, m i f n u m e is a more usual form. 16 b a l e ags. balew, beal, balo, *evil, misery*, modern *baleful*. 17 h a l e ags. hælu *health*. 17 b o t e ags. bot, *remedy.* 19 w o n i n g ags. wonung, *waning, decrease, injury;* wana, *deficiency* and deficient. 24 i p e l t for *ipilt, ipult*, cast, thrust, see pp. 14, 74, on the interchange of *i, e, u* short. Mr. Morris thinks the original form of the word was *iput*, thrust, cast, "the *l* being intrusive," and says that the verb *put* is found in this sense in the *Homilies* before A.D. 1200, ʒif þu me puttest in þet eʒe = if thou thrustest me in the eye. Müller (*Etm. Wb. d. Eng. Spr.* sub *put*) also thinks that *putte, pulte*, are identical. Stratman (*Dict.* p. 444) gives examples of *pulte, pilte, pelte*. Gen. & Ex. 2214, ðo breðere

seckes hauen he filt, And in euerilc ꝥe siluer pilt, *they have filled the brothers' sacks and put the silver in each*.   The origin of *put, pult* is uncertain.   Danish *putte* to put, *pulte* to break in two, which Molbech (*Dansk Ordbog*) refers to *pult* a clod.   No corresponding words in Icelandic or Swedish.   26 h i l l e ags. hell, hyll, *hell, grave*.   Mr. Morris prefers considering h i l l e to be the same as *ille*, evil, vile, with an erroneously prefixed *h*.   As p r i s u n is masculine, he observes, that if h i l l e were the correct reading, we should require p r i s u n e s h i l l e.   He does not recollect the use of *hille* for grave in any early English author.   27 h o p e t o have confidence in, ags. hopian to Gode, *to trust in God*.   28 b i l i u e ags. belifan, *to remain*.   ſtigh e ags. stigan, *to ascend*.   32 r a t h e ags. ræꝥe, *quickly*.   33 m i d ags. mid, *with*.   33 i w i s s e ags. gewisse, *certain*, m i d i w i s s e is used adverbially as t o w i s s e, the dat. being used after the proposition.   34 b u t e n ags. butan, *without, except*.   37 r e w ſ i n g ags. hreowsung, *repentance*, the repentance of God being mercy.   39 m i l s e ags. mildse, *mercy*.   42 ſ i t is apparently the Old Norse *sút*, dolor, mœstitia, morbus, according to Biörn Haldorsen, who refers it to *sótt* morbus, the verb is *at sýta* = dolere, angi; *sit* occurs in Ormin 4852, see Stratman sub *sit ;* it is of course difficult to distinguish from ſ i c in most MSS. but in this, *c, t* are generally quite distinct; *sik* is used in the same sense in Genesis and Exodus, v. 1239.   43 e y a n d o, compare *ever and o*, Mapes, 340, ed. T. Wright.   *o* is the same word as *a*, ever, so that e y a n d o means *for ever and ever*. See Stratmann's Dict. p. 14.   44 e c h e ags. ece, *eternal*.

In the amended text, v. 20, *bringen* is used for *bringe* because all the other infinitives in the poem end in *en*, as manen 2, werchen 41, habben 44, although the *n* was often dropped, v. 5, *þine* swete name, would be the usual form.   v. 24, 25. *gilt, ipilt* have been adopted as the best forms, Mr. Morris prefers *gult, ipult*, where *u* stands for ags. *y* or *i*.   v. 26 Mr. Morris's *ille* has been adopted. v. 35, in *bare* the *e* is inflectional, but is necessarily omitted for the metre.

THE CUCKOO SONG.

From the Harleian MS. 978, fo. 10*b*.

Early English Original.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Svmer if ıcumen ín.	Suu·mer is ikuu·men in.
Lhude fíng cuccu.	Lhuu·de siq, kuk·kuu· !
Groweth fed	Groou·eth seed,
and bloweþ med	And bloou·eth meed,
and fpríngþ þe wde nu. 5	And spriqth dhe uud·e nuu.
Síng cuccu	Siq, kuk·kuu· !
Awe bleteþ after lomb.	Au·e bleet·eth af·ter lomb,
lhouþ after calue cu.	Lhoouth af·ter kal·ve kuu.
Bulluc fterteþ.	Bul·uuk stert·eth,
bucke uerteþ 10	Buk·e vert·eth,
Murıe fíng cuccu.	Mer·ie siq, kuk·kuu !
Cuccu cuccu	Kuk·kuu· ! kuk·kuu· !
Wel fíngef þu cuccu	Wel siq·es dhuu, kuk·kuu· !
ne fwık þu nauer nu.	Nee swik dhuu nav·er nuu.
Pes.	*Pees.*
Síng cuccu nu. Síng cuccu.	Siq, kuk·kuu·, nuu ! Siq, kuk·-
15	kuu· !
Síng cuccu. Síng cuccu nu.	Siq, kuk·kuu· ! Siq, kuk·kuu·,
	nuu !

Verbal Translation of the Early English.—Summer has come in, Loudly sing, cuckoo ! Grows seed, And blossoms mead, And springs the wood now. Sing, cuckoo ! Ewe bleats after lamb, Lows after (its) calf (the) cow. Bullock leaps, Buck verts (seeks the green), Merrily sing, cuckoo ! Cuckoo, cuckoo ! Well singest thou, cuckoo, Cease thou not never now. *Burden.* Sing, cuckoo, now ! sing, cuckoo ! Sing, cuckoo ! sing, cuckoo, now !

Latin Hymn to the same notes.—Perfpıce Xp'ıcola.—que dıgnacıo.—celıcus— agrıcola—pro uıtıf vıcıo.—fılıo—non parcenf exposuıt—mortıs exıcıo—Quı captíuos—femfuíuos—a supplıcıo—vıte donat—et secum coronat—ín celı folıo.

Verbal Translation of the Latin Hymn.—Behold, Christ-Worshipper (*Christi-cola*) What condescension ! From heaven The husbandman For the fault of the vine, His son Not sparing has exposed To the destruction of death, Who the captives Half-alive From punishment Gives to life, And crowns with him In heaven's throne.

THE PRISONER'S PRAYER.

From the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, Guildhall, London, fol. 160*b*.

Norman French Original.	*Early English Translation.*

I.

Eỹnſ ne ſoẏ ke pleẏnte fu
ore pleẏn danguſſe treſſu
  trop aı mal *et* contreẏre   3
Sanz decerte en prıſun ſuı.
car maẏdez treſpuıſ ıheſu.
  duz deuſ *et* deboneẏre.   6

I.

Ar ne kuthe ıch ſorghe non.
nu ıch mot manen mın mon.
  karful welfore ıch fẏche.
Geltles ıhc ſholẏe muchele ſchame
help god for thın ſwete name
  kẏng of heuene rıche.

II.

Iheſu crıſt veırſ deu ueırſ hom.
  prenge vuſ de meı pıte.
Jetez meı de la prısun
  v ıe ſuı atort gete.   10
Io e mı autre compaıgnun
  deuſ enſet la uerıte.
tut pur aut*re* meſprıſun
  ſumes a hunte líuere.   14

II.

Jefu crıſt ſod god ſod man
  louerd thu rew vponme
of prıſun thar ıch ın am
  brıng me vt and makẏe fre.
Jch and míne feren ſume
  god wot ıch ne lẏghe noct
for othre habbet mıſ nome ben
  ın thẏſ prıſun ıbroct.

III.

Sıre deuſ
kẏ aſ mortels eſ
  de pardun ueíne.   17
ſucurez
delıuerez
  nuſ de ceſte peıne.   20

III.

Al mıctı that
wel lıctlı of bale
  ıſ hale and bote.
heuene kíng
of this wonıng
  vt vs brınge mote.

Verbal Translation of the Norman French.—I. Once (I) knew not what affliction was, Now, full of anguish, tormented (*très sué*), Too much (I) have (of) ill and misfortune. Without guilt in prison am (I), Wherefore help me right soon (*très puis*) Jesus, Sweet God and gracious. II. Jesus Christ, true God, true man, Take you pity on me, Cast me from the prison, Where I am wrongfully thrown. I and my other companion, God knows of it (*en sait*) the truth, All for other mistake (in mistake for others), Are delivered to shame.—III. Sire God, Who to (*aux*) mortals art Of pardon source (*veine*), Help, Deliver Us from this pain.

Corrected Text.

I.

Ar ne kuþ' ich sorȝe non,
Nu ich mot manen min mon.

Karful wel sor' ich siche. 3
Giltles, ich þolie much'le schame.

Help, God, for þin' swete name,

King of hevene riche. 6

II.

Jesu Crist, soþ God, soþ man,

Lhoverd, rew þu upon me!
Of prisun þarin ich am,
Bring me ut and makie fre! 10
Ich and mine feren sume,
(God wot, ich ne liȝe noȝt,)

For oþr' habbeþ ben misnume

[And] in þis prisun ibroȝt. 14

III.

Almiȝti, þat
Wel liȝtli of bal'
Is hal' and bote, 17
Hev·ne king!
Of þis woning
Ut us bringen mote. 20

Conjectured Pronunciation.

I.

Aar ne kuuth itsh sor·ghe noon,
Nuu itsh moot maa·nen miin moon.

Kaar·ful· wel soor itsh siitsh·e.
Gilt·les, itsh thoo·lie mutsh·le shaa·me.

Help, God, for dhiin swee·te naa·me,

Kiq of нee·vene riitsh·e.

II.

Dzhee·su Krist, sooth God, sooth man,

Lhov·erd, reu dhu upon· mee!
Of priisuun· dhaarin· itsh am,
Briq me uut and maa·kie free!
Itsh and mii·ne fee·ren suu·me,
(God wot, itsh ne lii·ghe nokht,)

For oo·dhr- -ab·eth been mis-nuu·me

[And] in dhis priisuun· ibrokht··.

III.

Almiкh·ti, dhat
Wel liкht·lai of baal
Is нaal and boo·te,
Heev·ne king!
Of dhis woo·niq·
Uut us briq·en moo·te.

Verbal Translation of the Early English (corrected text).—I. Erst not knew I sorrow none, Now I must moan (ags. *mænan*) my moan. Ful of care right sorely I sigh. Guiltless, I suffer much shame. Help, God, for thy sweet name, King of heaven's kingdom.—II. Jesus Christ, true God, true man, Lord, rue thou (have mercy) upon me! Of (the) prison wherein I am, Bring me out and make (me) free! I and my companions (plural here, singular in the French) together (God knows, I not lie nought), Have been for others mistaken, i.e. wrongfully taken, [And] in (to) this prison brought.—III. Almighty, that Well easily of harm Is healing and remedy, Heaven's king, Of this affliction May (he) bring us out.

Norman French.		*Early English.*
Pardonez.		Foryhef hem
et aſſoỳlez.		the wỳkke men
ıcel' gentıl ſıre.	23	god ẏhef ıt ıf thı wılle
ſı te pleſt		for woſ gelt
par kı forfet		we bed ıpelt
nuſ ſuffruȵ tel martıre.	26	ın thoſ prıſun hílle.

IV.   IV.

Fouſ eſt ke ſe afıe		Ne hope non to hıf líue
en ceſte morten uıe.		her ne maı he bılıue
ke tant nuſ contralıe.		heghe thegh he stighe
Et v nad fors boỳdıe.	30	ded hım felled to grunde.
Ore eſt hoem en leeſſe		Nu had man wele and blıſce
et ore eſt en trıſteſce		rathe he ſhal thar of mıſſe.
ore le garıſt ore bleſce		worldes wele mıdẏwıſſe
fortune ke le guíe.	34	ne lasted buten on ſtunde.

V.   V.

Vırgıne. *et* mere au fouereín.		Maíden that bare the heuen kíng
ke nuſ ıeta de la maỳn		bıſech thın ſone that ſwete thıng
al mauſe kı par euaỳn		that he habbe of hus rewſíng
nuſ ont treſtuz en ſun heím		and brıng hus of thıs wonıȵg
a grant dolur [et] peıne.	39	for hıs Muchele mılſe.
Requerez ıcel ſeignȶr		He brıng hus vt of thıs wo
ke ıl par ſa grant dulcur		and huſ tache werchen ſwo
nuſ get de ceſte dolur.		ın thoſ líue go wn fıt. go.
v nuſ ſumus nuỳt *et* Jor		that we moten eẏ and o
et doınt ıoẏe certeỳne.	44	habben the eche blıſce.

Verbal Translation of the Norman French, continued.—Pardon And absolve Him, gentle sire, If (it) thee please, By whose crime We suffer such martyrdom. —IV. Mad is (he) that has confidence In this death in life (*mort en vie,*) Which afflicts (*contralie=contrarie*, Roquefort) us so much, And where (there) is nothing but deceit (*et ou n'a*=il n'y a, *hors*=que, *boydie* = boisdie =voisdie, from *versutia*). Now is man in joy, And now (he) is in sorrow, Now him heals (*guérit*), now wounds, Fortune who guides (*guide*) him.—V. Virgin and mother to the sovereign Who cast us with his (*la,* lit. *the* as in modern French) hand To the devils (*aux malfaits*), who through Eve (*Evain*) Have us right all (*très tous*) on their hook (*heim, haim, hain*=Latin *hamus*, modern *hameçon*) In great grief and (supply *et,* wanted for the construction, metre, and music, the word originally written has been erased,) pain. Beseech that Lord, That he by his great sweetness (*douceur*) May cast us from this grief, Where we are night and day, And give (*donne*) sure joy.

Corrected Text.	*Conjectured Pronunciation.*
Forȝef hem	Forȝeef· ɴem
þe wikke men,	Dhe wik·e men,
God, ȝif it is þi wille, 23	God, ȝif it is dhai wil·e,
For whos gilt	For whoos gilt
We beoþ ipilt	We beeuth ipilt·
In þis prisun ille. 26	In dhis prii·suun il·e.

IV.

Ne hop' non to his live !	Ne ɴoop noon too ɴis lii·ve !
Her ne maȝ he bilive.	Heer nee mai ɴee bilii·ve.
Heȝe þeȝ he stiȝe,	Hekh·e dheekh ɴe stii·ghe,
Deþ felleþ him to grunde. 30	Deeth fel·eth ɴim to grund·e.
Nu haþ man wel' and blisse,	Nuu ɴath man weel and blis·e
Raþ' he schal þarof misse.	Raath ee shal dhaar·of mis·e.
Worldes wele, mid iwisse,	World·es weel·e, mid iwis·e,
Ne lasteþ but' on stunde. 34	Ne last·eth buut oon stund·e.

V.

Maȝden, þat bar' þe hev'ne king,	Maid·en dhat baar dhe ɴeev·ne kiq
Bisech þin son', þat swete þing,	Biseetsh· dhiin soon dhat sweet·e thiq,
þat he habb' of us rewsing,	Dhat ɴe ɴab of us reusiq·,
And bring' us of this woning,	And briq us of dhis woo·niq·
For his muchele mildse. 39	For ɴis mutsh·el·e mil·se.
He bring' us ut of this wo,	Hee briq us uut of dhis woo
And us tache werchen swo,	And us taatsh·e wertsh·en swoo,
In þis liv' who in sit' go,	In dhis liiv who in siit goo,
þat we moten, aȝ and o,	Dhat we moo·ten, ai and oo,
Habben þe eche blisse. 44	Hab·en dhe eetsh·e blis·e.

Verbal Translation of the Early English (corrected text), continued.—Forgive them The wicked men, God, if it is thy will, For whose guilt We (have) been thrust In (to) this vile prison.—IV. Let none have trust in his life! Here may he not remain. High though he rise, Death fells him to (the) ground. Now hath one weal and bliss, Suddenly he shall miss thereof. (The) world's weal, with certainty, Lasteth not but one hour.—V. Maiden, that bare the heaven's king, Beseech thy son, that sweet thing, That he have of us pity, And bring us out of this affliction, For his great mercy. May he bring us out of this woe, And so to act teach us, Who in this life walk in affliction, That we may, aye and ever Have the eternal bliss.

X. *Glossarial Index.*

The numbers after the words refer to the lines in the original MS. as shown by the bracketed numbers on pp. 19, 21, 23.   The letters a, b, c, etc., after the numbers, refer to the first, second, third, etc., occurrence of the word in that line.   The pronunciation in palaeotype is given on the same pages.   For the obsolete words in the Cuckoo Song and Prisoner's Prayer, see p. 101.

A

a, 7. probably a mere error of the scribe, being part of the following word *manges,* which see. p. 14.

abuten, 3. = a buten, ags. orm. *á* ever, and ags. *butan,* orm. *buttan, butenn* without, Regel therefore writes *a buten,* and translates *immer und ohne,* ever and without, p. 47. ofr. *a tuz iurz.* p. 13, 47, 84.   Str. 14, sub *á.*

æ when used, p. 71.

æhc, 5, another way of writing *æch,* p. 73, ags. *ælc,* orm. *illc,* ge. *ilc,* each, not to be confused with *ilche,* which see. In the phrase *þæt æhc oþer helpe,* 5, *æhc* appears to be the nominative, and *oþer* the dative, as in ge. God him helpe weli mot, *may God help him richly,* 2528 ; Regel, dass jeder dem anderen helfe.   modern, let them help each other.   ofr. kil sentreeident.

ænde, 3. end, ags. *ænde, ende.* orm. *ende,* the æ and e are often confused, compare *rædesmen, redesmen,* below. Str. 178, sub *ende.*

æt, 7, at, ags. *æt,* ge. *at.* a northern dialetic form, p. 75. here constructed with the dative, *æt Lundene.* ofr. ͡a *Londres.* Str. 33, sub *at.*

ætforen, 8, 10, prep. in the presence of, ofr. *deuant*, ags. *ætforan* coram; a northern form, p. 76. Str. 33, sub *atforen*.

æurihce, 11 every, not in ags. nor orm. ; ge. *euerilc*, *euerilk*. the orthography means the same as *æuriche*, p. 73. the final *e* marks the acc. fem. agreeing with *shcire*.

aȝenes, 5 prep. against, ofr. *cuntre*, ags. *agen, ongen, ongean;* p. 86, n. 1, ge. *agen, agenes* 538, 541. a gen. form whence our against with inorganic *t* like *d* in *sound*. Str. 25 sub *onȝaenes*.

al, 11a. adv. entirely, precisely, altogether, *al on þo ilche worden*, precisely in the same words ; ge. and wurð ðis weder sone al stille, *and this weather became soon entirely still*, 3059. 11b. adj. all, undeclined, used before the article and adjectives, *ouer al þære kuneriche*, over all the kingdom. There is a similar construction in modern high German.

Aldiþel, 10, ofr. *Audithel*, Rymer i. 373, *Audel*. p. 71. Modern Audley, in Staffordshire and Essex, and Audley Castle in Downshire: a Sir James Audley was one of the first knights of the garter.

alle, adj. all, ofr. *tuz* 2 a, b, 6, nom. pl. 5, acc. pl. after *to*, *in, hoaten*. ge. 874, nom. pl. alle he ben ðor to gronde brogt, *all they are there brought to ground, ruined;* 895 dat. pl. Habram gaf him ðe tigðe del Of alle is bigete, *Abram gave him the tenth part of all his winnings*, where *is* = *his*, is not declined as *hise*, 1.

alse, 5, adv. as. See *alswo*.

alswo, 5, adv. as; *alswo alse*, just as, ofr. *en la maniere ke* ; ags. *eallswa, ælswa ;* orm. *allse, all se, alls, allswa, all swa ;* ge. *als, alse, also* ; seldom = also, generally = so, as, gen. 1411 quan god haued it so bisen Alse he sendet, als it sal ben, *when God has so provided it, just as he sends, so it shall be*. p. 85.

amanȝes, see *manȝes*.

and. 1 a, b.   2, a, b, c.   3 a, b, c.   4 a, b, c.   5 a, b, c. 6 a, b, c.   7, 8, 9 a, b.   10, 11 a, b. adv. and, ofr. *et*, ags. *and*.

Aniow, ofr. *Angou*, chr. *Angeow, Angæw, Angou*, modern *Anjou*. In the letter to Oleron, Rymer i. 374, comes Andegaviæ. The Andecavi or Andes were the original

inhabitants, and their capital, Jubiomagus, is the modern capital Angers. See pp. 12, 79.

Aquitain' for Aquitain*e* 1, ofr. *Aqui'en*, letter to Oleron Rymer i. 374, dux Aquitanniæ. The queen of Henry II. brought the title, together with all the old Aquitania (Guienne, Poitou, Gascony, Anjou, etc.) to the English kings. See p. 79.

Archebischop, 8, archbishop, ofr. *Arceeueske*, ags. *arcebischop, ærcebisceop*, p. 75, n. 1.

Aubem', 9. ofr. *Aubemarle* ; chr. *Albemare, Albamar*. The use of the initial *Au* shows that the word was taken as French, and the contraction must be extended accordingly. modern French, *Aumale*. p. 46.

B

beo, 3, 7, ofr. *seit*, subj. pres. 3 pers. sg. depending on *willen*, be ; ags. *beo*.

beon 4 a, b, be ; here *beon* may or may not be subj. ; if it is subj. it is the ags. form 3 p. pl. ; if it is indic. it is a midland form for *beoþ*, which also occurs, p. 76. *beon*, 6, be, inf. *muʒe beon ilet* may be let, i.e. hindered.

beoþ, 2, are; ofr. *est*, pres. ind. 3 p. pl. southern form, p. 76, *beoþ ichosen* have been chosen, p. 81.

besiʒte, 3, 6, provision; ofr. *purveance—þurʒ þe besiʒte of þan to foreniseide rædesmen* 3, acc., ofr. *sicum il ordenera ; wherþurʒ þis besiʒte muʒe beon ilet* 6, nom., ofr. *par quei ceste purueance puisse estre desturbee*. It is a substantive related to *beseon*, quasi to be-see, *pourvoir*, in the same way as *gesiht* is to *seon*, and must mean superintendence, provision, and hence ordinance. The *Provisions of Oxford*, p. 5, n. 1, were doubtless called *besiʒten* in the English of that time. Somner translates *consilium* in both cases in the Latin, and *advice or consideration* the first time, and simply *this* the second time, in his English translation ; but he has entirely mistaken the second passage as shewn on p. 90. Henry translates it *determination* the first time, and *business* the second time, both clearly random shots, the latter smacking of an imagined relation to *biseg*, busy, which is quite out

of the question.   Craik seems to have been similarly misled
as he translates the word by *business* in both cases, explaining
the first as *act*.   Koch and Regel have *Verordnung* and Marsh
ordinance in both cases.   Mr. Morris considers the word to
be feminine, like all other nouns in *-t* derived from verbs,
but *þis besiȝte* seems to point it out as neuter, unless *þis*
is feminine as it is occasionally in Laȝamon, see Koch (*Gram.*
1, 477).   Not in Col. or ge.   Str. 61 only quotes this passage
for its occurrence, p. 83.

bi, 5, by; ofr. *par*; ags. *be, bi, big*; ge. *bi.* here used with
the dat. after it.

biforen, 5, adv. before;   ofr. *desuz*; ags. *beforan*;   ge.
biforen.

Bigod, 9 ; ofr. *le Bigod*, often written *Bygod, Bigot.*

Bischop, 8, bishop; ofr. *eueske*; ags. *bisceop*, p. 75, n. 1.

Bonefac' 8 ;   ofr. *Boneface*, · which probably explains the
English contraction ; chr. *Boniface.*

C

Cantelow, 8 ; ofr. *Cantelou*, p. 27, p. 44, n. 1, p. 46.

ch when used, p. 73.

Clar' 9 ; ofr. *Clare*, which explains the contraction.

cruninge, 8, crowning ;   ofr. *regne*;   dat. after *of ;*   ge.
2638 *corune* for crown preserves the French form, but here
the ags. forms *crunen, cruning*, have been generated, and
cruninge is a case of the last.   In old high German the form
was still *corona*, but in the verb *gacoronon*, it was thoroughly
Germanized, in middle high German appear *kronen, krænen*,
p. 8, n. 1, p. 75, n. 1, p. 94.

cumen, 6, come; ofr. *viegnent*; ags. *cuman,*; it may
be either indic. or subj.   There are two nominatives to it,
oni oþer onie, and it agrees with the last only, pp. 48-9.

D

day, 7, day ; acc. case, ofr. *iur* ; ags. *dæg* ; ge. *dai, day, day.*

dæl, 2, 5, part ; ofr. *partie* ; ags. *dæl* ; orm. *dæl, dale, del* ;
ge. *del*, compare modern, a great deal, to deal ; Str. 143.

deadliche, 6, deadly, mortal ; ofr. *mortel*; ags. *deadlic,*

dea&lic ; orm. *dæþ*, death ; ge. *dead*, death ; acc. pl. agreeing with *ifoan*, and in apposition with *heom*. pp. 14, 92.

deadlicheistan, an error, pp. 14, 27, 92.

don 3, do, inf. ; ags. *don*.

done, 5, a, b, do ; gerund, dat. case after *to, for to done*, for the purpose of doing, pp. 77, 86, 89.

duk, 1, duke ; ofr. *duc*, p. 75, n. 1.

E

ea when used, p. 71.

ek 11, eke, also ; ags. *eac* ; orm. *ec* ; Str. 172.

eȝte 6, movable property, chattel, as distinguished from fixed or real property, land, in this passage, ofr. *moeble*, ags. *æht*. In ge. it occurs frequently in the forms *agt, agte*. Abram tok loth wið sarray Hise agte, and erue he ledde him bi. *Abram took Lot with Sarah, His movables and cattle he led with him*, 741. And gaf him lond, and agte, and fe *And gave him land, and movables, and cattle*, 783. Wifwes, and childre, and agte and srud, He ledden a-wei wið herte prud, *wives and children and movables and clothes he let away with proud heart*, 857. In all these cases *agte* means especially such property as can be carried away, and in this sense it seems to be intended in all the other passages of ge. in which it occurs. In ags. however, it appears to have meant property generally. It is of course connected with *agan*, to own Col. eiȝte, eyghtis = goods, property ; Str. 17, sub. *aehte*.

eȝtetenþe 7, eighteenth ; ofr. *disutime*, p. 11. acc. definite form, p. 76, n. 1.

egtewhær, an error, p. 27, especially p. 90.

Engleneloand' 9, contraction for *Engleneloande* ; dat. case after *on*.

Engleneloande, 1, 11, England ; ofr. *Englet're* ; dat. case after *on* ; literally, land of Angles ; *Englene*, gen. plural of *Engel*, Southern form, p. 76, n. 2.

eo when used, p. 72.

eorl, 1, 9 a, b, c, d. 10. earl ; ofr. *cunte* ; ags. *eorl, erl*, p. 72.

ew when used, p.72.

F

foangen, 5, receive, take, the modern derivatives being *fangs, fingers.* The ags. infinitive was *fón,* and the past part. *gefongen, gefangen.* The modern high German infinitive is *fangen.* See Dieff. Goth. W. i. 343, under *fahan.* orm. *fangenn;* Col. *fanger* = taker; Str. 186, sub *fangen;* in *for to foanen,* 5; ofr. *p'nant,* it is the inf. for gerund, pp. 77, 87, 89.

folk, 2, people; ags. *folc;* orm. *folle;* ge. *folkes,* gen. case. here acc. case after *þurᴣ.* The word has a general sense with no suspicion of plebeian, or the modern folk, p. 81.

for, 3. 5 a, b. 6, for; ofr. *pur;* ags. *for,* indicating object, purpose, intention, in all these passages.

foren, 4, probably the word should be joined to the preceding *to,* thus, *toforen,* as in *ætforen, biforen,* to form an adv., as in modern English, heretofore; *toforeniseide,* aforesaid; lat. *prædicti,* p. 3, l. 24; ags. *foran,* prep. before; ge. *foren,* prep. *foren us* 3541, *foren hem* 3866.

foreniseide, 3; this should be joined to the preceding *to,* so that *to foren* is an adv., qualifying *iseide,* which see.

Fort, 9; ofr. *fort,* p. 14.

freme, profit, advantage, translating the word *utilitas* in Henry's promise to obey the council, Rymer 1, 371, ofr. *profit;* ags. *freme* profit, *fremian* to profit, *fremman* to frame, see Dieff. Goth. Wört. i, 354, 355 I, b, d, e. The word occurs several times in ge. under the forms *fremen, frame, framen* chiefly as a verb; as a substantive it occurs, ᵭat newe burg was him to frame, Mad and cald of is owen name. *That new city was of use to him, made & called after his own name,* 1837. The construction "was him to frame" is similar to the modern German "war ihm zu Nutzen." Col. *freme* to perform; Str. 221, sub *frame,* compare 222 sub *freme,* p. 27. p. 77, n. 2. p. 83.

fultume 1 is pure Anglo-Saxon, where it assumes the forms *fultum, fultom, fultume,*[1] *fylst, gefylst* according to

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[1] Mr. Morris says here: "*þurg* properly governs the accusative, as '*þurg þæt* loandes *folk*' (folk is neuter), and '*þurg þan* (= *þa*) to foren iseide *rædesmen,*' '*þurg þe* (= *þa*) besigte' (fem). In *fultume* it seems to govern a

Bosworth, who translates it *aid, assistance, favour.* The corresponding word in ofr. is *grace.* The word occurs in ge. God says Of me sal fultum ben ðe brogt, *From me shall help be to thee brought,* 2824, on which passage Mr. Morris quotes Laʒamon ii. 264—

Þa cristine liðen after	*The Christians pursued after*
and heom on læiden,	*and laid on them,*
& cleopeden Crist, godes sune,	*and called Christ, God's Son,*
beon heom a fultume.	*to be to them in aid.*

Again ge. 3929 it is said of Balaam—Al was is fultum and his sped Bi-luken ille, in fendes red, *All was his helping & his speed be-locked* (i.e. concluded, determined, cf. German *beschlossen*) *ill to enemy's rede* (i.e. counsel, wish, assistance). Not in Col. Str. 226. See p. 78.

G

ġ distinct from ʒ, p. 71.

Geffrees, 10, Geoffrey's ; ofr. *Geffrey ;* lat. *Galfridi,* p. 75, n. 1, gen. case before *sune.*

Glowchestr', 9, Gloucester ; ofr. *Gloucestr' ;* chr. *Glewcestre,* the contraction shews the omission of an e final.

gode, 3, God ; ofr. *deu,* dat. case after *of,* p. 77, n. 2.

godes, 1, God's, gen. case before *fultume.*

Grey, 10 ; ofr. *Grey.*

ʒ

ʒ distinct from *g,* p. 71.

ʒe, 2, ye ; ags. *ge* ; ge. *ge,* p. 76.

ʒew, 7 a, b, you ; ags. *eow* ; orm. *ʒuw* ; ge. *gu.* The form *ʒew* is uncommon, p. 76. 7 a, dat. after *senden.* 7 b, dat. after *amanges.*

ʒeare, 8, year ; ofr. *an* ; ags. *gear, ger* ; ge. *ger,* both sg. and pl. Here dat. case after *in* ; nom. *ʒear.*

ʒif, 6, if ; ofr. *se* ; ags. *gif, gyf* ; orm. *giff ;* ge. *gef ;* ge. *gif* is the imperative give.

dative, the accusative being *fultum*." If Bosworth is right *fultume* is another form of the word, in which case it would be accusative, but in his more recent smaller dictionary he omits this form. It is difficult to imagine a dative case after *þurʒ.* So that we may most probably assume that the final *e* in this case is a clerical error.

H

habbeþ, 2, have ; ags. *habbað,* 3 p. pl. pres. ind. Southern form, from *habben* ; ge. *hauen.* The same nom. here relates to *habbeþ* and *schullen,* a southern and a midland form. The *-eþ* and *-en* forms of the plural are confused also in Wycliffe and Chaucer, more than a century later, p, 76.

halden, 7, hold, keep; ags. *healdan,* see *healden ; halden* is here used in a physical sense, and *healden* in a metaphorical. ge. *holden.* The ofr. does not translate this word, but for *to halden a manges ʒew,* puts, a demorer. Str. 270.

hc when used, p. 73.

healden, 4 a, b. 6. hold, observe ; ofr. *tenir et maintenir* ; ags. *healdan,* see *halden.* 4 a, 6 are subj., after *hoaten.* 4 b is the inf. for the gerund. See p. 13.

helpe, 5, help; ags. *helpan,* subj. mood, after *hoaten* ; ge. *helpe* in inf. 2528 ; Str. 285.

Henr' 1, Henry ; ofr. *Henri* ; chr. *Heanric, Heanrig, Heanri, Henri, Henry.* Nothing as to the termination of the word can be inferred from the form of the contraction which is a flourish precisely similar to that in *Kant'bur', Walt', Wirechestr'* 8, where it must have different meanings. The later forms in the Chronicle lead to Henr*i* as the complete word.

heo, 4 a, b, they; ags. *hi, heo* ; ge. *he,* nom. case, p. 76 ; Str. 281, sub *he.*

heom, 2, 5, 6, them ; ags. *heom* ; ge. *hem,* 2. 5, dat. after *of* ; 6 acc. case after *healden.* Str. 281, sub *he.*

her, 6, here ; ags. *her* ; ge. *her. her onʒenes* 6, here against, contrary to this provision, *þis besiʒte,* just named, p. 93. Str. 287.

hise, 1, his, the gen. of ags. inflicted, p. 76, n. 2, in place of the old ags. *sin* ; here it is pl. agreeing with *holde,* and also dat. after *to.* In ge. *his, hise* are both used as singular, hise word 44, hise wise sune 46, and *his* pl., his quemed 86 = his saints.

hit, 5, it ; ags. *hit* ; ge. *it* ; Str. 281, sub *he.*

hoaten, 3, 6, call upon command ; ofr. *comandons et*

enionions; ags. *haten*; ge. *het*, promised, called; *hatte*, called, *heten* (pl.) promised. pres. ind. 1 p. pl., p. 12. p. 84, n. 1. Str. 278, sub *hâtan*.

holde, 1, pl. of *hold*, Anglo-Saxon *hold*, faithful, true. So ge. 1389, For kindes luue he was hire hold *For family love he was to her kind.* So also 2704, and 3284 Wel hem mai ben ꝺe god beꝺ hold ! *Well to them may be, to whom God is kind !* but in these cases the relation expressed is that from a superior to an inferior, whereas it is here used for those who do homage to a superior, in the French version *feaus*, exactly synonymous with *treowe* as used afterwards. Compare the modern high German *Huldigung* homage, and see Dieff. Goth. Wört., ii. 519. In all these instances *hold* is an adjective. In Cædmon (p. 244, l. 4, Thorpe's edition) the angel is called "heh-þegen and hold halgum metode," where Thorpe takes *hold* as an adjective, translating "*the* high and faithful minister of *the* holy Creator," but it is more naturally a substantive in apposition to *heh-þegen*, implying a liegeman, as in the present instance. As a substantive Bosworth cites the passages, Holdes and hehgerefan wergyld is iiij þusend þrymsa, *L. Lund, W. p.* 71, 39, Agmund hold, *Chr.* 9111. He gesohte þa holdas, *Chr.* 918; and also the compounds, hold-aꝺ, *Chr.* 1086, hold-mod, hold-scipe, *Chr.* 1070, all pointing out to the present very general signification of liegeman, in which sense however the relation to *healden*, part. pass. *heold*, quasi, one who is *held*, cannot be overlooked, and seems more natural than the adjective form *hold* which is used for the other relation of *lord*. See also the examples in Str. 226. See pp. 12, 80.

hord, see *inehord*.

Huntendon'schir', 1, Huntingdonshire; chr. *Huntendune, Huntendune, Huntendune port, Venatorum Mons*, as the name of the town. The full word is probably, *Huntendoneshire*.

Hurtford, 9, Hertford; ofr. *Hertford*; chr. *Heortford, Heorotford.* p. 14, and p. 74, sub *u*.

I, J, Y.

James, 10, James; ofr. *James*; chr. *Jacobus*.

ich, I, used in XVI th century, p. 73.

ichosen, 2, chosen, past part. used predicatively, and therefore probably uninflected, p. 77, n. 2 ; ags. *ceosan* past part. *gecoren.* Koch (Hist. Gr. 1, 298) gives both *icoren, ichosen,* as in Laȝamon, and orm. *chosen,* 9623 ; ge. *chesen,* inf. *chosen,* pret. pl.

idon, 2, 8, done, past part. ; ags. *gedon* ; ge. *don.*

ifoan, 6, foes ; ags. *fa, fah, gefah,* not in ge. p. 14. Str. 315.

igretinge, 1, greetings, acc. pl. ; ofr. *saluz* ; ags. *greting,* the *i* seems superfluous, p. 77, 80 ; Str. 248, sub. *grêtunge.*

ilærde, 1, learned, clerical ; ags. *gelæred,* past part. from *læran,* to teach ; properly, taught ; ge. *lered,* 4, dat. pl. agreeing with *holde,* the final *e* is inflexional. Str. 318, sub *ilæren.*

ilche, 5, dat. sg., 11, dat. pl. same ; ags. *ylc* ; ge. *ilk, ik* ; Str. 329 sub *ilke.*

ileawede, 1, lay ; ags. *læwd, lewed, lewd, leawed, læwede* (Bosworth) ; ge. *logede men,* 2, dat. pl. The *i* seems superfluous, p. 75, n. 1. pp. 77, 80.

ilestinde, 3, form of *lestinde* (which see) with superfluous *i,* lasting ; ofr. *estable,* p. 77.

ilet, 6, let, impeded ; ags. *lettan* ; orm. *letteþ,* lets, hinders ; ge. *letting* hindrance. The vowel was short in this word, but long in ags. *lætan* permit ; orm. *letenn, lætenn* : ge. *leten.* *ilet* seems to be a contracted form for *ileted* ; compare *isend* and *send,* p. 79. Str. 359, sub *letten.*

imakede, 4, made ; ags. *macian,* p.p. *gemacod* ; orm. *makenn,* p.p. *makedd* ; ge. *maken,* p.p. *maked* ; *e* is mark of pl. Str. 383, sub. *makien.*

in, 3 a, b. 4. 8. 11 a. 6. in ; ags. *in.* *in þe worþnesse of gode* 3 a, not contrary to, redounding to, advancing, the dignity of God ; *in alle þinge,* 3 b, in all respects ; *in þe treowþe* 4, according to, as implied by the allegiance, p. 84 ; *in þe twoandfowertiȝþe ȝeare,* during the 42nd year, *in to* 11 a, into, *in tel* 11 b, into, as far as, implying that it is beyond the usual limits.

ine, 7, see *inehord.*

inehord, 7, in treasury ; ofr. *entresor.* Probably the words

were originally separate, and they may have been meant as two words, p. 14, or a *þe* may have been omitted, thus *in þe hord*, or *inehord* like *entresor*, may have been taken as a single word, meaning simply in safety, safely; or *ine* = ags. *innan, inne*; orm. *ĭne, inne*. In Ayenbite of Inwyt, p. 203, a century later, we have, *none euell þoʒtes ne moʒe bleue ine herte*. Mr. Morris considers this the preferable explanation.   p. 77, n. 2. *hord*, hoard; ags. *hord*, treasury, p. 34; Str. 298.

Ioh', 10 a, b, John; ofr. *Iohan*; chr. *Iohan*, which must have been the full name.   In Chaucer, though generally spelled *Johan*, it was always a monosyllable, as now.

Yrloand', 1, Ireland, for *Yrloande*, dat. case after *on*; ofr. *Irlande*; chr. *Yrland, Iraland, Ireland*; see *Irelonde*.

Irelonde, 11, Ireland, dat. case after *in tel*. This is the only example in which *loand* is spelled *lond*, as it often was in Chaucer; probably it was an unintentional error of the scribe.

is, 5, 11, is; ags. *is*.   *is iseid* 5 has been said, *is isend* 11 has been sent.   In the same way in modern high German *ist geschickt* has been sent, p. 81, l. 13.

iseid, 5, said; ags. *secgan*, p.p. *gesæd, sægd, sæd;* ge. inf. *seigen, seien*, p.p. *seid*.   Str. 498, sub *seggen*.

iseide, 4, said, p.p. pl. agreeing with *redesmen*, see *iseid*.

iseined, 7, signed, marked, stamped, p.p. from *seinen*.   Str. 498, sub *seinen*.   p. 75, n. 1 and especially p. 94.

isend, 11, sent; ags. *sendan*, p.p. *sended*, contracted form for *isended*, p. 79.   Compare *send, ilet*; orm. *send*, 97; Chaucer, Cant. Tales, 10458, he has send.   Str. 501, sub *senden*.

isetnesses, 4, acts, resolutions, arrangements, appointments, provisions; ofr. *establissemenz*; ags. *setnis, settnes; gesetednes, gesetenes, gesetnes, gesettednys*, the only plural in *es* throughout the proclamation; compare *witnesse*.   Str. 503, sub *zetnesse*.

isworene, 8, sworn, p. 16; ags. *swerian*, p.p. *gesworen*; ge. *sworen*; here declined, because used attributively, p. 77, n. 2. *vre isworene redesmen* 8, in dat. pl.

iwersed, 6, participle from *wersien,* the ags. *wyrsian,* which lives in the form *to worsen,* although the past participle is now *worsened ;* ofr. *empiree,* impaired; the phrase *ilet oþer iwersed* seems to answer to the modern legal phrase *let or hindered.* Str. 664, sub *pursien.*

K

Kant'bur', 8, Canterbury ; ofr. *Cantrebur' ;* chr. *Cantwarabyrig, Cantwaraburh, Cantwareberi ;* probably *Cantreburi* would have been the full word.

king, 1, king; ofr. *rey ;* ags. *cyning, cyng ;* ge. *king ;* Str. 338.

kuneriche, 2, 11, ags. *cynerice,* kingdom ; the orthography seems to be only an early instance of the use of *u* for *y,* pronounced (*i*), which we constantly find in early writers compare *Hurtford,* see p. 74, sub *u.* See also Regel's remark, suprà, p. 47 ; ofr. *Reaume ;* ge. *kingeriches* 2789 ; Col. *kunrik* mark of royalty, *kyneriche* kingdom. Str. 337, sub *kinerīche.*

L

Leirchestr', 9, Leicester ; ofr. *Leycestr' ;* chr. *Legerceaster, Legraceaster, Legoraceaster, Ligoraceaster, Lygraceaster ;* the full word is *Leirchestre,* the *i* represents a lost *g,* as often.

lestinde, 7, lasting ; ofr. *estable ;* ags. *læstan,* part. *læstande, læstende ;* ge. *lesten,* inf. 12, pres. 4119. According to Morris ; ge. pref. xxviii., *-ande* is the Northumbrian, *-ende* the Midland, and *-inde* the Southern of the pres. part. Koch (Hist. Gram. 1, 342) shews that *-ende, -inde* occur in the older, and *-inge* in the later text of Laʒamon ; orm. has only *-ennde,* the forms in *-ing* being all substantives.[1] This *lestinde* seems to be the corrected form, but *ilestinde* 3, may be justified by ags. *gelæstan,* p. 77 ; Str. 341 sub *laesten.*

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[1] Mr. Morris remarks, that "in the literature of the xiith century *-ende* is the *old* form, and *-inde* the *modern ;* hence the two forms in Laʒamon. In the xivth century *-inde* is a good mark of a Southern dialect. *-ande* occurs in the Northumbrian Gospel (Saxon period), and in the Cotton MS. Titus D. 18 (first half of the xiiith century containing a version of the Ancren Riwle, Hali Meidenhad, &c.)"

loande, 3, 5, land, country; ofr. *reaume* 3, *t're* 5; ags. *land, lond;* ge. *lond, londe.* In both places dat. case after *of,* p. 77, n. 2. In 3, the country, the kingdom, as in *Englene-loande* 1. In 5, real property, possessions in land, as opposed to moveables, *eȝte.*

loandes, 2, gen. case of loand, see *loande; þæt loandes folk,* the people of the country, generally, not the country people, p. 81.

lhoauerd, 1, lord; ofr. *sire;* ags. *hlaford;* ge. *louerd, louered,* p. 78; Str. 343, sub *lâferd.*

Lunden', 7, London; ofr. *Londres;* chr. *Lundene, Lundone, Lundune, Lundenbyrig, Lundenburh, Lundenwic, Lundawic, Lundenceastre.* The full word would be *Lundene,* dat. case after *æt.*

<h1 style="text-align:center">M</h1>

manges, 7, mong; ags. *mænigu,* etc., a many; *gemang* a mixture, and among; orm. *mang, amang, amanng* among. In 7, the word is gen. case, and it is associated with *a,* which however is written separately, p. 14; probably we should read *a manges* as one word, *amanges,* and consider the whole as a prep. with the dat. *ȝew* after it. See many examples of separately written *a* and *bi,* in Str. 385, sub *mang.*

makien, 4, make; see *imakede.* Str. 383.

marescal, 9, marshal; ofr. *mareschal;* p. 75, n. 1.

men, 5, men; ofr. *genz;* ags. *mann,* pl. *menn;* ge. *men,* here dat. case after *aȝenes.*

mine, an error for *nime,* which see, and see p. 91.

moare, 2, 5, more, greater; ofr. *greignure* i.e. *grandior,* Roquefort gives as other forms of the ofr. graindier, graindre, graingneur, gregneur, gregnor, gréigner, gréigneur, gréignor, gréignour, greindre, grennor, grénour, gréygneur, gréynur, griener, grignéour, grignor, grinieur, grinour, groignet, sub *graigneur;* and in the Burton version we have *greinure;* ags. *mara, þæt mara* the greater, *þe moare dæl* 2, 5 the majority. The *e* marks the definite adj., p. 77.

moȝe, 10, cousins, kinsmen, nobles, p. 15, pl. of *moȝ.*[1]

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[1] Mr. Morris thinks that the original sense is an *adult,* root *mah* crescere. Graff 2, 629 queries the propriety of referring *mâg* to this root.

Regel remarks that the ags. *maga* is used in addressing young nobles, as *junger held* young hero, as in Andr. (Kemble, v. 1249, s. 37) *maga mode rof*, and hence easily passed into the sense of heroes or nobles; ags. *se maga*, the powerful one. The word is not in Col., and seems to occur once only in ge. Laʒamon, *mage, mæge*, and orm. *meghe*, as a *female* cousin only. Str. 381, l. 20. sub *mâʒe*.

Montfort, a hill between Paris and Chartres, bore the castle whence was derived the name of the family Montfort l'Amaury, which claimed to be descended from Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, wife of Æthelwolf of Wessex, 856, and then of his son Æthelbald, and finally of Baldwin bras-de-fer, Count of Flanders; his great grandson William of Hennegau, son of Amaury I., became at the end of the x th century husband of the heiress of Montfort and Epernon, and founder of the house of Montfort l'Amaury. *Pauli*, Simon von Montfort, 18.

monþe, 7, month; ags. *monaᵹ, monoᵹ, monᵹ;* orm. *moneþþ,* with long *o*; ge. *moned, e* marks the dat. case after *in*. Str. 402, sub *moneᵹ*.

Mortemer, 10, in Latin *de Mortuo Mari;* fr. *morte mer*.

muʒe, 6, may, subj.; ags. *magan* inf., *mage* subj.; orm. *muʒhe* subj. 200, *muʒhenn* 5502, "trotzdem ist es ohne zweifel eine ausartung," Koch (Hist. Gram. 1, 355); ge. *mogen,* he ne mogen figten agen 3228, *they might not, were not able to fight against them*. Robert of Gloucester, *mowe;* Str. 381, l. 4. p. 77.

Muntfort, 9, 10, another mode of writing *Montfort*, which see, but the ofr. has *Montfort*, 9 and *Muntfort* 10.

N

ne, 5 a, b, not, nor; ofr. *ne;* ags. *ne;* ge, *ne*.

nime, 5, take, ofr. *preigne*. A very common word in old writers; ags. *niman*. The modern representatives of the word are *nimble,* and *numb,* i.e. taken, viz. with paralysis. Str. 420. See p. 13, and especially 91.

noan, 5, none; ofr. *nul;* ags. *nan;* ge. *non*.

Norm', 1, Normandy; ofr. *Normandie;* chr. *Normandig,*
Normandi, probably the last form is here meant by the
contraction.

Northfolk, 9, Norfolk; ofr. *Norf';* chr. *Norðfolc,* p. 14, 71.

O

oa, when used, p. 72, where the combination *oa* is erro-
neously stated not to occur in ge. The combination is very
rare in ge. but we find, Siðen ghe brocte us to woa, Adam
gaf hire name eua, *After she brought us to woe, Adam gave*
her (the) name Eve, 237, where *woa* is a monosyllable and
rhymes with *a*, which apparently confirms the view of the
sound taken in p. 72, as we should apparently pronounce:
(sidh·en ɉee brokht us to waa, Aa·dam gaaf -ir naam
Ee·vaa·).

Octobr'. 8, October; ags. *winterfylleð;* since ge. uses *reke-*
fille for April, possibly this use of October must be con-
sidered a Gallicism.

of, 2, 3 a, b, c. 5 a, b, c. 8 a, b, c. 9 a, b, c, d. 10 a, b, c, d,
e, of; ags. *of*.

oȝen, 4, owe; ofr. *deiuent;* ags. *agan;* ge. *ic og*, I owe, p.
76; p. 88, n. 1. Str. 19 sub *áȝen.*

ogt, a mistake of Somner and Rymer, p. 13, 27, especially
p. 88, and n. 1.

on, 1, a, b, c, d, e. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8 a, b. 9 a, b, c, d, e. 10,
11 a, b, on, in, over; ags, *on*, after titles, over, governing;
king on E. 1, king over E.; now *of*, but *of* is never used in
this sense in the text, compare *Walt'* OF *Cantelow, bischop*
ON *Wirechestr'*, 8, p. 76, n. 1. p. 78. *on H.* 1 e, in, residing
in, H. *on vre treowþe* 3, in furtherance of, directed towards.
on onie wise 6, after, according to. *on þe monþe*, 7, during
the month. *on þo ilche worden*, 11, in agreement with the
same words. Str. 24, sub *an.* See *Postscript*, p. 130.

onȝenes, 6, against; ofr. *encunt';* ags. *ongean :* see *aȝenes.*

oni, 6, any, sing. mas.; ags. *ænig ;* here *oni, onie* are found,
oni mas. sg. *onie* fem. sing., and pl. masc.; in ge. *ani king*
2181, *ani werldes* 48, undeclined. Str. 30, sub *ániȝ.*

onie, 6, a, b, any, sing. fem. and masc. pl.; see *oni. onie*

wise, 6 a, any wise, p. 13, 49, 77. ӡif oni oþer onie 6 b, if any person or persons; ofr. *se nul v nuz*, pp. 13, 48, 77.

open, 7, open; ofr. *ou'tes*; ags. *open*; ge. *opelike* openly, *opnede* opened. It is here not declined, apparently because placed after its noun; *þis writ open*, would have probably been *þis opne writ*, had *writ* been put last. This is modern high German usage. Str. 427.

oþe, 5, oath; ofr. *s'ment*; ags. *að*, dat. after *be*. Str. 35, sub *áþ* p. 77, n. 2. p. 89.

oþer, 2, 5 a, 6 a, b, or; ags. *oðer*, *oððe*; orm. *oþerr*; ge. *oðer*. 5 b, *other*; ags. *oðer*; orm. *oþerr*; ge. *oðer*. See *oþre*.

oþre, 10, 11, other; see *oþer* 5, 6. *ætforen þore moӡe* 10, dat. pl., *to æurihce oþre schire*, 11, dat. sg. fem. Str. 428, sub *ôðer*.

ou, Henshall's mistake for *on*, pp. 39, 78, and *Postscript*, p. 130.

ouer, 11, over; ags. *ofer*; orm. *oferr*; ge. *ouer*. Str. 429.

<h2 style="text-align:center">P</h2>

Perres, 9, 10, Peter; ofr. *Piere*; chr. *Peter, Petrus*.
Plesseiz, 10, lat. *de Placeto*.

<h2 style="text-align:center">R</h2>

rædesmen, 2, 4, councillors, counsellors, members of the *ræd* or *red*, council as well as counsel, a double use which is also found in high German *Rath*. Under the form *rede*, the word is barely obsolete, and our modern *read, riddle* preserve derivatives. Col. *red* counsel, *rede* to counsel; ge. *read, red, reed*, counsel, advice, instruction, device, plan, remedy, help. Str. 446, sub *raed*; 447, sub. *raeden*; 454, sub *rêden*.

redesmen, 3, 8, p. 13, same as *rædesmen*, which see.

Ric', 9, 10, Richard; chr. *Ricard, Ricardus*. The full word was perhaps Ricard.

riӡt, 5, right, justice; ags. *riht*; orm. *rihht*; ge. *rigt, wið rigt and skil* 52. *ai was rigt and kire* (purity) *biforn*, 451. pp. 13, 27. *riӡt for to done* 5, p. 86. *riӡt for to foangen* 5, p. 87. Str. 461, sub *riht*.

Rog', 9, 10, Roger; chr. *Roger*, which is therefore the complete word here.

S

Sauueye, 9, Savoy ; lat. *Sabaudia*.

schullen, 2, shall, pres. pl. ; ags. *sculon* ; orm. *shulenn* ; sing. ags. *sceal* ; orm. *shall*, p. 76.   Str. 482, sub *schal*.

seel, 7, seal ; ags. *sigel* ; ultimately Latin, p. 75, n. 1.

seluen, 7, selves ; ags. *self* ; here dat. pl. p. 77, n. 2 ; Str. 499, sub *self*.

send, 1, sends, 3 p. sg. ; ags. *he sent*, compare *isend*, *ilet*, etc., see p. 79 ; ge. *sendet* ; and as here *send* = *sendeþ*, so ge. *sent*, 2825 = *sendeð*, imper.   See *isend*.

senden, 7, send, 1 p. pl. ; ags. *we senden* ; ofr. *nos enueons*, p. 12, p. 41, n. 1, p. 94 ; Str. 501.

shcire, p. 73, shire, another mode of writing *schire*, p. 73 ; ags. *scire*, fem. ; see *Huntendon' schir'*.   Str. 491.

Sim', 9, ofr., chr. *Simon*, which is therefore the full writing.

stedefæst, 3, 7, steadfast ; ags. *stedfæst* ; Str. 537, sub *stedefast*.

stedefæstliche, 4, steadfastly ; the *e* alone is the mark of the adverb, not the *lich*, which is an adjective ending, p. 76, n. 2, and p. 77.

swerien, 4, swear, 3 p. pl. subj. after *hoaten* ; ags. *swerian* inf., *swerion* subj. ; ge. *sweren* ; p. 85.   Str. 560.

sune, 10, son ; ags. *sunu* ; ge. *sune*, *Geffrees sune*, p. 75, n. 1 ; Str. 554.

T þ

tel, 11, till ; ags. *til*, a peculiarly Northern form, see p. 76, n. 1.

th, distinct from þ, p. 71.

þ distinct from *th*, p. 71.

þæt, 2 a, b, c, d, e, f. 4 a, b, c. 5 a, b. 6 a, b. 7, that ; ags. *þæt* ; orm. *þatt* ; ge. *ðat*.   Neut. def. art. 2 f. ; demonstr. pron. 2 a, 5 b, 6 b ; rel. pron. 2 e, 4 a, c ; conj. 2 b, c. 4 b, 5 a, 6 a, 7 ; demonst. and relative pron. = that which, 2 d. See p. 76, 80.   Str. 592, sub *þe*.

þære, 11, the, dat. fem. of def. art., after *ouer* ; ags. *þara*, *þæra*, fem. gen. only ; Laȝamon has gen. and dat. fem. *þare*,

þære, þere, þe; orm. *þe* only; ge. *þe* only, p. 76; Str. 593, sub *þe.*

þan, 3, 4, 5, the; *of þan to foreniseide redesmen,* 3, dat. pl.; ags. *þam þæm; þurȝ þan to foren iseide rædesmen,* 4, acc. pl., the dative form being used after *þurȝ,* which requires an accusative; probably an error; *bi þan ilche oþe,* 5, dat. sg.; ags. *þam,* p. 27; Laȝamon, *þan þon þane þone þonne þeonne þen þe.* p. 76. Str. 592, sub *þe.*

þane, 7, the, acc. of the time; ags. *þane;* Laȝamon, *þene, þana þæne þen þanne þon þe;* Str. 592, sub *þe.*

þe, 2 a, b. 3 a, b, c, d. 4, 5, 7, 8, the, a form already used for all cases, genders, and numbers by Laȝamon. p. 76. Str. 591.

þis, 6, 7 a, b. 8, this; *þis besiȝte,* 6, nom. neut. or feminine (?), see *besiȝte; þis,* 7 a, 8 = this thing, this writ, nom. neut. absolute; ags. *þis. þis writ open,* 7 b, acc. mas.; ags. *þisne.* p. 76. Str. 595, sub *þes.*

þinge, 3, things: ags. *þing;* dat. pl. after *in;* Str. 597.

þo, 1, the, acc. pl.; ags. *þa;* Laȝamon *þa, þo, þeo. on þo ilche worden,* 11, should be dat. pl., in which case Laȝamon would have *þon,* and we have the same use in ge. of *ðo* reklefates for wurðing Woren mad, and for muning Corunes at ðe altar of bras, *of the incensepots for honour were made, and for reminding, crowns at the altar of brass,* 3787, but there is no occasion to assume that *worden* is acc.[1] p. 77, n. 2, p. 76; Str. 593, sub *þe.*

þurȝ, 1, 2 a, b. 3, 4, 5, through, by, by means of; ags. *þurg. þurg godes fultume,* 1, by, owing to, God's grace, acc. case, p. 78, see *fultume* and note. *þurȝ us und þurȝ þæt*

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[1] Mr. Morris observes: "Mr. Cockayne rightly affirms that in the second period of our language, the prepositions frequently govern an acc., instead of a dat., so that *þo* may be acc., and as the Northumbrian gospels have nom. pl. *worda,* there may have been an acc. pl. *worden.* But as far as I have noted all A.S. neuters, having the pl. the same as the sing., conform to the masc. of the complex order, so that *word* in acc. pl. would be *wordes.* All neuters forming pl. in A.S. in *-a, -o, -u,* go into 1st *e,* 2nd *-en,* 3rd *-es,* as *cyrnlu, cyrnle, cyrnlen, cyrnles.* On the other hand *m* or *n* in the second period of our language, falls off from the dat. *sing.* and *pl.,* so that *þam* becomes *þan* and *þa,* (whence *þo*). In p. 15 of my *Old English Homilies* I find *for þa . . . dome,* where *dome* is masc. and dat. sing."

loandes folk, 2 a, b, by us and by the people of the country, p. 81. *þurʒ þe besiʒte*, 3, through, owing to, in consequence of the provision. *þo isetnesses imakede þurʒ þan*, 4. *þurʒ þe moare dæl*, 5, by, by means of the action of. Str. 604, sub *þurh*.

to, 1, 3, 4 a, b, c, d. 5 a, b, c. 7, 11 to; ags. *to*; Str. 575.

treowe, 4, 6, true, faithful people, liegemen, lieges; ags. *treow*; orm. *trowwe*; ge. *trewe*, pl. *we hoaten alle vre treowe*, 4, dat. case after hoaten, *þæt alle vre treowe heom healden* 6, nom. pl.; Str. 582.

treowþe, 3, 4, truth, fidelity, fealty, allegiance; ofr. *fei*; ags. *treowð*; orm. *trowwþe*; ge. *trewðe*, 1269. p. 83. Str. 582.

twoandfowertiʒþe, 8, two-and-fortieth, three words considered as one; *two*; ags. *twa*; ge. *two*. *and*, which see; *fowertiʒþe*; ags. *feowertigeða, feowertigoða*; ge. *fowerti* forti. The *e* is definite after *þe*.

U V

vnnen, 2, to grant; ags. *unnan, an, gean, þu unne, we unnon*; ofr. *otrions*, which in the modern form would be *octroyons*. *Octroyer* is given by Roquefort in the forms " *otréer, otrer, otrier, otroier, otroyer, ottroier :* accorder, consentir, convenir, permettre; en bas. lat. *otreciare, otriare*. Ces mots, pris substantivement, signifioient, permission, consentement que le seigneur donnoit à la vente d'un fonds qui relevoit de lui." Col. *unne* love; to grant, allow, ic an. pp. 27, 28; Str. 615.

vre, 2 a, b. 4, 6, 7, 8 a, b, our; ags., orm., ge. *ure ; vre ræedesmen*, 2 a, 8 b, *vre. treowe*, 4, 6, pl. *vre seel*, 7, *vre cruninge*, 8 a, dat. sg.; Str. 617.

us, 2, us; ags. *us*, dat. and acc., p. 76; here acc. after *þurʒ*; Str. 618.

vs, 4, 7, same as *us*, p. 76, *vs ogen*, 4, dat. after the verb, *vs seluen* 7, dat. abs. p. 77, n. 2; Str. 618.

W

Walt', 8, Walter; chr. *Waldhere, Waltear, Walter*, which last is the full writing.

Warewik', 10, Warwick; chr. *Wæringawic, Wæringwic;* ofr. *Warrewyka,* probably the complete form is *Warewike.*

we, 2, 3, 6, 7 a, b, we; ags. *we,* p. 76; Str. 632.

wel, 2, well; ags. *wel;* Str. 634.

werien, 4, to defend, ags. *werian,* which also means to *wear* clothes; the modern *weir* or *wear,* a dam, *i.e.* defence against water. See Dieff. Goth. Wört. i. 202. Col. *were, werge* to defend; ge. *weren;* Str. 639, l. 14. See p. 13, 85, 89.

wes, 8, was; ags. *wæs;* orm. *wass;* ge, *was,* p. 71; Str. 640, sub *wesen.*

wherþurȝ, 6, wherethrough, whereby; ags. *hwær, þurȝ.*

Wirechestr', 8, Worcester; ofr. *Wyrecestr';* chr. *Wigorceastre;* hence the full writing is *Wirechestre.*

Will', 9, William; ofr. *Guilame;* chr. *Wilhelm, Willelm,* hence one of these will be the full writing.

willen, 2, 6, 7, will; ags. *we willaȝ;* orm. *we wilenn,* implying long *i* (?), the inf. is written *wilenn;* ge. *wilen,* but the doubled *l* here indicates a short vowel, p. 76. Str. 645, sub *wile.*

wise, 6, wise, manner; ags. orm. ge. *wise;* Str. 649.

witen, 2, know; ags. orm. *ȝe witen,* in subj., and the Southern imp. form is *witeþ,* the Northern *wites;* the present may be a Midland form, or the subjunctive used for the imperative; p. 76; the *i* was perhaps long. Str. 650, sub *witen.*

witnesse, 7, witnesses; ags. *witnes;* orm. *wittness;* ge. *witnesse, witenesse, wittenesse.* The word is here apparently plural, p. 95; but Str. 651 marks it as singular.

wiþ, 7, with, pointing out the instrument; ags. *wiȝ;* orm. *wiþþ;* Str. 651, sub *wiȝ.*

worden, 11, words; ags. *word;* orm. *word,* with long *o;* ge. *wort.* Here the dat. pl. for *wordum,* or the usual *worde,* p. 77, n. 2; Str. 655. See note on *þo,* p. 125.

worþnesse, 3, honour, dignity; ags. *weorȝnes, wurȝnes;* orm. *wurrþfull* honourable; ge. *worȝed* honoured, p. 77, n. 2, p. 83; Str. 665, sub *wurȝ, wurȝschipe.*

writ, 7, writ, writing, letter; ags. *writ;* orm. *writt;* ge. *writ;* Str. 659.

POSTSCRIPT.

Photozincograph Edition of the Proclamation.

Since the preceding pages were in print the author has found that the Master of the Rolls has lately caused a photozincograph copy of this proclamation to be made and published in connection with those of other national MSS., in the splendid work entitled:—Facsimiles of National Manuscripts from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne selected under the direction of the Master of the Rolls and Photozincographed by command of her Majesty Queen Victoria by Colonel Sir Henry James, R.E. Director of the Ordnance Survey. Part I. With Translations and Notes published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury under the direction of the Master of the Rolls Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton 1865.

The following is the description given of Part I. No. xix. "Extract from Patent Roll, 42 Henry III.—The Patent Rolls extend in nearly unbroken succession from the 3rd year of King John's reign to the present time. The earlier of them contain documents of a most diversified nature, relating chiefly to prerogatives of the crown, to the revenue, and different branches of the judicature, to treaties, truces, negociations with foreign states, and many other matters, the whole of which are set out in Mr. Hardy's elaborate and learned "Introduction to the Patent Rolls." The present extract, which is the earliest specimen of English known on the Rolls, is styled in the margin " Carta in idiomate Anglico missa ad singulos comitatus Angliæ," and is the enrolment of a writ patent addressed to the men of Huntingdonshire, charging and exhorting them to keep and observe the statutes[1] made by the king's redesmen or councillors "in the worthnesse of Gode and ov ure treowthe for the freme of the loande." Dated at London 18th October 1258. This writ is also ordered to be sent into Ireland."

The photozincographed facsimile is a reduction of the original, the length of the lines being only ten inches in-

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[1] Rather enjoining them to *swear* to do so.

stead of twelve inches. When the closeness of the original hand-writing and the difficulty of distinguishing every stroke is remembered, it will be apparent that it would have been impossible to produce a critically correct copy from this photozincograph. The flourishes over the i's, represented by í in this edition have generally disappeared.[1] The mark of contraction for n in ſchullē at the end of the second line, which was much rubbed, has also vanished, which might lead one to suppose that a careful scribe omitted the plural n, or would leave us in doubt whether an n or a þ had been lost, as habbeþ had just been used in the same sentence and to the same nominative. In the word sweríen 4, the í is altogether difficult to decipher even when the reader knows what letter should be there. The punctuation is not always distinguishable.[2] The worn character of the letters due to the graining process of photozincography makes the letters peculiarly indistinct, and the finer parts of the strokes are constantly invisible.[3] Almost the whole plate is covered with fine black dots, due perhaps to the danger of "cleaning the plate" in such close writing.[4] Hence, although it is pleasant to know that an accessible facsimile exists, formed

[1] The following is the result of a careful examination. í n, 3 a, flourish gone. í n, 3 b, flourish resolved into a dot over i and a horozontal line over n. í n, 4, flourish resolved into an indistinct succession of dots. ſwerí en, werí en, í makede, 4, flourishes quite gone, with the exception of the first, of which a small portion of the upper part remains. makíen, 4, looks like niakíen. hí t, bí foren, ní me, 5, flourishes gone, hence ní me becomes ambiguous and might justify the error mine. bí, 5, flourish reduced to a dot. oní e, 6 a, flourish gone. oní, 6, flourish reduced to a dot, giving oni. oníe, 6 b, flourish resolved into a dot over i and a horizontal line over e, thus oní ē, see p. 13, near bottom. wrí t, í feí ned, í nehord, Wí tneſſe, 7, cruní nge, 8, í n shcí re, 11, flourishes gone. The flourish is distinctly preserved in í n, 11 b.

[2] The punctuation is lost, or nearly so, in treowþe., 3, Muntfort., Aubem'., 9, Pleffeí z., 10.

[3] In and, 4 c, the second stroke of the n is nearly lost, and the word looks like ard. In for, 5 a, the or is very indistinct. In þæt, 6 a, æ is hardly distinct from a. In mangef, 7, the g is indistinct. In Clar' 9, the a is bad. In Bigod, 9, only a portion of the upper part of d is left. The word hoaten, 6, which in the original was written over an erasure, is scarcely legible.

[4] To not cleaning away these dots, etc., we may attribute the following errors. After alle 2, b, there is a well-marked period, and a thick stroke over the o

by an actino-chemical process, and therefore accurate so far as the solar light will produce a facsimile and the chemical process will reproduce it, yet the necessary shortcomings of both processes render even this facsimile not so perfect as the copy printed above.

The facsimile is accompanied by a transcript and translation, for which apparently Mr. William Basevi Sanders, "one of the assistant keepers of Her Majesty's Records, who has also revised the proofs of every sheet of the facsimiles before they were printed,"[1] is responsible. These are as follows, and the reader is requested to observe that Mr. Sanders has endorsed Henshall's conception that on should be read o v in the titles, etc., adopted the modern use of u, v, i, j, s, and capitals, and employed th for þ in all cases, but has preserved the ȝ. The original connection of the words is not always preserved. Independently of these intentional differences, there are the following unintentional mistakes, where the figures refer to the lines in the original, and the spaced letters give the correct reading : 3 thæn þ a n , 7 stedefast f t e d e f æ s t (a, æ confused), 8 two and fowertithe T w o - a n d f o w e r t i ȝ þ e (ȝ omitted), 9 of o n twice, Northfolk N o r t h f o l k' (the contraction not being extended), 10 of o n , Muntefort M u n t f o r t , Aldithele A l d i t h e l (there being no mark of contraction), 11 Englencloande and E n g - l e n e l o a n d e . A n d. The use of *ov* for o n in all cases but three (*on oniewise* 6, *of Glowchestre, of Aubemarle* 10,) and even in such plain phrases as, *ov ure treowthe* 3, *al ov tho ilche worden* 11, is a serious linguistic error. It is curious that it did not occur to the transcriber that o f is frequently used,

in the following word o þ e r . After a b u t e n , 3, there is an apparent period. After R ı ȝ t f o r , 5, there is a period. The a in h a l d e n , 7, has a marked dot over it, thus ȧ. After W i l l ' , 9, there is an apparent period.

[1] The observations in the preceding notes shew that the revision of the proof of this facsimile was not conducted with sufficient care, while the fact that the proofs of the facsimiles *had* to be revised at all, shews that the process does not possess that absolutely immaculate character which persons, unaware of its mechanical difficulties, might be disposed to attribute to it. The MS. in question was in every respect ill adapted for the purpose of photozincography, and instead of being surprised at the shortcomings of the plate, we should rather admire the way in which the difficulties have been overcome.

and that o v would be an unheard of form of this preposition.
Of course the modern pronunciation of the word *of* misled
both him and Henshall, but *of* is pronounced with an *f* by
Smith 1568, and Bullokar 1580, and Gill, in 1621, says
(*Logonomia*, preface, last page) "licet frequentius dicamus ...
ov ... tamen ... sequamur hîc consuetudinem et aliquâ ex
parte derivationem in ... *of* ..., idque quod docti aliqui
viri sic legunt et aliquando loquuntur," and he always in-
dicates the pronunciation as (of). In the XIII th century
(ov) is an impossibility. The MS. form of the single instance
in which the transcriber writes *on* is the same as that in
each of the other fourteen cases in which he writes *ov*, and
the three cases in which he writes *of*.

Transcription.[1]

A Charter in the English idiom sent to the several counties of England.

[1] Henry thurʒ Godes fultume
King ov Engleneloande, Lhoaverd
ov Yrloande, Duk ov Normandie
ov Aquitaine and Eorl ov Anjow send igretinge to alle hise
holde ilærde and ileawede ov Huntendone schire [2] thæt
witen ʒe wel alle thæt We willen and unnen thæt thæt ure
rædesmen alle other the moare dæl of heom thæt beoth
ichosen thurʒ Us and thurʒ thæt loandes folk ov ure kune-
riche habbeth idon and schullen [3] don in the worthnesse
of Gode and ov ure treowthe for the freme of the loande
thurʒ the besiʒte of thæn to foreniseide redesmen beo stede-
fæst and ilestinde in alle thinge abuten ænde. And we
hoaten [4] alle ure treowe in the treowthe thæt heo Us oʒen
thæt heo stedefæstliche healden and swerien to healden and
to werien the isetnesses thæt beon imakede and beon to makien
thurʒ than to foren iseide rædesmen [5] other thurʒ the
moare dæl of heom alswo alse hit is biforen iseid. And
thæt æhc other helpe thæt for to done bi than ilche othe
aʒenes alle men. Riʒt for to done and to foangen. And noan
ne nime of loande ne of [6] eʒte. Wherthurʒ this besiʒte

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[1] The commencement of the lines in the original is here added for convenience
of reference.

muʒe beon ilet other iwersed on onie wise. And ʒif oni
other onie cumen her onʒenes we willen and hoaten þæt
alle ure treowe heom healden deadliche ifoan. And for þæt
[7] We willen þæt this beo stedefast and lestinde, We
senden ʒew this writ open iseined with ure seel to halden
amanges ʒew ine hord. Witnesse Us selven at Lundene
thane eʒtetenthe day ov the monthe [8] of Octobre in the
two and fowertithe ʒeare of ure cruninge. And this wes
idon ætforen ure isworene redesmen Boneface, Archebischop
ov Kanterbury, Walter of Cantelow, Bischop ov Wirechestre,
[9] Simon of Muntfort, Eorl ov Leirchestre, Richard of
Clare, Eorl of Glowchestre and ov Hurtford, Roger Bigod,
Eorl ov Northfolk and Marescal ov Engleneloande, Perres
of Sauveye, William of Fort, Eorl of Aubemarle, [10] John
of Plesseiz, Eorl ov Warewik, John Geffreessune, Perres of
Muntefort, Richard of Grey, Roger of Mortemer, James of
Aldithele and ætforen othre moʒe.

[11] And al ov tho ilche worden is isend in to ævrihce
other shcire over al þære kuneriche ov Engleneloande and
ek in tel Irelonde.

Translation.

Henry, through God's Grace, King of England, Lord of
Ireland, Duke of Normandy, of Aquitaine, and Earl of
Anjou, sends greeting to all His subjects learned and un-
learned[1] of Huntingdonshire that know ye well all that we
will and charge[2] that that which Our counsellors, all or the
majority of them that be chosen through[3] Us and through
the land folk[3] of our kingdom, have done and shall do in the
worthiness[4] of God and of[5] Our truth for the thrift[6] of the
land through the provision of the aforesaid counsellors, be
steadfast and enduring in all things for ever. And We charge
all Our liegemen, in the fealty that they owe Us, that they

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[1] This is a secondary meaning of *ileawede*, the original sense *lay* is evidently
here intended.

[2] Not a recognized meaning of *unnen*. The same word is here also used to
translate *hoaten*.   [3] See p. 81.   [4] *Honour*, p. 83.

[5] As if the words meant, "in the worthiness of our truth," which is absurd.

[6] *Benefit* p. 83, not *thrift* in any respect.

steadfastly hold and swear to hold and observe the statutes that are made and shall be made through the aforesaid counsellors or the majority of them, in like manner as it is aforesaid. And that each help the other to do that by the same oath against all men. To do and maintain[1] right. And let no one take either of land or property whereby this provision may be hindered or abated in anywise. And if any other or others[2] come here against it[3] we will and charge that all our liegemen hold them deadly foes. And for that We will that this be steadfast and enduring We send you this writ open, signed with Our seal, to hold among you in keeping.[4] Witness Ourself at London the 18th day of the month of October in the 42nd year of Our crowning. And this was done before Our sworn counsellors, Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter of Cantelow, Bishop of Worcester, Simon of Muntfort, Earl of Leicester, Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, Piers of Savoy, William of Fort, Earl of Albemarle, John of Plesseiz, Earl of Warwick, John Geffreessune, Piers of Muntfort, Richard of Grey, Roger of Mortimer, James of Aldithele, and before many[5] others.

And all of[6] the same words are[7] sent into every other shire over all the kingdom of England and also into Ireland.

---

[1] This is erroneous, see p. 87. It would be a very forced meaning to put on *foangen.*

[2] There is nothing in the original corresponding to *other or others.*

[3] The use of both *here* and *it,* shews that the passage has been entirely misapprehended; one or the other must be omitted, see p. 93.

[4] The word *inehord* which the transcriber writes *ine hord* indicate the place of keeping. "To hold in keeping," is tautological, at least "safe keeping" is necessary.

[5] Somner's old mistake concerning *moȝe* reproduced, see pp. 15, 95, and *moȝe* in the *Glossarial Index.*

[6] Error of translation induced by the error of transcription, *ov* for *on.*

[7] By putting *are* for *is* the translator shews that he misunderstood the words to mean that " all documents having the same words were sent" &c. It is not the meaning of the original, which merely says that something, unnamed, but evidently a "writ open," in precisely the same words, has been sent, etc. In this case *al* is an adverb, not an adjective plural.

Considering that correct translations had been published by Regel in 1856, and Marsh in 1862, the translator in 1865 might have easily avoided the errors pointed out in the preceding notes.   For errors committed in the translation of the Burton copy of the old French version, see p. 87.   The original French of this proclamation is not given in Sir H. James's work.   But immediately following the facsimile of the English version is the facsimile of the enrollment in the Close Roll, 49 Henry III., of the summons issued by Simon of Montfort in the king's name, for the first real English representative parliament to meet on the Octaves of St. Hilary, 20 Jan 1265.   It is in Latin, addressed to Robert bishop of Worcester, and dated 14 Dec 1264.[1]

The same work gives the charter of William the Conqueror to the City of London, and a grant of land from the same king to one Deorman, in Anglo-saxon characters, which may be here transcribed to shew the change in the language from William the Conqueror to Henry III.[2]

Charter to the City of London.

[1] Will'm kyng gret .[3] Will'm bifceop *and*goffreg᷎ portirefan *and*ealle þaburhwarubinnan [2] londone frencifce *and*englifce freondlice . *and*ic kyde eow þat icwylle þat getbeon eallra þæra [3] laga weorᷟe þegyt wæran on eadwerdef dæge kynges. *and*ic wylle þæt ælc cyld beo hif [4] fæder yrfnume.[3] æfter hif fæderdæge. *and*icnellegeþolian *þat* ænig man eow ænig wrang [5] beode.   god eow gehealde.[4]

---

[1] A complete transcription of this document with the names of all the parties to whom copies were addressed may be seen in Rymer i, 449, in which the words "plena securitate *tr*anquillitatis *et* pacis" are wrongly transcribed "plena securitate et tranquillitate pacis."   This document uses the phrase "ad honorem dei *et* vtilitatem totius regni n*ost*ri" with the significant omission of "nostram fidem."

[2] In the present transcription Roman characters are used, with the long f which is employed in the original in place of the ags. ʄ .   The connections of the words, punctuation, and capitals are preserved.   Italics mark extended contractions.

[3] These periods are probably only photozincographic errors.

[4] *Translation.*—[1] William, king, greets William, bishop, and Geoffrey, portreeve, and all the burgers within [2] London, French and English,

Grant to Deorman.

[1] Will'm kyng gret will'm biſceop and swegn ſcyrgerefan and ealle mine þegnaſ oneaſt ſeaxan freondlice. [2] and ic kyðe eow þat ic habbe ge unnen deormanne minan man[1] þa hide landeſ æt gyddeſdune þe hi [3] of geryden wæſ. andicnellegeþolian frenciſcan ne engliſcan þat him æt ænigan þingan miſbeode.[2]

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friendlily. And I inform you that I will that ye-two be of-all the [3] laws possessed which ye-two were on Edward the king's day. And I will that each child be his [4] father's inheritance-taker (heir) after his father's day. And I will-not suffer that any man to-you any wrong [5] offer. God keep you.

In Sir H. James's work the dual forms *get, gyt* are not noticed, and the words b e o n   e a l l r a   þ æ r a   l a g a   w e o r ð e   are translated, " be worthy all those laws," the meaning of which is not evident, but w e o r ð e   is used in a legal sense, as " folc-rihtes wyrðe, þagen-weres wyrðe," possessed of popular rights, liable to a thane's fine, see Bosworth *sub voce*. Observe g r e t   greets, contracted form, like f e n d   sends, in the proclamation.

[1] The ' a ' in man is very indistinct.

[2] *Translation.*—[1] William, king, greets William, bishop, and Sweyn, sheriff, and all my thanes in Essex, friendlily. [2] And I inform you that I have granted to Deorman, my man, the hide of land at Gyddesdun which from-him [3] was off-ridden. And I will-not suffer Frenchman nor Englishman that he misuse him in any thing.

Observe the use of *unnan* to grant; and the phrase *him of geryden wæs*. The last letter *m* of *him* seems to have been worn off the parchment. In Bosworth *geridan* is explained, to ride, to ride through or over, to invade. Here it would seem to imply that Deorman had been deprived of the land by some *raid*, rather than by the Norman invasion. It is stated in the Introduction to Sir H. James's work that "his name does not appear in Domesday Book among persons holding land in England previous to the Conquest, nor indeed among any of the tenants before or after in Essex."
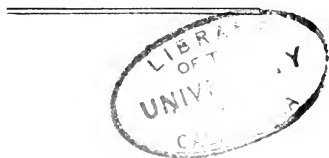
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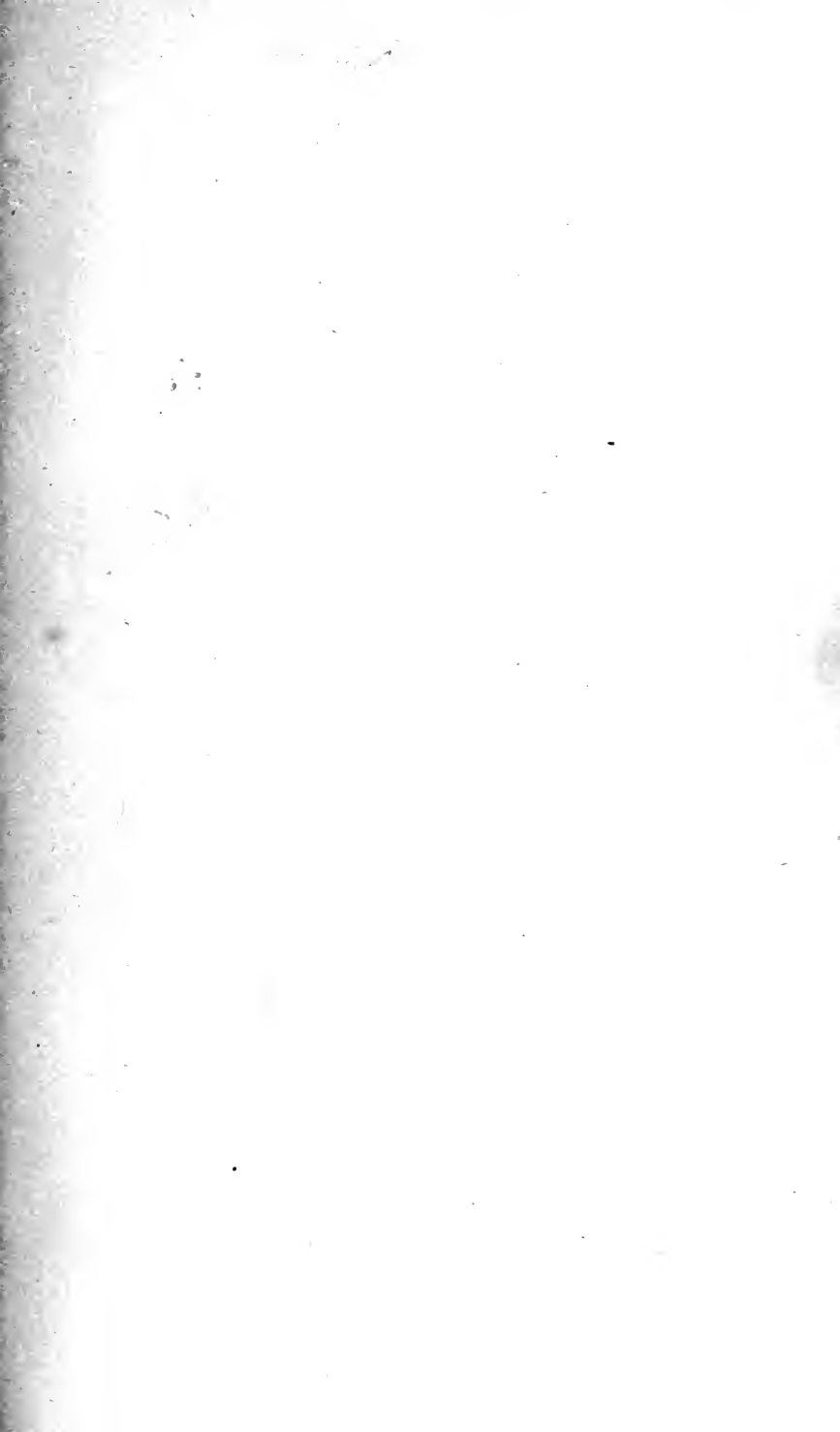
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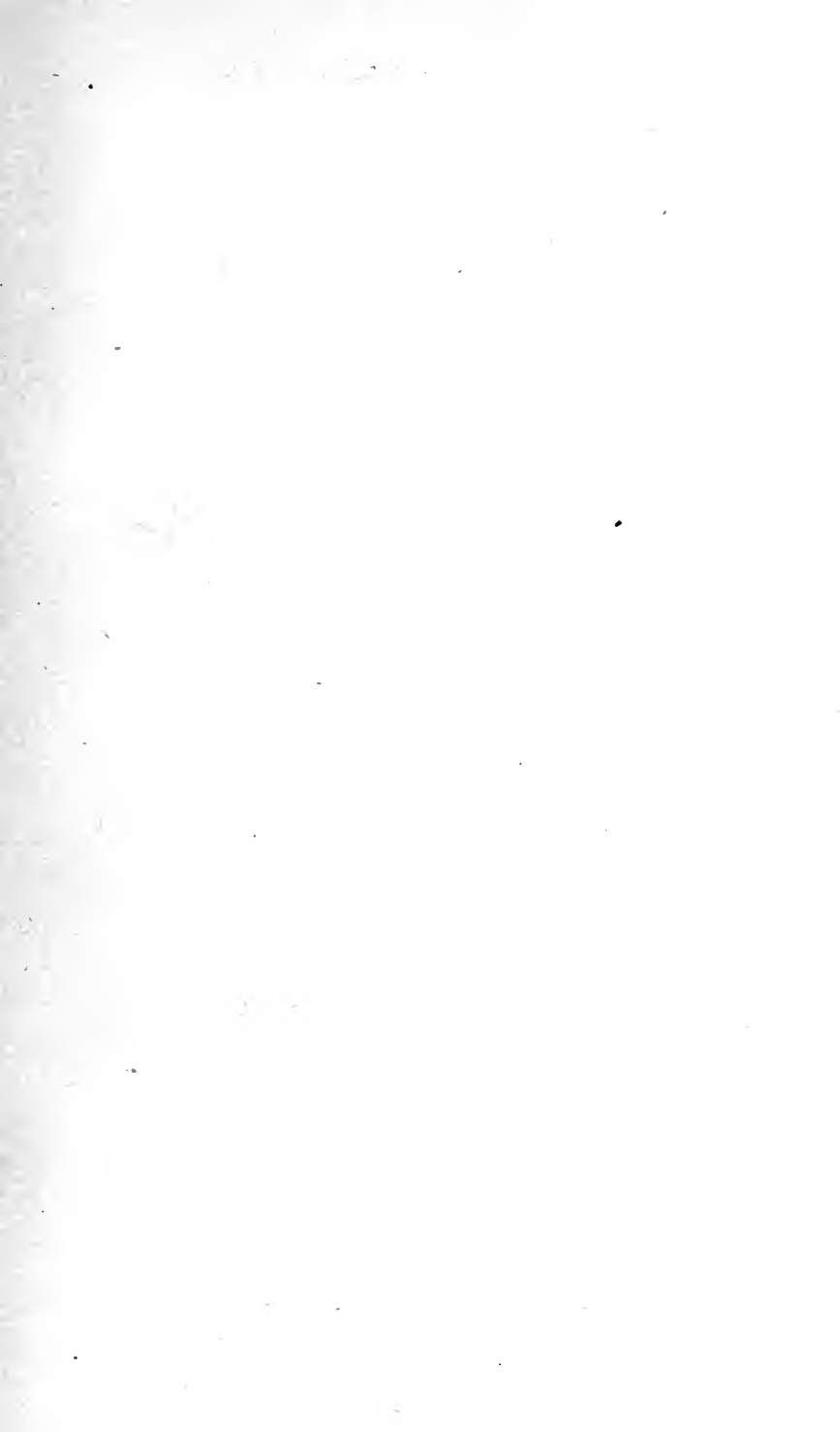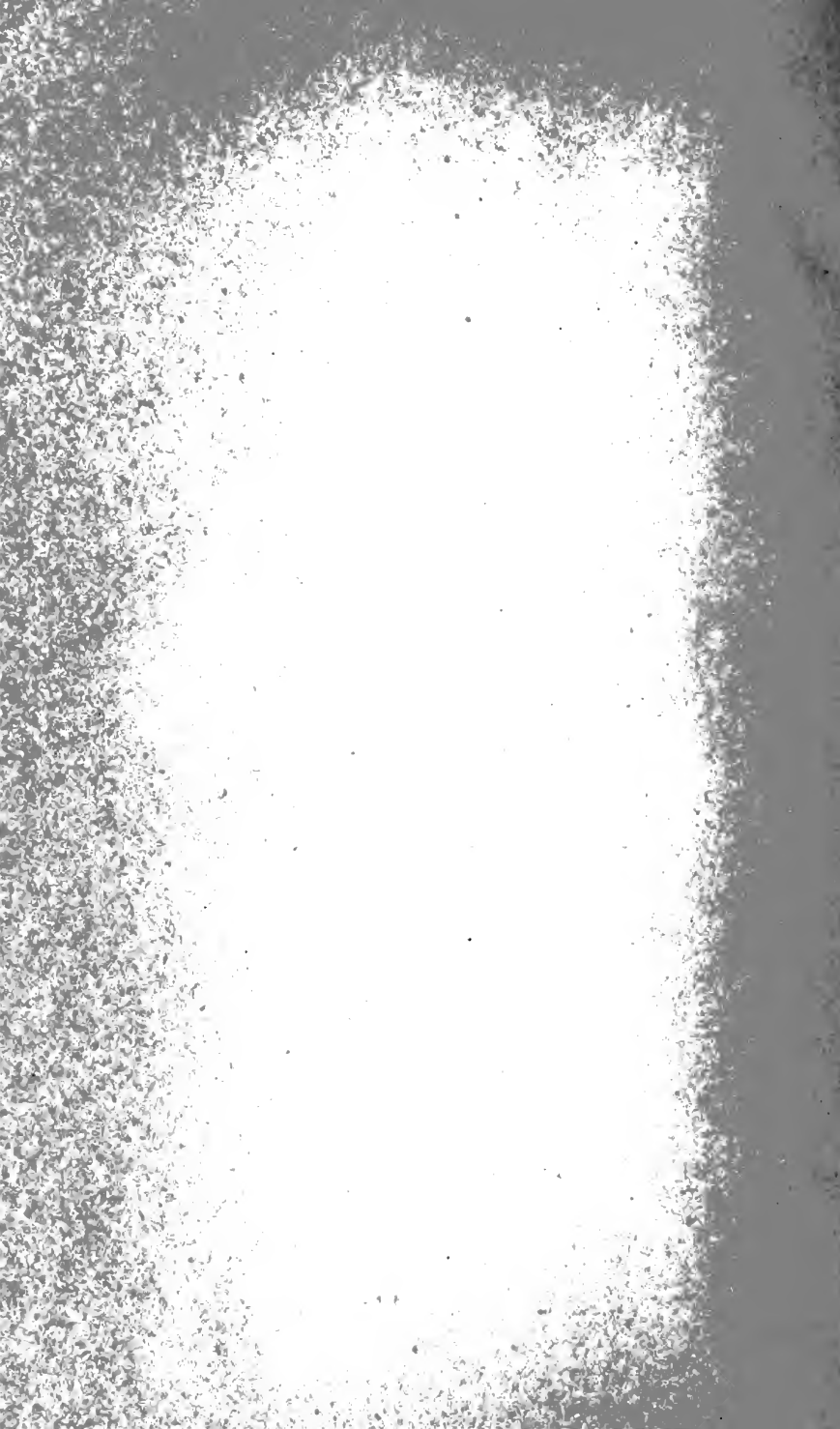

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