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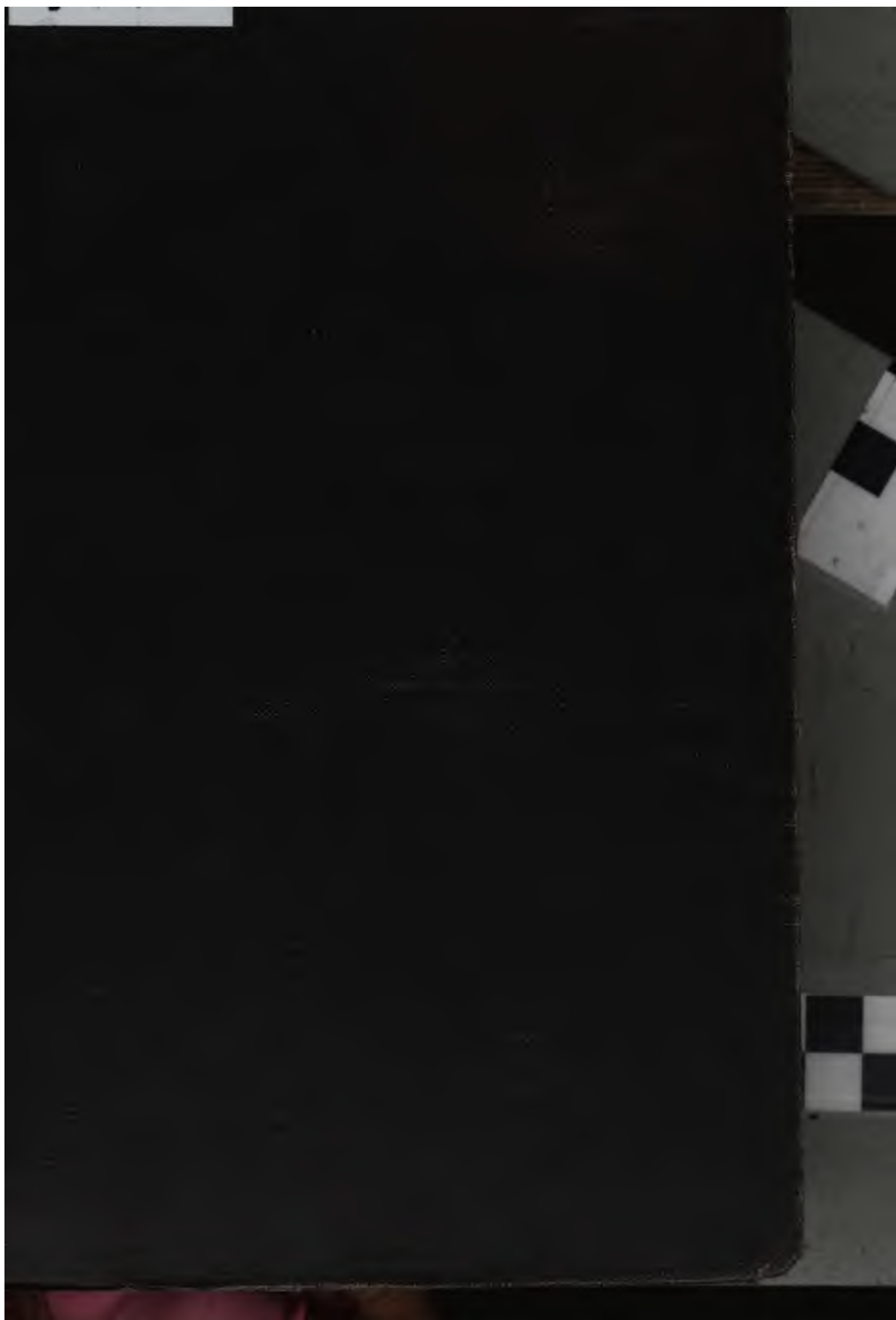
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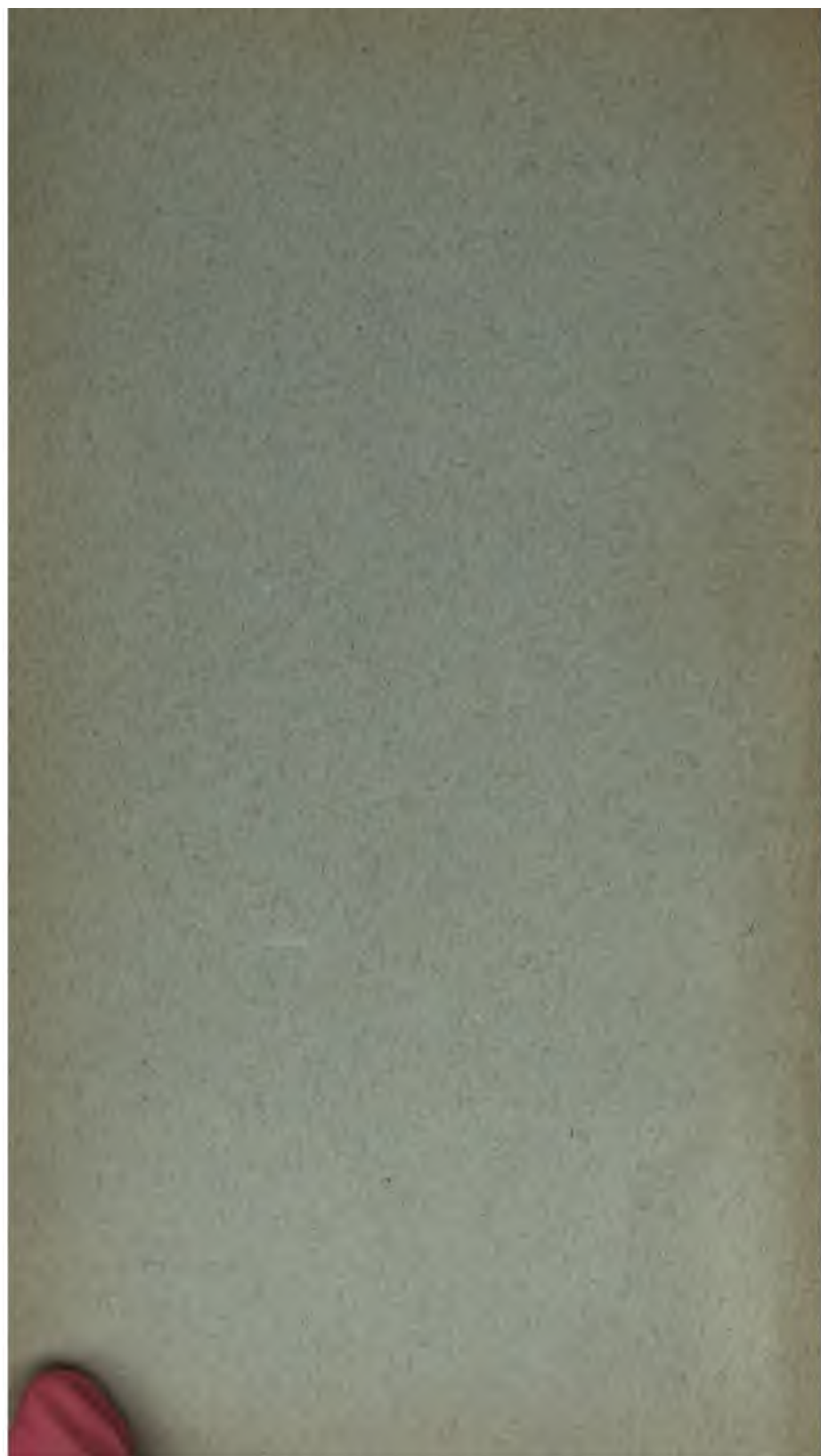




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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
1907.

I.—THE TRANSLITERATION AND
PRONUNCIATION OF THE LATIN LETTER *V*.

By G. B. GRUNDY, D.Litt. Oxford.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on February 1, 1907.*]

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CHAPTER I.

THE EVIDENCE IN THE RECEIVED TEXTS OF AUTHORS.

¹It has been recognized for some time past by Classical scholars in England that the question of the pronunciation of Latin in the English schools and universities is one which calls urgently for settlement. Two methods exist at present side by side, namely, that which is called the old pronunciation, which makes no claim to reproduce the sounds of spoken Latin, and the so-called new pronunciation, which does make such a claim, but which nevertheless is not as yet uniform in many of its details. This latter mode as adopted in English schools takes two forms: (1) that in use in Germany; (2) a form which pretends to greater scientific accuracy, and which has been chiefly advocated by distinguished Cambridge scholars. The Italian pronunciation, though at one time adopted in some schools, seems to have fallen into disuse.

The evidence with regard to the pronunciation of the majority of the Latin letters and combinations of letters is very clear; and the conclusions drawn from it do not require prolonged discussion. But in the case of other letters, and especially of the vowel *u*, the diphthongs *æ* and *œ*, and the consonants *b* and *v*, the evidence is obscure. I propose to confine myself chiefly to the evidence as to the pronunciation of the Latin *v*.

I am well aware of the boldness of the step which I have taken in reopening a question which has for the last thirty years been regarded as a *res judicata* by very eminent authorities in philology. But the evidence which will be produced in this paper is novel in form, and, to a certain extent, new in respect to matter. It would, indeed, have been somewhat futile to reopen this question merely on pre-existent evidence which had been already exhaustively considered by eminent judges.

¹ The assistance derived from published works is acknowledged fully in the course of the discussion of the question involved; but I have also to acknowledge with gratitude important help received by me from Professor Rhys, Professor of Celtic in this University; from Professor Morfill, Reader in Slavonic languages; Mr. A. E. Cowley, assistant librarian of the Bodleian; Mr. Sweet, Reader in Phonetics; and from Mr. de Atteaga, Reader in Spanish, who were kind enough to assist me with information such as could only be obtained in a reliable form from distinguished specialists.

The nature of the new evidence is as follows. Late in the eighties or early in the nineties of the last century (his work is not expressly dated), Dr. Eckinger of Zurich published a book of about 150 pages on "Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in Griechischen Inschriften."

Dittenberger, the compiler of the well-known collection of inscriptions, had already treated of the same subject; but the work of Eckinger is far more exhaustive, chiefly owing to the greatly increased amount of material available at the time at which he wrote. With the exception of the pronouncement of Professor Lindsay in his book on the Latin language, the authoritative pronouncements on the question of the pronunciation of Latin¹ were made before Dr. Eckinger's work appeared. Professor Lindsay's references to the work show that he has adopted Dr. Eckinger's conclusions without forming his own inductions from Dr. Eckinger's evidence. Those conclusions are limited by the fact that Dr. Eckinger did not compare the evidence of inscriptions with that to be obtained from authors, and, possibly, because his work was that of a young man writing an exercise for his degree, a composition in which it might conceivably have been imprudent to attack an immense bulk of existent authority.

Inquirers have fought shy of the transliterations of ancient authors. Mr. Roby does, indeed, make use of certain statistics which he has himself drawn up from them; but he uses them with so much reservation as to make it obvious that he regards their evidence as being of little value, because ultimately unreliable. This distrust is expressed in the following words:—"All the MSS. of these authors are, I suppose, posterior by many centuries to the confusion of *v* and *b*: this would not impair their testimony when they represent *v* by *ov*, while the change of *ov* into *β* would be in accordance with the tendencies either of pronunciation or of its expression."

This is only a special case of the great general question which must be present in the mind of anyone who prosecutes any inquiry into the transliterations of Latin words by Greek authors. Is it possible to attain satisfactory assurance that, in dealing with those

¹ I refer especially to the views expressed by Mr. Roby in his Latin Grammar, and to the well-known work of Seelmann on Latin Pronunciation, as well as to the incidental but important statements in Dr. Friedrich Blass's work on the pronunciation of the ancient Greek.

Greek forms of Latin names, we are dealing with the forms employed by the authors themselves, and not with those employed many centuries later by the scribes who copied the MSS. ? Unless it can be shown, for example, that the transcription of Latin *v* by Greek β in the MS. of an ancient author is in accord with the practice of his own time, there must always remain the possibility that this transliteration is due to scribes who copied the MS. in the sixth century or later, a period at which the Latin *v* is admitted to have had the sound of the English *v*. So long as such a possibility exists, no argument of any value can be drawn from transliterations in purely literary documents, and Mr. Roby's reservation is amply justified.

I began a collection of transliterations from literary sources some years ago, but, faced by the difficulty of proving the evidence to be contemporary, I desisted from further work on the subject. It seemed as if no satisfactory conclusion could be drawn from that particular form of inquiry. When, however, Dr. Eckinger's work came into my hands not very long ago, I noticed a general tendency to agreement with the data which I had obtained from the purely literary source. I proceeded, therefore, to bring the inquiry as near completion as possible, with a view to discovering by the test of comparison whether the purely literary data, which profess to originate at a certain age, are in accordance with such inscriptional data as are without any question of that age. It seemed that it would thus be possible to prove or disprove the *original* character of the transliterations in the received texts of ancient authors. If their original character could be proved, the results promised to be valuable, not merely on the question of pronunciation, but also with regard to the ultimate age of the texts which are now extant. Reference will be made later in this paper to the general results of this branch of the inquiry.

Before, however, turning to these results, it may be well to say a word as to the nature of the evidence on pronunciation which transliteration (or transcription) affords. It may be urged—indeed, it has been urged—that it cannot lead to satisfactory scientific results, because it is of the nature of an argument from the unknown, the pronunciation of ancient Greek, to the unknown, the pronunciation of ancient Latin.

But the method is essentially a comparative one. It does not take its premisses exclusively from the one or the other language. It works by mutual elimination, enlarging the area of the negative

and narrowing the area of the positive, until in the case of most of the sound signs in the two languages something like precision is attained.

Turning once more, after this brief digression, to the evidence of Dr. Eckinger, I may say that I have completed his data by evidence taken from those volumes of the *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions* which have been published since his book was given to the world, but, in so doing, I have confined myself to the record of those proper names which are variants in respect to transliteration. The constants, that is, those proper names the transliteration of which remains the same in form from the time of their first appearance in Greek literature up to the end of the third century A.D., are satisfactorily established on the evidence adduced by Dr. Eckinger, and, in point of fact, the evidence since available is entirely in agreement with that cited by him.

For the purpose of the comparison of inscriptional and literary transliterations the decisive evidence must be drawn from the variants. Of the constants it may be stated that they appear in the received literary texts in the same form as in the inscriptions. Such instances of variation from the inscriptional form as occur in literary texts are so very exceptional—in some cases absolutely unique—that they may safely be ascribed to the error of a copyist. It must be understood throughout this article that by "received texts" is meant the printed texts (Teubner series, where not otherwise stated) of the present day.

MSS. of the authors who come into question in this present consideration are very rare in England, and, at present, I have only had the opportunity of examining one, that of Plutarch's *Lives* in the Bodleian Library. The collations of texts printed in the Teubner series are, however, very full.

The variants in transliteration may be divided for our present purpose into four classes:—

A. Those which present two or more forms whose uses were separated from one another by a more or less distinct cleavage with respect to time: that is to say, when one form of transliteration was employed, the other form or forms were not in use.

B. Those which present two or more forms which overlap in respect to a certain period, that is to say, a period during which both were employed, while before that period the one form was in exclusive use, and after it the other form or forms were employed.

C. Those which present two or more forms in contemporary use, though at one period one form, at another another form was more commonly employed.

D. Those which present two or more forms indifferently employed at all times.

For the purpose of testing the dates of the transliteration in the received texts, Classes A, B, and C are all of them important, but in descending order.

Thus far I have been speaking of variation in individual proper names. But we must also take into consideration that wider form of variation which consists in the diversity of the transliteration of certain letters or combinations of letters at different periods. This is much less precise as evidence, and therefore much more difficult to deal with, save in the case of one letter, namely, that with which we are at present concerned, the Latin *v*.

I will now turn to the evidence of the inscriptions with regard to those forms of variation, and will compare in each case the inscriptional evidence with the facts existent in the Greek texts of certain authors.

The authors whose texts are of importance in this present inquiry are Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus, Josephus, Plutarch, and, with certain reservations which will be subsequently made, Appian and Dio Cassius. It will also be necessary to deal with the transliteration in the Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm papyri. The important period is that of the two centuries before Christ and the first century after Christ; and it so happens that the period is well represented by authors whose subjects made it necessary for them to transcribe Latin proper names.

Polybius' exile dates from 167 B.C., and the Roman portion of his work, at any rate, was probably written about the middle of the second century B.C. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus wrote during the second half of the first century B.C.; Josephus and Plutarch during the second half of the first century A.D. Part of the work of the latter may fall within the second century.

The simplest mode of instituting a comparison between the inscriptions and the received texts of these authors will be, perhaps, to take first the inscriptional transliteration, and the nature and date of its variation; secondly, to state the form in which the transliteration *should* therefore appear in the texts of the

authors cited between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D.; thirdly, to state in which form it actually *does* appear in the texts of those authors.

(For details refer to Table I, at the end of the paper.)

1. Φλαούιος as a transliteration of Flavius is not found in inscriptions before 62 A.D. Φλάβιος first occurs in the Augustan period. In the authors cited it should not therefore appear before Josephus.

In point of fact it appears in Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Diodorus has the form Φλαύιος, whose date of origin is not determinable.¹

In Plutarch the *ou* transliteration appears, as it should, according to the inscriptional evidence, side by side with Φλάβιος.

The *ou* transliteration is the only form found in Appian and Dio Cassius.

2. Cæcilius: In inscriptions Καικέλιος, 250–80 B.C.; Καικίλιος, 68 B.C.—260 A.D. The earlier form should, therefore, appear only in Polybius. In point of fact this is the only author in which it does appear, though the form Καικίλιος is also found in his received text. The name does not occur in Diodorus and Josephus. In Dionysius, Plutarch, Appian, and Dio Cassius the form Καικίλιος alone is found.

3. Apuleius: In inscriptions the forms Ἀππόλιος, Ἀπόλιος occur from 120 B.C. to 30 A.D. The form Ἀπουλήιος is found from 14 A.D. to the second century A.D.

This name only occurs, as it happens, in Plutarch, Appian, and Dio, and in its later form, as it should appear, according to the evidence of the inscriptions.

4. Lucullus: The form Λεύκολλος is found in inscriptions from 88 to 30 B.C. The form Λούκουλλος is later than the last date. Neither form occurs many times in inscriptions, and therefore it is possible that the earlier form was used for some time after 30 B.C.

In Polybius the earlier form only is found. In Diodorus the later form only is found. In Josephus the earlier form appears. In Plutarch the later form is common, and the earlier form only

¹ All that can be said of this *av* transliteration for Latin *av* is as follows:— It appears quite early, e.g. Avianus, Ἀβιανός (Cyprus, 31 B.C.—14 A.D.); Avillius, Ἀβίλλιος and Ἀουίλλιος (both temp. Tiberius); Flavianus, Φλαβιανός, twice in second century A.D.; Flavius, Φλαβίος, twenty-three times from first to third century A.D. It is less common than *avv*. Dr. Eckinger seems to think that it is of later date, but the hard facts which he gives fail to bear out that assumption.

occurs in one instance, which, as standing by itself, may be a copyist's error. In Dio the later form alone is found.

5. Mummius: An earlier form *Μόμμιος* appears in inscriptions from 146 B.C. up to the first half of the first century A.D. In Plutarch the name appears as *Μόμμιος*, in Appian as *Μούμμιος*. In the other authors the name does not occur.

6. Publius: The earliest form in the inscriptions is *Πόπλιος*; but a later form *Πούπλιος* appears in the time of Claudius and Nero, and after this time the two forms exist more or less side by side.

In Polybius and Dionysius the earlier form alone appears. In Diodorus' text both forms are found; in Josephus the later form only; in Plutarch both forms; in Appian the earlier, and in Dio the later form.

7. Lucius: Up to the time of the Christian era the form *Λεύκιος* is the only form in inscriptions. A later form *Λούκιος* then makes its appearance. In the first century A.D. *Λεύκιος*: *Λούκιος* :: 49 : 51; in the second century :: 34 : 66.

In Polybius and Dionysius the earlier form in *ευ* alone occurs. In Diodorus both forms are found, the *ευ* being the more common. In Josephus and Plutarch both forms occur. In Appian the form with *ευ* alone is found. In Dio the form with *ου* alone occurs.

8. Quintus: Earlier form in inscriptions is *Κόϊντος*, a later form *Κύϊντος* not appearing before 50 A.D., after which the two forms co-exist for a time.

In Polybius, Dionysius, and Diodorus the earlier form alone is found. In Josephus both forms occur. In Plutarch the earlier form occurs, save in one case, where a form in *ου* is found. In Appian the earlier and in Dio the later form alone occurs.

It will, I think, be seen that the resemblance between the data obtained from inscriptions and those obtained from the received texts of authors is very striking.¹

When we take a test of comparison in which the instances are large in number, I refer to the *ου* and *β* transliterations of the Latin *v*, we find a correspondence between the dated inscriptions and the received texts which is far more close and far more striking than any of the cases which have already been cited.

This dual form of transliteration makes its appearance first in the second century B.C., though cases of *β* transliteration are rare

¹ v. Table II at end of the paper.

in that century, and the sum of the cases of both forms of transliteration is not large. In the first century B.C. a much larger number of β transliterations are found; and in the first century A.D. and the succeeding centuries they are quite common. But it must be accounted remarkable that the earliest transliterations of the Latin *v* which are extant, those of the first half of the second century B.C., show both forms, though the *ov* form is the one which prevails at that time.

We may now turn to a comparison of the statistics of the use of these two forms in those inscriptions which can be dated, with their occurrence in the received texts of authors contemporary with the inscriptions.

In the second century B.C. the Latin *v* is transliterated by β in 27 per cent. of the names which appear in inscriptions. But the data are few in number, only 11 in *ov* and 4 in β . In Polybius, who wrote in that century, the β transliteration occurs in 14 per cent. of the cases afforded by his work.

In the first century B.C. the β transliterations as compared with the *ov* transliterations amount in inscriptions to 34 per cent. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus they are 30 per cent.; in Diodorus they are 36 per cent.

The case of Strabo is a special one. Very few personal names appear in his work. It is impossible to treat geographical names as affording on this question evidence as reliable as that afforded by personal names. The pronunciation of the Latin geographical names of North and Middle Italy, of Gaul, and of Spain, the only regions from which names uncontaminated by Greek influence may be selected, cannot possibly have been as well known as that of the Latin personal names, which would necessarily be far more frequent in men's mouths. Moreover, a geographer like Strabo or Ptolemy would probably have recourse, and especially in those regions, to such Greek maps as existed at the time. Strabo might, indeed, be omitted from calculation on the question of pronunciation.

In the case of the other authors I have confined my calculations to personal names. Still, I may state that in Strabo, mainly in geographical names within the areas I have specified, the β transliterations form 20 per cent. of all the transliterations of the Latin *v*.

Turning to the first century A.D., the β transliterations form in the inscriptions 29 per cent. of the transliterations in *ov* and

β . In Josephus they are 31 per cent.; in Plutarch they are 49 per cent.

It must be remembered that the statistics of inscriptions quoted from Dr. Eckinger are taken from all parts of the Roman world. There will be occasion to show that, had the data been taken from Greece alone, the home of Plutarch, the percentage of β transliterations would have been considerably increased.

In the second century A.D. the β transliterations in inscriptions form 33 per cent. of all the transliterations in α and β . A comparison with the received text of Appian is impossible, and with that of Dio Cassius would be misleading for reasons which will be stated hereafter.

I venture to think that these data, and especially the close correspondence between the transliterations of the Latin v in dated inscriptions and in authors contemporary with them, lead to the conclusion that the received texts of the present day go back in respect, at any rate, to transcription, to a genuine ultimate origin contemporary with the authors. It might seem, perhaps, on general considerations, that transliteration would provide a fertile source of error to scribes who copied MSS. at an age when transliteration had in certain important respects completely changed. Yet the facts of the case seem to show that such errors have been very rarely made. The exact significance of this consideration in reference to the general reliability of the received texts of the authors concerned is a question rather for the palaeographer than for the philologist. The correspondence between the texts and the inscriptions cannot be due to a series of consistent accidents. Nor can it be due to deliberate acts on the part of the collator, for most of these texts were collated before the evidence on this particular question had been gathered from the inscriptions.

It is most satisfactory to find that modern editors have taken very few liberties with the transliterations. I have not as yet gone through the details of all the collations, but, as far as my present experience goes, notes such as " $\beta\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ MSS., ego $\text{O}\beta\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$," in the collation of Plutarch in the Teubner edition, are, happily, very rare.

With regard to the individual manuscripts of authors in which transliteration is common, I should like to suggest that transliteration may afford indications of the date of the originals from which the extant MSS. are severally descended.

This is a digression from the course of inquiry in which I have

been engaged, and, so far, I have only had time to collect the statistics in Niese's collation of the MSS. of Josephus. The results of this preliminary test promise that the inquiry will prove interesting, and I hope, all well, to follow it out.

I think it may be claimed with some confidence that the evidence here adduced dissipates the suspicion—which has, indeed, with some people become an assumption—that the transliteration in the received texts of authors of the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era date from a period several centuries at least later than the authors themselves. There seems to be good reason to believe that these transliterations are in all essentials contemporary, and that they therefore afford a reliable basis for inquiry into the pronunciation of Latin during the lifetime of the respective authors.

CHAPTER II.

THE TRANSLITERATION OF THE LATIN *v*.

The second century A.D. only provides us with two authors in which the transliterations of Latin names are at all common, and the received texts of both of these authors present peculiarities which make it difficult, if not impossible, to draw from them conclusions as to the prevalence of the two forms of transliteration of the Latin *v* at that period. The evidence for the second century must be taken from the inscriptions.

In the case of Appian the peculiarity is at present inexplicable. It is a striking peculiarity, and, if original in the MSS. of Appian, may possibly be very significant. It consists in the use of the sign *8* to represent transliterations of the Latin *v*. That sign is, of course, common in the texts of other authors, and is, so I am informed, as old as minuscule writing in the MSS. of Greek authors. But it is ordinarily used as an abbreviation of *ov*, quite regardless of whether that *ov* is a transliteration of *v* or not. Its use in this special and exclusive form in the text of Appian is, so far as I have been able to discover, unique. That it is used in some of the MSS. of Appian in this connection is shown by the notes in Dr. Ludwig Mendelssohn's text; but what I cannot discover without reference to the MSS. themselves is whether it is

used *exclusively* for this particular transliteration. The form is so common an abbreviation of the ordinary *ov* that its existence in the MSS. would not be necessarily noted in the collection of variations of readings. It is possible that I may be able during the coming Easter vacation to examine certain MSS. of Appian at Paris and elsewhere. I cannot discover that any exist in England. If the peculiarity in the received text is a mere convention of the editor's own invention, it is a regrettable feature of that text.¹ Though it is not possible at this moment to make any pronouncement as to this peculiarity, it may be well to call attention to the fact that Appian's text shows a strong tendency to archaism in transliteration, that is to say, to a preference for the earlier forms. There is not an instance of the transliteration of any personal names containing *v* with β . In transliterating the proper names Quintus, Lentulus, Lucius, and Publius, the earlier form is used, though in all these cases the later forms existed in the previous century, and are used by Dio Cassius later in this second century. Appian's subject may have suggested archaism in form, and, as will be hereafter seen, convention may well have had an influence upon him. It must be noted that he was an imperial official; he served as procurator, probably, it would seem, in Egypt, though possibly elsewhere.

The peculiarity of Dio Cassius consists in the fact that, whereas in authors of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. the β transliterations form from 30 to 49 per cent. of the transliterations of the Latin *v*, in Dio they form but 9 per cent.

The case of the text of Dio Cassius presents less difficulty to one who has examined the peculiarities in this transliteration which are observable in the previous centuries. It is probably to be explained by the life and career of the author himself. He was an official and the son of an official. His father was governor of Dalmatia and Cilicia. He himself was prætor in 193, and twice consul, the second time in 229. Later he served in several provincial governorships. Though the earlier period of his life

¹ I have purposely left this passage in the form in which it was originally written. Since I wrote it, Mr. J. D. Quirk, of Brasenose College, has been kind enough to examine for me two fragmentary MSS. of Appian in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. He reports that the β sign is *not*, in those MSS., confined to *ov* transliterations of Latin *v*. It looks therefore as if the usage in the Teubner text were a private convention of the editor of that text. If that is really the case, I can only repeat that it seems to me to be a very regrettable convention.

falls in the second century, his historical work was written in the third century (211-222). In his transliteration of the Latin *v* he would naturally tend towards the official form.

Before making any attempt to account for the peculiarities of Dio Cassius, it will be well to turn to certain original documents of the first, second, and later centuries, the Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm papyri, so far as they have been published by Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt. The striking feature about them is that they contain only two instances of β transliteration in such documents as are dated earlier than the sixth century, and these are $\Sigma\lambda\beta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, which is found in a document of 325 A.D., and $\Sigma\epsilon\rho\beta\alpha\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$ in a document of 288 A.D. Roman names attached to private individuals are rare in these Egyptian documents, with the exception of the name Aurelius, which is very common.

The following names transliterated with *ov* appear in documents of the first four centuries A.D. :—

IMPERIAL.	CONSULAR ONLY.	NEITHER.
$\phi\lambda\alpha\sigma\upsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. . . 4 times.	$\Sigma\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$. 1 time.	$\Sigma\alpha\lambda\upsilon\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$. 1 time.
Νερούα . . . 3 ,,	Ούέττιος . 1 ,,	Ούεργίλιος . 2 ,,
Σεουήρος . . . 6 ,,	Ούεστέινος . 2 ,,	Ούίκτωρ . . 1 ,,
Ούεσπασσιανός . 4 ,,		Ούαριανός . 1 ,,
Ούαλέριος . . . 6 ,,		
Ούαλεριανός . 1 ,,		
Ούήρος . . . 4 ,,		
Ούιτάλιος . . 1 ,,		

Of those names which are neither consular nor imperial, it is noticeable that all, Salvistius, Vergilius, Victor, and Varianus, are akin respectively to the names Salvius, Vergilianus, Victorinus, and Varius, all of which are found on the consular lists of those centuries.

As far as *instances* of usage are concerned, it is noticeable that 29 are in imperial and 4 in purely consular names. Only 5 are in neither category.

The statistics themselves suggest, what is the actual fact, that these names occur in the vast majority of cases in the dating of documents by the years of the reign of an emperor, or by the name of the consul for the year, or, in one instance at least, by both. I am informed that this peculiarity of transliteration is observable in the papyri at the British Museum which belong

to these early centuries. They also, without exception, emanate from Egypt.

In order to arrive at some explanation of that exceptional phenomenon apparent both in Dio Cassius and the papyri, it is necessary to turn to the consideration of certain general phenomena apparent in the transliteration in authors and in inscriptions.

The phenomenon noticeable in Dio and the papyri, namely, the rareness or complete absence of the β transliteration in the second and third centuries, seems to be seriously at variance with the data of contemporary inscriptions. It is noticeable that in the inscriptions of the first four centuries A.D., that is to say, of those which afford an ample number of instances from which to form an induction, the β transliterations, as compared with those in *ov*, show the following series of percentages:—

1st century	A.D.,	29.
2nd	„ „	33.
3rd	„ „	41.
4th	„ „	48.

In the first century B.C. the percentage is 34; but the instances from which to form the induction are much less numerous.

It is worthy of remark that there is an actual set-back of 5 per cent. in the first century A.D., and a small increase of 4 per cent. in the second century, rising to an increase of 8 per cent. in the third, and a further 7 per cent. in the fourth.

Another phenomenon of a general character observable with regard to the Greek inscriptions relating to Roman affairs is the remarkable increase in their numbers at a time dating from the age of Nero or thereabouts, and under the Flavian Emperors.

A comparison of the above phenomena shows that the set-back and slow rate of increase in the β transliterations is contemporary with and immediately subsequent to this period.

Now unless Roman officialdom was exceptional among the officialdoms which have existed in the world, it would tend to develop convention in form—in transliteration as in other matters. In the particular case of transliteration this tendency would, of course, be opposed, and especially in those Greek-speaking lands where Latin was best known, by the antagonistic tendency to transliterate by the native letter which most nearly conveyed to the native ear the particular sound in Latin.

Hence official convention could never develop a rule. It could not develop more than a tendency.

A most marked characteristic of official convention is the preservation of early forms. That *ov* is the earliest prevalent transliteration of the Latin *v* is not disputed. Official convention would tend to preserve this form, and official convention would display an increase of power at a period when examples of official documents greatly increased.

When we take into account also ordinary unofficial convention, which would also tend to perpetuate the early predominant form, we are able to appreciate the phonetic force which produced the β transliteration despite the strength of the tendencies by which it was opposed.

The evidence that such an official tendency was developed, apart from that of the papyri, which may, in a sense, be called as witnesses in their own case, is somewhat strong.

I must preface what I am going to say by pointing out that the names commonly used in the dating of years, i.e. under the Republic the consular names, and under the Principate the names both imperial and consular, would, if my hypothesis be correct, display a preference for the *ov* transliteration.

In the authors up to and including Plutarch 24 separate consular and imperial names and 47 unofficial names containing the Latin *v* are found. Of the official names 10 are transliterated with *ov* and 4 with β . Of the unofficial 20 with *ov* and 20 with β . Ten official and 7 non-official names present instances of both transliterations. As far as the number of instances is concerned, there are 58 cases of official names, of which 66 per cent. show *ov*, 22 per cent. show β ; the remainder *ov* and β . The unofficial occur in 64 instances, of which 55 per cent. are in *ov*, 42 per cent. in β , the remainder in *ov* and β .

It seems impossible to regard these facts as purely accidental. The tendency in transliteration to adopt the *ov* form in the case of official is obviously more marked than in the case of unofficial names.

If we turn to the author Plutarch, in whom the tendency to the β transliteration is most marked, the evidence is still more striking. A further reason for citing the evidence of Plutarch on this question is that advocates of the *v* pronunciation of the Latin *v*, well aware that his transliterations in β constitute a great difficulty in the establishment of their theory, have always sought

to explain them away, usually on the ground that the transliterations in his received text are not contemporary with the author himself.

I will first take the statistics of individual names, and then those of the number of instances in which they occur in Plutarch.¹

Of consular and imperial names prior to Plutarch's time, and containing the letter *v*, 28 appear in his works. Of these, 12 are transliterated by *ov* only; 8 are transliterated by β only; but, of these last, 3 are names which, prior to Plutarch's time, appear on the last occasion in the consular lists of 210 B.C., 228 B.C., and 125 B.C. respectively. Eight names are transliterated by both *ov* and β , there being 49 instances of *ov* and 31 of β .

Of unofficial names containing *v* there are 25. Of these, 10 are transliterated by *ov* only, 14 by β only, 1 by both *ov* and β . When we take the instances in which these names occur in Plutarch, the contrast is much more striking.

There are 243 instances of official names containing *v*. Of these 181 are transliterated in *ov* and 62 in β ; whereas of 103 instances of unofficial names, only 33 are in *ov*, while 70 are in β .

The information in Dr. Eckinger's work only permits of calculations being made in the case of separate names. From his data the following statistics are obtainable:—

Percentages.

	<i>ov</i>	β	<i>ov</i> and β
Official	21	6	73
Non-official	44	37	19

It can hardly be doubted that if statistics of the number of instances were attainable, they would, as in the case of authors, afford still more striking evidence of the official tendency. Nevertheless, it is noticeable in the above table that only 6 per cent. of official names are found in β only, whereas in the case of non-official names the percentage is 37; and, again, 94 per cent. of official names are found with the *ov* transliteration, whereas only 63 per cent. of unofficial names are so transcribed. Official convention is, phonetically speaking, an artificial tendency. The statistics show that even in the first century A.D. the natural tendency was to transliterate the Latin *v* by β . There are at least

¹ v. especially Table IV at the end of the paper.

two striking individual cases of the official tendency. The name Valerius, the most common name on the consular lists, is very rarely transliterated by β either in authors or in inscriptions, and its *ov* transliteration is very persistent, so that we find it so late as the second half of the sixth century. Vespasianus does not appear in transliterated form before the reign of this emperor, and is never found in inscriptions save with the *ov* transliteration. A comparison of these conclusions with the peculiarities existent in the Egyptian papyri and in Dio Cassius will, I think, suggest that the peculiarities in the literary documents are due to official convention. It seems more than probable that the *ov* transliteration continued to be used long after it had ceased to convey the true sound of the Latin ν .

I must now proceed to call attention to another tendency, which is not less clearly marked and not less important than the one which has just been discussed.

In Dr. Eckinger's work is a table of statistics of the transliterations of the eleven names containing the Latin ν which are most common in Greek inscriptions, arranged according to locality. This table I have supplemented by materials from the recently published volumes of the Corpus.¹

These localities may be arranged in classes, according to the knowledge of *both* the Greek and Latin languages which we may estimate to have existed in various regions in the first century B.C. and in the early centuries A.D.

I put in the first class Athens and the rest of Greece; in the second class Rome, Italy, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Asia Minor; in the third class Thrace, Russia, the rest of Europe, the rest of Asia, and Africa. The inclusion of Rome in class ii is perhaps disputable, but were it placed in class i it would have little effect on the statistics which I am about to give.

In class i the β transliterations are 61 per cent. of the whole, against 39 per cent. of *ov* transliterations.

In class ii they are 36 per cent., against 64 per cent. of *ov*.

In class iii they are only 23 per cent., against 77 per cent. of *ov*.

It is, therefore, the case that the percentage of β transliterations is in a scale descending in accordance with the knowledge of Greek and Latin which we may presume on satisfactory grounds to have existed in the various regions in which the inscriptions have been found. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that a

¹ v. Table VI at end of paper.

knowledge of *both* languages must be postulated for the purposes of this calculation. I think it must be assumed that this phenomenon is due to what I may call a natural phonetic tendency antagonistic to that tendency of official and general convention to which reference has been made. It is possible that this tendency on its negative side aided official convention in producing the peculiarities of the limited series of transliterations found in the Egyptian papyri.

It is to this tendency that we must attribute the fact that Plutarch, a native and resident in a region in class i, transliterated 49 per cent. of the names containing *v* in β , whereas Josephus, a contemporary, but a resident in a region of class iii, transliterated only 31 per cent. of such names in β . The revolt against official convention is most marked in those lands where the two languages were best known—a fact which we cannot ignore in estimating the phonetic value of the Latin *v*.

But we have seen that the revolt against the *ov* transliteration began, alike in inscriptions and in literature, long before the Christian era.

The question naturally arises whether any phonetic law or phonetic tendency can be distinguished in the *ov* and β transliterations respectively. Dr. Eckinger, after consideration of the facts which he has collected from the inscriptions published at the time at which he wrote, sums up the matter as follows:—

“ We cannot argue the predominance of *ov* or β at a particular epoch, or in certain places, or after certain vowels, except when *v* comes between two *i*'s, e.g. in $\Lambda i \beta i o s$. No rule prevailed for either form: e.g. we find both forms upon the same stone. The only theory which can be maintained is that β before or after *a* became common outside Greece and Italy before it did in those lands; but in the second and third centuries A.D. the opposite became the case, so that, for example, Greece at the time preferred β ” (in this combination of sounds). “ It cannot be said whether this is due to some special pronunciation of the Greek either in Greece or Asia Minor.”

I have already produced evidence which suggests a modification of the conclusions at which Dr. Eckinger arrived. The β transliteration is undoubtedly a marked local characteristic in Greece. The predominance of *ov* at a certain period and of β at a later period is demonstrable. The prevalence of the β transliteration may be further shown from the inscriptions of Olympia.

	No. of Names.	Names in <i>ov</i> .	Names in β .	No. of Instances.	Instances in <i>ov</i> .	Instances in β .
1 cent. B.C. ...	1	1	0	1	1	0
1 cent. A.D. ...	4	3	1	9	3	6 ¹
2 cent. A.D. ...	8	3	5	20	3	17
3 cent. A.D. ...	7	0	7	23	0	23

This seems to indicate that at Olympia in the second century the β transliteration was predominant, and in the third century universal.

It must be remembered that Dr. Eckinger wrote under the pressure of that weight of authority which had definitely pronounced against the *v* sound of the Latin *v* at any time anterior to the fifth century A.D. Also he had not at his disposal the data furnished by the recent volumes of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, which deal with material from North Greece, from the Islands, and from Olympia.

As to phonetic law, in the strict sense of the term 'law,' I agree with Dr. Eckinger that none is discernible as determining the uses of *ov* and β respectively.

But phonetic *tendencies* are certainly apparent.² There is, for instance, a certain general tendency in the case of Latin *v* medial to transliterate by β . This contrasts with the tendency in the first century to transliterate Latin *v* initial by *ov*.

In the authors Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus, Josephus, Plutarch, and Dio Cassius, there are fifty-five Latin personal names containing *v* in which the β transliteration is found. Of these *v*'s eighteen are initial and thirty-seven medial. In inscriptions used by Dr. Eckinger and those published since Dr. Eckinger wrote there are fifty-six such names, in which the *v* is initial in thirty-one and medial in twenty-five cases.

It may be well in reference to these statistics to call attention to a consideration which must be borne in mind in estimating the comparative value of the evidence of the inscriptions and the authors on the question of transliteration. It is reasonable to suppose that convention would have greater, and phonetic evolution less influence with an engraver of an inscription than with an author. To five, at least, of the above authors, Greek was his native tongue, which would not by any means be necessarily the

¹ The three names in *ov* are all official; the other is not.

² v. Table IX at end of paper.

case with the engraver; and, again, the less educated ear of the latter combined with the influence exercised by examples in previous inscriptions would tend to render him less appreciative of sound modifications.

A strong tendency is shown to maintain *ov* before the so-called 'hard' vowels, *a*, *o*, *v*, followed by a liquid.

In the first century A.D. we find in these combinations of letters in Josephus and Plutarch eleven names with *ov* alone, one with β alone, and two with both forms.

In inscriptions of the same period we find five with *ov* alone, one with β alone, and two with both forms.

Before the vowels *e* and *i* followed by a liquid the tendency is by no means so marked, and cannot indeed be said to demonstrably exist.

The figures are—(a) in authors, eight in *ov* alone, seven in β alone, two in both forms; (b) in inscriptions, five in *ov* alone, one in β alone, two in both forms.

Before the endings *-ius*, *-ia*, *-ianus*, a tendency is shown to transliterate by β . The figures are—(a) in inscriptions, three in *ov*, seven in β , six in both forms; (b) in authors, one in *ov*, six in β , five in both forms. The modification of a *w* sound in proximity with this Latin *i*, i.e. the high front wide vowel,¹ would be a natural tendency. The raising of the back of the tongue to produce a *w* sound would tend to decrease, and the sound evoked would be first a bilabial spirant *v* and ultimately the labio-dental spirant *v*, i.e. the *v* of English.

There are two other tendencies suggested by the statistics, tendencies which cannot, however, be reliably demonstrated, because the examples are too few in number.

The cases of *v* before a vowel followed by the sibilant *s* suggest that the *ov* transliteration was maintained in this combination.

In the authors there are two transliterations in *ov*; one valid, and one uncertain in β . In inscriptions there are three in *ov*, and none in β .

The same tendency to maintain *ov* is suggested by the few cases of *v* followed by a vowel and a labial. In the authors of the first century A.D. there are three cases with *ov* alone, none with β . In inscriptions there are two with *ov* alone, and one with both *ov* and β .

¹ Sweet's Primer of Phonetics, p. 107.

I have spoken of phonetic tendencies rather than phonetic law, in order to be free of the charge of drawing conclusions of a greater precision than is warranted by the actual evidence. But these indications of phonetic law become much more significant when we consider that the evidence for them is obscured by the tendency of convention (both official and ordinary), and by the local tendencies of regions where the knowledge of *both* Greek and Latin was defective, but from which nevertheless some of the data have been drawn.¹

The existence of phonetic tendencies of this character must be taken as indicating that the pronunciation of the Latin *v* in the century preceding and the century succeeding the Christian era was *not* uniform, but varied according to the sounds with which it was combined, and must indicate, moreover, that the ear of the Greek-speaking world distinguished these variations as being more clearly represented in one set of instances by *ov* and in another by β : that is to say, the *ov* and β are not merely interchangeable alternatives, but actually represent different sounds.

Their apparent interchangeability in certain instances is due to a cause which is *not* phonetic—the struggle between the later transliteration in β and the persistent tendency of convention to employ the originally predominant transliteration in *ov*, even in cases where it had ceased to represent the contemporary pronunciation of the Latin *v* in some particular phonetic environment.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF LATIN *v* IN THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

We are now in a position to consider the question of the pronunciation of the Latin *v* during the Augustan age.

Many of the learned discussions which have been published on this subject treat the choice between the sounds of English *w* and English *v* as a mutually exclusive choice. But the most ardent advocates of the *w* pronunciation admit that this sound became eventually a *v* sound. There is no evidence of such change

¹ Dr. Eckinger's evidence on the localities of transliterations is by no means complete.

having been sudden or deliberate. It seems to have followed the natural and usual phonetic course of an infinite series of modifications of the original sound tending towards the sound ultimately developed. It is difficult to express in satisfactory scientific language the infinite series of intervening modifications, but it is, at any rate, not misleading to say that, during this interval, both the *w* and the *v* elements must have been present in the pronunciation of the Latin *v*, the former becoming weaker and the latter becoming stronger as time went on. No sane person could for one moment suppose that the learned advocates of the *w* sound are oblivious to this progressive series and its corollaries, but nevertheless their discussions have an unfortunate tendency to take a form in which the element of progressive development either does not appear or is not given its due prominence in the problem under treatment.

As far as the evidence of transliteration is concerned, Dr. Emil Seelmann, in his work on the pronunciation of Latin,¹ expresses himself as follows:—"The Greek transcription of the *v* by *ov* or *β* deserves no special consideration beside the other evidence and arguments for the determination of the sound." It may be doubted whether Dr. Seelmann would have expressed himself so positively had he had Dr. Eckinger's book at his disposal, and had he compared the evidence of the inscriptions with that taken from contemporary authors.

Professor Lindsay, in his work on the Latin language, has used Dr. Eckinger's work, but confines himself, as far as transliteration is concerned, to the evidence of the inscriptions. Mr. Roby, in his singularly lucid discussion of the question contained in his well-known Latin Grammar, does not ignore the transliterations in the texts of authors. He recognizes that the *β* transliteration is one which must be explained or explained away. He argues that the *β* of this period had not the sound of the labio-dental *v*. He does not think that those who believe the *β* of modern Greek to have the labio-dental sound of the English *v* are right; but on this latter point his information appears to be second-hand. He is of opinion, as it would seem, that the Greek *β* of the first century A.D. was, and that of the twentieth century A.D. is, in respect of sound, a bilabial *v*, which, as he very rightly says, stands in as close a relation to English *w* as to English *v*.

¹ "Die Aussprache des Latein nach physiologisch-historischen Grundsätzen," von Emil Seelmann, p. 241.

It is my intention to discuss Mr. Roby's clearly stated arguments *after* the conclusions from the evidence of transliteration have been stated, because it will, I think, be found that such of those arguments as are valid point to conclusions in accord with the transcriptional evidence. But, as far as the β of modern Greek is concerned, either Mr. Roby is mistaken, or a very large number of people who have studied modern Greek, have heard it spoken, and have spoken it themselves, are grievously in error, and this, too, on a point which is of peculiar interest to the classical scholar. I have been accustomed to hear modern Greek spoken at frequent intervals during the last fourteen years, and I have consulted others who have had opportunities, equal with or greater than my own, of forming an opinion on the question. Neither have they nor have I any doubt whatever that the modern β is practically undistinguishable from the English *v*, that is to say, is a labio-dental *v*. Were the sound a bilabial *v*, the difference between it and the English *v* would certainly strike an English ear.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that the β of Greek had originally the pure *b* sound. Whether the sound was still unweakened in the fifth century B.C. is a very difficult question, and one which only indirectly concerns our present purpose. What we *do* know is that the sound developed ultimately into a labio-dental *v*.

The series may be represented for convenience as $b-b^v-bv-bv-$
v, understanding an infinite and progressive series of modifications leading from the one extreme to the other. There is no evidence whatever that a *w* sound developed at any point in the series.

β must have represented some element in the sound of the Latin *v* which the *ov* transliteration did not represent. The advocates of the *w* pronunciation are quite agreed that the *ov* aimed at representing a *w* sound. But it is probable that the sound produced was not exactly that of the English *w*, but the *w* sound discernible in the French *oui*. The fact of the transliteration being *o + v* precludes the idea of a *v* sound in connection with the *v*. The alternative β transliteration must have represented some other element in the sound of the Latin *v*, some non-*w* element, if I may so call it, and as Latin *v* and also Greek β were both in process of evolution towards the labio-dental *v* (Eng. *v*), it must have been the *v* element in Latin *v* which the β transliteration represented. Surely, had this *w* sound revived in Greek in connection with the β the grammarians, who seem to have recognized

the sound as having been that of the original digamma, would have noticed the reappearance of this sound in connection with another letter. Yet they do not refer to such a phenomenon.

It has already been said that there seems no doubt that the original pronunciation of β was that of the English *b*. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to say when it began to weaken towards the spirant *v* sound. Dr. Friedrich Blass says: "That β was, during the Attic period, not *v*, appears sufficiently proven, in case there be still any doubt, by Plato, who calls it a mute; cf. Thætetus, 203*b*, τοῦ δ' αὖ βῆτα οὔτε φωνῆ οὔτε ψόφος."

The context is not unimportant: "I can only reply that *s* is a consonant, a mere noise, as of the tongue hissing; β and most other letters, again, are neither vowel sounds nor noises."¹

Dr. Blass also adduces in proof of the *b* pronunciation the $\beta\eta$ $\beta\eta$ of the comic drama.²

But his argument displays that tendency to which attention has been already called, namely, to take the two extremes of an evolutionary series, in this case *b-v*, in strong contrast, and to ignore the infinite series of modifications of the original sound which must have intervened between the two extremes. An exact scientific interpretation of the passage in Plato is unattainable, but there is nothing in it which precludes the possibility that the modification of the labial—the weakening, as it is called, of the sound—had already begun. Would Plato have called a *b* sound weakening towards a labio-dental *v* a "vowel sound" or a "mere noise"? Nor is the $\beta\eta$ $\beta\eta$ of the comic drama by any means convincing. The mere presence of η in that imitative sound shows that the Greek did not interpret it phonetically as we do at the present day. Perhaps the Greek sheep baaed in Greek, or, possibly, there has been an evolution in the speech of the animal!

In point of fact, we do not possess any conclusive evidence for or against the weakening of β in Greek of the fifth century B.C. Such evidence as we have for the weakening of the sound is later and is dialectic.

Dr. Blass³ points to the fact that so early as the pre-Roman period Lakonian employs β in place of the digamma. He thinks that the Lakonians themselves *must* have preserved the digamma symbol with the sound, as the Herakleots of Italy did, had not

¹ Jowett's Plato.

² Cf. also Kratinus.

³ Blass: "The Pronunciation of Greek" (Eng. trans.), p. 111.

the appropriate symbol ceased to be indispensable owing to the similar sound of β . This last may or may not be the case. But is it necessary to suppose that the sound of this late digamma was a *w* sound? In Greek generally the digamma had been modified out of existence long before this time; and, indeed, there is a period in the centuries immediately preceding our era during which we have no trace of it, though it comes to light again about the age of Augustus. Had a sound which suffered such drastic modification elsewhere shown no tendency to modify in the Dorian and Æolic dialects? It would seem strange that a sound which had been modified out of existence in Greek generally should have remained absolutely unmodified in these particular dialects. Is it not more probable that β in those later dialectic forms represents a modified digamma? *In any case it implies a pronunciation of β very much weaker than the English *b*.* What form that weakening took is another question. So far I have only been concerned in showing that such a weakening did take place before the age of Augustus—in fact, as it would seem, long before that age.

It is very difficult to come to a very definite conclusion with regard to this late digamma, and especially with regard to the sound which it represented. The facts with regard to its history, in so far as they are known, are, briefly, as follows. The sound, or traces of the sound, survived in the historical period in Æolic, Pseudæolic, and Dorian dialects.¹ It is found in certain definite localities—in Lesbos, Pamphylia, Bœotia, Elis, Argos, Lakonia, Crete, and Heraklea in Italy. But this late digamma is rarely represented by the digamma sign *F*, but by some other letter, β being the most common representative.

In the Æolic and Pseudæolic dialects² the β transcription of the initial digamma is found, but except before ρ does not appear to be more common than other transcriptions in τ , γ , and ϕ . Very few instances of these transcriptions exist. But before ρ we have several examples of the β transcription; cf. *βρήτωρ*, *βραΐδιος*, *βρόδου*, *βράκια*, the last two in fragments of Sappho. This series points to a *v* rather than a *w* pronunciation in Lesbian, *wr* being a peculiarly awkward combination of sounds. The intervocalic *F* passes into *v* (cf. *αῶως* and *φαῶος* with Lakonian *ἀβῶος* and

¹ Ahrens: "De Dialectis Æolicis et Pseudæolicis," etc.

² Ahrens: "De Dialectis Æolicis et Pseudæolicis."

Pamphylian *φάβος*) or is dropped altogether. In these Æolic inscriptions there is no reason, as Ahrens points out, why the sign of digamma should have been changed, had not the sound itself changed.

In the Bœotian dialect the initial digamma is retained until a late date in literature and inscriptions—to a later date than in the Æolic dialects. Medial digamma is very rare, and between vowels is changed into *v* or dropped.

In the dialect of Elis the actual digamma sign survives in *Φάργον* for *ἐργον*, *Φέπος*, *Φέτος*, etc., and in *Φαλήϊοι* for *Ἡλείοι* even on coins. We find *β* for digamma in *Βηλεὺς* (proper name), *βαδὺν* (*ἡδὺν*). Before *ρ* we find digamma in *Φράτρα*, but changed into *β* before *ρ* in *βρατάναν*.¹

The most interesting case of the surviving digamma in the Dorian dialects occurs in the Lakonian-Tarentine colony of Heraklea, whose use of the sign suggested to Claudius its adoption into Latin. In this case it is remarkable that the Herakleots seem at one time to have cast it aside, when it is certain that most of the Greeks made use of it, and at a later time to have resumed it when in the remaining dialects and cognate languages no trace of it is apparent. It is preserved in certain words which are found in the *Tabulæ Heraclienses*. But there is a further phenomenon displayed by this late Herakleot digamma. It makes its appearance in the numeral *Ϝεξ* (*ἑξ*) and its derivatives, a word in which it is not found either among the Greeks or in the cognate languages. There are, indeed, traces of this pleonastic digamma in the Lakonian dialect. In that dialect the late digamma is usually represented by *β*; and at times we find *β* placed at the beginning of words which had certainly no original digamma. This would suggest an original pleonastic digamma. Other transcriptions of the digamma in the Dorian dialects are *π* in Lakonian, which is very rare; *σ* in Cretan, also very rare; *v* in Lakonian, of which there is only one example.

In Hesychius many words which had the digamma are found with initial *γ*. Ahrens regards this as an instance of the confusion of letters.

It appears, then, that in the dialects in which this late digamma appears it is usually transcribed by *β*, less commonly by *v*, and so very exceptionally by any other letters that we may consider them as merely accidental representatives of the original letter.

¹ Ahrens: "De Dialecto Dorica."

Of the transcription by β Ahrens says that two opinions are possible: either that β with sound unchanged, i.e. with its pronunciation at that period, took the place of the obsolete digamma, or that the digamma was actually changed into a β pronunciation. He prefers the latter explanation. Among the Lesbians the digamma changed into β before initial ρ , into ν after a vowel, and this change was not orthographic but dialectic. Nor can the change in the Dorian dialects be otherwise accounted for, for it is not intelligible why the Dorians should have blindly changed the sign if the sound had not changed.¹ Besides, why, says Ahrens, should the Dorians write $\delta\beta\acute{\omega}\epsilon$, when the Lesbians wrote $\alpha\delta\acute{\omega}\epsilon$, unless there was a difference in pronunciation? Nor do the most learned grammarians Herodianus and Heraklides discover that the β which took the place of the digamma had any other pronunciation than that of the ordinary β .

To what date or dates are we to attribute this late digamma and its transcription?

The Italiots wrote an actual digamma until the fourth century before Christ, and there is no reason to believe that it became obsolete among the Lakonians and Cretans before that date. In the following centuries the Lakonian inscriptions (though we cannot argue from them, because they do not exhibit any Lakonian peculiarities) and the Cretan inscriptions exhibit neither digamma nor the vicarious letter β . That vicarious letter is seen in certain proper names in the first century A.D.

The disappearance of dialectic peculiarities from many of the Greek inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. is due largely to the fact that Ionian lettering was adopted in nearly all the Greek states towards the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century. No \mathcal{F} was preserved in this lettering, and therefore those dialects which had up to that time preserved the digamma had either to express it by some other letter or to revive the digamma sign. But in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, not merely the original sign but also its substitutes disappeared. This phenomenon is curious, but is not apposite to the present inquiry. The sound of the digamma certainly continued to exist. The revival of the original or of some

¹ Though Ahrens' arguments on this question are, as a whole, convincing, it is not certain that this appearance of β for digamma in the Dorian Peloponnesus is dialectic. The change to the Ionian script, of which more will be said later, complicates the matter in this region.

substituted letter about the time of the Christian era cannot be attributed to any archaising tendency—to any mania for antiquity. Both Ahrens and Tudeex, however, believe that this late digamma was changed in sound from the original. The sound had survived and been modified in the speech of the masses, but, after the fourth century, had been rejected by the classes, so Ahrens thinks, because of its roughness, and hence does not appear in inscriptions either in the form of the original or of a substituted sign.

As far as the change in sound is concerned, transliteration affords certain striking evidence of a negative character. The early digamma had, as most authorities believe, the sound of the English *w*, or, as Tudeex asserts, the sound of bilabial *v*, i.e. a sound which may be best represented in English by the combination *vw*. Had this sound remained unchanged in the centuries before Christ we should have certainly expected to find at least some instances of *ov* being substituted for it where a vicarious sign is employed. *ov* is the transliteration of the early Latin *v*, whose sound was, as it is asserted, that of the English *w*. But not a single instance of this vicarious use of *ov* for the digamma is extant, though a variety of such substitutes are found. Is it not inconceivable that, if the Greek of the fourth and following centuries had been seeking for a substitute for a Greek letter whose sound was that of the English *w*, he should have failed to adopt in some instance or instances that combination *ov* by which he transliterated a Latin letter having the *w* sound? It is, indeed, wholly against probability that this late digamma was a *w* at all, and therefore β , when it appears as its representative, cannot be assumed to be representative of a *w* sound.

It is infinitely easier, in the case of this late digamma, to show what its sound was *not*, than to show what it was. Tudeex says: "The original pronunciation of the digamma could easily pass into the semi-vowel ν , or even into the full vowel *v*." That it did not pass into the full vowel *v* in the majority of instances, is shown by the consonantal character of the substitutes employed for it in later Greek. Even the Lesbian *v*, which takes the place of the intervocalic digamma, must have been, from its very intervocalic position, at least semi-consonantal. In the semi-vowel *v* sound we are coming very near a *v*, or, at any rate—and this is the important point—near to a sound which might, *faute de mieux*, be transliterated by a letter containing a *v* element. The variety of the representatives employed for this late digamma

indicates that the representation was not, in the case of any one of them, completely satisfactory.

I have dealt with this question of the late digamma at some length, because its representation by β has been used as an argument for the weakening of the Greek β sound towards a w ; and it is the only evidence which can be employed to support that argument. If that evidence breaks down, as, I think, I have shown that it does, there is not one jot of evidence for any trace of a w pronunciation in either the Greek β or the Latin b , of which it is the all but invariable representative in transliteration. It may further be remarked that the confusion between the Latin b and the Latin v , though found in the second century A.D., did not become common until the third and fourth centuries, that is to say, at a time when, as even the most ardent advocates of the w sound of the Latin v would admit, the Latin v was on the point of becoming a labio-dental v correspondent in sound with the same English letter. If the Latin b had developed a weakening towards a w sound at an earlier period, why did not its confusion with the Latin v take place at an earlier date?

Eckinger, in noting the case of the transliteration of the Latin av by $a\beta$, says:—"The Latin v must have sounded much harder to the Greek than ov . He therefore sought for another transliteration and chose β , which was very natural, since it appears to have had a peculiarly soft pronunciation in Greek; cf. *κατεσκεβάσα* (Lebas, v, 6, 1076, and C.I.G. 3693), *Εἰρηνβάνασσα* (Lebas, ii, 4, 163a), *Βάνακτος* (C.I.G. 5513), etc." "Also," he proceeds, "the Latin seems to have softened the b , and brought it near to the v , e.g., in the second, third, and fourth centuries A.D. *lavoratum*, *livido*, *præstavitur*, *sivi*, *desæbisse*, *sibe*, etc." Reference has been made already to the transliteration of Latin b by Greek β . Save in very rare cases, so rare as almost to amount to a negligible quantity, the Latin b is transliterated by β .

The rare exceptional cases show π as a transliteration, e.g. in the special name *Πόπλιος* (Publius). That both β and Latin b were in process of weakening at the time of the Christian era, there is no reason to doubt. The weakening of β has been already demonstrated, and a modification of Latin b which produced a tendency to confusion with v in the second century A.D. cannot have been of recent origin. We have, it is true, no evidence whatever as to the exactness with which β represented the sound of the Latin b at this period.

What, then, is our knowledge, as distinguished from our *conjectures*, on this subject?

We know that the Latin *b* was tending in certain sound combinations towards the labio-dental *v* of the early Romance. We know that the Latin *v* was tending in the same direction. That is the extent of our actual knowledge. But, on these facts, is it an unreasonable conjecture that the common element in the sounds of these letters which caused them to be confused so early as the second century A.D. was a *v* element?

It was the medial rather than the initial *b* of Latin which tended to weaken, as is shown by the evolution of the sound in the Romance languages; so Dr. Eckinger's remark must be understood as not applicable to the initial *b* of Latin.

We have, then, in Latin and Greek three evolutionary series of sounds, whose extremities, at any rate, are not disputed:—

1. Greek β *b* .. *v*
2. Latin *v* (transliterated by *ov* and β) . *w* .. *v*
3. Latin *b* (transliterated by β)—

where it weakens, i.e. in medial and final syllables,
produces three modifications in the Romance languages:

<i>b</i>	..	..	..	<i>v</i>
<i>b</i>	..	..	..	<i>f</i>
<i>b</i>	..	..	..	disappearance.

In all these three series the outward and visible sign of a common element in the Augustan age is the Greek β ; and the only traceable inward, i.e. sound element which is common to all is the sound which, in English, we represent by the letter *v*.

This β transliteration of the Latin *v* has always been recognized by the advocates of the *w* pronunciation of that letter as a disturbing element in the premisses from which they draw their conclusions. Various attempts have been made to explain it away.

Several of the most prominent writers on Latin pronunciation have utterly failed to realize the seriousness of the factor. Dr. Seelmann, in his well-known book on the subject, refuses to regard it as constituting any evidence whatever upon the question, and dismisses the matter in one short sentence at the end of a long discussion of the pronunciation of this Latin letter. When Dr. Seelmann wrote, Dr. Eckinger's work had not been published; still less had anyone attempted to compare, as has been done in the

course of this discussion of the question, the evidence of the inscriptions with the evidence obtainable from Greek authors. I venture to assert that this new evidence cannot be dismissed in a few lines in any scientific treatise of the question of the pronunciation of Latin, and that, as a corollary, Dr. Seelmann's conclusions, which form the real basis of that which has been written in English upon this question, demand reconsideration in the light of the new facts. Even Professor Lindsay, in his work on the Latin language, who *had* used Dr. Eckinger's work, speaking of this transliteration, says: "But we find β occasionally even in the first century A.D." Can the word "occasionally" be applied to a form of transliteration which in the inscriptions amounts to 29 per cent. of the numerous examples, and in the two authors of this century is represented in 31 per cent. and 49 per cent. respectively of their transliterations of the Latin ν ? Again, the words "even in the first century A.D." are most misleading, inasmuch as this transliteration appears in the second century B.C. both in inscriptions and in Polybius, and is quite common both in inscriptions and in authors of the first century before our era.

There is another explanation which has been commonly put forward with a view to meeting the difficulty caused by this inconvenient β transliteration. It is suggested that β as a transliteration of the Latin ν was merely used because it was shorter to write and to engrave, and therefore more convenient than *ov*. The fact of such a suggestion having been made shows the straits to which the advocates of the pure ν pronunciation have been put by the presence of this disturbing factor in their calculations. In the first place, it is obvious that the 'convenience' might be doubted. Again, how are we, under this hypothesis, to account for the phonetic tendencies which are apparent in the use of *ov* and β respectively in certain combinations of sound? How, too, are we to account for the fact that the use of β was most common in those regions where both Latin and Greek were best known, and tends to decrease in accordance with a decrease in the knowledge of the two languages in other regions of the Roman Empire? Furthermore, under this hypothesis what a strange thing it must be accounted that the authors of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., *if they used the letter merely as a convenient alternative for ov*—a form of use in which individual choice would be absolutely free—should have happened to employ it in percentages

of cases which so singularly accord with the percentages which we find in contemporary inscriptions!

Before taking the specific objections which have been raised against the *v* pronunciation of the Latin *v*, it will be better, for the sake of clearness, to state the conclusions which may be drawn from the constructive evidence which has been adduced in this article, the more so inasmuch as some of those objections are not in conflict with these conclusions. The evidence of transliteration clearly indicates that any argument for the original pronunciation of the Latin *v* as a pure labio-dental *v* (English) is at least as disputable as one which maintains that the Latin *v* was pronounced like the English *w* until a comparatively late period. The transliteration by *ov* seems to indicate distinctly that there was a period in Latin when the sound of the *v* did closely resemble that of the English *w*. There is a certain probability, however, that the *w* sound was rather that of the French *ou* in *oui* than that of the English *w*.¹ It is perhaps interesting to note incidentally in connection with this French word that, in the Swiss pronunciation of it, an initial *v* element is said to be distinguishable.

But, while admitting the existence of this original *w* sound, it must be pointed out that we have no evidence relating to a time when this sound was in a pure form in Latin. That evidence goes back to the first half of the second century B.C. At that period, though the *ov* transliteration seems to have predominated, the *β* transliteration existed. The evolution of the sound from *w* to *v* had begun, and had progressed so far, at any rate in certain combinations, as to be perceptible to the ordinary ear, and this, too, especially in Greece, that land in which the knowledge of the two languages combined would be most existent.

Before the Christian era, in the second half of the first century B.C., the evolution had made great progress, and was clearly shown in the transliterations of the time. The *v* element in the Latin *v* must have been very strongly marked at this period for it to overcome, to the extent to which it did, the force of the conventional transliteration by *ov*.

¹ The difference, so far as I can distinguish it, in the mechanical production of the two sounds consists in this, that whereas in the pronunciation of the English *w* (not *wh*) the lips come into momentary and slight contact, in the pronunciation of this French *ou* they do not. The difference is also marked by the current use of 'wee, wee' to indicate the English mispronunciation of the French word.

It is at least probable that it was this new element in the pronunciation of the literal sign which troubled the grammarians of the period, and especially those learned men whom Claudius consulted as to the revision of certain elements in the Latin alphabet. Claudius' proposal indicates in itself that even the speaker of Latin recognized a change which would be far less perceptible to him than to a Greek of that age, who compared his own tendencies in transliteration with those observable in the Greek authors of a previous period. This, again, would indicate that the change had become very marked. A good deal of capital has been made out of the fact that, under Claudius or by Claudius, the Æolic digamma was suggested as the new sign for the Latin *v*. But Claudius was seeking for a sign, not a sound. The β sign he could not propose to adopt, because it resembled the Latin *b* too closely in form. It would seem that it was to the Latin the *changed* sound and to the Greek the *composite* sound of the Latin *v* of the age of Claudius which caused the difficulty. Neither Greek nor Latin had any single letter which could represent the differences in the sound of the old Latin *v* caused by the fact that its evolution had been more rapid in certain sound combinations than in others, e.g., more rapid before *-ius* than before *-al*.

The time has now come to make some definite suggestions as to the actual pronunciation of the Latin *v* in the Augustan age, and to compare those suggestions with the pronouncements of the grammarians of the period.

The Latin *v* of the Augustan age is a sound in process of evolution, and one in which the evolutionary series has made considerable progress, though not, it would seem, the same progress in all combinations of sounds.

I would suggest that there is no one English letter which can by itself render the sound of the Latin *v* at this period. A combination of the letters *vw* would in all probability most nearly represent the pronunciation of Latin *v* initial; that is to say, it was a bilabial, not labio-dental, *v*.¹ Those who would argue for the pronunciation 'Walerius,' 'weni,' 'widi,' 'wici,' ignore evidence which, scientifically speaking, cannot be ignored. That evidence points to a stage in the evolution of this sound which must at least have produced at this period 'Vwalerius,' 'vweni,' 'vwidi,' 'vwici.' It is, indeed, possible on the evidence to go further

¹ The bilabial *v* can only be represented in the English system of phonetic signs by this combination of letters.

than this, and to say that in the case of most medial *v*'s and of some initial *v*'s the evolution had progressed more towards the *v* sound than is indicated by the *vw* combination of English letters which has been suggested. Attention has already been called to the fact that, especially in authors, the β transliteration is more common in the case of Latin *v* medial than of Latin *v* initial. I have already mentioned that, before the ending *-ius* the β transliteration is by far the most common, and also that it appears at a very early date: cf. the $\Delta\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ of Polybius. It is probable that in this termination the *i* was practically consonantal—a yod sound, and in combination with the following *v* sound would tend to modify the preceding *v*. Phonetically the tendency may be expressed as follows. The raising of the back of the tongue, an essential mechanical element in the production of a *w* sound, would tend to disappear owing to the difficulty, or, shall we say, inconvenience of passing from that tongue position to the position demanded for the production of the front vowel or semi-vowel *i*; and the *w* sound would under those circumstances be gradually evolved into a *v* sound. It is probable, therefore, that in this combination the *v* sound developed earlier and more rapidly than in the case of other combinations containing the Latin *v*, and that, by the Augustan age, the *w* sound in this particular Latin *v* before *-ius*, *-ia*, *-ium* had practically developed into the *v* sound.

On the practical question of the pronunciation of the Latin *v* in English schools I shall only speak with brevity. The pronunciation of the Latin initial *v* as a bilabial *v* (= *vw* as nearly as may be, when expressed in English characters) would possibly be inconvenient. The tendency is to choose between *w* and *v*. For the Latin initial *v* neither is correct, and either is as correct as the other. The choice is open. For most cases of the medial Latin *v*, however, the *v* pronunciation would seem, on the evidence of transliteration, to be far more near the truth than the pronunciation with the sound of the English *w*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LATIN *v* IN THE ANCIENT AND MODERN GRAMMARIANS.

In the previous chapter I have attempted to show that the evidence of transliteration points to the Latin *v* of the Augustan age having undergone a modification of its original *w* pronunciation, which modification I have ventured to estimate in general terms as having been—

- (1) *v* initial to a bilabial spirant, which may be expressed in English lettering by the nearest equivalent, *vw*.
- (2) *v* medial, especially before *i*, to something very closely resembling the labio-dental spirant *v* of English, though the closeness of the resemblance would tend to vary according to the environment of sounds.

It now remains to consider the real and apparent objections to this view which may be gathered from the works of the ancient and modern grammarians. I say "apparent" advisedly, because the arguments of recent grammarians have been directed against the pronunciation of the Latin letter as a pure labio-dental spirant, a pronunciation to which the evidence of transliteration does not appear to me to give support, save when the letter is in a medial, and especially in an intervocalic position.

The arguments of the ancient grammarians have been fully stated in various modern works, and I shall confine myself to their quotations, except in cases in which the context in the ancient authors seems to me to modify or to cast doubt upon the modern interpretation of a particular passage.

A summary of the arguments in three modern works—Dr. Emil Seelmann's "Die Aussprache des Latein" (1885), Mr. Roby's "Latin Grammar" (4th edition), and Professor Lindsay's "The Latin Language" (1894), will, I think, exhaust the objections which can be raised to any view which does not accept the pronunciation of Latin *v* in the age of Augustus as an English *w*.

It may be well to take the objections in the order in which they are stated in Mr. Roby's Grammar, because they are there expressed in a peculiarly lucid and businesslike form.

Objection 1. "The same letter *v* was used in Latin both for a vowel and consonant sound. The vowel had the English *oo* sound. By a slight appulse of the lips *ou* became *w*. The Romans were quite alive to the distinction. The Emperor Claudius proposed a new letter, and Quintilian thought it would be desirable to have one. For (he says) neither *uo*, as his teachers wrote, nor *uu*, as was written in his own time, expressed the sound actually heard, which he compares to the digamma. The later grammarians, e.g. Terentianus Maurus, dwelt at greater length on this difference. This makes it probable that the sound was rather *w* than French *ou*."

It is very difficult to give a satisfactory answer to this particular objection, because the evidence cited is very obscure in its meaning, and is capable of at least two interpretations, neither of which can, in the present state of our knowledge, be satisfactorily established. With the earlier part of the statement everybody will agree. But the question is as to the element in pronunciation which suggested the new letter in the time of Claudius.

Transliteration points to the growth of a new element in the pronunciation of the Latin letters at this period. Professor Lindsay seems to think that the new element consisted in an increased consonantalism in the prevocalic *v* (*u*), that is to say, in the growth of a marked *w* as distinguished from an 'oo' pronunciation. He speaks ("Latin Language," p. 8) of "a large number of words which in the Classical period, or the Empire, had the . . . *w* sound," but "had in earlier times the sound of the vowels (sometimes of the half vowels); larva, for example, is a trisyllable in Plautus, never a dissyllable." Again (p. 9), "On the Monumentum Ancyranum we have *IVENTVTIS* (3. 5m.), and in Virgil MSS. *iuenis*, *fluus*, *exuia*, etc."

The evolution of the *w* sound from prevocalic Latin *v* (*ou*) is so natural and so easy, as Mr. Roby implies, and the tendency to prevocalic consonantalism of this sound is so strong and so marked in all languages in which the sound exists, that it is very difficult to imagine that Latin resisted the tendency until an age immediately preceding that of Claudius. The citation of the one word from Plautus is hardly convincing. Does Plautus commonly deal in this way with prevocalic *v*? Again, it is quite conceivable that, in the case of two sounds so nearly allied as that of the Latin *v* and the *w* sound apparent in the French *ou*, the distinction might not be customarily apparent in certain words.

In the case of the words cited from the Ancyran monument and from Virgil we have to do with that phonetic busybody the yod, which was always apt to interfere with the affairs of neighbouring sounds, apart from the fact that in all the above cases the *v* is in juxtaposition to its kindred *u*. The peculiarity may be orthographic and not phonetic. Professor Lindsay assumes a change in pronunciation. The increased employment of β in the transliterations of the first century B.C. also implies a change. The assumption and the implication are both, in all probability, facts. The β transliteration is almost certainly the outward and visible sign of the change which Professor Lindsay assumes. But it also throws light on the nature of the change. Its earliest and, subsequently, its most regular employment is in the case of intervocalic *v* followed by *-ius*. I have already pointed out (p. 34) that a *w* sound before this high front wide vowel would be peculiarly liable to modification, owing to phonetic reasons; and therefore the change indicated by the β transliteration is most probably a modification of the *w* sound, tending towards the front letter *v*. The same thing is, of course, far more strongly indicated by the fact that the further Latin *v* tends to the pure labio-dental, the more frequently does the β transliteration occur, until finally, when the change to the labio-dental is a fully accomplished fact, the *ov* transliteration practically disappears.

I have already discussed the question of the late digamma in Æolic and other dialects, and I need not repeat arguments to show that the proposed adoption of this letter more probably implies a non-*w* than a *w* sound. Varro, nigh a century before Claudius' time, spoke of the *v* in *vafer*, *velum*, *vinum*, *vomis*, *vulnus* as having a strong thick sound ("crassum et quasi validum"). As to the exact technical meaning of Varro's 'crassus' and 'validus' there may be some dispute, but, on the face of them, they are infinitely more applicable to a bilabial *v* than to a *w* sound. Again, the remark of Consentius, quoted by Professor Lindsay (p. 45), to the effect that the Greeks mispronounced the *v* in 'veni,' "*v* quoque litteram aliqui pinguis eferunt, ut, cum dicunt 'veni,' putes trisyllabum incipere," pictures exactly what would be liable to occur in the case of a people who tried to pronounce a bilabial *v* which they had not in their own language. If anyone doubts this, let them ask some English friend to pronounce an initial bilabial *v*.

The passages from Quintilian referring to the proposed digamma

are in *i*, 4, and *i*, 7. In *i*, 4, he says: "Aut grammatici saltem omnes in hanc descendunt rerum tenuitatem, desintne aliquæ nobis necessariae literarum, non cum Græca scribimus (tum enim ab iisdem duas mutuamur) sed propriae in Latinis, ut in his 'seruus' et 'vulgus' Æolicam digamma desideratur."

In *i*, 7: "Nostrī preceptores cervom servomque *u* et *o* literis scripserunt, quia subjecta sibi vocalis in unum sonum coalescere et confundi nequit; nunc *u* gemina scribuntur ea ratione quam reddidi: neutro sane modo vox quam sentimus efficitur. Nec inutiliter Claudius Æolicam illam ad hoc usus *F* literam adjecerat." Quintilian's reference to the 'preceptores' in relation to this maintenance of the antique *os*, *om* spelling after *v*, looks as if the whole thing were merely a schoolmaster's trick to prevent boys making mistakes in spelling. But the interesting thing is that the *v* sign, which had apparently satisfied previous ages when it had a *w* sound, no longer satisfied the age of Quintilian. Is it not probable that Quintilian and his contemporaries recognized that the sound of *u* consonantal in their time was not the sound which would be naturally evolved directly out of prevocalic *v*, i.e. the *w* sound, but a sound which could not be *directly* evolved by the consonantalisation of *u*? Therefore they felt that a new letter was desirable. The unscientific speaker of Latin, on the other hand, who associated the pronunciation of his own time with a certain customary sign *v*, and neither knew nor cared whether his pronunciation of the consonantal *v* was directly evolved from vocalic *v* or not, refused the new letter. It is noteworthy that the sign adopted by Claudius was not a digamma, but a doubly inverted *f*, i.e. *ƒ*.

Objection 2. The vowel *o* when following *v* (consonant or vowel) was retained till the Augustan age or later, though after other letters it had usually changed to *u*, e.g. *servos*, later *servus*, etc.

Compare this fact with Bell's statement: "When *w* is before *oo*, the combination is rather difficult from the little scope the organs have for their articulation (i.e. consonantal) action; the *w* is in consequence often omitted by careless speakers, wool being pronounced 'ool, woman, 'ooman, etc."

With the passage in Quintilian in which reference is made to this peculiarity, I have already dealt. But the phenomenon as a whole, and particularly as stated by Mr. Roby, tends to support my contention that by the Augustan age a change *had* come over the pronunciation of *v*. This *o* survived till the beginning of the

first century A.D. It then died out. It had survived, Mr. Roby says, because it was more easy to pronounce with a *w* sound than was the Latin *u* (*oo*). Its disappearance would, in this case, appear to indicate a modification of the *w* sound of *v* such as allowed the ending *-us* to immediately succeed Latin *v* without inconvenience of pronunciation. At the same time I must say that, though this argument is really in favour of the view which I advocate, I am disposed to think that too great stress may have been put upon the difference between the sounds of *o* and *u* in this termination. Transliterations and other evidence show clearly that the border-line between *o* and a certain *u* in the Latin language was very difficult to define.

Objection 3. "The interchange of *u* and *v*; cf. *miluus* and *milvus*, *relicuum* and *reliqvum*." *Miluus* and *relicuum* belong to an age when transliteration shows that the *w* element in Latin *v* predominated. The other cases cited belong to the same or an earlier age.

Objection 4. "*v* between two vowels constantly falls away, not sapped by a slow decay, but, as it were, melted before the eye and ear of the people. Compare *amaram*, *amaveram*; *audieram*, *audiveram*; *junior*, *juvenior*; etc. . . . This phenomenon, repeatedly occurring, seems hardly explicable, except on the assumption of the *v* being a vowel, or the closest approach to a vowel."

This abbreviation had taken place in an age long before the Christian era (cf. Lindsay, pp. 463-4, and also § 53, p. 52), i.e. at a period when, according to the evidence of transliteration, *v* retained a predominant *w* sound. There are two cases cited by Professor Lindsay (p. 52), viz. *Ὀκταῖος* (time of Augustus) and *Σεῖηρος*, from Greek inscriptions. The latter is practically a unique case, possibly an engraver's error. No argument can be drawn from it. The common forms are *Σεουῆρος*, *Σευῆρος*, *Σεβῆρος*, which Dr. Eckinger cites as occurring respectively 123, 37, and 47 times in inscriptions examined by him. *Ὀκταῖος* is a form which occurs 8 times in inscriptions between 100 B.C. and 156 A.D., as compared with *Ὀκταοῦιος* 16 times, *Ὀκτάβιος* 12 times, and *Ὀκταῖιος* twice. I have not found it in any author. But it illustrates the twofold tendency which is apparent in the two centuries preceding the Christian era in reference to the intervocalic *v*, especially before the front vowels *i* and *e*. *The v (w) either vanishes, or tends to harden into a v sound.* In this particular

name both tendencies developed, but the latter seems to have eventually overcome the former. The *ov* transliteration is mainly due in this case to official convention, especially after the age of Augustus (Octavius).

Objection 5. *v* in Latin, except in very rare cases, never follows short *i*.

Objection 6. Consonantal *v* is never found before a consonant.

Objection 7. No distinction between the names of *v* consonant and *v* vowel in Latin.

All of these objections apply to an early age, and do not affect the evidence of transliteration, in fact are in agreement with it.

Objection 8. "The labio-dental *f* differs from the labio-dental *v* only as *p* from *b*, *t* from *d*, *s* from *z*, etc. . . . With so great a similarity between *f* and *v* is it likely that the Romans, if their *v* was a labio-dental, would not have confused them, or have noticed the resemblance? Yet (*a*) no inscription substitutes *f* for *v*; and (*b*) the Roman writers, at any rate before the fourth century, seem not to have noticed this close resemblance, although (as was said before) the symbol *f* was borrowed from the digamma to which the Roman *v* corresponded." Mr. Roby then quotes Quintilian and Terentianus Maurus in support of the views above expressed.

The question here is the distinction or resemblance between the voiceless and voiced consonants, and the recognition or non-recognition of this distinction and resemblance by the Roman grammarians.

On this last point I cannot do better than quote a striking passage in Professor Lindsay's work ("Latin Language," p. 72). "The Latin phoneticians, who, as we have seen, are not very safe guides on any point of Latin pronunciation, are especially at fault here" (with regard to the *tenuēs* and *mediæ*); "for neither they nor their Greek masters seem to have carried their analysis of sounds as far as the phoneticians of India, who had at an early time discovered the distinction between unvoiced and voiced consonants, and its dependence upon the opening or closure of the glottis. The Latin phoneticians talk of *p* and *b*, of *t* and *d*, of *c* and *g*, as entirely different types of sounds, produced by different positions of the vocal organs." Professor Lindsay says, further (p. 73): "In native Latin words the *tenuēs* and *mediæ* are not confused to any great extent. . . . It is perhaps only at the end of a word that we find a real variation between *tenuis* and *media*."

It is possible that the difference between the pronunciations of the voiced and those of the voiceless consonants, whether mutes or spirants, was greater in Latin than, for instance, in English. At any rate, the tendency to confusion between the two classes did not markedly exist. Nor does it appear to be a noticeable feature in Romance languages. It is, of course, the case that in Inlaut the Latin *tenuis* passes into a Romance *media*, the *media* to a spirant; but that is by the operation of phonetic tendency, not the result of confusion.

Objection 9. Mr. Roby cites the evidence of transliteration. I have already discussed his views on this question, with the exception of what he says with regard to the MSS. of the New Testament. "The name Silvanus occurs four times (2 Cor. i, 19; 1 Thess. i, 1; 2 Thess. i, 1; 1 Pet. v, 12). In St. Peter Vat. alone (against Sinait. Alex.) has $\Sigma\iota\lambda\beta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, etc." In point of fact this evidence amounts to very little. Eckinger cites one example of the form $\Sigma\iota\lambda\beta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ in an inscription of 4 A.D. Otherwise it does not appear in inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D., except as $\Sigma\iota\lambda\omicron\nu\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$. We have to go to the fourth and fifth centuries before we get another example of the transliteration of this name in β .

As far as literary evidence is concerned, it appears in Diodorus once with the *ov* and once with the β transliteration. In Josephus and Dio Cassius it has the *ov* transliteration only. I have not come across an instance of it in the other authors I have examined. It is a consular name (B.C. 2 and A.D. 156), and therefore the tendency would be to transliterate it by the official *ov*. On the whole the transliterations in the MSS. of the New Testament are, in respect to this name, in agreement with the evidence of contemporary documents, both literary and inscriptional.

I have dealt with those objections which are not directly answered in the constructive part of this discussion. A consideration of the other objections raised by Mr. Roby and by others would merely result in the repetition of what has already been said.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATIN *v* IN LANGUAGES CONTEMPORARY WITH AND LATER
THAN LATIN.

The transliteration of the Latin *v* in Old Celtic, Old German, and in Syriac and Hebrew has frequently been used as an argument in favour of the *w* pronunciation of that letter. My own acquaintance with three out of these four languages is of the very slightest character, and in dealing with them I have relied on the standard works already published, supplemented in certain most important respects by information obtained first-hand from eminent scholars to whom I have applied for information on special points.

A great deal of misapprehension appears to exist as to the exact nature of this evidence. It has been cited again and again as absolutely conclusive upon this question, whereas the evidence of the standard works to which I have referred, and still more the information obtained from specialists in these languages, show that it is absolutely inconclusive.

The state of the case in Syriac and Hebrew may be dismissed in a few words. The Latin transliterations in Semitic documents have been discussed by Dr. S. Krauss.¹ Dr. Krauss (p. 47) states, on authority other than his own, that Latin *v* was not pronounced like Dorian digamma or French *v*; thus, speaking on his own authority, he says otherwise, "the transcription by *waw* (*vv*) as in *velum* would have sufficed. The fact, however, that the majority of the borrowed words reproduced *v* by Beth (*b*, *v*) indicates that in the Jewish mouth *v* sounded somewhat more strongly, something like German *w* or modern Greek β ," etc. All this would appear to tell in favour of the view which I have put forward; but, unfortunately I have been informed, on the best authority, that no one of the documents used by Dr. Krauss can be dated earlier than the sixth century, and the majority of them are of much later date than that. They therefore do not afford any evidence whatever as to the pronunciation of Latin in the first century; and thus the Syriac and Hebrew witness is of no avail.

¹ S. Krauss: "Griechische u. Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud."

The appeal to the evidence of the Old Celtic has been regarded, as conclusive on the question of the pronunciation of the Latin *v*. At a joint meeting of the Philological Societies of Oxford and Cambridge held in the Autumn of 1905 in the Hall of Exeter College, Oxford, with a view to arriving at some agreement on Latin pronunciation, a set scheme was presented to those attending the meeting, about one hundred persons all told, and the acceptance or rejection of the proposals was made dependent on the majority of votes. On an objection being raised to the pronunciation of the Latin *v* as English *w*, one of those responsible for the scheme said that no question could be raised on this point, inasmuch as the Celts expressed the Latin *v* in transliteration by a *w* sound. That seemed decisive. But on the next day I ventured to put in writing to an eminent Celtic scholar the following question: "Did the Celtic language between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D. possess a sound correspondent to the English *v*?" The answer, also in writing, was as follows: "The question which you ask suggests to me that you know more about Celtic than you admit in your letter: it is as to the sound of English *v* in Celtic from 100 B.C. to 200 A.D. I can only guess that this sound was *not* there. It would come in plentifully when vowel-flanked *b* was softened to a *v* sound—perhaps at first it was bilabial *v*, as in the German 'quick' as contrasted with the English 'quick.' This sort of change may be put down to the period of consonantal mutation, which most Celtists have been wont to regard as beginning much later than 200 A.D.; but I should say that the later tendency is to regard it as beginning early, perhaps not so far back as 200 A.D., but say 400 A.D."

If this be the case, then the evidence of Celtic is of no avail, inasmuch as Celtic does not appear to have had any means of expressing the *v* element in the pronunciation of Latin *v*.

Professor Loth,¹ of Rennes, gives a still wider aspect to the question. He says (p. 3): "In the absence of Brittonic texts, and by reason of the small number of Celtic proper names for the first to the fifth century, and above all because of the radical transformation of the accent, of the quantity and of the quality of vowels, and of consonantism, in short of the organisation of the word, there exists between the Brittonic of the early centuries of our era and that of the ninth century a gulf which we can only

¹ J. Loth: "Les Mots Latins dans les langues Brittoniques."

attempt to bridge by the aid of the words borrowed from Latin." To this eminent Celtic scholar, therefore, it would seem that the data with regard to early Celtic must be taken from the Latin, not those with regard to Latin from the early Celtic. If that be so, argument from early Celtic to Latin is mere argument in a circle.

The question of the evidence of Old German is not quite so simple a matter. Old High German did not possess the *v* sound. Kluge says of the Old German *w*: "In the beginning of German *w* had the strong vocalic sound of the English *w*—quite a different sound to what it has at the present time. Hence in A.S. and O.H.G. *w* appears as *o* in Auslaut. When *w* developed into the spirant sound of the present day cannot be said with certainty. In Bavaria the change must have been completed before the end of the thirteenth century, for from this time onwards the signs *w* and *b* appear as of equal value, and indicate in the first place the Germanic *w*, and in the second the sound which had developed from the German as spirant *ʃ*." ¹ If O.H.G. did *not* possess a *v* sound, then its evidence on the question before us is as colourless as that of the Celtic. The difficulty in the case of Low German is not of the same nature. The question is as to whether the words of Latin origin existent in Old English came into that language direct from the Latin, or through the medium of Old Celtic or Old High German, or both. If they reached the Old English through either of these media, they reached it through a language which did not possess the *v* sound. The absolutely indecisive nature of the evidence from the Old Low German is well expressed in a passage translated from Kluge (p. 283): "The discussion of the Celtic elements in English shows clearly how difficult it is to work out the Latin influence which Old English has undergone. The possibility often arises that the material in question may come to the Old English through the Celtic. No one has as yet seriously considered whether the Anglo-Saxon experienced a generally direct but specific influence from the side of the Latin before the conversion to Christianity, or whether it is not the case that the old stratum English loan-words from the Latin refer back necessarily to the Celtic."

It is unfortunate, but it is the fact, that the languages contemporary with Latin afford us no clue whatever to the pronunciation of this important and puzzling Latin letter.

¹ Kluge in H. Paul's "Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie."

The history of the development of the sound of the Latin *v* in the Romance descendants of the Latin language is peculiarly interesting, but presents problems of special difficulty. It must be premised that the question of the pronunciation of *v* is in this area of investigation inseparable from that of the pronunciation of *b*. A consideration of the relations existing between these two sounds in Latin itself might well lead one to suspect that such would be the case in the languages descended from the Latin.

There are certain obvious factors to be taken into account in estimating the causes which have produced the wide differences which exist between the Romance descendants of the parent Latin. Differences of race, differences of climate, differences in the environment of daily life have played a great part. Modifications have been introduced into certain regions by the invasion of speakers of non-Latin tongues. All these elements in the calculation are well known, and have been taken into account by students of Romance.

But there is a further element to which I should like to call attention, which must, I think, play an important part in the calculation, especially in relation to the question with which I am now concerned. We cannot, as it seems to me, leave out of our calculation *the approximate date at which the linguistic ancestors of the speakers of a Romance tongue first became acquainted with the Latin language.* Latin was in process of apparently rapid evolution, in respect especially to the pronunciation of certain elements, between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D., and the Latin which the inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula and Narbonensis first learnt in the early half of the second century before Christ was in certain respects very different from the Latin which the middle and northern Gauls acquired about the time of the Christian era, and still more widely separated from the Latin which Trajan's colonists carried with them to Dacia. It seems to amount to a law of nature that all languages, whether indigenous or imported, are at all times in process of modification with respect to sound; but it is also a well-known fact that speakers of an imported language, especially if it be the language of a politically superior race, tend to resist modification of the tongue as they originally learnt it, and thus the development of a language is consciously retarded in a region in which it was not originally spoken, whereas it is allowed full play in a region in which it is native. *Ceteris paribus*, the linguistic ancestors of the Spanish, Catalan, and Provençal would tend to a pronunciation of the Latin tongue more antique than

that of the other races of the empire, who learnt the language at a later date, or than that of the Italian, who had, outside the select literary circle, no motive for conscious resistance to the natural development of what had become his native tongue.

It is, of course, true that the evidence of the Romance languages on the pronunciation of Latin is of indeterminate value, chiefly because, in the case of most of them, their full development in early mediæval times is unknown to us. Still, it is evident that the Latin sounds indicated by the letters *b* and *v* had, on the whole, a common development in most of the Romance tongues, the general tendency being in the case of *b* to retain the original sound of *b* initial and to evolve a *v* sound out of *b* medial. In this evolution the Romance tongues seem to have merely inherited an evolution which had taken place in Latin itself, in those parts of the empire, at any rate, in which an archaizing tendency did not prevail. Also, Latin *v* is generally admitted to have become a labio-dental in most parts of the empire before Latin had developed into Romance forms. The pure *w* sound of the old Latin *v* has not survived in any of the Romance languages, except, perhaps, in Sardinian. Though, owing to the evolution in the sound of that letter within Latin itself, the facts with regard to its pronunciation in the *individual* Romance tongues are not very pertinent to our present subject, still it may be well to summarise the facts with regard to the pronunciation of the present day.

The critical question in relation to our present investigation is not concerned with the existence of a labio-dental pronunciation of *v*. That is accounted for by the general tendency of the evolution of the letter within Latin itself. The element which demands consideration is what may be called the non-labio-dental pronunciation of *v* in certain Romance tongues. In French, of course, the *v* is labio-dental.¹ A *w* sound seems to have existed in mediæval French in connection with the semi-vowels *u*, *ü*, and *que*, *qui* were pronounced *qwe*, *qwi* so late as the twelfth century. We have noticed, too, the *w* sound of the French *oui*. But in no case is a *w* element in this language to be traced to either of the Latin letters *b* or *v*. In the Italian groups a *w* element is said to be apparent in the Sardinian pronunciation of the Latin *v*, otherwise the *v* is labio-dental in this group. In the peculiar Rætian Romance dialect, which is still spoken in the Alpine

¹ H. Suchin: "Die Französische u. Provenzalische Sprache m. ihrer Mundarten."

districts of the upper Rhine, the *v* is labio-dental where it survives. The case of its disappearance may be stated here. Dr. Gartner says: "*v*, einmal auch *F* (bei foras) verschwindet oder vergrößert sich vor dunklen Vocalen, z. b. bei ex-volare."¹ Of this last word he gives the following forms in the local Rætian dialects: žgulá, žvolér, žgolár, žulp, žoré, anžorá, žolé, žvualá, žvolá.

Before passing to the Romance groups of the Iberian peninsula, we may consider the case of Provençal, that language which, both in respect to its geographical position and its linguistic characteristics, forms the central point of the great Romance triangle of the French, Italian, and Iberian groups.

The case of Provençal offers some difficulty to the student who is not a specialist in this language, because the presence of a distinct *w* element in the pronunciation of the Provençal descendant of the Latin *v* is asserted by some authorities. This assertion appears to be an error. I am assured by one to whom the Provençal is well known as a spoken language that the *v* is a labio-dental spirant.

In Provençal, as in French, the voiced mute *b* when intervocal was evolved into the voiced spirant *v*. But this *v*, as well as that derived from the Latin *v*, passes in Provençal into a *u* when after a vowel and in the Auslaut of a syllable or word; e.g., liura, libram; viure, vivere. It is noticeable that in cases in which the Germanic *w* has been received into Provençal, it has been treated as in French: warden becomes Prov. guardar, Fr. garder. The *u* after the *g* vanishes in Provençal during the tenth, in French during the twelfth century. It is certainly curious that, if Provençal retained a *w* sound descended from Latin *v*, this German *w* sound, for such it was at that date, was not expressed by the Provençal *v*.

In the Iberian group the evolution of the Latin letters *b* and *v* has varied. In Portuguese *v* has (in rare cases apparently) passed into *f*, vehementia—femença; often into *b*, venitta—bíta, etc.; once into *m*, veturnus—modorra. In a few cases *vo*, *vu* initial have passed into *go*, cf. vulpecla, golpélha.

But in Portuguese the *v* appears to be a labio-dental spirant, both when it is a survival of the Latin *v* and when it represents some other Latin letter. Latin *v* does not appear to survive in the language in any form containing a *w* element.

¹ Theodor Gartner: "Grammatik der Rätoromanischen Mundarten."

In Spanish and Catalan the case is different, and in a certain sense strikingly different. In the first place, *b* and *v* in Spanish are identical in sound, though distinguished, sometimes incorrectly, in writing.¹

Educated Spaniards distinguish a small difference between the respective pronunciations of the two letters. *b* has softened towards *v*, and *v* has hardened towards *b*; but still the pronunciation of *b* is said to be slightly harder than that of *v*. But the most interesting feature of the language for the purpose of our present consideration is that *v* has not become a labio-dental, but is a bilabial. The line of division in Spanish between the bilabial and the labio-dental is not, as in most Romance languages, between *b* and *v*, but between *v* and *f*.

In Catalan the matter is not so simple, because we have to deal with three related sounds, namely, *b*, *b'*, and *v*. *b'* is related to *b*, and is, apparently, a modification of the *b* sound which occurs between two vowels which are either in the same word, or in two words which are not separated in respect to pronunciation.²

"In the greater part of the Catalan region *v* and *b* have been mingled together. In Barcelona and Valentia (for example) 'la vaca' becomes 'la b'aca.' At other points on the Mediterranean, in Reus, Tarragona, Castellon, Alicante, on the contrary, according to the witness of the grammarians, the *v* in 'vida,' or that *v* which has sprung from intervocalic *b*, is carefully distinguished from the mute *b* and the fricative *b'*, and has the same value as in French. This *v* is therefore labio-dental. In the Balearic Isles and in Alghero the *v* in Auslaut has in some cases become *f*, e.g. *escrif* (*escrivo*). This *v* must also have been labio-dental."

Of the three letters the *b'* is, for our present purpose, the most interesting. "*b'* gives the ear the impression of a *v*, but of a bilabial sound, as was the *v* in vulgar Latin."³

In the Ruman tongue the *v* is labio-dental.

It is practically impossible to draw any conclusion with regard to the pronunciation of the Latin *v* from a consideration of the pronunciation of its lineal descendant in any *one* of these Romance tongues. The fact that *v* is a labio-dental in the case of most of them merely suggests the labio-dental character of the *v* of late

¹ G. Baist: "Grammatik der Spanischen Sprache."

² Morel-Fatio & Saroïhandy: "Grammatik der Katalanischen Sprache."

³ Morel-Fatio, etc.: *op. cit.*

Latin, about which there exists no real dispute. In itself it throws no light upon the pronunciation of the letter in the Augustan age.

But when we take the whole group of Romance languages in our survey, they appear to be divisible into two groups on a certain *fundamentum divisionis*, or, perhaps, on a dual basis of division, which, however, result in groups which are identical. This dual basis is:—

- (a) The labio-dental character of the sound descended from the Latin *v*.
- (b) The labio-dental character of the *v* sound descended from Latin intervocalic *b*.

These two labio-dental characteristics seem to be present in Italian, Rætian, French, Ruman, and Portuguese.

In the other Romance tongues there are actual or reported divergencies. In Provençal a *w* element is said to be existent in the pronunciation of *v*, though the evidence on this point seems more than doubtful. Provençal pronunciation must have been considerably affected by the French.

In Sardinia the *w* element in the pronunciation of *v* is definitely stated to exist.

In Catalan, though the labio-dental *v* exists, intervocalic *b* (*b'*) has become a bilabial spirant. In Spanish no labio-dental *v* exists, both *b* and *v* being pronounced almost like the English *b*, i.e. *v* is bilabial.

It is, at any rate, remarkable that the exceptions to the usual labio-dental sound of the original or evolved *v* of the Romance languages should occur in those regions, and in those regions only, which by the process of Roman conquest acquired a knowledge of the Latin tongue at a period considerably anterior to the Christian era. It suggests that the Latin *v*, and indeed the Latin *b*, with which these regions first became acquainted was *not* identical in sound with that *v* which Middle and Northern Gaul, Lusitania, Rætia, and Dacia learnt to know in the Augustan age or later. I lay down no law: the factors in the calculation, though known, are so incalculable in their effect that it would be absurd to claim a knowledge of the exact effect of the particular factor presented by the date at which those speakers of a Romance tongue learnt that language which they were destined later to adopt as their own. But it must be accounted to be at least a remarkable coincidence that the Romance tongues of earlier origin display this

peculiar characteristic, in contrast with those whose origin is of later date—a characteristic, moreover, which accords with the evidence afforded both by transliteration and by the movement of the time of Claudius as to the perceptible nature of the change which had taken place by the date of the Christian era or thereabouts in the pronunciation of the Latin letter. The tendency of those provincials who had learnt the Latin of the second century would be to maintain its pronunciation, that is to say, to resist the natural course of development which the language underwent in the two centuries before Christ within the area of Italy itself. Hence the early prevalent *w* pronunciation of *v* was preserved in these regions long after it had become modified in the native land of the Latin tongue, and hence we find even now, after the lapse of 2,000 years, that the development of that sound of the Latin is in some respect or other in an earlier stage in these lands than in the other parts of Europe where Romance tongues are spoken.

TABLE I.
SPECIAL NAMES IN INSCRIPTIONS AND
IN AUTHORS.

TABLE I.
SPECIAL NAMES IN INSCRIPTIONS AND IN AUTHORS.

INSCRIPTIONS.	POLYBIUS (<i>circa</i> 150 B.C.).	DIONYS. HALIC. (c. 30 B.C.).	DIODORUS (<i>circa</i> 8 B.C.).	JOSEPHUS (c. 70 A.D. onwards).	PLUTARCH (c. 80 A.D. onwards).	APPIAN (<i>circa</i> 140 A.D.).	DIO CASSIUS (c. 180 A.D. onwards).
Φλάβιος, early form; from 62 A.D. Form Φλαυΐος coexists.		Φλαυΐος. Φλαυΐος.	Φλαυΐος.	Φλάβιος. Φλαυΐος.	Φλάβιος. Φλαυΐος.	Φλάβιος.	Φλαυΐος.
Καικέλιος, 250–80 B.C. Καικίλιος, 68 B.C.–260 A.D.	Καικέλιος. Καικίλιος.				Καικίλιος.	Καικίλιος.	Καικίλιος.
'Απολλήσιος, 120 B.C.–30 A.D. 'Αππουλήσιος, 14 A.D.–2nd cent.					'Αππουλήσιος.	'Αππουλήσιος.	'Αππουλήσιος.
Λεύκολλος, 88–30 B.C. Λούκουλλος, later than 30 B.C.	Λεύκολλος.		Λούκολλος.	Λεύκολλος.	Λούκολλος. Λεύκολλος. Λεύκολλος (once only).		Λούκολλος.
Λουτάτιος, 78 B.C. Λουτάτιος, 138–161 A.D.	Λουτάτιος.				Λουτάτιος.		

Μόμμιος, 146 B.C.—first half of 1st cent. A.D. Μοῦμμιος, later than above.					Μόμμιος.	Μοῦμμιος.	
Πέπλιος, early form, but common in 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. Πούπλιος, temp. Claudius and Nero onward.	Πέπλιος.	Πέπλιος.	Πόπλιος. Πούπλιος.	Πούπλιος.	Πόπλιος. Πούπλιος (more common).	Πόπλιος.	Πούπλιος.
Ψουτίλιος, 105 B.C.—30 A.D. Ψουτίλιος, 84—243 A.D.			Ψουτίλιος.	Ψουτίλιος. Ψουτίλιος.	Ψουτίλιος.	Ψουτίλιος.	
Λεύκιος, practically sole form up to Christian era. 1st cent. A.D.— Λεύκιος : Λούκιος :: 1 : 1. 2nd cent. A.D.— Λεύκιος : Λούκιος :: 1 : 2.	Λεύκιος.	Λεύκιος.	Λεύκιος. Λούκιος (less common).	Λεύκιος. Λούκιος.	Λεύκιος. Λούκιος.	Λεύκιος.	Λούκιος. Λεύκιος (once).
Λέπτιλος, instances second half of 1st cent. B.C. and first half of 1st cent. A.D.	Λέπτιλος.		Λέπτιλος. Λέπτιλος.	Λέπτιλος.	Λέπτιλος. Λέπτιλος (once).	Λέπτιλος.	Λέπτιλος.
Κοῦντος, earlier form. Κύντος, not before 50 A.D.	Κοῦντος.	Κοῦντος.	Κοῦντος.	Κύντος. Κύντος.	Κοῦντος. Κοῦντος (once).	Κοῦντος.	Κύντος.

TABLE II.—THE ov AND β TRANSLITERATIONS.

	INSCRIPTIONS.				POLY- BIUS.		DIONYS. HALIC.		DIO- DORUS.		JO- SEPHUS.		PLU- TARCH.	
	Instances.		Per- centages.		Per- centages.		Per- centages.		Per- centages.		Per- centages.		Per- centages.	
	ov	β	ov	β	ov	β	ov	β	ov	β	ov	β	ov	β
3rd cent. B.C.	2	0	—	—										
2nd cent. B.C.	11	4	73	27	86	14								
1st cent. B.C.	27	14	66	34			70	30	64	36				
1st cent. A.D.	130	54	71	29							69	31	51	49
2nd cent. A.D.	312	150	67	33										
3rd cent. A.D.	158	110	59	41										
4th cent. A.D.	32	29	52	48										

TABLE III.—OFFICIAL NAMES IN AUTHORS UP TO 100 A.D.

	SEPARATE NAMES.				TRANSLITERATION OF THESE NAMES IN THE SEVERAL AUTHORS.						
	No.	ov	β	$ov \& \beta$	No.	Instances.			Percentages.		
						ov	β	$ov \& \beta$	ov	β	$ov \& \beta$
OFFICIAL ...	24	10	4 ¹	10	58	38	13	7	66	22	12
NON-OFFICIAL	46	20 ²	20 ³	7	64	35	27	2	55	42	3

TABLE IV.—OFFICIAL NAMES IN PLUTARCH.

	Instances.		Percentages.	
	ov	β	ov	β
OFFICIAL NAMES ...	181	62	74	26
NON-OFFICIAL NAMES	33	70	32	68

¹ Of which 3 in ov in Dio Cassius. ² Of which 1 in β in Dio Cassius.³ Of which 6 in ov in Dio Cassius.

TABLE V.—OFFICIAL NAMES IN INSCRIPTIONS NOTED IN ECKINGER.

	Percentages.		
	<i>ov</i>	β	<i>ov</i> & β
OFFICIAL NAMES	21	6	73
NON-OFFICIAL NAMES	44	37	19

N.B.—In this table the number of names, not the number of instances of their occurrence, is given. In the case of official names included under '*ov* & β ,' the number of instances of *ov* transliteration is infinitely larger than the number of transliterations into β .

TABLE VI.—GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF *ov* AND β TRANSLITERATION OF ELEVEN MOST COMMON NAMES.

Class I: Athens and Greece.

Class II: Rome and Italy, Macedonia, Thessaly, Asia Minor.

Class III: Thrace, Russia, rest of Europe, rest of Asia, Africa.

	Percentages.		
	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.
<i>ov</i>	39	64	77
β	61	36	23

TABLE VII.—INSCRIPTIONS OF OLYMPIA: *ov* AND β TRANSLITERATION.

	No. of Names.	Names with <i>ov</i> .	Names with β .	No. of Instances.	Instances of <i>ov</i> .	Instances of β .
1st cent. B.C.	1	1	0	1	1	0
1st cent. A.D.	4	3 ¹	1 ¹	9	3	6
2nd cent. A.D.	8	3	5	20	3	17
3rd cent. A.D.	7	0	7	23	0	23

¹ The 3 names in *ov* are all of them official. The name in β is not.

TABLE VIII.—LATIN *v*, INITIAL AND MEDIAL.

	Total No. of Names transliterated by <i>β</i> .	<i>β</i> initial.	<i>β</i> medial.
AUTHORS—			
Polybius	1	0	1
Dionysius Halic.	5	2	3
Diodorus	6	2	4
Josephus	6	1	5
Plutarch	33	13	20
Dio Cassius	4	0	4
	— 55	— 18	— 37
INSCRIPTIONS—			
Up to 2nd cent. A.D. (Eckinger)	48	27	21
Since Eckinger	8	4	4

TABLE IX.—ILLUSTRATING PHONETIC TENDENCIES IN THE
1ST CENTURY A.D.

	AUTHORS.			INSCRIPTIONS.			TOTALS.		
	<i>ov</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>ov</i> & <i>β</i>	<i>ov</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>ov</i> & <i>β</i>	<i>ov</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>ov</i> & <i>β</i>
<i>v</i> before any vowel + liquid ...	19	8	4	10	2	4	29	10	8
<i>v</i> before <i>a, o, u</i> + liquid ...	11	1	2	5	1	2	16	2	4
<i>v</i> before <i>-ius, -ia, -ium (yod)</i>	1	6	5	3	2	4	4	8	9
<i>v</i> before vowel + nasal ...	7	8	3	2	1	0	9	9	3
<i>v</i> before vowel + sibilant ...	2	2(†1)	0	3	0	0	5	2(†1)	0
<i>v</i> before vowel + dental ...	3	3	2	7	3	0	10	6	2
<i>v</i> before vowel + labial ...	3	0	0	2	0	1	5	0	1

II. — ON THE SURVIVAL OF ANGLO-SAXON
 NAMES AS MODERN SURNAMES. By the
 Rev. Professor SKEAT.

[*Read at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society on May 3, 1907.*]

MY object in writing this paper is to call attention to a particular element in the explanation of our modern surnames which seems to me to have been too little considered. In examining Bardsley's book entitled "A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," I was struck by observing how insufficiently he had made use of the information to be obtained from Anglo-Saxon names. It must be remembered that this book, published in 1901, was a posthumous work, as the author died in 1898; and it is evident that he had no opportunity of consulting Mr. Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, which only appeared in 1897.

There is no particular need to explain all over again the principal sources of our modern surnames. It is sufficient to remind you that, as shown in Bardsley's introduction, they are mostly nicknames or descriptive, and arose, naturally enough, in various ways. Some are local, such as Cambridge; others are baptismal, such as Adam, or derived from a baptismal name, like Adams or Adamson; some are occupative, like Baker or Butcher; some official, like Falconer or Catchpole; and some are real nicknames, such as Short or Long or White. Others, again, are foreign.

I propose in this paper to omit, as a rule, all names relating to occupation or office (though many of these, like Baker and King, are of Anglo-Saxon origin), and all names that are merely foreign. Likewise all local names, such as Cambridge, except when it is useful to notice some that are of tribal origin, such as Buntingford, which throws some light on the name of Bunting, and reminds us that it is not, as Bardsley supposes, a term of endearment for a little child, with the meaning of 'dear little

pet.' This restricts the range of meanings to such names as are baptismal or strictly personal, and to nicknames of English origin; and even as to the latter, I propose to say very little.

For the fact is that what we should now regard as a kind of nickname, such as Short or Long or White, did not come into general use till after the Conquest. Before that date such epithets are remarkably scarce. Thus the Onomasticon contains no example of the use of Short. As for Long, there is just a notice of the form Lang in Domesday Book; but this is after the Conquest. Yet there were just a few names of this character; *Hwita*, i.e. the white one, or White, is recorded eight times; there was a bishop of Lichfield named Hwita in the eighth century, while the patronymic Hwiting, i.e. Whiting, occurs early in the ninth century. A few cases of this kind, that seem to be of importance, I have duly included in my list. It is clear that many names that were at first mere epithets or nicknames arose in Norman times, because they are often preceded by the French definite article. Bardsley quotes, as occurring in 1273, not only Philip le Hog, but even Alice le Hog, which seems a strange expression from a grammatical point of view.

I also exclude from my list such names as Adam, which are found indeed, but cannot be claimed as being of native origin. In this way I restrict the type of the names with which I propose now to deal, so as to include only those which were in use before the Conquest as baptismal or personal names, and are still in use as surnames. Familiar examples occur in such names as *Ēadweard* and *Ēadgār*, which are now Edward and Edgar. I even exclude such a name as *Ælfric*, because, although it still occurs as a baptismal name, it is not in Bardsley's List, nor have I ever met with it as a surname. This is the more remarkable, because the Onomasticon records 97 instances of its use.

I must add a few remarks as to Bardsley's Dictionary, because they are necessary to a right understanding of the subject. His chief merit is that he has so thoroughly examined the best sources of information regarding the Middle English forms, such as the Hundred Rolls, the *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem*, and the like. His chief fault is that he does not always understand the spellings, and often collects under one heading forms that have no connection with each other. Further, he seldom gives the A.S. forms, or else misrepresents them, so that names are often put down as Norman that are far older than the Conquest

and are really native. Thus, under the heading "Ibbett, Ibbetson, Ibbitt, Ibitson, Ibbot, Ibbotson," he points out, what I dare say is true, that Ibbot was a pet name for Isabel or Isabella. But under the heading "Epperson, Epps, Eppson," and again, under the heading "Ebbs, Epps, Eppson, Epperson, Epp," he repeats the same information. Yet he does not really show that Isabel was ever called Ebb, still less that she was ever called Epp; and as a fact, Ebb is an A.S. name, and Ebbes hām, or 'Ebb's home,' is the old spelling of Epsom; while Epp occurs in Epping, and one can hardly believe that the Eppings were sons of Isabel. Further remarks on particular cases are made where they seem to be necessary.

The results of my investigation are, I venture to suggest, of considerable interest; especially as my list is not by any means exhaustive. I have merely collected some of the best examples; yet I am able to say that English was so far from being supplanted by Norman, that at least three hundred and fifty of the names that are recorded as being baptismal or personal names in Anglo-Saxon times are still in fairly common use as surnames at the present day, most of them being about a thousand years old. Many of them are but slightly altered, and the alterations are usually in perfect accord with the known changes of pronunciation in other words. Some show, clearly enough, that they suffered some mispronunciation from Norman speakers; and I still hold, as I have always held, that there are more cases than are usually admitted where we can best explain the modern sounds by taking into consideration the influence of French sounds upon English. In particular, the sounds of *th* and *w* are frequently but ill preserved, as, e.g., in some cases noted below.

I now beg leave to submit my list, with but a few further prefatory remarks. I give the names in alphabetical order, in the original spelling; and add an index showing the modern forms. I give them all under one alphabet for convenience; but I wish to note that they are mostly of three types.

(1) Names like Ead-weard, composed of *two* elements, each of which was once significant, and is still often intelligible.

(2) Names containing but *one* element, such as Dodd. Many such names had once a suffix, as in the case of the A.S. Dodd-a. Some names ending in *-a*, as Dēora, may be regarded as pet-names; Dēora may stand for any name beginning with Dēor-, of which there are more than a dozen.

(3) Patronymics in *-ing*, as *Hwīt-ing*, lit. 'the son of White.' Sometimes these are called tribal names, but the use of the suffix is quite vague; the plural *Hwītingas* may mean simply 'the sons of White,' or the members of White's family, or it may be extended to denote all his followers. For my present purpose, I regard names in *-ing* as patronymic merely.

I think it will be found that the following list goes far to disprove Bardsley's statement, at p. 68 of his *Romance of the London Directory*, that, "with the exception of Alfred, Arthur,¹ Edwin, Edward, Ethel, and a dozen other agnomens which were preserved through various accidents, all English names of the pre-Norman period disappeared before the end of the twelfth century; they were literally submerged beneath the advancing tide of Norman titles and usages." The point which he has missed is precisely this. Most of the Anglo-Saxon names ceased to be used as baptismal names, but many nevertheless survived in a new capacity, being utilised to increase the list of surnames. To take an easy example, the name of the celebrated Earl Gōdwine was not really lost; for though it ceased to be a baptismal name, it is still common as a surname in the form of Goodwin.

I have only to add that nearly all the Anglo-Saxon names quoted below are duly given in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*; where this is not the case, I give a reference if necessary.

In the same way, nearly all the modern names will be found in Bardsley's *Dictionary of Surnames*; where this is not the case, I give a reference, usually to a *Clergy List* dated 1901, which I have at hand. I have also supplied a few examples of Middle English forms from the first volume of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, which includes the reigns of Henry III., Edward I., and Edward II. Other Middle English forms are plentifully given by Bardsley in his *Dictionary*, and preserve the continuity of the names during the Plantagenet period. It is worth while to observe some of the effects of Norman upon the pronunciation of English, as they are well illustrated in the treatment of English names by Norman speakers.

The English *th* certainly caused trouble; and there were three ways of treating it. The boldest of these methods was to ignore it. This is well shown in the case of names beginning with *Æthel-*, which by the omission of the *th*, at once became *Æl-*, and readily

¹ But Arthur is Celtic, and was never an A.S. name; and there is no old instance of Ethel.

passed into Ail- (or Ayl-). Hence, as we shall see, Æthelgifu, Æthelheard, Æthelmær, Æthelweard, Æthelwine, have become, in modern English, Ayliffe, Aylard, Aylmer, Aylward, and Aylwin.

Another method was to turn the *th* into *t*. In this way Thurbeorht has become Turbett, and Ælfnōth may safely be taken to be the original of Allnutt.

The third method was to turn the *th* into *d*, when the *th* occurs in the middle of a name or at the end of it. In this way Æthelheard became Adlard; Æthelwine became Adlin and Edlin; and Æthelthryth was turned into Etheldred, or (with a Latin suffix) Etheldreda. We can thus easily explain the fact that Æthelheard produced such different forms as Aylard and Adlard. Both arose from the avoidance of the *th*. In the former case it was ignored; in the latter it was exchanged for *d*. Similarly Æthelwine became both Aylwin and Adlin.

The tendency of French to turn a final *-ald* into *-auld*, *-aud*, is well known. It is exemplified in the change from the A.S. Regenbeald to the M.E. Reynebaud; from which the modern E. Rainbow readily results, by a popular etymology. The same *-ald* has become *-all* in Kimball, from Cynebeald; and in Grimball, from Grimbeald.

The treatment of *w* should also be observed. Before *a*, *e*, or *i*, there was a tendency to turn it into *v*; before *o* or *u*, it was dropped. Examples are: Ælfwine, which produced the form Elvin as well as Elwin; Colwine, whence Colvin. Hereward produced both Harward and Harvard; and Lēofwine, both Lewin and Levin. It was entirely suppressed in Bardolph from Beorhtwulf; in Ayloff from Æthelwulf; in Randolph from Randwulf; in Reynold from Regenwold, for Regenweald; and in Thorold from Thurwold, for Thurweald. Similarly, Ealdwine has given us Aldin, Alden, and Auden; and Wulfgeat has produced both Woollet and Ulyat.

Another noticeable point is the substitution of the sound of *k* for the A.S. final *h*, as in Elphick for Ælfhēah. Another way of avoiding this final sound was to substitute for it the palatal *ch*; this gave a form Alfech,¹ which readily passed into the 'voiced' form Alfege (with Norman *ge* = English *j*); and this is the form which is represented in our prayer-books by the spelling Alphege.

¹ "Mr. Lower says:—Alfech occurs in Domesday as having been a subtenant in Sussex, temp. Edward the Confessor."—*Bardsley*, s.v. Elphick. However, the symbol *ch* in Domesday Book often denotes the sound of *k*.

A LIST OF ANGLO-SAXON NAMES STILL IN
USE AS SURNAMES.

1. *Ælfgār*; later *Alfgar*, *Algar*; mod. *Algar*. A common variant is the later *Elfgar*, whence the mod. *Elgar*, and the Normanised form *Elger*.

2. *Ælfgifu* (very common); a feminine name which can hardly have been lost. As the *g* was a mere *y*, easily lost before *i*, it is the same as *Alfiva*, *Alviva*, *Alveva* (all with Latin *-a* added) in the Ramsey Cartulary. Hence mod. *Alvey*, *Elvey*, *Elvy*.

3. *Ælfgōd*; Mr. Searle gives the Latinised form *Algodus*, which corresponds to the M.E. form *Algod* in *Bardsley*. The mod. form is *Allgood*, quite regularly, which *Bardsley* wrongly explains from *all* and *good*. But this only represents a popular etymology.

4. *Ælfhēah*. *Birch* gives *Ælfheah* as the name of a bishop of Winchester (there were two of that name), and gives the later spellings of his name as *Alphec*, *Alphech*, and *Alphegus*. Other later variants are *Elfeah*, *Elfeh*, *Elfegus*. This furnishes positive proof that the final *h* was sometimes pronounced as *e*. Lower (ii. 29) quotes the Domesday form *Ælfech* for Sussex, and identifies it with the modern Sussex *Elphick*. *Bardsley* rightly identifies *Elphick* as being one with the name of St. *Alphege* in our prayer-books (April 19th); but neither he nor Lower seems to have known that *Alphege* was a Normanised form of *Ælfhēah* in the A.S. Chronicle.

5. *Ælfmær*; later form *Ælmær* (*Searle* and *Birch*). Hence mod. *Elmer*. *Bardsley* confuses *Elmer* with *Aylmer*. They are best kept apart; but the prefixes *Ælf-* and *Æthel-* were frequently confused, soon after the Conquest.

6. *Ælfnōth*; later *Alfnod*. *Bardsley* gives the Early E. forms *Alnoth*, *Alnath*. With the Norman substitution of *t* for the voiceless *th*, we get the mod. *Allnutt*.

7. *Ælfrēd*; mod. *Alfred*.

8. *Ælfstān* (very common); also written *Alestan*, *Elstan*; M.E. *Elstan* (*Bardsley*, s.v. *Elstan*); mod. *Elston*. And in some cases, mod. *Alston* is from the same original, though it may also be of local origin.

9a. **Ælfwine** (common); also Latinised as Alwinus, Elwinus; mod. Alwin, Alwyne, Elwin.

9b. **Ælfwine** (common), also in the form Elfin (Searle, Birch); and, as the A.S. *f* before *i* became a *v*, we have exactly the mod. Elvin; distinct from Aylwin. Another mod. form is Alwin, as above.

10. **Ælfwynn**, a female name; also spelt Aylwyna in the Ramsey Cartulary. This is another source of mod. Aylwin.

11. **Æthelgifu**, a female name; also Latinised as Æileua, Eileua, corresponding to M.E. spellings Æileve, Eileve. Hence we may easily deduce the mod. Ayliffe.

12. **Æthelheard**, or **Æthelhard**; later Ædelheard, Adelard; mod. Adlard. But Æthel- also sometimes became Ayl-, as in other names; hence the mod. Aylard. (See **Æthelweard**.)

13. **Æthelmær**; later forms in Searle are Ægelmar and Aylmer. Hence the mod. Aylmer. Compare Æthelwine, which became Aylwin.

14. **Æthelrēd**. In the *Liber Custumarum*, p. 637, king Æthelred II. is called "Aldredus Rex." Hence the modern form is Aldred; which also results from Ealdrēd, q.v.

15. **Æthelthrȳth**. This is the female name which our early historians Latinised as Etheldreda. But, as is well known, the popular form became Awdry. Hence Audrey, Awdry, and Awdrey.

16. **Æthelweard**. Searle gives the later variants Ægelweard, and Ailuard, with *uu* for *w*. Hence mod. Aylward. Bardsley deduces Aylard from the same original, but it arises far more easily out of Æthelheard, q.v.

17a. **Æthelwine**; later Ailwine. The singular contraction of the prefix Æthel- to Ail- occurs in many cases, and is thoroughly authorised. Mr. Searle quotes the intermediate form Egelwin. Ailwine is the same as the mod. Aylwin.

17b. **Æthelwine**; later Ædelwine; later Atheline, Adelyne, both cited by Bardsley; mod. Adlin. As *Æ* also became *E*, another form is Edeline, given by Bardsley as the origin of mod. Edlin.

18. **Æthelwulf**. Searle (p. 61, col. 2) gives Ailof as a late form of Æthelwulf; cf. Æthelwine above. Hence the form Ayloff, occurring in 1698, 1702 (Bardsley); of which he supposes mod. Ayliffe to be a variant; but see **Æthelgifu**.

19. **Amalric**; M.E. Americ, Amery, Emeric; mod. Amery, Emery (which see in Bardsley). Compare Americ-a.

20. **Bagga** (two examples); M.E. Bagge; mod. Bagg, Bagge.
21. **Beald, Bealda, Balda**; M.E. Bolde, mod. Bold. Hence also Bolding (which B. confuses with Baldwin); cf. M.E. Bolding (1273).
22. **Bealdhere, Baldhere**; later Balder (see Birch). Mod. Balder.
23. **Bealdric, Baldric**. Later Baldri (Bardsley); hence mod. Baldry, Baldrey.
24. **Bealdwine, Baldwin**; mod. Baldwin; of which Bawden is probably a variant. Cf. the form Baudewyn, in the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, vol. i.
25. **Benna, Beonna** (common); hence the patronymic Benning (in place-names); mod. Benning. Spelt Benneng, *Inquis. p. Mortem*, vol. i.
26. **Beorhtgifu**. Here the *g* is a mere *y*, and Beorht is also spelt Briht. Searle quotes Bricteua (with *u = v*) as a variant. Bardsley gives the M.E. forms Brightyeve, Brighteve, Brightiff, mod. Brighteve, and probably Brighty. Compare Goodeve, from the A.S. *Gōdgifu*; No. 156.
27. **Beorhtmær**; also Brihtmær, Brihtmer (Searle). Bardsley refers the mod. Brightmore, Brightmoor to this original.
28. **Beorhtman**; also Brightman (Searle); mod. Brightman. As the A.S. Beorhtman is both late and rare, Brightman may be really due to the earlier and commoner Beorhtmund.
29. **Beorhtwine**; later Brithwin (for Brihtwin), in Birch. Hence the mod. Brightwin.
30. **Beorhtwulf**; later Beordolf (Searle, Birch). The M.E. form is Bardolf (Bardsley); and the entry "Bardolf, alias Bardol" is instructive. Hence mod. Bardolph and Bardell.
31. **Beornheard**; later Bernard, or (in Latin) Bernardus (Searle). Mod. Bernard, of which Barnard is a variant. The early spellings have *er*; there is no proved connexion with the distinct A.S. name spelt Bearnheard.
32. **Bill, Billa**; hence the patronymic Billing, which is still in use. Cf. the old place-names Billing-bróc, Billingden (Kemble).
33. **Blocca**; Kemble has Bloccanlēah, i.e. Blockley, in Worcester-shire. This is the mod. Block. Cf. Petrus de Blockeeye, *Inquis. p. Mortem*.
34. ***Bocc**, a form not found; but the patronymic occurs in Bocking, Essex. Mod. Bocking.
35. **Boda** (lit. 'one who announces,' from *bēodan*); M.E. Bode,

in the Ramsey Cartulary; mod. Bode (in Bardsley under Body; there are two of this name in the Clergy List, 1901).

36. **Bonda**; properly a Norse word for a husbandman; M.E. *Bonde*; mod. *Bond*. Hence also *Bondman*.

37. **Bôt, Bôta**. The gen. *Bôtes* occurs in *Bôtescumb*; Birch, *Cart. Saxon*. ii. 524, iii. 110; and there are two examples (at least) of *Bôta*. These account for mod. *Boot*. (Cf. mod. E. *boot* in the phrase *to boot*). Hence *Boots*.

38. **Botta**. We may compare this with *Bôta* and with names beginning with *Bôl-*, as *Bôtrêd*, *Bôtwulf*. Hence M.E. *Botte*, mod. *Botte*, *Bott*. Cf. *Radulphus Bot*, *Inquis. p. Mortem*.

39. **Brand**. The name *Brand* is probably Norse. It is still in use; and it occurs in *Inquis. p. Mortem*, vol. i.

40. **Brandwine**; mod. *Brandwin*.

41. **Brûning**, i.e. son of *Brûn* (*Brown*), was a rather common name; mod. *Browning*.

42. **Brûnsunu**, lit. son of *Brown*; mod. *Brownson*.

43. **Bubba** (five examples); M.E. *Bubbe*; mod. *Bubb*.

44. **Bugga, Bugga** (several examples, all feminine, and better spelt *Buge*); M.E. *Bugge*; mod. *Bugge*, *Bugg*.

45. **Budda, Buddo** (four examples); M.E. *Budde*; mod. *Budd*.

46. ***Bunt**, not found; the patronymic is *Bunting*, as in *Buntinge-dîc*, in *Kemble's Index*, and in *Buntingford*, *Herts.* Mod. *Bunting*.

47. **Burgric** (two examples); also **Burrîc**; *Birch* has the forms *Burgric*, *Burgrich*, *Burhric*, *Burric*; M.E. *Borrich* (1272); mod. *Burridge*, *Burrage*.

48. **Bynna** (common); also written *Binna*, *Bynno*; M.E. *Bynne*; hence mod. *Binns*. Also *Binning*, the patronymic, as in *Binnington*, *Yorks.* (*Bardsley*); mod. *Binning*.

49. **Cædmon** (twice); also *Cadman*; mod. *Cadman*.

50. **Canna**, as in *Cannæn-den*, in *Kemble's Index*; hence the patronymic *Canning*, as in *Cannington*, *Somerset.*; mod. *Cann*, *Canning*.

51. **Ceadda** (five examples); M.E. *Chadde*; mod. *Chad*, *Chadd*. I think mod. *Chaddock* may be the diminutive.

52. **Ceanninga**, gen. pl. of a tribal name; *Kemble, Cod. Dipl.* v. 363; mod. *Channing*. So also *Canning*, from an O.E. *Canning* (*Mercian form*), without breaking of *a* to *ea*; see **Canna**.

53. **Cempa**, a champion, soldier; "Eadulf cempa" occurs in *Birch, Cart. Saxon*. ii. 252; mod. *Kemp*, *Kempe*, *Kempson*.

54. **Cetel**; Icel. Ketill; the true A.S. form is Cytel, so that Ketill is properly Norse; mod. Kettle.

55. **Clac** (seven examples; also Claces, in the genitive); mod. E. Clack. Also Clackson, which has been confused with Clarkson.

56. **Clapa**. Bardsley remarks that this was "an early Danish surname; Osgöd Clapa was a Danish noble at the Court of Canute." Hence he derives mod. Clapp, the thirteenth century form being Clappe. But Clappe is an agential form meaning "one who claps." Cf. O.N. *klappa*, to clap.

57. **Clarembald**. Searle gives the Latin form Clarembaldus; it does not seem to be early or well supported. Bardsley cites Clarebold from Domesday Book, and thus accounts for the M.E. Clerenbald, Clerebald, and Clerebaud; also for the mod. Claringbold and Clarabut. The last is doubtful.

58. **Cnibba**, variant of Cnebba; mod. Knibb, Knibbs. (B. confuses it with nicknames of Isabel.)

59. **Cobba**. As Förstemann gives the form Cobbo, and Cobba occurs in the place-name Cobbanden, i.e. Cobden, we may fairly suppose Cobba to be an A.S. name. Hence mod. Cobb. Bardsley's supposition, as to its representing Jacob, is as needless as it is impossible.

60. **Cocca**, as in Coccan-burh, in Kemble's Index; hence the patronymic Cocking, as in Coccinge-pöl, in the same; mod. Cock, Cocking.

61. **Coda, Codd**. The former occurs in the place-name Codan-ford, and the latter in Coddan-hrycg. These forms account, respectively, for the mod. Code and Codd. Cf. also the place-names Codington and Coddington. Bardsley wrongly connects Code and Codd with Cuthbert.

62. **Cöenheard, Cēnheard, Cēnard**; M.E. Kenard (10 Edw. I.); mod. Kennard.

63. **Cöenric, Cenric**, also Kenric; mod. Kenrick; also Kendrick, with excrement *d*.

64. **Cöenweard**; also Kenward (Birch); M.E. Keneward; mod. Kenward.

65. **Cola** (nine examples); also Cole; M.E. Cole; mod. Cole, whence Coles. (Distinct from Colin, with which B. confuses it.) Searle also gives Coling, the patronymic form; mod. Coling (Clergy List, 1901); proving that Cole is a native name.

66. **Colbeorht**; also found as Colobert, Colibert (Searle). Hence mod. Colbert.

67. **Colbrand**; a name of which five examples occur; mod. Colbran (co. Sussex). [But Colbourn is probably local, and not a true variant.] Cf. Willelmus Colebrond, Inquis. p. Mortem, vol. i.

68. **Colling**. As Colling, i.e. son of Coll, occurs as an A.S. name (Coll occurring in 949), we may of course derive from it the mod. Colling, Collings, Collingson. It is distinct from the Norman Colin, whence Collins; Bardsley confuses the two sources.

69. **Colman** (five examples); **Coleman** (two examples). Hence mod. Colman and Coleman.

70. **Colswegen** (where -swegen is of Norse origin, like E. *swain*); also spelt Kolswēn; M.E. Colesweyn; B. does not say whether it is still in use.

71. **Colwine** (two examples); one Colwine was a landowner in Devon, whose name is stated to have been given as Colvinus (Lower's *Patronymica Britannica*, 1860, p. 66); mod. Colvin. (This seems to be a clear case of a Norman *v* for A.S. *w*.)

72. **Crēoda** (three examples); also Crēda; M.E. Crede; mod. Creed. (Bardsley connects it with *creed*, belief; but Crēoda goes back to the sixth century.)

73. **Cudd** (one example), Cudda (three examples), Cuddi (one example). These account for the mod. Cudd, without resorting to the supposition that the reference is to Cuthbert. But the form Cuddy is doubtless from the pet name Cuddie.

74. **Cuf** (gen. Cuffes); also Cuffa; mod. E. Cuff. (Not noticed by Bardsley.)

75. **Culfre**; lit. 'dove'; but it occurs as a female name as early as 901. Hence mod. Culver.

76. **Culling**. Of this form there are two examples; and there is a place-name Cullingford. Hence mod. Culling.

77. **Cumma** (three examples); hence the patronymic Cumming.

78. **Cuthbeald**. Bardsley suggests that this is the M.E. Cotebold (1 Edw. III.), and the origin of the mod. Cutbill.

79. **Cuthbeorht**. This is the mod. Cuthbert, with its derivative Cuthbertson. And hence, most likely, the mod. Cuddy.

80. **Cutt**. Not in Searle; but Cuttes mæd, i.e. 'Cutt's mead,' occurs in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 288; M.E. Cutte (1319); mod. Cutt; whence Cutts, Cutson. Spelt Cut in 1255; Inquis. p. Mortem.

81. ***Cwēnhild**; composed of Cwēn- and -hild, both common in compounds; amply proved by the later form Quenilda in the Ramsey Cartulary, where it occurs twice; mod. Quennell, Quinnell. (The solution in Bardsley is impossible.)

82. **Cydd** (gen. *Cyddes*); also *Cydda* (thrice); *Cyddi* (once); M.E. *Kyde*; mod. *Kidd* (with double *d*). *Kidd* is rather a survival of the A.S. name than taken from the Scand. *kid*.

83. **Cyma** (five examples); also *Kyma* (Birch); hence probably the place-name *Kyme* (Lincs.); and mod. *Kime*, *Kyme*. Cf. *Philippus de Kyme, Inquis. p. Mortem*.

84. **Cynebeald, Kinebold**; the obvious source of mod. *Kimball*, which *Bardsley* confuses with *Kimble*, apparently a name of local origin, viz., from *Kimble*, Bucks. Cf. *Kimbolton*, i.e. 'Cynebeald's town.'

85. **Cyneman**; mod. *Kinman*; spelt *Kennyman* in 1620, *Kynman* in 1623. Distinct from *Kinmond*, with which *Bardsley* confuses it.

86. **Cynemund** (eight examples); mod. *Kinmond*; spelt *Kinmond* in 1753.

87. **Cȳta** (lit. 'a kite'); in the local name *Cytan-ford* (*Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 344*); M.E. *Kyte*; mod. *Kite*, *Kyte*.

88. **Dæcca**. This may be the origin of *Dack*, found in Norfolk in 1273 with the spelling *Dacke*, and still in use in that county. Spelt *Dac* in the *Ramsey Cartulary*.

89. **Dægmond** (nine instances); later *Degmund*, *Deimund*; mod. *Daymond* (*Clergy List, 1901*). Probably also a source of some of the *Daymans*.

90. **Dealla** (twice); hence, perhaps, the patronymic *Dealling*. Cf. *Dalling* in Norfolk; whence mod. *Dalling*.

91. **Dēda** is a form recorded in the eighth century. It corresponds to the mod. *Deed*, with its derivative *Deedes*, i.e. son of *Deed*.

92. **Dēoring**, lit. 'the son of *Dēor*.' Hence mod. *Dering*, *Deering*, *Dearing*. *Bardsley* confuses it with *Darwin*; but it is quite distinct from it. See **Dēorwine**.

93. **Dēorman**; from *dēor*, dear. The mod. form is *Dearman*.

94. **Dēorwine**, later *Dērwine*; *Searle* gives both forms. Hence M.E. *Derewyn* (1273), and mod. *Darwin*. It is probable that there is another *Darwin*, of local origin. For the *ar*, cf. A.S. *Dēorling*, mod. *Darling*.

95. **Docca**; whence *Docking* in Norfolk, as a patronymic; mod. *Docking*.

96. **Dodd, Dodda**; both forms occur. Hence mod. *Dodd*, *Dodds*, *Dodson*, and the patronymic *Dodding*. The A.S. *Dodman* likewise occurs; mod. *Dodman*.

97. **Dolemann**, allied to *Dola*. Hence M.E. *Doleman*, and

mod. Dolman, Dollman. Bardsley takes it to mean 'dale-man,' which ignores the vowel.

98. **Dōmfrith**. Here *dōm* is the mod. E. *doom*, which would become *dum-* before *fr*. The suffix *-frith* frequently becomes M.E. *-frey*. This would regularly give mod. Dumphrey; and there is no need to explain it as meaning *de Humphrey*!

99. **Dreng** (two examples). Dreng is a well-known Norse word; cf. Icel. *drengr*, a brave man. Hence mod. Dreng, Dring.

100. **Dūda**, with long *u* (ten examples). Hence later Doodeson (1609), given by Bardsley s.v. Dudgeon. The mod. form would be Dudson; though this would also result from Dudd. Distinct from Dodd. The mod. form of Dūda is Dowd.

101. **Dudd, Dudda**; both quite common. Hence mod. Dudding, as a patronymic, in the Clergy List, 1901. Distinct from Dūda and from Dodd; cf. Dud-ley.

102. **Dūding**; the patronymic of Dūda, not of Dudda. Accurately represented by the mod. Dowding (three examples in the Clergy List, 1901).

103. **Dūn, Dūna**, presumably with long *u*. Hence perhaps in some cases Down, Downs, though of course they are also local. But the patronymic Dūning is unmistakable; whence mod. Downing.

104. **Dūnemann**; presumably with long *u*. Hence mod. Downman. It may well have been originally a descriptive name, lit. 'man on the down.'

105. **Dunn, Dunna**; both well authenticated; with the patronymic Dunning. Mod. Dunn, Dunne, and Dunning. Quite distinct from M.E. de la Dune, of the down, with which Bardsley confuses them. In that form the *u* is long.

106. **Dūnstān**; with long *u* and long *a*, originally. But it is the mod. Dunstan.

107. **Dutta**. Bardsley explains Dutt as being a pet-name of Dionysia, which can hardly be the case. I explain it as the A.S. Dutta, a name not noted by Searle, but clearly seen in the name "æt Duttan hamme," i.e. at Dutta's enclosure; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii, 483, l. 16.

108. **Ēada** (six instances). This is the obvious source, at least in some instances, of the mod. Eade, Eades, Ede, Edes. Also of the pet-name Eadie, and Edison. The fem. form Eda appears in the time of Henry III.; perhaps for Ēadgifu.

109. **Ēadgār**; mod. Edgar.

110. **Ēadmund**; mod. Edmund; and hence Edmondson.

111. **Ēadric**; M.E. Edrich; mod. Edrich, more corruptly Edridge.

112. **Ēadwacer** (three examples); also **Ēdwacer**. It has been suggested that this is the origin of mod. Earwaker, which is probable enough. It is cognate with the foreign name Odoacer.

113. **Ēadweard**; mod. Edward; hence Edwards, Edwardson.

114. **Ēadwine**; mod. Edwin.

115. **Ealdbeorht, Aldberht**; later Aldberht, Alberht, Albertus; this is the undoubted source of Albert in at least three instances. In some cases, Albert was a later form of **Æthelbeorht** or **Æthelberht**. Albert also occurs as a comparatively modern name, introduced from Germany. Variants of Albert are the mod. Allbright and Albutt.

116. **Ealdfrith, Aldfrith**; later Alfreth. The Normans turned the suffix -frith or -freth into -frey, corresponding to the G. -fried, as in God-frey from G. Gottfried. Hence the mod. Allfree (Clergy List, 1901). Lower (ii, 17) gives Alfray as the name of "a Sussex worthy, who died in the reign of Elizabeth"; and ridiculously explains the name to mean Fright-all! Bardsley confuses Allfree and Alfray with Alfred, which is obviously needless and misleading.

117. **Ealdgȳth**; a common female name; also found as **Ældid**. The *y* became *i*; then the *g* became *y*, and disappeared, as in Edith from Eadgyth. M.E. Alditha, Aldith; mod. Aldith, Awdith.

118. **Ealdhere, Aldhere**; Birch quotes the form Aldherus. It is obviously possible to derive from this the mod. Alder. Bardsley derives Alder from the tree-name, which is also possible. Probably both are real sources.

119. **Ealdrēd, Aldrēd**; mod. Aldred. And see **Æthelrēd**,

120. **Ealdric, Aldric**; M.E. Aldrich; mod. Aldrich, more corruptly Aldridge.

121. **Ealdwine, Aldwine**; later Aldwin, the origin of the mod. Aldin and Alden. Another modern variant is Auden.

122. **Ealhheard, Ealhhard**; later Alhhard, Alhard; mod. Allard. Bardsley conjectures that Allard represents **Æthelward**, but the supposition is unlikely and unnecessary.

123. **Earncytel, Ærncytel**. I mention this because the Norse form was Arnketill (see Index, ii. 1, to the Corpus Poeticum Boreale); which is the obvious source of mod. Arkettle. In the same Corpus, ii. 115, the same name is contracted to Arnkel; whence the mod. Arkell.

124. **Ēastmund** (9 examples). Hence M.E. Estmund, Estmond; mod. Eastmond. Hence also Eastman, by dropping the *d*; and Esmond, by dropping the *t*.

125. **Ebba** (two examples); also Ebbi (once); also Ebb, whence Ebbes-hām, i.e. Epsom. Hence mod. Ebbs, which B. regards as related to Isabella.

126. **Engelbeorht, Ingelbeorht**, Latinised as Angilbertus, Engelbricus; M.E. Ingelbert; mod. Inglebright.

127. **Eorl**. This is the mod. Earl, Earle.

128. **Eorlwine**; Latinised as Erluinus; hence probably mod. Urlwin. (The spelling Urlewine occurs, but is late; there is no such form as *wrl*; it probably stands for *eorl*.)

129. **Eorp-**. This name occurs in compounds, such as Eorpbeorht, Eorpheard. Hence mod. Earp, for which Bardsley can suggest no origin. But it is hardly changed.

130. **Eppa** (five examples); probably the same as Eoppa (ten examples). This may very well be the source of mod. Epps and Eppson. Bardsley equates it to Ebbs, from Ebb, for Isabella. It is more likely that it is quite distinct. It is certain that Epwell (Oxon.) is derived from the A.S. Eoppanwylla.

131. **Færman, Farman**. Mod. Farman. But whether Firmin is the same name, as Bardsley says, is open to doubt.

132. **Fastwulf** (six examples); also Fastulf, Fastolf; hence Fastolf, Fastolfe (but I do not know whether the name survives); also Falstaff.

133. **Finn**. One of the oldest of A.S. names, and still in use. A derivative is Finsbury.

134. **Focga**. This occurs in the place-name Focgan crundel; see Searle. The tribal name Focgingas occurs in 814; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 480, l. 8. This shows that Focga was a real name; and it accounts for mod. Fogg.

135. **Folegær**. If this form be right, it will account for the mod. Folger and Foulger.

136. **Folcheard**; later Folcard, Fulcard. Hence mod. Folkard. Bardsley takes Folker to be the same name; but see below.

137. **Folchere**; later Fulcher (Searle). This is clearly the mod. Folker, as distinguished from Folkard above. Perhaps it is also the origin of Fulcher.

138. **Formannus**; recorded as a Latinised form, apparently of Formann. Hence the mod. Forman (already so spelt in 1379). Bardsley considers it as a variant of Farman; but this is needless.

139. **Fræna** (ten examples); perhaps the mod. Freen. (Apparently Danish.)

140. **Frëo**; mod. Free. The M.E. Kentish form was *frī* (Shoreham) or *vrī* (Ayenbite); and this will account for mod. Fry.

141. **Frëobeorn**; also Frebern; M.E. Frebern; mod. Freeburn. (Hence perhaps Freeborn and Freebairn, if these are variants; they seem to date from the sixteenth century.)

142. **Frëomann**; mod. Freeman.

143. **Frëomund**; M.E. Fremond; mod. Fremont. Cf. Thomas Fremond, Inquis. p. Mortem.

144. **Frëowine, Frëwine**; mod. Frewin, Frewen.

145. **Fröd, Fröda**. Bardsley says he could not find it in Middle English. But it will account for mod. Froude. The normal development suggests the pronunciation *frood*, riming with *brood*.

146. **Gadd**; hence, probably, the mod. Gadd.

147. **Gærheard**. Hence probably mod. Garrard, Garrad, Garrod, Garrett. The corresponding O.H.G. form is *Gērhart*.

148. **Gærweald**, later Gerwold, Gerold (see Searle). Hence (or else through the Norman, from O.H.G.) M.E. Gerald; mod. Gerald, Jarrold.

149. **Gamal, Gamel**; M.E. Gamel; mod. Gammel, Gamble. Also the M.E. derivative *Gamelin*; mod. Gamlin, Gamlen, and perhaps Gambling.

150. **Gāra**, as in *Gāran-ford*, i.e. Garford, Bucks., where the *ā* is shortened before *rf*. Hence the patronymic *Gāring*, preserved in Goring in Oxon. and Sussex. Mod. Gore, Goring.

151. **Garbeald**; M.E. Garbold, Garbode; cf. "William Garbode, or Garbolde" in 1273. Hence probably mod. Garbott, Garbett.

152. **Garmund** (five examples); M.E. Garmond; mod. Garman and Garment.

153. **Gilling**, a patronymic form; see Kemble's Index. Cf. two Gillings and three Gillingshams. Mod. Gilling, Gillings.

154. **Glædwine**; M.E. Gladewyne, mod. Gladwin.

155. **Gōdcild**; mod. Goodchild.

156. **Gōdgifu**; M.E. Godyf; mod. Goodeve. The same name as the Latinised *Gōdīva*.

157. **Gōdheard**; M.E. Godard; mod. Godard, Goddard.

158. **Gōding** (common); M.E. Godinge, in the Ramsey Cartulary; mod. Gooding. It is a patronymic from *Gōda* (common); and therefore distinct from *Gōdwine*.

159. **Gōdlamb**; M.E. Godlambe, Godlomb; mod. Goodlamb. (An epithet.)

160. **Gōdlēof**; M.E. Godeliva, temp. Henry III.; mod. Goodliffe.
161. **Gōdmann**; M.E. Godeman, Godman; mod. Goodman.
162. **Gōdrīc**; M.E. Godrich; mod. Goodrich, Godrich; more corruptly, Goodridge. Cf. Jacobus Godrick, Inquis. p. Mortem.
163. **Gōdwine**; mod. Goodwin, also Godwin. (The mod. E. phrase 'Goodwin sands,' having reference to Earl Godwine, shows that the *o* was long.)
164. **Golda**; mod. Gold, Gould; also, as a patronymic, Golding. Cf. Johannes Golding, Inquis. p. Mortem.
165. **Goldman**; mod. Goldman, Gouldman.
166. **Goldstān**; mod. Goldstone, Goulston.
167. **Goldwine**; mod. Goldwin.
168. **Gormund**; M.E. Gormund; mod. Gorman.
169. **Grim**; mod. Grim.
170. **Grīma**; M.E. Grime; hence mod. Grimes. Bardsley refers it to Grim; but the *i* in Grim was short.
171. **Grimbeald, Grimbald**; M.E. Grimbald, Grimboll; mod. Grimball, Grimble.
172. **Grimbeorht, Grimbort**; mod. Grimbort.
173. **Gummær, Gummar**; mod. Gummer.
174. **Gunhere**; hence Gunnere (Birch) and Gunner (ten examples in Searle); mod. Gunner; though this may also have arisen from E. *gun* in later times.
175. **Gunhild** (a female name); Latinised in M.E. as Gunnilda; mod. Gunnell.
176. **Gunna**, with the patronymic Gunning. M.E. Gunne, mod. Gunn; whence Gunning, Gunson. (B. takes Gunn to be the same as Gawain.)
177. **Guntere** (one example); Gunter (two examples); mod. Gunter.
178. **Gūthlāc**; mod. Gutlack. So in Bardsley; it seems correct. Perhaps also Goodlake. Cf. Gutmund for Guthmund; Inquis. p. Mortem.
179. **Hæglingas**; a tribal name, of which the gen. pl. occurs in Hæglinga-īgge, 'isle of the Hæglingas,' in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 363; also spelt Hægling-īg on the same page. Hence N. and S. Hayling in Hants., and the surnames Hayling, Haylings.
180. **Hæsten**, the name of a Danish chief; hence Hæstingas, the men of his tribe; Hæstinga-ceaster, 'the camp of the Hæstingas,' in the A.S. Chron., the old name of Hastings in Sussex; mod. Hastin, also Hasting and Hastings.

181. **Hanningas**, the name of a tribe; see Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 111; hence Hanning as a surname, Hanningfield in Essex, Hannington, Hants. The sense is 'son of Hanna,' which is the mod. Hann, still a surname.

182. **Harding, Harding**, a patronymic; mod. Harding.

183. **Hardman**; mod. Hardman. Bardsley confuses this with Hardiman; but *hardy* is a Norman word, from O.F. *hardi*; and Hardiman is a late compound (1379).

184. **Hardwine**; M.E. Hardwin; mod. Hardwin. Cf. Robertus Hardwine, *Inquis. p. Mortem*.

185. **Heartingas, Hertingas**, the name of a tribe, *Index to Kemble, Cod. Dipl.*; hence Harting as a surname; also Harting (Sussex) and Hartington (Derby).

186. **Helling**, a tribal name; ill spelt Hellingh in a late copy of a charter, *Kemble, Cod. Dipl.* iv. 144. Hence Hellingley in Sussex, and mod. Helling, Hellings. Cf. Dionysia de Hellington, *Inquis. p. Mortem*.

187. **Heming, Hemming** (both forms occur); the latter may be the patronymic of Hemma (of which we have three examples); cf. Heming-by, Lincs., Heming-ton, Somersets.; mod. Heming, Hemming.

188. **Herebeorht**; Latinised as Herebertus, Herbertus; mod. Herbert; also (with *ar* for *er*) mod. Harbert.

189. **Heregōd**; recorded in the less correct forms Hærgōd and Haregōd; M.E. Heregod; mod. Hargood.

190. **Hereman**; M.E. Hereman, Herman; mod. Harman, Hermon. (The mod. Herman is perhaps imported from Germany.)

191. **Hereric** (four examples); shortened to Heric (one example); mod. Herrick (which Bardsley omits).

192. **Hereweald, Herwald**; M.E. Harald, Harold; mod. Harold, Harrold, and perhaps Harrod.

193. **Hereward, Hereward**; M.E. Hereward, Herward; mod. Harward; and probably Harvard, with Norman *v* for A.S. *eo*.

194. **Hering**; a patronymic, in the A.S. Chronicle; mod. Herring.

195. **Herlebeorht** (one example). This may be the mod. Hurlbert, cited by B. s.v. Hurlbatt.

196. **Herlewine**; also Hærlwine, Herlewin; M.E. Herlewin; mod. Herlwin, Hurlin.

197. **Herlingas**, a tribal name; the gen. pl. Herlinga occurs in *Kemble, Cod. Dipl.* iv. 106; hence Harling as a surname and Harling in Norfolk, and Harlington in Beds.

198. **Hicel**; as in Hiceleswyrth (in Kemble's Index); hence the patronymic Hikeling (Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 303) and the place-name Hickling in Norfolk; mod. Hickling.

199. **Hildebeorht, Hildebert**; mod. Hilbert.

200. **Hildebrand**. Bardsley gives Hildebrand as being a form still in use.

201. **Hildegār** (three examples); M.E. Hildegard, Hilgar; mod. Hilger.

202. **Hildegard, Hildegard**; a female name; M.E. Hildgard, Hildyard; mod. Hildyard. Cf. Thomas Hildeyard, Inquis. p. Mortem.

203. **Hilderēd**; mod. Hildred.

204. **Hocca** (four examples); hence the mod. Hocking, with the patronymic suffix -ing.

205. **Hrambeorht**, only in the Lat. form Hrambertus; mod. Rambart.

206. **Hunbeorht**; Latinised as Humbertus; Birch has both Hunbertus and Humbertus; mod. Humbert.

207. **Hunfrith** (fifteen examples); Latinised as Hunfridus; Birch has Hunfridus, Humfridus, Hunfreth; M.E. Hunfray (1273); mod. Humphrey, Humphry; whence Humphries.

208. **Hwætman**; also Hwætmund (with a different suffix). Cf. M.E. Whatteman; also Whatman (1557); mod. Whatman. (B. gives five examples of the spelling with *Wh*, and yet derives it from Wat.)

209. **Hwīting**, patronymic of Hwīta, from *hwīt*, white; mod. Whiting, Whitting.

210. **Hwittuc**; also Hwituc; mod. Whittock. (B. derives it from M.E. Wyteok!)

211. **Hygebeorht** (three examples); hence the later Higbert (Birch); mod. Hibbert, Hibberd.

212. **Ilgær**; M.E. Ilger; mod. Ilgar, Ilger.

213. **Illa**; as in the local name Illan-lēah, Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 602. The patronymic occurs in Illingworth (which Bardsley confuses with Ingleworth). Hence the mod. Illing, i.e. son of Illa.

214. **Imbeorht**; M.E. and mod. Imbert.

215. **Inga**; M.E. Inge (1273); mod. Inge.

216. **Ingelram**; later Ingeram; M.E. Ingelram, Ingeram; mod. Ingram. In 1618 it appears as Ingerham, whence the mod. Ingraham.

217. **Ingware, Ingwar**; Latin Ingwarus; also Ingar; mod. Inger; whence Ingerson. Probably of Danish origin.

218. **Ingweald**; also written Inguald, Ingoald; the same as Ingold (two examples in Searle); mod. Ingold. Also M.E. Ingald (Ramsey Cartulary); Ingal (1273); mod. Ingall.

219. **Īsgær**; M.E. Isgare; mod. Isgar.

220. **Īsheard, Ishard**, which seems to mean 'ice-hard'; Birch has Iseardus. This seems to me to be the origin of mod. Isard, Izard, which Bardsley confuses with Issott and Izot (from Ysolt or Yseult).

221. **Ivo**; the saint who gave his name to St. Ives in Hunts. and St. Ives in Cornwall; M.E. Ivo, Ive; mod. Ive, whence also Ives. Cf. Andreas de Ives, Inquis. p. Mortem.

222. **Lagman**; M.E. Lawman (1273); Lauman (Ramsey Cartulary); mod. Lawman. Of Norse origin.

223. **Landbeorht**; also Lanbertus, Lambertus; mod. Lambert.

224. **Lang**; M.E. Longe (from the definite form Longa); mod. Long, Lang. Hence also Longman.

225. **Lēof**; M.E. Lef (with long *e*); mod. Lief, oddly varied to Leaf.

226. **Lēofcild** (six examples); mod. Leifchild, Liefchild.

227. **Lēofgar**; spelt Lewgar (1558); Lugar (1809); mod. Lugar. Cf. Lēofsunu, now Leveson, but pronounced Lewson.

228. **Lēofing, Lȳfing** (common); also Lifing; mod. Living, Liveing. Bardsley confuses it with Lēofwine. It is the patronymic of Lēof, dear (No. 225).

229. **Lēofman** (five examples); M.E. Lemman, Lemman, Lemon; mod. Lemman, Lemon.

230. **Lēofric**; M.E. Leverich, Leverick; mod. Leverick, Leverich, Leveridge.

231. **Lēofsunu**, late form Lefsona; M.E. Leveson (1273); mod. Leveson (pronounced Lewson). The mod. Leveson is not from Lewis, as Bardsley supposes.

232. **Lēofwine** (very common); Latinised as Leuinus; M.E. Lefwyne, Lewine; mod. Lewin; also Levin; whence Lewinson, Levinson.

233. **Luferic**; M.E. Loverik, Loverich; mod. Loveridge.

234. **Lufu**; M.E. Love (1273); mod. Love. Hence Lovekin, Lovely.

235. **Madoc**; really a Welsh name, borrowed; M.E. Maddoc; mod. Maddock, Maddick; whence Maddocks, Maddox.

236. **Mægenheard** (four examples); Searle also gives the variants Meginard, Magnard, Mainard; hence the mod. Maynard. Cf. Philippus Maynard, Inquis. p. Mortem.

237. ***Mægmond**. Mæg is a common prefix, as in Mæg-frith, -heard, -helm, -here, -red, -weald, -wine, -wulf; and -mund is a common suffix. Hence Mægmond is quite a possible form; hence M.E. Maymund, Maymond, mod. Mayman.

238. ***Mægric**; a possible form, not recorded; it would regularly become Meyrick, Merrick.

239. **Mæthhere**; this may very well be the origin of the mod. Mather and Mathers.

240. ***Mæthwine**. Mæth- occurs as prefix in Mæth-cor, -frith, -helm, -here, -hild; and -wine is a common suffix. Hence mod. Methwin, as distinguished from Methven, a parish in co. Perth. Also Mathwin.

241. **Mann**; whence the patronymic Manning, mod. Manning. Cf. Henricus Manning, Inquis. p. Mortem.

242. **Mildrēd**, a masculine name; also Mildthrȳth, a feminine name; later Mildrith (Birch), and finally also Mildrēd. Hence mod. Mildred.

243. **Nunna, Nunne**. Here Nunne, f., signifies 'nun'; but Nunna occurs in the A.S. Chronicle as a masc. name. Hence mod. Nunn, Nunns.

244. **Ord-** begins numerous A.S. names; the pet-name Orda will account for mod. Ord, Orde.

245. **Ordgār** (common); later Orgar (Birch); M.E. and mod. Orgar.

246. **Ordwīg** (six instances); also Ordwī; M.E. Ordwy (1273); also Ordwey (1273); mod. Ordway.

247. **Orm**; common, but borrowed from Norse; mod. Orm, Orme; whence Ormes, Ormson.

248. **Ōsbeorht** (common), Osbert; mod. Osbert.

249. **Ōsbeorn, Ōsbern** (common); mod. Osborn, Osbourn.

250. **Ōsgōd** (seven examples); mod. Osgood.

251. **Ūsmær** (nine instances); in Domesday Book, Osmar, Osmer; mod. Osmar.

252. **Ōsmund**; a common A.S. name, not Norse, as Bardsley says; mod. Osmund, Osmond.

253. **Ōsweald, Oswald**; mod. Oswald.

254. **Ōswine** (six instances); mod. Oswin.

255. **Oter** (five instances). The *o* is short, and it is the

mod. E. *otter*. Hence mod. Otter. (The M.E. form in 1273 is also Oter.)

256. **Pæccingas**, a tribal name, still retained in Patching, Sussex; mod. Patching. See Kemble's Index.

257. **Pagan**; found in 1054; later Pagen (Searle); M.E. Payn; mod. Payn, Payne, Pain, Paine. (The A.S. form, representing the Lat. *paganus*, gives the M.E. *Payn* regularly. Cf. Robertus filius Pagani; Inquis. p. Mortem.)

258. **Pēada, Pēda, Pēde**; mod. Peed. (The mod. Peed is not given in Bardsley, but the name is known in Cambridge.)

259. **Pil-**, as in Pil-tūn, i.e. Pilton, Somersets. (Kemble); hence the patronymic Pilling, as in Pilling, Lancs.; mod. Pilling.

260. **Plucca**; mod. Pluck; M.E. Pluk (3 Edw. IV.). Bardsley does not know the origin, and thinks it may be French; but *plucca* may mean 'plucker,' from A.S. *pluccian*, to pluck.

261. **Puttoc, Puttuc**. Bardsley says, "the puttock, i.e. the kite, metaphorically applied to a greedy, ravenous fellow (Halliwell)." Probably so; but the forms above occur as A.S. names. Mod. Puttock.

262. **Rædmund**; mod. Redmond; also Radmond, Radmon.

263. **Rædwine**; M.E. Redwin (1273); mod. Readwin.

264. **Randwulf, Randulf**; mod. Randolph, abbreviated to Randle, Randall, Randell. Cf. Willelmus Randolf, Inquis. p. Mortem.

265. **Rēad**, red; hence the patronymic Rēading, preserved in the place-name Reading (Berks.); mod. Read, Reade, Reid, Reed; Reading, Redding.

266. **Regenbeald**; also Reinbald; M.E. Reynebaud (Bardsley, s.v. Rumball). Hence (says Bardsley) mod. Rainbow; which is extremely probable. Also Rembault, Rimbault.

267. **Regenbeorht**; also Regenbert, Rainbert (Searle); M.E. Reynberd (1483); mod. Rainbird. (Bardsley thinks it was from Regenbeald; but -beorht and -beald are quite distinct.)

268. **Regenhere, Reinere**; M.E. Reyner; mod. Reyner, Rayner.

269. **Regenmund**. Perhaps the same as M.E. Reimond, whence the mod. Raymond and Rayment.

270. **Regenweald** (nine examples); also Rægenold, Regnold, Rænold; M.E. Regnald, Reynold; mod. Reynold, whence Reynolds. (Regnald is the corresponding Norman form.)

271. **Rīca**; hence Rīcing, a patronymic, as in Rīcinga-hām, Kemble's Index. Mod. Riching, which Bardsley derives from

Richin, an imaginary diminutive of Richard, for which he produces no authority. Cf. Ricking-hall (Suffolk).

272. **Rīchere**; Latin form Rīcherius; also Rīcerus; M.E. Ricer, Richer; mod. Richer. (Distinct from Richard.)

273. **Rīm̄mār**; mod. Rimmer (noted in 1615). Bardsley confuses it with Rymer and Rimer, with long *i*. But Rimmer may have been introduced from abroad.

274. **Rudda** (two examples); and Rud- as the former part of eight compounds; M.E. Rudde, mod. Rudd. (Confused by B. with *rood*.)

275. **Rumbeald, Rumbald, Rumbold**; M.E. Rumbald, Rumbold; mod. Rumball. (Quite distinct from Regenbeald, with which Bardsley confuses it.) Cf. Robertus Rumbald, Inquis. p. Mortem.

276. **Sā̄beorht**; M.E. Sebriht; mod. Sebright, Seabright, Seabert.

277. **Sā̄björn** (Norse); the A.S. form would have been Sā̄beorn (which may have existed); M.E. Sebern; mod. Seaborn, Seaborne, Seabourne.

278. **Sā̄fugel, Sā̄fugul** (five examples); M.E. Sefughel, Sefoul; mod. Seafowl.

279. **Sā̄gār** (four examples); M.E. Seger; mod. Seager.

280. **Sā̄mār**; mod. Seamer. Bardsley confuses it with Seymour.

281. **Sā̄mann** (six examples); M.E. Seman; mod. Seaman. (A name; not a mere epithet. One Sæmann was a monk at St. Albans.)

282. **Sā̄weald** (five examples); M.E. Sewald, Sewale; Sewal (1300); Sewall (1520); mod. Sewall (Boston, U.S.A.). Noted by Bardsley s.v. Sewell, which is quite distinct, and due to the place named Sewell in Beds.

283. **Sā̄weard**; mod. Seaward; as distinct from Seward.

284. **Scilling** (five examples); mod. Shilling. (Bardsley derives it from an imaginary Shilwin!)

285. **Selewine**; M.E. Selewyne (8 Ric. II.); mod. Selwyn.

286. **Sibbi, Sibba**; cf. Sibson (for Sib's-town), Sibthorpe, both in Hunts. These will account for mod. Sibbs, Sibbson, quite as well as the Norman Sib, nickname of Sybil.

287. **Sigga** (twice); Sigga (five times); M.E. Sigge (1273); hence mod. Siggs.

288. **Sigegār** (five examples), also Sīgār, by contraction; hence mod. Siggers, Sigers. Cf. Hillarius Sigar, Inquis. p. Mortem.

289. **Sigehere**; later Sighere, Siger (Birch); mod. Syer (regularly). Distinct from Sayer, with which Bardsley confuses it.

290. **Sigemund** (common); also written *Sīmund* (thrice); M.E. *Simond*; hence *Simonds*, *Simmonds*, *Simmons*. (Quite distinct from *Simon*.) Cf. *Nicholaus Symond*, *Inquis. p. Mortem*.

291. **Sigerēd** (very common); also *Sigred*, *Sired*; M.E. *Syred*, *Sired*; mod. *Sired*, *Siret*, *Syrett*. (Quite distinct from the Norse *Sigrid*.)

292. **Sigeward** (twelve examples); also *Siward*, *Siward*; M.E. *Syward*, *Siward*; mod. *Seward*. (Like *steward* from *stiward*.)

293. **Skēt** (Danish; A.D. 1040); M.E. *Sket* (1273); mod. *Skeat*, *Skeet*; whence *Skeats*. Cf. *Juliana de Sketlyngs*, *Inquis. p. Mortem*.

294. **Snel** (three examples); the sense is "quick." Hence mod. *Snell*, and the patronymic *Snelling*. Cf. *Henricus Snelle*, *Inquis. p. Mortem*.

295. ***Spalda** (not recorded); apparently in *Spald-wick*, *Hunts*. The patronymic occurs in *Spalding*, *Lines.*, and in *Spalding-ton*, *Yks.* Mod. *Spalding*.

296. **Spearhafoc**, **Sperhafoc**; M.E. *Sparhavec*, *Sperhawk*; mod. *Sparhawk*.

297. **Sprott**, **Sprot**; M.E. *Sprot*; mod. *Sprott*, *Spratt*.

298. **Stānheard**, also *Stanart*; M.E. *Stanard*, *Stannard*; mod. *Stannard*, *Stannart*; also mod. *Stonard*, with *o* for A.S. *ā*, as in *stone* from A.S. *stān*.

299. **Stegen**, an A.S. spelling of Norse *steinn*, a stone (A.S. *stān*); like the A.S. *swegen* for Norse *swœinn* (A.S. *swān*); *Stegen* is also written *Sten*. Hence the patronymic *Stenning*, whence *Stennings*; also *Stenhouse*, i.e. stone house.

300. **Stigand** (eight examples); M.E. *Stigand*; cf. *Stigans* (for *Stigands*, 1706); mod. *Stiggins*. Of Norse origin (*Vigfusson*).

301. **Suneman**, **Sunman** (three examples); M.E. *Soneman*, *Suneman*; mod. *Sunman*. (The prefix means 'son,' not 'sun'.)

302. **Swēt**, **Swēta**; whence the compound *Swētman*, and the patronymic *Swēting*; mod. *Sweet*; *Sweetman*, *Sweatman*; *Sweeting*. Cf. *Willelmus Swet*, *Inquis. p. Mortem*.

303. **Swīthūn** (common); mod. *Swithin*.

304. **Thegn**, a thane; also found as a name, and as an element in compound names; M.E. *Theyn*; mod. *Thain*, *Thaine*, *Thane*.

305. **Thēod-**. A large number of names begin with this prefix, the commonest being *Thēodrēd*. A pet-name for any such name would be *Thēoda*. Hence M.E. *Thede*, *Theede*; mod. *Theed*.

306. **Thēodbeald**, **Thēobaldus**; mod. *Theobald*.

307. **Thorold**, for *Thorweald, a by-form of Thurweald; M.E. Thorald, Thorold; mod. Thorold. See **Thurweald**.
308. **Thurbeorht**; Latinised as Turbertus; also Torbert; M.E. Turbert (common in Domesday Book, and found in 1273); mod. Turbett, Turbot.
309. **Thurcytel**; also, in the Norse contracted form, Thurkell, Thurkill; (Icelandic Thorketill, Thorkell); mod. Thirkettle, Thirkettle, Thurkill, Thirkell.
310. **Thurgār**; mod. Thurgar, Thurgur. Cf. Thurgarton, Notts.
311. **Thurgōd**; mod. Thurgood, Thirgood; and (corruptly) Thoroughgood.
312. **Thurmund**; mod. Thurmond, Thurman; also Thormond, Thorman (as Thur and Thor are equivalent).
313. **Thurstān**; mod. Thurstan, Thurston. Cf. Willelmus filius Thurstani, Inquis. p. Mortem.
314. **Thurweald, Thurwold**; hence *Thorweald. M.E. Thorald, Thorold; mod. Thorald, Thorold. Later forms of Thurweald are Turald, Tuold; mod. Turrell, Turrill.
315. **Tidda**; pet-name for names beginning with Tid-; mod. Tidd.
316. **Tigga**; M.E. Tigge; hence mod. Tiggs, as in "Martin Chuzzlewit." (Distinct, I think, from Tegg.)
317. **Tilli**; hence, as a patronymic, Tilling; mod. Tilling. (Bardsley refers it to Matilda, whence he also derives Till and Tillson; but Tilling is a native form.)
318. **Tōca** (five examples; probably from Norse); mod. Took, Tooke.
319. **Tōfig** (eleven examples); also Tōui, Tōvi; M.E. Tovi; mod. Toovey, Tovey. (The *o* was obviously long.)
320. **Tryggr**, true; a Norse word; well seen in Tryggvason, i.e. son of Tryggvi; M.E. Trig (1273); mod. Trigg; whence Triggs.
321. **Tucca** (two examples); mod. Tuck.
322. ***Twīna**, or ***Twȳna**, was perhaps an A.S. name; cf. Twine-ham, Sussex. The patronymic form is Twining, as in Twining, Glouc. Mod. Twine, Twineham, Twynam, Twinem; also Twining.
323. **Ūhtred** (common); for Wihtrēd(?); M.E. Ughtred; mod. Oughtred, Outred. Cf. Johannes Ughtred, Inquis. p. Mortem.
324. ***Unwine**. (Not given as a name, but the A.S. and M.E. *unwine* mean 'enemy'; it is therefore descriptive.) Mod. Unwin.
325. **Wada** (common); mod. Wade; whence Wadeson.

326. **Wær.** As the mod. E. *ware* (in *a-ware*) answers to A.S. *wær*, perhaps Waresley in Worc., spelt *Wæres-leah* in Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 502, was due to this A.S. adjective (gen. masc. *wæres*). Hence might be formed the patronymic *Wæring*, which perhaps appears in the old name of Warwick, viz. *Wærinewic*; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 317, 366. I offer this guess as the possible original of *Waring*, which Bardsley confuses with the Norman name *Warin*, though both the original chief vowel and the suffix differ.

327. **Wærmund** (common); M.E. *Wormund*, *Waremund*; mod. *Warman*.

328. **Wætling**, a well-known patronymic; see A.S. Dict. Hence M.E. *Wateling*, mod. *Watling*. (Bardsley derives *Watling* from **Watelin*, an assumed derivative of *Wat* for *Walter*.)

329. **Wealdhere**, also written *Waldere*, *Waltere*; mod. *Walder*. (The form *Walter* is due to Norman influence, from O.H.G. *Walt*.)

330. **Wealh**, a foreigner, a Briton; hence *Wealing*, the son of a foreigner (Sweet, O.E. Texts, p. 489); *Wealinga-ford*, *Wallingford*, Berks. Mod. E. *Walling*; quite distinct from *Wal* (for *Walter*), with which B. confuses it.

331. **Wedd** (two examples); mod. *Wedd*. (Omitted by Bardsley.)

332. **Wegga** (ab. 1063); M.E. *Wegge*; mod. *Wegg*, *Wedge*. (Bardsley derives it from "Wig," and confuses it with *Wigg*.)

333. **Weling**, a patronymic; as in *Welinga-tūn*, *Wellington* (Somersets.); and in *Welling*, Kent; mod. E. *Welling*.

334. **Wendel**, **Wændel**; cf. *Wendles-biri*, *Wændles-cumb*, in Kemble's Index; hence the patronymic *Wendling*, as in *Wendling-burh*, later *Wedling-burh*, and now *Wellingborough* in Northants. Mod. *Wendling*, *Wendlin*; cf. *Wendling* in Norfolk.

335. **Wenna**; also *Wenni*; M.E. *Wenne*; mod. *Wenn*. (Assumed by B. to be a variant of *fen*!) Cf. *Wennington* in Hunts.

336. **Wigga** (common); M.E. *Wigge*; mod. *Wigg*, whence *Wiggs*, *Wigson*.

337. **Wigbeorht** (common); also *Wiberht*, *Wibert*; M.E. *Wibert* (1188); *Wybert*, *Wyberd* (1273); mod. *Wiberd*, *Wybert*.

338. **Wigmær** (four examples); also *Wymer*, *Wimer*; mod. *Wymer*, *Wimer*. Cf. *Radulphus Wymer*, Inquis. p. Mortem.

339. **Wigmund** (common); M.E. *Wymund*, *Wymond*; mod. *Wyman*.

340. **Wihtburh** (five examples, including St. *Wihtburh* of E. Anglia); a female name. Probably the same as *Whitburga*, mentioned in 1560; see Bardsley, s.v. *Whybreu*; and hence perhaps mod. E. *Whybrow*, *Whybreu*.

341. **Wihtmund** (two examples); hence perhaps M.E. Wightman, mod. Wightman. (Confused with M.E. Wigman, i.e. Wyman.) But there may have been an A.S. *Wihtman.

342. **Wilheard** (seven examples); once spelt Willihard, which B. mentions s.v. Willard; mod. Willard.

343. **Wilmær**; mod. Wilmer, Willmer.

344. **Winebeald** (three examples); mod. Winbolt.

345. **Winefrith** (four examples; and a word of three syllables); also written Winifrith; mod. Winnifrith (in the Clergy List, 1901. Not noted by Bardsley). Also mod. Winfrey.

346. **Wulfgār** (common); also Ulgar (Birch); M.E. Wulgar; mod. Woolgar, Woolger; also Ulger.

347. **Wulfgeat** (common); also written Ulfiet, Uluiet, Wlget; mod. Ulyatt, Ulyat. Regularly formed; *w* and *f* drop out; and *geat* becomes *yat*. Hence also Woollett, distinct from Woollard.

348. **Wulfheard** (very common); hence, probably, mod. Woollard. B. quotes only the M.E. Wulward, from A.S. Wulfweard; but Woollard follows more easily from this very common Wulfheard.

349. **Wulfmær** (common); also written Ulmær, Ulmar; M.E. Wulmar, Wolmer; mod. Woolmer, Wollmer, Ulmer, Ulmar.

350. **Wulfric** (common); Latinised as Wulricus (Birch); M.E. Wlfriche, Wolurich; mod. Woolrich, Woolridge.

351. **Wulfsige** (common); also written Wulsi; M.E. Wulsi; mod. Wolsey, Woolsey.

352. **Wulfweard** (common); M.E. Wulward; mod. Woolward (not in B., but in the Clergy List, 1901).

353. **Wulfwine** (common); also written Woluini, and (in Latin) Wolvinus; M.E. Wulfwine, Wulwinus; mod. Woolven, Woollven, Wolven.

354. **Wynna** (cf. numerous names beginning with Wyn-); mod. Wynn, Wynne, Winn, Winne. (B. derives it from Welsh Gwynn or Gwinn, because he finds "Gwyn or Hwyn" in 1513; but I find Wynneson as early as 1330, in the Records of Nottingham, ed. Stevenson, i. 116.)

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III.—ON THE KINSHIP OF OLD FRISIAN TO
 OLD ENGLISH BALLAD-VERSE. By JOHN
 STEPHEN WESTLAKE.

[Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society on June 7, 1907.]

THERE are in Modern English certain types of verse of an extreme antiquity. Foremost amongst these is our common measure, or hymn metre. This hymn metre, dignified as it is by Church usage, has a relative who, though less respected and reputed, can claim an even more direct descent than her highly-placed kinswoman. I refer to the nursery song or lullaby. The nursery lullaby preserves to us the essentials of an old metric system whose origin is lost to us among the grey mists of the remotest ages. Let us take a couple of examples. The first is—

Sing a sóng of síxpénce, a pócket fúll of rýe,
 Fóur and twénty bláckbirds, báked in a píe.
 Whén the píe was ópéned the bírds begán to síng;
 Wás'n't thát a dáinty dish to sét befóre a kíng?

And further—

The Kíng was in his cóuntíng-hóuse, cóuntíng óut his m'ón-éy,¹
 The Queén was in the párlóur, eátíng bréád and h'ón-éy,
 The máid was in the gárdèn, hángíng óut the cl'óthes,
 Whén in cáme a bláckbird and pécked òff her nóse.

Yet still further, one quoted by Sievers—

Góosey, góosey gándèr,
 Whére dò you wándèr?
 Upstairs and d'ównstairs
 And in my lády's chámbèr.
 Thére I fóund an óld mán,
 Who wóuldn't sáy his prafér;
 I tóok him by the léft lèg,
 And thréw him d'ówn the stáirs.

¹ The sign • means that the musical height of the immediately forerunning syllable is continued on to the immediately following foot. The sign ' means a full-stress. The sign ' means a half-stress.

Further, with inner rime—

Jäck and Jíll went ùp the hill
 To fêch a páil of wátèr ;
 Jáck fell dòwn and bròke his crówn,
 And Jíll came tùmbling áftèr.

The ancient verse on which these chants are modelled falls into six types. As not all nursery rimes are known to the writer, he will, to show the matter more clearly, have to compose one example.

A. The first is the falling type—

The Kíng was in his cóunting-hóuse,
 The Queén was in the párlour,

where the heavier stresses each precedes a weaker stress.

B. The second is the rising type—

Jäck and Jíll went ùp the hill,

where the heavier stresses each *follow* a weaker stress.

C. Thirdly, the first rising falling type, where the two principal stresses are immediately juxtaposed in the middle between the weaker stresses. If we take the following rhythmic sentence—

'If he cáme yésterdày, wáking ùp the roád,

the first half, "If he cáme yésterday," belongs here.

AC. Fourthly, the second rising falling type with the two chief stresses arranged together between the two lesser stresses, but with an unstressed period between themselves, immediate juxtaposition of the chief stresses being thus avoided. Examples—

Sing a sóng of síxpènce.
 Whèn the pié was ópèned.
 And in my lády's chámber.

D. Fifthly, we come to the unevenly balanced verse type. If we split any of the forerunning models into equal halves as regards stresses one finds one full-stress and one half-stress on either side of this division. The line is *balanced*. Now in this fifth type the two full-stresses are placed together and precede the two weaker stresses, which are also placed together. A possible example is—

Fóur and twénty bláckbirds.

Now, however easy an unbalanced verse like this may be in *spoken* verse, in sung verse it strains against the rhythm, and is ugly. Hence the tendency to lower one of the leading full-stresses to a weaker stress grade and to raise one of the following pair of weaker stresses to a higher grade than it would otherwise naturally have. Thus the verse becomes either an A, C, or AC type. The usual procedure is that the stronger of the two heavy stresses remains strong, but the weaker becomes a minor stress; at the same time the stronger of the two lower stresses is raised to a heavy stress. Thus,

Fóur and twénty bláckbirds

becomes—

Fóur and twénty bláckbirds.

The line thus recovers its balance and fits in with the other verses of the song.

E. The sixth type is a balanced type. It is the falling rising-verse. In it the two minor stresses are together in the middle of the line and separate the two heavy stresses which happen at the very beginning and end of the verse. An example is—

Jáck fell dówn, and bròke his crónn.

Let us make up such a line as—

Hénry, òf our `England, kíng,

and we have another such.

But the one great characteristic of this verse is that it always ends in a stress. The stress may be one of the two lesser ones, but still it must be a rhythmically marked stress far above the intervening sinkings. There are no feminine lines in old verse of this type.

Another marked characteristic is the frequent immediate following of the lesser stress on the heavier stress—

When ín càme a bláckbird.

Whére dò you wándèr.

At the end of verses of falling types this occurs in by far the greater number of verses.

In the first examples of this type here given we find added after the four-stress or four-beat lines just given, a three-beat verse to

make up a full line. The stress arrangement of the three-beat verse in our English nursery songs seems to be two heavy stresses divided by one minor stress, thus—

And pécked ôff her nôse,
Hánging òut the clóthes.

Besides this a form is found in older songs with one full-stress between two half-stresses, and possibly we ought to admit two full-stresses and a following half-stress, which form, like other unbalanced forms, would gradually become excluded by the attempt to balance. We must after this short explanatory opening proceed to our main theme, the kinship of Frisian verse with the native English ballad.

In Old Frisian there are but four considerable masses of verse, of which we shall consider those found in the Forged Privileges of Charles the Great and those in the Rudolph's Book. These verses do not primarily represent any poem; they seem to be agglomerations of verse from various sources, remade and put together to suit legalists. Yet these fragments are of the greatest importance, for they are amongst the only examples of the real principles of versification in the language of that people which was of all the nearest akin to the English. It is but natural, therefore, for an Englishman to take an interest in them, and to seek out what in them really belongs to the national tradition, in the hope of uniting its principles with those of the earliest examples of really popular ballad metre in English.

The authenticity of the stories and traditions told in these late Old Frisian Privileges of Charles the Great is militated against by the following facts:—

- (1) The grants in question are not witnessed to by any archives.
- (2) The privileges themselves are no privileges, but late mediæval feudal encroachments on the ancient Frisian constitutional laws.

This has been made clear by Richtofen, and, later on, by Philipp Heck. The latter has shown that, in all probability, they were written by the Crusade preachers in the hope of attracting a Frisian following.¹ The army therein described is not to be led

¹ In the year 1247. According to the above authorities the Latin version was then compiled. It is in the form of a grant. The Frisian version is in the form of a poem to commemorate that grant. The old Low German version claims to have been translated from existing Frisian folk-songs. This shows that probably the Crusade preachers had tried to distort an old song.

by the native chosen magistrate as laid down in the laws; it is one headed by the feudal Frankish knight. For the Crusader knew no other means of leadership. The Frisians are called, in the story, by the Emperor, out of their own boundaries to wage war in foreign parts. And if there could be anything utterly opposed to all Old Frisian tradition it is this. It was expressly stipulated as the chief Frisian privilege that the nation should always remain within its native boundaries by the sea-shore, to fight the 'heathen' Norseman. For it was the heathen Norseman who was the traditional foe of the Frisian, from whom the Frisian was 'rescued' by Christianity and the 'Southern emperors.' This hatred is shown in *Bēowulf* by Finnsburh and the defeat of Hygelāc (520 A.D.). Yet in this story in the first half it is the Saxons whom the Frisians fight, and they go out of their lawful boundaries to do so at the imperial behest. This is the burden of the first song, in which they conquer the Saxon leader Liudengerus and lead him bound to the court of Charlemagne. In the second they are called on by the Emperor to fight the Roman people, who had maltreated the Pope Leo, and by themselves defeat the Roman army and take Rome. There are two versions of this story extant, an older one in the Magnus² Kere, a younger one, or a false one, in our story. In the older one the Frisians are led bound, naked, willy-nilly, against Rome by the Emperor; there they capture it, and are rewarded for their doughtiness by the granting of the ancient laws and the privileges of remaining within their ancient boundaries, to fight the older heathen of the north foe. In this earlier form of legend we have perhaps the reminiscence, firstly of the Frisian subjugation by the Empire; secondly, on becoming Christian, after their subjugation, of their being granted exemption from military service outside their own boundaries, in order that they may shield the coastlands against the Norseman. Herein also occur curiously enough the grant of the later knightly privileges to a certain extent. Our forged version differs profoundly, inasmuch as it makes them

¹ Cf. the lines in the Rudolph's Book—

Dat ý mit wilkèr | ál dèrtœ cômèn ||
 Dat ý dine aýndom nómèn ||
 Íth dis Nòrsche Kóninghes hând | ál sònder bánd ||

² Magnus, Duke of Saxony, 1059-1106; a great Lord in Friesland. The saga is older than the thirteenth century, since it in no wise shows the influence of the Crusade Forgery. Duke Magnus was present at the grant of ancient laws before Henry IV (1085).

come willingly to Rome—a sop to Frisian susceptibilities—and secondly, inasmuch as no mention of their coastguard duties is made, for obvious reasons; and they are rewarded with knightly privileges which were really the extinction of their ancient liberties, although it is true an exemption from the dominion of foreign lords is granted them. The fact that the Frisians were really doughty defenders of Christendom against the Danes is shown by the records of their help to Alfred in his wars against the Danes, and their fighting side by side with the English in the celebrated battle off Southampton Water, 897. It has come about that every fragment of authenticity has been denied the verses in question. Of the three versions, Old Frisian, Latin, and Middle Low German, Richtofen has declared the Old Frisian to have been a translation from the Latin. The Old Saxon, in a doubtful addendum, declares itself to have been copied from Old Frisian songs. Heck places them as originating in the thirteenth century. What neither of these authorities has gone into is the structure of the versification. It is composed of lines varying from twenty syllables to half-a-dozen. Yet it is rimed; hence they dismiss it as rimed prose. It may be shortly shown that, whatever the truth be, this is not true.

The metre falls into two quite inconsistent schemes of versification—

- (1) The shorter lines.
- (2) The longer lines.

Of the shorter lines, the vast majority show themselves to be, on analysis, four-beat lines of the type met with in Otfried, Layamon, and the Ballads of the Old English Chronicle. The 'long' lines and other confusing elements spring from three things working together—

- (1) The 'remodelling'¹ into attempts at strophic forms due to the M.H.G. influence.
- (2) A desire to *write* feminine rime, owing to Romance and later M.H.G. influence.
- (3) The loss of final *e*, which enabled many lines *spoken* as masculine to be written feminine.

Let us now scan the verses line by line.

¹ Important linguistic questions are bound up with any attempt to scan the "Forged Privileges." The dialect is mixed, and is not that of the Hunsigo MSS. in which it occurs. Although it must have been written between 1248 and 1323 (or better 1300) it is probable that final mute *e* was not pronounced in certain lines, whether owing to difference of dialect or age.

Our first line is—

Thit wás to thère stúndè,

a single four-beat A line.

The next reads—

Tha thi kéning kerl riùchta bigúndè.

The line is obviously capable of being turned into a double line.

The third line—

Tha wastér ande thère Sáxinna mèr(i)k.

The *i* of the last word is inorganic, but clearly shows that the later transcriber wished by fair means or foul to establish a rhythm that the line naturally does not have, either according to the metre or according to the laws of the language.

The accentuation seems strained, and one feels inclined to adopt the theory that the word 'Saxinna' was introduced by the later forger. Thus emended the line would run—

Tha wáster ànde thère m'ěrik (mėrk).

The fourth line, riming with this, is—

Liudingėrus en hėra fėle stėrik.

Liudingerus is an obvious Latinism. The native Frisian form would be Liudgēr or Liudgār, according as the influence of the uninflected or inflected cases prevailed. 'Sterik' has, of course, only an inorganic *i*. It seems obvious that it was so written to get an unusual rhythm by a scribe who wished to modify the ancient metre. Our verse must have a dissyllabic word for Liudingerus; we can then read—

Liúdgėr en hėra fėle stėrik.

Our next line is—

Hi welde him alsa waldlike.

The scansion of this line depends on how one reads the word 'waldlike.' If one reads it 'wáldlikè,' with the mid-syllable unstressed, then the line is a plain A line—

Hi wėlde hım alsa wáldlikè;

but if one reads it as 'wáldlikè,' then the line is a D line, and we must delete 'alsa,' as we would otherwise have four syllables within the sinking. We must then read—

Hi wėlde him wáldlikè.

The final *e* might also be mute, but the form then chosen would be 'waldelik(e).' The question seems impossible of decision, for the whole matter turns upon the reading of the rime 'rike' in the next line. The next passage is—

Thágethan thèr hi fon ríuchtà || scóldè beháldà | tha kéning
kèrlís kairska rík(e).

This line looks like a stanza of a period of the language much later than the original simple four-beat verses, when the final *e* had become mute. Its rime with the first line seems to be only an eye-rime. It answers to the following Latin passage: "quod dum Leodingarus dux Saxoniae ducatum suum in iure feudali teneret, ab imperio, nec hoc recognoscere curaret et tributum de suo ducatu a caesare Augusta statutum, quod a praedecessoribus nostris exhiberi nobis dare contemneret . . . et se in praedudicium et gravamen imperii pro rege gereret regemque Saxoniae vocari praeciperet."

The next line—

Ac wélde hì má duàn—

would be perfectly acceptable. The only thing against it is that it would cause three lines to rime together.

The next couplet is absolutely perfect—

Hi wélde tha stérka Fr'ēsàn
Ûnder sinne tègetha tián.

The first line is an AC line, with heavy full-stress on *Frēs-* and half-stress on *-dn*. These two final stresses assonate and rime with the two final stresses of the sister line, 't'ég(etha)' and 'tián.' We might therefore read the second line even better as an AC line—

Ûnder sinne tégetha tián

with the English Frese final form $\acute{X} X \grave{X}$. We then get absolutely perfect parallelism in rime and assonance. This couplet effectually demonstrates that we have here the ancient Germanic sung rhythm with heavy half-stress on the final syllable of falling lines, even though such syllable be in ordinary speech weak. They thus show that the ancient rhythm is at the basis of our verse, and that the other elements in it are later.

The next lines are two double verses, such as are found in the Willibrord song and in some Old English Ballad poems—

Hl bibádt || efter álle sine ríké

(of 3 + 4 beats)

That ma hine héta scóldè || kéning wáldelikè.

This latter is 4 + 4 beats. The *e* in the second syllable of 'waldelike' usually occurs where one would suspect the final *e* in the fourth syllable to be mute. The fact of the cæsura coming after the third beat is an argument in favour of these lines, and the other later ones, being moulded from an existing Frisian ballad metre and not being merely remodelled on the High German model. The form 'waldelike' may be as in later forms with mute *e*, as also 'rik(e).'¹

Our next couplet returns to the general ancient rhythm—

Tha thi kéning kèrl thit ùnderst'òd (an E line)

Tórning was him hirùmbe sîn m'òd.

But the next couplet can be read as a single four-beat simple line and a double line as in the Old Frisian St. Willibrord verses given later on and some O.E. poems. The lines are—

Hi lét hit tha Frésum tha kúndig duàn (AC line)

Hodir hla thene nía kéning || mith him mith stríde wèlde bistán ;

but the first line can also be read as a double line with a different time—

Hi l'èt hit tha Fr'ēsùm || th'ā k'úndig du'ān

Hoder hla thene nía k'ēning || mith him mith str'íde wèlde bist'ān.

In this case we get a much better series of rhythms. Not only does the first double line of 4 + 3 beats assonate and rime in *both* halves ('Frēsùm,' 'kēning') with the second double line, but the first half of the first double line assonates with itself across the inner pause, "hi l'èt hit | tha Fr'ēsùm ||." We then have another second half of a Nibelungen strophé.

But the next couplet is undoubtedly of the Willibrord structure—

Tha Frésen gáder ek'ōmín (A lines)

Úppa thit bódiskip || se ànne g'òdred gen'ōmín.

The fact that 'ek'ōmín' rimes with 'gen'ōmín' (short vowels being lengthened in open syllables) shows that these lines were written later than the latter half of the thirteenth century. The

¹ It would then read—

Hl bibádt || èfter áll(e) sine(e) rík(e)

That ma hine héta scóldè || kéning wáldelike(e).

form 'Frēsen' is itself late, and later than our normal form 'Fresa' in this poem. This is further evidence of older and later language existing side by side in our medley.

We then return again to the old forms with the following couplet, and the old form 'Fresa' meets us again—

Thi Fr'ēsa fēle stérkà (A)

Hi forim tha and tha Saxinna merka.

Obviously, unless we are to admit a 'long' line, we must undertake revision, and the simplest part to revise is the 'Saxinna merka,' which we have mentioned before as being in other place equally a disturber of the metre. As before, we simply remove 'Saxinna,' and also the syllable 'im,' getting—

Hi f'ōr tha and tha mérkà (an A line).

Two facts here become obvious, firstly that the first line is in the singular, "Thi Fr'ēsa fēle stérkà," and this is the old four-beat line, secondly that the longer line with the word 'Saxinna' in it, is in the plural, and does not concord. Yet a more remarkable fact is that the first pronoun of the second line is in the singular, but the verb is in the plural. It is clearly that the word 'Saxinna' was thrown in and the verb changed in slovenly haste to make a 'Willibrord' strophé, as later shown. The definite 'stérkà' seems here ungrammatical.

The next couplet also needs emendation, unless we are to accept trisyllabic sinking—

Tha sassiska heran thit fornomin

Uppa tha felda ia [Fresum toinis] komin.

The word 'sassiska' can be left out on three grounds—

- (1) It is a Low German word [-ss for x].
- (2) It refers to the Saxons.
- (3) It encumbers the metre.

In the next line the words 'Frēsum toinis' can be omitted as a mere needless parenthetical gloss. We thus get the lines—

Tha héràn thit forn'ōmìn (A)

Uppa tha félda ia k'ōmìn (AC).

It would seem that the forger must have revised these lines (and perhaps the other unscannable ones) on the model of the Nibelungen strophé, for they can be read—

Tha sássiska héràn || thit forn'ōmìn

Uppà tha féldà || ia Fr'ēsum toinis k'ōmìn.

But other lines with the *cæsura* after the *third* beat in the dou^{ble} line, at any rate, suggest that he has perhaps used another ~~nd~~ pre-existent Frisian model.

The next couplet is one of great interest. It runs—

Tha fúgtinse alsa grimlike
Ofslogma tha Saxum bethe thene erma and thene rika.

Now the first line can be obviously read off as a four-beat line—

Tha fúgtinse àlsa grímlikè (A).

But the second line, by its very want of rime, forces us to a thoroughgoing emendation. The 'ríkà' does not rime with the 'líkè.' Modern Frisian dialects show us that final *a* and *e* did not rime even in the later periods (in spite of some occasional MS. confusion), for generally *a* is kept, *e* has vanished. MS. Scaliger (the other of the two MSS.) has 'grimlika' (where O.Fris. Grammar demands 'grimlike').

This drives us to the following emendation. To get rid of the *a* we must have an 'indefinite' ending in *e*. This can here be but the nom. plur. of the adjective without forerunning demonstrative, 'rike.' At once we must drop both 'thene' in both cases. This leaves us with—

Ofslogma tha Saxum bethe erme and rike.

Now it is interesting to note that this line with the forerunning can be read as the final half of a Nibelungen strophé on the English-Frese model with the *cæsura* after the third beat—

Thá fúgtinsè || àlsa grímlíkè
Ofsl'õgmà tha Sàxùm || bêth' érmè and ríkè
(or b'èthe érme and ríkè).

Probably it had originally been so remodelled by the forger, and this led to the scribal writing of final *a* as a sign of the actual pronunciation of the vowel (since *e* could in later Frisian become mute) and the introduction of the 'thene' later on, in imitation of the Kudrun strophé with its final half-line of six (five and ending) beats. Perhaps 'tha Saxum' was an intrusion of the forger's here as well as elsewhere, whose introduction brought about the remoulding of the lines, and 'bethe' was a piece of padding used to make the line into a final Nibelungen strophé, the original reading—

Tha fúgtinse àlsa grímlíkè
Ofsl'õgma érme and ríkè (AC),

which was remodelled later into a Nibelungen strophé—

Thá fúgtinsè || àlsa grímlíkè
Ofslógmà tha Sáxùm || bethe 'èrmè and r'íkè,

and finally into a Kudrun strophé—

Thá fúgtinsè || àlsa grímlíkè
Ofslógmà tha Sáxùm || bethe thène érma and thène ríkè.

If the line, and all these lines, were changed to let in the word 'Saxum,' it would seem as though the forger charged with this duty had taken an old folk-song in four-beat ballad couplets and transformed it into a naturalised seven-beat or 'Nibelungen' metre in order to make an equivalent to the Latin version.

The next couplet shows an analogous but not exactly similar history. It runs—

Thag to tha lesta
Fengma of tha Saxum heran and ridderan tha besta.

The first line is a perfect model of the A type—

Thág tò tha léstà.

The last line as it stands could only be read as the final line of a Kudrun strophé. It can be brought into line by the omission of 'of tha Saxum' and 'and ridderan,' reading as an AC—

Fèngma héran tha béstà.

It is perhaps better read as a long final line (when 'ridderan' would be an insertion), and thus we would have a 'Willibrord' stanza, second line forged in imitation of a Kudrun final line. The leading factor in this case would be an attempt to get feminine rime, although the first line is of the old Germanic masculine type.

The next following couplet is perfect as a simple four-beat couplet, and needs no revision—

Hia bándma àlsa sérè (A)
Mith 'ène st'ërka mérè (AC).

The remark that this shows certainly thirteenth-century creation, inasmuch as it rimes 'mère' (originally short + short) with 's'ère' (long + short)—pointing to short vowels in open syllables having been lengthened—is beside the point, such rimes occurring in Old English. Certainly a folk-song would have passed through all these changes in course of handing down, so that this critique is not very damaging.

The next couplet is—

Ia láttensè tha wáldelk(e)
Alder hía thène kéning kèrl | urnómin ànd(e) sin(e) rík(e).

The second line does not scan on any scheme unless we read both as a stanza of a later period with mute *e* riming 'wáldelk(e)' with 'sin(e) rík(e).'

The next line is a 'Willibrord' strophé—

Thá hì thèt forn'óm (E)
That him thi Sáxinna hérà | álle búnnden k'óm,

unless we choose to omit 'Saxinna' on account of the suspicious 'Saxon.'

The next couplet—

Wél was him ande s'íne heì (A)
Hi bad tha stulta Fresa gödnedei—

has a very lame second line, one foot too long for a four-beat verse, unless we assume either—

- (1) trisyllabic anacrusis,
- (2) omission of 'Frësa,'
- (3) or, finally, a 'long' line.

The next couplet is—

Hi n'ómse thá ande pálas s'ín.
Hi scánetum b'ēthe m'ēd(e) ande w'ín (B).

The next couplet must be read as a final Nibelungen half-strophé of the English-Frese type—

Tha Fr'ësan f'örin | 'ütes kóninges h'öwè
Tò iher lónde iha wéder k'óm | mith h'állika lówè.¹

This last line shows how roughly the forgery was cast together—we should have a plural verb 'k'ómin,' but we have a singular; the metre caused the singular to survive.

The final couplet can be got to scan with a far less emendation. It runs—

Aldus hebth i urstēn
Hū ta sterka Frësa his (= hit is) wíthene Sáxa thá forg'ēn.

¹ Compare the lines in the Rudolph's Book—

Tha Fr'ësen n'ómen órlóf
Ende f'ören àn hiara ain hòf
En'de thi káyser wèther ti Róm(e) | in syn ain lánd
Thi léidà thèt k'óm ti hánd.

Cf. the Willibrord song for such mixed strophés.

These last lines throw a clear glimpse into the composition of our poem. 'His withene Saxa' is a clear gloss; without it both lines scan as a four-beat couplet—

Aldus hébth i urst'én (B).

Hū ta st'ērka Fr'ēsa th'ā forg'én (A or D).

'His,' of course, means 'hit is,' and serves to introduce the gloss. But with the gloss the line scans as a Willibrord stanza—

Åldus hébth i urst'én

Hū ta stérka Frésà, his withene Sáxa thà forg'én.

With this gloss inserted we have a faultless Willibrord stanza. The couplet even runs better thus. But the insertion is obvious, for there is within double cæsura and the second one even stronger than the first inside the second line.

We thus have a poem which, with a greater number of the lines in simple four-beat couplets, has yet many transformed into stanzas and strophés on different models.

These fall into—

- (1) Final half-stanzas of the Nibelungen Lied type.
- (2) Couplets, or rather final half-stanzas, of the type found in the Willibrord song.¹

The Willibrord type will explain most of our unwieldy lines, or rather the attempt to transform certain originally simple four-beat couplets into stanzas of that form. For instance, the first couplet could be read in this way—

Thit wás to thère stúndè

Thà thi kéning kèrl | riúchtà bigúndè ;

the second line being of 3 + 4 beats on the English-Frese type. The second line might be read as it stands, either as an attempt at a Nibelungen couplet on the English-Frese type, which would be rather strained, the first half-line having to be 'Thá wástèr,' or as an attempt to transform it into a Willibrord stanza, the second line reading—

Liúdingérus | 'én h'èra fele stérík ;

but this would be obviously a later twisting and would read strained.

¹ Characteristic of many of these rimed legal effusions in the Rudolph's Book, with their snatches of popular ballad-song, is that in these the same type of mixed four- and seven-beat verse is met with as in the Old English Chronicle poems of 1011, 1067, and 1057, with the same tendency to end tirades with a three-beat tag. The poems of 1011 and 1067 will be given in an appendix.

On this plan we can guess why the scribe wrote 'merik, sterik'; it was an attempt to forge two simple, already existing, four-beat verses into half a Nibelungen strophé—forgetful of the inaccuracy of the measure, since we should not have had a long syllable then to carry the full stress.

Thá wástèr | ande thèrè Sáxinna mérík
Liùding'èrùs | en héra fèlè stérik;

and so the next line—

Hí wèldehím | álsa wáldlíkè;

and so can a large number of other verses be scanned, e.g.—

Thá fúgtinsè | álsa grímlíkè.

Nay, one could read the following line thus—

Hí bàd tha stúltà | "Fr'èsa, g'òdne dèi!"

It looks strongly as if the forger had endeavoured to transform as many verses as he could of an older ballad in four-beat couplets into stanzas of the Willibrord, Nibelungen, or Kudrun type, as suiting more his fashionable ideas of what properly chivalric poetry ought to be, in order to build a Frisian equivalent to the Latin version.

Immediately after this part of the forgery follows that on the exploits of Magnús and the Frisians in the attack on Rome. The lines in this are inordinately long and irregular, although the types above-mentioned prevail in them. For the present we must abandon attempts to explain their chaos, if only on account of their falsity.

I have referred to the discrepancy of the account contained here and that in the Magnus Kere. But in the Magnus Kere the account seems to have some faint echo of other ancient tradition, and we have certainly one couplet in the ancient metre, namely—

Dàe dat bréf réed wàs (C).

Hoe fróe dat mànich Fr'èsa wàs (A or AC).

Here we find assonance of both final stresses 'réed wàs,' 'Frésa wàs,' and rime on the fully preserved final half-beats.

To complete our short review of Old Frisian verse we must note the remains of a popular ballad in Old Frisian, which is the more important that we have in it that combination in song and ballad verse of a long four-beat verse with a shorter verse of three beats, or with a very short four-beat line.

This verse is, of course, well known from the Nibelungen and Kudrun Lieder, but the Middle High German suffer inasmuch as they have modelled the originally Germanic verse on Romance or Latin lines, and the four-beat verse regularly precedes the three-beat verse, or to put it in later language the cæsura comes after the fourth beat. It is different with the Old Frisian verse, which allows the cæsura to come after the third beat, or allows the short verse to precede. And in this structure the Old Frisian verse again answers to the structure of practically the only Old English verse of the kind—the ballads found in the chronicle—cf. that under the year 1057, on the death of Eadward (some other earlier ballads are also in this strophic form)—

Hèr com Éadward A'ēþ·ēling || to Énglalandè,
Sé waes Eádwardès || br'ōðors'ūn·ū kýngès.
Eádmund | cing ||, 'īrens'īd wàes gecl'yp'ōd
Fòr his snéllsc'īp'ē;¹

with a final tag line to the tirade. Such lines occur throughout, in strophic structure, e.g.:

Wála þæt waes hr'ēowlic sið || and héarmlic
éallre þissere þ'ēod'ē || þæt h'ē swa r'āð·ē,
etc.

Answering to this strophic structure there occur the following lines along with others in the introduction to the West Lauwers Laws:—

Verse I.

1. Dáe sinte Willibròrd | dat lánd bekéerdè.
2. Fr'ēsen hý dat léerdè.
3. Datse cápadèn mit gúedè.
4. Dátse dy kóningh kaèrl | noèm in sýnre huédè.
5. Hoèse da Nórdman ontcoémè.
6. Dèerom flégen hla | tò da h'èrem fan Róémè.

Verse II.

1. Deeréfter déersè | dae héerfèrd bysuóerèn.
2. Ende mit him toe Róeme fóren.
3. Ende da b'ūrich to stoérdèn.
4. Dae wéren hýa des kóninghès | héranàeten wórdèn.

¹ Cf. the two last lines of "Goósey, Goósey Gándèr"—

Thére I found an óld mán | who wóuldn't sáy his pray'rs;
I toók him b'y the léft lèg | and thréw him d'own the staírs.

Cf. the poems on St. Aelfhæh, 1011, with four seven-beat verses ended by a four-beat couplet, and the poem of 1067 in a like structure.

Here the original verses evidently break off, for a complete change not only in structure but in pronunciation and rhythm comes in. Hitherto the structure has been as follows:—

Line 1, a double line of 4 + 3 stresses riming with l. 2, a single line of 4 stresses.

Line 3, a single line of 4 stresses riming with l. 4, a double line of 3 + 4 stresses, possibly 4 + 4 stresses, the first four-beat line thus being far weaker than the second.

Line 5, a four-stress line, riming with l. 6, a double line of 3 + 4 stresses.

The same is exactly true of stanza ii up to the fourth line, even to the fact (which is also possible in stanza i) that double-line 4 is of 4 + 4 stresses. As it is our only 4 + 4 line one might be inclined to allow trisyllabic anacrusis.

After this, certain alterations in verse structure and language set in.¹ The most important are—

- (1) That mute *ρ* can be dropped in pronunciation although written.
- (2) That the final half-stress is artificially maintained.
- (3) The regular strophic structure ceases, and we find the same irregular mingling of four- and seven-beat verses as in the Rudolph's Book.

The next line seems to belong to the original strophe ii, for two reasons—

- (1) It does not rime with the immediately following line, nor indeed with any other.
- (2) It is regular in its structure and writing.

It is—

Dàse da búrich wónnèn.

I give the after following lines with scansion for the sake of comparison; it must be noted they deal with legal subjects, get more and more irregular, and finally tail off into prose.

The first line begins—

Da wèrense búcherèn to Rcéem.

This line is interesting. It in so far follows the old custom

¹ Although the earliest MSS. are of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Professor Siebs, on account of their being in all MSS., sets them down as being in the original. This would mean that in West-Frisian of about 1250 the final *ρ* was either mute or could be elided at will in verse, as our lines show.

that the final *e* is not written, since it is not used here as a final half-stress in a popular ballad.

The next line is a double line—

D'ā c'āmensè | mit riúchta òrdel to fríd'ōm(e).

One sees from scansion and rime that the final *e*, though written, was not pronounced, contrary to the usage of the stanzas before, where it seems only written either to bear a half-stress or to fill out a sinking to required length.

Next line,

Wānt hit een áld riúcht wās,

is a simple half four-beat verse, and brings out the final half-stress most clearly.

The next line is a double verse of 4 + 3 beats—

Dāt dy mán frý wās | in álle lándèn.

The first half-line again shows the strong final half-stress clearly.

If one wishes rime throughout, it is possible to transfer the second half-line on to the following line, which would then become a double line of 3 + 4 beats. This line is—

Dèer to Roéme búrgher wās.

Again, the final half-stress is most clearly shown.

Next line again shows a very heavy final half-stress—

Dat een mán ònder da gálga st'ōd.

The next line shows the written yet unpronounced final *e* as opposed to the opening stanzas—

Ènde nóem et him to móed(e).

The next line, again, with written yet unpronounced final *e*—

Dat hi òp da roémscha búrgerschíp tègh(e).

This final ending, with dissyllabic sinking before the final half-stress, is derived from such old English endings in ζ $\acute{\circ}$ \times $\acute{\circ}$ as in the following examples:—

He is nu aefter d'ēaðe h'ēof-ōnlic sānct

and

Hāefdon mén m'ýcēl geswinc.

These lines are very rare.¹

The next line, equally with written yet unspoken ending *-e*, is—

Ènde hyt áller wúrdic lègh(e).

¹ There are some half-dozen examples.

The next line is—

Hi m'ōste wēssa ontbōndèn,

and shows intentional keeping of the final written *e*, in all likelihood, though it is not absolutely needful. Then follows a line of 3 + 4 beats—

Alónt hit toe Roém | wórd(e) ònderfōndèn.

The next line is a simple four-beat line—

Aeck iō hy hím dāt truch gód.

The next and last line in verse is a double line of 4 + 3 beats—

Dāt hya m'ōsten háldà | Iustíni'ānus bód.

It is curious to note that in the latter lines the frequent heavy final stresses used as half-beats point to the fact that the final *-e*, having become inconvenient owing to the loss of its pronunciation in ordinary speech, had to be replaced by heavier words to keep up naturally the proper final half-stress which even in such words as 'ontbōndèn' was actually an archaism and needed such heavy rhythmic swing to carry musical and expiratory stress on to it.

From these examples it is clear the Anglo-Frisian or English-Frese double line of 4 + 3 or 3 + 4 beats—

- (1) Had a variable *cæsura* after either the shorter or the longer line.
- (2) Was a natural native metre and not the product of catalectic tetrameter in Latin.

Anyone who reads Robert of Gloucester, the later Middle English epics, or John Audeley through, must know that in a fairly large number of cases in these writers it is the three-beat verse which precedes the four-beat half-line.¹

This fact seems to do away with the foreign origin of the English and Frisian forms, and to show a native growth. Whether or not such be cognate with the Old Latin saturnian verse of like description is impossible here to say, since the writer's necessary classical scholarship is conspicuous chiefly by its absence. The forms as found in Orm and in Middle High German certainly owed their regular 4 + 3 position to the influence of foreign metres. But in basis they are the same metre with the position of the *cæsura* regulated, which in itself is no great gain.

¹ A scansion of the two shortest ballads in the Old English seven-beat verse will be given in an appendix at the end of this article.

The development of rime as a link, can be seen in Old English. In the earliest sung rhythms it is not a regular factor. In 975 appears for the first time the use of assonance to bind the half-lines into 'tirades' or 'laisses.' The first tirade is of *a* quality, including syllables written *a*, *ae*, *ea*. The second has syllables in *ē*, *ae*. The third has an alternating sequence—

(*a*) *i* quality + ending vowel.

(*b*) *a*, *o* quality + ending vowel.

In the ballad of 1036 rime and assonance reign supreme in couplets. But of the generality of the earlier poems it may be said that they depend on neither rime, and assonance, nor alliteration, but rather on rhythm, for the grouping of couplets and tirades.

The use of 'Nibelungen strophé' has here been simply used somewhat inaccurately to mark any Germanic seven-beat stanza whose last full line has eight beats, in our remarks on the Forged Privileges. We may finally say as to the Forged Privileges that there are two classes of lines—

(1) Four-beat verses of the old Germanic type.

(2) Eight- and seven-beat lines of Germanic type.

It seems clear that the latter are of later insertion, and from this it would follow that the poem could not possibly have been composed in its present form, for that would have presupposed an utter disregard for strophic form most astonishing in chivalric versifiers. Neither can it be said to be 'rimed prose,' for the periods of rhythmic flow are obvious.

Finally, it must be guessed to be an old four-beat rhythm worked over with later insertions, the swelled lines being turned into such seven- or eight-beat lines as were known to the forgers as the usual metre for warlike romances of the proper chivalric sort.¹

These facts are made the clearer by the presence, in the same couplet even, of language of very different period or dialect.

If we wish to show the affinity of this metre as existent in Old Frisian to that found in the Old and Middle English four-beat poems, our clearest way is simply to go back and discuss the Old English metre itself as found in the Chronicle Ballads. For it is rather with that state of the metre than with any other that

¹ The persistent cropping up of singulars where the Forgery demands plurals might hint that the lines were taken out of some folk-song where a single hero was sung of. The troubles of the reign of Henry IV, his captivity under Hanno, his rescue by Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, his subjugation of the Saxons, and his combat with Rudolf (cf. the Rudolph's Book), might have had something to do with the theme. Duke Magnus lived in this reign, 1056-1106.

But the historical development of the language would soon have destroyed this type.

Firstly, length would be lost in the unstressed syllables, and with that would come, not an equivalence of two short syllables for one long one in the sinkings, but the alternative use of one or two syllables there. The stage then reached would be that found in the Old English ballads, namely, that the laws of equivalency only applied to the stresses.

At the same period the elision of unstressed syllables began to take place. Thus one gets to such Old English lines as—

Sw'ílce he w'ære h'eo-rǎ f'æ.dēr.
On þ'i.sǎn l'ife sc'eor-tǎn.

We then find a further change taking place in the Ballad verse, the half-line being itself divided by a pause, slighter, it is true, than that of the pause between the two half-lines of the couplet, yet sufficient to effect a very radical change in the verse.

The change was this. At the end of the couplet single short syllables bearing the length and stress of the whole stressed foot were practically the rule in all falling types (including C and AC). When the inner pause was perceptible enough, or for purposes of rhythmic melody and variation had to be made perceptible enough, then these 'final' verse-forms were also employed in the middle of the half-lines and we get such forms as—

W'íd'ě and s'íd'ě
þa hw'íle þ'ě he l'ýf-óð'ě.

Some lines of this class are quite regular tags—the two lines I have given above are. Sometimes these structures become used as a single metrical variety to force a pause where there was none naturally, and thus vary the rhythmic swing, avoid monotony, and impress the ear with a sense of something to be paid attention to in the line. Examples of this, with the accompanying inner rime, are found in modern English lullabies. Cf.:

Jáck and Jíll went úp the hill.
Jáck fell dówn and bròke his crówn.

When the pause was less remarkable long syllables are used in a quite regular form of verse.

Concurrent with these metrical variations runs the usual loss of

at least one sinking between full-stress and following half-stress. In the final feet of half-verse sinkings are not frequent and must generally never exceed one in number. The same, of course, applies to inner-pause forms.

In the vast majority of cases the old laws of equivalency are maintained and used, e.g.—

Gódwine hŷ-ně þa geléttè,

where such must be admitted to avoid trisyllabic sinkings which can nowhere be strictly shown in Old English.

We have thus reached the old English stage.

The Old English sung tetrameter was divided into six types, which we will enumerate on the Sievers' basis.

- A : falling. On his d'ǣg'ūm hit g'ō dode g'ēornè.
 B : rising. Benām of his únder þeoddan mán.
 C. Aèt þam Wést-éndè.
 AC. Þlssere eáрман þ'ēodè.
 D. His m'āeges 'Eadwàrdès.
 E. Se cýng w'æs swa sw'īðe st'ēarc.

These examples seem all that is necessary to explain the chief types of this rhythm.

The complications that further follow are due to the difference between lines filled with a constant flow of syllables and lines where an inner pause marked and intensified by the rhythm fills out the verse to the required sensible length. Again, this classification is crossed by another where the longer lines mark a quicker tempo than the shorter lines.

Hence we may class the lines as—

- a.* Maximum lines.
β. Ordinary lines: (1) longer ordinary lines.
 (2) shorter ordinary lines.
γ. Minimum lines.

The divisions may be assumed to depend on the length of duration between the two chief stresses and the place held in that time period by the intervening half-stress.

a. Maximum lines are those in which between the full-stress and the half-stress and between the half-stress and the full-stress dissyllabic sinkings are found, and the half-stress extends either over one long syllable or two short ones (its equivalent). The

chief characteristic of this verse is that there is no inner 'pause' or *cæsura* within the half-line. Examples of such are—

A. "Ac Gódwine hīnē þa geléttē," and "þaes c'āseres m'āga to wīfē."

B. "Hine nōlden his éorðlican m'āgas wr'ēcān."

C. Owing to the structure of the C verse no real example of maximum verse is to be found; "sume hī man wīð f'ēo séaldē," a longer ordinary verse, is the nearest. But the real maximum of C is to be found in the AC type, in which there seem to be two mutually exclusive types of AC verse—

(1) With the double sinking between the two chief stresses. There are numerous examples of this—

Hē wearð wīde geond þ'ēodlānd.

(2) With double sinking outside of this—

AC 3. Hē waes on lífe éorðlic cīng.

The only line possibly combining the two is—

Swa swīðe he l'ūf'ōde þa h'ēad'ēor.

D. Maximum lines—

On cl'āenre forh'aēf'ēdnissē.

E. Maximum lines—

E. þa éorðlican b'ān'ān woldon his gemýnd.

E. Ac se úplica wr'ēc'ēnd h'āf'āð his gemýnd.

β. The most frequent lines in Old English are those belonging to the β, the ordinary type. Characteristic of these verses is the possibility of strong inner pause or *cæsura* with 'final feet' preceding them. The first type of ordinary lines is where monosyllabic sinking occurs after full-stress, before half-stress, combined with dissyllabic sinking after half-stress, before full-stress. This is the long type of ordinary line. Examples—

A. On his d'āg-ūm hit g'ōdode g'ēornē.

B. Benām of his únderþ'ēoddan mán.¹

C. "Sume hī man wīð f'ēo séaldē" really belongs here.

AC. Þissere éarman þ'ēodē.

¹ This example is unfortunate from the point of view of grammar, but it is simply used as it stands in MS. for the purpose of exemplifying. The ā of *man* may be a miswrit for *men*.

E. The forms under E can scarcely be classed under any of these headings. The best example is E 2—"īrens'īd wāes gecl'ȳp'ōd"—though this form really belongs to the next series.

Next we come to those shorter types of ordinary length verses where the inner pause has its greatest tendency to occur, coupled with its concomitant the 'final' foot. In fact, the 'inner pause' belongs to shorter and minimum verses. Here, then, a short syllable with half-stress on it before the inner cæsura can also be put for the 'pauseless' long syllable as its equivalent.

β. (2) As shorter ordinary forms may be cited those where—

2 A. The half-stress is separated from the following full-stress by a monosyllabic sinking, and itself is either long naturally or is a final form before an inner pause, and the sinking between full-stress and following half-stress has been lost.

Examples are—

- A. And G'ōd him ge'ūðè.
 B. Only fair example is: Ne wēarð d'r'eorl'icre d'æd.
 C. { And he þ'ār w'ūn'ōd'ē,
 { or Æt þam wésténdè.
 AC. ȳlsne 'aēþ·ēllng Cnút cýng.
 D. (There is no distinction in the ordinary lines.)
 E. Se cýng wāes swa swiðe steárc.¹

2 B. As to second type of shorter ordinary lines, it is where the half-stress is separated from the adjoining full-stresses in each direction by a single stress. This may come under three varieties.

The first variety is where the half-stress is not upon a short stress, and the following syllable can in no way be said to be a compensatory one.

Examples—

- A. S'ōna swà he léndè.
 B. And his gef'ēran h'ē tōdr'āf (æac he sáette bè þam h'ārān).

In the case of the naturally short syllables used as half-stresses, they of course fall under the law of final forms and will be treated there.

The second variety may be called the inverted shorter ordinary line.

¹ Types of 'pause-verse' are given elsewhere.

It occurs where the half-stress is divided from the preceding full-stress by a sinking, but falls on a short syllable, which with the immediately following short syllable (of the same word) was perhaps considered as forming one gradually falling musical half-stress period, immediately preceding the following full-stress or half-stress.

- A. Ged'ōn on þ'is-ōn éardè.
- B. Swilce he wa'ēre h'ēo-rā fa'ēd-ēr.
- C. (Accidentally no examples in O.E. Chronicle.)
- AC. { Þ'ān-ōn ús cōm a'erēst.
- { On þ'is-ān l'ife scéortān.

No strict examples of D and E can be found in the Old English Chronicle ballads that belong to this variety.

These examples correspond to such others as—

- A. Fólces frið bétte.
- AC. Ne wēarð ángecýnnè, etc.

A third series which can schematically be better reckoned here, are where *three* syllables intervene between two full-stresses, and the *first* two of these are short syllables belonging to the same word. Here these two short syllables are perhaps the equivalent of one long one, and therefore both bear the same slowly falling musical height. Examples—

- A. Eárn'ō-dē þæs géornè (or, éarnodè þæs géornè?).
- C. And h'ŷ-nē on háeft séttè. One can also possibly read
"and s'ŷm-ē mísl'icē ofsl'ōh."

γ. Minimum verses or verses without stressless sinkings. This last class we find almost wholly made up of verse forms where either one of the *long* chief-stresses or *long* half-stresses inside the verse is dissolved into two short syllables, or in a great number of cases both chief-stresses and half-stresses are so dissolved. The grounds for this are not far to seek. In a rhythmic sung verse modulated rise and fall were absolutely necessary. Single long full-stresses and half-stresses did not give at their ending point stresslessness enough to make a sufficient rhythmic fall to contrast with the immediately following rhythmic rise. Hence at least one of the stresses, generally a half-stress, was dissolved into two shorts, so that the sinking fell low enough to mark the subsequent rise, though, as it will be later shown, it did not fall to stresslessness. Better still was it that both stresses should be so dissolved.

I give the following examples. It will be remarked that these forms become gradually extinct in the later poems. The half-stress in these verses usually falls upon a noun or like heavy form with a short stem vowel standing in an open syllable—

- A. Ond G'òd·ēs l'äg·ě l'ůf·òdè.
 G'òd·ēs l'äg·ě sm'ēadè.
 G'òd·ēs lōf ráerdè.
 G'òd·ēs n'ām·ān géornè.

All (with others) in our first ballad poem of 959, which like the other earlier poems especially loves such forms; in 975 others in A such as—

M'ün·üc r'ěg·ōl mýrdòn.
 Ar'ýs·ān ùp sý'žōān.

B. Verses of this kind accidentally only seem to be found in the somewhat doubtful poem of 975 ("Her Eadgar gefor")—

Òf·ēr g'ān·ētēs bāž.

C. The only possible verses are doubtful lines of 975—

Geònd f'ěol·ā þ'ēodā.

Under AC, properly speaking, there can be no such cases, since there must be a middle sinking between the two chief stresses. An example of the shortest form of AC is—

þ'ō·ně h'ālgan bīscòp.

There are quite a number of D verses of this kind—

And f'ěl·ā únrihtā.
 S'úm·ě h'ām·ěl'òd'ě.
 S'úm·ě h'aett'òd'ě.

Under E such verses as occur in the doubtful poem of 975 ("Her Eadgar gefor"), e.g.—

Wést seāx'ěn·ā w'īn·ě.

Verses with four long stresses such as could absolutely be Siever's rhetorical types are very rare, and in them the half-stress is generally marked by an independent word, usually heavy. Outside of the poem of 1057 where they are in use as simple three-beat verses in conjunction with fuller verses, somewhat after the fashion of the Nibelungen strophé, there are not half-a-dozen examples,

and outside of the doubtful poem of 975 there are not three.¹ In no poem are they used except in conjunction with fuller verses, and this leads to the assumption that they are but three-beat verses (e.g. "cingès geséon," "Angla réccènt") used in conjunction with longer verses as the beginnings of what became later the verse of Robert of Gloucester, of the Nibelungen Lied, and of the Kudrun Lied.

We must next discuss the 'final' verse forms, i.e. those immediately forerunning a verse end (either the two last feet or the very last).

Taking the 'falling' verse ends, the most frequent form is that of single final half-stress immediately after the full-stress; examples are—

- A. S'ōna swà he léndè.
- C. Aèt þaem Wésténdè.
- AC. On þis-ān l'ife sceórtān.

The next commonest ending of A, C, AC, is that where the final full-stress immediately forerunning the half-stress is divided into two short syllables, so that we have altogether a final height of three syllables, or rather more, counting the pause, falling from a full stress to a half-stress—

- A. (And þa éarme menn hit be-c'eor-ōdān)
þa hwīle þè he l'ēof-ōdè.
- C. Ānd he þ'ār w'ūn-ōdè.
- AC. Hèr cōm Eádward áþ-ēling.

Next come those cases in A, C, AC, where the final half-stress is divided from the forerunning long full-stress by a monosyllabic sinking. These forms are comparatively seldom met with. Examples are—

- A. Aélfēre éaldormān.
- C. Þæt he aélþ'ēodigè.
- AC. Hè waes on l'ife éorðlic cing.

In falling verse we some five times meet with the full-stress dissolved into two short syllables in this position—

- He is nū aeftor d'ēaðe h'ēof-ōnlic sānct.
- Hàfdon mén m'ýc-ēl geswinc.

¹ This is exclusive of such 'pause-verse' as—

- Twá gèar | libbān·
- þa'ēr mán | óft 'āer·
- Wáes ðā | ræpling,

where the pause itself makes a sinking.

The heavy character of the final half-stress is established in Old English by a number of examples in rime, of which the following are a couple—

He sáette m'ýc.él d'eorfríð.
 And he l'ægde l'æg.ǣ þ'ærwið.
 Hè wearð wíde geond þ'ēodlánd.
 Sw'íðè gewéorðád.

The rising or B, E classes usually have their final full-stress preceded by a sinking of one syllable—

B. And his geféran hè todr'áf.
 E. Se cyng wàesswa sw'íðe stéarc.

Exceedingly seldom we find in these types a dissyllabic sinking forerunning the final full-stress.

There are no sure examples in B.

In E we find amongst others—

Ac se úplica Wr'éc.énd h'áf.ǣð his gemýnd.

But the most important fact about these rising types B and E is that the final long full-stress can be divided into two short ones, e.g.—¹

Hine nòlden his éorðlican m'agas wr'éc.án.
 Éac he sáette bè þam h'ár.án.
 Swilce he wáere h'eor.ǣ f'æd.ér.

But yet more remarkable is the fact that of these two final short syllables equivalising one long full-stress, the first bore a short full-stress and the second a half-stress—nay, a very heavy half-stress. We find these two syllables running with short full-stress + half-stress in the couplet—

Éac he sáette bè þam h'ár.án
 Þaet heo mòsten fr'eo f'ár.án.

In the following couplet we find them riming with a long full-stress + a long heavy half-stress—

Swa swiðe he l'úf.ð de þa h'ead'eor
 Swilce he w'ære h'eor.ǣ f'æd.ér,

¹ The writer believes that this metrical law still lives in the end feet of nursery rhythms, i.e.—

The king was in the counting house | counting out his m'ón.ýy ;
 The queen was in the parlour | éating brèad and h'ón.ýy ;
 as he has heard it sung in his childhood.

which occurrence we will presently explain. It seems clear for reasons immediately following that not only was this the case at the end of the lines, but also in the body of the verse, and that where two short syllables were equivalent to one stressed long one, they both partook of its musical stress, which fell throughout their whole length.

Firstly, that by this we avoid innumerable cases of would-be trisyllabic sinkings, which only seem to follow a short half-stress where there can be no pause, e.g. in the verse "ac Gódwine h'ín-ē þa geléttè." In the case of these half-stresses the second syllable would, of course, be intermediate between a half-stress and a sinking in height. The one case or so with a possible trisyllabic sinking after a long half-stress is easily amended, by removing an inserted parenthesis.

¹ Secondly, if we do *not* admit this, then we must count these given as having *five* stresses, the four normal ones + the final half-stress obtained by the dissolution of the single long syllable; and in this case we should be pairing and riming four-beat verses with five-beat verses, a thing elsewhere absolutely unknown in Old English.

On this scheme, and this scheme only, can we explain the rime—

Swa swiðe he l'úfóde þa h'ead'eor
Swilce he w'ære h'eor-á f'æd-ér.

According to Plummer, this part of the Chronicle was written at Canterbury, and certainly the assonances of this ballad seem to be Kentish, e.g.—

Cástelas h'ē lēt wýrc'ean
And éárme mèn swiðe swénceàn.

In Kentish of this period 'hēa' would be 'hya' or 'hīa,' and that certainly would not assonate with either vowel of 'faeder,' which would in Kentish be 'feder.' We may consequently assume that it was the half-stressed long syllable which rimed, and that it rimed with the whole two vowels of 'faeder' as composing one

¹ The proof positive is that a half-stress cannot be divided into two shorts at the end of a verse. If the final pause lent musical height in addition to prolonged length the final stress could be so divided, since the main reason is that the last line must end in a stress *and* musical height, and the musical height and stress on the second element of a half-stress would be too near a sinking.

long syllable. Like rimes of half-stress and full-stress are found in Old English as in other Germanic tongues. It is thus obvious that two short syllables were equated under the stress to one long one, not only in length but also in stress and musical height.

All that has been said of final verse forms is true of the forms used inside the half-line before an inner pause for the breaking of rhythmic monotony.

I give the following examples:—

þa hw'ile þ'ě | hē l'ēof-ōd'ě.
 Be mánn'ǎ | gemýnd'ě.
 þæt he w'un-ōd'ě | on sǐbb'ě.
 And 'ōþr'ě | m'an-ēg'ǎ.
 Eac he sáette b'ě þām h'ǎr-an.

In this last example this kind of form is perhaps obscured by the writing 'bě' for 'bī.'

Probably one of the greatest grounds for the adoption of the final half-stress forms in the middle of the half-line was the desire to fully balance the line. It is obvious that a line like "w'id'ě | and s'id'ě" was practically perfect in its balance, the two half-stresses bearing exactly the same kind of artificial rhythmic stress. And thus finally would come the extremely rare forms where no real pause followed this rhythmically lengthened and stressed short syllable. But these are so very rare as to be practically metrical blunders. The last example given is an example of such false metre.

From these types of four-beat verses as exemplified in Old English were derived the longer corrupted types of Old Frisian and Middle English itself. The great factor operating was that short vowels in open syllables became lengthened.

As long as short vowels were kept in open syllables the two short vowels were in pitch one accentual long one. But when short vowels in open syllables became mostly long, this equivalency of two shorts to one long was lost, and the trick of this rhythmic variation along with it.

It may be noted further that the types of verse endings found in Old English at the end of half-lines show identical forms to those used in the Frisian verse of a later date for the same purpose.

We may shortly state here that for the form $\cup \cup$ we often find in Old English $\cup \cup$, e.g. 'wr'ēc-end.'

One type that is essentially Old English, the final type $\cup \underline{\cup} \times \underline{\cup}$,

is found represented in Old Frisian by its essential descendant $\acute{X} X \underline{\quad}$, where the only difference is that made by the lengthening of short vowels in open syllables. The following types of Old English verse endings are represented in Old Frisian as follows:—

OLD ENGLISH.	OLD FRISIAN.
$\acute{X} \underline{\quad}$	$\acute{X} \underline{\quad}$
$\acute{X} X \underline{\quad}$	} $\acute{X} X \underline{\quad}$
$\acute{X} \underline{\quad} \underline{\quad}$	
$\acute{X} \underline{\quad} X \underline{\quad}$	$\acute{X} X X \underline{\quad}$
\acute{X}	\acute{X}
$\acute{X} \underline{\quad}$?

The Frisian verse thus, in common with the Old English verse, is one in which dissyllabic sinkings are not only allowed, but frequent. In its final feet it also shows, as already stated, its kinship to the English forms. In all such forms it stands in marked contrast to the High German verse, though owing to conservative phonology we can parallel the *shorter* English examples in early Middle German, the 'final feet' forms excepted. They were sister forms indeed, but sisters are not always exactly like one another.

To show the use of the Old English seven-beat verse with the variable cæsura, together with the four-beat couplet in a strophe, the ballads of 1011 and 1067 are given, because of their shortness:—

1011. 1. Wæes þà | ráepling || sè þe 'æer wæs.
 2. 'Angelcýnnes h'æfod || and Cristend'ómès,
 3. þa'ær mán | óft 'æer || geséah blissè.
 4. On þ'ære èarman b'ýr-ýg || þ'án-ðn 'ús cóm 'ærest.
 5. Cristend'óm and blissè.
 6. For G'òd-è and for w'òr-ùldè.
1067. 1. Ond cw'æð þæt heo h'ínè || ne n'anne hæbban wóldè.
 2. Gyf h'ýr-è seo úplice 'árfaestuýs || geúnnan wóldè.
 3. þæt h'èo on m'ægð'h'adè.
 4. Míht'ýgan Drihtnè.
 5. Mid lich'ðm-án(lere) héortàn.
 6. On þ'ís-án l'ife scéortan.
 7. On e'ænre forha'èf-èðnissè || cw'èman míhtè.

Next we must give the Forged Privileges to show their structure.

COLUMN 1.

Four-beat verses in italics.

Thit wás to thère stúndè.
Tha thi kening kerl riúchtà bigúndè.
Tha wástèr ande thère Sáxinna mèrik.
Liúding'èrus en héra fèle stérik.
Hi wælde him alsa wáldlikè.
 Thagethan ther hi fon riuchta scolde
 bihaldà tha kening kerlis kairska
 ríke.
Ac wælde hi má duán.
Hi wælde tha stérka Fr'ēsàn.
Ûnder sinne t'ègetha tiàn.
Hi bibádit èfter áll(e) sin(e) rik(e).
That ma hìne k'èta scóldè | kening
wáldelík(e).
Tha thi kening kerl thit underst'òð.
Tórnið was him hìrúmbe sin m'òð.
Hi lét hit tha Fr'ēsùm tha kúndið
duán.
Hodir hia thene nía kening.
Mith him mith str'íde wælde bist'án.
Tha Fr'ēsa gáder ek'òmin.
 Úppà thit bódiskip | se áinne gódred
 gen'òmin.
Thi Fr'ēsa fèle stérká.
Hi f'òrim tha ànd tha Sáxinna mérká.
 Tha sassiska héran thit forn'òmin.
 Úppà tha félda ia (Fresum toinis)
 k'òmin.
Tha fúgtinse álsa grimlikè.
 Ofsløgma tha Saxum bethe thene
 erma and thene ríka; read instead,
 Ófsløgma érme and ríkè.
 Thág tò tha léstà.

COLUMN 2.

In attempts at seven-beat structure.

Thit wás to thère stúndè.
Thà thi kening kerl | riúchtà bigúndè.
Thá wástèr | ande thère Sáxinna mèrik.
Liúding'èrus | en héra fèle stérik.
Hi wælde him | álsa wáldlikè.
 Thágethan thèr hi fon riúchtà | scóldè
 bihaldà |
 Tha kening kèrlis kairska rik(e).
Ac wælde hi má duán.
Hi wælde tha stérka Fr'ēsàn
Ûnder sinne t'ègetha tiàn.
Hi bibádit | èfter áll(e) sin(e) rik(e)
Thet ma hìne k'èta scóldè | kening
wáldelík(e).
Tha thi kening kerl thit underst'òð.
Tórnið was him hìrúmbe sìn m'òð.
Hi lét hìt tha Fr'ēsùm | thá kúndið
duán.
Hodir hia thene nía kening | mith him
mith stride wælde bist'án.
Tha Fr'ēsa gáder ek'òmin.
 Úppà thit bódiskip | se áinne g'òdrèð
 gen'òmin.
Thi Fr'ēsa fèle stérká.
Hi f'òrim thá | ànd tha Sáxinna
mérká.
 Tha sassiska héran | thit forn'òmin.
 Úppà tha féldà | ia Frésùm toinís
 k'òmin.
Thá fúgtinse | álsa grimlikè.
 Ofsl'ògmà tha Sáxùm | bethe érmè
 and ríkè.
 Thág tò tha léstà.

COLUMN 1.

*Four-beat verses in italics.*Féngmá of tha Saxum h́eran and
ridderan tha b́está.*Þia bándma álsa s'érè.**Þíth `ene st'érka m'érè.**Þa láttensè tha wáldelik[e].*Alder h́ia thène ḱening ḱerl |
urnómin ànd(e) śin(e) rike.*Þá h́i thèt forn'óm.**Þat h́im thi Saxinna h́era alle búnden
kóm.**Þél was h́im ande s'íne h́ei.**Þi bád tha stulta Fr'ésa g'ódne dèi.**Þi n'óm se thá ande pálas s'in.**Þi scántum b'èthe m'éd(e) ande w'in.*Þa Fr'ésan f́orin útes kóninges
hówe.Þø iher lónde iha weder kóm mith
hálíka lowe.*Þldus hébth i urstén.*Hu ta stérka Fr'ésa (his [= hit is]
mith tha Saxum) thá forg'én.

COLUMN 2.

*In attempt at seven-beat structure.**Féngma óf tha Saxum | h́eran and
ridderan tha b́está.**Þia bándma álsa sérè.**Þíth `ene stérka mérè.**Þa láttensè tha wáldelik[e].**Álder h́ia thène ḱening ḱerl | urn'ómin
ànd(e) śin(e) rik(e).**Þá h́i thèt forn'óm.**Þat h́im thi Sáxinna h́erá | alle
búnden kóm.**Þél was h́im ande s'íne h́ei.**Þi bád tha stúltá | "Fr'ésa g'ódne dèi."**Þi n'ómse thá ande pálas s'in.**Þi scántum b'èthe m'éd(e) ande w'in.**Þa Fr'ésan f'órin | útes kóninges
hówè.**Þø iher lónde iha wéderkóm mith
hálíka lówè.**Þldus hébth i urst'én.**Hu ta stérka Fr'ésá | his mith tha
Sáxum thá forg'én.*

The following Folk-song which is to be found in two mutilated versions in the Rudolph's Book (Rudolph was the rival of Henry IV, 1059-1106). The Frisians obtained the Privileges from both rivals. It is of interest from its obvious references to a Redbád saga. Redbád had become transformed, as a cursory reading of the Laws shows, into a cruel heathen Norse king. Prefixed to this are a few legal lines, given merely as an example of scanning.

¹ The scansion here again depends on the question of the scansion of the final *e* in certain forms.

LEGAL LINES.

Aller áerst òm dat héilighe lând
 Ìef hit stóe an héidena hând
 Een óer òm dat Róemsche lând
 Ief hit wólde vàn der Crýstena hând,
 Dat trèdd(e) om dat húse bi da Rín(e)
 Deer hèert to da gúed(e) Sint(e) Martìn(e)
 Dat fyárda om hyàra ayn frídòm(e)
 Néllèt hÿa dán || disse héerfeerd mit him náet bistaèn
 Sóe wil hÿsè || fan hÿara frídoem quy't duàen
 Ènde wíllètse dàn || disse fíówer thug mit him oengáen,
 Hÿ wil hiárem tyénià || ende stáedik riucht dwaén.

REMNANTS OF A FOLK-SONG IN TWO VERSIONS IN THE RUDOLPH'S BOOK.

Al òntse káerl nòem
 Deer iòe di frídoem fán coèm.

VERSION 1.

Dat ý mit wílkèr | ál deértoe cómèn
 Dat ý dine áyndoem nóemèn
 Ìth dis Nórsche kóninghes hând
 Al sònder bánd
 Want iòe di áersta kóningh
 By sÿn(e)týdem al frýdeeld hèed(e)

*Ditstoed dy leyder | manyghen schoènen
 dach*

Want et iòeue álderèn |
 mit dúmheit wrlòren hédèn
 Al dèer um schíllèt hÿa | sònder
 tíwièl

VERSION 2.

Dat ý dine áyndom nóemèn
 Fan des Nórsche kòninghes hándèn
 Ende dédin ál mit scándèn

Dat ne stóed meer dàn een hálfiaer
 Dat y iòeue riúchter sloèghen dáed
 Ende bròchten sÿn[er]frów[e] in
 gráte nèed

[Ende y]iwe frídoem wèder nóemèn
 Al deerèfter stoet mánich scóenen
 dàch

Ont hit mit dúmheet verlòren wàerd
 Want ý alle héiden wórdèn
 End(e) mit riuchte deo dúfels
 knéchtèn.

VERSION 1.

Da Héll(e) bowa mitta dyúèl
 Dít stòed dy léydèr | mányghen
 schòenen dách
 Al ònt ioe gód syne gnáde ghàf
 Sinte Ufillibròrd hli iw sánt(e) | hòe hi
 ióe dat leèrd(e)
 Dat ý fan da Nórdsca díuelen keèrd(e)

*Ditstoèd dy léidèr | mányghen schòenen
 dách*

Dine ráed hy mlt io noém
 Datti tò da Roémscha hére còem.

VERSION 2.

Want iòe di kóningh aldéertoe tuàngh
 Ende àl deeréfter toe mánich
 arbèid(e)
 Ènde déd iu mánighe lèid(e)
 Dit Árbelt wàs to gráet
 Neen man càn ioe waérlike séggèn
 Dat thi . . . leider manighen sconen
 dach
 Al ònt i to Roéme quaémèn
 End(e) ý fan Kaérles hándèn | wèder
 náémèn.

IV.—GLEANINGS FROM AN ETHNOLOGICAL
NOTEBOOK. By T. C. HODSON, Registrar of the
East London College, University of London.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on February 7, 1908.*]

THE speech bewrayeth thee. In the jungles of Assam lie buried monuments of wrought stone bearing strange devices, sole witnesses to the departed glories of an unknown folk; but to-day there live those whose speech records in the clearest manner the fusion of races which has taken place, and is still going on, in that remote corner of India. Here in one town you may find men speaking Aryan tongues—Assamese, Bengali, Hindustani—representatives of those groups of the Indo-Chinese languages, the Shan or Tai, whose structure and method of grammatical inflection seem to rest on tonal emphasis rather than on agglutination or analytical or synthetical means. Here too are representatives of the widespread Tibeto-Burman family of languages; perhaps a stout little Gurkha, a Magar or Thapa from Khatmandu in the business-like khaki of the Military Police; or a Naga, a naked man from the Hills, whose summits crown the horizon with a tempting sense of mystery to the adventurous. Perchance we may find in this tangle of humanity some who are from the Khasia Hills, amidst whose pine-clad heights nestles Shillong, the Summer capital of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam. In all this medley of tongues, none will be so strange as theirs, for they belong to the Mōn-Khmer family of languages, whose traces are found far and wide, not in India alone, for if we may listen to the sweet seduction and massive learning of Professor Kuhn, there is “some connection between this language and the languages of Malacca and the Nicobar Islands.” (Gurdon, “The Khasis,” p. 198; Kuhn, “Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde

Hinterindiens"; Grierson, "Linguistic Survey of India," vol. ii, pp. 1-2.)

My own ethnological work has not brought me into touch with the Aryan languages in Assam, as it lay for the greater part in Manipur, that interesting native state which, set in the hills between Assam and Burma, fought for half a century against the all-puissant might of the armies of Aloungpra, and, though fallen, though vanquished, yet belongs in culture and civilisation, in religion, to the level of its conquerors who, to this day, recognise the supremacy of Manipuri art by greedily purchasing all the delicate silk that the Loi women of Manipur can be persuaded to sell.

The Khasis, among whom I lived for a year, are distinguished by their jealous preservation of the matriarchate, one of those institutions which, by common agreement, are held to belong to an early stage of culture. Now in matters grammatical, the ladies have at least their share, for in Khasi there are but two genders; and to the feminine gender belong the majority of inanimate nouns, as the names of rivers, lakes, books, places, and the sun, while the masculine gender claims the mountains, the stones, plants and fruits, stars and the moon. (Gurdon, *op. cit.*, p. 206.) Now if there is a sound foundation in Jevons's theory that agriculture was the primitive craft and exclusive prerogative of women (Introduction to the "History of Religion," p. 240), it must receive support from this interesting division of natural objects—the plants to the men, and the books to the ladies—from the natural fact that, *ex hypothesi*, the ladies there have to spend their time looking after male things in every sense of the phrase, and that therefore the plants, which receive so much of their care, must also be masculine in gender. If, and in so far as, we may regard this as an instance of classification, it is of great interest. I find among the Masai (see "L'Année Sociologique," vol. ix, p. 190) the same method of dichotomous classification by sex. There the men claim all that is "grand et fort," while the feminine gender attaches to what is "petit et faible."

But the existence of the Khasis, Mōn-Khmers, whose nearest linguistic congeners are the wild Wās of Upper Burma, in the midst of Tibeto-Burman races, is a problem of immense interest to the ethnologist, who here is bound to admit, more readily than is his wont, the evidence proffered to him by the diligence

of linguistic comparative research. Are the Khasis the last remnants of the autochthons? Why and how did they escape the advancing flood of Tibeto-Burman invasion? To the west of them are the Garos; to the east Katcha Nagas; below them, along the base of their sheer hills, are settlements of Mechs, all Tibeto-Burman people. Is it that philology supplies the key to the problem? Dr. Grierson, to whom all students of Indian linguistics owe so much, finds in Khasi a substratum common to languages spoken in Burma, Siam, Anam, Cambodia, and west as far as the Berars. ("Linguistic Survey Report," vol. ii, p. 2.)

My own investigations, ethnological and philological, have carried me far among the speakers of Tibeto-Burman dialects, because they belong to the 'adjacent anthropology' of the area with which I am specially concerned. Now the first thing that issues to notice in the comparative study of Tibeto-Burman dialects, is the nature of the verb, as I suppose we must still continue to call it. Forty years ago, Jaeschke declared that the Tibetan verb was like an impersonal verb in Latin. So it is; but it attains considerable complexity. We get in Meithei, a simple form, *tou-i*, 'I am doing'; and, by a process of synthesis, the elements of which can be traced quite easily, we get some form such as *tou-ja-ru-ra-ga-daba-ni*, which being translated, means, 'I shall have to go to a place some way off almost at once, and do something.' This elaborate growth indicates the action of a linguistic tendency which is repeated in Bodo, where the lists of verbal infixes which, save as verbal infixes, are now entirely otiose, have swollen to enormous dimensions. We see the beginnings of this tendency among the Thādos and Lusheis, where adverbial roots, so called, are inserted in the verbal themes, or in Meithei, where some of the infixes are capable of independent employment as verbs. I find in the various uses of the suffixes *na* (Meithei) and *in* (Thādo and Lushei)—as a noun suffix, as an adverbial suffix, and as a verbal suffix effecting temporal and causal modifications in the verbal noun—evidence that, when used with nouns pure and simple, names of persons or material objects, it is the sign of the instrumental case. Then in Thādo and Lushei (see "Lushei Grammar" by Lorrain and Savidge and my "Thādo Grammar") we have, prefixed to the simplest tenses of the verb, the very same pronominal prefixes which are used with nouns, and why? Because, I answer, the differentiation of the parts of

speech has not gone very far, and verbs are regarded as nouns, though by using the terminology of Aryan grammar I seem to be defining *obscurum per obscurius*. The adjective in Meithei and Thādo has a simple conjugation, or addition of suffixes, which are used as well with the verb. In Meithei and Thādo, and in many of the Northern dialects, we find that adjectives have an apparently otiose prefix, which in Meithei and Thādo is suspiciously like that of the third person. In Meithei, to translate the simple sentence 'My father's horse is white,' we say *Kapa sagol a-ngou-ba-ni*. *Ka* is the pronominal prefix of the first person. The relationship of possession is indicated by the juxtaposition of the two nouns. The prefix '*a*' is the pronominal prefix of the third person. *Ngou* is the root 'to be white,' or 'whiteness.' *Ba* and *ni* are suffixes used in the verbal themes.

From the puzzles of grammatical terminology, let me turn to the various methods of numeral notation. Here we find considerable variety. In nearly every case the unit of multiplication is ten, but in Meithei they count by scores,¹ while in Kachari, up to forty, they go by fours. In Meithei eight and nine seem to mean two off or less, and one off or less respectively. In Ao Naga they form the numerals for sixteen to nineteen on the same lines. In Tibetan and Burmese the multiplier precedes the multiplicand, as in Meithei, up to one hundred. But in other members of this widely-spread group the reverse is the rule, as in Thādo and Lushei.

Such materials as exist (and they have for the most part been collected by busy people, officers of government, in the disturbing whirl of magisterial and police duties) do not help us as much as we could wish to a knowledge of the laws of phonetic changes. We find final, initial, and medial consonants dropped. Thus, in Tibetan, we have a root *muk-pa*, 'to see.' In Thādo we have *mu-ba*, 'to see,' and in Meithei the consonants have all gone by the board, and only the vowel *u* remains to do its duty. Then we get consonantal metatheses which are often fairly constant, as when one group refuses the letter *t*, and instead of *ting* for 'tree' says *sing*. In some areas the initial consonants are all aspirated, in others there is a tendency to nasalise all final consonants.

¹ As in some of the Himalayan dialects spoken in Nepal.

It is at once interesting and instructive to watch at work two opposite forces in the formation of language; and here, I think, there are active both the tendency to a fixed order of words in which the position of a word in a sentence determines its function, and the tendency to effect the desired modifications by means of a constantly increasing range of infixes, affixes, and suffixes, each with a distinct force and limited scope of use.

There are many features of the Tibeto-Burman languages to which I might invite your attention, to their methods of forming genders and plurals, their relative constructions, the evolution of 'tones' from the detritus of obsolete prefixes, and the like; but time forbids further incursion into the realms of pure philology, though the prospect is so fair.

I do not suppose that for anthropologists there is any question so burning as that of *tabu*, and its relationship to religion and magic. Now, perhaps, analysis of a word or two may help us to a knowledge of what, in this area, corresponds to *tabu*. In Manipur we apply one term, *nā-mūngba*, to all those vague prohibitions which ultimately rest on a semi-social sanction deriving its validity from the fear that a breach of the particular ordinance will be visited with strange and unaccountable misfortune or sickness. Now, without straining unduly, we may equate *nā* with the Tibetan *lā* deity. *Mung* seems to me to belong to a group of words each of which has special significance for the ethnologist. *Mang* with a short vowel means 'a dream,' *māng* with a long vowel means 'to be polluted, to be ceremonially unclean.' *Mān-ba*, a denasalised form, is a ghost.

When translating the *Moirang lōl* or history of Moirang, one of the seven constituent clans of the Meitheis, I came across a passage in which the soothsayers were ordered to dream in a temple, and then, as the result of their efforts, the people were set in families and their marriage laws ordained. Obviously the chronicler knew that this was a proper method of legislation, for it gave precisely that divine sanction (*nāmungba*) which all legislation in that level of culture demands. Then I have heard a rather gross folk-tale explaining why a certain large village in the Naga Hills is not allowed to eat pork; and it too rested on a divine ordinance which had been promulgated in a dream. Oneiromancy, I may note in passing, is universally practised, and it is an interesting fact that has come within my own observation that what they see in a dream has precisely the same import

as an omen actually seen in one's waking vision. Am I too temerarious if I argue thence that there is for them continuity between the life awake and the life in dreams? In any case it affords another proof, were any needed, of the soundness of Dr. Tylor's theory of ghost-life.¹ To return to my word *nāmungba*. I think myself justified in regarding it as meaning 'Deity + dream,' since so many of the divine ordinances are revealed in dreams.

In Meithei we have a special vocabulary which is *nāmungba* to the Raja; and, in addressing this semi-divine being, his loyal and dutiful subjects must use these terms. Now this is a tabu of immense interest.² Some of the words are mere periphrases, others are euphemisms, but in one or two cases they seem to be true archaisms. The Raja does not walk (*chat-pa*, in ordinary parlance), he moves, *leng-ba*. Now this word *leng-ba* is in common use in Thādo, which is in many respects more archaic than Meithei, and we have the word keeping its original sense in the special vocabulary of the Raja. Then to the people of Moirang the word *chen-ba*, which in Meithei means 'to run,' is tabu, and they must say *pai-ba*, which in Meithei means 'to fly.' The story goes that one day a *maibi* used the expression, and that it has been used ever since. A *maibi* is a woman who has magical powers, who interprets dreams and omens, hence the obedience to her behest.³

Precious, too, to the ethnologist, are those rare petrifications where, in some one word, are crystallized whole æons of man's progress, and where, to the eyes that can see, lies buried a whole poem. Among the Thādos runs the tale of the Rain-god, a mighty hunter, who came home aweary from the chase, and found that his wife had no store of rice-beer ready for him. Wroth was he and vexed, and said hard things, and shook his dao in anger at her. So when she brought the stoup to him, in his eager haste he spilt some of the precious drink. Hence the growling thunder, the lightning's flash, the hot rain. Now if they have the story, the Thādos have not the word; but the lacuna is supplied by the Meitheis, who call the lightning *nōng-thāng-kūp-pa*, which literally means 'the flash of the Rain-god's dao.' *Nōng* = rain, *thāng* = dao, and *kūp* = to flash.

¹ See "Primitive Culture," *passim*.

² Cf. Frazer: "Golden Bough," vol. i, p. 144.

³ Cf. Frazer: "Golden Bough," vol. i, p. 427 sqq.

This area is so rich in linguistic variety that philological distinctions afford us an excellent means of classification. I have sometimes attempted to trace a custom and to group the tribes by its means, a method of procedure which has convinced me of the fundamental and underlying unity in all this mass of variety. Differences of dress, coiffure, ornament, and weapons exist, and are overwhelmingly conspicuous, but fashions vary and are consciously imitated, customs pass from one contiguous tribe to another, and while to us it often seems as if there was only stagnation, there is real movement, for there are always experiments in progress, there is active the force of selection through variation, not in the material world alone, but also in the religious atmosphere. Even the people themselves, in a rough and ready manner, recognise that these external differences of costume and coiffure do coincide with deeper-seated divisions, for while we find that the law of exogamy rests among these people on a divine sanction, we also find it buttressed in practice by the rule that a man should not marry a woman of strange speech. The 'clans' into which the villages are divided, are the fundamental units for marriage, but the rule which I have just mentioned, goes further, and is almost the only sign of tribal unity to be observed among them. In course of time, from a base of mere convenience and practical utility, it may acquire validity of the same order as the prohibition which forbids the intermarriage of members of the same clan. In the course of anthropological investigations we must prove our classification, and may not overlook any test. The evidence must be judged by the cumulative results of all the tests we apply, not by one to the exclusion of the rest. I have found it possible to define a tribe by means of a tabu by which they and they alone were bound. In much the same manner is it possible to ascertain the real existence of the village and the clan as true social units, but the linguistic test serves us well when these others fail. A conservative anthropologist is often tempted from his caution by the splendid theories which his learned and industrious fellows support with a wealth of illustration garnered in every corner of the savage world, ancient and modern, but while admiring the alluring industry which ranges from China to Peru in quest of facts, he may well recollect that the evidence of language is as incontestable when read aright, as the evidence which he is accustomed to extract from the customs and beliefs he studies. For a moment I will

take some definite custom and correlate it with the evidence furnished to us by linguistics, and I hope to be able to show how closely the results correspond.

We have in the State of Manipur a tribe of hill people commonly designated the Kabui Nagas. They have a very curious custom by which when a man loses his wife in an ordinary way, that is, when she dies neither by the hand of an enemy, nor in the pains of childbirth, nor by a wild animal, he has to pay what is called *mandu*, or the price of her bones, to her nearest surviving male relations. This custom is also observed by some of the Kuki tribes. I have sought in vain for an explanation of this custom among the Kabuis themselves. Now our adjacent anthropology helps us, for we know that the Naga tribes believe that death, if strange and unusual, affects the future life of the deceased. In some tribes it is believed that those who die thus, will be segregated in a special limbo, and will be denied the joy of rebirth. We know too that in the world to come, as a man was here so shall he be there, his wives shall cling to him there. Therefore, as in this world he had to pay a price for his wife, so too for his wife hereafter shall he make a payment. If, as is proved by the manner of her death, his wife will not be his wife in the world to come, then is he released from any obligation to pay for her. There is in this belief the germ of moral ideas, because women who die thus are regarded as having brought their fate on themselves, and it is intelligible that no one, husband or father, would endeavour to perpetuate their ties with a woman who had thus "disgraced herself." We know, too, that among all these tribes marriage is a matter of purchase, so much so that in Manipuri, marriage is described as belonging to man, exactly as a servant belongs to him. Sometimes the price is paid by service, and *mandu* may be a deferred payment, in order, perhaps, to secure a wife for the world to come. This custom finds many parallels in the Garo system of *dai* or obligations, many of which originate in marriage, so that we find anthropological investigation proving affinities with a typical Bodo tribe as the Garos, from whom the Kabuis are separated by some hundreds of miles of wild hills, as well as with the Naga tribes, their more immediate neighbours, and with the Kukis to the south of them. Now Dr. Grierson found much trouble in placing the Kabuis, and at last came to the conclusion that linguistically their language exhibited elements which correlated it with Bodo, with Naga, and

with Kuki.¹ His results are therefore in entire accord with ethnological data.

I suppose that some among us may fervently desire to see ourselves as others see us, but if circumstances lead us to devote our time to that comprehensive science which has for its theme mankind, surely we may with equal fervour ask the fairies to endow us with power of seeing others as they see themselves. I never found it difficult to get my people to talk to me about their beliefs or to discuss them, but what we all find extremely difficult is to think Naga, to realise the spirit in which these people hold their beliefs. We have attained a stage of psychological process which is truly enough an heritage from the age in which these people now are, but time has augmented our inheritance. Yet from the labours of the distinguished philologists who have studied the dialects of Assam, we may learn something of the psychology of an earlier culture. Dr. Grierson² invites attention to the habit of mind exhibited by the linguistic tendency to differentiation. He shows how instead of collecting objects in a class and then distinguishing them as we do, by means of descriptive epithets, these folk have a separate and distinct word for each object. Thus we speak of a rice basket, a clothes basket, etc., but they have separate and unconnected words for each. Here again my investigations support the conclusions at which our authority arrived on purely linguistic grounds. In studying animism as a living force, I found or thought I found that it was not only a form of religion but a mode of scientific thought as well, as offering an explanation, entirely satisfactory on the evidence to animists, of phenomena which we explain, as heirs of all the ages, by scientific formulæ and mathematical equations of startling abstrusity. Yet animism is after all a mode of thought, the dominant characteristic of which is this very habit of differentiation, for it consists in the dispersal of power among a host human, semi-human, and divine. I find too that I may profitably trace a relationship between the level of material culture at which these people have arrived, and their habits of thought, for *leur vie n'est pas divisée dans compartiments étanches*. Life has an organic unity, a fact which in the variety and specialisation of modern civilisation, we are apt to overlook

¹ Grierson, op. cit., vol. iii, part 2, p. 416.

² Op. cit., vol. iii, part 3, p. 16.

or forget. Here we live in the age of machinery, there in the hills of Assam we are in an age of handicraft, where no two products are exactly alike. Variation is the necessary basis of life, for without variation selection is unthinkable. Now when nature is so various, when even the work of man exhibits the same wide range of variety, it is natural that the mind should insist on the differentia rather than on the identities, not only of material objects, but in the world of thought as well. Let me in evidence of this tell you of an episode which happened to me in a village far away from civilisation, close on the frontier of the unadministered area east of Manipur. I had spent the day displaying my treasures to a gaping crowd. They had wondered at my skill with a repeating pistol, a pretty toy which dealt death out at the rate of a bullet a second. They had looked through my prism binoculars—not that they saw much, but they wondered all the same. To some I had given tabloids, while an admiring throng of children amused themselves with a shaving mirror hung outside my tent. They had seen my magic-lantern pictures of London and its crowds with awe, and had nearly died of laughter over the man who swallowed rats and then disgorged them. After all these entertainments we sat down in the village and enjoyed the warmth of a camp fire. The old men told me tales of their prowess in the bad old days when this village raided and was raided, and the young men listened in envy. At last the conversation flagged, until I asked one of them what of all that I had shown them that day was the most wonderful thing in his opinion. The debate went on with typical energy, for the Naga is a born orator, and to an impressive volubility adds a Demosthenic appreciation of the value of action, which is sometimes a disconcerting ornament to discussion. At last they came to the conclusion that the coined rupees which the Sircar had introduced were after all the most marvellous thing they had ever seen, for they could not distinguish one from another. At first I did not see it, but on reflection I realised that they were strange to the magic of machinery to which I was accustomed. Then I felt that I had for a moment got behind their minds, that I had in my hands one of the many keys by which I could hope to unlock the door into their minds, which my own consciousness of superiority would have banged, bolted, and barred against me.

To conclude, these are but gleanings from my notebook, for the calls on my time are many, and I have only been able to pick

out some of the more salient points, in the hope that by some good chance I may purvey material to those who can make use of it. In the volume which I hope to see published shortly, entitled "The Meitheis," you will find, if your interest can take you to it, a ballad called "The tale of the man who shot the sun." Like all the ballads of the country, it is recited in an archaic dialect which is not immediately intelligible to the people, who nevertheless know well the stages of its progress. The professional ballad-mongers of Manipur croon these tales in a high nasal tone, to the accompaniment of the *pena* or fiddle; and we can trace accretions and additions, just as we have learnt to believe that the balladists of ancient Greece augmented the Iliad.

These ballads are very valuable, not only as containing rare and precious descriptions of magical practices and religious ritual, but as affording evidence of a level of thought which finds nothing impossible or incongruous in the story that once upon a time there were two Sun-gods, riding on white ponies, untiring, ever shining, so that in those days the land knew no night and there was no rest for men. So we find the hero making appeal to our common humanity: "Children have I, but I cannot be with them, for my task is without end. A slave am I, and ever set to my master's toil." Then he took bamboos and fashioned therefrom a bow and arrows, and watched so that he shot one Sun-god as he set in the west. Then both the gods fled in terror, and the land knew no sun, and all things languished until, by the craft and magical skill of the priests and wise women who were learned in dreams, they brought the Sun back. Have we here a reminiscence of some far distant sojourn in lands of the Midnight Sun?

APPENDIX I.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE
CANTERBURY TALES.

BY THE

REV. PROF. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt.D., Ph.D., etc.

APPENDIX II.

THE LYDGATE CANON.

BY

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN, Ph.D.

*The first issued jointly with the Chaucer Society, and the second with
the Early English Text Society.*

The
Evolution of the Canterbury Tales.

Table 1.

	Knights, &c.	(1) Wife, &c.	(1) Shipman, &c.	(1) Manciple.
Hengwrt	1	3	7b*	9a
A. Petworth	1			
B. Lansdowne*	1			
C. Harleian	1			
C*. Ellesmere †	1			

(Table 2 follows).

* also Corpn.

† also Cambridge.

Table 2.

	Man of Law.	Sq. Prol. I.	(1) Squire.	Merch. Prol.	(1) Merchant.	(1) Frank. Prol.	(1) Franklin.	(2) Wife, &c.	(1) Sec. Nun.
Hengwrt	2		5a	n	4b	x, y	5b		8a
A. Petworth	2	m	5a	n	4b			3	
B. Lansdowne	2	m	5a	o				3	
C. Harleian	2	m						3	
C*. Ellesmere	2	o						3	

1. Prol., Knight, Miller, Reeve,
Cook.

2. Man of Law.

3. Wife, Friar, Sompnour.

4a. Clerk.

4b. Merchant.

5a. Squire.

5b. Franklin.

6. Doctor, Pardoner.

7a. Shipman, Prioress, Sir Thopas,
Melibee.

7b. Monk, Nun's Priest.

8a. Second Nun.

8b. Canon's Yeoman.

9a. Manciple.

9b. Parson.

(1) Wife, etc.; *i. e.* Wife, etc., *first position*. And so on.

Tables 1-4 are continuous.

Table 3.

	Clerk.	Host-stanza.	Cl. Mer. link.	(2) Merchant.	Sq. Prol. II.	(2) Squire.	Words of Frank.	(2) Frank. Prol.	(2) Franklin.
Hengwrt	4a	h							
A. Petworth	4a	...	...	...	...	...	x, y	5b	
B. Lansdowne	4a	o	o	4b			?	5b	
C. Harleian	4a	o	z	4b	x, y	5a	n	.....	5b
C*. Ellesmere	4a	h	z	4b	x, y	5a	n	.....	5b

Table 4

	(2) Doctor, &c.	(3) Shipman, &c.	(2) N. P. Epilogue.	(2) Sec. Nun, &c.	(1) Doctor, &c.	(2) Shipman, &c.	(1) N. P. Epilogue.	(2) Manciple.	Parson.
Hengwrt					6	7a			9b
A. Petworth				8	6	7	e	9a	9b
B. Lansdowne				8	6	7	o	9a	9b
C. Harleian				8	6	7	o	9a	9b
C*. Ellesmere	6	7*	e	8				9a	9b

m. Squire's Prol. (B 1163-1190). m. nameless Prol. (same lines).

n. Merch. Prol. (F 673-708). n. Words of Franklin (same lines).

h. Host-stanza (end of Clerk).

x, y. Franklin's Prol. (E 2419-F 8).

z. Merch. Epilogue; y. Squire's Prol. (same lines as x, y).

z. Clerk-Merch. link (E 1213-1244).

e. Nun's Priest's Epilogue (B 4637-4652).

o. *i. c.* suppressed.

7*, or 7b.* Monk's Tale ends with Ugolino.

Tables 1-4 are continuous.

The Evolution of the Canterbury Tales.

(Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society, Nov. 1, 1907.)

IN the excellent Temporary Preface to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, issued by Dr. Furnivall in 1868, the question as to the right arrangement of the Tales is carefully discussed; and the result arrived at was sufficient for the purpose. That purpose was, to place the Tales in the order in which Chaucer might have arranged the Tales himself, if he had lived to complete the work.

Dr. Furnivall showed that the Tales can be divided into about nine distinct groups. Those that occur within the same group are clearly linked together by the help of additional lines, occurring between the Tales, that serve to dismiss one Tale and to introduce another. In other words, there is no evidence that any of the arrangements in the manuscripts is final. All that can be said is that some arrangements are preferable to others; and the arrangement made by Dr. Furnivall is suitable for practical purposes.

What I now propose to discuss is not quite the same problem. I have no wish to propose any arrangement of my own, or to form any theory at all beyond such as is borne out by the evidence. My purpose is purely historical, viz., to show that we have evidence for at least four different arrangements or schemes, and we are able to determine quite clearly how these four schemes came into being. They represent the Tales in four different stages, so to speak; and each depends, as of course it must depend, upon the scheme that preceded it. Whether such schemes are due to Chaucer himself, or to scribes, we shall see as we proceed. One at least of them is due to an editor, but the rest may well be his own. It is very difficult for any one accustomed only to printed books to realise what happened in

the days of manuscripts. In the case of Langland's poem of *Piers the Plowman*, we have at least five forms in which the poem appears, not counting others which are obviously absurd. Of these five forms, three are due to the fact that the poem was twice rewritten; this gives us at once an A-text, a B-text, and a C-text; and it is now being maintained, not without reason, that this implies at least two authors, since the author of text B appears to have misunderstood some of the expressions used by the author of A. Besides these three texts, we have two more, certainly due to the mistakes of scribes; for there is a set of manuscripts that contains a mixture of the A and C types, both imperfect, and unintelligently combined, and another unintelligent combination of the B and C types, likewise imperfect. We thus have positive evidence that the scribes who were employed to multiply manuscripts frequently did precisely as they pleased. They copied what they could come by; and, if they could not get a perfect copy, they copied an imperfect one, completing it by help of another without considering whether it belonged, so to speak, to the same recension or not. Nothing can be more misleading than to apply ideas derived from the habits of modern printing to times when the very idea of printing was unknown. Just as we should expect to find printed copies, at the present day, resembling each other very much or altogether, we ought to expect the very contrary in the days when every copy was produced separately. Even if a reader dictated aloud to six copyists at once, each of these had, to say the least, his own ideas of spelling, or even of rhythm or of grammatical expression.

These preliminary remarks are absolutely necessary before any explanation is possible. Having made them, I propose to show that there are four main schemes of arrangement of the *Canterbury Tales*, neglecting, with one remarkable exception, the manuscripts in which no particular order has been observed.

For I propose to show, beforehand, that we actually possess one MS. which may be fairly regarded as approaching to the idea of an archetype; a MS., namely, in which the Groups of tales appear, at first sight, to take quite a casual order; a MS. in which they may have been committed to writing with a view to future re-arrangement. By such re-arrangement we must, of course, construct a scheme that is necessarily the *oldest* of the four more orderly schemes, from which also, in turn, each of the

themes can be naturally developed, in regular succession. S. to which I refer is the Hengwrt MS., which must, in fact, be considered, since it is generally agreed that it is, with few exceptions, the best we possess, at any rate as regards the original forms.

THE HENGWRT MS. OF THE CANTERBURY TALES.

The Hengwrt MS. of the Canterbury Tales is known to be one of the best. It stands second among the seven MSS. selected and printed by the Chaucer Society. An examination of its contents shows that it is unique, not only in the arrangement of the Tales but in the particulars relating to the Tales themselves.

It is believed it can be explained as showing the Tales in their original known condition. It represents, so to speak, a form of the Tales in which the idea of arrangement was quite imperfect; and which was written out, probably with a view to future use, as a sort of working copy. In fact, Dr. Furnivall noted, in 1868, that it is "the least handsome of our six MSS., the least formally arranged." But it may be a late copy of a MS. of a similar kind. We should naturally expect it to be incomplete; and indeed its omissions are significant.

Probably few remarks have been more frequently made than that the idea of the Canon's Yeoman was an afterthought. There is no hint of his existence in the General Prologue; and the idea of inserting him among the rest did not occur to the author till he had made considerable progress with the work. It is highly probable, as has often been said, that he suddenly discovered that he had something satirical to say about the doings of the alchemists; and the ingenious way in which the number of the pilgrims is said to have been enlarged by the addition of the Canon and his Yeoman is almost beyond

question. The thought was most happy and successful.

The Hengwrt MS. is so antique in its type that it knows nothing of either the Canon or his Yeoman. All that we find is the rubric: "Here is ended the Nonnes tale," on leaf 173. We turn to the next leaf, and find, to our amazement, the Prologue to the Canon's Tale, which ought perhaps to have come in earlier, but which does not.

Another remarkable point is the absence, in its due place, of

the Tale of Melibeus, which nearly every other MS. and the printed editions put in its proper place, between Sir Thoppe and the Monk's Tale. But this MS. divides Group 7 into two parts, giving the two last tales (the Monk and Nun's Priest) precedence, and relegating all the rest to a position just before the Parson. And this is done in spite of the reference in the line "When ended was my tale of Melibee"—with which the Monk's Prologue rightly begins.

A more important fact is that in this MS. (as in MS. Rawl. Misc. 1133), the Manciple's Tale appears quite early, instead of just before the Parson's Tale, as usual. Accordingly we find, in the Prologue of the Parson's Tale, that the first line is:—"But that the *Manciple* hadde his tale al ended," with a note to say that *Manciple* is written over an erasure; *i. e.* it is not the original reading, though nearly all other MSS. have it.

The Hengwrt MS. also preserves the old original seven-line stanza at the end of the Clerk's Tale, printed in the note to my edition, vol. iv. p. 424, and in the Student's Chaucer, p. 611. I call this stanza the Host-stanza, and denote it in the Tables above by "h." The conjecture that it was meant to follow Group E, l. 1162, or l. 1169, is a conjecture, and nothing else. If we are to go by evidence, its right place is after l. 1212. See the Six-text edition, p. 477.

The conjecture was of course due to the inadvisability of separating the words "wringe and wayle" in l. 1212 from "Weping and wayling" in l. 1213; but this does not apply to the Hengwrt MS. at all, because ll. 1213-1244 *do not occur in it*.

The Hengwrt MS. (followed here by the Corpus MS.) omits the stanza on Adam in the Monk's Tale; but this may have been accidental. It does not greatly matter.

Another interesting point about this MS. is that, in the Monk's Tale, the "modern" stories of the two Pedros, Visconti, and Ugolino of Pisa are simply added at the *end* of the Tale, though in the later schemes (except the Ellesmere, which is unauthorised) they occur much earlier, as the case requires. This is just what we should expect. We have, in the Hengwrt, a nearer approach to the *actual* or original order, as regards date of composition; in the other schemes, we have a revised order, written with a new intention. The placing of the modern stories at the end does not contradict what is said in the Nun's Priest's

Prologue, because lines 3961-80 of Group B *do not appear* in the Hengwrt MS.

Another point is that there is in this MS. no Tale of Gamelin. It is possible that this Tale had not, as yet, attracted Chaucer's attention.

Once more. The Hengwrt MS. contains two additional lines in the Prologue, in the description of the Frere; ll. 252 *b, c*. But in the very first recension they were cut out or omitted, and therefore cannot be found in any other MS.

When once the antiquity of type of the Hengwrt MS. is understood, it presents no difficulty. It contains, in fact, ten groups instead of eight, owing to its insufficient arrangement.

The statement, just made, that the Hengwrt MS. contains ten groups requires explanation, because it seems, at first sight, to contain twelve. But the fact is that it joins together three tales which were afterwards re-arranged, viz. the Squire, the Merchant, and the Franklin. At the end of the Squire's Tale, we find the Merchant's Prologue (F 673-708), which is joined on to the preceding Squire's Tale by the first line, viz. "In faith, Squyer, thou hast thee wel y-uyt;" and the same arrangement continues in the Petworth scheme. (The ultimate fate of what is here called the Merchant's Prologue will be fully explained hereafter, when we come to speak of the Petworth MS.) Once more, the Merchant's Tale is followed by The Words of the Host to the Franklin (E 2419-2440) and by a Franklin's Prologue (F 1-8) and the Franklin's Tale. This reduces the number of groups to eleven; but it is really only ten, as group 7 has been casually divided into two parts.

I shall proceed to show that the chronological order of the types of the seven chief MSS., with reference, that is to say, to their contents and arrangement, but without regard to the actual dates when these individual MSS. were written, is as follows:—Hengwrt, an archetype; Petworth, showing the first scheme of arrangement; Corpus and Lansdowne, the second; Harleian, the third; Ellesmere and Cambridge, the fourth and last. In the first three schemes, we find Chaucer himself at work, making various experiments. In the last scheme, we find the work of a careful editor. It follows that the authoritative type, the only one which arranges the Tales as Chaucer at last left them, is the Harleian. It is anything but final, and even some obvious

mistakes remain. But we have *no authority* for proceeding further.

I wish to state expressly that, in speaking of any MS. such as the Hengwrt, I do not refer so much to the MS. *itself* as to its *type* or scheme of arrangement. Neither do I in any way interfere with or contradict the arrangement into *seven groups*, as deduced by Dr. Koch from the readings of the MSS. in the extremely valuable Introduction to his edition of the Pardoner's Tale (Berlin, 1902). A group, as formed by MSS. which have similar readings, is quite a different thing from a type as deduced from the order in which the Tales are arranged. It is obvious that a type may include two or more groups.

For example, Dr. Koch places the Ellesmere MS. in Group I, and the Cambridge MS. in Group II; no doubt, correctly. But the arrangement of the Tales is the same in both.

THE SCHEME OF THE ORDER OF THE CANTERBURY TALES, ACCORDING TO THE PETWORTH MS.

In order to exhibit the arrangement of the Canterbury Tales as concisely as possible, it is best to adopt the notation employed by Dr. Furnivall in the Tables of MSS. prefixed to his Six-text edition of the Tales. I merely use arabic numerals in place of his roman ones.

The chief sets are as follows:—1. Prologue; Knight; Miller; Reeve; Cook.—2. Man of Law.—3. Wife; Friar; Sompnour.—4*a*. Clerk; 4*b*. Merchant.—5*a*. Squire; 5*b*. Franklin.—6. Doctor; Pardoner.—7*a*. Shipman; Prioress; Sir Thopas; Melibee; 7*b*. Monk; Nun's Priest.—8*a*. Second Nun; 8*b*. Canon's Yeoman.—9*a*. Manciple; 9*b*. Parson.

Let us first of all ascertain the order of the Tales in the Hengwrt MS. According to the above list, it is as follows, viz. 1. 3. 7*b*. 9*a*. 2. 5*a*. 4*b*. 5*b*. 8*a*. 4*a*. 6. 7*a*. 9*b*. See pp. 2, 3.

Moreover, the MS. makes it quite clear that 7*b* was destined to succeed 7*a*, though for some temporary reason it was placed earlier in this particular copy. It is best to make this alteration at once, which gives, as the true scheme for this MS., the arrangement:—1. 3. 9*a*. 2. 5*a*. 4*b*. 5*b*. 8*a*. 4*a*. 6. 7. 9*b*.

We see that, despite the apparent disorder, much has already

been achieved. For Group 1 contains the Prologue and 4 Tales, all linked together; Group 3 contains 3 Tales; Group 6 contains 2 Tales; and Group 7 no less than 6 Tales. *Not one of these groupings was afterwards disturbed.*

The next scheme, in chronological order, is one that appears in many MSS., with which the Petworth MS. very nearly agrees. I call it the Petworth scheme for convenience, though the Petworth MS. itself has one useless deviation from the rest, in that it places the Shipman and Prioress in front of the Man of Law instead of making them form part of Group 7. This peculiarity may be neglected, as in other MSS. of the same type; and we then observe the order of Tales to be: 1. 2. 5*a*. 4*b*. 3. 4*a*. 5*b*. 8. 6. 7. 9.

In spite of the great apparent difference between this and the Hengwrt MS., it is possible to bring the Hengwrt scheme into harmony with this by help of three displacements or removals. Thus the Hengwrt MS. has the order above:—1. 3. 9*a*. 2. 5*a*. 4*b*. 5*b*. 8*a*. 4*a*. 6. 7. 9*b*. First place 3 after 4*b*; this gives: 1. 9*a*. 2. 5*a*. 4*b*. 3. 5*b*. 8*a*. 4*a*. 6. 7. 9*b*. Secondly, place 4*a* before 5*b*, and 9*a* before 9*b*. This gives:—1. 2. 5*a*. 4*b*. 3. 4*a*. 5*b*. 8*a*. 6. 7. 9*a*. 9*b*; which is the Petworth order, all but 8*b*, which has still to be supplied. We know from the first line of the Canon's Yeoman's Prologue, that it was written to follow the Second Nun; and when Group 8 was thus formed, it was never afterwards disturbed.

The mere shifting of detached groups is of course of no value in itself, unless it leads to something further. We have therefore to enquire whether anything else was done at the same time. We shall see presently that something has been gained, and that some attempt has been made towards the establishment of new connexions.

The Petworth scheme begins with 1, 2, 5*a*. Observe that most of the MSS. of this type insert the Tale of Gamelin after Group 1. We can hardly doubt that this Tale was intended to provide material for a future Yeoman's Tale; but we know, to our loss, that no such Tale was written.

Let us next consider the sequence 2, 5*a*; the Man of Law and the Squire. In the Hengwrt scheme we have the same sequence, though the two Tales are left disconnected. But in the Petworth scheme there is an attempt to join them together; and, although

this idea was afterwards abandoned, it is absolutely necessary to a right understanding of the MSS. that we should strictly look to what was done.

For, if we now turn to the end of the Man of Law's Tale, we find here a new Squire's Prologue, of which the Hengwrt MS. gave us no hint. It merely placed the Squire's Tale next, and nothing more. But the Petworth MS. has the rubric:—"Here endep þe tale of þe man of lawe; And here bygynnep þe prologe of the Sqwiere;" after which the said Prologue follows, consisting of 28 lines, and beginning: "Oure hoost vpon his stiropes stood anon." What, we may well ask, was the ultimate fate of this Prologue? We notice, at once, that it occurs, unaltered, in the Corpus and Lansdowne MSS.; which furnishes proof positive, that Chaucer at one time linked the Squire on to the Man of Law, and meant them to belong to the same group. In the Tables above, I denote this 'Squire's Prologue I' by "m."

We shall find, hereafter, that Chaucer formed a new intention with regard to the Squire, and proposed to let him follow the Merchant. The proof of this must be deferred for the present; but it will be found later on in its due place. After forming this new intention, he had to disconnect what he had at this time connected; and in order to see how this was done, we turn to ll. B 1163-90 in the scheme next after the Lansdowne, *i.e.* in the Harleian scheme, and we there find an exceedingly strange result. We find some of the lines indeed, but not all; the 28 lines have shrunk to 22 (they would have been 23 if the scribe had not missed a line).

There is now no rubric at the end of the Clerk's Tale. There is no name to what had been the Squire's Prologue, and it ends suddenly, with the rather absurd remark: "Here endith þe man of lawe his tale," which looks like a wild note of a puzzled scribe. But, most important of all, we now no longer find, in B 1179, the remark—"Seide the Sqwier"—as in Petw., Corp., and Lansdowne; but only—"Sayde the Sompnour." That statement can hardly have come from Chaucer, since this Prologue should properly end with—"þer is but litel Latyn in my mawe;" whereas we are expressly told concerning the Sompnour that, when he became at all excited—"Than wolde he speke no word but Latyn." And of course the Sompnour's

Prologue occurs elsewhere, not only in the Hengwrt MS. and the rest, but in the Harleian MS. itself.

I can only suppose that Chaucer, after dissociating this Prologue from the Squire, hardly knew what to do with it; and, if he left it standing, as is possible, he left the name of its speaker *blank*, on speculation. If he really thought of the Sompnour, he at once saw the contradiction, so that this Prologue ceased suddenly with l. 1185, in the middle of a sentence; and was thus practically abandoned. It was either left nameless, or was given up. The scribe actually omitted 6 lines of it, and he ought to have omitted it all.

As a matter of fact, this Prologue, *except when it is a Squire's Prologue*, is extremely scarce. Dr. Furnivall has taken the extreme trouble of printing this Prologue from 22 MSS. Of these, 18 assign it to the Squire; 3 only to the Sompnour, viz. the Harleian, Rowl. Misc. 1133, and Royal MS. 17 D xv; and one only to the Shipman, viz. Arch. Selden B 14.

On the strength of the evidence of this last MS., it has been called the Shipman's Prologue and much has been made of it. It is obvious that it was assigned to the Shipman in this MS. for no other reason than because the Shipman's Tale followed the Man of Law, owing to the eccentric arrangement (or disarrangement) of the Tales which this peculiar MS. exhibits. I do not object to its being made into a Shipman's Prologue, because, as he wants a Prologue and the Prologue suits him, it is the best thing to do with it. But it remains clear, nevertheless, that if we are to go by evidence, it was never assigned to him by Chaucer himself, but only by this single scribe and by Tyrwhitt.

The discussion of the history of this Prologue has been a digression; and it is far better to consider each scheme separately, and one at a time. I have digressed in this instance in order to show that the history of any link or prologue can be traced, and because it is an instance presenting some difficulty. The result is, briefly, that it does not appear in the Hengwrt MS.; that, in Petworth, it was written as a Prologue for the Squire, and so remained in the Lansdowne scheme; that in the next, or Harleian scheme, the Squire was otherwise provided for, and his name was then removed from the Prologue, leaving it nameless and useless, because it now preceded the Wife of Bath! And this is why

it rightly disappeared altogether from the edited MSS. of the Ellesmere type. See p. 193 of the print of the Harleian MS.

But the only right way of estimating the Petworth type is by taking it as a whole; and this I now proceed to do.

There are certain links, which require distinct symbols, in order to indicate where they occur. The symbols which I shall use are these.

- m = the new Squire's Prologue in Petworth (B 1163-1190).
- m = the nameless Prologue in the Harleian MS.; the same lines, but with a different function; the lines, in fact, which γ have just discussed.
- n = the Merchant's Prologue in the Hengwrt and Petworth schemes (F 673-708); suppressed in Lansdowne.
- n = Words of the Franklin in the Harleian¹ and Ellesmere; the same lines as " n ," with a different function.
- h = the Host-stanza of 7 lines at the end of the Clerk's Tale in the Hengwrt scheme; suppressed in Petworth,² Lansdowne, and Harleian; and needlessly revived in Ellesmere.
- $x + y$ = the Franklin's Prologue (x), together with the rest of the Franklin's Prologue (y), in the Hengwrt and Petworth schemes; missing in Lansdowne; (E 2419-2440; and F 1-8). Strictly, $x + y$ is a single set of lines, but the Six-text treats them as separable quantities, though not one of the MSS. separates them.³
- $x + y$ = the Squire's Prologue in the Harleian and Ellesmere schemes; the same lines as $x + y$, with a new function.
- z = the Clerk-Merchant link (E 1213-1244); which first appears in the Harleian scheme.

¹ These 'Words' are missing in the Harleian MS., because eight leaves are here lost; (but as I show below) this MS. here agrees with the Ellesmere, and the lines in question were in it originally. See p. 24.

² That is to say, in most of the MSS. of this type; but it occurs in Harl. 7333, Harl. 1758, Royal 18 C ii, and Barlow 20.

³ The connexion of x and y is strikingly shown in the MSS. which, like Barlow 20, corruptly turn the lines E 2427-F 6 into a couple of seven-line stanzas, to follow the "Host-stanza;" and make *can* rhyme with *am*. See Specimens prefixed to the Six-text, col. 54. Tyrwhitt says that these lines are in none of the old editions, and that he was the first to print them.

e = the Epilogue to the Nun's Priest; only found in 3 MSS.; one of the Petworth type, and two of the Ellesmere type; but genuine.

With these additions, the proper description of the Hengwrt type becomes:—

1. 3. 9a. 2. 5a n 4b x + y 5b. 8a. 4a h. 6. 7. 9b.

The proper description of the Petworth type becomes:—

1. 2 m 5a n 4b. 3. 4a x + y 5b. 8. 6. 7 e. 9a 9b.

This shows three additions, viz. m (the Squire's Prologue, no. I), preceding 5a (the Squire); e (the Nun's Priest's Epilogue, in one MS.); and 8b (the Canon's Yeoman). And there is one suppression, viz. of h (the Host-stanza).

Only two of these are of consequence. First, the Squire's Prologue I; it forms a link between 2 (Man of Law) and 5a (the Squire); a link perfectly real and intentional, though afterwards broken through and left useless. The other addition is that of the Canon's Yeoman, completing Group 8.

We should also take notice, that the suppression of the Host-stanza made it easier to link the Clerk (4a) to something else; it is here linked to the Franklin, but it was ultimately linked to the Merchant.

Another variation requiring immediate attention is this. The Manciple's Tale is now moved down so as to precede the Parson, forming and completing Group 9. As this arrangement was never afterwards disturbed, we have no authority for dividing this group into two parts, as is only done in the Hengwrt MS. and in MSS. in which the Tales are unarranged.

RESULTS.—The Petworth MS. forms two new groups, both temporary, viz. Man of Law and Squire and Merchant, and Clerk and Franklin; and one new permanent group, viz. Manciple and Parson.

By far the most important characteristic of the MSS. of this type is that they preserve and extend a group which had already been formed in the Hengwrt MS., though it was, in the very next scheme, destroyed. This is the one expressed by 5a n 4b; *i. e.* the Squire-Merchant group, linked together by means of "n," which in Hengwrt and Petworth is called the Merchant's Prologue; and now further linked to the Man of Law. Whenever we find this arrangement, viz. "Man of Law, Squire's Prologue, Squire, Merchant's Prologue, Merchant," we may be

quite sure that we have before us either a MS. of the Petworth type, or one that is founded upon it in all essentials.

It should be noted that this is by far the largest class of MSS., as might have been expected; for it is Chaucer's first "arranged" edition, and must have been eagerly sought after. Judging by Dr. Furnivall's tables, the following MSS. belong to the set, viz. Petworth, Harl. 7333, Harl. 1758, Sloane 1685, Royal 17 D xv, Royal 18 C ii, Camb. Mm. 2. 5, Barlow 20, Laud 739, New College, and Rawlinson Poet. 149. Probably Hatton 1, Rawl. Misc. 1133, Camb. II. 3. 26, Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3. 15, and the Lichfield MS. are founded upon MSS. of the Petworth type.

At least four of these, viz. Petworth, Sloane 1685, Royal 18 C ii, and Laud 739 abruptly end the Sompnour's Tale with D 2158; but this is a mere defect, as the Hengwrt MS. gives the missing portion. See Furnivall's Temporary Preface, p. 24.

The Petworth MS. omits the stanza in E 1170-6; so also do some other MSS. of this type, as Reg. 18. C. ii, Sl. 1685, Harl. 1758.

THE SCHEME OF TALES IN THE LANSDOWNE MS.

The two good MSS. known as the Corpus and Lansdowne MSS., show an arrangement of the Tales which does not differ much from the preceding or Petworth scheme, from which it is easily evolved. That the alteration was intentional appears from the fact that there is at least one considerable improvement.

I first repeat the Petworth scheme, viz.—

1. 2 m 5a n 4b. 3. 4a x + y 5b. 8. 6. 7 e. 9.

From this the Lansdowne scheme is easily evolved. All that it does is to suppress "n" and "e," and to place 4b after 4a. Hence the Lansdowne scheme is—

1. 2 m 5a. 3. 4a. 4b. [x + y] 5b. 8. 6. 7. 9.

The suppression of "n," which was temporary, enabled its function to be changed, as the Harleian scheme, in which it reappears, will demonstrate.

The great gain was the formation of the new group 4a. 4b. or 4ab; that of the Clerk-Merchant. This was so satisfactory that, in the next scheme, a new and indissoluble link (z) was expressly written to connect them. The sequence 4a z 4b then became Group 4.

The only other point that calls for remark is the sequence : $x + y$ 5*b* (the Franklin's Prologue and Tale).

If we turn to what was at that time a Franklin's Prologue ($x + y$), as in Petworth, viz. E 2419-2440 and F 1-8, we do not find it in the Corpus and Lansdowne MSS. But it does not follow that it was suppressed; for it so happens that in both those MSS. and in Sloane 1686 the preceding Merchant's Tale has been mutilated at the end, which might account for the omission otherwise. All that we can say for certain is that this passage was not lost, for it reappears in the next scheme, in which it still follows the Merchant's Tale, though it performs a new function.

RESULTS: The old Man-of-Law-Squire group, connected, as in Petworth, by "m," remains unaltered. By the suppression of "n," the temporary junction of 5*a* (Squire) with 4*b* (Merchant) was definitely dissolved. By the placing of 4*b* (Merchant) immediately after 4*a* (Clerk), a good preparation was made for the establishment of a permanent Group 4. There are at least three MSS. of this type, viz. Corpus, Lansdowne, and Sloane 1686.

I add a note that Petworth accidentally omits B 3764, and F 1147-8. It should be noticed that the very same lines are absent from both Corpus and Lansdowne. See other examples of omissions below, at pp. 33-36.

THE SCHEME OF THE TALES ACCORDING TO THE HARLEIAN MS.

The Lansdowne scheme was shown to be as follows—

1. 2 *m* 5*a*. 3. 4*a*. 4*b*. [$x + y$] 5*b*. 8. 6. 7. 9.

The Harleian scheme results from this chiefly by help of one shifting, viz. that of 5*a* so as to follow 4*b*. At the same time, the functions of "m" and " $x + y$ " were changed (becoming *m* and $x + y$); the link "z" appears for the first time; and "n" reappears as *n*.

The resultant scheme is—

1. 2 *m*. 3. 4*a* z 4*b* $x + y$ 5*a* *n* 5*b*. 8. 6. 7. 9.

The results are interesting and important, and are again due to the author. Let us examine them in order.

First, as to "m." In the last scheme, this was the Squire's Prologue, connected with the preceding Man of Law; it has now

become a nameless or discarded Prologue, and was either to be dropped or to be used in a new connexion. It was reduced to this condition by the shifting down of 5*a*; but whatever loss accrued from its abandonment was more than compensated for elsewhere.

As I have already said at p. 13, Dr. Furnivall has printed a large collection of specimens, no less than twenty-two, of this "Man-of-Law's End-Link." Of these, as many as eighteen have the reading Squire (proving that it is a reading not to be overlooked); only three (the Harleian, Rawl. Misc. 1133, and Royal 17 D xv) read Sompnour; and only one (Arch. Selden B. 14) has Shipman. If we remove the name of the Squire, we have the Sompnour and the Shipman to choose between. I have said that it is most likely that Chaucer left a blank in place of any name, and that these names were supplied by the scribes. A contradiction is avoided in the Harleian MS., by leaving this Prologue incomplete; it stops short at the end of B 1185 without completing the sentence. On the other hand, the reading "Shipman" would suit very well, and was actually adopted by Tyrwhitt, whom Dr. Furnivall has here followed. Yet only one MS. has this reading, and at the same time makes the Shipman's Tale come next in order; whereas the Harleian MS., the best authority, makes eleven Tales intervene between this Prologue and the Shipman, showing that the idea of using it as a Shipman's Prologue could never have occurred to Chaucer. The fact that *no* final arrangement was ever arrived at by the author is thus clearly emphasised. The Harleian MS. practically preserves a now nameless or an abandoned prologue after the Man of Law.

Next, as to the sequence 4*a* z 4*b*. Here 4*a* is the Clerk's Tale, and 4*b* is the Merchant's Tale. They are now for the first time connected by the excellent and well-known lines, beginning "Weping and wailing, care, and other sorwe" (E 1213-1244). That this was a satisfactory and final arrangement is obvious; and no more need be said, unless it be worth while to add that, as far as the external evidence goes, this was the latest addition to the Canterbury Tales. It wholly superseded the "Host-stanza."

The sequence $x + y$ 5*a* n 5*b*. requires especial attention and respect. It is a great improvement. Hitherto, " $x + y$ " had been a Franklin's Prologue (E 2419-2440, and F 1-8). It is

called in the Six-text a Merchant's End-link and a Squire's Head-link, and is arbitrarily divided into two parts. This arbitrary division is against all the evidence, for the MSS. always keep them together. What had once been a Franklin's Prologue when the Franklin followed the Merchant or the Clerk has now become a Squire's Prologue following the Merchant. It is only the function of the lines that has changed, but not their position or their use. The object in all the schemes was to link the Merchant (or, in the Petworth scheme, the Clerk) to whatever followed; and we must beware of deciding against Chaucer's own handiwork, in a case where he has taken all necessary pains. When we come to consider *5a n 5b*, we find that *n* is a new form of "n," which was a Merchant's Prologue in Hengwrt and Petworth. It was suppressed or is missing in Lansdowne, but in the Harleian it forms a connexion between the Squire and the Franklin, which are now joined together. This completes Group 5.

RESULTS.—The old Squire's Prologue has been dissociated from the Squire. The new link "z" now connects the Clerk with the Merchant, and consolidates Group 4. The old Franklin's Prologue (*x + y*) has become a Squire's Prologue, following Group 4; and the link *n* connects *5a* and *5b*, and completes Group 5. Moreover, Groups 4 and 5 are really connected, as has been shown; so that Groups 4 and 5 are really *one*.

This Harleian scheme is the latest one that shows Chaucer's hand. In it, he succeeded in reducing the sequence *4a z 4b x + y 5a n 5b* into one compact whole, which we may denote by 4 + 5. The scheme, in fact, can be briefly expressed by: 1. 2 *m*. 3. 4 + 5. 8. 6. 7. 9.; forming *eight* Groups only. By *m* is meant the nameless or abandoned Prologue, once a Squire's, which can hardly be said to belong to the scheme at all.

It is remarkable that this, the final scheme, as far as Chaucer is concerned, is also the scarcest. I have a note that the same order of Tales appears in one of the printed editions, viz. that by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1498. MS. Laud 600 is somewhat like it, but absurdly places 2 between *4a* and *4b*.

THE SCHEME OF THE ORDER OF THE CANTERBURY TALES
ACCORDING TO THE ELLESMERE AND CAMBRIDGE MSS.

The order of Tales in the Harleian MS. has become much simpler; it gives us 8 Groups in the following order, viz.—

1. 2. 3. 4 + 5. 8. 6. 7. 9.

The Ellesmere MS. alters the order to the following, viz.—

1. 2. 3. 4 + 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

It remains to collate the Harleian and Ellesmere MSS. throughout, to see if there is any difference beyond the above unimportant shifting.

We shall find a few points of difference, all of which can be best explained by supposing that the Ellesmere MS. presents an "edited" text, *i. e.* one due to some scribe or editor, and not to the author himself; whereas there is no reason why Chaucer did not himself suggest or authorise all the schemes that precede it; to the exclusion, of course, of all such MSS. as fail to represent such schemes faithfully. Only Chaucer could have reduced a long sequence into the single group 4 + 5, at the same time adding the fine lines in E 1213-1244.

It is simplest to copy Mr. Bradshaw's remarks, and to explain their meaning. "Marks of an Edited Text of the Canterbury Tales:—Gamelyn cut out. Link after Man of Law cut out. Host-stanza inserted. Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman shunted down late. Modern instances in Monk's Tale, at the end."—Furnivall, *Temporary Preface*, p. 24. To which we may add—revival of the Nun's Priest's Epilogue.

1. Gamelin. This tale is, of course, not Chaucer's, but he doubtless intended to employ the material for his Yeoman's Tale, and it was convenient to have a copy at hand. It was not in the Hengwrt MS., but appears in the Petworth, Lansdowne, and Harleian schemes alike. I conclude that the material was thus kept in hand for possible use; but a careful editor, understanding how matters stood, would rightly omit it.

2. Link after Man of Law. This refers to the now so-called Shipman's Prologue (B 1163-1190). It had once been a Squire's Prologue, as in the Petworth, Corpus, and Lansdowne MSS. But when, in the Harleian scheme, the Squire was placed further on and joined to the Franklin, it became, as I have explained

at p. 13, a nameless Prologue. It is suitable for the Shipman, and one MS. alone possesses a rubric that so calls it. But there is no proof whatever (but clear proof to the contrary) that Chaucer put it to any use himself; and a careful editor might well be justified in omitting it.

3. Host-stanza inserted. This Host-stanza is the genuine single stanza of seven lines which appeared at the end of the Clerk's Tale in the Hengwrt MS. and in some of the MSS. of the Petworth type, but was superseded by the Prologue of the Merchant's Tale in the Harleian scheme (E 1213-1244). It was therefore a mistake to preserve it; but no doubt this was done because it was seen to be genuine.

4. Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman shunted down; *i. e.* Group 8 placed between 7 and 9, whereas in all previous schemes it had occupied a position between 5 and 6. Nothing was gained by this; it was a matter of no consequence. I have suggested below (at p. 22) an editorial reason for doing it.

5. Modern instances in the Monk's Tale placed at the end. It can hardly be doubted that Chaucer's first draught of the Monk's Tale did not include the four examples, *viz.* of the two Pedros, of Visconti, and of Ugolino of Pisa, which are quite distinct from the rest. But he was afterwards moved to compose these, and naturally added them quite at the end; as the Hengwrt MS. so distinctly shows us. But when in the Petworth scheme, Chaucer added 20 new lines (B 3961-80) to the Nun's Priest's Prologue, he made a pointed allusion in B 3972—"He spak how Fortune couered was with a clowd"—to what had *once* (before the addition of the modern instances) been the last line of the Monk's Tale; and he easily set the matter right by lifting up those four short lives to an earlier position in the Tale. This arrangement was meant to be final, and is found, accordingly, in the Lansdowne and Harleian schemes. But the editor of the Ellesmere type of MSS. actually put this wrong again, evidently in order to arrange the lives so as to assume a chronological order. We can understand his obvious motive; but we see at the same time that the arrangement was not Chaucer's own, as all the preceding arrangements had been. Chaucer no longer superintended his work, so that the Ellesmere arrangement was naturally the latest. Of course other arrangements are found, but they are all unauthorised and usually due

to a mixture of types. There are, as it were, five authorised collections; the Hengwrt, the Petworth, the Lansdowne, the Harleian, and the Ellesmere; four of them due to the author (though the *first* was meant to be for purely *private* and temporary use, and was imperfectly arranged) and the fifth to a reasonable editor. MSS. that represent none of these types need not be respected for the purpose of arranging the Tales, however valuable their readings may well happen to be.

Before concluding this notice of the Ellesmere MS., I must add that MS. Camb. Dd. 4. 24 and MS. Addit. 5140, which are both of the Ellesmere type, revive the scarce Epilogue to the Nun's Priest's Tale, which is only otherwise known as being found in MS. Royal 17 D xv, which appears to be of the Petworth type. I have no doubt that Chaucer meant it to be suppressed.

I would also suggest that the apparently meaningless shifting down of Group 8 probably arose from the notion of placing the mention of Boughton-under-Blee (G 556) nearer to that of the Blee in H 3. This was a natural thing for an editor to do, especially if he had not really seized the fundamental idea that the Harleian scheme was so far from being final, and even from any approach to being final, that there was nothing really to be done but to *let it alone*. If anything is to be done to it at all, it is with regard to *m*, the nameless Prologue. It is absolutely useless where it is; but might serve for a Shipman's Prologue, if it be clearly understood that such a use is entirely unauthorised.

Other MSS. of the Ellesmere type are Camb. Dd. 4. 24, and Addit. 5140. MSS. Camb. Gg. 4. 27 and Bodley 686 are closely allied.

COMPARISON OF THE TYPES.

Now that each scheme has been considered separately, it may be useful to repeat them in order. I omit the Tale of Gamelin.

HENGWRT: 1. 3. 7*b**. 9*a*. 2. 5*a* n 4*b* x + y 5*b*. 8*a*. 4*a* h. 6. 7*a*. 9*b*.
(unarranged). See pp. 10, 15.

A. PETWORTH: 1. 2 m 5*a* n 4*b*. 3. 4*a* x + y 5*b*. 8. 6. 7(e). 9. P. 15.

B. LANSDOWNE: 1. 2 m 5*a*. 3 4*a*. 4*b*. [x + y] 5*b*. 8. 6. 7. 9. P. 16.

C. HARLEIAN: 1. 2 *m*. 3. 4*a* z 4*b* *x* + *y* 5*a* n 5*b*. 8. 6. 7. 9. Note that 4*a* z 4*b* *x* + *y* 5*a* n 5*b* simply make up 4 + 5. There are only 8 groups; which (omitting *m*) may be written simply as: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 8. 6. 7. 9. See p. 17.

C*. ELLESMERE: 1. 2. 3. 4*a* (h) z 4*b* 5. 6. 7* (e). 8. 9; or (omitting h and e): 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7*. 8. 9. See p. 20.

The meanings of the symbols are here repeated, as follows: 1 (Prologue, Knight, Miller, Reeve, Cook); 2 (Man of Law); 3 (Wife, Friar, Sompnour); 4*a* (Clerk); 4*b* (Merchant); 5*a* (Squire); 5*b* (Franklin); 6 (Doctor, Pardoner); 7 (Shipman, Prioress, Sir Thopas, Melibee, Monk, Nun's Priest); 7* (the same, but with a wrong change of order in the Monk's Tale); 8*a* (Second Nun); 8*b* (Canon's Yeoman); 9*a* (Manciple); 9*b* (Parson).

Also: *m* (old Squire's Prologue), changed to *m* (nameless Prologue); *n* (old Merchant's Prologue), changed to *n* (Words of the Franklin); *x* + *y* (Merchant's End-link and Franklin's Head-link, really a Franklin's Prologue), changed to *x* + *y* (Merchant's End-link and Squire's Head-link, really a Squire's Prologue); *h* (Host-stanza after Clerk); *z* (new Clerk-Merchant link); *e* (Nun's Priest's Epilogue).

As the Harleian MS. affords the only *authorised* order, it is best to give it in words: 1 (Prologue, Knight, Miller, Reeve, Cook); 2 (Man of Law); *m* (nameless Prologue); 3 (Wife, Friar, Sompnour); 4, 5 (Clerk, Merchant, Squire, Franklin); 8 (Second Nun, Canon's Yeoman); 6 (Doctor, Pardoner); 7 (Shipman, Prioress, Sir Thopas, Melibee, Monk, Nun's Priest); 9 (Manciple, Parson).

In the Six-text, these groups correspond to A; B 1-1162; *m* (B 1163-1190); D; E, F; G; C; B 1191-4636; H, I. Only 8 groups, not 9; since E is joined to F, and H to I.

A more correct arrangement would have been: A; B (B 1-1162); C (D); D (E, F); E (G); F (C); G (B 1191-4636); H (H, I).

It is right to add that, though the Harleian MS. gives the right order, *i. e.* as far as order went, it is a bad specimen of its type, and has lost several lines. These are: A 2013-2018, 2039, 2958, 4355, 4358, 4375-6, 4415-22; B 417, 1175, 1186-90; D 575-584, 605-12, 619-626, 717-20; E 2356-7; *gap in the MS.*, F 617-1223; F 1455-6, 1493-8; G 155, 210-216; C 299, 300, 305-6, 478-9; B 1355, 1376-9, 2253-4, 2265, 2433, 2445,

2526, 2623-4, 2647, 2709, 2731, 2742, 2754, 2855, 3035, 3213-20, 4136-7, 4479-80; not considering omissions in the Parson's Tale. The only omission that here calls for comment is the gap of 8 leaves at the end of E and the beginning of F; for I have said above (p. 14, note) that E and F are here conjoined. Fortunately, this admits of proof; for the arrangement must have been precisely the same as in the Ellesmere MS., by help of which we know that the number of missing lines (F 617-1223) is 608; and as each leaf of the Harleian MS. usually contains 76 lines, eight such leaves would contain 608 lines also; showing complete coincidence between these MSS. at this point.

By help of the tables which I have now given, it is easy to state the exact origin and ultimate fate of every grouping and of every link. Such a history I proceed to supply.

HISTORY OF THE GROUPS.

Group 1. Never altered: the Cook's Tale was never finished; and the Yeoman's Tale, founded upon the Tale of Gamelin, was never written.

Group 2 (Man of Law). This depends on the history of "m." In the Hengwrt MS. the Squire follows, but there is mere juxtaposition; the Squire is not linked to the Man of Law. But in Petworth a new link was written to connect these Tales, entitled a Squire's Prologue, and produced a Man-of-Law-Squire-Merchant group. In the Lansdowne, the Merchant was dropped. But in the Harleian the Squire was placed after the Merchant and before the Franklin, and linked to both of them, whilst the Man of Law now stood alone. This destroyed the value of m; it became *m* (a nameless Prologue), and Tyrwhitt proposed to assign it to the Shipman, as is accidentally done in a single MS. which is ill arranged.

Group 3 (Wife, &c.). Always a distinct group in every scheme.

Groups 4 and 5 (Clerk, Merchant, Squire, Franklin). Hengwrt has 5*a*. n. 4*b*. x + y. 5*b*; *i. e.* Squire, Merchant, Franklin, in a single group; the Merchant being linked by "n," at this time a Merchant's Prologue, to the Squire; and linked by "x + y," a Merchant's End-link and Franklin's Head-link (more correctly

a Franklin's Prologue) to the Franklin. But 4a, the Clerk, stands alone, after 8a (Second Nun).

In Petworth, 5a. n. 4b remains, *i. e.* we have still a Squire-Merchant group; but it is now linked to 2 preceding it, and the new group is a Man-of-Law-Squire-Merchant group. At the same time, the Clerk precedes The Franklin's Prologue (E 2419-2440, F 1-8) and Tale; and is linked to it by peculiar readings in E 2420 and E 2425. In the former of these lines, the phrase "euel wyves" alludes to those addressed in the Envoy to the Clerk's Tale. Other MSS. rightly have "swiche a wyf," because in them the allusion is to the wife mentioned in the Merchant's Tale. As to E 2425, see pp. 32, 33.

In Lansdowne, we have only a Man-of-Law-Squire group. The Merchant is placed after the Clerk, but there is, as yet, no Clerk-Merchant link. This gives the arrangement: Man-of-Law-Squire; Group 3; Clerk; Merchant; Franklin. Whether the Merchant was linked to the Franklin we cannot say; for the Merchant's Tale is mutilated at the end in all of the three MSS. of this type.

In the Harleian, the Man of Law is severed from the Squire, and becomes a group by itself; at the same time, the old Squire's Prologue becomes useless.

But the Clerk-Merchant group is definitely formed by help of a new Clerk-Merchant link; thus making group 4 complete. At the same time, group 5 has been placed after it; so that the sequence now becomes Clerk-Merchant-Squire-Franklin, all fairly linked together. For the very same Franklin's Prologue ($x + y = E 2419-2440, F 1-8$), which was used in Petworth to succeed the Clerk, now becomes a Squire's Prologue, succeeding the Merchant. This is a point which it is almost impossible to follow in the Six-text edition, because the head-lines above these lines (E 2419-2440, F 1-8) are not suitable to all the MSS. Thus the Petworth extract is named, at p. 476, the "Merchant's End-link," and at p. 478, the "Squire's Head-link," though the MS. says, at the beginning, "The prologe of the Fraunkeleyn," and at the end, "Here endeth the prologe of the Fraunkeleyn;" and it has nothing to do with either the Merchant or the Squire. That it cannot be a "Merchant's End-link" appears from the fact that the preceding Tale is that of the Clerk. Of course these very useful titles or headlines—such as the "Merchant's

End-link"—are intended for general purposes, without referring to the peculiarities of each particular MS. ; and I only note that the title given does not always apply, in order to warn the reader that it is best to refer to the tables at pp. 2, 3.

Group 6 (Doctor, Pardoner) is independent of the rest.

Group 7 (Shipman, Prioress, Sir Thopas, Melibee, Monk, Nun's Priest) is really all one, and well linked together. But it will be found that, in several MSS., the continuity of the group is broken, owing to the irresponsibility of scribes.

By the symbol 7* I mean that the four "modern instances" in the Monk's Tale come at the end of the Tale. This happens only in the Hengwrt MS. and in MSS. of the Ellesmere type ; perhaps there are just a few exceptions.

Group 8 (Second Nun, Canon's Yeoman) is incomplete in the Hengwrt MS. ; in all the rest it is complete and self-contained.

Group 9 (Manciple, Parson) is really but one group. The two Tales were at first separate, as in the Hengwrt MS., but were soon afterwards joined together, and so remained.

The rather numerous complications are really due to the shifting function of the links ; and the results can only be shown at once by means of tables.

GENUINE REJECTED LINES.

It will be seen that, in the course of his work, Chaucer had occasion to reject some of the lines which he had once introduced. The chief examples are: (1) the Host-stanza, superseded by the Harleian Clerk-Merchant link ; (2) the *first* Squire's Prologue, which should not have appeared in the Harleian MS., where it is wrongly preserved as a tag to the Man of Law's Tale ; and (3) the Nun's Priest's Epilogue, which, if it had not been revived by the Ellesmere editor, would only have been known as occurring in a single MS. All are genuine, but were meant to be suppressed. The Host-stanza was actually suppressed in the first (or Petworth) recension ; and Chaucer seems to have been contemplating its suppression even when the Hengwrt MS. was prepared ; for he repeats the third line of it—"Me were leuere than a barel ale" near the end of that MS. in the form—"I hadde leuere than a barel ale ;" B 3083.

RESULTS OF THE COMPARISON OF MSS.

When we carefully review the contents of the MSS., we see that after Chaucer had once begun to put his Tales together, he wrote very little that was new. The only important addition was the Canon's Yeoman's Tale; and the next most important contribution was the new Clerk-Merchant link in the Harleian scheme. But he seems to have spent much time and pains in trying to form new combinations, especially by putting old connecting links to new uses; the particulars have already been given. When we consider, in addition to this, that many of the intended Tales were never written at all, even when the original estimate of four stories for each teller had certainly been reduced to *one*,¹ which was a quarter of the original proposal, it becomes obvious that he never got so far as to be in a condition to remove inconsistencies. It is entirely out of the question, as it seems to me, that he should even have attempted to do so with so imperfect a set. If the eight groups (as they finally were) could have been made into one whole, or even reduced to three groups or a couple, and that too after many more Tales had been written than we possess at present, the time might *then* have come for the proper arrangement of the various notes relating to time and place. Not only did that period never arrive, but there was never any approach to it; we should accordingly expect to find, as in fact we do, that some glaring contradictions exist in the material as we have it.

Moreover, Chaucer was not the man to revise his work line by line with anything like careful scrutiny. And this consideration, when superadded to his lack of opportunity of surveying a completed set of Tales, accounts for all the difficulties that have so often been noted. A few examples will make this clear.

Take the case of The Second Nun's Tale, or the Life of St. Cecilia. We know that this was an old tale, adapted for the Second Nun to narrate. Yet in l. 62 we find the unlucky expression: "And though that I, unworthy *some* of Eve." No doubt, if the time had ever come for a careful review of his work,

¹ When he wrote the Manciple's Tale (which occurs early in Hengwrt), he at first said that it was the Cook's turn, though the Cook had already spoken. This is the only allusion to a *second* Tale.

he would have substituted for *some* some expression more suitable for the Second Nun's use. But the time for such revision never came. The correction was put off till a more convenient season, with a fatal result. And this is all that need be said. We can quite understand that if any one, say the Earl of Derby, had called his attention to it, he would hardly have heeded it. We can imagine him replying that he wrote the line himself, and that the Second Nun had nothing to do with composing it.

Take again the case of the Shipman's Tale. I have shown that the so-called "Shipman's Prologue" was once "the Squire's Prologue" in the Petworth and Hengwrt schemes; so that the Shipman's Tale had originally no Prologue at all. It will appear, further, that the Tale is connected with the Shipman in a very slight manner; for beside the rubrics in the MSS., it is assigned to the Shipman by help of a mere scrap of eight lines at the beginning of the Prioress's Prologue (B 1625-32), which was easily added. These lines appear in all the MSS., but it must be remembered that even the Hengwrt MS. shows the Tales in a certain stage of advance, after several groups had been completed. And it has often been pointed out that the opening lines of the Shipman's Tale are applicable to a woman only, and are suitable for no one in the company of pilgrims except the Wife of Bath. No doubt the conclusion is correct that it was at first written for the Wife; and Chaucer, after assigning it to the Shipman, never took the trouble to make the necessary corrections. I should not say, with Dr. Furnivall, that it was once meant for the Wife's *second* tale, but rather for her *first* Tale. It is clear that Chaucer wanted more opportunities for satire against women than this Tale exhibits; so, instead of keeping strictly within the limits of a tale, he launched out into what he was pleased to call the Wife of Bath's Prologue, extending, beyond all precedent, to 856 lines, just 80 lines longer than the Monk's Tale. Even the lady herself did not contradict the Friar's assertion that it was "a long preamble of a tale;" she left that to the Sompnour.

But after all, there is no difficulty. Chaucer simply assigned the original Wife's Tale to the Shipman, and never took the trouble to hide the traces of the transfer. Neither did he, at that time, or at any other time, write a Shipman's Prologue; for he did not know, any more than we do, what Tale would

precede the Shipman. In so incomplete a scheme, we expect inconsistencies; and accordingly we find them.

Take again the case of the Monk's Tale. When Chaucer had written several lives of celebrities, from Adam to Julius Cæsar, he was getting tired of it. However, he managed to add Cræsus to the list, from the French Romaunt of the Rose. And there he broke off. Later on, perhaps almost at once, he added four "modern instances," as the Hengwrt MS. shows. But he afterwards happened to add 20 lines to the Nun's Priest's Prologue,¹ and made an allusion to "a cloud" in the last line of Cræsus. To make matters come right, he shunted the four new lives to an earlier place in the Tale, so that they actually take up an almost absurd position between Zenobia and Nero! It is obvious that he thought that it did not much matter; and I am willing to grant the assumption. We owe much more to a writer who can interest and amuse us without being always consistent than to one who is severely consistent without being either interesting or amusing.

We now come to a much more serious matter, viz., the allusions to the places passed on the road and the times of day. We can get over the allusions to the times, as Dr. Furnivall so well points out, by allowing three or four days for the pilgrimage; it is impossible, for example, that the Canon and his Yeoman could have overtaken the pilgrims near Boughton-on-the-Blee after having seen them start in the morning unless they had stopped somewhere on the way during the previous night. But when it comes to a question of the places passed on the road, we really have not enough to go upon. We have merely eight disconnected groups of Tales, the positions of some of which were altered more than once, instead of a complete and definite scheme. If there had been anything at all approaching to a final arrangement, we might see our way. As it is, many of the Tales are unwritten, and we do not know where they would have been inserted. To put them in order in accordance with such insufficient and shifting data is like making a rope of sand.

The chief difficulty is, of course, the mention of Sittingbourne before the mention of Rochester; but I cannot think that this ought to surprise us, if we look at it without prejudice. As long

¹ These lines (B 3961-80) are not only absent from Hengwrt, but also from Petworth and Corpus. They occur in Lansdowne.

as Chaucer, in the course of his group A, could join all his Tales together, no difficulty could arise. Accordingly, the pilgrims start from Southwark, come to St. Thomas-a-Waterings, and pass by Deptford and Greenwich in regular succession, and all is well. But when we come upon a casual arrangement of unconnected groups of Tales, which was certainly intended to be considerably enlarged, the case is very different. The mention of Sittingbourne occurs near the end of the Wife's Prologue, in D 847, *i.e.* in Group 3. The mention of Rochester occurs in the Prologue of the Monk's Tale, in B 3116; *i.e.* in Group 7. The wrong place is therefore mentioned first. The simplest, and I believe the only true way, is to admit the fact and leave it. I do not doubt that Chaucer could easily have set it right; but, if we are to go by the evidence, it is obvious that he never even attempted it.

For let us look at what the MSS. say. A glance at the various schemes shows that Group 3 always precedes Group 7; and if we look at the more minute accounts of some 40 MSS. in the very valuable table prefixed by Dr. Furnivall to his Six-text edition, we shall find that this result recurs with relentless persistency. Group 3 always precedes Group 7, in the most eccentrically arranged MS.; and it follows that we always come to Sittingbourne before we come to Rochester.

The contrary has been arrived at by an appeal to MS. Arch. Selden B. 14, a MS. to which no appeal would ever have been made, had not the case been desperate. That MS. is the only one in which what I have called the "nameless" Prologue precedes the Shipman's Tale, on which account alone the said Prologue is called the "Shipman's" Prologue. On the strength of this name, the whole of Group 7 was moved up bodily, so as to make it follow as a part of Group 2, which it will be seen, is the only one (except Group 1) which can possibly precede Group 3. I do not say that Chaucer *might* not have been led to do this; I only say that there is no evidence that he lived to do it, or that this expedient ever occurred to him. It was simply a suggestion of Tyrwhitt's, for utilising a discarded Prologue.

But the point to which I want to draw attention is this. When we have selected this MS. as being the only one worth considering, we surely ought to go by it. If we do so, we find that the order of Tales in it is as follows: 1. 4a. 3. 4b. 5a. 2. 7. 8.

6. 5b. 9. In other words, Group 3 again comes before Group 7, and thus the very MS. which is selected to set everything right agrees with all the rest in making Sittingbourne precede Rochester. I submit that this ought to be final; and that, instead of considering what Chaucer ought to have done, we have rather to consider what he actually did.

It would appear, in fact, that the results to be obtained from the MSS. themselves are, even at the best, quite unsatisfactory. Any improvement must be purely editorial; and I am quite willing to acquiesce, as I have always done, in Dr. Furnivall's proposal to utilise the "nameless" prologue as a Shipman's Prologue, and to join on to it not only that Tale itself, but all those that belong to the same Group. We are all most grateful for his Six-text edition, and for his edition of the Harleian MS.; and it will readily be understood that the present paper entirely depends upon these seven printed texts, and upon the excellent tables of contents of MSS., as prefixed to the Six-text edition. In particular, I wish to record my gratitude to him for taking the precaution, when printing the MSS., of giving the numbers of their leaves. For this is the only safe guide to the order in which each of them arranges the Tales.

It remains to be said that several MSS. have been neglected, because they exhibit the Tales in an order which cannot be fitted into any scheme whatever. Some of these may have arisen from a contamination of types, the scribe making use of two or more copies as he could best come by them. It is not worth while to particularise them, as they afford us no assistance as regards arrangement. But even these it is possible to group together by the internal evidence of the readings which they exhibit: and all the MSS. have accordingly been successfully arranged into seven groups by Dr. Koch, to whose Introduction to the Pardoner's Tale it suffices merely to refer.

THE BLACK-LETTER EDITIONS.

The most important of the black-letter editions is Thynne's, from which several succeeding editions are derived. Thynne follows in the main the Petworth type; but he had access to an edition or MS. of the Harleian type also, because he inserts the

Clerk-Merchant link, which occurs in that type only. It follows that his edition shows no distinct variety of type, and is useless for our present purpose. The complete formula for Thynne's edition is: 1. 2. m. 5*a*, n. z. 4*b*. 3. 4*a*. h. 5*b*. 8. 6 (with a spurious prologue), 7* (with a spurious prologue), e. 9. It bears some resemblance, (in arrangement, hardly in all the readings) to Caxton's first edition, which, as Caxton admitted, was not very good.

Tyrwhitt points out a blunder of Thynne's, which is extremely instructive. He gives, just before the Merchant's Tale, both the Words of the Merchant to the Squire (F 673-708), in which the Merchant complains of his son's undutiful conduct, and the Clerk-Merchant link (E 1213-1244), in which the same Merchant says that he has been married only two months! He has, in fact, combined "n" in Petworth with "z" in the Harleian. It is true that both are Merchant's Prologues, but *they belong to different types!*

Caxton's first edition is certainly of a mixed type, and does not help us. It agrees with Lansdowne in suppressing "n," but admits "z," as in the Harleian. The order of stories in the Monk's Tale follows that in the latter MS.

The order in Caxton's second edition agrees with none of the MSS. described by Dr. Furnivall; for it makes the Merchant follow the Man of Law, and the Second Nun follow the Clerk! Both the editions by Pynson follow suit. But the edition by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498 actually follows the Harleian scheme.

A NOTE ON THE PETWORTH MS.

I think it would be premature to consider the possible effects of the preceding investigation on the choice of readings in passages where the MSS. differ. It will certainly enable us in some cases to see what the readings mean, which is the first step to deciding upon the reading to be adopted.

I take, as an example, the readings of E 2425, which occurs in a rather Protean link which I have called "x." We can most easily explain the readings by taking them in their practically chronological order. Heng. has: "By this Marchantes Tale it

preueth weel." There is here no difficulty, because the reference is direct, viz. to the Merchant's Tale that precedes.

But in the Petworth MS., such a reference would be quite unsuitable, because the preceding tale is that of the Clerk. And the reading is: "By mony ensaumples it preueth well." The scribe cannot be quite right, because the line will not scan. I think he has left out the word *olde*; at any rate, *well* should be *weel*, and the reading: "By mony ensaumples [olde] it preueth weel" is probably correct.

The context shows that the Host is lamenting the abundance of evil wives, who are always busy to deceive unfortunate men; as proved, he says, by many examples. If we take notice that the preceding tale is the Clerk's, we see at once that there is here a perfectly fitting reference to the Clerk's Envoy, in which the author recommends wives to refrain from imitating the example of Griselda, and gives special hints to arch-wives, slender wives, fair wives, and ugly wives, as to their manipulation of their husbands. It shows, in fact, that when, in the Petworth scheme, what was then the Franklin's Prologue followed the Clerk's Envoy, the author's intention was to connect the Franklin with the Clerk.

But in the Lansdowne scheme, this is again changed; the Merchant again precedes the Franklin, and the Hengwrt reading might very well have been restored. We cannot certainly say if this was then done, because the three MSS. of the Lansdowne type are here imperfect. But the Harleian MS. actually restores the original reading, which the Ellesmere MS. also preserves.

The point of this note is to the effect that, although the Petworth MS. has, in this line, a different reading from the Hengwrt, the Lansdowne, and the Ellesmere, it is nevertheless correct. For the reading which is suitable for those MSS. would have been quite unsuitable for its own arrangement of the Tales. The same remark applies to E 2420, where Petworth again has a line of its own, as has been already noted at p. 25.

SOME OMISSIONS AND INSERTIONS.

The above investigation gives the relative priority of the various types of MS. It is worth saying that the order of types

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above given is perfectly consistent with the various omissions, insertions, and peculiar readings that here and there occur.

It is obvious to any one that consults the MSS. that there is a connexion of the closest kind between the Hengwrt and Ellesmere MSS.; and we now know in which direction the borrowing lies. The Ellesmere is of the latest type, and is an edited MS.; and it is clear that the editor had access to a "Hengwrt" MS., which was one of his most important sources. Amongst other things, a very close agreement in the spelling often extends through many consecutive lines. Again, the Ellesmere MS. abounds in side-notes, many of which appear to have come from Chaucer himself. The same notes appear, in the same places, in the Hengwrt MS., whence they are carefully copied.¹

Consistently with this, we find that the Ellesmere and Cambridge MSS. sometimes follow the Hengwrt MS., where all the rest vary.

Another source of the Ellesmere MS. was a MS. of the Harleian type, which it sometimes follows as against all the rest.

It also appears that whilst the Corpus and Lansdowne MSS. are very nearly of the same type, the form of the Corpus MS. is somewhat older, and agrees more closely with the Petworth than the Lansdowne does.

I now enumerate the chief omissions, etc., in the Hengwrt MS.

This MS. alone contains two extra lines in the Prologue, viz. A 252*b*, and A 252*c*. These lines were afterwards lost, possibly by accident. On the other hand, it omits A 637-8.

The Hengwrt MS. omits A 2681 and 2682, in the Knight's Tale, and the Ellesmere and Cambridge follow suit. But the other types retain them.

The Hengwrt MS. omits four lines of Arcite's last speech (A 2779-82). They were doubtless added afterwards.

The Hengwrt MS. omits two lines in the Miller's Prologue (A 3155-6). They do not appear in the Petworth, nor in the Lansdowne. But they appear in the Harleian, and were thence copied into the Ellesmere.

The lines A 3721-2 are in Ellesmere and Cambridge only,

¹ There are some exceptions. Thus, in A 1955, 1956, the former *see* is glossed in Heng. by *ad vid.* (i.e. it is the *verb*), and the latter by *i. mare* (i.e. it is the *substantive*). The Ellesmere misses this. So also in A 2298.

among the seven MSS. But they are also in Thynne's edition, which contains a mixture of types.

It is only the Hengwrt MS. that records the fact about the Cook's Tale, that "Of this Cokes Tale maked Chaucer na moore." This is highly significant. It really means that, at a comparatively early stage, Chaucer definitely and finally abandoned it.

What is now called the Shipman's Prologue (B 1163-1190) first appeared as a Squire's Prologue in the Petworth MS. The Hengwrt does not contain it at all. It was imperfectly retained by mistake in the Harleian.

A line in Sir Thopas (B 1995) was accidentally dropped in the Hengwrt MS., and actually disappeared in nearly all later copies. A line which serves the purpose appears in MS. Reg. 17 D xv; but it may have been concocted. It does not appear in Thynne.

Three lines in Sir Thopas (B 2042-4) were omitted in the Petworth MS., and hence do not appear in the Corpus and Lansdowne. They were restored (but badly) in the Harleian, which was undoubtedly influenced by some revised MS. of high authority that has unfortunately been lost.

In Melibeus, B 2252-3, a passage was omitted in Hengwrt. It is consequently omitted in all other copies. The same thing occurs twice more, further on; see B 2623-4, and B 2854.

In the Monk's Tale, the stanza concerning Adam is not in Hengwrt. Neither is it in Corpus. But the rest have it.

In the Nun's Priest's Prologue, it is particularly to be noted that Hengwrt omits 20 lines (B 3961-3980); and Petworth and Corpus follow suit. They appear in Lansdowne, Harleian, and Ellesmere. It is highly significant; for these are the lines in which the Knight refers to what the Monk has said—"He spak how 'fortune covered with a cloude I noot never what.'" This proves quite clearly that the idea of bringing the story of Cræsus to the end of the Tale was an afterthought. It was done forcibly, by inserting the modern stories at an earlier place.

In the Nun's Priest's Tale, Petworth omits B 4233-8. So do Corpus and Lansdowne.

In the Doctor's Tale, Ellesmere omits C 103-4. In the Words of the Host, Hengwrt and Petworth (followed by Ellesmere)

omit C 297-8. In the Pardoner's Tale, the spurious lines C 487*b* and 488*b* appear in Corpus and Lansdowne only.

In the Wife of Bath's Preamble, several lines occur in Ellesmere and Cambridge only; viz. D 575-84, 609-12, 619-26; and 717-20 in Ellesmere only. All four passages are in Thynne. There is no significance in the omission by Petworth of D 2159-2294; for the lines are found in Hengwrt as well as elsewhere.

The Merchant's Prologue, E 1213-44, first appears in the Harleian MS. It is absent from Hengwrt, Petworth, and Lansdowne (and from Corpus).

In the Merchant's Tale, E 1305-6, where Hengwrt is imperfect, there is much variation in the readings.

In several places, MSS. of all types omit lines owing to confusing lines that end alike. Even the Ellesmere, which seldom errs thus, has lost E 1358-61, which the rest retain.

Petworth omits E 1927-8; so do Corpus and Lansdowne.

Corpus and Lansdowne omit the end of the Merchant's Tale, E 2319-2440; and also F 1-8. This is a troublesome loss.

In the Franklin's Tale, certain lines are absent from Petworth, Corpus, and Lansdowne; viz. F 1147-8, 1191-6, 1423-4, 1433-4. F 1567-8 appear in Petworth, but not in the other two.

F 1455-6 and F 1493-8 appear in Ellesmere only; though F 1455-6 are found in Thynne.

In the Second Nun's Tale, Petworth, Corpus, and Lansdowne twice omit a clause, viz. in G 213-4 and G 432-3.

The Canon's Yeoman's Tale is absent from the Hengwrt MS., as has been already said.

It thus appears that each type often affected the one that succeeded it. On the other hand, the Harleian and Ellesmere types often restore what had previously been lost.

The preceding remarks refer to the seven chief MSS. *only*. Collation with other MSS. may easily modify some of them.

I venture to think that, even in the totally different matter of collating the various readings, it will never do any harm to look at the seven MSS. in this particular order, viz. **Hengwrt, Petworth, Corpus, Lansdowne, Harleian, Ellesmere, Cambridge**. I have tried the experiment in several places, and have found that some light is sometimes thrown upon the matter by this very simple proceeding.

A very curious example occurs in the Knight's Tale, A 2037—“As is depeynted in the sterres above.” That *sterres*, i.e. stars, is the right reading is certain; for there is a parallel passage in B 194—“For in the *sterres*, clerer than is glas, Is writen,” etc. Yet the scribe of the Hengwrt MS. very oddly spelt the word *sertres*, making the *t* the fourth letter instead of the second: and so producing a ghost-word.¹ The remarkable point is, that Petworth has *certres*, with *c* for *s*; Corpus and Lansdowne have *sertres*; Ellesmere has *certres*; and Cambridge has *sertres*; so that all these practically follow suit. Only the Harleian, which is so often independent of the rest, has the right spelling *sterres*. And at the same time the carelessness of the Harleian scribe is well exemplified by the fact that he drops the preceding *the*.

¹ If the *er* in *sterres* be represented, as often, by a mere curl, it would appear as “st^res.” If a careless scribe's eye was attracted by this curl, he might read it as “s^res,” by anticipation. But this is “sertres.”

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APPENDIX TO
THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S TRANSACTIONS,
1907-9.

The Lydgate Canon

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BY
HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN, PH.D.

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THE LYDGATE CANON.

HUMBLY, and under correction, and with supportation of your benignity, I approach the canon¹ of my master Lydgate.

There are three means of discrimination to help us in proving Lydgate's true works: Lydgate's own statements, the statements of contemporary scribes, and the internal evidence of rhyme, metre, and style. I place least emphasis on the last, but none the less consider it as our only aid when the first two are lacking.

1. No one surely can doubt a poet who names himself in his work. Literary forgery was a lost art, when most pieces circulated anonymously.

2. The scribes of the period seem to have been particularly well-informed people, and I take their rubrics and colophons as generally far more trustworthy than our own microscopic examination of the texts.²

3. Internal evidence gives doubtful results. Lydgate in his secular poetry was a Chaucerian, while in his religious poetry he had a host of imitators. In the one case I cannot deny that another Chaucerian might have written almost any one of the poems of the school of the court of love ascribed to Lydgate. In the other case I cannot deny that an imitator might have imitated his style so closely as to make his work indistinguishable from his model's. At once I must abandon an attempt to claim for Lydgate any ballade, virelai, or other poem of courtly love not expressly assigned to him

¹ The Society's Dictionary sanctions my use of this word as "a standard of judgement, or test of discrimination," or as the set of works written by Lydgate.

² In MS. Bodley 686 the running title puts *Lydgate* above the *Tale of the Crow* or Chaucer's *Mauunciples Tale*. The scribe never intended it to head this poem, but some one of Lydgate's works, a number of which he adds later on. This error crept into library catalogues, and I last saw it in a Berlin doctor's dissertation, printed in 1906! In MS. Rawlinson c. 86, date about 1500, part of Chaucer's *Dido* is ascribed to Lydgate. Finally the gossiping Shirley in Ashmole 59, written in old age, is not always to be trusted.

on MS. authority. But in regard to Lydgate's imitators I can oppose the objection that Lydgate's religious poems, written in his own manner, are almost entirely the product of his old age, and that his imitators are a generation behind him. Lydgate as an old man still writes the language of his youth, but his imitators cannot find this language in the rapidly changing state of the tongue. Thus it is unlikely that any imitator on the religious side will be able to imitate Lydgate so closely as to defy detection. Poets of equal age with Lydgate may do so, but they are not so apt to be his imitators. And diligent search has failed to find a single known religious poet of the time whose rhyme-scheme is the same as Lydgate's.

But upon the other side of the question, upon the exclusion of spurious poetry, it is, I think, a safe canon, or means of discrimination, that if in 100,000 lines of verse known as Lydgate's no exception can be found to certain phenomena, any poem in which these phenomena occur must possess stronger evidence than tradition dating from later than 1500 if its claim to share in Lydgate's fame is to be admitted. Lydgate might have changed his style, his rhyme, his metre for another, had he ever been conscious that another style, metre or rhyme was desirable; there is no evidence that he ever thought so or that any contemporary ever thought so. On the contrary, his style throughout his life is highly commended by the religious poet, by the historical verse writer, and by the poet of courtly love. This style is perhaps the most uniform, the most repetitive, the most conventional of all English poetry. In his work, therefore, if anywhere, tests of rhyme, rhyme-tag, metre and phrase should be applied with almost absolute precision.

We have then before us the task not of describing, in all their detail, the characteristics of Lydgate's poetry, but of providing if possible a basis for certain tests of genuineness.

I. RHYME.

Lydgate was throughout his life an accurate and skillful rhymer.¹ His rhyme-index is carefully modelled on Chaucer's, and there are very few exceptions to his usage. Certain of these should be noted.

1. Words ending in -er, -ere, -ers, rhyme with words in -ir, -ire, -irs.¹

¹ In all these remarks I but follow the various editors of Lydgate's works, for the Early English Text Society.

But so they do in the Assembly of Gods, and in Bokenham's poems, and in Fragment B of the Romaunt of the Rose.

2. Open and close e, and o, are not kept apart.

But this is characteristic of all fifteenth century verse, and in fact Chaucer did not always keep the distinction.

3. Final weak -e. Words ending in a final weak -e sometimes rhyme with words that do not. But this practice is characteristic of the poems of the whole century. The whole matter of final -e in the fifteenth century is best postponed until we are more sure as to the facts.

4. The -y : -ye, -ie, rhyme.

In certain words, mercy, party, Calvary, Lydgate varies between -y and -ye rhymes.¹ But aside from these, Lydgate's usage is practically uniform, he never departs from the Chaucerian usage once in 10,000 lines.

It should be noted that skye, no matter in what sense it is used, always rhymes with words in -ye, as do remedye, Marie.

5. We may now note certain Chaucerian distinctions, observed by Lydgate, but neglected by one or other of the poets whose works are identified as Lydgate's.²

1. -igne, -ine. Ex. benigne : devine.

2. -ighte, -ite. „ righte : lyte.

3. -orie, -ye. „ glorie : folye.

4. -arie, -ie. „ necessarie : folye.

5. -ees, -esse. „ pees : excesse.

6. Assonances.³

7. Penultimate or antepenultimate rhyme of words in -oun.⁴

In Nos. 1, 2, and 6 of the above classes Lydgate's usage is almost uniform; in 3, 4, and 5 it may be said to be absolutely so. These distinctions, so often neglected by other poets of the time, furnish the readiest way to dispose of most of the pseudo-Lydgatian poetry.

¹ Three examples in *Complaint of the Black Knight*, and three in *Reason and Sensuality*, both early works. Practically none in later poems.

² John Walton, for example, rhymes -orie : -ye; as do John Hardyng, Quixley, and Burgh. The continuator of the *Secrees* rhymes -igne : -ine continually.

³ Assonances occur in Lydgate, but very rarely indeed.

⁴ Temptacioun : nacioun, derisioun : visioun, correccioun : diléccioun, etc. The -acioun rhyme comes into Lydgate's work rarely, and by accident in his latest poems (*Secrees*, *Miracles of Edmund*); the others never. They are characteristic of Hoccleve's verse, however.

II. METRE.

Lydgate, like most other poets of his time, had two lines, one of four accents, the other of five accents. I do not know whether in any poem of his he puts the short line and the long line together; certain evidence points that way. His normal forms of verse are the rhyme royal or ballade, as it was called in his time, the eight-line ballade stanza, and couplets in 8 and 10 syllables. In his envoys he sometimes employs stanzas of varying rhyme-schemes, *abba*, *aabba*, etc. Lydgate wrote roundels too, we know. It seems pretty certain that in his five-accent line Lydgate allowed greater variety than Chaucer in the number of unaccented syllables. Yet at the same time he never went so far as to make his lines impossible of reading under a scheme of variations of the iambic pentameter.¹ Thus verse so rude as that of the Coventry Miracle Plays is quite foreign to his manner. Throughout his life he centred his attention on the even flow of his verse, and on the simplicity of structure so noticeable in Chaucer. Those two ideals led him into redundancy and exceeding looseness of grammatical form, but they never misled him into unmelodious measures.

Professor Churton Collins was perfectly right in saying that Lydgate wrote some of the smoothest verse in the language. But to contend that no other poet could write harmoniously in Lydgate's day would be hopeless. Such a poem as that addressed to Lydgate in MS. Bodley, Fairfax 16, is as metrical as any of Lydgate's, and obviously cannot be by him.

Until then a careful study of the metres of the fifteenth century is made, and the prevailing rhythms noted down by some one as acute as Professor Sievers, let us say, no possible test, other than that of absolute roughness, can be used on poetry attributed to Lydgate.

¹ The broken-backed line, which Professor Schipper noted, with two accented syllables next each other at the caesura, is not altogether objectionable. I have tried reading *Troy Book* aloud, and have come to agree with its editor that it is a pleasant variation of the line. The phenomenon is not unknown in later times. I give a typical specimen, *Troy Book*, 16:

To lóke vpón fuly fúriouís.

But I believe with Professor Kaluza that this broken-backed line can in most instances be easily mended, and that it was far less used than editors of Lydgate would have us believe. (*Literaturblatt f. germ. Phil.*, 1899, pp. 373-375; 1900, p. 408.)

III. STYLE.

1. *Subject*.—Lydgate's pen was at the service of any devout Catholic and patriotic Lancastrian. If his range of ideas was narrow, he was yet ready to do what he could in any direction. From some fields of writing he was shut out naturally, the fields open to a man of opposite nature. With the possible exception of one poem,¹ Lydgate never descended to the vulgar and obscene. When translating, however, he might feel himself bound to reproduce his original. Thus in the *Ballade of the Crabbe*, Lydgate attacks priests, though very slightly, because his original had not spared them.

It is thus not safe to believe that any subject would have been foreign to Lydgate's pen, with the one exception of obscenity. And even here Lydgate's introduction of Mine Host of the Tabard in the Prologue to his *Story of Thebes*, and the rather coarse language which Mine Host uses, proves that Lydgate enjoyed this side of Chaucer's humour as well as the other.

2. *Chaucerian influence*.—No amount of Chaucerian influence can be taken as a test of Lydgate's genuine writing. There was no poet of the time, I believe, more the creature of Chaucer, no poet more eager to

“ . . . seke his boke þat is left be-hynde,
Som goodly word þer-in for to fynde
To sette amonge þe crokid lynys rude
Whiche I do write ; as, by similitude,
þe ruby stant, so royal of renoun
With-Inne a ryng of copur or latoun.”

(*Troy Book*, II, 4703 f.)

Yet others were no doubt equally devoted, and no greater mistake could be made than to ascribe a poem to Lydgate merely because it is Chaucerian and yet not quite up to Chaucer's mark.

3. *Other influence*.—In his religious poetry Lydgate shows most clearly the influence of that school of poetry, of which the highest types are the *Pearl* and the *Quia Amore Languo*. While I do not believe that Lydgate could rise to the height of this last poem, yet he came near it on more than one occasion, and it is very difficult to distinguish between a poem like *Timor Mortis Conturbat Me*, by Lydgate, and others like *Fortis ut Mors dileccio*, not claimed for him.

4. Much has been made of Lydgate's tendency to repetition,

¹ *The Hood of Green*, noted below.

amplification, and digression; and indeed in some poems, particularly those from the French, these traits seem almost a peculiar disease. But these qualities are characteristic of the homilist at any period, and the duplication of terms is an essential quality of English style. It would thus be dangerous to draw any line between Lydgate's tendency to excessive redundancy and the normal verbiage of monkish poets. There are times when Lydgate is concise, when every line tells; there are times when other poets than Lydgate grow tedious.

5. The personality of Lydgate, as expressed in his writings, may on occasion serve us as a guide. Lydgate is always modest, deprecative, simple; he never forces himself or his opinion on the reader, never treats the reader otherwise than as a master. It is quite true that this attitude is a conventional one of the time, but in no other writer that I have read is sincerity in the use of the convention so evident in every line of his writing.

6. Another characteristic of Lydgate's style may be taken as a test, his rhyme-tags. The best collection of these is in the preface to *Reson and Sensuallyte* in the E.E.T.S. series. We note the great variety of them, and the absence of one rhyme-tag so needed by the minstrel, "verament."

Here then is a conservative statement of the tests which can be applied. With proper caution, we can exact a certain smoothness of verse, a certain dignity and elevation of sentiment, a certain polish as of the court. We can demand no minstrel-rhyme-tags, and no frequent use of the half-dozen departures from Chaucer's rhyme-scheme, which I have particularly noted. Applying these tests in a friendly manner, it is now possible to draw up a list of Lydgate's poems as they exist to-day in print or manuscript, and to indicate the evidence upon which we may allow them to the monk of Bury. I have made the list an alphabetical one by titles, quoting first lines.¹ Poems in which Lydgate names himself or his place of birth are indicated by titles in capitals. Manuscripts in which the

¹ On titles. So far as possible, I have preserved the titles given in rubrics. This is particularly true of the Latin titles indicating the hymns translated. In some cases, however, the titles in different MSS. of the same poem are not identical, in other cases the same title is applied to different poems. As most of the poems are ballades with refrains, I have followed the practice adopted in Chaucer's poems *Trouthe*, *Lak of Stedfastnesse*, etc., of selecting the essential element in the refrain line. In other cases I have tried to select a title agreeable to the theme. The danger of confusion with titles given by others will be obviated by cross references in the index.

scribe in rubric or colophon names Lydgate are named in italics. Other external evidence is not indicated. On the side of internal evidence it should be said that my examination of the poems here presented finds every one of them agreeing with the tests I have suggested for Lydgate's authorship. Where there is no external evidence, however, the nature of the internal evidence, leading me to accept the poem in the Lydgate canon, is indicated.

Ale-seller,¹ Ballade on an.

Beg. Remembryng on the grete untabilnesse.

MS.—Bodley, Rawlinson, c. 48; 11 stanzas of 7 lines, last two fragmentary.

Sir Frederick Madden, whose annotated copy of Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, in the Harvard College Library, shows that he had a thorough knowledge of Lydgate MSS., ascribes the poem to Lydgate in his account of the MS. in the preface to the Roxburghe Club *Syr Gawayne*. His judgment is verified by the accuracy of the -ye rhyme in the refrain, the tags "I dar riht weel assure," "I dar weel saye," "in substaunce," "done here besy cure," the rhyme resofún : guerdoún, and the apology for "rude writyng." The ninth stanza is another rendering of the proverb, "Fallere fallentem non est fraus," the version of which from the *Fall of Princes* is so often quoted. The Rawlinson MS. contains chiefly Lydgate poems. I do not feel justified in doubting Sir Frederick Madden's opinion, and therefore accept the poem as in full harmony with Lydgate's style. See also *Ballade per Antiphrasim*.

Amor Vincit Omnia, Mentiris Quod Pecunia.

Beg. Ech man folwith his owne fantasie; 17 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Ashmole 59* ("pat filosofre Lidgate")²; B. M. *Addit.* 29729; *Harley 2251* ("a demawnde by Lydgate"). What is practically the same refrain is in *Fall of Princes*, Book III, chapter 4, envoy, which appears often as a separate poem.

Ave Jesse Virgula.

Beg. Hayle blissid lady moder of Criste Iesu; 19 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 2255* (last 12 stanzas), 2251; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (2 copies).³

Ave Maria (or Salutacio Angelica).

Beg. Hayle glorious lady and heuenly quene; 5 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

¹ MS. title, *Hic nota de illis que vendunt ceruisiam in cantuar*. But the poem refers only to a loose tavern-wench.

² This is a good place in which to acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Hammond's recent articles on Shirley MSS. in *Anglia*, *passim*.

³ Not in Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 23; as stated *Anglia*, 28, 16.

Ave Regina Celorum.

Beg. Hayle luminary and benigne lanterne; 6 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (2 copies); Harley 2251.
 Appears in both MSS. in a list of similar poems by Lydgate, and is exactly in their style; "aureate beames," etc.

Ballade at the Reverence of Our Lady Qwene of Mercy.

Beg. A Thowsande stories I koupe to you reherce; 11 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MSS.—*Ashmole 59*; B. M. Sloane 1212.
 Printed by Thynne, *1532 Chaucer*, joined to another poem; separately by Prof. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 275, with collation of MSS.¹

Ballade of Her that hath all Virtues sette in hir Image.

Beg. Fresshe lusty beaute, loyned with gentyllesse; 7 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20 (there titled *Balade of Love*).

Ballade per Antiphrasim.²

Beg. Vndir youre hood is but oo contenance; 5 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MS.—Rawlinson c. 48, where it follows *Ale-seller*.

Ballade to King Henry VI, on his Coronation.

Beg. Moost noble Prynce of cristin prynces alle; 16 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20; Harley 2251; *Addit.* 29729; *Ashmole 59*. Printed by Wright, *Political Poems*, II, 141 ff., from MS. (2).

Benedic Anima Mea.

Beg. O thou my soule gyf laude vnto the lord; 22 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20 (2 copies); *Addit.* 29729, 34360; and Harley 2251. The last three MSS. are probably copies of the first.

Benedictus Deus in Donis Suis.

Beg. God departith his gyftys dyversly; 9 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Harley 2255*; *Laud 683*.

Brut.

In the Harvard MS. AR 5 a copy of the common Brut, in John Shirley's hand, has a rubric at the place beginning with the reign of Richard II, where the translation, from the French, of the portion following is ascribed to Lydgate. I found nothing to corroborate this statement in my examination of the translation, but leave it for others to believe or doubt.

Bycorne and Chichefache.

Beg. O prudent folkes takeþe heed; 19 stanzas of 7 short lines.
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20, R. 3.19; Harley 2251; *Addit.* 29729.
 Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 129-135, from (3). Also in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. 1780, xii, 335; in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1836; see also Montaiglon, *Recueil des poésies françoises des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1855, vol. xi, for a print and French version of the type of which Lydgate's is a translation.

¹ As the *Ballade in Commendation of Our Lady*; under which title I note it below, in discussion.

² Noted by Madden as Lydgate's. The refrain, "as I go loos and teied am with a lyne," is also in *Tyed with a Lyne*, below. I take the title from a rubric of Shirley's.

Cambridge, Verses on.

Beg. By trewe recorde of the doctor Bede; 13 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Baker's MS. 6, Cambridge*;¹ Harley 367.²

Printed from former in *Retrospective Review*, 2d series, I, 498. The general style of the verses is so absolutely in harmony with the lifelessness of Lydgate's later work that it is impossible not to agree with the ascription.

Cartae Versificatae.

Beg. Charters of English Kings to the Abbey of Bury; 693 lines, in ballade.

MS.—B. M. Addit. 14848, fols. 243-257 (Register of Wm. Curteys, c. 1440).

Printed from same by Arnold, *Memorials of Bury St. Edmunds*, III (1896), 215-237 (Rolls series). These are so absolutely in accord with Lydgate's style, and their date so coincides with Lydgate's other work of the kind for Curteys (see *De Profundis*) that we must agree with Mr. Arnold in allowing Lydgate as the author. All tests of rhyme throughout agree in proving Lydgate's authorship.

Child Jesus and Mary the Rose, The.

Beg. My father above beholding thy mekenes; 3 stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—Harley 2251. A charming ballade to the Virgin, which I admit "atwixen hope and dred."

Churl and the Bird, The.

Beg. Problemes of olde lykenes and fygures; 54 stanzas of 7, envoy 1 of 8.

MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3, 19; *Lansdowne 699*; Harley 116; Caligula A ii; Leyden Voss. 9; Huth; Balliol 354.

Printed by Caxton, de Worde (2), Copland, Pynson, Ashmole (*Theatrum Chemicum*), Roxburghe Club, 1818 (Sykes); Halliwell, *M. P.*, pp. 179-193, re-print in *Cambr. facsimile from Caxton*. Eight leaves only of the 2d ed. by de Worde exist. See Corser, *Collect. Anglo-Poet.* Pt. viii, p. 382, for prints.

Complaint for My Lady of Gloucester and Holand.

Beg. A solitary sore compleynyng; 18 stanzas of 7 short lines.

MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3, 20; *Ashmole 59* (in running title).

Printed from (1) *Anglia*, xxvii, 381 f., by Miss Hammond. Written by one familiar with the Duke of Gloucester's household, and in Lydgate's manner. Lydgate had been employed to celebrate the betrothal of the Duke and Duchess. A probable reason for the omission of Lydgate's name in the earlier MS., written while the Duke was still alive, is his probable hostility to its author.

Complaint of the Black Knight.

Beg. In May when Flora, the fresshe lusty quene; 681 lines, stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Fairfax 16; Bodley 638; Tanner 346; Digby, 181; Arch. Selden B 24; *B. M. Addit. 16165*; Pepys (Magdalene Coll. Camb.) 2006; Asloan MS., 245-246, 293-300.

Printed by de Worde (copy in Chatsworth), Chepman, and Myllar, 1508 (*Golagros and Gawane*); Thynne 1532 in Chaucer; and by succeeding editors as Chaucer's: by Skeat, *Oxf. Chaucer*, VII, 245-265; by Krausser, *Anglia*, xix, 211-290; and Halle, 1896, from all but last-named MS.; modernized by Dart, 1718.

¹ Transcribed by Stokys from an earlier codex, see *Catal. v.* 197.

² Not in Harley 1704, as Ritson tells us.

Consulo Quisquis Eris.

Beg. I counceyle whatsoever thow be ; 15 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—B. M. Harley 2255, 2251 ; Addit. 34360 ; Univ. Lib. Hh. iv. 12 ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; *Bodl. Arch. Selden B 10*, from de Worde's print.

Printed by Halliwell from (1), entitled *The Concords of Company*, and by Dr. Furnivall in *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems* (E.E.T.S.). The Latin couplet of which the above words are the beginning, and of which the poem is an expansion, is usually found as rubric. The internal evidence for Lydgate's authorship of this piece is overwhelming.

Criste Qui Lux Es et Dies.

Beg. O Criste þat arte boþe day and light ; 7 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20 ; Harley 2251 ; Bannatyne MS.

Cristes Passioun.

Beg. Man to refourme thyn exil and thi loss ; 16 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 372, 7333 ; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; *Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6* ; *Laud 683* ; B. M. Addit. 31042.

Daunce of Machabree.

Beg. O ye folkes, harde hearted as a stone ; 84 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21* ; Lansdowne 699 ; Leyden Voss. 9 ; Bodley 221 ; Selden supra 53 ; *Bodley 636* ; Harley 115 ; Ellesmere, Corp. Chr. Coll. 237.

Printed in Tottell, *Fall of Princes*, 1554 ; Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, 1658, p. 289 ; Douce, *Holbein*, 1794 ; Montaiglon, *Alphabet of Death*, Paris, 1856 ; Modern version, see Brit. Bibl. II, 463, *La Danse Machabre*, by W. Coleman, 1630.

De Profundis.

Beg. Hauyng a conseit in my sympill wyt ; 21 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 2255* ; *Laud. 683* ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; MS. (2) lacks two last stanzas. Written in old age for Curteys.

Death's Warning.

Beg. Siþ þat ye list to set me in your boke ; 8 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Harley 1706 (Nos. 11, 12) ; Douce 221 ; Univ. Lib. Camb. Fl. v. 45. In the first two MSS. these ballades are said to be taken out of the book of John Lucas ; with the exception of the first stanza, however, they are from the *Fall of Princes*. It is not unlikely that Lydgate himself extracted them, and wrote a first stanza to accompany a grisly image of death, like that in the Douce copy.

Defence of Holy Church.

Beg. Right mighty prince of whom the noble fame ; 21 stanzas of 7 lines, incomplete.

MSS.—Harley 1245, at end ; Sloane 1212 (8 stanzas).

Addressed to a royal personage, and in both MSS., with other pieces by Lydgate, this poem bears every trace of his style, both in circumlocution and in metrical tests.

Departyng of Chaucer, On the.

Beg. O thow Lucyna qwene and Empyresse ; 11 stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—*B. M. Addit. 16165*.

Printed by Dr. Furnivall in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, IX, 381 f., and in his ed. of Thynne's *Animadversions* Chaucer Society, 2d Series, No. 13, App. VI ; and by Miss Hammond, *Modern Philology*, I, 331.

Deus in Nomine Tuo Salvum Me Fac.

Beg. God in thi name make me safe and sounde ; 8 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Ashmole* 59 ; *Caligula* A ii ; *Harley* 2255 ; *Harley* 116.

Dietary, A.

Beg. For helth of body cover for cold thyn hede ; 11 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Laud* 683 ; *Bodley* 686, 638, 48 ; *Addit.* B 60 (29179) ; *Ashmole* 61 ;
Rawlinson A 653, c. 48, c. 86 ; *Harley* 4011, 2252, 2251, 941, 116 ;
Stow 982 ; *Sloane* 775, 3534 (with Latin), 989 ; *Arundel* 168 ; *Lambeth* 444, 853 ; B. M. *Addit.* 34360, 10099 ; *Cal.* A ii ; Scotch texts
 in *St. John's Camb.* G. 23 ; *Bannatyne MS.*, and *McCulloch MS.*
 (*Univ. Lib. Edin.*). Others are *Hawkins MS.* in *Phillipps* sub. cat.
 p. 67 (1895) ; *Trinity College, Dublin*, 516 ; *Soc. of Antiq.* 101 ; B. M.
Egerton 1995 ; *Bodley, Rawl. poet.* 35, 36 ; *Lansdowne* 699 ; *Leyden*
Voss. 9 ; *Jesus Coll. Camb.* 56 ; *Univ. Coll. Oxf.* 60.

Printed by *Caxton* as *Medicina Stomachi*, by *Halliwell* from *Harley*
 2251 ; *Dr. Furnivall, Babees Book*, E.E.T.S. ; *Lambeth* 853 ; Latin of
Sloane 3534 ; *Dr. Skeat* from *St. John's* in ed. of *Bruce*, S.T.S. ;
Hunterian Club ed. of *Bannatyne MS.*

The poem is much changed in later texts.

Doctrine for Pestilence, A.

Beg. Who wil ben hole and kepe hym fro syknesse ; 4 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Laud* 683 ; *Jesus Coll. Camb.* ; *Bodley, Rawl.* c. 86, in (1) following
 the *Dietary*, in (2) and (3) preceding it without separation. In
Leyden MSS. 9 and *Lansdowne* 699, this ballade is attached to the
Dietary with additional stanzas between, perhaps by *Lydgate*. The
 original of the ballade is probably art. 21, *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 20,
 a French ballade.

Doublenesse.

Beg. This world is ful of variaunce ; 13 stanzas of 8 short lines.
 MSS.—*E. M. Addit.* 16165 ; *Harley* 7578 ; *Ashmole* 59 (long lines at
 first, by padding) ; *Fairfax* 16.
 Printed in 1561 *Chaucer*, etc., and *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 291.

Duodecim Abusiones.

Beg. Go forthe, king, reule the by sapience ; 2 stanzas of 8 lines.
 Printed by *Caxton*, *W. de Worde* (2) ; *Chaucer* 1561, 1598 ; *Bell's*
Chaucer ; *Temple of Glas*, App. II ; *Oxford Chaucer*, vol. VII, q. v.

Entry into London, King Henry VI's Royal.

Beg. Toward the ende of wyndy February ; 544 lines, with a roundel.
 MSS.—*Harley* 565 ; *Cotton*, *Julius B II* ; *Cleopatra* c. iv.
 Printed by *Halliwell*, *Min. Poems*, from (3) ; by C. L. *Kingsford*,
Chronicles of London, 1905, 97-116, from (2) ; by *Nicolas*, *Chronicle of*
London, 1827, from (1).
 The Roundel in the poem corrected and printed by *Schleich*, *Archiv*,
 96, 191-194.

This poem proves itself *Lydgate's* in every line.

Fabula Duorum Mercatorum.

Beg. In Egipt whilom as I rede and fynde ; 910 lines in rhyme royal.
 MSS.—*Harley* 2255, 2251 ; B. M. *Addit.* 34360 ; *Lansdowne* 699 ; *Leyden*
Voss. 9 ; *Rawl. poet.* 32.
 Printed by *Zupitza-Schleich*, *Wien*, 1897, *Quellen u. Forschungen*, vol. 83.
 For proof of *Lydgate's* authorship, see *Schleich's* valuable preface.

FALL OF PRINCES.

Beg. He that whilom did his diligence; 36316 lines in 7 and 8 line stanzas (Koeppel, p. 87).

MSS.—Harley 1245, 1766, 3486, 4197, 4205, 4260; Royal 18 B xxxi, 18 D iv, 18 D v; B. M. Addit. 21410; Phillipps, Longleat, Rutland, Jersey, Glasgow, Mostyn; Lambeth 254; Bodley 263; e Museo 215; Hatton 105; Corp. Chr. Oxf. 242; two owned by Quaritch; Glasgow Univ. Fragments in numerous MSS. including Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, 20; *Ashmole* 59; Pepys 2006; McLean 182; Harley 2202; Sloane 1825 (90b); Harley 4011; Arch. Selden B 10. A fragment beginning "Al thow so be in every maner age," is often cited as an independent poem, in Harley 172; *Ashmole* 59 (even Miss Hammond does so in her article on *Ashmole* 59, *Anglia*, xxx, 324, No. 11), and elsewhere. The ballade on Women's Chastity, which Professor Skeat proved by examination of final -e, to be "much later than Lydgate," is from Book III, v. Book I, chaps. 3-7 is in Sloane 2452.

See also under *Death's Warning*, and also Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. cii, and *Anglia*, xxviii, 19-20.

Printed by R. Pynson, 1494 (with the extremely good envoy of Greneacres), 1527; Tottell, 1554; Wayland, 1558; Extracts by de Worde, 1510 (*Proverbs of Lydgate*).

Fal of Princes in Oure Dayes, The Sodeine.¹

Beg. Beholde this gret prynce Edwarde the secounde; 7 stanzas of 7 lines. MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; Harley 2251; *Addit. 29729*.

Fifteen Joys and Fifteen Sorrows of Mary.

Beg. Atween mydnyht and the fresh morwe gray; 72 stanzas of 7 lines. MSS.—*Harley 2255*; *Addit. 29729*; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21*; Longleat 258; *Bodley 686*.

Fifteen Joys of Mary (II).

Beg. Blessed lady o pryncesse of mercy; 27 stanzas of 7 lines. MSS.—*Titus A xxvi*; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21*. Part in Cotton, Appendix xxvii, art. 12.

Fifteen Ooes (Ooes of Christ).

Beg. O blyssid lord my lord O Crist Iesu; 42 stanzas of 8 lines. MSS.—*Laud 683*; Rawl. c. 48; *Harley 2255*; B. M. *Addit. 29729*. A Scotch version different from this is in Arundel 285, and another M. E. metrical version in Rawl. poet. 32. A prose translation is in Harley 172, with an interesting prologue.

Fifteen Toknys afforn the Doom.

Beg. As the doctour sanctus Ieronimus; 11 stanzas of 8 lines. MS.—Harley 2255. Printed by Wright, *Chester Plays*, Shakespeare Society Series, 1847, vol. II, pp. 222-224. These stanzas bear every indication of Lydgatean authorship, both in metre and style. See further, Koeppel, *Anglia*, *Anzeiger*, 24, 55, who argues for Lydgate's authorship.

Flour of Curtesye.

Beg. In Fevriy whan the frosty mone; 270 lines of 7 lines with ballade. Printed by *Thynne*, 1532, etc.; Oxford Chaucer, VII, 266-274.

¹ Also called *Fates of Princes*. The above is Shirley's title.

Four Things that Make a Man a Fool.

Beg. Worshyp, wommen, wyne, vnweldy age; 3 stanzas of 7 lines, stans. 2 and 3 attributed to Halsham by Shirley.

MSS.—Fairfax 16; Harley 7578, 7333; Harley 116; Ashmole 59; *Addit.* 16165; Harley 2251; and *Addit.* 34360 (1 stanza); Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, R. 3. 20. The first stanza rewritten in Stow 1561, from *Addit.* 29729; *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 297; with a stanza of 7 lines added, *beg.* "If it be falle," etc. See under *Tyed with a Lyme*.

Friend at Neode, A.

Beg. Late whan Aurora of Tytan toke leve; 17 stanzas of 7 lines.
MS.—*Ashmole* 59.

Gaude Virgo Mater Christi.

Beg. Be gladdē mayde moder of cryst Iesu; 7 stanzas of 7 lines.
MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*, R. 3. 21; Harley 2251.

Gentlewoman's Lament, A.

Beg. Allas I wooful cryature; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; Harley 2251.

Koepfel, *Falls*, 1883, p. 76, thinks this is spurious, but I doubt his logic. There is no reason why Lydgate could not write in a woman's person.

Gloriosa dicta sunt De Te.

Beg. On hooly hilles wheeche beoþe of gret Renoun; 29 stanzas of 8 lines.
MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; *B. M. Addit.* 29729, 34360; Harley 2251, 2255.

Gloucester's Marriage, On.

Beg. Thorough gladdē aspectis of þe god Cypyde; 27 stanzas of 7 lines, 1 of 8.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; Harley 2251.

Printed by Miss Hammond, Anglia, xxvii, 385.

God is my Helper.

Beg. God is myn helpere and ay shal be; 13 stanzas of 8 short lines.
MS.—*Harley* 2255.

GUY OF WARWICK.

Beg. From tyme of Crist complete nyne hundred yere; 69 stanzas of 8 (1 of 9), envoy of 4 lines, in all 592 or 565 lines.

MSS.—*Laud* 683; Leyden Voss. 9; Harley 5293, 7333; *Harvard University A R* 5; Lansdowne 699; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

Printed from (1) by Zupitza, *Akademischeschrift*, Wien, 1873, lxxiv, 623, and separately; from (5) by F. N. Robinson, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, V, 177-220.

Haste, A Ditty upon.

Beg. All haste is odious whereas discrecioun; 17 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Rawl.* c. 86; Harley 2251; *Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6*; Harley 78.

Holy Meditation, A.

Beg. Aftter the stormy tyme cessing the reyne; 182 lines of heroic couplets.

MSS.—*Ashmole* 59; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20.

Horns away.

Beg. Of god and kynd procedeth al beaste; 10 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud* 683; *Harley* 2251, 2255; *Addit.* 34360; *Ashmole* 59; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. iv, 12; *Jesus Coll.* 56; *Trin. Coll. R.* 3. 19; *Rawl. c.* 86; *Leyden Voss.* 9.

Printed from (3) by Sir H. Nicolas in *Chron. of London*, 1827; by Halliwell—*Rel. Ant.* I, 74; *Minor P. of Lyd.*, 1840; *Pol., Rel. and Love Poems*, E. E. T. S., re-ed. 1903.

Horse, Goose and Sheep, Debate between the.

Beg. Controversies pleis and alle discorde; 77 stanzas of 7 lines, envoy 15 of 8 lines, in all 659.

MSS.—*Rawl. c.* 86; *Lamb.* 306; *Leyden Voss.* 9; *Harley* 2251; *Lansdowne* 699; *Addit.* 34360; *Ashmole* 50, 754; *Rawl. c.* 48; *Laud* 598; *Huth MS.*

Printed by Caxton, de Worde (repr. Roxburghe Club), by Furnivall in *Pol., Rel. and Love Poems*, by Degenhart in *Münchener Beiträge*, 1900.

How the Plage was Sesyd in Rome.

Beg. So noble medesyne ne so souverayne; 6 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Addit.* 29729.

Image of Our Lady, On the.

Beg. Beholde and se this gloriows fygure; 5 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*B. M. Addit.* 29729.

Isopes Fabules.

Beg. Wisdom is more of pris than gold in coffres; 959 lines of rhyme royal.

MSS.—*Harley* 2251; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 19; *Ashmole* 59.

Printed from (1) by Sauerstein, 1885; from others by Zupitza, *Archiv*, 85, 1-24.

Jak Hare.

Beg. A froward kuave plainly to discryve; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud* 683; *Harley* 2251; *Lansdowne* 699; *Leyden Voss.* 9.

Printed from (2) by Wright, *Rel. Antiquæ*, I, 13; Halliwell's *Minor Poems*, pp. 52-55.

The version in *Lansdowne* has three probably spurious stanzas.

Kalendare, A.

Beg. Iesu Lord! for thy holy circumcison; 51 stanzas of 7, one of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 1706, 4011; *Longleat* 258; *Rawlinson* 408; *Douce* 322, 229; *Lambeth* 878.

Printed from (2), (5), (6), by Horstmann, *Archiv*, 80, 115-135. See his remarks on authorship.

Kings of England Sithen William Conquerour, The

Beg. This myghty William Duk of Normandy; 15 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Bodley* 686; *Ashmole* 59; *Lansdowne* 699; *Leyden Voss.* 9; *Harley* 7333; *Jesus Coll. Camb.* 56; *Rawl. c.* 48; *Harley* 78; *Fairfax* 16 (down to Henry VI); *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 21; *Egerton* 1995 (heading for Edward IV, and stanza on Henry VI re-written); *Harley* 2251; *Addit.* 31042 and 34360 (have stanza on Edward IV); *Regius* 18 D ii (down to Henry VIII); *Bodley* 1999; *Coll. of Arms* 58; *Rawl. c.* 48, c. 86; *Bodley*

48, 131, 912; Tanner 383; Ashmole 456; Cott. Julius E iv and v; Bodley Addit. E 7, and Douce g. 2 (rolls); Caius Coll. Camb. 249 (to Henry V); Harley 372 (Alfred to Henry VI); Stow 69 (frag.).

Several of the above MSS. have little to do with Lydgate's original lines, though they are imitations.

Lavenders, Treatise for.

Beg. Yee maisteresses myne and clenly chambererys; 3 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1. 6; last stanza in Harley 2251; Addit. 34360.

Printed by Wright, *Rel. Ant.* I, 26; by Steele, Academy, 1894, I, p. 395.

Legend of Dan Joos.

Beg. O welle of swetnesse replete in euery veyne; 16 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (2 copies).

Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems* 62 ff., by Horstmann, Chaucer Society, *Originals and Analogues*, III.

In Lydgate's best manner.

Letabundus, On.

Beg. Grounde take in vertu by patriarkys olde; 39 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2255; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

Letter to Gloucester.

Beg. Right mighty prince and it be your wille; 8 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2251, 2255; *Addit.* 34360; *Lansdowne* 699; Leyden Voss. 9; *Pepys* 2011.

Printed by Sir H. Nicolas, *Chronicle of London*, 1827; Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 49-51.

Letter to Lady Sibille.

Beg. The chief gynnyng of grace and of vertue; 20 stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—*Ashmole* 59. Also called Letter to Sibille.

Life of Our Lady, The.

Beg. O thoughtful herte plunged in distresse; 5936 lines, rhyme royal.

MSS.—B. M. Sloane 1785, 1825 (part); Arundel 66; Cotton App. VIII;

Harley 629, 1304, 3362, 2382 (with two extra books), 3952, 4011, 4260,

5272; *Addit.* 19252, 19432; Lambeth 344; *Advocates' Lib.* Edin. Jac. v.

7 (part); *Ashmole* 39, 59; Bodley 75, 120; Rawl. poet. 140; St. John's

Coll. Oxf. 56; Hatton 73; *Corp. Chr.* 61, 237; Cambridge Trin. Coll.

R. 3. 21, R. 3. 22; *Caius Coll.* 230 (*Magnificat*, ch. xxii), which belonged

to Whethamstede of St. Alban's; Univ. Lib. Mm. vi. 15, Kk. 1. 13;

Society of Antiquaries, No. 134 (begins at chap. xiii); Armes MS.

(Univ. California); Cockerell MS. (London).

Printed by Caxton, Redman, C. E. Tome. Parts in Bannatyne MS.

(*Magnificat*) and Huth MS. (beginning Book II). Everywhere ascribed

to Lydgate. The parts in the Edinburgh copy were printed in Visio

Tundali, ed. Turnbull, 1843, and commented on by Brandl,¹ as original

poems of the later 15th century, and as continuing the mysticism of the

West Midland school. An edition of the whole poem was long ago

announced by Fiedler, *Anglia*, xv, 391.

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, etc., II, 693.

LOKE IN THY MEROUR, AND DEME NONE OTHER WIGHT.

Beg. Toward the ende of frosty January; 27 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Harley 2255*; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21; Rawl. c. 86; *Arch. Seiden B 10*; Phillipps 8299; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56.
 Printed by de Worde (Lydgate's Proverbs); Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, 156-164.

MASSE, VERTUES OF THE.

Beg. Ye that beth of good devoceyon; 83 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Harley 2251*; Addit. 34360 (part); *St. John's College, Ox. 56*; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21; Hatton 73; *Ashmole 59* (part); Addit. 31042 (part); Lambeth 344; Balliol 354; *Laud 683* (part); Rawl. poet. 118 (part); Caius 174 (part).

Mesure, Song of Just.

Beg. By witte of man althyng that is contryved; 10 or 13 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Harley 2251*, Addit. 29729.
 Printed from former MS. by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, 80-83.

Mesure is Tresour.

Beg. Men wryte of oold how mesour is tresour; 19 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MS.—*Harley 2255*.
 Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, 208-213.

Millers and Bakers, Against.

Beg. Put out his hed lyst not for to dare; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MS.—*Harley 2255*, and by Nicolas in *A Chronicle of London*, 1827.
 Printed *Minor Poems*.

Miracles of St. Edmund.

Beg. Lande of our lord up to the hevne is reysed; 464 lines of 8 line stanza.
 MSS.—*Harley 2278*; Cotton, Titus A viii; *Ashmole 46*; *Laud 683*; Tanner 347.
 Printed by Horstmann, *Allenglische Legenden*, 1882, 440 ff.

Misericordias Domini in Eternum Cantabo.

Beg. Alle goostly songes and ympnes that be songe; 24 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Harley 2255*; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

Mumming at Bishopswood.

Beg. Myghty Flourra goddes of fresshe floures; 16 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MS.—*Ashmole 59*.
 Printed in Nicolas, *Chronicle of London*, 1827.

Mumming at Eltham.

Beg. Bachus which is god of þe glade vyne; 98 lines of rhyme royal.
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20; *B. M. Addit. 29729*.
 Printed by Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, 1902.

Mumming at Hertford.

Beg. Moost noble prynce with support of your grace; 254 lines in heroic couplet.
 MS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20.
 Printed *Anglia*, xxi, 364 ff.

Mumming at London.

Beg. Loo her this lady that yee may se ; 342 lines in short couplets.
 MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* ; *B. M. Addit. 29729*.
 Printed by Brotanek, *loc. cit.*

Mumming at Windsor.

Beg. Mooste noble prynce of Cristen prynces alle ; 14 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MSS. and print as above.

Mumming for the Mercers of London.

Beg. Moost mighty lord, Jubyter þe greet ; 15 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MSS. and print as above.

Mumming for the Goldsmiths of London.

Beg. þat worþy david, which þat sloughe Golye ; 14 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MSS. and print as above.

Mydsomer Rose, As a.

Beg. Lat no man boost of kunnyng nor vertu ; 15 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—*Harley 2251, 2255* ; *Ashmole 59* ; *Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. iv, 12* ;
Jesus Coll. Cambridge, 56 ; *Trin. Coll. R. 3. 21*.
 Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems (On Mutability of Human Affairs)*.

My Lady Dere.

Beg. Every maner creature ; 15 stanzas of 8 short lines.
 MSS.—*Addit. 16165* ; *Ashmole 59*.
 Printed by Dr. Furnivall with *Departyng of Chaucer*, q. v.¹ The rubrics
 in both cases assign the piece as companion to *Departyng of Chaucer*,
 but it is obviously a mere lover's lament. The confusion probably
 arose in A. 16165 or some source of it, from its being next the *Departyng*.
 See *New Year's Gift*, for another instance of this error in the same
 MS.

New Year's Gift, A Lover's.

Beg. In honnour of this heghe fest of custume yere by yere ; 29 stanzas
 of 3, with a refrain of 2 lines.
 MS.—*B. M. Addit. 16165, 253b*, entitled, *Amerous balade by Lydegate
 that haþe loste his thank of wymmen*. If this rubric refers to the
 theme of the poem, it is surely intended for *The Servant of Cupid
 Forsaken*, the next piece in the MS. This poem is a conventional
 New Year's Gift, and no lament. See on *My Lady Dere*.

New Year's Gift of an Eagle, On a.

Beg. þis hardy foole, þis brydde victoryous ; 11 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* ; *Harley 2251* ; *Addit. 29729*.
 Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 213-216, from (2).

Nightingale, A Saying of the.

Beg. In Juygne whan Tytan was in þe Crabbes hed ; 379 lines of rhyme
 royal, probably unfinished.
 MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* ; *Harley 2251* ; *Addit. 29729*.
 Printed by Glauning, E.E.T.S., 1904.

¹ Not printed by Miss Hammond, as she says, *Anglia*, xxx, 324.

Nine Properties of Wine, The.

Beg. Wyne of nature hath proprieties nyne; 1 stanza of 8 lines.

MSS.—Addit. 10106 and 29729; Harley 2252.

Printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 325, and in *Secrecs*, etc., ed. Steele for E.E.T.S., 1895. Latin original, 6 lines, in Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 9. 38, fol. 47a.

Order of Fools, The.

Beg. The ordre of foolles ful yoore ago begonne; 24 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; B.M. Addit. 34360, *Laud 683*; Cotton, Nero A vi.

Printed from (1) by Halliwell, M. P., p. 164, from (4) by Furnivall, *Book of Precedence*, E.E.T.S., 1869.

Pageant of Knowledge, A.

Beg. Thys worlde is borne up by astates seyn; stanzas of 7 lines.

MS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (complete). The *Seven Wise Counsels*, which is part of this *Pageant*, is in Harley 116; Arundel 168; Harley 2251, 4733; Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1. 6, and are printed by Förster, *Archiv*, 104, 297 ff. with collation. He was ignorant of the Trinity text, which would have set the order of stanzas right; as it is, the stanza for Temperance is under the heading for Sapience and *vice versâ*. Four stanzas are in the *Boke of Brome*, pr. Miss Toulmin Smith, 1886, p. 19.

The reason for ascribing the entire *Pageant* to Lydgate is the uniform style of the entire piece, and the fact that the latter part of it appears as a separate poem in *Harley 2255*, and in Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Rawl. c. 86; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. 4. 12; Harley 2251 (printed Halliwell, *Min. Poems*, pp. 193-8). My title is derived from the use of the word *pagine*, in one heading of R. 3. 21, which points to a presentation of the whole as a school play, like its original by Ausonius.

Paternoster, Exposition of the.

Beg. Atwixe drede and trembling Reverence; 42 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud 683*; *Harley 2255*; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

Paternoster, qui es in celis.

Beg. Oure glorious fadyr pat art in heven; 7 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.

Peace, A Praise of.

Beg. Mercy and Trouthe mette on an hih mounteyn; 23 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 2255*; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56.

Printed by Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series, II, 209 ff., entitled *On Prospect of Peace*, 1443.

Pedigree of Henry VI, The Title and.

Beg. Troubled hertes to setten in quyete; 314 lines of heroic couplets.

MS.—*Harley 7333*.

Printed by Wright, *Pol. Poems*, II, 131 ff.

Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, The.

Beg. Ye worldly folk avyse yow betymes; 24832 lines in short couplets, heroic couplets and prose.

MSS.—Cotton, Vitellius C xiii, Tiberius A vii; Stowe 952. Edited from these MSS. by Dr. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., E.S., 77, 83, 92; with introduction, etc., by Miss K. Looock.

No one has ever doubted Lydgate's authorship of the *Pilgrimage*. For the internal evidence one may consult Miss Looock's preface, E.E.T.S., E.S., 92.

Prayer for King, Queen and People.

Beg. Most souereyne lord, and blisful crist Iesu ; 12 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Harley 2251 ; Addit. 34360 ; Fairfax 16 ; Harley 7578 ; Trin.
 Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 (2 copies).
 Printed from (4) in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, I, 227. In (1) (2) and (5)
 9 stanzas, altered to fit Edward IV, (5) Adds Envoy of *Lak of*
Stedfastnesse. The original was intended for Henry VI and his
 mother. The refrain of the poem is quoted by Shirley in his transla-
 tion of the *Governance of Princes*, B. M. Addit. 5467, and the poem
 is ascribed to Lydgate. He is undoubtedly right.

Prayer in Old Age.

Beg. All the trespas of my tendre youthe ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Hatton 73 ; Lambeth 344. The first stanza is identical with one
 in the *Verses of St. Bernard*, and the rest are exactly in Lydgate's
 manner.

Prayer to Mary, in whose Help is Affiaunce.

Beg. O sweetest bawme of grettest excellence ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MS.—Rawl. c 48. Agrees perfectly with Lydgate's frequent poems in
 this theme.

Procession of Corpus Christi.

Beg. þis hye feste for to magnefye ; 28 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20 ; Harley 2251 ; Addit. 29729.
 Printed by Halliwell from (2), M. P., p. 95.

Pyte of Crytes Passioun, The Dolorous.

Beg. Erly on morwe and toward nyght also ; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MS.—Laud 683.

Pyte to the Wretched Synner.

Beg. O wretched synner whatsoever thou be ; 4 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Ashmole 59 ; Addit. 29729.

Quene of Hevene, To Mary the.

Beg. Quene of hevene of helle cek emperesse ; 10 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; Harley 2255 ; Hatton 73 ; Lambeth 344 ;
 Laud 683 ; Tanner 110 (2 copies) Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Univ.
 Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6.

Quis Dabit Meo Capiti Fontem Lacrimarum.

Beg. Who shal give vnto myn hert a welle ; 19 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Harley 2255 ; Laud 683 ; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56 ; St. John's Coll.
 Oxf. 56 ; Harley 2251.
 Printed by Holthausen, *Festschrift* for the German Emperor's Birthday,
 1908, from 1.

Regina Celi Letare.

Beg. O thow ioyfull lyght eternall ye shyne ; 5 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21 ; Harley 2251 ; Harley 372 ; Univ. Lib.
 Camb. Kk. 1. 6. A companion-piece to *Ave regina celorum*.

Resoun and Sensuallyte.

Beg. To alle folkys vertuose ; 7040 lines in short couplets, incomplete.
 MSS.—Fairfax 16 (not Shirley's MS. as Sieper says) ; Addit. 29729
 (Stow, 1558).
 Edited by E. Sieper, E.E.T.S., E.S., 87, 89. See his introduction on
 style, metre, etc.

Rhyme without Accord.

Beg. All thyng in kynde desirith thyng i-like; 11 stanzas of 8 lines.
 MSS.—Harley 2251; Maitland Folio MS.; Bannatyne MS. 1568.
 Printed Chepman and Myllar 1508 (Scots version); Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, from (1) pp. 55–58 (*On the Inconsistency of Men's Actions*).
 Stylistic and metrical tests agree in attributing the poem to Lydgate.
 Close parallels are the *Order of Fools*, and *They That No While Endure*.
 But the evidence is hardly conclusive.

Roundel for Coronation of Henry VI.

Beg. Rejoice ye Reames of England and off Fraunce; 10 lines.
 MS.—Harley 7333.
 Printed by Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, I, 128; by Sir Harris Nicolas, 1823, *Chronicle of London*; Wright, *Political Poems*, II, 314.

St. Alban and St. Amphabel, Lives of.

Beg. To call Clio my dulnesse to redresse; 4724 lines of 7 and 8 line stanzas.
 MSS.—Lansdowne 699; Trin. Coll. Oxf. 38; Phillipps 8299; Lincoln Cathedral, I, 57; Inner Temple 511.
 Printed at St. Alban's, revised, 1534; by Horstmann from this with collations, 1882 (*Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge). The payment "cuidam monacho Burghi S. Edmundi" for writing this MS. is recorded in Amundesham's *Annals of St. Albans*.

St. Anne, Invocation to.

Beg. Thow first moever þat causeth alle thyng; 11 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MSS.—Ashmole 59; *Addit.* 16165.

St. Anne, Praise of.

Beg. He that intendeth in his hert to seke; 2 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MSS.—Harley 2251; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.
 Probably Lydgate's.

St. Austin at Compton, Legend of.

Beg. Lyk as the Bible maketh mencion; 57 stanzas of 7 lines.
 MSS.—Harley 2255; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. iv, 12; Lincoln Cath. I, 57; Lansdowne 699; Leyden Voss. 9.
 Printed at St. Austin's, Canterbury, 4to, before 1520 (no copy known); by Halliwell, M. P., p. 135 f., from (1).

St. Bernard, Verses of.

Beg. O sothfast sterre of al brightnes; 11 stanzas of 8 lines, originally.
 MSS.—Laud 683; *Addit.* 29729; Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 3. The later copy is enlarged.

St. Denis, Invocation to.

Beg. O þow chosen of god protectour of ffrance; 9 stanzas of 8 lines, all in 3 rhymes.
 MS.—Ashmole 59.

St. Edmund.

Beg. Blyssyd Edmund kyng martir and virgyne; 3693 lines of rhyme royal.
 MSS.—Harley 2278, 7333, 4826; Univ. Lib. Camb. Ee. xi, 15; Tanner 347; Harley 367 (part).

St. Edmund, A Glorious Prayer to.

Beg. Glorious Edmund kyng of Estynglond; 12 stanzas of 8 lines.
MSS.—*Laud 683*; *Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6*; *Harley 2255* (part).

St. Gabriell, Prayer to.

Beg. Blissed Gabriel wich broughtest first tydyng; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.
MS.—*Laud 683*.

St. George, Legend of.

Beg. O yee folk þat heer present be; 35 stanzas of 7 lines.
MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20, R. 3. 21*; *Bodley 686*. For the armorers of London.

St. Giles, Legend of.

Beg. Of Agamemnon vnder the large empire; 46 stanzas of 8 lines.
MSS.—*Laud 683*; *Harley 2255*; *Lansdowne 639*; *Leyden Voss. 9*.
 Printed Horstmann, *Allenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, 1882, pp. 371 ff.
 Lansdowne says it was written at instance of "dom. Theodorici," perhaps a mistake from seeing the name as Giles's father in MS.

Sts. Katherine, Margaret and Magdalene.

Beg. Kateryne with glorious Margarete; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.
MS.—*Harley 2255*.

St. Leonard, To.

Beg. Reste and refuge to folk dysconsolat; 5 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 6.
MSS.—*Harley 2255*; *Laud 683*; *Longleat 256* (1 given in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* III, 181, as *Verses to St. Leonard, 1422*. Now Henry VI was crowned on this day and year, and these may be our verses).
 Printed by Halliwell, *Min. P.*, pp. 205-206.

St. Margaret, Legend of.

Beg. At the reuerence of seynt Margarete; 539 lines of rhyme royal, and ballade.
MSS.—*Harley 1704, 367*; *Cosin's Lib. Durham V, II, 14*; *Harley 2382*, imperf.; *Univ. Lib. Cam. Ll. v. 18*; *Bodley 686*.
 Printed by Horstmann (*Durham MS.*), *loc. cit.* A short-couplet version of St. M.'s life is often confused with the above. Cf. Corser, *Collect. Anglo-Poet.*, 1878, Pt. VIII, p. 385.

St. Michael, To.

Beg. O myghell by grace of cryst Iesu; 1 stanza of 8 lines.
MS.—*Laud 683*.

St. Ositha, To.

Beg. Heyl hooly Sitha maide of gret vertu; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.
MS.—*Harley 2255*. Same refrain as St. Edmund II and St. Thomas I.

St. Petronilla, Legend of.

Beg. The parfite life to put in remembrance; 20 stanzas of 8 lines, 1 of 4 lines.
 Printed by Pynson, copy in Huth Library, repr. in *Fugitive Tracts*, Series I. Never before identified as Lydgate's, this piece is absolutely identical in style, rhyme, and metre with his other legends, even to the short *oracio* at the end. St. Petronilla's Hospital is still to be seen at Bury St. Edmunds (see a plate of it in Yates, *Bury St. Edmunds, Append.*), and St. Petronilla's head was one of the relics shown in the Abbey.

St. Robert of Bury, To.

Beg. O Blyssid Robert Innocent and virgyne; 5 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Laud 683*. St. Robert, martyred by Jews, 20 June, 1181, acc. to *Cronica Buriensis, Joclini*; Arnold, *Memorials*, etc., I, 223.

St. Thomas, To. I.

Beg. Blissed Thomas rubyfyed with blood; 2 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Laud 683*.

St. Thomas, Invocation to. II.

Beg. Synguler shepperde gardeyn of cristis folde; 15 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Tanner 110* (2 copies, neither complete). Never before ascribed to Lydgate, this prayer, identical in its refrain with several of Lydgate's prayers (St. Edmund, etc.), bears every mark of his style, metre, and rhyme.

St. Ursula, To.

Beg. Ye Britoun martirs famous in parfitnesse; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Laud 683*; *Harley 2255*; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56.

An immensely popular saint; a Latin life of her was translated by Edmund Hatfield and printed by W. de Worde (copy in Chatsworth).

Say the Best and never Repent.

Beg. Who seith the best shal never repent; 21 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Laud 598*. This poem like *Ram's Horn* and others is in a defective state of metre. The original was probably in short lines.

Our only copy is partly in long lines. The poem, coming next *Quene of Hevene* in the MS., bears every evidence of Lydgateian authorship.

Secreta Secretorum. Secrees of Olde Philosoffres, or Governace of Kings and Princes.

Beg. God almyghty save and conferme our kyng; 1491 lines of rhyme royal. Ascribed to Lydgate by the continuator.

MSS.—*Sloane 2027, 3464*; *Lansdowne 285*; *Harley 2251, 4826*; *Arundel 59*; *Addit. 14408, 34360*; *Laud 416, 673*; *Ashmole 46*; *McLean MSS.* (*Fitzwilliam 182, 183*); *Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 3. 41*.

Printed by Steele from *Sloane 3484, E.E.T.S.* Dr. Theodor Prosielgel wrote a thesis, Munich, 1903, correcting this edition, and giving collations. He could not use the *McLean MSS.*, and was ignorant of the *Trinity codex*, which is imperfect.

See myche, Say Little.

Beg. See myche say little and lerne to soffer in tyme; 5 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Corp. Chr. Coll. 203*; *Addit. 29729*. The first MS. titles the poem *Proverbium R. Stokys*, but is not to be trusted. In the same MS. Chaucer's *Truth* is entitled *Proverbium Scogani*. The piece is in Lydgate's style, and *Stow* is probably right.

Semblable, Every Thing to his.

Beg. Trete every man as he is disposed; 26 stanzas of 8, in all.

MSS.—*Ashmole 59*; *Harley 2251*.

SERPENT OF DIVISION.

Beg. Whilom as olde bokes . . . ; 10 folios of prose, ballade, 3 stanzas of 8.

MSS.—*Yelverton 35* (*Lord Calthorpe's*); *Harvard MS. AR 5*; *Pepys 2006* (*J. de B.* which I take to mean John of Bury); *McLean 182*.

Printed by Treveris, O. Rogers (1559), and E. Alde, 1590.

Servant of Cupid Forsaken, The.

Reg. Ful longe I haue a seruant be ; 9 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MSS.—*B. M. Addit. 16165.* The title of the New Year's Gift belongs properly to this piece, I think. On the margin Shirley writes, "Be stille Daun Johan suche was your fortune."

So as the Crabbe Goth Forward.

Reg. pis worlde is ful of stabulnesse ; 7 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; *Bodley 686*; *Addit. 29729*; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20* (with French original).

Printed from (1) by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 58-60. One stanza in Harley 2382.

Soteltes at the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI, The.

Reg. Loo here twoo kynges right perfite and right good ; 3 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Lansdowne 285; Cotton, Julius B I, an altered version in Fabyan's Chronicle.

These stanzas, almost identical with certain stanzas of the Ballade to King Henry VI, and written for the same occasion as the Roundel and the Prayer, are certainly by the same man.

STANS PUER AD MENSAM.

Reg. My dere Child first thyself enable ; 14 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Lambeth 853; Lansdowne 699; Leyden Voss. 9; *Ashmole 59*; Rawl. c. 48; Cotton, Caligula A II; Harley 4011 (part); *Laud 683*; *Bodley 686*; *Balliol 354*; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. iv, 12; Stowe 982 (written as prose); *Addit. 5467*; *Rawl. poet. 32*; Bodley 48; *Ashmole 61* (altered).

Printed by W. de Worde; by Halliwell, *Rel. Ant.*; by Furnivall in *Babees Book*, with Latin original; though a French version may have been Lydgate's model. Two stanzas are in Pem. Coll. 120.

A certain scholar once announced he would prove this poem not Lydgate's and so Mr. Lee says, in his article on Lydgate, that the monk's claim to this poem is disputed. Inasmuch as Lydgate names himself in the last line, it is rather hard to see what sort of a case will be presented. That was some fifteen years ago, and his arguments, so far as I know, have yet to appear.

Star of Jacob, To Mary, the.

Reg. O sterre of Iacob and glorye of Israell ; 7 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—Harley 372; *Laud 683*; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21.*

Stella celi extirpauit.

Reg. Thow hevenly quene of grace our lodesterre ; 4 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Harley 2251; *Addit. 34360*; *Harley 2255*; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21*; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Rawl. c. 48 has an altered version, which I think may also be due to Lydgate.

STORY OF THEBES.

Reg. Whan bright Phebus passed was the Ram ; 4716 lines of heroic couplets.

MSS.—*Addit. 18632*; Cotton, Appendix, xxvii; *Reg. 18 D ii*; Lambeth 742; Harley 262; *Laud 416*; Arundel 119; *Addit. 29729*; *Trin. Coll. Camb. 1138*; *Pepys 2011* (Magd. Coll. Camb.).

Printed at end of Speght Chaucer 1561, etc. In press for E.E.T.S., which will no doubt give a more complete list of MSS.

Te Deum Laudamus.

Beg. Te Deum Laudamus to the lord souerayn; 13 stanzas of 8 lines.
MS.—*Harley 2255.*

Temple of Glas.

Beg. For poust constreint and greuous heuynes; 1403 lines, heroic couplets and rhyme royal.

MSS.—Tanner 346; Fairfax 16; Bodley 638; Pepys 2006; Camb. Univ. Lib. Gg. 4, 27; *Addit.* 16165; Longleat 258; Sloane 1212 (pt.).

Printed Caxton 1478, W. de Worde, (3 prints) Pynson, Berthelet; reprinted Camb. Univ. Texts, ed. Schick, E.E.T.S., E.S., 60, with invaluable material for Lydgate students. For the Sloane MS. fragment, see *Mod. L. Ass. Ann. Pub.*, March 1908.

Ten Saints, Prayers to.

Beg. Blissed Denys of Athenys chief sonne; 13 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; *Harley 2255*; *Laud 683.*

Written as two ballades with envoys, one for male, one for female saints.

Testament of Lydgate, The.

Beg. O how holson and glad is the memorie; 240 + 182 + 184 + 147 + 144 = 897 lines, in stanzas of 7 and 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 218*; *Harley 2255*, 2728; *Laud 683*; Leyden Voss. 9; *Addit.* 34193 (part); Phillipps 8299 (part); Rawl. c. 86 (part); *Harley 2251* (part); R. 3. 19 (part); Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Scots version of Pt. v in Arundel 285.

Printed by Pynson; in *Minor Poems* by Halliwell.

That now is Hay sometyme was Gras.

Beg. Ther is full lytell sikernes; 17 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MSS.—*Addit.* 29729 (long title quoted from some earlier MS.); Rawl. c. 86 (lacks folio).

The Cok Hath Lowe Shoon.

Beg. Sum man goth stille of wisdom & renoun; 21 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Harley 2255.*

Printed by Wright, *P. P. and S.*, II; by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, 150-156.

They That No While Endure.

Beg. This wyde world is so large of space; 9 stanzas of 5 lines.

MSS.—*Harley 2255*; *Addit.* 36983; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19.

The refrain of the poem is found in the *Fall of Princes*, I, 12, and III, 10, while one stanza, No. 3 of (1), is nearly identical with one in the *Order of Fools.*

Thoroughfare of Woe, A.

Beg. Lyft up the Ieen of your aduertence; 24 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 20*; *Harley 2251*; *Addit.* 29729.

Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, pp. 122-8.

Timor Mortis Conturbat Me.

Beg. So as I lay this othir niht; 16 stanzas of 8 short lines.

MS.—*Harley 2255.*

TROY BOOK.

Req. O myghty Mars that with thy sterne liht; 30117 lines, heroic couplets, envoy in ballade.

MSS.—Cotton, Augustus A iv; Digby 232; Arundel 99; Royal 18 D ii; Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 5. 2; Digby 230; Rylands; St. John's Oxf. VI; Royal 18 D vi; Exeter Coll. Oxf. Douce 148, Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. v, 30; Harvard Univ.; Tollemache; Cath. Lib. Gloucester; Phillipps; Bristol City; Rawl. c. 446, poet. 144.

Prints by Pynson, Redman. Edited by Dr. H. Bergen for E.E.T.S. (Pt. I printed, E.S., No. 97).

Tyed with a Lyne.

Req. The more I go, the further I am behynde; 12 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—Harley 2251.

Printed Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, p. 74, see *Anglia*, 28, 4-5.

The general similarity of this to *Order of Fools, Rhyme without Accord*, etc., inclines me to accept this as Lydgate's.

Upon a Cross.

Req. Upon a cros naylid I was for thee; 6 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Addit.* 29729; Univ. Lib. Kk. 1. 6; *Harley* 2255; *Laud* 683; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Rawl. poet. 32; *Caligula* A ii; *Laud* 598; Univ. Lib. Camb. Hh. 4. 12.

Printed from the last by Dr. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., 1866 (Pol., Rel. and Love Poems). Phillipps 8299 alone has the 6th stanza, not certainly genuine. Richard Rolle's version (?) is in MS. Rawl. poet. 175.

Valentine to Her I Love Best of All.

Req. Seynt Valentyne of custume yeere by yeere; 20 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 20; *Addit.* 29729; *Harley* 2251; *Ashmole* 59; Rawl. poet. 36.

Vertu, A Song of.

Req. As of hony men gadren oft swetnesse; 16 stanzas of 8 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2255, 2251; Jesus Coll. Camb. 56; Rawl. c. 86; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21; *Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk.* 1. 6; Phillipps 8299; in all but (2) of 13 stanzas.

Printed by Halliwell from (1) *Minor Poems*, pp. 216-221.

Vexilla Regis Prodenut.

Req. Royal Baneris Unrolled of the Kyng; 9 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—Univ. Lib. Camb. Kk. 1. 6.

The resemblance of this translation to Lydgate's other work of the kind is striking.

Virgin, Verses to the.

MS.—St. John's Coll. Oxf. 56, fragment, as the leaves are torn.

These are probably Lydgate's, so far as style and rhyme can be tested.

Wikked Tong will Deem Amiss, A.

Req. Considre weel with every circumstaunce; 20 stanzas of 7 lines.

MSS.—*Harley* 2251; Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1. 6; *Trin. Coll. Camb. R.* 3. 20; *Bodley* 686; *Addit.* 29729.

Printed Thynne, 1532 Chaucer; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, as a *Ballade of Good Counsel*.

World is Variable, This.

Req. Toward Aurora in the monthe of decembre; 10 stanzas of 8 lines.

MS.—*Harley* 2255.

In all, prose and verse as nearly as I can estimate, 145,198 lines.

In the words of poor berated Ritson, this is the "fullest and best list" of the works which after two years' close study of the poems of the fifteenth century, I can give out confidently as Lydgate's. Like Ritson, I do not claim plenary inspiration for my compilation. In all but a dozen cases, I have the word of scribes contemporary, or almost contemporary with Lydgate. In every case I have a poem conforming to the general style of the monk in his self-attested pieces, and to the rhyme-scheme which he followed with marvellous accuracy.

I now present a list of works ascribed to Lydgate at some time or another, which I cannot accept as his. I take this up historically.

Three poems ascribed to Lydgate in contemporary manuscripts must be questioned, in spite of my reverence for him who penned the *Explicit quod Lydgate*. Two of these are *A Satirical Description of His Lady*,¹ in MS. *Harley 2255*, and *Quia Amore Languet*, MS. *Ashmole 59*.² I cannot believe that Lydgate ever sank to the abominable filth of the one, or rose to the sublimity of the other. The former has the rhymes *enter: behynde*, and *day: eey* (egg); it is highly alliterative.³ Admitting that Hoccleve may have written a poem of the type,⁴ which is a common one, and that even religious monks could condescend to ribaldry, I yet cannot believe that Lydgate ever attempted to outdo all his peers in poetry in obscenity, such as this poem reeks of.⁵ I believe that the scribe who towards the end of his volume was filling with non-Lydgatian poetry, put an *Explicit quod Lydgate* to this piece by inadvertence.⁶

The latter poem is generally admitted to be the highest poem of its type in English; the finest expression of the Virgin's sorrow. I should be only too glad to claim it as Lydgate's, but Shirley when he wrote *Ashmole 59*, was at least 85, and a little forgetful of details, as is shown by the remarkably poor versions which fill

¹ With the refrain, "When she hath on her Hood of Green."

² And elsewhere.

³ It is printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, No. 34: the rhymes occur p. 203 and p. 204. As a sample of alliteration I quote

p. 199, "As bright as bugyll or elles bolace
Shorn as a sheep with sherys keen
Whenne the sunne shyneth sheen."

⁴ So Dr. Furnivall says, and prints it, E.E.T.S., E.S., 61, p. xxxviii. But Hoccleve was mad for some years, as we know.

⁵ There are several parallels in Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, later printed in Stow's Chaucer.

⁶ I must note, however, Dr. Koepfel's acceptance of the poem as genuine, *Eng. St.*, 24, 290.

this MS. There are two versions with this refrain, of which the first is ascribed by Shirley to Lydgate. The other version is a moralization of the Song of Solomon, as a Complaint of Christ.¹ I would welcome either poem into the Lydgate Canon, on better proof than Shirley's rubric for the one. In this version I note the assonance whom : moon, line 29 ; and the form pou has, line 48, as not in Lydgate's ordinary usage.

The third poem *Dilectus meus*, or *Rex Salamon*, is ascribed to Lydgate in the same Shirley Ashmole 59. It appears also in Harley 2251 with more stanzas. The poem has the penultimate rhyme of -oun, and its irregularity of metre makes me unwilling to admit it as genuine.

Treatise of a Galaunt; Ballade of a Galaunt, or the *Gallande Ballade*.—Bishop John Alcock (*d.* 1500), in a sermon preached in his old age, attributed this poem to Lydgate, saying that he remembered it in his youth. Alcock was about 19 years old when Lydgate died. It is of course not absolutely certain that the Ballade we possess is in the original form, or precisely the one Alcock had in mind, though the refrain he quotes is that of our poem. Dr. Furnivall and Mr. Carew-Hazlitt printed the poem as descriptive of the times of Henry VIII, from early prints, but it exists in a MS. of Edward IV's reign.² It belongs certainly to the latter half of the fifteenth century. It is written ostensibly against those who brought over French fashions from the lost English possessions in France, but is really an attack on all classes of society, a satire on the times.

"So moche rychesse in araye, and so moche nede ;
So many bedes borne, and so lytell devocyon ;
So moche fasting for hungre, and so lytell mede ;
So moche paynted worship, and so lytell reason ;
I trowe no man hath sene in this region."

Now it is wholly against probability that Lydgate, who delighted in fine array and in rich patrons, who was a member of the most favoured monastery in England, who wrote poem after poem to encourage "painted worship," should have indulged in any such bold tirade as this. The style of the entire poem is bitter, popular, abrupt, and different from Lydgate's. In rhymes I note 50, intoxicacyon : abbominaeyon : desolacyon ; 170, folye : Babylynye :

¹ Both are printed by Dr. Furnivall, *E. E. T. S.* 15, pp. 148-150, 151-159.

² MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21. Printed by Carew-Hazlitt, *E. Pop. Poetry*, III, 147 ff., with note on early prints, and by Furnivall in *Odd Ballads*.

glorye; 214, dye (inf.) : perseuerauntly; as typical of a practice at variance with Lydgate's. The metre of the poem is of that rough and irregular kind, typical of English poetry two generations from Chaucer.

The Nightingale.—In a MS. written by Humphrey Newton, said to have been born in 1466 (Hist. MSS. Com. 2nd Rept. 80), a poem on the nightingale is found. The old table of contents describes probably this article as "Vera fabula quam Johannes Ludgate faciebat et in octavo versu," but the writer of the report thinks this refers to a lost poem. In the other two MSS., both of earlier date, no author's name is mentioned.¹ Bishop Tanner is the first to mention this poem as Lydgate's, evidently by confusion with *A saying of the Nightingale*. Our only external evidence is thus a note by a scribe about 1500, and that not absolutely certain.

The internal evidence points strongly against Lydgate as author. A reference to the young duke of Warwick as dead shows that the poem is later than 1445. Lydgate was then in his old age, and the poems of his old age are noted for their digressive vagueness of structure. Yet this poem is most carefully constructed, highly artistic, quite compact, almost without rhyme-tags, and with a remarkable run-on line. I quote a typical stanza:—

"The oure of none, as Jewes hym desyred
 Thirled and persed thorgh his hert and side
 He seyng then 'Consummatum est,' expired;
 And, heed enclyned, the gost yaf vp that tyde
 Unto the fader. The sunne, compelled to hyde
 His bemys bright, no lenger myght endure
 To see the deth of the auctor of nature."

One has only to compare this version of the *Philomela* with Lydgate's own version, to see how unready his style is for such a stanza. His own version is digressive, indirect, incompact, and finally wanders entirely away from the artistic scheme.

Moreover, in rhyming -y, -ye, indifferently the poem goes absolutely against the usage of Lydgate's old age. I note lines 103, and 285, as examples of this. They are particularly bad, for they contain cases of the infinitive in -ie rhyming with adverbs in -ly. An even better test is afforded by the rhymes *séson: réson*,

¹ Printed by O. Glauning for the E.E.T.S., E.S., 80. He was unaware of Newton's MS.

22, séson : réson : enchésou 58. In no poem of Lydgate's poems, acknowledged as his by contemporaries can a paroxytone rhyme of these words be found, though they appear everywhere in his poems in oxytone rhyme, e. g. sesón : toun, etc. These considerations seem more important to me than the scribe's possible word of 1500, and I feel justified in excluding the poem.¹

Stephen Hawes.—In the *Pastime of Pleasure*, ll. 1282 ff., Hawes enumerates certain works of his master. These are (given by title or description):—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Life of our Lady. ² | 6. Troy Book. |
| 2. Life of St. Edmund. | 7. Assembly of Gods (or perhaps Reson and Sensuallyte). ³ |
| 3. Fall of Princes. | |
| 4. Churl and the Bird. | 8. Temple of Glas. |
| 5. Court of Sapience. | |

Two works call for comment, the *Court of Sapience* and the *Assembly of Gods*. On the *Court of Sapience*, I may refer to Dr. Burkart's thesis on Hawes's poem, 1899, which summarizes the story. He claims that this poem is Hawes's chief source.

My objections to the *Court of Sapience* are, that we have no external testimony until this statement of Hawes, and that the style of the poem is quite different from Lydgate's, being direct, forceful and yet a trifle pedantic. It is written by a man of very different personality from the modest monk of Bury; he is assertive, and preëminently the master. The metre of the poem is vigorous, but decidedly not so smooth as Lydgate's. Moreover, there are rhymes totally at variance with Lydgate's universal practice. In stanzas 1, 14, 30, 42 and others there may be observed the strong preference for the rhyme -ácioun, proparoxytonic. And in the copy of the poem in MS. Harley 2251, fol. 274b, l. 9-10, there is the rhyme victórye : drye. Lydgate, as I have said, never rhymed the word except as victórye. Finally, throughout the poem we can find but

¹ Space prevents me from entering in detail upon a refutation of all Glanning's arguments for Lydgate's authorship. Suffice it to say, that he shows the poem to be Lydgatian, but not Lydgate's. The rhymes I call in question are regular with Benedict Burgh, cf. *Cato*, *Archiv*, 115, ll. 282-4, 585-7-8. Why could he not have written this poem?

² He speaks of the "conversacyon of our lady," which I take to mean "conduct."

³ "And betwene vertue and the lyfe vycyous
Of goddes and goddes, a boke solacious
He did comyle."

This has hitherto been taken to apply to the Assembly of Gods, but it is equally true of Reson and Sensuallyte.

few rhyme-tags, metrical conveniences indispensable so far as Lydgate was concerned.

Somewhat before Hawes, Wynkyn de Worde, in his 1498 Chaucer had printed the *Assembly of Gods*, and assigned it to Lydgate in his colophon. If then Hawes's reference above refers to this poem it may be due chiefly to this print. The poem exists in a MS. of not earlier than 1463, without ascription, and in another MS. probably copied from the print. Thus Wynkyn de Worde affords us our only external evidence, and this only in his first print; he took pains to omit the colophon in his second and third prints. Dr. Triggs mentions as confirmatory of this evidence the "extemporal play of the *Seven Deadlie Sinns*, contrived by Richard Tarleton and performed before King Henry VI (v. description by Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.*, III, p. 198). Our monk Lydgate is supposed to regulate the performance." Now Tarleton was an Elizabethan, and Henry VI merely an early Sly who watches a play. One might as well contend that Gower wrote *Chronicle Histories* because Shakespeare employed him as Chorus.

It cannot be denied that the *Assembly of Gods* is equipped with a full Lydgatian stock of phrases and mannerisms. They are, however, of the most easily imitated type, and any of the evidence Dr. Triggs puts forth for Lydgate's authorship could be shown to be true of the continuation of the *Secrees*, written after Lydgate's death.

Metrically, however, the poem is quite impossible. It is harsh and unreadable; Lydgate is always smooth. There are forty-seven alexandrines, and thirty-four lines of eight syllables, though the poem is written in rhyme royal. The rhymes are incredibly bad. In 2000 lines we have strong : hand, 260; am : man, 86; than : doon, 1217; come : oblyuyone, 1337; bedde : understonde, 2040; and others of the like. In over twenty out of forty cases the -ye rhymes with final -y. Victorie rhymes partye, 1009; companye, 1190; and many words in -y. We find circuncysion : derision, 1205; reson : seson, 1259. In other words, this poem is the product of another age than Lydgate's, and certainly belongs to the latter half of the century.

But stronger even than these philological tests, on which alone I should never rely, are the tests of style. Nowhere in our known Lydgate have we this rough, careless, brisk, vigorous, racy, colloquial telling. Was it Lydgate who wrote of Diana and Neptune in his vision,

559. "This was the furst syght that ever I theym sawe,
And yef I never do este, I rekke not a strawe ;"

or of Minerva, the chaste goddess,

349. "She weryd ii bokelers oon by her syde
That other ye wote where ;"

or spoke of going to dine as "falling aboard," l. 248? Here is a typical line in the poem,

21. "He must nedys go that the devell dryues."

Pan is (325)

"brechyd like a bere,
With a gret tarbox hangyng by hys syde."

We are in a different atmosphere from the cloister of Bury throughout the poem. Here are war-cries, rough-and-ready repartee, the slang of the day; in a word the life of the Roses. We are in the most realistic allegory ever written.

"What seyde Ryghtwysnes, thow olde dotyng foole,"

or again,

"Is hit thus? what! in the devellys date?"

One might with equal reason contend, as Peacham stated in the *Compleat Gentleman* that Lydgate was "the authour of that bitter satyre Piers Plowman."

John Bale was apparently the first to make a Lydgate canon. In his *Scriptores Brit. Centur. Quinta*, fol. 202 f. (1548), is a list of 14 pieces, and in his MS. note-book are many more entries.¹ These were incorporated in the later edition of 1559, from which I quote, p. 586. (Titles italicized are of spurious or unknown works; from this point on through the chapter.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. St. Edmund. | 7. <i>De coelorum gaudiis</i> (Multi sunt qui coelorum gaudia cup). ³ |
| 2. <i>Vita regis Ethelstani</i> (Pro. solidiore operis firm). ² | 8. Parlement of Foules. |
| 3. St. Fremund (Book III of St. Edmund). | 9. <i>Jesu thy sweetnes</i> . ⁴ |
| 4. Life of our Lady. | 10. <i>Praecepta moralia</i> . (Possibly Burgh's Cato, or some of Lydgate's moral poems.) |
| 5. St. Albou. | 11. Secrees. |
| 6. Dance of Machabre. | |

¹ Printed Oxford, 1902, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

² Unknown.

³ Not known.

⁴ This lovely lyric, printed by Dr. Furnivall in E.E.T.S. 24, 8-11, is in stanzas of 8 lines of 4 accents, *a b a b a b a b*. It is highly alliterative, and of the fourteenth century. In MS. Rawl. poet. 175 (c. 1370) it appears in a northern dialect.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 12. Secrees (another part).
13. Calendar.
14. Churl and Bird.
15. Proverbs of Lydgate. ¹
16. <i>Proprietates nationum</i> . ²
17. Arthur (Fall, VIII, 24).
18. The Round Table (Fall, VIII, 24).
19. Guy of Warwick.
20. Guy and Colbrand (Guy II).
21. <i>De arte militari</i> . ³
22. <i>De officio regis</i> . ⁴
23. Testamentum.
24. <i>Smith and his Dame</i> . ⁵
25. Horse, Goose and Sheep.
26. Dietary.
27. <i>Fabula Duorum Mercatorum</i> .
28. <i>De fortuna</i> . ⁶
29. <i>Contra iudicium temerarium</i> (Fall, I, 13). | 30. <i>Inter rationem et tristiciam</i> .
(Resoun and Sensuallyte?)
31. Mass.
32. <i>Præceptiones Gallicæ lingue</i> . ⁷
33. <i>Aeglogas seu Bucolicæ</i> . ⁷
34. <i>Pœmata et Odas</i> . ⁷
35. <i>Satyras et alia poemata</i> . ⁷
Ista ex Ioanne Boccatio et aliis
authoribus transtulit :
36. Fall of Princes.
37. <i>Assembly of Gods</i> .
38. Thebes.
39. <i>De genealogia Deorum</i> , lib. xv. ⁷
40. Troy Book.
41. Boethius de consolatione.
42. <i>Dantis opuscula</i> . ⁷
43. <i>Petrarchæ quedam</i> . ⁷ |
|---|--|

Bale also hints at tragedies and comedies, Latin verses and prose works.

Bale's knowledge seems drawn chiefly from prints.⁵

John Stow's List. At the end of the *Siege of Thebes*, in the 1598 Chaucer of Speght, John Stow set his list of Lydgate's works.⁹ Stow's information came from his own Manuscripts, and it is in general accurate. I give the list.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Fall of Princes.
2. Troy Book.
3. Pilgrimage.
4. Secrees.
5. Reason and Sensuality. | 6. <i>Assembly of Gods</i> . ¹⁰
7. <i>Court of Sapience</i> . ¹⁰
8. Kalender.
9. <i>Petigree of the Emperours</i> , ¹¹ from
<i>Caesar to Dacian</i> . |
|--|--|

¹ From the de Worde print. They include envoys from the Fall, *Loke wel thy Mirour*, *Consulo Quisquis*, and Chaucer's *Fortune and Truth*. This article is repeated in later lists. See Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. clii, note.

² Not known, unless a half-dozen lines in Tr. Coll. R. 3. 19, be these.

³ This may be any one of several translations of Vegetius. A metrical one is now in Pembroke Coll. Camb. 243.

⁴ Perhaps part of the *Secrees*.

⁵ The well-known fablian.

⁶ Probably Sir Thos. More's poem on Fortune, recently reprinted by the E.E.T.S. from Balliol 354.

⁷ I can find no MS. sources of these items.

⁸ As may be seen by looking up these titles. He mentions practically no works not printed.

⁹ A Catalogue of translations and Poeticall deuises in English mitre or verse, done by John Lidgate Monke of Bury, whereof some are extant in print, the residue in the custodie of him that first caused this Siege of Thebes to be added to these works of G. Chaucer.

¹⁰ See above.

¹¹ Not known.

10. Kings of England.
11. Dance of Machabre.
12. Cristis Passioun.
13. *Psalms of the passion.*
14. *Of Christ's passion.*
15. Misericordias Domini.
16. *Magnificencia Ecclesiae.*
17. St. Bernard.
18. Paternoster.
19. Aue Marie.
20. *Gaudite iusti in domino.*
21. Prayer for King, Queen and People.
22. *Conditor alme sidrum.*
23. Gloriosa dicta sunt.
24. De Profundis.
25. Deus in nomine tuo.
26. Letabundus.
27. Testament, part I.
28. Benedic anima mea.
29. Amasias to Iohas (Fall of Princes, II, 16).
30. Fifteen Oes to Iesu.
31. Magnificat (Life of Our Lady, c. XXII).
32. Aue jesse virgula.
33. Fifteen joyes.
34. Life of our Lady.
35. *Life of St. Anne.*
36. Pyte and the sinner.
37. Image of our Ladie.
38. St. Albon.
39. How the plague was ceased in Rome.
40. St. Margaret.
41. *Life of St. Denis.*
42. *Life of St. Barbara.*
43. *Life of St. Sithe.*
44. St. George.
45. *Echortation [against] the 7 deadly synnes.*
46. *Praier to bedward.*
47. Seuen graces for seuen estates.
48. Offices of all estates.
49. Seuen parts of wisdom.
50. Founders of the 7 sciences artificiall.
51. Seuen Sciences called Liberall.
52. Authours of 7 Sciences.
53. Disposition of the 7 planets.
54. Disposition of the 12 signes.
55. Disposition of the 4 elements.
56. Disposition of the 4 complections.
57. Disposition of the 4 seasons of the yere.
58. Disposition of the world.
59. Peace, Praise of.
60. Dietary.
61. (Fall. VIII, 20), Stable as a Stone.
62. Procession of Corp. Christi.
63. Fall of Princes, III, 4 (Ballad Royall against lechery).
64. Saying of the Nightingale.
65. Ballad on the Coronation.
66. Fall of Princes, II, 31 (on Rome).
67. Measure, Song of.
68. Ram's Horn.
69. Nine Properties of Wine.
70. Amor vincit omnia.
71. That now is hay.
72. Four things.
73. Wikked Tong.
74. Thoroughfare of Woe.
75. Mydsomer Rose.
76. Disposition of women (Double-nesse ?).
77. Order of Fooles.
78. What maketh the world so variable.
79. Semblables.
80. Letter to Gloucester.
81. *Epitaph on Humfrey Duke of Gloucester.*
82. Stella coeli extirpauit.
83. Consulo quisquis.
84. Horns Away.
85. Haste.
86. Epistle to Sybille.
87. Mumming at Bishopswood.
88. Mumming for the Mercers.
89. Mumming for the Goldsmiths.
90. Mumming at Eltham.
91. Mumming at Hertford.
92. Mumming at London.
93. Mumming at Windsor.
94. New Year's Gift of an Eagle.
95. So as the Crabbe goeth forward.
96. Valentine to Her I love best.
97. Ballade to Her that hath all virtues.
98. A Gentlewoman's Lament.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>99. Gloucester's Marriage.
100. Jak Hare.
101. <i>Gallaunt</i>.
102. Æsop's Fables.
103. Churl and the bird.
104. Horse, sheepe, and goose.
105. Gwy Earl of Warwick, etc.
106. Proverbs of Lidgate (from W. de W.'s print).
107. Departyng of Chaucer.</p> | <p>108. Bycorne and Chichefache.
109. Serpent of Diuision.
110. Temple of Glasse.
111. St. Edmund.
112. Entry into London.
113. Testament.
(Added to these the Story of Thebes, just printed, makes 114 works).</p> |
|--|---|

There is no doubt but that Stow, in the composition of this list, had recourse to the manuscripts in his own possession. Chief among these are the MSS. now known as B. M. Addit. 29729 (his own MS. written 1558¹) and Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21. In the former MS. are the pieces noted on his list, Nos. 7, 14, 17, 31, 71, 70, 72, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 65, 69, 68, 23, 62, 64, 63, 39, 40, 27, 30, 36, 37, 83, 73, 97, 98, 99, 114; in the latter MS. are Nos. 7, 34, 33, 32, 13, 12, 15, 26, 35, 10, 20, 101, 18, 51, 45, 46, 14, 11, 16, 47-58, 59, 83, 75, 105, 44.

Now Stow, while deserving all our gratitude, has no great claim to authority on question of authorship. Just as in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, we find Chaucer's name added by Stow to one piece of courtly poetry after another, so in MS. R. 3. 21, a codex largely in the same, we find Lydgate's name added to one religious poem after another. Chaucer wrote all the worldly poems, Lydgate all the godly ones, seems to be his canon. Now these MSS. date from late in Edward IV's reign, and consequently contain much poetry of a later date than Lydgate. The poems Nos. 13, 16, 20, 35, 45, 46, 101 in Stow's list are clearly of this later period, since they break all Lydgate's rhyming habits, while closely imitating his general style.² None of these poems, it should be said, is ascribed

¹ An excellent MS. nevertheless and faithful copy of older texts.

² No. 14, *Psalmi passionis*, Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 21. Rhymes glory: prophesy: soly 10; consecracioun: obseruacioun fol. 175 b; temptacioun: dylectacioun 176; proteccyoun: dyleccyoun 176 b; prophesy: bodyly 176 b, and many others. No. 20, *Gaudite iusti*, is of the same type. No. 35, Life of St. Anne, same MS., fundacioun: elacioun: formacioun 224; onely: magnify 224 b; thornes: ywys 225; hauntyd: worshippyd 226; virgyne: digne 226 b; affeccoun: direccoun 228 b; reson: seson 229 b; son: redempcioun 230, etc. No. 45 may be any one of the several attacks on the sins or a song of them, as in Ball. 354; I know none in Lydgate's metre. No. 46, The Prayer to bedward and at rising, rhymes mesurably: glotonye, f. 276 b; fantasies: vpryse 276 a; it is in short line stanzas of 4. No. 16 is highly interesting, but is crudest of all in its metre. Rhymes magnify: almighty 285; eucheson: reson: geson: seson 285; oonly: signify 286, etc.

to Lydgate by the scribe of the MS. Of the spurious pieces, not already noted, Nos. 22, 41, 42, 43 are not by Lydgate if any extant poem on these subjects be those intended by Stow.¹ No. 81, the *Epitaphium Ducis Gloucestric*, in MS. Harley 2251, is certainly not by Lydgate. It is a very feeble thing indeed, written in his manner, but has no MS. support for Lydgate's name, or any accordance with a known poem of his.² Nos. 36, 37, 39 are only in Stow's MS. Addit. 29729, and are there attributed to Lydgate. They agree in style and subject with numerous other pieces of the monk, and are admitted into my list for want of negative evidence, though I do not feel entirely sure of them. Numbers 47-58 comprise my Pageant of Knowledge, Nos. 53-57 being ascribed to Lydgate in MS. Harley 2255, an excellent codex. There are thus 14 spurious pieces, and 14 duplicates in Stow's list. Elsewhere Stow assigns other poems to the monk. In his *Chronicle*, he tells of verses for pageants at the entry of Queen Margaret; these have not survived.

John Pits, 1619,³ depended almost entirely upon Bale for his information. Nearly his whole article is stolen from Bale, and deserves no further notice. He adds two items at the end of Bale's list, The Pilgrimage, and Quis dabit meo capiti.⁴

Bishop Tanner's list in his *Bibliotheca*, pp. 489-493 (ed. 1748), consists chiefly of researches made upon Pits and Stow. To these he adds items from Laud 683, Fairfax 16, and Ashmole 59. But he does not bother to collate his references, as Bale did from his notes. The result is that items often appear under three or four heads. Moreover, whenever Tanner found other poems in a MS. containing poems cited by Pits or Stow, he added these. The result is a confusion which it is hardly worth while to clear up. But the greatest credit is due to Tanner for his references to MSS., which are uniformly accurate.

Tanner's list begins with Thebes, goes to Wikked Tong, Troy Book (under which the redaction of 1614 is noted), Mass; then follow—

¹ No. 22 may be a part of the Letabundus, 41 and 42 are extant as in short doggerel couplets in an Arundel MS.

² Stanza 6, alye: the; 9 dowarye: by: ny: I cry; etc. The poem is rather unmetrical.

³ *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*, Tom. I, 1619, under the year 1440, pp. 632-33.

⁴ *Lamentation of our Lady*, this may be the prose tract, which is probably spurious.

5. Queen of hevene.
6. *Dilectus meus.*
7. Ballade of Commendation.
8. *Stabat mater dolorosa.*
9. Queen of hevene (another MS.).
10. Prayer in Old Age.
11. Life of our Lady.
12. St. Edmund.
13. *Quia amore langueo.*

After these come the items of Pits, beginning with St. Fremund. At the Horse, Sheep and Goose he interjects Who says the Best, from MS. Laud 598, and Upon the Cross, from the same MS.

Then he appends Stow's list. At St. Anne's life, he interjects Lydgate's Invocation to St. Anne. At the Procession of Pageants (of Corpus Christi) he puts in a guess as to the "Coventry" plays (Hegge plays). After the Entry into London he adds *London Lickpeny* (quoting Stow, *London*, p. 234), the Flour of Curtesye (Thynne, 1532), and the following from Fairfax 16—

Prayer for King, Queen, and People.

Chaunse of the dyse.

Complaint against hope.

Complaint d'Amour (attributed to Chaucer by Prof. Skeat).

Ragmanys roll.

From the Lincoln MS. he notes St. Austin, and from Ashmole 59—

The sixth fable of Isope.

Consulo quisquis.

Horns away.

(Fall, I, 13.)

Friend at neode.

Holy meditation.

Mass ("Ye devout peple").

From Bodley 686, he took the *Tale of a Crow* (Maunciple's Tale by Chaucer), Kings, Stans Puer, Dietary, So as the Crabbe, Ram's Horn, Wikked Tong, St. Margaret, St. George, Fifteen Joys (here he notes the version II from the Titus MS.). He then catalogues Laud 683,¹ noting under Ten Saints, the Ashmole St. Denis.

¹ This MS., entirely devoted to Lydgate, will be catalogued below. A glance through my list will show what items appear in it.

The only omission from Laud is Fifteen Ooes. To these he adds some random pieces, *The Tale of the Lady Prioress and her three wooers*.¹ From Stow's *History* he quotes the verses of the pageants for Queen Margaret in 1445. These are *Ingredimini et replete terram, non amplius irascar super terram. Madam Grace, chancelor de Dieu. Five wise and five foolish virgins. Of St. Margaret. Of the heavenly Jerusalem. Of the general resurrection and judgement*.²

He adds *Cambridge*, with a reference to Fuller, *Eccl. Hist.*, I, 28. He then adds the "translations" from Pits,³ and concludes with references to MSS. he has not seen, chiefly gathered from the *Cat. MSS. Angl. et Hib.*, Oxon., 1697.

Under LYDGATE, JOHANNES, he notes the Serpent of Division again from "A. Wood, MS. *Cat.*, IV, 46 (1559 print)."

Joseph Ritson followed Tanner in this sort of list, and considerably increased the confusion. He divided his list into printed and unprinted works. Professor Schick has corrected Ritson's list to a great extent, but in order to set the matter right once for all I must repeat his work with my additions.

In prints.—1. Troy. 2. Fall. 3. Dance of Mach. 4. Thebes. 5. Life of our Lady (8, 187). 6. *Lamentacyon of our lady*.⁴ 7. St. Albon (249). 8. (*Part of 5 in*) *Pilgrimage of the soule*.⁵ 9. Horse, sheep and goose. 10. Temple of Glas. 11. *Cato's Distichs* (54) (by Burgh). 12. *Court of Sapience* (51, 225). 13. Assembly of Gods (under wrong title). 14. Churl and Bird. 15. Kings. 16. Stans puer. 17. W. de Worde's Proverbs of Lydgate. 18. St. Austin. 19. Serpent of Division. 20. Flour of Courtesie. 21. *Chaucer's Ballade on Fortune*. 22. *Consulo Quis* (62, 84). 23. Doublenes. 24. *Balade warning men against deceitful women* (see below under

¹ Certainly not by him. It is a gay fabliau of the alliterative romance type, composed by some minstrel. The MS. ascription is of a late date. The humour is rough and high, the rhymes rude; there is nothing to justify this note of some modern reader, yet Halliwell printed it as Lydgate's, *Minor Poems*.

² None of these are extant, as I have said above.

³ Under Troy Book he notes the Laud Troy Book.

⁴ Printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Possibly an error for *Quis dabit meo*. This tract is in prose, and was recently printed by C. E. Tame, in *E. E. Rel. Lit.*, Series I, as Lydgate's. There is no MS. evidence, and the piece seems to be of much later date than Lydgate's. The prose is quite beyond that of the Serpent of Division.

⁵ A prose and verse rendering of Deguileville's second Pilgrimage. Not a rhyme-tag in the verse, and the *y*: *ye* rule frequently broken. Ascribed (the verse part) to Hoccleve, who certainly wrote *Metre VII*, if not all.

Skeat). 25. Ballade in Com. of our ladie. 26. Lamentation of Mary Magdalene.¹ 27. Assemble of ladies.² 28. *A praise of women* (cf. Skeat, *Min. P.*, p. 26). 29. *Remedie of love*. 30. *Craft of lovers*. 31. Chaucer's *Gentillesse*. 32. Sayings of Dan John (Four things). 33. Testament (214). 34. Bycorne and Chiciefache. 35. *London Lyckpeny*.³ 36. Secrees (from Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum*), see No. 52.

In MSS.—37. Arthur (Fall, VIII, 24). 38. Round Table, *ibid.*, and *Siege of Jerusalem*.⁴ 39. Guy of Warwick. 40. Fabula duor. Merc. 41. *Lady Prioress*. 42. *Childe of Bristow*.⁵ 43. *Two priests of Wiltshire*.⁶ 44. *Smith and his Dame*, + Fab. duor. Merc. + 6th proverb of Isope (45). 45. Isopes fabules (44). 46. Chaucer's *Mauunciple's Tale*. 47. Jak Hare. 48. *Piers of Fulham*.⁷ 49. Order of Fools. 50. *Advice to an Old Man*.⁸ 51. *Court of Sapience* (12, 225). 52. Secrees. 53. *De re militari* (144).⁹ 54. *Cato's distichs* (11). 55. Dietary (61). 56. Pilgrimage. 57. Ballade to Her that Hath all Vertues. 58. Gentlewoman's Lament (110). 59. *Ragmanys roll*. 60. *Chaunse of the dyse*. 61. Dietary (55). 62. *Consulo quisquis* (22, 84). 63. Horns Away. 64. Semblables. 65. So as the Crabbe. 66. Rhyme without accord. 67. Haste. 68. Mydsomer Rose. 69. Measure. 70. Quis dabit. 71. Amor vincit omnia. 72. Amasias to Johas (Fall, II, 16). 73. Epistle to Sybille? (141), or perhaps Fall, II, 15. 74. So as the Crabbe (65). 75. New Year's Gift of an Eagle. 76. *Summum Sapientiae*.¹⁰ 77. Seven Wise Counsels (part of Pageant of Knowledge). 78. *Long wil be water*.¹¹ 79. Complexiones (part of Pageant of Knowledge). 80. Who saith the best. 81. *Lak of Stedfastnesse* (Chaucer). 82. Four

¹ Recently edited for the E.E.T.S. There is no evidence whatever for Lydgate's authorship. ² Printed in the Oxford Chaucer, VII.

³ See below.

⁴ In doggerel couplets, by Adam Davy (?).

⁵ A poor piece of popular versification.

⁶ See below.

⁷ Printed in Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, from Tr. C. Camb. R. 3. 19.

⁸ See below.

⁹ See above.

¹⁰ This is still attributed to Lydgate by Prof. Förster and Miss Hammond, because the writer happens to say that his author (his original) and he are both named John. But why not John Walton, John Capgrave, John Hardyng, John of Bury, Sir John Oldecastle? The writer has an incurable fancy for the word huge; in the first 14 stanzas I note huge Idilnesse, 3; huge comberance, 4; huge wittis, 8; huge impuissance, 10; huge Innocence, 11; huge ditees, 12; huge symplenesse, 14. The rhymes are totally against Lydgate's claim; contraire: mornynghly: folýe, 32; glórie: folýe, 70; remedy: follily, 41; delicacye: worldly, 44, etc. Lydgate never went quite so far as to speak of liquid liquor, st. 5, or lyneal lynes 8. The translation is wretched. Really Lydgate never coined such words as rethoryous 6, antiquious 8, or vertuhede 3. There is absolutely no evidence for Lydgate's claim in the original MSS.

¹¹ From Harley 2251. A short mis-metred thing.

things (see 32). 83. Friend in neode. 84. Consulo quisquis (22, 62). 85. *Complaint d'amour*.¹ 86. *Complaint against fortune*, by Chaucer. 87. *Complaint against Hope*. 88. *Ch. of the Dyce* (frag.). 89. Gloucester's Marriage. 90. St. Austin (No. 18). 91. Stans Puer (16). 92. *Praier to bedward*. 93. O thow povert (Fall, I, 18). 94. Wikked Tong. 95. Vertu. 96. Thoroughfare of Woo. 97. Tyed with a lyne. 98. *Rex Salamon (Dilectus meus)*. 99. Loke in thy Merour. 100. They that no while endure. 101. Peace. 102. Holy Meditation. 103. Letabundus. 104. World is Variable. 105. Timor Mortis. 106. The Cok hath lowe shoon. 107. Measure is Treasure. 108. *Hood of Green*. 109. *Craft of Lovers* (30). 110. Gentlewoman's Lament (58). 111. Cambridge. 112. Reason and Sensualitie. 113. *Assembly of Gods* (13). 114. *Seven deadly Sinnes* (Stow's, 45). 115-119. Pageant of Knowledge (Stow's, 47-58). 120. That now is hay. 121. Wikked Tong (94). 122. Amor vincit omnia (71). 123. Nine props. of wine. 124. Measure (107). 125. Ram's Horn. 126. Fall (Stow, 63). 127. *Magnificence of the Church*. 128. Psalter. 129. Kalandre. 130. *Petigree of Emperors*. 131. Kings (15). 132. Fates of Princes. 133. Prayer for K. Q. and P. 134. Ballade on Coronation. 135. Pedigree. 136. New Y.'s Gift, Eagle (75). 137. Complaint for My Lady of Holland. 138. Letter to Gloucester. 139. Epitaph of Gl. 140. My Lady Dere. 141. Epistle to Sibille (73?). 142. *De vita hominis*. 143. *Proprietates rationum*. 144. *Vegetius* (53). 145. *Praeceptiones Gall. ling.*² 146-151. Mummings, Stow's, Nos. 87-90, 92, 93. 152-3. Procession of Corp. Chr. 153. King's Entry. 154. King's Entry. 155. *Gallaunt*. 156. Haste (67). 157. Horns Away (63). 158. Fall, II, 16 (72). 159. *Dantis opuscula*. 160. *Petrarchae quaedam*.² 161. Prayer in Old Age. 162. *Bird's Matins*. 163. Deus in nomine tuo. 164. *Hoc factum est a domino*.³ 165. Benedic anima. 166. Misericordias domini. 167. De Profundis. 168. Te Deum. 169. Letabundus (part).⁴ 170. Benedictus deus. 171. Letabundus, etc. (part)⁴ (169). 172. God is my help. 173. *The high astripotent auctor of all*.⁵ 174. *Gaudite iusti*.⁶ 175. *Neir a park*.⁷ 176-179.

¹ Ascribed to Chaucer by Professor Skeat. ² For these see under Bale.

³ This poem in Harley 2251, refers to the Battle of Roxburghe, when the Scots were defeated. Rhymes nyne: bene, st. 2; victory: flea. No MS. authority.

⁴ Ritson was misled by rubrics in the course of the poem, which led him to think a new poem had begun. See 103. ⁵ A doggerel poem from Harley 2251.

⁶ A doggerel poem from Tr. Coll. Cam. R. 3. 21.

⁷ Harley 2255. No authority.

Stow's verses on Margaret's entry. 180. *De coelorum gaudiis*. 181. Fifteen Joys, II. 182. Fifteen Joys, I (pt. II). 183. Queen of hevenc. 184. *Stella celi*. 185. Image of our lady. 186. *Gloriosa dicta sunt*. 187. Life of our Lady (5, 8). 188. Surge mea sponsa.¹ 189. Ave jesse virgula. 190. Same. 191. Gaude virgo. 192. *Maria virgo assumpta est*.¹ 193. Val. to Her I love Best. 194. Ball. in Commendation (25). 195. *Rex Salamon* (98). 196. *Stabat mater*. 197. *Glor. dicta sunt*. 198. *Ave Maria*¹ (Harley version). 199. Magnificat (pt. of No. 5). 200. Quis dabit (70). 201. *Quia amore languo*. 202. *Joy blissid lady*.² 203. Ave regina celorum. 204. Regina celi letare. 205. Legend of Joos. 206. *Chaucer's A B C*. 207. *Jesu Crist kepe our lippes*.³ 208. *Testamentum Christi* in the Vernon MS.). 209. Paternoster. 210. *Verbum caro* (pt. of Mass, No. 223). 211. *Cristes passioun*. 212. Pyte I. 213. Saying of the Nightingale (w. MS. of Nightingale). 214. Testament pt. V (33). 215. Child Jesus to his mother.⁴ 216. Upon a Cros (228). 217. *Jesu thy sweetnes*. 218. Testament pt. I. 219. Prayer for K. Q. & P. (133). 220. *On Chr.'s passion*. 221. *Psalmi passionis*. 222. *Merita missae*.⁵ 223. Mass. 224. *Ibid*. 225.

¹ From Harley 2251; belongs with *Dilectus meus*.

² Gaude flore, from Harley 372. Rhymes on hec: bee: see, st. 1; lesse: is: gladnesse, 3; Jesu: now, 6; amang: kan (1), 6. Very irregular metre.

³ In *Addit.* 34360, and Harley 2251. No evidence for Lydgate's authorship.

⁴ Three stanzas with refrain. From Harley 2251. Begins "My father above," etc. I have included this poem.

⁵ Ascribed to Lydgate, because in MS. Titus A xxvi, which contains Fifteen Joys, II. That poem is, however, in a different hand from that of the scribe of the *Merita Missae*. The poem is printed in the Lay-Folks Mass-Book, pp. 148-154, E.E.T.S. 71, by Rev. Mr. Simmons. It is written in the rhyming short couplet. Rhymes not Lydgate's are fore: whare, 5; I: follye, 7; nemen: heyn, 27; bone: dome, 28; belle: styll, 47, etc. Another poem ascribed to Lydgate, and called by this editor *Virtutes Missarum* is printed in the same volume, pp. 367 ff. There is no evidence for this piece, which is cruder than the preceding, and begins—

"Lordyngis dygne and dere
Lystyn and 3e may here."

Lines 25-26 read—

"Dis wytnessyt seynt austyn
And ledgyt hem in latyn";

and the side-note, p. 368, and the index tell us "ledgyt" (alleged) is Lydgate! Therefore this is Lydgate's poem!

Mr. Simmons is the first to attribute the *Venus Mass* in MS. Fairfax 16 to Lydgate. This is one of those pieces of courtly love in which I can find no characteristics of Lydgate sufficient to justify his claim as author. Many phrases recall the monk, but it is all Chaucerian imitation. If this piece is admitted as Lydgate's, it must be on the strength of the prose extract, which abounds in phrases occurring in Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*. But I cannot satisfy myself that these phrases are peculiar to Lydgate.

Court of Sap. (12, 51). 226. *Criste qui lux es.* 227. *Fifteen Ooes.* 228. *Upon a Cros.* 229. *XV Tokens.* 230. Pt. of 231. 231. *Life of St. Anne.* 232. *Invocation to St. Anne.* 233. *St. Katherine.* 234. *St. Margaret.* 235. *St. Cecilia* (Chaucer). 236. *St. Sitha.* 237. *St. Barbara.* 238. *St. Ursula.* 239. *Prioresses Tale* (Chaucer). 240. *St. Erasmus.* 241. *Ten Saints.* 242. *St. Leonard.* 243. *St. Edmund.* 244. *Ibid., pt.* 245. *Ibid., pt.* 246. *Miracles of St. Edmund.* 247. *St. Edmund, pt. 3* (243). 248. *St. Alexes.* 249. *St. Albon* (7). 250. *St. Giles.* 251. *St. Denys.*

It will be seen that Ritson has had access to Harley 2251, and 2255; otherwise his list is no better than Tanner's. He has, moreover, fallen into the same error of setting down all items in a MS. as Lydgate's because one happens to be.

Sir Harris Nicolas, 1827, in his additions to Edw. Tyrrell's edition of *A Chronicle of London*, printed the following poems as Lydgate's: 1. *The Battle of Agincourt.* 2. *King's Entry.* 3. *On the Reconciliation*, 1457. 4. *Mumming at Bishopswood.* 5. *London Lickpenny.* 6. *Letter to Gloucester.* 7. *Horns Away.* 8. *Millers and Bakers.* Of these pieces, No. 3 can be dismissed at once as not written till eight years after Lydgate's death.

The Battle of Agincourt is a kind of *Little Gest* of Agincourt. It seems to contain the fragments of earlier half-popular ballads on the subject. It is written in the style of the street, with the rhyming equipment of a poor minstrel.¹ It is inconceivable that a poet capable of, and at work on, *Troy Book* should descend to this sort of thing to celebrate the greatest deed of the sovereign for whom he was writing.

London Lickpenny is extant in two forms, of which the poorer and later one is always printed. Miss Hammond in her parallel-text print in *Anglia*, xix, § 400 f., shows that an eight-line version has been turned into a seven-line one, by simple omission of the fourth, fifth, or seventh line. Neither MS. antedates Stow's time, who owned the older version. Style and rhyme² are utterly at

¹ Stanza 2, *rathe* : *have* ; *Edward* : *swerd* ; 8, *he* : *many* ; 36, *Turvyle* : *bataile* ; *shryne* : *benyng* ; 45, *syng* : *benyng* ; 3, *yonge* : *sende* ; 4, *ende* : *kyng* ; 35, *be* : *hyghe* ; 31, *was* : *ges* ; 34, *Barry* : *sparye* ; 28, *sped* : *ride*. The rhymes -ay, -e occur in practically every stanza. The refrain runs—

“Wot ye right well that thus it was,
Gloria tibi trinitas.”

The rhyme-tag verament occurs frequently.

² *gonn* : *come*, 10 ; *chauncerie* : *me*, 34 ; *bye* : *why*, 53 ; *prime* : *dyno*, 53 ; *people* : *simple*, 74 ; *grete* : *spede*, 86.

variance with Lydgate's practice, and it is impossible therefore to accept Stow's unsupported word with regard to this poem, though every friend of Lydgate, if there be such, will give it up regretfully. Lydgate once wrote a poem on this theme, *Amor Vincit Omnia*. Let any one read this poem and then ask himself whether on the word of a worthy collector a century later, he will believe that the same man wrote *London Lickpeny*.¹

J. O. Halliwell's edition of Lydgate's Minor Poems is too well known to need comment. I cite here only the spurious poems: 1. *Prohemy of a Marriage, or Advice to an Old Man, or December and July*. 2. *Wulfrike*. 3. *Monk of Paris*. 4. *Birds' Matins*. 5. *London Lickpeny*. 6. *Lady Prioress and her suitors*. 7. *For the better abyde*. 8. *Thank God for all*. 9. *Make Amendes*. 10. *Hood of Green*. Numbers 8 and 9 are in the Vernon MS. of about 1380, and so before Lydgate's time; No. 7. is the same sort of thing, a highly alliterative, forceful little homily in eight lines of four accents *ababbc*. There is no evidence for Lydgate's authorship; the poems occur in a MS. containing some of his poems; hence Halliwell's mistake. Numbers 5, 6, and 10 are already disposed of.

The *Prohemy* is a clever poem on the line of Mapes's poem against marriage, which was translated into English at this time, and was popular. The poem is much more in Hoccleve's style. I note the following points: A. The first lines of the poem, A philosoffre, a good clerk seculer, Had a frend that was somdel aged, etc. Now the poem was written after 1426, since it refers to the Dance of Machabre; and who but Hoccleve was a good clerk seculer, with an aged friend? Read his *Dialog*, and compare the styles.

B. Hoccleve's attacks on women were famous. His story of *Jonathas* is on the same theme.

C. Hoccleve was fond of talking about unsatisfactory marriage. See Dr. Furnivall's references.

D. He was fond of quoting from Chaucer. The *Wife of Bath* is one of his models (*Dialog*, 694 ff.).

But the rhymes are against his authorship, and equally against Lydgate's.² There is nothing upon which one can base a claim for

¹ It should be noted that Stow does not include this poem in his 1586 list.

² *remedye* : *angry* : *hardily*, p. 72; *gelosye* : *bodye* : *pryvely*, p. 33. In the first 4000 lines of the *Pilgrimage*, written in 1426, there are no -y : -ye rhymes. On p. 29 of the *Prohemy*, *truste* : *postre*. The penultimate rhyme in *-achien* is observed.

Lydgate in the style, which is colloquial, pithy, and humorous. Words like "pank," "buffard," "popholy," "roter," take us out of the monk's vocabulary. In the absence of any MS. evidence we must leave the poem anonymous.¹ There were certainly more poets at work in this period than we know about.

The other three poems have no MS. evidence. The *Birds' Matins* has bad rhymes—Inwardly : melodie ; crië : triewly ; glorifye ; supervive : side. The other two are little exempla, very likely produced at Bury. The metre involves penultimate accentuation of rhyme-words in -oun,² and the lines generally are unmetrical and crude. The only rhyme-tag "we fynde and rede" is used three times in sixty lines.

Prof. Skeat, in his volume supplementary to the Oxford Chaucer, prints ten poems as Lydgate's. Of these, I see no good reason for accepting the *Ballade to My Soverain Lady*, the *Ballade, Warning Men*, etc., or the *Goodly Balade*. There is no evidence for Lydgate's authorship. The first was printed first by Thynne in 1532, and confused with Lydgate's *Ballade in Commendation*, merely because it happened to follow it in a MS. The second contains the rhyme gëson : réson : trëson, which never occurs in poems of Lydgate for which we have the slightest external evidence.³ The *Goodly Balade* might have been written by any one of the Chaucerian school, the poet of MS. Fairfax 16, for example. In his *Chaucer Canon*, Professor Skeat assigns a gem of Chaucerian verse, the *Ballade of Oft-desired Bliss*, to Lydgate, on similarly insufficient grounds.

Dr. J. H. Lange, in *Englische Studien*, 29, 397-405, proposes Lydgate as the author of Fragment B of the *Romaunt of the Rose*.⁴ Dr. Lange labours under a delusion that if Chaucer did not write it, Lydgate must have written it. He tries to show that Lydgate knew Fragment B, but he does not prove any indebtedness whatever. He gives a long list of rhymes like Lydgate's, two of which the *er : ir* and *fortune : contune* are worth nothing. He notes

¹ J. H. Lange, *Eng. Stud.*, 30, 346, is for Lydgate's authorship.

² 1. 2. Right famyler in goode conversacyoun.

3. And both they were nygh on habitacioun.

1. 10. His rightes he had by goode deliberacioun.

1. 12. And as a triew cristen man here he made his ende,
is too bad for Lydgate.

³ And it also rhymes flye : naturally.

⁴ See, however, Schick's earlier suggestion of the idea, *Temple of Glas*, p. lxi, note 2. Dr. Lange does not give Professor Schick the credit for the suggestion.

assonances in the poem, which he parallels elsewhere in Lydgate. But he fails to note that nowhere in Lydgate is there any such proportion of assonances, and he totally omits all bad rhymes for which no parallels exist. He also fails to notice the closer translation of the original than is usual with Lydgate.¹

Lydgate, it should be added, mentions the *Rose* in the *Fall of Princes* as Chaucer's translation. Had he had a hand in it, there was nothing to prevent his saying so, in 1431, the date of the Prologue to the *Fall*.

It looks as though the *Court of Love* were to be foisted on to Lydgate's shoulders, if I guess correctly Dr. Lange's latest hints in the *Archiv*, 108, p. 104.

Dr. Marsh, in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* for September, 1907, argues for Lydgate's authorship of the *Flower and the Leaf*. He has made a most exhaustive comparison of the themes in the poem, and finds it most like *Reason and Sensuallyte*. He has totally neglected the rhyme-tests, which throw the poem out at once.²

There are still a few dozen poems of the fifteenth century which, it is safe to predict, will be shortly heralded as Lydgate's.³ I realize the uncertainty of all disputes on authorship, but my contention is still that in the absence of external evidence, of a contemporary kind, the closest resemblances in rhyme, metre and style must be shown before any poem can be admitted as genuine. Whenever these cannot be shown, the verdict must be against the claimant. And I beg to present the claims of the anonymous poets of the age, of whom I believe there were many, all loving Master Chaucer, and delightedly practising the writing of courtly poetry in his manner.

¹ In *Reson and Sensuallyte*, 142. 2 lines to 100 of the original.
 In *Pilgrimage*, 157. 0 lines to 100 " "
 In *Fragment B*, 117. 5 lines to 100 " "

² VI, No. 3, pp. 373 ff. Rhymes contrary to Lydgate's usage are common—*reson* : *reson*, 562; *victory* : *mightily*, 517; *glory* : *hoolly*, 520; *melody* : *soothly*, 181; *chivalry* : *worthy*, 503, etc.

³ The Practise "*De Lapide Philosophorum*," in B. M. Sloane 3708, ascribed to Lydgate, seems to me a seventeenth century forgery, and not worth discussion. I mention it here to forestall criticism.

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V. — THE MEANINGS AND SYNONYMS OF
PLUMBAGO. By JOHN W. EVANS, LL.B., D.Sc.,
Adviser in Geology and Mineralogy to the Imperial
Institute.

[*Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on January 11, 1907.*]

HAVING been consulted by Dr. Murray on the history of the word 'plumbago' in connection with the Oxford Dictionary of the English Language on Historical Principles, I gave some attention to the subject, and my interest carried me further than I had originally intended. The main conclusions at which I arrived will be found in the article on that word in the dictionary, but the limits within which it was necessarily compressed did not permit of the presentation of many of the facts disclosed, and at Dr. Murray's kind suggestion I have communicated the present paper to this Society. I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to exclude matters of purely mineralogical or metallurgical interest, except so far as they have a direct bearing on the subject of the paper, but it will be found that the variations in the use of the words with which I deal reflect in a remarkable manner the changing fortunes of the arts and sciences in the centuries covered by the survey. I have only attempted to follow the history of the word 'plumbago' and its synonyms so far as they relate to minerals or metallurgical products. The botanical aspects of the subject lie beyond my province. I had not completed my investigations when the portion of the dictionary which included the word 'plumbago' went to press, and in some cases I have since found earlier instances of the use of words than those which will be found in its pages.

The subject being most conveniently presented chronologically, I begin with the word 'molybdæna,' whose history was for long intimately connected with that of plumbago, but goes back to a somewhat earlier date.

Molybdæna is the Latinized form of the Greek *μολύβδαινα*, and is

derived from *μόλυβδος*, lead. *Μολύβδαινα* was applied to various things connected with the metal, such as a plummet used to obtain a vertical line, a leaden sinker attached to a net, a bullet for a catapult, and a plant associated in some way with lead. In the mineral sense it appears to have been applied to lead oxide obtained as a bye product in smelting gold and silver ores, as well as to a natural substance with similar properties and of similar composition.

Aristotle (*οβιὺν* n.c. 321) tells us ("De generatione animalium," ii, 2) that molybdæna mixed with water and olive-oil makes a large mass from a small one, solid from liquid, and pale from dark.¹

Four hundred years later Dioscorides gave a more systematic account of the same substance ("Materia Medica," v, 100):— "The best molybdæna is similar in appearance to litharge, yellow in colour and somewhat lustrous. When ground to an impalpable powder it is pale yellow, and on boiling with olive-oil becomes liver-like in hue. Such as is bluish or lead-like in colour is bad. It is formed from silver and gold. It is also found as a mineral in the neighbourhood of Sebaste and Korykos [both on the coast of Cilicia], and of this [substance] the better is that which has the appearance neither of slag nor of stone, but is yellow and shining. It has a [medicinal] power similar to that of litharge and lead slag."² In the same treatise (v, 95) he states that some use molybdæna instead of lead filings in preparing lead lotion.³

There can be little doubt that *μόλυβδαινα*, *σκωρία μόλυβδου*, and *λιθάργυρος* are all varieties of lead oxide produced by the smelting of lead and silver ore and the cupelling of argentiferous lead, but it is not apparent what was the exact difference in the application of these terms. The normal lead oxide (Pb O) is yellow or yellowish red, but lead slag is often bluish or greyish black from the presence of a lower oxide of lead or of impurities. It has been employed from time immemorial in the manufacture of lead plaster by boiling

¹ Καὶ ἡ μόλυβδαινα μινυμένη ὕδατι, ἢ καὶ ἐλαίῳ, ἐξ ὀλίγου τε πολλὸν ὕγκον ποιεῖ καὶ ἐξ ὕγρου στιφρὸν καὶ ἐκ μέλανος λευκόν.

² Μολύβδαινα δὲ ἀρίστη ἐστὶν ἡ λιθαργυροφανής, ξανθὴ, ὑποστίλβουσα καὶ κίβδη ἐν τῷ λειοτριβεῖσθαι, ἐψηθεῖσά τε ἐλαίῳ ἠπατοειδὴς τῷ χρώματι γίνεται· ἢ δὲ ἀερίζουσα ἢ μόλυβδόχρους φαύλη· γεννᾶται δὲ ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ· ἔστι δὲ τις καὶ ὀρυκτὴ κατὰ Σεβαστὴν καὶ Κώρυκον εὕρισκομένη· καὶ ταύτης ἐστὶ βελτίων ἢ μὴ σκωριοειδὴς, μηδὲ λιθάρης, ξανθὴ δὲ καὶ στίλβουσα· δυνάμει δὲ ἔχει ὁμοίαν λιθαργύρῳ καὶ σκωρία μόλυβδου.

³ Ἐνίοι δὲ προσεμβάλλουσι τοῖς βινίσμασιν ὀλίγην μόλυβδαιναν.

with olive-oil and water, oleate of lead and glycerine being formed. The thickening and increase in volume in the process might give some justification for Aristotle's statement. Apparently he applied the term *μολύβδαινα* to an impure variety of the oxide which produced a dark mixture. This would become lighter as the reaction proceeded, for the oleate is, at least at first, light yellow in colour, and by its increase in bulk would mask any impurities which were present.

The 'natural' *μολύβδαινα* probably comprised various 'oxidized' ores of lead, such as the oxide, carbonate, sulphate, phosphate, and the light-yellow molybdate known as wulfenite. Even the carbonate and sulphate, which are properly white, are often yellowish from the presence of hydrate of iron.

The inferior varieties may have included more or less undecomposed lead sulphide, the modern galena, but pure specimens of that mineral were probably represented by the *μολυβδοειδής λίθος* of Dioscorides.¹

Galen, who lived a century later (*obit* A.D. 200) than Dioscorides, appears to have used the word *μολύβδαινα* in a similar sense. In his "De succedaneis" he gives litharge as a substitute for *μολύβδαινα*,² and in his "De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis," ix, 3. 22, he states that *μολύβδαινα* has an effect similar to that of litharge, that both are soluble, not insoluble like stones, calamine, and sand, but that the solution is most rapid when vinegar is associated with oil, though it also takes place on long boiling with water [and presumably oil]. He saw *μολύβδαινα* scattered about with numerous other stones on the road that leads from Pergamon to Ergasteria, a village, where there were mines, between Kyzikos and Pergamon, 440 stadia from the latter.³

¹ It has been contended that this was graphite (*post*, pp. 149-54), but that it was a lead ore is probable from the statement that its therapeutic properties were the same as those of litharge. It has also been suggested (by Gimma, "Fisica Sotteranea," Naples, 1730, ii, p. 131) that the *τετράγωνος* of Hippocrates ("De internalibus affectionibus," cap. 45 and 49, ed. Littré, 1851, vol. vii, pp. 278, 290) was galena, but there is no evidence in favour of this view.

² Ἀντὶ μολυβδαίνης λίθαργυρον.

³ Μολύβδαινα λιθαργύρη παραψησίαν ἔχει δύναμιν, . . . ἔστι δ' ἄμφω τὰ φάρμακα τηκτὰ καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ λίθοι καὶ ἡ καθμεία καὶ ἡ ψάμμος ἄτηκτα. ταχίστη δ' αὐτῶν ἡ τῆξις γίνεται προσλαβόντος ὕδρου τοῦ ἐλαίου. τήκεται γὰρ μὴν καὶ εἰ ὕδωρ μίξας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐψήσαις. . . . μολύβδαιναν, ἐββημένην παμπόλλοις ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις λίθοις ἐθεασάμην κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἐργαστήρια φέρουσαν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Περγάμου. καλεῖται δ' Ἐργαστήρια κώμη τις, ἐν ἧ καὶ μετάλλα ἔστι, μεταξὺ Περγάμου καὶ Κυζίκου, σταδίων ἀπέχουσα Περγάμου τετρακοσίου τεσσαράκοντα.

In his "De compositione medicamentorum per genera" (i, 11) he states that *μολύβδαινα* can always be substituted for litharge, but it makes the colour of the product darker.¹ It is therefore probable that it was a darker, less pure variety. It cannot have been the hard metallic sulphide, for in his "De succedaneis" he says that it may be used as a substitute for 'soft' or 'vine' earth.²

Paulus Ægineta (vii, 3), who probably lived in the sixth century A.D., appears to employ *μολύβδαινα* in the same sense as Galen and his predecessors.

In the "Historia Naturalis" of the younger Pliny we find passages closely similar to those which I have extracted from the writings of Dioscorides, who was a contemporary, if the date usually assigned to him be correct. It is probable that Pliny took them from the Greek author, though, it may be, they both borrowed from the same source.

As a general rule we find the word *μολύβδαινα*, when used for a mineral or a metallurgical product, simply transliterated into the Latin form 'molybdæna': "Est et molybdæna, quam alio loco galenam appellavimus, vena argenti plumbique communis. melior hæc quanto magis aurei coloris, quantoque minus plumbosa, friabilis et modice gravis. cocta cum oleo iocineris colorem trahit. adhærescit et auri argentique fornacibus. hanc metallicam vocant. laudatissima quæ Zephyrio³ fiat. probantur minime terrenæ minimeque lapidosæ" (xxxiv (18), 53).

Elsewhere Pliny describes molybdæna as one variety of spuma argenti, viz., litharge obtained in the smelting of silver: "Quidam duo genera faciunt spumæ quæ vocant scirerytida et peumenen, tertium molybdænam in plumbo dicendam" (xxxiii (6), 35).

However, in the passage (xxxiv (18), 50) corresponding to the other quotation from Dioscorides (v, 95) Pliny uses the word *plumbago* instead of *molybdæna*: "quidam limatum plumbum sic terunt, quidam et plumbaginem admiscent."

¹ Πάντα γὰρ ὅσα διὰ λιθαργύρου συντίθενται καὶ διὰ μολυβδαίνης δύνανται σκευάζεσθαι. . . . πρὸς δὲ τὰς χροῶς τῶν φαρμάκων, ὅσα δι' αὐτῶν σκευάζεται, διαφορὰ τις αὐτῆς ἐστὶ, καθόσον ἐπὶ τὸ φαιότερον ἔχει τὰς χροῶς ἢ μολύβδαινα.

² Ἐντὶ γῆς ἀπαλῆς ἢ ἀμπελίτιδος μολύβδαινα. This γῆ ἀμπελίτιδος seems to have been a kind of bituminous earth applied to vines attacked by injurious insects (Dioscorides, op. cit., v, 180, and Pliny, "Hist. Nat.," xxxv (16), 56). The French have applied the term 'ampélite' to a soft carbonaceous or bituminous shale, which was sometimes employed for drawing, and known as 'crayon des charpentiers.' See P. Pomet, "Hist. Gen. des Drogues," 1694, iii, p. 87; Dezallier D'Argenville, "L'Histoire Naturelle," Paris, 1742, p. 70, modern French dictionaries, and *post*, pp. 150, 152, 155, 166.

³ Zephyrium is in Cilicia close to the localities mentioned by Dioscorides.

Elsewhere Pliny uses a third word, galena, both for the native mineral and the furnace product: "Plumbi nigri origo duplex est, aut enim sua provenit vena nec quicquam aliud ex sese parit, aut cum argento nascitur, mixtisque venis conflatur. hujus qui primus fluit in fornacibus liquor stagnum appellatur, qui secundus argentum, quod remansit in fornacibus galena, quæ fit tertia portio additæ venæ. hæc rursus conflata dat nigrum plumbum, deductis partibus non [probably a mistake for 'nonis'] duabus" (xxxiv (16), 47).

'Plumbum nigrum' is lead as opposed to 'plumbum candidum,' or tin. 'Stagnum' or 'stannum' appears to be the alloy of lead and silver first obtained. The lead of this alloy was then converted into slag or 'galena,' also known as 'molybdæna' or 'plumbago.' This was again smelted, and the third product, pure lead, equal in amount to seven-ninths of the slag, was obtained.¹

Elsewhere, speaking of silver ore, Pliny tells us: "excoqui non potest, nisi cum plumbo nigro aut cum vena plumbi, galenam vocant, quæ juxta argenti venis plerumque reperitur" (xxxiii (6), 31).

In modern times lead is mainly obtained from the sulphide, but in the shallower mines of ancient times the oxidized ores which are found near the surface must have been largely worked, as they are now in uncivilized countries, and the word 'galena,' when used for the mineral, appears, like molybdæna and plumbago, to have primarily signified these oxidized products, though it may have included the sulphide as an inferior variety.

'Plumbago' is only once used in the "Historia Naturalis" in the sense of a mineral product, but it is elsewhere employed in other senses, twice as the Latin equivalent of the plant *μολύβδαινα* (xxv (13), 97; xxix (4), 26), and twice for a lead-like hue in the zmaragdus, which diminished its value (xxxvii (5), 18).

The words molybdæna and plumbago do not occur in any other classical Latin author.

In spite of the fact that plumbago is only once used in the sense of a kind of litharge also denoted by the words molybdæna and galena, I am inclined to believe that this was its earliest meaning. Just as ferrugo means the rust of iron and ærugo that of copper,

¹ This is substantially the explanation given by Johann Beckmann, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Erfindungen," vol. iv, Leipzig, 1797, p. 331; "History of Inventions and Discoveries," vol. iv, London, 1814, p. 11.

so plumbago originally meant the product obtained by the corrosion of lead when heated.

The derivation of the word 'galena,' which is also confined to the pages of Pliny among ancient authors, is very obscure. The writers of the renaissance (*post*, pp. 140-2, 144, 146) believed that it was of Spanish origin, and the fact that Pliny, who used it, obtained much of his information on metallurgical matters in connection with lead and silver from Spain (see for instance xxxiii (6), 31), lends some countenance to the suggestion. The derivations which have been proposed from the Greek γαλήνη, a calm, and γελέω or γελάω, I laugh or shine, do not seem very probable. If it be Latin or Greek, or derived from an allied Aryan idiom, it may be akin to the English 'cloam' and the old Slavonic *glina* (see the Oxford Dictionary, under 'clay' and 'cloam'). It would then have originally meant any yellowish earthy material, and only secondarily that from which lead was obtained.

I have been unable to find a reference to any of the words plumbago, molybdæna, or galena in the writings of the Middle Ages earlier than the "Bibliotheca Mundi" of Vincentius Bellovacensis (A.D. 1190 to 1260), who repeats the statement of Pliny that molybdæna is a third genus of Spuma argenti or litharge.

A fuller reference to the same word is found in the "Pandects," or Dictionary of Medicine, of Matthæus Silvaticus (*obit* 1340), Physician to Robert, King of Sicily, first printed in 1474. Here (ccccciii) we read "Molibdena .i. plumbum ustum et stercus plumbi sed Dyas. cap. molibdena dicit quod est quasi stercus auri vel argenti," etc. The quotation is, however, not from Dioscorides himself, but from an alphabetical compilation founded on his writings, which appears to have been current in Italy during the later Middle Ages. This was printed in 1478, in black letter with marginal comments, apparently of later date than the text, at Colle (probably the town of that name near Florence). It purports to have been edited and corrected by Petrus of Padua, but whether from the carelessness of the editor or the defective state of the manuscript there are numerous blunders.¹ It reads "Molipdina est quasi stercus auri et argenti," and continues in the same words (except for evident mistakes) as the quotation

¹ The colophon reads: "Explic̄ dyascorides quē petrus paduanēsis legendo corexit et exponendo q̄ utiliora sūt ī lucem deduxit. Impressus Colle p. magistrum joh'm allemanum de medemblick. anno xp̄i millesimo. cccc°.lxxviii°. mense julii."

by Silvaticus. In the margin we read "molebdina planta est latine dicta plumbago."¹

The first Latin translation of Dioscorides to appear in print was probably that of Hermolaus Barbarus, well known for his Latin abridgement of Aristotle. The earliest edition in the library of the British Museum is believed to have been printed at Venice in 1516. It is accompanied by "Annotamenta" by Joannes Baptista Egnatius, "in usum etiam mediocriter eruditorum," and followed by "Corollarii," by Hermolaus Barbarus, "libri quinque non ante impressi." In the principal paragraph already cited (v, 100; paragraph 935 of this edition) 'molibdæna' appears both in the heading and the translation, while in that (v, 95; 930) corresponding to the passage in which Pliny uses the word plumbago (xxxiv (18), 50) we find "molybdænam hoc est plumbaginem." In the "Corollarii" (paragraph 936)² we read with reference to the former paragraph of the text: "Molybdæna hoc est plumbago, quam et Galenam vocamus: communis est plumbi, et argenti vena. . . . Sunt qui molibdænam inter spumas argenti collocent. Fossilis Molibdæna est et ad vicum Ergasteriam. . . . Nominatur, et Molibdæna, id est Plumbago, herba Plinio," etc.

In the same year a translation by Joannes Ruellius appeared at Paris. In paragraph v, 91 (= v, 100 *supra*), the heading is "De molibdæna seu plumbagine," while in the text only 'molybdæna' is used. In paragraph v, 86 (= v, 95 *supra*), 'plumbago' is employed instead, exactly as in the parallel passage in Pliny.

A later translation and commentaries by Marcellus Virgilius, "Secretarius Florentinus," were printed with the Greek original at Cologne in 1529.³ Here in paragraph v, 54 (= v, 100), we have the heading: "De plumbagine metallica" followed by "Molybdænam (Romani plumbaginem dicunt)." The translation

¹ I had concluded from internal evidence that this book (which is usually described as a translation of Dioscorides) was printed from a manuscript version of much earlier date, before I discovered that it was quoted by Silvaticus, who appears to have been under the impression that it was the actual work of Dioscorides, though it includes materials from other sources. It must have been compiled long before Silvaticus wrote, and is quite distinct from a brief abstract of Dioscorides in Greek by Stephanus, arranged alphabetically by diseases, a Latin translation of which was published in 1581.

² The paragraphs in the "Corollarii" do not exactly correspond with those in the text.

³ Another edition of the translation by Ruellius appeared at Strasburg in the same year. It contains the commentaries of Marcellus Virgilius as well as the corollaries of Hermolaus Barbarus.

follows, in which plumbago is used throughout, as it is also in paragraph v, 50 (= v, 95). In the commentary we are told: "Galenam bis terve . . . Græcorum metallicam molybdænam Plinius vocavit: non tam ut a molybdæna plumbagineque sui generis herba, . . . appellatione secerneret, quam quia scribente eo suam historiam, hæc erat privatim metallicæ plumbaginis appellatio, ab Hispaniæ Galecia ut credimus facta, in qua celeberrimæ quondam metallorum fere omnium fodinæ fuerunt. Quæ quoniam nostra ætate nulla est, nec habet ea vox aliquam nunc significationis æstimationem, impune et sine invidia relicta a nobis fuit, præsertim in re quæ ex substantia sua certius indicanda erat. Plumbago ob eam causam molibdæna hæc dicta: et ne cum herba misceretur, ex metallo nota illi adjecta est."

We therefore find the word 'plumbago' recognized in the early part of the sixteenth century as the Latin equivalent of *μολύβδαινα*, not only in the botanical but also in the mineral sense, although Pliny had used by preference *molybdæna* or *galena*.

The use of these words were discussed at length in the "Bermannus sive de re metallica" of Georgius Agricola, first published at Basle in 1530.¹ A preface by Erasmus (missing in the British Museum copy) was at first undated, but in the edition of 1546 bears the date of 1529. This short work forms an introduction to the study of mineralogy and metallurgy, and is cast in the form of a dialogue. It is remarkable for shrewd good sense and an incisive style. The author argues (pp. 41-4) at some length that the natural mineral substance referred to by Pliny as *galena*, *molybdæna*, and *plumbago* was the mineral principally worked for lead at the time he (Agricola) wrote, viz., the lustrous black sulphide of lead, the *galena* of modern mineralogy.

"Bermannus:—In his omnibus argenti materia est, atque hic primum vides Galenam sive plumbaginem. Nævius:—Estne hæc plumbago quam Plinius *μολύβδαινα* [*sic*] etiam vocat? Bermannus:—Ita sentio. . . . Colore plumbi, ut videtis, est, atque ob id Græcis *μολύβδαινα*, Latinis plumbaginem dictam arbitrator, nisi quis iccerco potius, quod ipsum etiam pro me facit, sic dictam velit, quod ex ea plumbum fiat."

He thought, as I believe correctly, that this lead-coloured mineral was the *λίθος μολυβδοειδής* of Dioscorides (v, 98), which

¹ F. L. Becher ("Die Mineralogen," Freiberg, 1819), however, states that it was issued in 1518 (p. 15) or 1528 (p. 21).

he translates by 'lapis plumbarius,' and states that it differs from "Molybdæna nativa ipsius Dioscorides magis colore quam materia"¹ (p. 45).

The 'molybdæna' found in the furnace had, on the other hand, Agricola admits, different physical characters (p. 43).

He discusses the derivation of the word 'galena,' remarking: "Galena sive Hispanicum, sive alterius gentis vocabulum sit, nihil moror: nam nostrum non esse hinc perspicuum puto, quod serius metalla fodi cœpisse in Germania constat: id certe nostri imitati, eandem rem similiter, ultimis tantum modo literis mutatis, appellarunt," referring apparently to the word 'Glantz.' It is possible, of course, that German miners may have converted a foreign word into one with a similar sound that was already familiar to them. He strongly condemns the suggestion that galena itself was derived from Galicia in Spain, pointing out that Pliny states that only tin, 'plumbum candidum,' is found there. As a matter of fact lead ore does occur in Galicia, but there seems no real evidence in favour of the derivation suggested.

He also speaks (p. 42) of a sterile variety of galena—"Aliud præterea genus Galenæ est, huic, quod jam vobis ostendi, colore nihil dissimile, sed prorsus sterile et ita subtile ut totum violentia ignis consumatur, ac per fumum evaporet."

The book concludes with an appendix, "Rerum metallicarum appellationes . . . autore Plateano," where we read "Galena sive Molibdæna—glantz und blyertz, auch blyschuueiff²."

In his treatise "De natura fossilium," ed. 1546, p. 366, he adheres to the views expressed in his earlier work, remarking on the question of the derivation of galena, "Quod vocabulum utrum Hispaniense sit, an alterius gentis et linguæ, si Hispani nesciunt, nemo, ut opinor, poterit scire."

¹ In a small treatise published in 1566, entitled "De metallicis rebus ac nominibus observationes variæ et eruditæ, ex schedis Georgii Fabricii: quibus ea potissimum explicantur, quæ Georgius Agricola præterit," we read (p. 196): "Differunt lapis plumbarius, et plumbago. hæc enim pura est, quam Hispani galenam nominarunt"; and (p. 216) "Plumbago. Glantz, oder gedigen Bley." "Lapis Plumbarius. Bleyertz."

² Bleyeschweif was granular or fibrous galena. See *post*, pp. 144, 160, 163, 168. It appears also to have been applied to some sterile mineral of a lead-like appearance, possibly graphite. "Bleyeschweif ist eine leere Berg-art, so das Ansehen hat, als wäre es gediegen Bley" (Christianus Berwardus, "Interpres Phraseologiæ Metallurgicæ," Franckfurt am Mayn, 1684; also "Erklärung derer Bergmännischen Wörter und Red-Arten," which forms an appendix to the Institutiones Metallicæ of G. C. Kirschmaier, Wittenberg, 1687, and other vocabularies; see also p. 29).

In his "Rerum metallicarum interpretatio" (1546) we find the following definitions: "Galena—Glantz unnd pleiertz"; "Galena inanis—Blende"; "Molibdæna, idem quod plumbago"; "Plumbago metallica—Pleiertz, pleischweis" (a misprint for 'pleischweiff'); "Plumbago fornacum—Herdplei"; "Plumbarius lapis—Glantz."

It is not clear whether galena sterilis and galena inanis are the same. Blende meant originally any mineral with a deceptive appearance, but at the present time, when used without qualification, it means zinc-blende and galena inanis has therefore been identified with that mineral.¹ Agricola was, however, too careful an observer to assert that the colour of zinc-blende was "nihil dissimilis" to that of galena. There are several minerals which might be converted into volatile products in the furnace, and bear a closer resemblance to galena than zinc-blende. Some of these, such as stibnite (sulphide of antimony) and bismuthine (sulphide of bismuth), were well known to Agricola as distinct minerals. There only remain graphite, the black lead of our pencils, a crystalline form of carbon, and molybdenite, a sulphide of molybdenum, which present great resemblance to each other, and certain rare minerals containing tellurium. There can be little doubt that graphite was the substance mainly referred to as galena sterilis.²

Christophorus Encelius Salueldensis (Entzelt of Saalfeld), in his "De re metallica," Frankfort, 1551, i, 34, pp. 66-9, also contends that plumbago, galena, and molybdæna are identical with Glantz, the modern galena. "Ergo nostra plumbago unser glantz, est galena, et molybdæna." "Nam quod Plinius . . . aut Hispani galenam vocant, nos jam glantz dicimus." He too condemns the derivation from Galicia. He suggests as a distinction between molybdæna and galena, that the latter should be employed for lead ore containing silver, and the former for ore free from that metal. After referring to the different colours of lead ores, he says: "A Germanis omnes hæ species dicuntur generali nomine, bleiertz, glantz a splendore, bleischweyff etc." His frequent use of the term 'nostra plumbago' seems to imply that it was in his time the ordinary Latin expression in Germany for lead ore. He characterizes the 'sterile' variety as "nullius momenti, colore non

¹ J. H. Pott, "Dissert. Chimiques," vol. iii, 1759, p. 560; Dana's "Mineralogy," 6th ed., 1892, p. 59; and Hintze, "Handbuch der Mineralogie," vol. i, 1905, pp. 466, 557, but see *post*, pp. 146, 155, 156.

² See also *post*, pp. 156, 159, 161.

absimilis frugiferæ, sed prorsus est sterilis, et totam vis ignium consumit."

The endeavour to follow the steps by which these words or their derivative forms became introduced into the modern languages of Europe and the variations in their meaning presents some difficulty on account of the widely extended use of Latin in writings on scientific and even technical subjects. Latin was in fact a practical means of expression, independent of nationality, and lucidity and accuracy were considered of more importance than a Ciceronian style.

The earliest vernacular publication which is of interest for our present purpose is a translation of Dioscorides into Italian, printed in Venice in 1542. Here (v, 95 = v, 100) we have the heading "De la piombaggine" followed by "Molibdena (Romani plumbagine)"; piombaggine (in one place spelt biombaggine) is used in both passages. In another translation by Marcantonio Montigiano, printed at Florence in 1547, the corresponding heading (v, 54 = v, 100) is "Della vena di Piombo cio è Piombaggine," and both terms are employed in the text.

In a third translation into Italian by Pier Andrea Mattioli of Siena, with a commentary by the same author, printed at Venice in the following year, the paragraph describing molybdæna (v, 59 = v, 100) is headed "Della Molibdena, overo Piombaggine," but molibdena alone is used in the text, though in the earlier passage (v, 54 = v, 95) piombaggine is substituted, as plumbago is in Pliny. This translation and commentary proved very popular, and were translated into Latin and French. The later editions owe much to the writings of Georgius Agricola.

The first French edition was an abbreviation published in 1553, under the title "Les six livres de Pedacion Dioscoride d'Anazarbe de la matiere medicinale, translatez de latin en Francois"; "y adioustant," we are told later, "quelques petites annotations (sachant tres bien le naturel de la nation Francoise, s'estudier et complaire à breveté) extraict du battu à tout marteau l'entier commentaire du S. André Pierre Matthioli Medecin Senois." Here under the heading "De la Plombagine que les Grecs appellent molyfdæna: les Latins Plumbago, les Italiens: Piombagine" (v, 50 = v, 100) we read: "Et par ainsi la Plombagine n'est autre chose, que la Litharge ramassée depuis le couler des minieres comme un liect en la fournaise. La Plombagine minerale, n'est autre chose que la vene, qui tient l'Argent, et le Plomb par

ensemble." This is, so far as I know, the first recorded use of plumbagine in French, though the word may no doubt be older. A complete French edition appeared in 1572.

There is a rather earlier use of molybdæna in French in the "Epitome des trois premiers livres de Galien" (1549), by M. Gregoire, where we find in book i (p. 167 of the edition of 1552), under the heading "Des Medicamens qui se font de Molybdæna," "La Litarge et Molybdæna sont presque appliquez à mesme usage."

A Spanish translation of Dioscorides and a commentary by Doctor Andres de Laguna were printed at Salamanca in 1566. Under the heading "De la Molibdena" we find: "Griego *Μολιβδαίνα*. Lat. Molybdæna, et Galena. Molibdos en Griego significa el Plomo de do tomo el nombre la molibdena, . . . la qual no diffiere de la Galena tan celebrada" (book v, paragraph 59). This reference to the celebrity of galena is not easy to understand, but it indicates that the word was well known in Spain in spite of the fact that it appears in a list of 'nombres latinos' at the end of the book, while molibdena is found in a similar list of 'nombres castellanos.'

Dioscorides was not translated into German, but we find the same words explained in the "Sarepta" of Johann Mathesius, the friend and biographer of Luther. This curious blend of mining, metallurgy, and theology appears to have been originally delivered in the form of sermons to the mining population of Joachimsthal. The preface is dated in 1562, and the book is stated to have been issued in that year, but the earliest edition which I have seen was printed at Nuremberg in 1571, after the author's death in 1565. Here Glantz and galena are employed for argentiferous galena, and Bleischweiff and plumbago for an ore of sulphur and lead. Molybdæna, on the other hand, is used in the sense of litharge.¹

In the "Meisznische Bergk Chronica," by Petrus Albinus, Dresden, 1590, we find (p. 133) the form plumbagine: "Item es hengt auch oft an der plumbagine, ein viride, welches viel Bley

¹ "Glantz, welches die Lateiner Galenam nennen, is ein glauch oder glüu Metall, bricht gern auff silbergengen, helt oft blei unnd silber . . . Bleischweiff oder plumbago ist ein gelblicht metall, voller schwebels, darumb es von bley und schwefel den namen haben soll, oder das es des ganges schweiff ist, Disz helt oft bley und silber" ("Die neunnde Predigt," p. 101b). "Etlich pley versincket in den luckern herd, oder trencket sich drein, disz nennen die gelerten Molybdenam" ("Die dreyzehende Predigt," p. 149b).

gibt." 'Viride' may be pyromorphite and mimetite (phosphate and arseniate of lead with some chloride or fluoride), which are often greenish in colour.

It was not till the publication in 1601 of the translation by Philemon Holland of the "Historia Naturalis" of Pliny that we find any of the words we have been considering used in English. In this translation the words galena and molybdæna are retained throughout. Thus in vol. ii, p. 472, we read: "This minerall or mettall they call Galena," with a marginal note "or Molybdæna"; on p. 474, "As for the third, named Molybdæna, they reckon as a thing by itselfe; to be treated of in the discourse or chapter of Lead"; on p. 517, "As for the third part of the veine which remaineth behind in the furnace, it is Galæna, that is to say, the verie mettall it selfe of lead." The heading of chapter 18, p. 518, includes "of the veine of Lead called Molybdæna or Galena." See also p. 520. When plumbago is used in the Latin original for the plant (pp. 236, 359) or for a lead-coloured tinge in the zmaragdus (p. 612), it is translated by the same word.¹ On the other hand, when it is employed as a synonym for the mineral molybdæna (p. 519), it is merely rendered by "some lead ore."

'Plombagine,' however, is used both for the natural and artificial mineral product in Cotgrave's French and English Dictionary published in 1611. "Plombagine: f. Pure lead turned almost into ashes by the vehemence of the fire: This is the artificiall Plombagine, and comes of lead put into a furnace with gold, or silver oare, to make them melt the sooner; (by which employment it gaines some part in the worth of those metall;) there is also a naturall, or minerall Plombagine, which (as Mathiolus thinketh), is no other then silver mingled with lead-stone, or oare."² "Molibdene as plombagine; also the herb leadwort."

Six years later, in the "Surgion's Mate," by John Woodall, printed in London in 1617, we find (p. 113) under the heading

¹ On p. 612, however, it is also rendered by "congealed specks resembling . . . spots of lead."

² Cotgrave's explanation is reproduced in the Glossographia of Thomas Blount (1656 and 1674) under 'plumbagin.' The definition by E. Phillips in his "New World of English Words," 1658 and later editions, "silver mingled with lead stone, or oar," and that of N. Bailey in his "Universal Etymological English Dictionary," 1721 and later editions, "Lead naturally mingled with Silver," are evidently derived from this source. I am indebted for these and a number of other references to Dr. Murray.

"Minium": "Plumbago, or red leade, hath the force of binding, mollifying, filling up hollow ulcers with flesh." This is the only instance, so far as I know, in which 'plumbago' is used for minium, the red oxide of lead (PbO), which was in ancient and mediæval times sometimes confounded with cinnabar, the red sulphide of mercury, but never with litharge. The mistake may have arisen from the statement by Johannes Gorræus (Jean des Gorris) the elder in his "Definitionum Medicorum Libri 24," first published in 1564 at Paris, that *μολύβδαυα*, or plumbago, was made from boiling lead—"Est medicamentum metallicum ex plumbo fervescente factum" (p. 300, ed. 1578). According to the manner in which the operation is carried out either litharge or minium may be obtained.¹

In 1565 appeared a volume of tracts on minerals, rocks, and cognate matters, mostly by Conrad Gesner of Zürich. One of these, entitled "De omni rerum fossilium genere," appears to be a catalogue of a collection of minerals, metallurgical products, and fossils, which must have been very complete for the time. The Latin and German names for the specimens are given, and appear in some cases at least to be derived from Entzelt.

Among the entries are the following (p. 74 and following pages):—"Molybdæna vel plumbago metallica. Hartblei under ofenbruch" . . . Under the heading "Plumbago":—"Plumbago metallica vel nativa, verbo Hispanico Galena, id est, vena plumbi et argenti communis. Glantz." "Plumbago simplex quæ nihil nisi plumbum in se continet. Reiner glantz, der nichts dann bley helt." "Tessellata in lapide calcareo. Würfflichter glantz in weissem kalchstein." This is crystallized galena in the modern sense.

Under "Plumbago sterilis" are a number of entries, which show that the term was very loosely employed, at any rate by this author; they include the following:—

"Plumbago sterilis pici similis. Bech blende." This is pitchblende, at present the principal source of uranium and radium. It is the earliest known mention of the mineral. Pitchblende would not be volatilized in an ordinary furnace, so it cannot be the galena sterilis of Agricola. "Flava nitens, Scharfenbergia prope Misenam. Licht gelbe blende." Probably a variety of zinc-blende. "Sterilis galenæ similis. Glantz blende." Probably

¹ See also *post*, p. 168.

graphite or molybdenite. "Sterilis venæ cupri similis. Kupfer blende." Perhaps kupfernickel, an arsenide of nickel.

In the "De rerum fossilium, lapidum et gemmarum maxime, figuris et similitudinibus Liber," published in the same volume, we find (p. 104) one of the earliest references to graphite and its use for pencils: "Stylus inferius depictus, ad scribendum factus est, plumbi cujusdam (factitii puto, quod aliquos stimmi [antimony] Anglicum vocare audio) genere, in mucronem derasi, in manubrium ligneum inserto." A drawing shows the black lead fixed into one end of the handle.¹

The flaky graphite of Bavaria had been worked from prehistoric times for mixing with clay to form pottery, and the Passau or Ips² crucibles, in which this material was employed, were widely used, but it does not seem to have been employed for writing so early as that from the Borrowdale mine, near Keswick, in Cumberland, which was for some three centuries the principal source of supply of the mineral for this purpose.

Metallic lead and silver were used both in ancient and mediæval times for drawing lines. Subsequently in the early renaissance an alloy of two parts of lead and one of tin, known as "lo stile del piombo" or "lapis piombino," was employed for drawing.³ These terms were probably transferred to graphite when it came into use. Gesner appears to have had this alloy in mind when he wrote, but the name "stimmi anglicum" shows that it was in fact Borrowdale graphite.

In the "Sarepta" of Mathesius, from which I have already quoted, we read (Predigt ix, p. 103b): "Wie man hernach mit silbern stefften auff die hültzern weissen plancketen oder tefelein, oder mit bleyenen auff die gefürnten pergamenenen und mit dinten auff die Eselsheute, und jetzt auff schiferne tafeln mit schiferstein oder auffs papir mit einem newen unnd selbwachssenen metall zuschreiben pflaget."

¹ Pencils of the modern type do not appear to have been introduced till about a century later. See note, p. 155.

² See G. Agricola, "De natura fossilium," vol. ii, ed. 1546, p. 197; J. H. G. von Justi, "Grundriss des gesamten Mineralreiches," 1757, p. 213; Beckmann, op. cit., vol. v, 1803, p. 245; vol. iv, 1814, p. 353.

³ Beckmann, op. cit., vol. v, 1803, pp. 237, 250; vol. iv, 1814, pp. 347, 356; "Anthologia Græca Palatina," vi, 67 and 68; Pliny, "Hist. Nat.," xxxiii (3), 19, and (6), 31. Liddell & Scott, on the other hand, under *μόλυβδος*, suggest that in one of the passages from the "Anthologia" that word is used in the sense of graphite (black lead). There seems, however, no evidence of this. They also quote authority for the use of '*μόλυβδος*' as a test for gold, and believe that here also graphite is referred to. This is, however, most improbable.

This new and self-grown metal that was used for writing on paper can scarcely have been anything else than graphite.¹

A few years later we find mention of graphite in English books under the name of 'black lead.' In the "Jewell House of Art and Nature, containing divers rare and profitable Inventions," by Hugh Platte, 1583, we read: "upon the which you may trick, either with a fine pointed cole, blacke lead or pen"; "and drawe thereon with blacke lead" (p. 39, ed. 1594).

In the second edition, published in 1587 (but not the first, published in 1586), of Camden's "Britannia," there is (p. 523) the following reference to the Borrowdale mine: "Hic etiam passim reperitur terra illa metallica, sive saxum induratum et micans, nobis Black Leade dictum, quo ad ducendas lineas, et monochromata pictores utuntur. Quod an sit Dioscoridis Pnigitis, vel Melantheria,² vel ochra terra calore in nigrum adusta, aut veteribus incognitum, non facile dixerim, et perquirant alii." This passage is literally translated in the first English edition of Camden, published in 1610 (p. 767). "Heere also is commonly found that minerall kind of earth or hardned glittering stone (we call it Black-lead),³ with which painters use to draw their lins and make pictures of one colour in their first draughts," etc.

The mines of Borrowdale were included in the manor of the same name, which, having belonged to the Abbey of Furness, passed to the Crown in the reign of Henry VIII. It was granted by James I, before the end of the year 1614, to William Whitmore and Jonas Verdon, with "the Wad Holes and Wad, commonly called black Cawke, of the yearly rent or value of fifteen shillings and fourpence."⁴ The word 'cawke' is a form of 'cauk' or chalk, but is usually applied to the mineral barytes, sulphate of barium. 'Wad,' also written 'wadt' or 'wadd' or 'wad-lead,'⁵ is now applied to the soft hydrous binocide of manganese. Its

¹ If, as is no doubt the case, these words occur in the first edition issued in 1562, this is the earliest unmistakable reference to graphite.

² The terms in which Dioscorides refers to these minerals precludes the possibility of either of them being graphite.

³ The use of black lead is again referred to in the "Ludus Literarius, or the Grammar Schoole," by John Brinsley, published in 1612, where (p. 47) the reader is told to "note them with a pensil of black lead"; and in the margin we read, "Others with blacke leade thrust into a quill."

⁴ J. Otley, "Account of the Black lead Mine in Borrowdale": *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, ser. II, vol. III, 1819, p. 168.

⁵ G. Jars: "Voyages Metallurgiques," vol. II, 1780, p. 554. "Mine de plomb pour les crayons nommés Black-lead ou Wad-Léad."

use in the sense of graphite appears to be earlier. It appears from the statements of Camden (*loc. cit.*) and others that German miners were employed in Cumberland in the reign of Elizabeth, and it is possible that the first part of 'Wasser-blei,' the old German name for graphite, may be a corruption of the Cumberland term, or, on the other hand, the latter may have been introduced from Germany.

The term black lead was also employed in England in the sense of metallic lead, as a translation of the Latin 'plumbum nigrum.' It is thus used in Trevisa's translation of the "De Proprietatibus Rerum" of Bartholomæus Anglicus, made towards the end of the fourteenth century, and first printed about 1495. "But of blacke leed is dowble kynde. For blacke leed comith alone of a veyne: other is gendred wyth sylver in medled veynes" (xvi, 80). Black lead was used in the same sense in "A greene Forest, or a Naturall Historie," by John Marplet, published in 1567 (p. 13). There can, however, be but little doubt that at this period the term usually signified graphite from the Borrowdale mine.

Andreas Cæsalpinus of Arezzo, in his "De Metallis libri tres," first published at Rome in 1596 (book iii, cap. 22, p. 211), employs 'molybdæna,' 'plumbago,' and 'galena' in the same manner as Pliny and early commentators on Dioscorides. He refers elsewhere (book iii, cap. 8, p. 186) to graphite in the following terms: "Puto autem molybdoidem [viz. the 'μολυβδοειδής λίθος' of Dioscorides¹] esse lapidem quendam in nigro splendentem colore Plumbeo, tactu adeo lubrico, ut perunctus videatur, manusque tangentium inficit colore cinereo, non sine aliquo splendore Plumbeo: utuntur eo pictores coticulis in cuspidem excisis, ad figuras designandas: appellant autem lapidem Flandriae, quia ex Belgia affertur." This is evidently Borrowdale graphite, which entered the Continent by way of Belgium. He, however, confounds it with bismuth, and says it was used in casting type. He also refers to another 'genus'—"nigrum ut carbo et crustosum, quem pictores Matitam²

¹ Apparently μολυβδοειδής λίθος, as understood by Falloppius, included (*inter alia*) graphite, for it was "lapis nihil plumbi in se continens," which was employed by the potters ("De Metallis seu Fossilibus," cap. xxv, ed. 1606, p. 327). Several subsequent writers took the same view. Others (e.g., Entzelt, *loc. cit.*; L. Fuchs, "Oper. Didact.," Pars II, De Compos. Med., ed. 1604, p. 65; A. Libavius, "Comment. Alchym.," ii, ed. 1606, p. 116) followed Agricola in considering it to mean our modern galena, as well as in other respects. Falloppius used molybdæna and plumbago for the furnace product, *loc. cit.*, cap. xxvi.

² The original matita was red, the word being a corruption of hæmatites, the red oxide of iron.

nigram vocant." This may have been a graphitic or carbonaceous shale, the French ampélite (see *ante*, p. 136). Cæsalpinus seems to have thought that both were varieties of lead ore: "Hi lapides si urantur, in Lythargyrum vertuntur, ut vena Plumbi."

In the "Historia Naturale" of Ferrante Imperato, published at Naples in 1599, we read in book iv, chapter 43, p. 122: "Il grafio piombino si preferisce a tutte le materie, che preparino il disegno alla penna e l'inchostro: percioche facilmente, usandovi industria, si cancella: e no volendo cancellarlo si conserva. Non da impedimento al maneggio della penna, il che fa il piombo per un modo, e il carbone per un' altro . . . è ontuoso al tatto: e al fuoco sommamente indurisce. Puosi ragionevolmente locare nel geno de talchi."¹

'Grafio' is an Italianized form of the Latin *graphium*, a stile, corresponding to the Greek *γραφίς*, also used in Latin with the same meaning. The form 'graffio' is employed by Gimma (*op. cit.*, vol. ii, 296, 291), who includes in it 'lapis bianco,' 'lapis nero' or 'ampelite,' 'lapis rosso' or 'ematite,' and 'graffio piombino.' 'Ampelite' is also described as 'terra nera,' and comprises both the French ampélite and graphite.

In book xxv, chapter 6, we find a further description of graphite, and also, it may be, molybdenite, under the heading "Gleba Piombina e congeneri": "La Gleba piombina è di color bigio, e di piombo, lubrica nell'esser maneggiata, e ch'imbratta le mani, . . . ritrovasi parte fogliosa che si risolve tutta in scame: parte consistente in forma soda, qual si taglia in fette lunghe, e se ne fa il grafio detto piombino" (p. 678). Its use for crucibles is referred to.

In book xxvi, chapter 2, p. 694, 'moludena' is employed in the old sense of litharge, obtained in refining silver and gold by means of lead.

Graphite, including probably molybdenite, is also identified with the *μολυβδοειδής λίθος* of Dioscorides by Francisco Imperato in his "De fossilibus opusculum," published at Naples in 1610: "Molubdoides, seu plumbaris lapis a plumbo est longe diversus, licet in plumbi venis reperiatur, cuius succum tantum emittit; et propterea pictores illo ad designandum utuntur; nonnulli stimmi anglicum illum appellitant, propter similitudinem; verum a molybdæna Plinii differt, quam Galenam nuncupant, ut

¹ Many later writers also referred to graphite as a variety of black talc. Talc, it must be remembered, included (as it still does to some extent in popular use) not only the talc but the mica of modern mineralogists (see also pp. 161-73).

infra; at ex dicto plumbari quædam construuntur vasa ad aurum, ac argentum purgandum destinata, necnon alterum ab altero separandum; nam valde ignis repugnat potentiæ" (p. 58). On the other hand, it is distinguished from galena, molybdæna, and plumbago as used by Pliny: "Interdum quoque aurum, cuprum, et argentum, quod lapidum genus, plumbum, et argentum continens, communiter Galena nuncupatur, seu molybdæna apud Plinium; quo nomine appellat etiam illud, quod in fornacis parietibus inhæret, dum plumbum eliquatur, admisto auro, vel argento, quod vere molybdæna, seu blumbaginis¹ nomen retinet; sed ambæ a puro plumbario lapide distant, qui ejus colorem tantum refert, non autem plumbum, nec ejus pondus habet, et molybdoides nominatur ut supra" (p. 92).

The "Lexicon Alchimicæ" of Martinus Rulandus, published at Frankfort in 1612, distinguishes between molipdina and molybdæna. The former being described as "Gold haat, oder silber haat oder Trüsen." The explanations of molybdæna, plumbago, and galena are extracted from previous authors. An English translation appeared in 1892 bearing the date of 1612 and printed in imitation of the style of that time. Most unwarrantably the words referring to plumbago "factitia," "a Germanis dicitur Thest, oder Herdkleyen,"² are translated "it is called by the Germans Graphite, or Compressed Galena," giving the incorrect impression that the word 'graphite' was in use in its present sense as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. In another place the words "Plumbago, galena et molybdæna, unum et idem sunt" are rendered "Plumbago, Galena, and Black Lead are one and the same," quite misrepresenting the meaning.

A little later we find galena in use in the sense of graphite, as the following extracts from the "De Pictura plastice statuaria libri duo" of Julius Cæsar Bulengerus (Boulenger), a Jesuit father, published in 1627 at Leyden, will show (pp. 103-5): "Ante omnia sciendum est, aliud esse levi manu sine coloribus adumbrare creta, sive rubrica, carbone, terra sanguinea, vel galena, seu *μολυβδαίνα*, quam Plinius lib. 34. cap. 18. venam plumbi, et argenti communem esse ait; aliud, coloribus adhibitis pingere . . . Pictoris stylus, seu cretacea graphis, est frustum oblongum rubricæ aut terræ sanguinæ, aut carbo oblongus, aut plumbea graphis, seu

¹ See p. 143 *ante*.

² This is apparently taken from L. Fuchs, loc. cit., where, however, we read "Thest oder Herdtbley."

designatrix galena pictoris, vulgo dicitur, crayon, charbon, crayon de mine de plomb de mer, marquant de gris. Opus graphide adumbratum, rubrica, aut plumbo designata pictura. Rudis, et informis designatio totius operis, carbone, plumbo, vel rubrica impolite designatum opus." Again, "postquam rudi Minerva carbone, rubricâ vel galenâ sine coloribus adumbraverimus," and "In rudi illa designatione, quæ carbone fit, aut creta, utimur cretacea graphide, stylo rubricato, vel frusto oblongo rubricæ, carbone, plumbo."

Here "plumbea graphis," "designatrix galena pictoris," and similar expressions appear to be synonyms, represented in French by "crayon de mine de plomb de mer," and can only refer to graphite. 'Plomb de mer' was often used for 'graphite' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is probably a translation of the German 'Wasserblei.'

Another Jesuit, Bernardus Cæsius, quotes Bulengerus almost verbatim¹ in his "De Mineralibus," published at Leyden in 1636. On the other hand, he describes plumbago as (1) "communem venam plumbi," (2) "purissimum plumbum, quod ignis ustione, cineris speciem induit" (pp. 257, 613, and 625).

In the "Museum Metallicum" of Ulysse Aldrovandi of Bologna (Parma and Placentia, 1648), we read, p. 167: "Plumbago aliquibus dicitur ærugo plumbi: attamen Plumbago proprie est materia nuncupata Galena, quæ, post fusionem plumbi in fundo fornacis remanet. . . . Verum, apud Plinium, Plumbago triplex constituitur: prima species est Galena vocata, quæ argentum, et plumbum participat, secunda est plumbago, seu Molybdæna artificialis tum Plinii, tum Dioscoridis,² tertia est substantia quædam fossilis lapidosa, quæ Plumbago vel Molybdæna naturalis vocatur."

He afterwards quotes the passage in Cæsalpinus which refers to graphite under the name of 'molybdoides,' and continues: "Hujus lapidis aliud genus crustosum, et instar carbonis, nigrum invenitur, quo similiter Pictores utuntur. Ad nostros pervenerunt manus duo lapides crustosi, seu potius escharam æmulantes cum aliquo livore plumbi . . . Primus vocabitur Escharites niger molybdoides, secundus dicitur Escharites cum aliquo rubore molybdoides alter." These specimens apparently consisted either of molybdenite, graphite, or graphitic or carbonaceous shale.

¹ He writes, however, 'molybdæna' for *μολυβδαίνα*.

² See also *op. cit.*, p. 182: "Et quod in fundo catini remanebat ad mentem Plinii Galena nempe Plumbago vocabatur."

Later on, p. 177, he adds—"Insuper Pictores, ut nonnulli asseverant, ad imagines designandas, stylo ex materia plumbea parato utuntur. Hodie hujusmodi stylus ex lapide plumbario fabricatur . . . Aliqui ad signandas chartas modico plumbi acuminati utuntur, idque Piombino nominant. Representamus hic iconem styli ex cujusdam plumbi genere facti in mucronem derasi, et manubrio ligneo inserti. Putat tamen Gesnerus esse genus plumbi factitii, quod apud aliquos Stimmi Anglicum appellatur." He gives a copy of Gesner's drawing.

Ole Worm, a Norwegian, in his "Museum Wormianum," published at Leyden in 1655, follows Agricola and Entzelt in identifying galena, plumbago, and molybdæna (spelt molybdæna) with our modern galena, while he distinguishes plumbago, instead of molybdæna, as containing lead alone, from galena, with lead and silver. He admits, however, that some believe galena, plumbago, and molybdæna to be "tria diversa corpora" (p. 127). At the same time he treats graphite as a variety of galena. "Ex nostris officinis Norvagicis, frugiferæ Galenæ tria genera accepi, unum quod Plumbum refert, et manus plumbeo colore inficit, quo etiam ad lineas ducendas utimur, vulgo plumbago Bley-ertz (nobis Bleyas)¹ vulgaris pictoribus usus" (p. 128). The second genus was a liver-coloured ore associated with native silver; the third, perhaps, granular galena. His sterile galena "coloris magis lurido" may possibly be zinc-blende.

He also refers (pp. 128, 135-6) to the use of the words molybdæna, plumbago, and galena for furnace products of the nature of litharge. The two former words continued to be employed in this way for some time after galena had become restricted to the sulphide of lead, with or without silver.²

In the latter part of the seventeenth century increased interest was taken in mineralogy in this country.

In the "Πανορυκτολογία, sive Panmineralogicon," or "An Universal History of Minerals," by Robert Lovell, published at Oxford in 1661, we find (p. 38) the following: "Plumbage, *Plumbago* [Latin]. P[lace]. It sticks to the furnace in the purifying

¹ Blyerts became the ordinary Swedish term for graphite, but the German Bleiertz was only exceptionally used in the same sense (see pp. 165, 167, 172).

² In the "Notitia Regni Mineralis" of Johannes Jonstonus (Leipzig, 1661), however, galena is used for an ore of lead and silver, "melior quo magis aurei coloris"; galena factitia and molybdæna for the artificial oxide, and plumbago, "si solum sterilis ab igne consumitur, coloris magis lurido" (p. 59).

of Silver or Gold. M[atter]. of Silver or Gold purified, with lead. N[ame]. Μολύβδαινα, Molybdæna."

Apparently none of the words galena, plumbago, or molybdæna were yet associated in this country with graphite, for in the "Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum" of Christopher Merrett, 1666, p. 218, we read: "Nigrica fabrilis, Black ledd, Peculiaris hæc terra Angliæ Europææ et Americanæ et hactenus nomine caruit, ideoque favente Analogia hoc ipsi imposui ad Keswick, in Cumbria. . . . Lapis cæruleus Killow dictus ducendis lineis idoneus in Agro Lancast."

Walter Charleton, in "De Variis Fossilium Generibus," appended to his "Onomasticon Zoicon" (1668), follows Merrett in the use of "nigrica fabrilis" for graphite (p. 219), and the "Museum Wormianum" with regard to the meaning of the words galena and plumbago,¹ except that there is no hint of the use of galena for graphite.

"The Compleat Chymical Dispensatory, in Five Books . . . Written in Latin by Dr. John Schroder . . . and Englished by William Rowland" (1669), contains the following (p. 246): "Molybdæna, or Plumbago. It is Natural, or Artificial; the first is Lead Oar, or that mixed with Silver. The Artificial is a kind of Litharge." This is chiefly of interest as being one of the very few instances in which plumbago has been used in English for compounds of lead.²

Of more importance is the "Metallographia, or An History of Metals," by John Webster (1671), who refers (p. 20) to Camden's mention of "a Mine of Black Lead, for which we yet want a Latine name, but that of late Dr. Merrett hath given it the title of Nigrica." On p. 280 he returns to the subject: "Here it cannot

¹ "Galena (forte a γαλεῖν splendere; quod instar Argenti venæ splendeat) ex qua Metalla excoquantur, vel Plumbum solum (et tum Plumbago proprie dicitur, Anglice, Lead Ore) vel et Plumbum et Argentum (et tum Galena audit)," p. 298. "Plumbago Graecis Μολύβδαινα a Plumb [sic] appellatione sumpta. Fit enim ex Plumbo," etc., p. 307.

² I have been unable to see the original from which this was taken, but the "Pharmacopœia Schrödero-Hoffmanniana," published at Cologne in 1684, reads (p. 307) "Molybdæna seu plumbago . . . nativa et factitia," and continues in the same sense as the English translation. On p. 253 there is a note by Hoffmann:—"De Plumbo Scriptorio oder Wasserbley sciendum, vocari illud Molybditem Lapidem, de quo erudite scripsit Cesalpinus, et primam facit speciem lapidis plumbarii; . . . Multo levior ac friabilior minera Plumbi nigri parum aut nihil fere Argenti in se habens. Exteri et in primis Itali hoc crudum a Nobis petunt, illudque erepolientes denuo iterum ad Nos remittunt pro usu scriptorio." This is the first mention of Wasserblei I have found, but the word probably came into use much earlier.

be amiss to say something of that which we commonly call Black-Lead, because it discoloureth the hands far more then common Lead, and is that whereof Pencils are made for Painters and Scriveners, and many other such like uses. In the North we usually call it Kellow, and some call it Wadt."

Kellow or killow was applied not only to graphite, but to a soft, black, earthy mineral, possibly a carbonaceous or graphitic shale. The word is usually derived from the North Country Collow or Colley soot,¹ but Dr. Murray believes that the change in the first vowel is improbable.

On pp. 344-5 we read: "All that we shall say here concerning Galena, Plumbago, Lapis Plumbarius, and Molybdæna . . . is that there is much said to little purpose, and that in some respects they may be taken for all one; . . . I hold that the main difference lieth in this, that it is to be accounted Galena when it holdeth a sensible quantity of Silver, or however when it holdeth as much Silver as may make it a Mine Royal:² but if it hold no sensible quantity of Silver, then it may be called Plumbago; and this I wish every Test-master and every Miner seriously to mind and consider of."³

The "Fodinæ Regales" (1670) and "Laws of Art and Nature," 1683, by Sir John Pettus, contain references to black lead,⁴ but no use of the words galena, plumbago, or molybdæna.

The uncertainty that prevailed in the use of these words is well illustrated in the "Mineralia" of Joachim Junge, published at Hamburg in 1689. It appears to have been compiled from the author's notebooks after his death, and consists largely of extracts from previous works, with notes, queries, and suggestions. Molybdæna (with plumbago as a synonym) appears to be employed in the sense of litharge (p. 163). The artificial form is distinguished as "molybdæna fornacum," and the mineral as "molybdæna

¹ Beckmann (op. cit., vol. v, 1803, p. 246; vol. iv, 1814, p. 354, states that both wad and killow or collow meant 'black' in the Cumberland dialect. See *ante*, pp. 148, 154, and *post*, pp. 158-9, 163.

² The Crown is entitled to all silver-mines.

³ See also p. 205; on p. 221 we read "in Galena inani, which the Germans call Blend, and our miners in the North, Blue Blindake"; and see p. 280.

⁴ "There is also a mineral Lead, which we call Black Lead, something like Antimony, but not so shining or sollid; . . . of late, it is curiously formed into cases of Deal or Cedar, and so sold as dry Pencils." *Laws*, part ii, under "lead"; *Fodinæ*, pp. 5, 7.

metallica, fossilis," while the sulphide is referred to as "galena non flava." Then follow two queries:—"Ob Tetting wisse was und woher das schreibblei sei? Obs aus Engelland"; "bei kanngiessern¹ zu fragen. Ob sie wissen wasz bleyertz (damit wir schreiben) sei: und woher es komme. etliche nennens wasserbley." Under "Observanda" we read, "Plumbago scriptoria nec lapis plumbarius est G. Agric. quia hic durior stibio, nec plumbago G. Agric. quia hæc flava est." In a note (p. 166), apparently made at a subsequent date, under the title "Plumbago Anglica sive Galena inanis," he refers to "Terra illa metallica et micans Anglis blacke-leade dicta," and after quoting further from Camden, continues: "Anglica hæc plumbago nec lapis plumbarius sive plumbi speciem gerens, nec plumbago est secundum G. Agricolum quia lapis ita durus est ut facile teri non possit, et plumbum continet, interdum etiam una argentum. Ex eo [viz. lapis plumbarius] ad rubedinem exusto fit minium secundarium menninge."

He says that the galena inanis or blende of Agricola seems to differ from the galena "simpliciter" or Glantz of the same author, "non ut inane a fertili sed specie." The former he renames pseudo-galena, a name employed by several subsequent writers. At the same time he says that plumbum scriptorium appears to differ from galena sterilis.²

As Junge died in 1657, his reference to plumbago scriptoria and plumbago anglica constitutes the earliest known definite use of plumbago in the sense of graphite, though, as I have shown (pp. 151-3), galena and even molybdæna had been so used.

In the "Teutsche Material Kammer" by J. J. Marx, published at Nuremberg in 1687, graphite is referred to (p. 78) as "Cerussa nigra. schwartz Bleyweiss," while in the "Vollkommenes Lexicon," which forms an appendix, plumbago fossilis appears as synonymous with Bley Aertz and Bley Schweiz, plumbago with Bley Glantz, and plumbago Plinii with Molybden and Molybdæna.

In the "Histoire Generale des Drogues," by Pierre Pomet, published at Paris in 1694, we read:—(part iii, p. 42), "Le

¹ Smelters who cast pewter or other metals or alloys into various vessels.

² Galena inanis or sterilis, blende, and pseudo-galena continued to be used in a very general sense. In the "Mineralogia" of J. G. Wallerius (1747), p. 249, for instance, Beckblände is defined as "Pseudo galena picea." See also "De Matricibus Metallorum," by J. G. Hoffmann and J. B. Böhmer (1738), pp. 68-9, and A. G. Monnet, "Système de Minéralogie" (1779), p. 180. Nevertheless, as we have seen (p. 142 *ante*), the most usual signification was zinc-blende or sulphide of zinc.

Troisième Plomb mineral est tout au contraire fort usité, et est ce que nous appellons Mine de Plomb noire, Plomb de Mine, ou crayon, parce que le plus parfait sert à designer. Les Anciens luy ont donné le nom de Plombagine et de Plomb de mer, en ce qu'ils ont pretendu qu'il se tiroit du fonde de la mer; les Etrangers [the Dutch] le nomment Potelot" (viz. pot-lead).¹

A translation into English, with additions from other sources, appeared in 1712. Here (vol. ii, p. 351) we find: "The third sort of Lead Oar is very much us'd, and 'tis that we call Black Lead, or Crayon, . . . The Ancients gave it the Name of Plumbago, and of Sea Lead." This statement, which represented for a long time the only use of the word plumbago for graphite in English, is repeated in the subsequent editions of 1737 and 1748. The latter was edited by the versatile 'Sir' John Hill, who was actor, playwright, physician, botanist, zoologist, and mineralogist, and in more than one capacity called forth the satire of Garrick and the discriminating condemnation of Dr. Johnson. He supplied a note:—"The Molybdæna or Plumbago is a substance of the Litharge kind, . . . Black Lead is the Nigrica Fabrilis, Charlt. Foss. 2. Massa Nigra ad Pnigitem referenda, Worm. 5. . . . It is rather an earth than a metal."

As a matter of fact molybdæna and plumbago had long since ceased to be used in the sense of litharge. Plumbago led the way in this respect, for in Blancard's "Physical Dictionary" (second edition, quoted in the Oxford Dictionary), published in 1693, we find an explanation of the word molybdæna which is evidently taken from Schröder, but the word plumbago is dropped. It is significant too that in the Latin edition, published at Leipzig in 1695, of the "Historia Naturale" of Ferrante Imperato, we find (p. 133) 'plumbago' substituted for 'grafio piombino' in the sense of graphite, while 'molibdæna' is still used like 'moludena' in the sense of litharge (p. 787). This use of molybdæna did not, however, extend, except for Hill, beyond the first quarter of the eighteenth century.²

On the other hand, there is, as I have said, no evidence outside the translation of Pomet of the use of plumbago for graphite in England. For instance, in "Some Observations concerning the

¹ In the "Museum Museumum" of M. B. Valentini, published at Frankfort in 1704, graphite is referred to as "Wasserbley welches sonsten plumbago, cerussa nigra . . . genennet wird."

² See, however, Gimma, op. cit. (1730), ii, p. 144, who, however, only quotes previous authors.

substance commonly called Black Lead," by the "late Dr. Rob. Plot, F.R.S." (Phil. Trans., 1698, p. 183), we are told that "The mineral substance, called, Black Lead (our common Lead being the true Black Lead, and so called, in Opposition to Tin, which is the White Lead) found only at Keswick, in Cumberland, and there called, Wadt, or Kellow; by Dr. Merrett, *Nigrica Fabrilis*, . . . whence the most Proper Name that can be given it, perhaps, may be *Ochra Nigra*, or Black Ochre." Nowhere is there any mention of *plumbago*.

The same is the case with the "Natural History of Westmoreland and Cumberland," by Thomas Robinson, published in 1709, where "Wadd, or Black-Lead" is described as a "black pinguid and shining Earth."¹

In the early years of the eighteenth century there was a comparative dearth of textbooks on mining and mineralogy. Our chief information is obtained from the writings of Dr. John Woodward: his "Methodica Fossilium in Classes Distributio," an appendix to his "Naturalis Historia Telluris" (1714); his "Fossils of all kinds Digested into a Method suitable to their mutual Relation and Affinity" (1728); and "An Attempt towards a Natural History of the Fossils of England," an explanatory catalogue of his collection, which was afterwards presented to the University of Cambridge. Bound up with the latter are subsidiary catalogues of additions and of the portions of his collection obtained from abroad. The details in the latter are, he tells us, copied from the labels on the specimens, and accordingly furnish us with information of the contemporary use of mineralogical terms on the continent of Europe. This catalogue bears as a whole the date 1729, but portions appear to have been issued earlier. Both in the "Methodica Distributio" and in the "Fossils of all kinds"² he identifies *nigrica fabrilis* with wadd and black lead. In the latter publication he also distinguishes between the softer killow (*Killoia molliuscula*) and the harder killow (*Killoia duriuscula*). The former is described as "of a blackish or deep blue Colour, and, doubtless, had its name from Kollow, by which name in the North, the Smut, or Grime on the Backs of Chimneys, is call'd."

¹ After discussing its various applications (except, curiously enough, its manufacture into pencils) he concludes: "for these and other Uses, it's bought up at great Prices by the Hollanders, and others."

² A French translation of this was published at Paris and Amsterdam in 1735, an Italian at Venice in 1739, and a German at Erfurt in 1746. See J. E. J. Walch, "Das Steinreich" (1769), i, p. 11.

Among the lead ores he refers to "the sparkling or Steel-grain'd; this commonly yields more or less Silver and is what Dioscorides, and the Naturalists after him, call Molybdæna: Pliny, Galena." Among "Mock ores" he mentions "Blind," "Blend," and "Black Talk, or as the Germans call it, Sterile-Nigrum"; the last may be molybdenite or a variety of graphite.¹

In the "Attempt towards a Natural History of the Fossils of England" black lead and galena are referred to in similar terms.² In the portion entitled "A Catalogue of the Foreign Fossils in the Collection of J. Woodward, M.D.," we find (p. 29), under the heading "Nigrica fabrilis, Black Lead or Wad," a specimen described as "Lapis Plumbarius sterilis, cum quo Scribi potest. Altenbergæ in Saxonia. Wasserbley Ertz; i.e. Black-Lead Ore. M. de Schonberg. ('Tis the Nigrica fabrilis or Black Lead.)" The locality leaves, however, little doubt that this was not graphite, but molybdenite. The following labels (pp. 37-40) are also of interest: "Plumbago super Pyritem aureo colore. Fribergæ in Saxonia. Silberhaltiger Bley-schweif uff Kupffer Kies." This is argentiferous galena associated with copper pyrites. "Plumbago in Talco cinereo. Snebergæ in Saxonia. Bley-glantz in grauen talc, i.e. Lead-Glitter in grey Talc. M. de Schonberg." Plumbago is explained in similar terms on two other labels. The expression 'lead glitter' is a very fair translation of 'Bley-glantz,' but it was not adopted by other authors. "Plumbago tessellata. Fribergæ in Saxonia. Wurfflicht Glantz-Ertz, i.e. Diced Glitter Ore. M. de Schonberg." There are several references to galena. "An addition to the Catalogue of the Foreign Native Fossils in the collection of J. Woodward, M.D." (1725), includes the following entries (p. 16): "Plumbago ad Altenburgia [? Altenberg], ex Minis Stanni. Dr. Henckell. This is Wad, or Black-Lead, with White-Spar." The association with tin ore makes it probable it was molybdenite. "Molybdæna grossior grober bleyglantz, i.e. Coarse Lead, shining, hic ubi vis obvia, continens 60 Libras Plumbi, et 1, 2, 3. Lotos Argenti. Saxonix. Dr. Henckell." "Molybdæna, Granis minutioribus Saxonix. Dr. Henckell."³

¹ See p. 8 of the "Methodica Distributio," and pp. v, 2, 3, 43, 55, and 56 of the "Fossils of all kinds."

² pp. 185, 211. In some cases the 'black lead' is stated to be connected with copper ore; it would therefore probably be molybdenite, not graphite.

³ Dr. A. Hutchinson, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, has kindly examined the specimens referred to, which are still preserved in the Woodwardian Museum, with their original labels, and has enabled me to verify my surmises as to their real nature.

These and other labels illustrate the variations in the use of these words at this time. Plumbago is used by Dr. Schonberg for the mineral galena, and by J. F. Henckel, the author of the "Pyritologie" and other mineral works, for molybdenite and probably graphite. Molybdæna is employed both by Woodward and Henckel in the sense of lead sulphide. Galena is used by Scheuchzer with the same meaning, but Woodward, De Schonberg, and Leopold apparently employ it to include other sulphides. I have been unable to find any of these words in Henckel's German publications, but in a note in Latin on Zinc, *Observatio lxxx, "Acta Physico-Medica . . . Naturæ Curiosorum [Dresden] Nürimbergæ,"* vol. iv, 1737, pp. 308-11, we find molybdæna¹ employed for zinc-blende, sulphide of zinc, while galena is used by Henckel for the common ore of lead, the sulphide.

In the years that intervene between these catalogues and the birth of modern chemistry towards the end of the eighteenth century, the most striking feature is the predominant position taken by the Swedish men of science, whose industry and enterprise laid the foundations for the marvellous advances that followed. This was especially the case with mineralogy, where the volume of their work exceeded that of the rest of Europe. We have seen that during the seventeenth century 'lapis plumbarius,' 'plumbago,' 'galena,' and, exceptionally, molybdæna were at one time or another employed in the sense of graphite, including probably molybdenite, with which it was confounded. In the period now under consideration it was 'molybdæna' that was usually employed in this sense; 'galena' became identified, as we have seen, with the mineral that now bears that name, and it will not be necessary to follow its history further in much detail. Plumbago, on the other hand, was used in three distinct senses:— (1) following Worm, for galena free, or nearly free, from silver, in which case the word galena was restricted to the argentiferous varieties; (2) for the fine-grained and occasionally fibrous varieties of galena, which were known in German as *Bleyschweif*;² and (3) for graphite or molybdenite.

¹ This is translated in the French edition of Henckel's works, published in 1760, by 'plombagine,' vol. ii, pp. 494-6. 'Plumbago,' on the other hand, is employed (vol. i, p. 35) to translate 'Bleyschweif,' 'Arsenicalisches Bley-Ertz' in the "Pyritologia," published in 1725 (p. 91).

² This fine-grained variety was by some authors believed to contain arsenic as well as sulphur and lead (see preceding note and pp. 163, 165, 167).

It was soon discovered that the supposed mineral which corresponded to both our graphite and molybdenite did not contain lead, as the earlier writers had supposed; but there was much difference of opinion as to its real composition. Those that experimented with molybdenite came to the conclusion that it was a compound, probably a sulphide, of zinc, and, as we have seen, Henckel confused it with zinc-blende. Others thought it might contain tin. Those who had graphite to deal with believed it to be a kind of 'talc,' either steatite or mica, combined with some combustible material, or, what was the same thing, some material containing the principle of combustibility, 'phlogiston.' Iron was known to be present, and by some it was thought to be the substance that was 'phlogisticated' or combustible. Gradually these ideas, which contained distinct elements of truth, became more definite, till the results of Scheele's work only required the magic of Lavoisier's theory to transform them into the views that we now hold.

Graphite (including molybdenite) is dealt with at some length in vol. iv of the "Universal Lexicon" of J. H. Zedler, Halle and Leipzig, 1733. Among the names with which it is credited are Schreibe-Bley, Bley-Schweiff, Test, Zwitter, and others, such as Plumbago and Molybdæna, that have already been mentioned. The Italian Marchesa di plombo and Spanish Marquesita del plomo are also said to have the same meaning. The article appears to be largely founded on Pomet.

In the first edition of the "Systema Naturæ" of Linnæus, published at Leyden in 1735, we read, "Mica . . . particulis impalpabilibus. Sterile nigrum," and "Zincum . . . sterile micaceum? an hujus loci? Molybdæna, Blyerts." The former was probably molybdenite, the latter a confusion between graphite and molybdenite.¹ In the revised edition of 1740, published at Stockholm, these species are merged into one (p. 4):—"Mica particulis squamosis, inquinantibus Molybdæna Blyack."

In the edition of 1744 (Paris) there are again (p. 11) two species, "Zincum micaceum atrum. Sterile nigrum" and "Zincum cinereum fusco-inquinans. Molybdæna, le Plomb de Mer ou Plomb de Mine." The former appears to be molybdenite, the latter graphite.

¹ In the German edition of 1740 (Halle), *Sterile nigrum* is translated *Schwartzte Blende*; and *Molybdæna* by *Wasser-Bley* (pp. 8 and 14).

In the "Tabulæ Metallurgico-docimastica" of A. G. Berlichius, which forms an appendix to the edition of the "Schediasma de Tinctura" of Gabriel Clauderus, published at Nuremberg in 1736, galena, Blende, and Bley Glantz are apparently synonymous, in the sense of lead sulphide. 'Plumbago metallica' or 'Bley-schweiff,' which is "Splendens instar Plumbi nigri" and heavy, and is said to contain more or less silver, is, I imagine, granular galena. 'Galena inanis' is evidently zinc-blende. Finally, "Molybdæna, Wasser-Bley," "Ex atro paulo splendescens instar plumbi," and more or less heavy, probably includes graphite and molybdenite (see tables K to N).

In 1737 appeared at Leyden a "Dissertatio Academica sistens Nihil," by Isaac Lawson, a Scotch medical student, who afterwards became a medical officer in the British Army. 'Nihil' or 'pompholyx' is sublimated oxide of zinc, and in the course of the dissertation (p. 13) attention is incidentally drawn to a very slight sublimate obtained from the mineral known as molybdæna when heated in a retort.¹

"Datur minera, quæ dicitur Molybdæna; sub quo nomine mineram plumbi quidam intelligunt; nos autem hic intelligimus mineram plumbei coloris, micaceam, haud duram, ponderosam satis, ad tactum admodum saponaceam, pinguem, corpora solida lubricantem, ex cujus frustis purioribus et longioribus hodie fiunt styli scriptorii."

"Pondus hujus mineræ specificum insigne docere videtur metallici quid inesse, quamvis nullo experimento hætenus mihi noto constitit, quodnam metallum in ea reperiatur." After describing the results of his experiments, he continues: "Unde probabile videtur semimetallum quoddam contineri in Molybdæna, ipsum forte Zincum, quamquam nulla arte adhuc nota potuit extrahi."

There can be no doubt that the mineral with which he experimented was molybdenite, which, however, the author believed to be identical with graphite.

The mineral described by J. G. Hoffmann and J. B. Bøehmer, in their "De Matricibus Metallorum," published at Leipzig in 1738, as associated with tin, was also probably molybdenite, though they too identify it with graphite used in lead pencils. "Hi ipsi lapides stanni divites, aliam insuper satis sterilem

¹ Neither graphite nor molybdenite is volatile, when heated out of contact with the air.

secum ducunt Mineram, quæ Plumbago ab aliis Molybdæna nuncupatur" (p. 69). Plumbago seu Molybdæna mihi est illud minerarum sterilius genus, quod calore [*sic*] cum Galena convenit, sed leve, molle atque friabile est, plumbi nihil continet, digitos, chartam aliaque corpora livido nigricante colore pingit, proptereaque ad scripturas atque picturam plerumque adhibetur; nostratibus Reiss-Bley, Bleystift-Ertz dicitur. Equidem me non latet Agricola. . . . Plumbaginem atque Molybdenam veram Plumbi Mineram nuncupare, ast hodie prædictus significatus magis obtinet. Interim nonnulli aliam Molybdænam inter atque Plumbaginem faciunt differentiam et [Plumbaginem] Plumbi venam radiatam Antimonio similem, scil. Bley-Schweif, salutant. Molybdænam vero Wasser-Bley nuncupant" (note, p. 70). The word 'plumbaginem' appears to have been omitted.

In the "Elementa Artis Docimasticæ," a treatise on metallurgy by J. A. Cramer, published at Leyden in the succeeding year, vol. i, p. 262, we read: "Inter Mineralia nondum examinata imprimis considerationem meretur Molybdæna, alias quoque vocata Cerussa Nigra, Plumbum marinum Germ. (Wasser Bley.), non confundenda cum Galena Plumbi quæ, licet eodem nomine quandoque designetur, prorsus tamen ab illa discrepat. Est Molybdæna Minerale coloris Plumbei, ex squammulis micaceis contextum, mollius, ut cultro facile corradi queat, pondere Lapides Micaceos simplices, quos fere quoad texturam refert, longe superans, ad tactum valde saponaceum, corpora solida affricu suo lubrica reddens: . . . Stylis itidem Scriptoriis usu pervulgato inservit." There can be little doubt that the author included both graphite and molybdenite in his molybdæna. His "Galena Tesselata, Germ. Bley Glantz" (p. 214), is evidently galena in the modern sense of the word. 'Plumbago' is not mentioned, but 'Bleyschweif' is described as an arsenical sulphide of lead (p. 215).

Two editions of an English translation by Cromwell Mortimer were published in 1741 and 1764. They do not differ in any important respect from the Latin original. Both read "Molybdæna . . . in English, Wad or Black Lead," and refer to the mine at Borrowdale, p. 181 (1741). They are chiefly of interest as representing one of the few instances in which molybdæna has been used in English in the sense of graphite.

A similar use of the word is found in the "Natural History of Cornwall," by William Borlase, published in 1758 (p. 130): "Molybdæna, or the pencil lead . . . some small gravels of this

will mark paper as free as the molybdæna from Cumberland . . . They came from a work in Camborn, called Huelcrafty" [Wheel Crofty].¹

In 1739 the "Mineralogie" of Magnus von Bromell was published in Swedish at Stockholm. A German translation appeared in the following year, under the title "Mineralogia et Lithograpia Suecana" (Stockholm and Leipzig). Here we find (p. 106, corresponding to p. 59 of the original), "Plumbago, Molybdæna, oder Bley-Ertz, ist eine andere weiche, leichte, glänzende und gar zu reife Bley-Malms-Art, welche die Hände färbt, wann man sie bearbeitet, und dienet dazu, dasz man damit auf Knochen, Pappier und Pergament mahlen und schreiben kan." The Bley-Ertz of some localities was apparently a bituminous or oil-bearing shale. He also mentions its use for 'Bley-Federn,' also referred to as "Reisz- und Schreib-Federn."

In 1740 an interesting paper by J. H. Pott appeared in vol. vi, p. 29, of the "Miscellanea Berolinensia" of the Societas Regia Scientiarum of Prussia,² under the title "Examen chymicum plumbi scriptorii vulgo plumbaginis," in other words graphite. He commences with a long list of synonyms which had been employed at different times and in different languages. These include, besides 'plumbago,' 'plumbago scriptoria,' and 'plumbum marinum' in Latin; 'molybdites,' 'molybdoides,' and 'molybdæna' in Greek; 'plomb de mere' [*sic*], 'plombagine,' 'mine de plomb noire,' 'plomb de mine,' and 'plomb minerale' in French; 'Black Lead' in English; and 'Wasser-Bley,' 'Reisz-Bley,' 'Schreib-Bley,' and 'schwartz Bley-Weisz' in German. The mineral was, he says, called by the old workers in France 'Pott Loot' or 'Poteloot' ("quasi Töpfer-Bley"), and it was also known as 'Crayon' ("quasi Creta nigra") and 'Cerussa nigra.' Inferior varieties were referred to as 'Eisen-Farbe' and 'Eisen-Schwärtze.' Other names quoted from various authors are 'Eisendach,' 'argilla ferri,' 'Ochra nigra,' 'nigrica fabrilis,' 'Cadmia ferruginea,' and 'galena sterilis.' It is doubtful whether some of these really referred to either graphite or molybdenite. He cites (p. 33) as an error the statement in Bohn's Kauffmann³ (ii, p. 61) that 'Reisz

¹ The occurrence of the Cornish mineral in a metalliferous mine renders it probable that it was molybdenite.

² A French translation is included in "Dissertations chymiques de M. Pott," vol. iv, p. 1. Paris, 1759.

³ I have not been able to identify this reference, but a later publication of Bohn is referred to on p. 169.

Bley¹ is prepared by the Italians from Bley Ertz, and also that of the author of a "Lexicon Economicum" (p. 326),¹ who thought that plumbum scriptorium was a pure mineral of lead found in mines, but that common plumbum scriptorium was prepared from lead, especially in Saxony.

He then describes his own experiments, admitting, however, that he does not know if the plumbago he treated was the same as that employed by Lawson. He declares that he obtained no evidence of the presence of sulphur or zinc. He notes (p. 36) that the mineral decomposes potassium nitrate [a characteristic reaction of graphite].² Finally, he comes to the conclusion that he was dealing with a "terra talcosa, igni et menstruis indomita, paucis martiali [iron] et pauciore acido Vitriolico." It was probably Borrowdale graphite with a little iron pyrites, which is nearly always present.

Seven years later appeared the first edition of the "Mineralogia" of J. G. Wallerius (Stockholm, 1747). Here, under "Lapides Apyri," we find (p. 131): "Blyertz Spec. 126. Mica pictoria nigra, manus inquinans. Molybdæna." He describes it as consisting of small scales arranged without order, grey-black in colour, with feeble lustre, and communicating to the hands, paper, and linen a grey colour like that of lead. It preserves its colour and consistency in the fire. He enumerates three varieties: (1) "Ren Blyertz, Molybdæna pura"; (2) "Oren Blyertz, Molybdæna impura"; (3) "Blyertz Tärningar, Molybdæna tessularis." He refers to Lawson's experiments, and alludes to the possible presence of zinc. The two former varieties no doubt included both graphite and molybdenite;³ the third would seem to be the modern galena. This, however, appears (p. 292) as a separate species: "Bly glants Tärninge Malm—Plumbum, sulphure et argento mineralisatum, minera, tessulis minoribus vel majoribus, vel granulis, micante. Galena. Plumbago metallica." Plumbago is, also, used as a synonym of Bleischweif, which is supposed to contain lead, sulphur, and arsenic: "Blyschweif—Plumbum, sulphure et

¹ See the third edition of an "Allgemeines Economisches Lexicon," Leipzig, 1753, edited by G. H. Zincken, p. 362. Pott refers, of course, to an earlier edition which I have not seen.

² "cum 2. p. Nitri mixtum . . . demum levissime detonat, cujus ratio forte in involuione parci principii inflammabilis sita est"; . . . "cum p. semis Nitri mixtum itidem transpellit spiritum nitrosam sub rubris vaporibus."

³ Other authors who class these minerals among the micæ are A. F. C. Hempel ("Terrarum atque lapidum partitio," Göttingen, 1762, p. 18) and J. E. I. Walch ("Das Steinreich," Halle, 1769, vol. ii, p. 37). See also p. 150.

arsenico mineralisatum, minera pinguiori fere malleabili, Plumbago." On p. 136 we read "Klitbärg. Ollaris mollior, pinguis, niger, micaceo - lamellosus, vix cohærens, pictorius. Talcum nigrum." This may include ampélite (*ante*, p. 136) or graphite. Translations were subsequently published in French and German.

In the Latin edition of the "Systema Naturæ" of Linnæus, published both at Stockholm and Leipzig in 1748 and Leyden in 1756, graphite is not referred to, and neither 'molybdæna' nor 'plumbago' is recognized in the nomenclature. However, in the Catalogue of the Museum Tessinianum, published at Stockholm in 1753 and believed to be the work of Linnæus, the following entry appears (p. 54): "Molybdæna. Zincum fusco inquinans. Mica pictoria nigra, manus inquinans (Wall. Min., 131). Huc Refertur usquedum certiora innotescant."

In the "Systema Minerale" of Johann Lucas Woltersdorff, published at Berlin, also in 1748, we find graphite described under "Metalla ignobilia" as "Ferrum . . . Nigricans, splendens, unctuosum, inquinans. Molybdæna. Wasser - Bley. Nigrica Fabrilis, Reiss-Bley."¹

In 1754 there appeared at Stockholm, in the "Kongl. Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens Handlingar" (Proceedings of the Royal Swedish Academy of Science), vol. xv, p. 189, a paper entitled "Rön om Bly-Erts" (the usual Swedish term for graphite), by B. Qvist, describing experiments on a mineral occurring in flexible plates, which must have been molybdenite. He heated it in a current of air and obtained a white sublimate.

In the "Elementa Mineralogiæ" of F. A. Cartheuser, published at Frankfort in 1755, there is no undoubted reference to graphite, but fine-grained galena is separated from the cubical variety under the name of 'Plumbago' or 'Bleischweiff' (p. 66).

The year 1758 was marked by the appearance at Stockholm of yet another Swedish Mineralogy, the "Försök til Mineralogie" of Axel von Cronstedt. This proved very popular, and was translated into French, German, English, and Italian, in some cases more than one edition being published.² On p. 139 of the original edition, which was issued anonymously, we read: "Iärn

¹ Graphite is also classed under the ores of iron as "Ferri Minera pictoria: Molybdæna" by M. T. Brünich in his Mineralogy, published in 1777 in Danish (p. 247) and in 1781 in German (p. 255). See also *post*, pp. 168, 172, 174, 177.

² It is also closely followed in the "Lithophylacium Bornianum, Index Fossilium quæ collegit et in Classes ac Ordines disposuit Ignatius S.R.I. Eques a Born" (Ignaz von Born), published at Prague in 1772.

och Tenn, Sulphur ferro et stanno saturatum. Blyerz. Wasserbley. Molybdena." It is divided into three varieties. The first is "Molybdena membranacea nitens," which is described as platy and shining, and of the same colour as 'Blyglants.' Bispbergs Klack, Bastnäs wid Ridrarhytta, and Altenberg are given as localities, and it is stated that a specimen from Bispberg was that employed by Qvist in his experiments. This, therefore, is molybdenite. The second, with "Textura Chalybea," is apparently graphite;¹ and the third, with "Textura micacea et granulata, Grof Blyertz," described as consisting of small flakes or granules, appears to represent flaky graphite.

In 1762 J. C. Valmont de Bomare published a Mineralogy at Paris, which was largely founded on Wallerius. Here species 87 (vol. i, p. 124) is "Molybdène, Mica des Peintres, Crayon ou Mine de plomb, etc. (Molybdena Mica pictoria. . . . Pseudo-Galena Wolt. Plumbarius, etc.)." He remarks: "Le crayon se trouve communément avec les mines d'étain; il en contient aussi quelquefois abondamment." He believed it, however, to be essentially a kind of talc.² Other species are "Galène ou Mine de plomb en cubes . . . plumbago metallica . . .," and "Mine de plomb sulphureuse et arsenicale, . . . Bleyschweif Germanorum, . . . Plumbago nonnullorum"³ (vol. ii, pp. 98, 103).

In the same year appeared at Leipzig the "Practisches Mineral System" of R. A. Vogel. Here, under the heading "Wasserbley, Reissbley. Molybdæna, Plumbum scriptorium" (p. 66), we read: "Das Wasserbley ist ein leichter, schwarzgrauer zerreiblicher und abfärbender Glimmer; aus dem man lange nicht gewusst hat, was man machen soll, und es daher für eine Art eines Bleyerzes gehalten hat. Es ist aber nicht ein Gran Bley darinn, sondern vielmehr etwas, obwohl sehr wenig eisenhaftes; hiernächst aber ein wenig Phlogiston: das übrige und meiste ist eine talkichte, dem Feuer widerstehende Erde." He describes how the Germans made the 'leads' of pencils by cementing the powdered graphite, and continues: "Es ist aber noch ein Geheimniss, mit was für einer Materie die Engländer ihr Wasserbley schmelzen." As a matter of fact the English graphite was cut directly from the mineral.

¹ Born (op. cit., i, p. 61) gives "Keswig Angliæ" as the locality for "Molybdæna textura chalybea."

² See note, p. 150 *ante*.

³ See *ante*, p. 160, for the use of plumbagine and plumbago in the French edition of Henckel's works, published in 1760.

He is the earliest, so far as I am aware, to assert the existence in graphite of phlogiston, the first step to the recognition of the mineral as a form of carbon. Pott, however, recognised the possibility of the occurrence of a "parcum principium inflammabile" (*ante*, p. 165). Vogel distinguishes three varieties of galena: (1) "Galena tessulata"; (2) "Galena granulata, punctata"; (3) "Bleischweif, Plumbago," the last being "in einer derben und fast streifichten Gestalt" (p. 456).

In the fourth edition, published in 1762, of the dictionary of the Académie Française, plombagine is explained as "Substance minérale de la nature du talc. C'est la même qui est plus connue sous le nom de Crayon, ou de Mine de plomb." In the edition of 1718 the word is not included, while in the "Dictionnaire des Arts et des Sciences," part of the first edition, printed in 1694, it is explained in the terms employed by Mattioli.

Some entries in the "Dictionnaire Universel des fossiles propres et des fossiles accidentels" of E. Bertrand, published in 1763, illustrate the confusion in the nomenclature at this time. "Le Crayon des Peintres, appelé mine de plomb, est aussi un Mica. C'est le Molybdæna de Pline, le Molybdoïdes de Dioscoride . . . On appelle aussi en François ce crayon fossile, plombagine et plombacine, du Latin plumbago. . . . Il y a une matiere qu'on appelle aussi mine de plomb, qui est rouge. Quelques Droguistes le nomment tout - aussi mal - à - propos minium" (vol. ii, p. 43). "Plombagine. Plumbago. On s'accorde peu sur la vraie application de ce nom. 1°. Les uns entendent par là les glebes de plomb minéral cubiques qu'on appellent galènes. 2°. D'autres désignent par là une autre sorte de mine de plomb qui est arsénicale et sulphureuse. 3°. Henckel¹ appelle de ce nom une sorte de crayon, plumbago scriptoria. . . . C'est le mica des peintres . . . Ce dernier fossile ne contient point de plomb. Henckel croit qu'il est plutôt ferrugineux. . . . C'est que les Anglois nomment Black Lead . . . Nous croyons qu'il feroit plus exact d'appeller galène la première espèce de minéral, plombagine la seconde, molybdène la troisième. Il feroit à souhaiter que les Naturalistes s'accordassent une fois dans leur nomenclature" (vol. ii, p. 133). On the other hand, we find (vol. ii, p. 63) "Molybdæne. Molybdæna. En Allemand Bleiertz.

¹ I cannot find any evidence of the use of the word in this sense by Henckel, except in the labels given by Dr. John Woodward.

Mine de plomb. Ce mineral contient toujours du plomb." See also vol. i, p. 166.

The first definite recognition of the fact that molybdæna and its numerous synonyms comprised two entirely different substances is in the "Naturgeschichte des Mineralreichs" of J. W. Baumer (Gotha, vol. i, 1763; vol. ii, 1764). Here in part 4, devoted to the earths, chapter iv dealing with the clay-earth (thonerde), we find (vol. i, p. 151): "Das Wasserbley, molybdæna, kan am füglichsten unter die glimmrigen, etwas Eisen, Zinn und Schwefel haltigen Erden gerechnet werden. Man findet dasselbe zu Bisberg, Bastnäs und Gran in Schweden, und Altenberg in Sachsen." Both the supposed composition and localities point to molybdenite (see also ii, p. 105). On the other hand, in the fifth part, Stones, chapter iv, clay-like (thonartig) stones, we are told (i, p. 217): "Das Wasserbley, Reissbley, Molybdæna, Plumbum scriptorium, bestehet aus kleinen dünnen unordentlich zusammengefügtten Schuppen, und ist ein leichter schwarzgrauer abfärbender Glimmer. Es bestehet aus einem brennbaren und eisenhaften Wesen, nebst einer talckigen Erde." He refers to its occurrence at Keswick, and its use for pencils and crucibles (see also ii, p. 139). There can be no doubt that the combustible substance containing iron was graphite. It is curious that Baumer should have retained the same names for two substances which he evidently thought were unrelated the one to the other.¹

Galena is described as the commonest lead ore, and as containing lead and silver, while bleischweiff or galena punctata is stated to contain arsenic in addition.

The term 'plumbago' is not used by Baumer, but in the "Neueröffnetes Waarenlaager," by G. C. Bohn, published in the same year at Hamburg, we have (col. 134) the entry: "Bleyweiss, das schwarze, oder Wasserbley, sonst auch Reiszbley, Schreibley, Plumbago, cerussa nigra, und von den Franzosen Crayon genannt."

On the other hand, in an English book of a somewhat similar character, the "Commercium Philosophico Technicum," by W. Lewis, M.B., F.R.S., also published in 1763, we find neither molybdæna nor plumbago employed, only black lead (p. 325).

¹ See also C. F. G. Westfeld, "Mineralogische Abhandlungen," Göttingen and Gotha, 1767, p. 51, and the "Catalogue Systématique," by P. F. Davila, assisted by J. B. L. de Romé de Lisle, published in the same year, where "Molybdene ou Crayon" is classed under talc, and "Molybdene ou Mica des Peintres," from Bisbergs-Klack and other Swedish localities, and therefore presumably molybdenite, under zinc (pp. 120, 372).

The author cites both Qvist and Cronstedt, and describes experiments in which he himself demonstrated the almost entire dissipation of graphite by heat.

In the edition of the "Systema Naturæ" published in 1768, which was, as usual, more detailed than those that preceded it, Linnæus dealt at some length with these minerals, but he had no suspicion of the wide difference between graphite and molybdenite. He makes (p. 121) a genus of 'Molybdænum,' of which Plumbago or Bleyertz is one species. "Molybdænum tritura cærulescente," or, as we should now say, molybdænum with a bluish streak. He identifies it with the mineral investigated by Qvist, the "Sulphur ferro et stanno saturatum" of Cronstedt, and the "Mica pictoria nigra manus inquinans" of Wallerius. He is rather oracular as to its composition: "Metallum proprium inde inducere nulla ars chemica etiamnum didicit. An metallum oppositum Hydrargyro, quod nunquam fusile, ut illud semper? Non introduco ideam novi metalli sed colloco obscuras species metallicas in loco gratis expetito, usquedum Regulus coronetur." This appears to point to molybdenite, but he refers to its use for pencils, crucibles, and other purposes for which graphite is employed. The second and third species of the genus molybdænum included manganese ore and wolfram (tungstate of iron and manganese). The different forms of galena appear as species of the genus Plumbum (p. 312).

In the first English edition of Cronstedt, published in 1770, under the title "An Essay towards a System of Mineralogy," we find (p. 156) the heading "Iron and Tin, Sulphur ferro et stanno saturatum, Black Lead, or Wadd, Molybdæna." The term plumbago is nowhere used. In the following year appeared "Fossils arranged according to their obvious characters," by J. Hill, M.D., to whom reference has already been made. He followed Linnæus in employing molybdænum as a generic name with a number of species, some of which corresponded to graphite or molybdenite.

Another reference to graphite is met with in "A Political Survey of Britain," by John Campbell, LL.D., published in 1774 (vol. ii, p. 37). "Black Lead is what some have supposed, with very little Reason, to be the Molybdæna or Galæna of Pliny;¹

¹ Giovanni Antonio Scopoli, in his "Principia Mineralogicæ," Prague, 1772, tells us "Veterum Molybdæna ad genus plumbi pertinebat. Recentiores nimia licentia nomen hoc dedere Micæ particulis minimis, inquinantibus, atro-plumbeis" (pp. 38, 40).

others stile it Plumbago." In a note he says: "Foreign authors call by that Name [molybdena] a Substance found in Prussia, which serves for making Pencils, and comes from thence to be confounded with ours, which it in no other Circumstance resembles."

This is the first instance outside the pages of the translation of Pomet in which plumbago is employed in English in the sense of graphite. Even on the Continent the use of the various forms of the word in that sense had been comparatively rare, but it was gradually becoming more common. For instance, in the "Éléments de Minéralogie Docimastique," by B. G. Sage, published at Paris in 1772, the third species of tin is "Molybdène, plombagine, crayon noir" (p. 241). Here both graphite and molybdenite appear to be included and considered to form one mineral species.¹

In the first edition of Valmont de Bomare's Mineralogy, published in 1762, plumbago was, as we have seen, only employed in the sense of galena. In the second edition, published twelve years later, we find a list of synonyms (vol. i, p. 193), including, amongst others, molybdène, mica des peintres, mine de plomb noire des peintres, crayon; molybdena, sterile nigrum, plumbago scriptoria, mica nigrica aut colore vario fabrilis. A list of vernacular names follows, including potelot, mine de plomb noire ou savonneuse, plomb de mer, plombagine, plomb de mine, ceruse noire, talc noir friable, blende and fausse galène. He supposes it to contain zinc, and possibly lead. He still uses (vol. ii, pp. 176, 186) plumbago metallica and plumbago nonnullorum in the same sense as in the first edition.

In his "Dictionnaire raisonné Universel," published in the succeeding year, he gives a similar list of scientific and popular synonyms of graphite or molybdenite, including molybdène, molybdæna, nigrica fabrilis, plumbago scriptoria, and plombagine. He expresses his belief that the mineral is a steatite, viz. massive talc in the modern sense, formed of iron, sulphur, and zinc, and similar in nature to zinc-blende (vol. v, p. 468). At the same time he abandons the use of plumbago in the sense of galena.

In 1775 the second volume of a Latin revision of the Mineralogy of Wallerius was published at Stockholm under the title "Systema

¹ He believed it to be an altered form of tin. See note to the German edition by N. G. Leske, Leipzig, 1775, p. 248. On the other hand, in the 2nd edition, published in 1777, he describes it as "un mica martial et alumineux" (vol. i, p. 194), and as "Mica gris, onctueux, coloré par le fer" (vol. ii, p. 206).

Mineralogicum," in which (vol. ii, p. 249) we find: "Ferrum corrosum, Volatile, mineralisatum, minera nigrescente, squamosa, pictoria, magneti refractaria. Molybdæna." "Plumbago. Nonnullorum." A number of synonyms are given, and we are told that it is "in igne aperto ad maximam partem Volatilis, ad 70 vel 80 pro-Centenario avolans; in igne vero clauso fortissime persistens sine aliqua mutatione." The first variety, "Molybdæna pura, membranacea, nitens," is evidently the "molybdæna membranacea nitens" of Cronstedt, and therefore the mineral molybdenite. The other varieties, "M. micacea, arenaria" and "M. textura chalybea," are apparently both graphite.

The references to galena and bleischweif (vol. ii, pp. 302-6) are practically the same as in the original work. There is an interesting note on plumbago: "Plumbaginis vox diversimodo sumitur a Mineralogis; alii hoc nomine Galenam plumbi . . . indicarunt, quam distinctionis gratia, vocarunt Plumbaginem Metallicam; alii Molybdænam hoc nomine compellarunt, quam inter Mineræ ferri descripsimus, eandemque vocarunt Plumbaginem scriptoriam. Alii hanc, quam heic descripsimus, mineram plumbaginem simpliciter vocarunt, quos, ad evitandam confusionem secuti sumus."

In 1778 a German edition of the mineral portion of the "Systema Naturæ" of Linnæus, translated and enlarged by J. F. Gmelin, was published at Nuremberg under the title "Völlständiges Natursystem des Mineralreichs." Here (vol. iii, p. 66) the genus Molybdænum is used in the same manner as in the Latin edition of 1768 already quoted. The first species is *M. plumbago*, with the synonyms Wasserbley, Löschbley, Reissbley, Schreibbley, Töpferbley, Schwarzbleiweisse, Bleyerz, schwarz Bleyerz, Eisenfarbe, Eisenschwärze, schwarze Kreide, schwarzer Ocker, Blende, Blyertz (*Sued.*), black lead ore, blacklead, plomb de mer, mine de plomb noire, crayon noir, plumbagine, molybdène, *μολυβδότης*, plumbago, plumbum nigrum, mica pictoria, and molybdæna. The translator seems to have had no suspicion that there were two entirely different substances to which these different expressions were applied.

The two other species of Molybdænum are the same as in the Latin edition. In the genus Plumbum there are several species, including *P. galena*, Bleyglanz, galena; *P. compactum*, Bley-schweif, plumbago (pp. 212, 222). Another genus, 'Galena,' included a number of sulphides of different metals (pp. 85, 96).

The obscurity that had so long prevailed with regard to the

true nature of graphite and molybdenite, then known alike as molybdæna or plumbago, was at length dissipated by the work of C. W. Scheele, which was published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Sweden in 1778 and 1779.

The first paper, which appeared in 1778 (Kongl. Sven. Vet. Acad. Hand., vol. xxxix, p. 247), and was entitled "Försök med Blyerts, Molybdæna," commences by the statement that the author is not treating of the common blyerts of the shops, but with what Cronstedt called "Molybdæna membranacea nitens," and on which Qvist and others made experiments. He demonstrates that this substance, which he refers to throughout as molybdæna, was a combination of sulphur with an acid of metallic nature which he separated out. This was an accurate statement of the facts in the language of a time when the part played by oxygen in nature was still unrecognized.

In the succeeding year he published another paper (op. cit., vol. xl, p. 238), "Försök med Blyerts, Plumbago," in which he shows that the blyerts well known in commerce, the "molybdæna, textura micacea et granulata" of Cronstedt, now known as graphite, was a mineral sulphur or charcoal, the constituent parts of which were aerial acid (carbonic acid gas) and a considerable amount of phlogiston. This again is correct in terms of the old phlogiston phraseology, in which phlogiston is a kind of negative oxygen, so that aerial acid + phlogiston = carbon. A small quantity of iron was, he said, probably present in the form of pyrites, which yielded sulphurous fumes on heating. He showed that this blyerts was also obtained as a residuum when cast iron was dissolved in acid. The word blyerts is used throughout, plumbago only appearing in the title.

It is not quite clear why Scheele allocated to molybdenite the term molybdæna, which had for many years been on the whole more frequently applied to graphite. Apparently, at the time of the first paper he thought that the Swedish term blyerts was sufficient for the better known mineral. Afterwards, when he wanted a Latin term for graphite, plumbago was the most commonly known word that still remained available. However this may be, his usage decided the future application of the terms.¹

¹ Even as late as 1779 we find molybdene and plumbagine used as synonyms. A. G. Monnet, "Nouveau Système de Minéralogie," Bouillon, 1779, p. 180. Again, in the "Mineralogie" of J. F. Gmelin, published at Nuremberg in 1780 (p. 85), graphite is still (and apparently molybdenite as well) referred to only as Wasserbley, and considered to consist of talc, with much iron, often sulphur, and more rarely tin.

A translation of the second paper into French by 'M. Mgn. de Dijon' appeared in "Observations sur la Physique," vol. xix, 1782, p. 162. In this translation the word *plombagine* is used throughout for graphite. The next volume, published in the same year, contained (p. 342) a translation by 'Madame P. . . . de Dijon' of the earlier paper, and in this *molybdène* is used in the same way as *molybdæna* in the original.¹

English translations of these papers, by Thomas Beddoes, appeared in the "Chemical Essays of Charles William Scheele," published in 1786, and in these the terms *molybdæna* and *plumbago* are used in like manner² (pp. 227, 243).

In the "Sciagraphia" of Tobernus Bergman, yet another Swedish mineralogist, published at Leipzig and Dessavia in 1782, we find (p. 93), "*plumbago*" described among inflammable bodies as "*Phlogiston acido aëreo satiatum*," with the comment "*Compositionem genuinam detexit D. Scheele*," and "*molybdæna*" as "*Phlogiston acido, tam vitriolico, quam molybdænæ adunatum, vel, quod eodem recidit, sulphur cum acido molybdænæ conjunctum*."³

An English translation, by William Withering, appeared in 1783, where we read (p. 64): "*Phlogiston saturated with aerial acid. . . . Plumbago. Black-lead*," and "*Phlogiston united to the acid of vitriol and of molybdæna; or what amounts to the same, sulphur joined to the acid of molybdæna. . . . Molybdæna [Latin], Molybdæna [English]*."

In the "Elements of Mineralogy," by Richard Kirwan, F.R.S.,

¹ It appears that Romé de Lisle was engaged in the study of graphite at the same time as Scheele, and had obtained results which, if rightly interpreted, would have disclosed the real constitution of the mineral. He was not convinced by Scheele's work, and expressed his belief that Scheele's *molybdæna* was identical with *mine de fer micacée grise*, viz. micaceous iron ore, an oxide of iron, and that his *plumbago* owed its action on nitre "*au fer noirâtre phlogistiqué, en un mot à l'éthiops martial natif et à la matière grasse qui s'y rencontrent*." See B. G. Sage, "Éléments de Minéralogie Docimastique," 2nd edition, 1777, vol. i, p. 194, and vol. ii, p. 207; P. J. Macquer, "Dictionnaire de Chimie," 2nd edition, 1778, under *molybdène*; Romé de Lisle, "Crystallographie," 1783, vol. ii, p. 501, and "Description Méthodique," 1773, p. 165.

² *Molibdena* and *piombaggine* were adopted in the same senses in Italian in a note to the article "*Molibdena*" in the translation of Macquer's "Dictionnaire de Chimie," by G. A. Scopoli, vol. vii, Paris, 1784, p. 69.

³ In the second volume, published in 1783, of a German translation of the Latin edition of Wallerius, cited above, the latter is followed more or less closely, so that we find the words *molybdæna* and *plumbago* employed in the same way as before, but a brief reference is made to Scheele and Bergman, and the new distinction between the terms (pp. 235-9, 297).

published in 1784, we have a fuller explanation of these terms. "Plumbago, Reissbley, of the Germans, Blyertz, of the Swedes." "In a strong heat and open fire it is wholly volatile, leaving only a little iron, which seems to be only accidentally found in it, and a few grains of silex. It is probable that 100 grains of it contain 33 of aerial acid, and 67 of phlogiston" (p. 158). "Molybdena, Molybdena membranacea, Cronst. . . . Wasserbley of the Germans." "It resembles plumbago" (p. 357).

Similar views are expressed in the "Handbuch der Mineralogie," by John Fibig, published at Mainz and Frankfort in 1787 (pp. 52, 273), and the second English edition of Cronstedt's work by John Hyacinth de Magellan (1788) (pp. 451, 863).¹

There was still a certain confusion of ideas, and the fact that plumbago was essentially a form of carbon was apparently still unrealized. Its recognition, however, could not have been long delayed for those who appreciated the importance of Lavoisier's discovery of the true nature of combustion and the part played in it by oxygen, which was now taking the place in chemical theory of its shadowy correlative phlogiston, had not a new misunderstanding arisen. In a paper read before the Académie des Sciences by Vandermonde, Monge, & Berthollet in 1786 (*Obs. sur Phys.*, xxix, 1786, pp. 283-4; *Mem. Acad. Roy. Sci.*, 1786, pp. 193-6), these authors concluded from the production of fixed air by the chemical action of plumbago on oxide of lead or arsenic, that plumbago contained carbon; other experiments showed that it contained iron; they therefore declared that plumbago was a compound of carbon and iron, and for some thirty years this view of its composition was generally accepted.

Meantime, however, the great mineralogist and geological pioneer Werner had bestowed on the mineral a new name, which, it would seem, first appeared in 1789 in the "Bergmännisches Journal," in an article entitled "Mineral System des Herrn Inspektor Werners mit dessen Erlaubnis herausgegeben von C. A. S.

¹ The latter writer states (p. 452) that Pelletier demonstrated that when plumbago "is pure, it neither produces any fixed or inflammable air; both which, when found, are entirely owing to the substances that are mixed with it." As a matter of fact, in the paper referred to, "Sur l'analyse de la Plombagine et de la Molybdene" (*Obs. sur Phys.*, vol. xxvii, 1785, pp. 343 and 434), Pelletier states that plumbagine should be regarded as "une substance inflammable particulière," and adds that "les substances dans lesquelles l'air fixe ne paroit pas entrer, donnent après leur décomposition des indices de cet être" (p. 357).

Hoffmann." Here, under "Brennliche Wesen," we find (p. 380) a mineral species "Graphit," with a note (p. 395) "Von andern wird es Reisbley, wie auch (sehr unschicklich) Plumbago genannt," and under "Metallarten," "Molybdän," "Wasserblei" (p. 386).

In the same year was published the "Museum Leskeanum, Regnum Minerale, quod ordine systematico disposuit atque descripsit D. L. Gustavus Karsten." Here (vol. ii, pt. 1, pp. 337-40), under the heading "Graphit," after a long list of authorities and synonyms come the following notes:—"Ehedem war es entweder schlechthin zum Wasserblei (Molybdaen) gerechnet, oder nur spezifisch von ihm unterschieden." "Die neuern Mineralogen nennen dieses Fossil durchgängig im Lateinischen plumbago; da aber dieser Name schon von Aelteren, dem Bleischweif gegeben ist; so hat Herr Werner ihn mit graphites vertauscht, weil sein häufiger Gebrauch zu Bleistiften diesen sehr passend macht. Man könnte daher auch im Deutschen leicht, den sonst gewöhnlichen Ausdruck Reissblei, in Schreibblei umändern."

It would be interesting to know if Werner, in choosing the term graphites, had the Grafio of Ferrante or the graphis plumbea of Boulenger in his mind. Curiously enough, we find the almost identical word graffites in the 'Speculum Lapidum' of Camillus Leonardus (Venice, 1502, p. 32*b*), as a synonym of Galactides, an ash or milk-coloured stone, apparently similar to chalk, found in the rivers Nile and Athaleus.

On p. 562 of the same volume we find Molybdän and Wasserblei used as synonyms, with molybdænum as the Latin and molybdena as the English equivalents.

In the "Delectus Opusculorum ad Scientiam Naturalem spectantium," published at Leipzig in 1790, is included the Systema Regni Mineralis, Anni MDCCCLXXXVIII, of Werner. Here, on p. 555, we find Graphites (Reisbley Plumbago), and on p. 560 Molybdænum galenare (Wasserbley). In each case there is a reference to Karsten's Museum Leskeanum. Apparently this classified list of minerals was first compiled in 1788, but there is no evidence that it was ever published in that year.

Graphite was now used as synonymous with plumbago, both by those who adhered to the old system of chemical nomenclature and those who adopted the new views. J. F. Gmelin, in his "Grundriss der Mineralogie," published at Göttingen in 1790, writes (p. 381): "Reissblei (Schreibblei, Löschblei, Töpferblei, Graphit, Eisenschwärze, Bleierz, Plumbago) enthält ausser etwas ($\gamma\frac{1}{2}\sigma$) Eisen, bloss

veste Luft [fixed air or carbonic acid gas] und brennbare Wesen [phlogiston]"; while in a catalogue published by Ignaz von Born at Vienna in the same year we find (vol. ii, pp. 295-9), "Plombagine; Carbure de Fer." "Mr. de Fourcroy regarde la Plombagine comme du charbon formé dans l'intérieur du globe ou enfoui dans la terre." "Plombagine grise. Graphite. . . Elle est composée de Carbone et d'un dixième de Fer." "Barrodal près de Keswig" is given as a locality.

"A plan of a course of lectures on Mineralogy," by John Hailstone, Cambridge, 1792, contains the following (p. 72): "Plumbago. Base of fixed Air united to a small portion of Iron, Black Lead, Graphite." This is, so far as I am aware, the first use of the word graphite in English.¹

In the thirteenth edition of the "Systema Naturæ" (1793), 'graphites' is used as the generic and plumbago as the specific name of graphite (p. 284), and plumbago is not employed in any other sense. Molybdenite becomes molybdæna vulgaris (p. 309).² Meantime Pelletier (op. cit., p. 442) and P. J. Hjelm had separated the metal contained in molybdenite, and the latter had given it the name of molybdenum ("Kongl. Sven. Acad. Nya, Hand.," vol. ix, 1788, p. 288).

In 1796 the second volume of the second edition of Kirwan's "Elements of Mineralogy" was published in Dublin. On p. 58 of vol. ii we find: "Carbon, combined with one-tenth, or one-eighth of its weight of Metallic Iron. Plumbago. Graphite of Werner, Reisbley of others. Blyertz of the Swedes."³

On p. 319, under the heading "Molybdenite (Molybdenum of Hjelm)," an account is given of the metal molybdenum. The first mineral species under this heading is described as "Mineralized by sulphur. Molybdæna, or Molybden, Wasserbley of the Germans, Bleyertz of the Swedes" (p. 322).

¹ See also "A System of Mineralogy," founded chiefly on the plan of Cronstedt, by J. G. Schmeisser, London, 1794, p. 303, and "A Systematic Arrangement of Minerals," by William Babington, London, 1795, p. 25.

² In "A General System of Nature," by Sir Charles Linnaeus, London, 1806, pp. 237, 309, Molybdenum is made the generic name of the mineral in analogy with the procedure of Linnaeus in the case of the compounds of the other metals, and following the editions of 1768 and 1778.

³ On p. 184 we find as the third species of iron "Mineralized by Carbon. plombaginous, or micaceous iron ore. Eisen Glimmer of Werner. . . the single scales are somewhat transparent, and transmit a reddish light." This is what is now known as specular iron ore, a variety of hæmatite (Fe_2O_3). It contains no carbon and is in no way allied to plumbago (see p. 166 *ante*).

In 1807 Brongniart, in his *Minerology* (ii, p. 92), apparently misunderstanding Karsten, applied his term molybdenite to the mineral sulphide instead of the metal, and it has since continued in general use in this sense, both in French and English. In Germany the older form *Molybdän* has continued to be used for the sulphide, but '*Molybdän glanz*,' first employed by Karsten (Tab., 1808, p. 70), is also in use in Germany. The name '*edler Molybdänglanz*' was given by A. Breithaupt ("*Vollst. Char. Min. Syst.*," 1832, pp. 273, 233) to an auriferous variety of nagyagite, a mineral containing sulphur, tellurium, and antimony, and the terms *argent molybdique* (Born, *op. cit.*, 1790, ii, p. 419) and *Molybdän Silber* (Werner, "*Letz. Min. Syst.*," 1817, pp. 18, 48) were applied to a variety of tetradymite (a sulphotelluride of bismuth), containing silver. These and other tellurium minerals, which are similar in appearance to molybdenite, are often associated with gold, and the references to the occurrence of gold with '*molybdæna*' in early writers (e.g., Berlichius, *loc. cit.*, and Brünlich in his notes on Cronstedt's *Minerology*, German edition of 1770, p. 181, and appendix to the English edition of 1772, p. 14) render it probable that they were included under that term.

The mineral known as plumbago or graphite continued to be considered a carbide of iron till Karsten in 1826 ("*Arch. Bergbau u. Huttenk.*," vol. xii, pp. 91-6) and Sefstrom in 1828 ("*Jern Contoret's Ann.*," vol. xii, pt. 1, 1829, p. 145) showed that the old view, that the iron was only present as an impurity in the form of iron pyrites, was correct, and that the mineral was merely a pure form of carbon.

The name of graphite appears to have come earlier into general use in Germany, where, however, *Reiszblei* still survives, than in France or England. In France *mine de plomb* and *plombagine* are still widely used, though graphite is the recognized scientific expression for the mineral. In English we have the choice of the three terms *black lead*, *plumbago*, and *graphite*, but the French form *plombagine* has been occasionally used. At the present day the term *black lead* is still popular, while *plumbago* is almost confined to the language of commerce and of the arts, including mining. Graphite has long been firmly established in scientific literature, and is gradually extending its sphere of employment. This is particularly the case in America, as is illustrated by the fact that while the term *plumbago* was employed as a heading in the first volume (1892) of the "*Mining Industry*," annually

published in New York, this designation was changed to graphite in subsequent issues.¹

In Italian both *graffito* and *piombaggine* are still in use, and in Spanish *grafito* and *plombagina*, as well as *lápiz*, *lápiz plomo*, *alquifol* (properly *galena*), *carbon*, *chacal*, *mina de plomo*, and *piedra mineral de plomo* (E. Halse, *Dict. Span. Min. Terms*, 1908, p. 176).

In tracing the history of these words I have had often to pass from country to country, and from one idiom to another; for the literature of science is to some extent at least international in character, so that it is impossible to give an intelligible account of its technical terms if the attention is confined to one state or a single language. The stream of speculation and research to which we owe our knowledge of the laws of nature and our control, such as it is, over its forces, has wandered far on its way to where we stand, and has paid but little heed to frontiers of any kind, even the narrow seas that have in so many ways fostered our individuality among the peoples of Europe.

¹ See also "Graphite," by F. Cirkel, *Ottawa*, 1907, in which *plumbago* is only used in quotations, though the subject is treated from the economic standpoint.

VI.—AN OLD ENGLISH VISION OF LEOFRIC,
EARL OF MERCIA. By Professor A. S. MAPIER,
D.Litt. (Vice-President).

THE knowledge of this curious legend of Earl Leofric of Mercia I owe to the kindness of Dr. Montague James, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, who came across it whilst examining the MS. for the purpose of describing it in his forthcoming Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The *Vision* is contained in MS. 367, a miscellaneous MS. consisting of a number of different pieces bound up together.¹ Besides the Leofric vision here printed, but quite separate from it in the MS. there are twenty-nine other leaves containing Old English. They are written in different hands of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and contain a few Old English Homilies and fragments of Homilies (some by Ælfric), and a fragment of the O.E. rendering of Beda's *De Temporibus*, generally attributed to Ælfric.² The remaining contents of the volume consist of various Latin pieces ranging in date from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. As the leaves containing the *Vision* and the other O.E. pieces escaped the attention of Wanley, the MS. was not included in his Catalogue, and hence these leaves remained unknown until recently noticed by Dr. James.

The *Vision* itself is written in a hand of about 1100, i.e. late eleventh or very early twelfth century, and the occurrence of the form *wurðen* 45 and of *for* 33 used as a conjunction (see Notes) would rather point to the later date, though in that case, as the language is, with the exception of a few isolated forms, correct West Saxon of the eleventh century, I should be inclined to regard the existing copy as a faithful reproduction of a somewhat earlier original. The portion of MS. 367 containing the *Vision* is, in Dr. James' opinion, connected with Worcester, as a letter from Herbert, Abbot of Westminster (1121-40), to Warinus, Prior of

¹ For a detailed description of the contents of the MS. I must refer to Dr. James' forthcoming Catalogue.

² Printed in Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, iii, 232.

Worcester (ca. 1130-40), has been copied in it by a hand of the twelfth century.

If, as seems not improbable, the *Vision* was composed within Leofric's earldom—possibly by some monk of his own minster of Coventr—one would naturally expect to find traces at any rate of the Mercian dialect, but these are very slight, and otherwise the language is pure West Saxon. They are: *leg* (WS. *læg*) 62; *hwæðer* 80 (besides *hwæðer* 30)¹; *ret* (= WS. *rætt*) 13; *bealdan* 57; *josæh* 2 (besides *goseah* 37, 60, 78, and Late WS. *geseh* 58); *gedraeht* 6; *wæxende* 58; *nest* 45; *hæfeð* 16; *in* as preposition 36. Fr. m. like *nede* 4 (Late WS. *nýde*) are to be met with in West Saxon MSS.

As the MS. is not paged I have numbered the three leaves containing the *Vision* as fols. 1, 2, and 3. The *Vision* begins on f. 1^b. In printing I have expanded the contractions, denoting them by italics. The punctuation I have modernized, as also the use of capitals.

Of unrecorded or uncommon words I may mention—(1) the unrecorded compounds *incyme*, 'entrance,' 32; *forehus*, 'porch,' 33; *leohtbora*, 'light-bearer,' 36; *blacernleoht*, 'lantern-light,' 58; *norðeashtyrne*, 'north-east corner,' 71. (2) *cruc*, 'cross,' 74 (not in Bosworth-Toller, Hall, or Sweet, but Toller has two instances from the *Leechdoms* in his Supplement); *healfslapende*, 3, and *asanian*, 'to wane, die away, grow less,' 57 (the dictionaries have one instance of each); *þritig*, 69 (hitherto only found in glosses; cf. note).

The early mention of St. Clement's Church in Sandwich 66 is interesting.

¹ This form need not be Mercian. The ordinary WS. form was *hwæðer* (= Gothic *hwaþar*), but *hwæðer* (= OS. *hwaðar*, OHG. *hwëdar*) does occur in WS.; cf. A. K. Hardy, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilies*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 8, and Pogatscher, *AnzfdA.*, 25, 12.

UISIO LEOFRICI.¹

Her gesutelað ða gesihðe ðe Leofric eorl gesæh. Him þuhte
to soðan on healf-slapendon lichaman, na eallinga swylce on
swefne, ac gyt gewisslicor, ꝥ he sceolde nede ofer ane swiðe smale
5 brige, 7 seo wæs swiþe lang, 7 þær arn swiðe feorr beneoðan
egeslic wæter, swylce hit ea wære. Ða þa he mid þam gedræht
wæs, þa cwæð him stefn to, "Ne forhta þu. Eaðe þu þa brige
oferferest." Mid þam þa wearð he sona ofere, nyste he hu. Ða
þa he ofere wæs, þa com him lateow ongean 7 hyne lædde to anum
10 swyðe wlitigan felde 7 swyþe fægeran, mid swetan stence afylled.
þa geseah hé swyþe mycele weorud swylce on gangdagan, 7 þa
wæron ealle mid snawhwítum réafe gescrydde, 7 ꝥ on þa wisan
þe se diacon bið þonne he godspell ret. 7 wæs an þæra on middan
standendé on mæssepreostes réafe, swyþe heah 7 swyðe mycel
15 ofer eal þæt oþer folc. Ða cw se latteow, "Wast þu hwæt þis
seo?" "Nese," cwæð he. "Hit is Sanctus Paulus, hæfeð nu
gemæssod, 7 bletsað nu þis folc." Ða lædde he hine furðor
ꝥ hi [f. 2] coman þær þær sæton six arwurðlice menn, swiðe
wurðlice gefrætewod. Ða cwæð heora an, "Hwæt sceall² þes
20 fula mann on ure færræddene?" þa 7swarode him oþer 7 cwæð,
"He mot beon³ mid us, he is niwan gefullod þurh dædbote, 7 he
cymð to us on þære þridan gebyrtime."

Ða wæs eac his gewuna ꝥ he wolde swyþe lytel drincan, þeah
he mid gebeorum bliðe wære; 7 þænne he wiste ꝥ menn fæste
25 slæpen, he wolde on dihlum stowum hine georne gebiddan. Ða
wæs he set Cristes cyrican mid þam cyninge; þa spræc he on æfen
wið þone cyrcward 7 hine georne bæd ꝥ he hine inn lete þænne
he þa dura cnylde; ac he þæt forgymde for his⁴ druccennysse.⁵
Ða þa he to þære dura com 7 þær langsumlice swyðe cnucede
30 7 georne cunnode, hwæðer he hi on ænige wisan undon mihte,
ne mihte ná. Ða he þæne cyrcward⁶ gehyrde ofer eall hrtan,
þa ne wænde he him nanes incymes, ac feng þa on his gebedo, swa
his gewuna wæs, for þær wæs an forehus set þære cyrcan duru.
Ða on þam⁷ gebede wearð seo duru færinga⁸ geopenad, 7 he þa
35 sona in eode, 7 hine to his Drihtenc gebæd up ahafenum earmum.
Ða warð his leothora afyrht swyðe, 7 gefeall him in anan

¹ *U.L.* in a different hand.² MS. *scoll*.³ *beon* written twice and the first erased.⁴ MS. *is*.⁵ MS. *drucennysse*.⁶ MS. *cyrcward*.⁷ MS. *þa*.⁸ MS. *færinga*, with *e* added by scribe over the line.

THE VISION OF LEOFRIC.

Here is made known the vision which Earl Leofric saw. It seemed to him truly, in a half-sleeping condition, not altogether as in a dream, but still more clearly, that he must needs cross a very narrow bridge, and it was very long, and there ran far below it a terrible water, as though it were a river. When he was troubled about this a voice said to him, "Do not be afraid. Thou wilt easily cross the bridge." With that he was forthwith across, he knew not how. When he was over a guide came to him and led him to a very beautiful and very fair field filled with a sweet odour. Then he beheld great crowds as on Rogation days, and they were all clothed in snow-white garments, in the same fashion that a deacon is when he reads the Gospel. And there was one of them standing in the midst in a mass-priest's garb, very tall and high in stature, above all the other folk. Then said the guide, "Dost thou know what this is?" "No," he said. "It is St. Paul; he has just read mass, and is now blessing the people." Then he led him further, till they came to where six venerable men were sitting, very worthily clad. Then one of them said, "What is this foul man doing in our company?" Then another answered him, "He may be with us, for he has been baptized afresh by penitence, and he will come to us on the third 'gebyrd-tid.'"

It was also his custom to drink very little, though he would be merry with his boon-companions; but when he knew that people were soundly sleeping he would pray earnestly in secret places. He was once at Christ Church (Canterbury) with the King, and in the evening spoke with the sacristan and begged him that he would let him in when he knocked; but he neglected it in his drunkenness. When he (Leofric) came to the door and knocked hard for a long time, and tried eagerly whether he could open it in any way, he could not. When he heard the sacristan snoring (so that he could be heard) all over the Church, he had no hopes of getting in, but began his prayers, as was his wont, for there was a porch at the church door. Then during his prayer the door was suddenly opened, and he at once went in, and prayed to his Lord with uplifted arms. Then his light-bearer became very much frightened,

heale 7, mid þære forhtnæsse ƿ hine ofereode, slæp. Ða geseah
 he full gewisslice ƿ he stod on middan þære¹ flore aþenedum
 earmum mid mæsse[reafe]² [f. 2^b] gescrydd, 7 hæfde grene mæsse-
 40 hacelan on him beorhte scinende, 7 he þæs swyðe wundrode.

Eft hit getimode áet oðrum sæle þæt he wæs mid þam kynge
 æt þære ylcan stowe. Ða dyde he swa his gewuna wæs, éode to
 cyrcean mid his þreom cnápan, þa þa oðre mén slépon; 7 he hine
 þa gebéed, ealswa his gewuna wæs. Þæt wæs swa neh *Sancte*
 45 *Dunstan*es byrgenne swa he nest mihte. Ða wurðen þa twegen
 cnápan sona on slæpe, 7 se þrida wacóde swiðor³ for ége þonne
 for his gebedum. Ða gehyrde he færinga swyðe ungerýdelic
 gelyd þam gelicost⁴ swylce þæra muneca setl færlice feollon ealle
 togedere, 7 wæs æfre swa leng⁵ swa hluddre 7 menigfealdre 7
 50 ungerýdðre. Ða æfter langum fyrste geswác ƿ gehlyd. Þær
 wæs innan þære cyrcean byrnende blacern. Þa secan þær færinga
 leoht inn æt þam eastende, swylce niwe mona arise, swa ƿ hit
 lihte under þære rode swyðran earme, þe stóð ofer ƿ weofod.
 Þa wæs hit swa leng swa leohtre, swa lange hit leohtode, ƿ þæs
 55 blacernes leoht næs nán þing gesyne, 7 ƿ swa ƿ hit lihte geond
 ealle þa widgyllan cyrcan. Swa lange hit wæs þa on ðam, þæt
 he hit ne dorste na lenge behaldan, 7 hit asanode þa on þa ylcan
 wysan þe hit ár wæxende wæs, swa ð⁶ he geséh eft ƿ blacern [f. 3]-
 leoht, 7 þæt oðer geswác. 7 se ofdrædda cnapa ƿ eal mid him
 60 geseah 7 hyrde, swylce hit to gewitnesse wære; 7 þa oðre slepon
 7 þæs nán þing nyston.

Neh þon ylcan sæle se cing leg áet *Sandwíc* mid scipum. Ða
 wæs his gewuna þæt he wolde ælce dæge habban twa mæssan,
 butan hit ma wære, 7 ealle his tida togædere, ár he út éode.
 65 Þa éode he ymbe sume néode, þa mæssede man þam cyng eæt
Sancte Clementes cyrcean. Ða cwæð he to his geferan ƿ hit
 betere wære ƿ hig þa mæssan háfdon. 7 he þa inn eode, 7 him
 man sona hrymde; 7 he þa sona éode binnan þone⁷ weohstal on
 norðhealfe, 7 se cyng stod on suðhealfe. Ða wæs þær án þrilig
 70 wahrægl 7 swyðe þicce gewefen þæt hangode bæftan þam weofode.
 7 stod þær án medmycel ród on ðære eorðan on ðam norðeast-
 hyrnan; 7 wæs swa mycel þæs treowes gesyne swa wolde beon god

¹ þære added by scribe over the line. ² MS. *mæsse*. I have supplied the *reafe*.

³ MS. *wacóde þæt swiðor*.

⁴ MS. *gelicost þe he árost swylce*.

⁵ MS. *lengre*.

⁶ So MS.

⁷ MS. *þonne*.

and remained in retreat in a corner, and, on account of the fear which had come upon him, went to sleep. Then he saw certainly that he was standing in the middle of the floor clothed with a mass robe, and had a green cope on, brightly shining, and he was much astonished thereat.

Again, it happened on another occasion that he was with the King at the same place. Then he did as was his wont, went to the church with his three servants when the others were asleep, and he then prayed, as was his custom. And that was as near to St. Dunstan's tomb as he could get. Two of his servants soon fell asleep, and the third remained awake, rather on account of his fear than for the sake of prayer. Then he suddenly heard a violent noise as though all the monks' seats had all at once come tumbling down together; and the longer it lasted the louder, more varied, and more violent it became. Then after a considerable time the noise ceased. There was within the church a burning lantern. Then there suddenly shone in at the east end a light, as though the new moon were rising, so that it shone under the right arm of the cross which stood on the altar. Then the longer it shone the brighter it became, so that the lantern was not visible, and it lighted up the whole wide church. It continued so long like that, that he durst not look on it any longer; and it waned in the same way as it had previously increased, so that he could again see the lantern light, and the other (light) ceased. And the frightened servant saw and heard it all with him as though it were for a testimony. But the others slept, and knew nothing of it.

Not long afterwards the King was at Sandwich with ships. It was his (Leofric's) custom to hear two masses daily—unless he heard more—and the services also, before he went out. He was going on some necessary business, and mass was being performed before the King in St. Clement's Church. Then he said to his companion that it would be better that they should hear mass. And he then went in, and room was soon made for him; and he at once went within the sanctuary on the north side, and the King was standing on the south side. There was there a triple-threaded curtain, woven very thick, which hung behind the altar. And there stood a moderate-sized cross on the ground in the north-east corner, and there was as much of the cross visible below the

hande brad¹ beneoþan þam wahrifte; 7 se oðer dæl wæs betwux
 þam wahrifte 7 þam wahe. 7 se preost mæssode be cruce. Ða
 75 geseah he ofer þa rode ane hand swylce heo bletsode; þa wende he
 ærost² þæt sum man hine bletsode, for þam seo cyrce wæs eall
 folces afylled; þa næs ƿ na swa. Ða beheold [f. 3^b] he hit þa
 gyt geornor, þa geseah he ealle þa rode swa swutole, swylce þær
 nan þing beforan nære, 7 wæs seo bletsende hand styriende 7
 80 wendende upward. þa forhtode he 7 tweonode him hweðer hit
 swa wære, swa him þuhte. Ða mid þæs modes tweonunge þa
 æteowde heo him swa swutole swa he his agene³ geseon mihte;
 7 wæron fægere fingras, smale 7 lange, 7 þæra nægla toscead 7 se
 greata lira⁴ beneoðan þam þuman—eall wæs gesyne—7 fram þam
 85 littlan fingre toward þæs earmes, 7 sumne dæl of þære slyfe. Ða
 ne dorste he hit na leng behealdan, ac heng ƿ heafod adun, 7 hit
 þa geswac þæra bletsunga. ƿ wæs neh þam þe ƿ⁵ godspel wæs
 gerædd.

Feowertyne nihton ær his forðsiðe he foresæde þone⁶ dæg þe he
 90 sceolde cuman to Cofantreo to his langan hame, þær he on restet;
 7 hit aeode eall swa he sæde. Requiescat in pace.

¹ For *handbred*, 'hand's breadth'?

² After *ærost* another *he* was written and then erased.

³ MS. *agenne*.

⁴ *lira*: the *r* altered from *n*.

⁵ MS. *neh þam þesgodspel*.

⁶ MS. *þonne*.

curtain as might be a good hand's breadth ; and the rest was between the curtain and the wall. And the priest was saying mass near the cross. Then he saw above the cross a hand, as though it were blessing ; then he at first thought that some one was crossing himself, for the church was quite full of people ; but it was not so. Then he looked at it more attentively, and he saw the whole cross as clearly as if there were nothing before it, and the blessing hand was stirring and moving upwards. Then he was afraid, and doubted whether it (really) were as it seemed to him. Then with the doubting of his mind, it (the hand) appeared to him as clearly as he could see his own ; the fingers were fair, narrow, and long, and the outlines (lit. distinction) of the nails and the large fleshy part below the thumb—all was visible—and from the little finger to the arm, and some part of the sleeve. Then he dared not look at it any longer, but hung his head down, and it then ceased its blessings. And that was near the time when the Gospel was read.

A fortnight before his death he foretold the day on which he should come to Coventry to his long home, where he (now) rests. And it happened just as he said. *Requiescat in pace.*

NOTES.

The Vision is preceded on the same page by the following list of books in a hand of the twelfth century:—Deo englisse passionale. 7. ii. englisse dialogas. 7 oddan boc. 7 þe englisa martirlogium. 7. ii. englisse salteras. 7. ii. pastorales englisse. 7 þe englisa regol. 7 barontus.

This list has been printed by Dr. James in *The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collection of MSS. at C.C.C. Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1899), p. 62, and by Floyer and Hamilton, *Catalogue of the MSS. preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral*, 1906, p. 166 note. The last-named MS. is no doubt the *Visio Baronti* printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, March iii, 570; cf. Fritsche, *Romanische Forschungen*, ii, 272.

8. *ofer*, 'over, across.' Cf. PsSpl. 77, 27 (also Regius-Psalter, ed. F. Roeder). *ofer* = *desuper*. Cf. Sievers, *Ags. Gr.*, § 321, Anm. 3.

13. *vet* = WS. *væt*(t).

21. *fierrædden*; the regular form is *geferræden*, but cf. Napier, OEGH. 2354, etc.

22. on þære þriððan gebyrtide. The use of þære instead of *his* shows that Leofric's own birthday is not meant. Can it be "on the third Christmas day (from now)"? Or is the 'third' of the four yearly 'natales' (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and All Souls) meant? The latter explanation would assume that the four 'natales' were known in England in the eleventh century. The form *gebyrtid* = *gebyrt-tid* = *gebyrd-tid* is met with elsewhere in late O.E.

28. *enyllan* means not only 'to sound a bell' (as in B.T., Hall, and Sw.), but also 'to knock, strike.' See NED: s.v. *knell* and Toller's Supplement. Cf. O.N. *knylla*, M.H.G. *knüllen*.

33. *for*. The use of *for* alone as a conjunction in place of the older *for þam*, *for þam þe*, etc. = 'nam, enim' and 'because' scarcely seems to occur in O.E.; I have noted only one instance, viz. Wulfstan 292¹ *for ic wat*, 'for I know' (MS. Lambeth 439, second half of eleventh century). In the twelfth century it becomes tolerably frequent; it occurs e.g. in MS. Cotton, Vespasian D. 14 (first half of twelfth century). The two earliest instances in the NED. of *for* = 'nam, enim' and 'because' respectively are both taken from this MS., though the NED. dates one ca. 1200 and the other ca. 1150. Cf. also M. Förster, *Furnivall Celebration Vol.*, p. 99. It occurs also in the latest continuation (1132-1154) of the Laud MS. of the Chronicle (cf. Earle's note, p. 368).

36. *gefeall* I take to be for *gefeath* (from *gefēolan*), and I have ventured to assume for it the meaning 'remained in retreat' or, to use a conversational expression, 'stuck (in a corner),' though I can give no instance of an exactly similar use. If used as a verb of motion = 'withdrew (to a corner),' one would expect it to be followed by *in ænne heath*. Or can it be for *gefēoll* used in the sense of 'threw himself down, lay down'?

37. The sign þ here seems to be meant as a contraction for þe.

45. *wurðen*, late form for *wurdon*.

49. *æfre swa lengre*: read *leng*. Cf. 54 *swa leng swa leahre*.

58. ȝ for ȝæt. Is it merely an error for ȝæt, or have we here an instance of the use of ȝ as a contraction for ȝæt, which we meet with in the latest continuation in the Laud MS. of the Chronicle?

66. St. Clement's Church, Sandwich. This is no doubt the earliest mention of St. Clement's Church. The earliest reference to it given in Hasted's *History of Kent*, iv, 285, is during the reign of Edward III.

68. *hrymde* = *rymde*, 'made room for.'

69. *þriilig*, 'woven with three threads' (cf. Lat. *trilix*, as *tuill* (Lat. *bilix*) with two. Cf. WW. 279³ *triligium* = *þrielig hrægil*, and Sweet, OET. 35²⁹ *trilix* = ȝrili).

71. on ȝam norðeasthyrnan. *Hyrne* is feminine, and it should be on ȝære n.

85. *sumne dæl*. We should expect *sum*; the scribe evidently mentally supplied 'he saw.'

VII. — NOTES ON THE LITHUANIAN LORD'S
PRAYER AND CHYLINSKI'S BIBLE. By
LEONARD C. WHARTON.

[Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on March 5, 1909.]

THE whole question of Chyliński's Bible is too large for me to deal with here or anywhere at present, but a part of it may be discussed in the light of my own investigations.

Apart from Mr. Steele's more recent contributions in the "Library" and elsewhere, the best accessible summary of the whole matter up to the end of the year 1895 is by H. Reinhold, and is in Heft 20 of the *Mitteilungen der Litauischen Literarischen Gesellschaft*. It begins by an analytic account of the references to this Bible in the bibliographies and elsewhere from the year 1672 onwards, in which the question of the evidential value of the references for the Lord's Prayer arises in the case of Adelung and others. But as I cannot at present find time to verify all these references and the others which I have myself collected, I must ignore all that Reinhold says on the bibliographical side of the matter.

His special study of the Lord's Prayer problem arose out of a discussion in the *Academy* and the *Athenæum* in 1891. In the course of the correspondence Mr. W. R. Morfill quoted a text of the prayer from "Oratio Dominica πολυγλωττος" of 1700, p. 43, accompanied by statements afterwards corrected by a letter from Dr. Neubauer. At last, on June 13, 1891, one "T. B. R." wrote to the *Academy* that this version of the Lord's Prayer might be in Chyliński's Prospectus of 1659, a view which Reinhold honours by repetition on his own account. Neither of them appears, however, to have seen a copy, which I have done myself, and hence this paper. For, while I found no such thing as our friends supposed, but merely an appeal endorsed by influentially signed testimonials by persons who could have known nothing of the matter in hand, what I did find will appear later.

Reinhold, whose summary should be read, says the first appearance of this Lord's Prayer is in Bishop Wilkins of Chester's "Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical Language," 1668,

folio, where it is no. 35 in the specimens beginning at p. 435. The Bishop's sources (cf. p. 434) are "Gesner's Mithridates," "Megiserus his Specimina, &c." The first has no Lithuanian according to Reinhold, who has not seen the second. This Megiserus of 1603 has no Lithuanian, but no. 39 is "Livonice & Werulorum lingua," which agrees with some scribal variants with the "Livonian" of Wilkins's no. 36. Opposite no. 36, indeed, in Wilkins, in the margin of p. 435, we see M., i.e. Megiserus. But elsewhere M. wavers and stands opposite the Lithuanian line. I would gladly know whether the first or second edition of Megiserus' "Specimina" or of any other work of his contains a Lithuanian text.

The second work ("Ludeken") mentioned by Reinhold started the connection with the Bible, but this I ignore at present of set purpose, but from it Le Long and his copyists got their date of 1660. The book of 1700 quoted by Mr. Morfill is a reprint of this "Ludeken" book, and this accounts for its adoption of all Wilkins's misprints, and indeed the "Chamberlaynius" of 1715 is said by some to be, like the 1700 book, a posthumous work by Wilkins.

The later history I propose to ignore as far as possible; like the whole question, no one has touched it without ornamenting it, not always with truth.

Reinhold, in his summary, attributes the appearance of this version of the Lord's Prayer to the year 1668, which was also that of Chyliński's death. The dialect, he says, is mainly that of the Bible. It must, he thinks, have been taken from the Sermon on the Mount and from the manuscript of the translation of the New Testament, then in preparation, whoever prepared it. This, however, may be ignored, as it leads to no result for the Lord's Prayer and belongs to the larger question of the Bible. Still, on Reinhold's showing, Chyliński may have done all the Letto-Slavonic and some other parts of Wilkins's collection of versions, in which the Letto-Slavonic element bulks very large.

Next, a remark quoted above sent me to Chyliński's Prospectus again. On p. 4, I find, he says that the Lithuanians had already got the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, a Catechism for the young, and some other religious books in the vulgar tongue. This is definite enough and sent me to look for the Lord's Prayer, and that brought me to Luther's "Kleiner Catechismus" and a provisional solution.

Now, in 1547 appeared a Lithuanian translation of Luther's "Kleiner Catechismus," a Lettish one being issued two years later. The second edition in Lithuanian was issued in 1579 and the third in 1700, the very year of publication of the "Oratio Dominica πολυγλωττος," from which Mr. Morfill quoted. (It may be as well to add that Luther's "Kleiner Catechismus" gives the text of the Lord's Prayer followed by an exposition of each clause, though editions vary.)

Abstracting the later editions, Wilkins's form of the Lord's Prayer in no. 35 in his "Essay" bears a very close relation to the form in Luther's "Kleiner Catechismus" of 1547, as given in Bezzenberger's reprint. So much is this the case that it may be easiest to state it by mentioning variants only, when the original date is given for Bezzenberger's reprint (and for any other edition casually quoted), and W. stands for "Wilkins' Essay," no. 35, and the "Oratio Dominica πολυγλωττος" of 1700, with which it appears in the table for comparison before you. The variants follow in the order of their occurrence:—

W. has a dot over the first *e* in Tewe.

1547 kuris; W. kursey (the more emphatic form).

1547 essi; W. esi.

1547 dangusu; W. danguy.

1547 Schwęskie; W. Szweskis.

1547 tawa; W. tawo.

1547 ateik; W. ateyk.

1547 tawa; W. tawo.

1547 Buki tawa walia; W. Buk wala tawo.

1547 kaip dągūi, taip ir ssemeie; W. Kayp and dangaus teyp
ir andziam es.

1547 Dona; W. Donos.

1547 wyssudienu; W. wisu dienu.

1547 dodi mumus nu; W. dok mumus szedien.

1547 atleid; W. atlayisk.

1547 mumus; W. mums.

1547 kaltibes; W. kaltes.

1547 kaip; W. kayp.

1547 mes; W. ir mes.

1547 atleidem musu kaltimus; W. atlaydziam sawiemus
kaltiemus.

1547 newed; W. Ir newesk.

1547 mus; W. musu.

1547 ingi pagundima; W. ing pagúndynima.

1547 gielbek mus; W. giał bekmus.

1547 nogi wysa pikta. Amen; W. nog pikto. Amen.

As to these the following remarks may be made:—

I. Weinreich, the printer of the 1547 Catechism, had, and the printer to the Royal Society had not, got the types for expressing the nasals, of which *daqui* and *dangusu* in 1547 are separate, and sufficient examples, as against W.'s *danguy* and *dangaus* respectively.

II. W. has *y* where 1547 has *i*, e.g. *kayp*, *kaip*, *teyp*, *taip*.

III. W. has, however, dotted the first *e* of *Tëve*, although his copyists do not appear to have always seen it. It is interesting to note that 1579 has *Tiewe*, which is equivalent to *Tewe*, the scribal practice being in this case Polish and in the other Bohemian, so far as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are concerned. On this point, however, Lithuanian grammarians have a special theory of their own. It is also interesting to see that the 1579 Catechism has *dangui*, which contrasts with *dangusu* in 1547.

IV. Note that 1547 has *essi*, W. *esi*, when the *ss* is the German equivalent for the same sound for which *s* is the English and Letto-Slavonic scribal form.

V. 1547 *Schwęskiese*; 1579 *Schwenskisi*; W. *Szweskis*. Here the difference is that of East *versus* West, i.e. *Sch* is the German and *Sz* the Polish script for the same sound. But *ie* is the Polish and also the German expression for two kinds of *i* sounds. *e* is nasal in Polish fashion, *en* is the same otherwise expressed, or else the earlier non-nasal form. *e* and *i* as terminations are more difficult to reconcile, especially as W. has *Szweskis*, where the *e* is plain for the reason given above at I.

VI. Note that W. has (like modern Lithuanian) *o* for the *a* of 1547 in *tawo*, *tawa*. 1861 presents some interesting variations here and in the last petition. The difference between *pikto* and *pikta* is much more important than a mere scribal variant, for on it turns the question whether the translator thought the deliverance was to be from the Evil One or from evil.

VII. Now, in the third petition the order of the first part in 1579 agrees with that of W. as against 1547. The spelling of *wala* depends upon circumstances; if the printer have a hard 'ł' in his fount, *l* will readily stand for soft *l*. If not, *l* must stand for hard 'ł' and *li* may stand for soft *l*, though in W. *l* stands for soft *l* in spite of the fact that he has no hard 'ł' in this Lithuanian

Lord's Prayer. For *a*, *o* see above, VI. 1579 agrees with W. in having *Buk* against *Buki* in 1547.

VIII. The differences in the rest of this petition are mostly dependent on principles explained above, but something remains over. It is simplest to take the later difficulty first, because Reinhold lays so much stress on it. This is the famous ghost-phrase *andziam es*. Let us note first that the printing of it in W. is hopelessly distorted, for the words meander up and down above and below the line anyhow, so that, although *es* is correctly aligned and also separate from *andziam*, there is nothing to prove that the manuscript from which the printer or Wilkins worked did not contain *and žiames*, which at once lightens our task; for this would agree with the reading *taip ir ant žemes*, which occurs in the third edition of the Catechism (1700). The difference is almost purely scribal, though one might say that it was partly due to the dialect and the kind of transcription employed, but this need not trouble us here. Compare also V above. The typographical failure is common throughout these specimen pages of Wilkins (e.g. the M. alluded to above as at p. 435 [p. 2]), and one need not be surprised, for it is very small type, set on a bed of Procrustes, and must have been a source of great difficulty to the most skilled compositor. The same applies to the table illustrating these notes.

This would help to explain the difficulty in the previous part of the same petition, i.e., the compositor's eye ran on to the later *and* before *ziames*, and put one before *dangui*, a very easy mistake in all the circumstances, especially if the 'copy' were written by a Lithuanian.

IX. The contrast of *dona*, *donos*, is hardly to be explained by W.'s liking for *o*, as the *s* comes in and the form *dona* is supported by *dūna* in 1579. Yet this need not trouble us much, for Bezzenberger (according to Bechtel) heard seven or eight different pronunciations of this sound among the pupils of one school.

But W.'s *wisu dienu* is supported by *wissu dienu* (with variant *diena*) in 1579. The edition of 1700 has *dieniszka*. W. is further supported in having *dok mumus szedien* against the *dodi mumus nu* of 1547 by 1579, with its *dūdi mumus schę diena*, and 1700 (the Catechism) with its *dūk mums ir sze diena*.

X. The next case is very interesting. The example in II would prepare one for a very fine confusion in phonetics, and here we have it. The fifth petition in 1547 is " Ir atleid mumus musu

kaltibes, kaip mes atleidem musu kaltimus"; in 1579, "Ir atleid mumus musu kaltes kaip ir mes atleidzem [variant, atleidem] musu kaltiemus"; in the Catechism of 1700, "Atleisk mums musu kaltes, kaip mes atleidziam sawiemus kaltiemus." From these forms it is easy to justify W.'s "Ir atlayisk mums musu kaltes kayp ir mes atlaydziam sawiemus kaltiemus," though W. is much earlier than the last quoted. In the detailed comparison which follows I only comment on cases where W. differs from 1547. Thus *atlayisk* in W. has a partial parallel in *atleisk* of 1700. For *e = ay* see further on, *atlaydziam*. W.'s *mums* is justified by the corresponding *mums* with *atleisk* in 1700, against the *mumus* and *atleid*, of the others. 1579 and 1700 support W.'s *kaltes* against the *kaltibes* of 1547. *Kayp*, see later, *atlaydziam*. W.'s *Ir mes* is supported by 1579 against the other two. "Atlaydziam, atlayisk, kayp." The phonetic confusion signified by the examples under II has been already adverted to, but it is a useful solvent of difficulties here. In II the same text was inconsistent about *e*, *a*, and consistent about *i*, *y*. Although all the others are against W., one may take *ei = ay* as a safe though not certain equation. Thus Bretkun's Postilla of 1591 has *kaipo, keip, kaip* (p. 275, pt. 2, and p. 185 *apud* Bezenberger with catechisms). Before dropping this point, it may not be inapt to make a quotation from Klein's "Grammatica Lithuanica" in Bezenberger's "Beiträge," p. 3. Thus he says: "Dicunt enim unt dungaus ir ziames bus zinklai pro ant dangaus ir zemes bus zenklai; Ir tadu ifswis sunu zmogaus ataiunti debesy fu galyby didzin ir Majestotu pro Ir tada ifswis Sunu zmogaus atenti debesy fu galybe dide ir Majestotu.—Luc. 21³." According to the note³ referred to, this passage might seem to be taken from Szyrwid's Punktay Sakimu. At p. 5, "Curoni dicunt Deewu Teewu pro Diewa, Tiewa." This is assigned to imitation of the *Latvisci seu Curetes*. The Lettish *ee* is generally regarded as akin to the Russian *ѣ*, I may add. The change of *a* and *o* is discussed as a dialectal peculiarity in these pages, besides reference being made to the fact that *ê* sometimes stands for *é*, while *â* is equivalent in another form to *û*, and is variously represented by *a*, *o*.

There remains *-dziam*, for which the Catechism of 1700 is a parallel, and 1547 and 1579 too, if we remember the consideration noted at VIII relative to *ziames = zemes*. Next, the usage *sawiemus* is supported by the Catechisms of 1700 and 1861, and partly (*sawco*) by the version of the Lord's Prayer given in Brand's "Reysen" (1702) against the others.

o = *io* or *ê* has been already mentioned at III above.

XI. W.'s "Ir newesk musu ing pagúndynima" is partially supported by 1700, with its "Ne-dük mus west y pikta pagundima," where the final *-a*, is nasal as in 1861, though it is signified in a different way. In all cases the exceptional use of *ing* occurs, for, though *ingi* occurs in 1547, it does not make any difference. The alternative construction is to use the case ending with an *-n*.

XII. Here we have to consider the famous *giáf bekmus* passage, where 1547 has the correct forms "Bet gielbek mus nogi wysa pikta," while 1579 has "Bet gelb mus nûg pikta," and the catechism of 1700 has "Bet gelbek mus nû (wisso) pikto."

Here, 1579 gave rise to the error by 'gelb,' and the rest of the errors are accounted for on principles already stated, whether phonetic or typographic. Even the late copyist of 1715, "Chamberlaynius," has *gelbek*, from whom Fritz, "Sprachmeister," gets it according to Reinhold.

And here Wilkins and all up to and including Müller's "Ludeken" book of 1680 (which I have not seen) desert us with an 'Amen.'

But, as Reinhold says, in Vater's edition of Adelung's "Mithridates," vol. ii (Berlin, 1809), we have a Lord's Prayer quoted from the "Altorius Duchawnas" of 1802, which I have not been able to verify, nor have I seen Vater-Adelung. Except *ij* for *ii*, or *i* singly in one or two cases, there is no violent divergence from the texts discussed above, but he adds a doxology alleged to be taken from the text taken from the Lithuanian Bible, where his quoted words, as I think, forbid any idea that Vater made any pretence to have seen such Bible. The "Altorius Duchawnas" must have been compared by him with one of the above-named texts, whence the doxology came. The one he probably copied was Fritz's "Sprachmeister," of which he possessed one copy, at least so Reinhold states. There are some mistakes in copying too. Thus Fritz (with the *ij* restored to *i*) must have had "Nes tawo ira karaliste, ir galibe ir sslowe, ant amsziu." Reinhold says Fritz got this from Johannes Chamberlaynius (1715), who is quoted by Reinhold as having "Nes tawo ira karaliuste ir galiibe (ir macis) ir szlowe (or rather sslowe) ant Amziu. Amen."

According to Reinhold the origin of this doxology is unknown; we have not explained everything till we have discovered the origin of the doxology too.

In the preface to "Chamberlaynius" (1715) it is said that the

Lithuanian and Verulian Lord's Prayer are from W. Lazius, "De migrationibus gentium," where the Livonian but not the Lithuanian occur. Another book quoted for Lettish is "Brandtii Itinerarium," which I found after some trouble, and in it the Lithuanian, Lettish, and other versions of the Lord's Prayer and other formularies as specimens of the languages. Brand's form of the Lord's Prayer will be found between Wilkins and the "Oratio Dominica" of 1700, and that of Chamberlaynius of 1715 in the table. It will further be found to contain a doxology, as does the much earlier Catechism of the Dissidents of 1680.

In this last one may notice *kursay*, for which compare *kursai* in 1715, and I have found in the Bible of 1660 (?) the word *kursey* and elsewhere *kaypo*. (I have not succeeded in finding Kunik's study of the phonetics of this Bible yet, or I could probably give much more numerous parallels than I have collected for myself in scanty leisure.) Compare also W.'s *kursey* and *esi* here as in W. Then we find *danguja*, for which compare the apostrophe and the third clause (as elided) of 1715.

The first petition in 1680 does not differ substantially from the wording of W., "Oratio Dominica πολυγλωττος," and 1861. Yet three of the *a*'s have dots over them, for which we have already quoted Klein.

The next clause agrees with W., "Oratio Dominica," 1700, and 1861 as against the others in having *y* for *i* in *ateyk*, otherwise resembling the later forms. Yet 1680 has a turned comma over each *a* in *karaliste*.

In the third petition note how interestingly 1680 agrees with and differs from earlier and later forms, incidentally using the Bible (1660?) form of *teyp* as correlative to *kayp*. Note also that the order follows Willent and agrees with 1861. The same sort of fact meets us in the next petition. In the next clause are some new appearances of *y*, and, what is of great interest, the word *sawiemus*, which only occurs before in W. In the next clause the absence of *ir* is all that we need notice. In the last petition we have the well-marked type and what may well account for 'giaf bekmus,' namely, 'giafbek mus' with the hard 'f.'

But the best of all is that it is one of the five versions that possess the doxology or *ἐκφώνησις* at the end, which has crept into the Textus receptus out of the liturgies and got inserted in the Scotch Prayer Book of 1637 and the English of 1662, while in the seventeenth century it became the Continental way of distinguishing

Protestants from others, because they alone added it, though the Roman rite, while rigidly and rightly rejecting it at the end of the Lord's Prayer, where it takes up the "Libera nos a malo" and proceeds to expand it (as St. Francis did), actually puts in words to the same effect at the end of the expansion.

Note that the form in 1680 only differs from that in 1861 in lengthening the *a* in *ira* and the other as in *káráliste*, *ánt*, and *ámziú*. The *ir macis* of the other two forms is hard to explain, unless it be because the word it follows applies properly to physical strength only, and is therefore theologically indefensible.

It is interesting to see how "Chamberlaynius" has changed it, and in fact the double *i* (to represent *y* in modern spelling) led one later copyist to print umlaut *ü*!

Further, at pp. 19, 20 of the 1700 edition of Luther's "Kleiner Catechismus" in Lithuanian, we have a version of the Lord's Prayer with doxology. The version of 1547 reprinted by Bezzenberger had none, even in the two versified expansions (pp. 21 sq.), the first of which, however, has "ant amssiu amssia" at the end. At p. 36 of the same book is "ant amssinoiu amssiu." The edition of 1579 is also without a doxology. The 1700 edition has "Nesa tawa yra karalyste. stiprybe. macis ir garbe nūgamziú ikki amziú amžinuju. Amen." Here *nūgamziú* in one word is a misprint for the two words *nūg amziú*. Here "Chamberlaynius" and the Catechism of 1700 agree in the first four words except for slight variants. Afterwards it is hard to identify, for the high emphasis of the one ending contrasts with the simplicity of the other, which recalls the Polish *na wieki* of the Roman Catholic version as printed in the New Testament of 1890.

Certain features of the text of the 1700 edition of the Catechism suggest misprints, as will be seen later.

One may translate this doxology thus: "For thine is the kingdom, the power, the strength, and the glory from everlasting to eternal everlasting. Amen."

The one in 1715 may be translated thus: "For thine is the kingdom and the power (and the strength) and the glory for ever. Amen."

Taking the words in detail we find the following facts: *Nes* and *nesa* are parallel forms of equal value in neo-Lithuanian. *Yra* is a more consistent way of writing the word *gra* with a long *i*, for which *y* stands in the best modern orthography. This applies to *stiprybe*, *karalyste* as well.

1715, it may be noticed, adds *ir* for *and* where the 1700 Catechism has none, and also places *ir macis* in parentheses. *Stiprybe* and *garbe* are used as synonyms of *galybe* and *szlowe*.

The trouble, as aforesaid, arises from the ending. *Ant amžiu*, in fact, exactly corresponds to the Polish *na wieki* (and to the early instance of *ant amssiu* cited above), while the other is more like our own 'for ever and ever' (and the longer form from the early paraphrase cited above).

Nig = modern *nuo*, 'from.'

amžiu = genitive of the word 'eternity.'

ikki is a preposition = 'till.'

amžinuju is the genitive of the adjective 'everlasting,' with the second *amžiu*. So we reach Amen, or Omen, as in Brand, who, it may be noted, has the vocative address to the Deity in this doxology, viz. *Pone*.

Putting aside Adelung-Vater's remarks, it is at least remarkable that the 1700 edition of the Catechism is one of the first with a doxology, and that Chamberlaynius in 1715 also produces one. His indication of a source is also unluckily unsatisfactory. If one could see the "Altorius Duchawnas" and the manuscripts on which the works of Chamberlaynius and Adelung-Vater were based, one could be absolutely sure.

Meantime one may assume as a working hypothesis at present as to the doxology, that the author of '1715' got his form of it from the "Kleiner Catechismus" of 1700 indirectly through a friend, who made such alterations as are not mere copyists' vagaries. Fifteen years is at least ample time. The copyist must, I think, have been influenced by the Dissidents' Catechism of 1680.

As to the main matter, I think it may be taken as proved that the main part of the Lord's Prayer is, directly or indirectly, as we get it in *W.* in 1668, from Luther's "Kleiner Catechismus" in Maźwyd's Lithuanian translation of 1547. There is, I conceive, no doubt that the person responsible for *W.*, as he adopted some of its variants, must have known of the version of 1579 by Willent.

It is certainly not proved, though barely possible, that Chyliński, the self-styled translator of the Bible of 1660 (?), had a hand in the copying or even adapted the Lord's Prayer to the dialect he spoke and wrote.

Finally, as is made clear above, no proof exists in the matter of the doxology, whose history, apart from this question of the Lithuanian version, is not a little obscure. I think it is quite

LATIN (VULGATE, CLEM.).	1547. MAŻWYD.	1579. WILLENT.	1680. DISSIDENTS.	
Pāter noster qui es in cœlis :	Tewe musu kuris essi dąngusu.	Tiewe musu kuris essi Dangui.	Tewe musu kur-say esi dąn-guja ;	T
I. Sanctificetur nomen tuum.	Schweškiese war-das tawa.	Schwenkifi war-das tawa.	Szweškis wårdás tawás.	t
II. Adveniat regnum tuum.	Ateik karaliste tawa.	Ateik karalista tawa.	Ateyk káráliste tawo :	t
III. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cœlo, et in terra.	Buki tawa walia, kaip dągui, taip ir ssemeie.	Buk walia tawa kaip Dangui taip ir szeme.	Buk wala tawo/ kapp dąnguy teyp ir ánt žiames.	t
IV. Panem nostrum substantialiame* da nobis hodie.	Dona musu wysudienu dodi mumus nu.	Dūna musu wissu dienu [<i>variant</i> diena] dūdi mumus sębę diena.	Duonos musu wisu dienu/ duok mums fsiadien.	I
V. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.	Ir atleid mumus musu kaltibes, kaip mes atleidem musu kaltimus.	Ir atleid mumus musu kaltes kaip ir mes atleidem [<i>var.</i> atleidem] musu kaltiemus.	Ir átlaysk mums musu kaltes / kapp ir mes átlaydziame sawiemus kattiemus.	A
VI. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.	Newed mus ingi pagundima.	Ir newed mus ing pagundima.	Newefk musu ing pagundima :	T
VII. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.	Bet gielbek mus nogi wysa pikta. Amen.	Bet gelb mus nūg pikta. Amen.	Bet giałbek mus nuog piktá.	I
[Quia tuum est regnum, potentia et gloria, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.]			Nesang tawo irá káráliste/ ir galibe ir fztowe, ánt ámžiu amžinuju/ Amen.	I
* Or quotidianum, as in Preces Scholæ Paulinæ, from which also the Doxology or <i>ἁπολόγησις</i> is taken.		See under 1700 for Wilkins, 1668.		

	1700. ORATIO DOMINICA. } 1668. WILKINS, No. 35.	1702. J. A. V. BRAND, REYSEN.	1715. CHAMBER- LAIN (CRYPTO- WILKINS).	1861. EV. REF. KATECHISMUS.
aris	Tēwe musu kursey esi danguy,	Tewe musu kuris iffi dangui,	Tewe musu kursai essi danguje,	Tewe musu kurs essi danguy :
is o	Szweskis wardas tawo.	Szwèskis wardas tawo,	Sweskis wardas tawo,	Szwęskis wardas tawo.
np) ste,	Ateyk karaliste tawo.	t' ateit tawo kára- lyfté,	Ateik karaliste tawo,	Ateyk karaliste tawo :
ata) p ir	Buk wala tawo kayp and dangaus teyp ir andziam es.	buk tawo watia (pronuntiatu- waté) kaip danguy, taip ir ant žemes,	Buk wale tawo kaip danguj' taip ir ant zemes,	Buk wala tawo, kaipo Danguy teip ir ant žiamės.
dūk sze	Donos musu wifu dienu dok mumus szedien.	duna musu dienifzka duk mums ir szé (pronuncia. schjén, ut Polonicum è) diēnā,	Duonos musu dienifška duok mums szedien,	Duonos musu wisu dienu duok mums Szindien.
s.	Ir atlayisk mums musu kaltes kayp ir mes atlaydziam sawiemus kaltiemus.	ir atleisk mums musu kaltes, kaip ir mės atleidzem (pron. atléds- jem) fawo kaltiemus,	Ir atleisk mums musu kaltes kaip ir mes atleidzem sawiemus kaltiemus.	Ir atfaisk mums musu kaltes, kaip ir mes atfaiidziame sawiemus kaltiemus.
west run-	Ir newesk musu ing pagundy- nima.	ir né wesk mus ingi pagun- dimá,	Ir ne wesk mus ing pagundima,	O newesk mus ing pagundimá :
mus	Bet gíaf bekmus nog pikto. Amen.	bet faugok mus nug pikto,	Bet gelbek mus nuog wisso pikto.	Bet gialbek mus nuog pikta.
yra macis nūg		nes tawo, Pone, yra karalyste, itiprybe, macis, ir fzlowe, nugi amziū ikki amziū. Omen.	Nes tawo ira karaliiste ir galiibe (ir macis) ir sslowe ant amziu. Amen.	Nesang tawo ira karalyste, ir galibe, ir szłowe, ant amžiu amžinuju. Amen.
	This should also occur for its first appear- ance in 1668 between Wil- lent's version and that of 1680.	The word watia = waté is a clear misprint for watia = wate (an eccentric way of writing ! that is soft by position).		

clear, however, that it has nothing whatever to do with the Bible in Lithuanian.

Still, it is at least interesting to put down the dates of its appearance in order—

- 1680. Catechism of the Dissidents.
- 1700. Luther (M.). Der Kleine Catechismus, Deutsch, Polnisch, Litauisch, etc.
- 1702. Brand (Adam). Reysen, etc.
- 1715. Chamberlaynius (Johannes), i.e. Oratio Dominica in diversas . . . linguas versa . . . Editore J. Chamberlaynio.
- 1861. Katechizmus. Ev. Ref.

Moreover, extremely early materials exist for its ending in a similar connection.

The table in front of you has nine columns, containing respectively the following items:—The Latin form of the Lord's Prayer from the Sermon on the Mount, from the Clementine Vulgate (Bagster), supplemented by the doxology taken from the Preces of St. Paul's School. Next the form from Bezzenberger's reprint of Mażwyd's version of Luther's Catechism, 1547. After this comes the form picked out of Willent's version of the same, 1579. (Willent was, by the way, a cousin of Mażwyd's.) Next comes the Catechism of the Dissidents, printed at Königsberg in 1680. Next came Luther's Catechism of 1700. Next comes Wilkins, 1668, combined with Oratio Dominica *πολυγλωττος* of 1700. Then comes the form from Brand's Reysen of 1702. Next Chamberlaynius in 1715. Next (1861) comes the Catechism of the Evangelic Reformed Church.

POSTSCRIPT.

It has been suggested that as I have written my paper I have plunged too much *in medias res*, and that I should point out the bearing of the problem before us from a literary point of view.

Our data are, then—(1) A tradition of varying content that a Bible translated into Lithuanian and printed before that by Quandt existed, i.e. that of 1662, to which Quandt himself refers and accompanies the reference by selections. (I might add that Quandt refers, also in the preface, to the Catechism of 1547 and two "Old Prussian" ones in 1545, besides Bretke's Bible and a New Testament of 1701.)

(2) That this bore interestingly on the history of England, Poland, Russia, and Sweden.

(3) A vague quotation is given as authority for certain versions of the Lord's Prayer, which are attributed to the Bible of 1662.

(4) One Chyliński came to England to translate or rather revise a translation of the Bible into Lithuanian for the Königsberg Synod, and he is sometimes supposed to have translated the Lord's Prayer.

On these points I may comment as follows: (1) Tradition of varying content is a *newswat* for the following state of affairs: A stoutly believes in the Bible. B denies its existence *in toto*. C says he believes in it for quite different reasons from those of A and for a different date. So also others. As to this Mr. Steele has now proved that such a Bible was (in part at least) produced, and has given us figures whence we can calculate the whole issue. (Mr. Steele's article is on pp. 57-62 of vol. viii, new series of *The Library*, and my deductions at the end of this postscript.) The date is also practically fixed by the same means; but all this belongs to the intricate bibliography of the whole matter, into which I am deliberately not going in the present instance.

(2) It will be found from the dates of Mr. Steele's interesting discoveries (by which, indeed, I was put on the track of the whole question) that the patronage of the British Government for the time being was assured to the enterprise of translation (if it can be called so) within a period roughly corresponding to the years 1658-62. Now this is to say that Charles II. on the Restoration publicly continued a policy of Oliver Cromwell's which the anti-Cromwellian Presbyterians had also continued, a very shrewd stroke of policy on his and their part. (It may be noted that the tacit restoration of Episcopacy and the failure of Ussher's 'new model' nearly coincide with the end of our period.)

To this there is an interesting historical pendant. During the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell the then Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, was ejected by the Parliamentary Commissioners and Warden Wilkins intruded in his place; and the intruder was a splendid success, as witness his patronage of Wren and the brilliant company of what was to be the Royal Society, and the uncompromisingly Royalist Cambridge Professor of Astronomy, who found a haven of rest at Wadham (like many others of his party) in Wilkins's time. Now Wilkins got leave to marry, which was barred by college statute, and about this there is a pretty

legend. Further, non-residence was statute-barred, and he got leave to absent himself while in attendance as chaplain on the late king's exiled brother-in-law, Frederick, of the Palatinate and Bohemia. After Oliver Cromwell's death he was made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, from which, however, he was shortly expelled, at the Restoration. Very soon after this he was made Bishop of Chester, and held that office from 1668 to 1673, when he was succeeded by Pearson, the expositor of the Creed.

The political situation is at least sufficiently mixed here, and Wilkins's interest in Letto-Slavonic studies appears in the paper.

The version of the Bible was commended to English purses because of the devastating effect of the warfare of Muscovy, Poland, and Sweden, which was only ended by the Treaty of Oliva at Dantzic, the Westphalian Treaty of the Northern Powers, in regard to which England and France shared the honourable office of peacemakers.

(3) The quotation for the Lord's Prayer is the theme of the paper. I might add that I have felt, in common with almost all who have dealt with this matter, the hypnotic effect of the method of quotation of the Lord's Prayer. So much was this the case that it was only three or four weeks before the reading of my paper that I looked up Quandt's version and others, on which I have something to say below.

(4) On Chyliński I have said my say in the paper, and I think I have now said enough to show the great general interest of the subject.

In passing to the other versions which I desire to discuss, I am anxious to point out one feature of the table already given, viz., that the seventh clause in 1579 contains the word *nūg*, where the *ū* is a script form whose first appearance is credited by Nesselmann to the middle of the eighteenth century, though we have four examples in this table alone before 1703. (I may perhaps travel still further from the point by quoting Nesselmann's etymologizing over *karálus*, which he derives from Lithuanian *káras*, while he has parallel neighbouring forms like Polish *król*, Magyar *király*, and Russian *королю* before him.)

This same table was described at p. 199, and to this I would add the information applicable to the table on p. 202. The four columns before us are taken from the following three books.

- (1) "Biblia, tai estī Wiffas Szwentas Ráfstas," etc. Karaláuczuje, 1755; 8vo. [A reprint of Quandt's first edition of 1735.]

- (2) "Biblia, tai eſti: Wiſſas Szwentas Ráſztas," etc. [Edited, with additions, by L. J. Rhesa.] Karaláučiuje, 1816; 8vo.

In my table I have combined these two, merely noting the differences in Rhesa's edition.

- (3) "Naujas Iſtatimas Jezaus Christaus Wieszpatic Musu Lietuwiszku Ležuwiu Iſzgulditas par Jozapa Arnulpa Kunigaykszi Giedrayti Wiſkupa Žiemayciu, Ženklinika S. Stanislowo." [For the use of the Roman Catholics. From the Vulgate.] Wilniuje, 1816; 4to.

QUANDT, 1755, AND RHEsa, MATT. VI, 9 sq.	QUANDT, 1755, LUKE II, 2 sq.	GIEDRAÝTIS, R.C. BISHOP OF SAMOGITIA : DIALECT VERSION OF N.T. FROM THE VULGATE, 1816. MATT. VI, 9, ETC. LUKE II, 2 sq.	
<p>Tėwe musū, kurris eſsi danguje. Buk [te eſſie] ſzwen- czamas tawa wardas. Ateik [te ateine] tawo karalyſte. Buk [tenuſſidūde] tawo walle kaip danguje, taip ir ant žėmės. Dūnā muſū dienīškā dūk muſ's ir ſzė dienā. Ir atleisk muſ's muſū kaltes, kaip mes atleīdzam sawo kaltiemus. Ir ne weſk muſ i pagundimā. Bet gėlbėk muſ nū pikto. Nėsa tawo yra karalyſte, ir macis, ir garbė ikki ſmžū. Amen.</p>	<p>Tėwe muſū dangujėſis. Buk [teefie] ſzewnczamastawo wardas. Ateik [te ateine] tawo karalyſte. Buk [tenuſſidūde] tawo walle, ant žėmės, kaip danguj ? Dūk mums muſū dienīškā dūnā wiſſados. Ir atleīfk mums muſū griekus, nės ir mes atleīdzam wiſſiems sawo kaltiems. Ir ne weſk muſ i pagundimā, bet iſgėlbėk muſ nū pikto. (Amen.)</p>	<p>Tewe musu, kursay esi danguose : Szwenskis wardas tawo. Ateyk karaliste tawo. Buk wala tawo kapp danguy teyp ir ant žiamės. Duonos musu wisu dienu duok mums szedienu. Iratlayisk mums kaltes musu, kappo ir mės atlaydziam sawiemis kaltiemis. Ir ne weſk muſ ing pagundinima, bet gialbek muſ nuog pikto. Amen.</p>	<p>Tewe, szwenskis wardas tawo. Ateyk karaliste tawo. Duonos musu wisu dienu, duok mums szedienu. Ir atlayisk mums nusidejmus musu. Nes ir mes atlaydziam kiekwienam mums kaltam. Ir newesk muſ ing pagundinima.</p>
	<p>No doxology. Rhesa has [te ateina] and [te nuſſidūda], but does not differ otherwise.</p>		

As to the table, note that the words in [] are additions imported from notes. Note that Quandt and Rhesa have no doxology in Luke ii, and the Bishop of Samogitia has none at all.

Notice how close the doxology of Quandt-Rhesa is to the form in the Luther Catechism of 1700. As a matter of fact, a comparison of the two versions clause by clause would show how remarkable

is the resemblance throughout. Notice the modern tendency to sprinkle 'and's' about.

Note further that Quandt-Rhesa has *sawo* in the fifth clause, like the Dissidents of 1680.

Note Rhesa's slight difference in col. 2, and compare p. 194 of my paper above for the point as to the spelling *e* or *a*.

What is, however, most remarkable is the fact that the Roman Catholic Bishop, working to counteract Protestantism (Lutheran in the main) and translating from the Vulgate, shows such a striking resemblance in his version of both passages to the form of the Dissidents of 1680, and, in contrast with Quandt (who resembles Brandt with his *sawo kaltiemus*), is like those versions of the fifth clause which read *sawiemus kaltiemus*, viz., Wilkins (1668), the Dissidents (1680), Luther, Catechism III, and "Oratio Dominica πολυγλωττος" (1700), Chamberlaynius (1715), and the Calvinist Catechism of 1861.

It must further be most forcibly remarked that Bishop Giedraýtis agrees in both his versions of the sixth petition with Wilkins and "Oratio Dominica," 1700, in reading *pagundinina*. I except the question of *i* or *y*, on which see above, p. 197, the last paragraph.

As to my remarks on p. 189, I learn that I am ambiguous; the correction by Dr. Neubauer (who was not a Lithuanian scholar) was a bibliographical one.

I may perhaps add that the 1680 Catechism in the copy which I have seen contains a vocabulary made by an early owner in the seventeenth century, I believe, who arranged it in alphabetical order and inserted it at the beginning of the book, with a note that it is in "the Livonian Language." This note he has subsequently corrected by drawing his pencil through "Livonian" and pencilling above it "Lithuanian." I tried to connect this with the Chamberlaynius of 1715, but failed, as the writing is not that of Chamberlain, and Wilkins (who died in 1678) is out of the question. I have not, however, given up the attempt to trace it.

I would suggest, in conclusion, that anyone who desires to check my theories and get an idea of the chronological order of events should adopt the following plan.

Remember that the first table has nine columns and the second has four, and mentally number them one to thirteen. The actual chronological order will then be: 1, 2, 3, 6, 4, $\left. \begin{matrix} 5 \\ 6 \end{matrix} \right\}$, 7, 8, 10 (11), 12 (13), 9. Of course, had I had all these forms before me at once,

I should have set the thing out in proper order; as it is, I got at them in three instalments.

I think it safe to affirm that the set form of the Lord's Prayer in Lithuanian was set down and thus permanently established in the sixteenth century in the same way that the English version (of far greater antiquity) was fixed by the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Prayer Book and Primer before that. It is very possible that the form is older than 1547, as the Church in far pre-Reformation days certainly did ordain the teaching of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed in the vulgar tongue. This is, of course, the matter of the Primer.

Mr. Steele's figures: 42 reams printed, 158 unprinted. A ream has 516 sheets, i.e. 42×516 sheets were printed = 21,672. pp. 1-176 (= to Joshua xv, 63) = 11 sheets. The longest known copy goes to Psalm xl (p. 416). 416 pp. = 26 sheets. The proportion between the two parts of the Bible concerned is as 11 sheets to 26. The fullest form took 26 sheets, and therefore at least $\frac{21672}{26}$ copies were printed and returned to the Synod, i.e. *c.* 833-4 copies. Only three copies are known, and the longest of these does not exceed 26 sheets. It is obvious that the printing was broken off in the middle; for the reason see Mr. Steele's article.

March 28 - April 1, 1909.

VIII.—ANGLO-ROMANCE ETYMOLOGIES. By

Professor ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A.

Anlace.—The N.E.D. offers no conjecture for this word, “not known in any continental language,” older forms *a(u)nlaz*, *anelas*. Two fairly plausible etymologies are noted by Du Cange: (1) “ab *annulo* sed *anello*, quo ea sica vel ejusdem capulus insertus gestabatur”; (2) “telum adlaterale, because, Germanis *laz* olim *latus* significabat.” The first is supported by no evidence. The word *laz*, in the second, is Provençal, and could hardly have been current English as early as Matthew Paris, though the following lines from the “Passion du Christ” (tenth century) make the etymology rather tempting:—

“Sanct pedre sols veniir lo uol
estrais lo fer que *allaz* og.”

(Förster and Koschwitz, p. 65.)

Professor Skeat (C.T. Prol., l. 357) offers as a guess *an*, *on*, and *las*, *lace*, and compares l. 392, “a daggere hanging on a *laas* hadde he.” But here *on a laas* is, I think, suggested by the noun *anlas*, by the same instinct of folk-etymology which produced the form *anlace*. O.F. *laz* is used, in matters of armoury, only of the helmet laces (Rol., 3334 and elsewhere). The earliest recorded occurrence of *anlace* is in Matthew Paris (five times), “genus cultelli quod vulgariter *anelacius* dicitur.” This *anelacius* is, I suggest, a metathetic form of *alenacius* (cf. It. *alenare*, Prov. *alenar*, F. *haleiner* from **alenare* for *anelare*, Körting, 431). Du Cange, s.v. *cultellus*, has “*cultellus allenalis*, pugiunculus, Gall. *stilet*. V.s. *allenalis*. *Allenalis*, cultellus allenalis, pugiunculus, sica ad instar subulæ, nostris olim *alenas*. V.s. *alenacia*. Statut. arm. 1351, ex Tabul. Massil. . . . nullus . . . portet in dicta civitate . . . cultellos *allenales*, subpœna . . . *Alenacia*, gallice *alennes*, subula, nostris *alene* olim *alennier*, pro theca subulæ” (1407); . . . un *alennier* à mettre le *alenne*. *Alenas*, pugiunculus, gall. Petit poignard, poinçon, apud Guill. Guyart (1305). Et sacha par grant ataigne un *alenas* d’une gayne;

and (1308) un *alenas* en sa main Cherche des armeures l'estre, Pour lui ocire et afiner," evidently a *miséricorde* or dagger of mercy. Du Cange also refers to Raynouard, s.v. *alena*, who gives examples and mentions Sp. *alesna*. Godefroy gives "*alenaz*, *alesnaz*, *aleinas*, petit poignard, poinçon," with examples from Partonope de Blois (twelfth century?), Guiart (thirteenth century), and "*alenacia*, *aleinas*" (Gloss. rom.-lat. du 15^e siècle). *Alenas* is formed from *alène*, *awl* (v. Godef. Comp., s.v. *alesne*), as *coutelas* from O.F. *coutel*. For the double use of the word (weapon and tool), cf. E. *awl* (v. examples in N.E.D., 1297, 1387), *bodkin*, F. *poinçon* (v. Godef. Comp.), O.F. *stilet*. For the anterior history of *alène* and its Romance cognates, v. Körting (*alesna*), Kluge (*Ahle*), N.E.D. (*awl*). *Alesna* is itself a metathetic form (O.H.G. *alansa*), and, by another curious metathesis, has given It. *lesina*, whence F. *lésine* (Diez, p. 192). The E. *anelas* for *alenas* may perhaps be due to some fancied connection with O.F. *anel*, ring.

Bawd.—The N.E.D. considers it possible that this is short for *bawdstrot*, which occurs occasionally in M.E., and is a variant for *bawde* in one passage in Piers Plowman. This would represent O.F. **baldestrot*, only found as *baudetrot*, pronuba (Godefroy), occurring only once, in a glossary. *Bawdstrot* is explained, correctly I believe, as an E. compound by the editor of the Cath. Angl.; *bawd's trot* means an old woman acting as messenger. Minsheu, in my opinion rightly, regards *bawd* as an aphetic form of *ribaud*,¹ also *rebaud* in M.E., which is equally common in M.E., and which, if not applied in the exact technical sense which *bawd* has acquired, is, in its masculine and feminine form, especially used for *adulter*, *mæchus*, etc., both in O.F. and M.E. Holyoak even gives "*ribaud*, leno" (no other gloss); so also Gouldman. See also N.E.D. s.v. *ribald*, 1b. The aphæresis of the first syllable is fairly common in French loan-words in M.E., e.g. *cover* for *recover*, *creaunt* for *recreant*, and, later, *cital* for *recital* (Shak.). This derivation would also explain *bawdy* (*ribaudie*), *bawdry* (*ribaudrie*), which, in the sense of obscene behaviour or conversation, cannot very well be accounted for by *bawd*, but are obviously equivalent to "*ribauldry*, lascivia, obscœnitas, impudicitia, Venus" (Gouldman). For a converse transition of meaning cf. E. *ruffian* from It. *ruffiano*, a bawd.

Bawker.—The only quotation in the N.E.D. is from Greene's

¹ Skinner derives *ribaud* from *baud*, "a re intensivo et Gal. *baud*, *audax*, q.d. valde *audax* (i.e.) *impudens*."

"Cony-Catching" (1592): "The *bawkers*, for so the common hunters of the alley are tearmed, come to bowle, as though rather they did it for sport than gaines." Greene uses the word several times in speaking of the sharpers who frequented bowling alleys and worked with confederates to induce greenhorns to bet on the game. I suggest that it is an aphetic form of F. *embaucheur*, an enticer, recruiter, crimp. Godefroy gives the Picard form *embaquier* (*embaucher*). Cf. *vie* from *envie*, *gin* from *engin*, *cumber* from *encumber*, etc.

Blotch.—It is curious that *blotch*, generally felt as more or less equivalent to *blot*, is apparently a more recent word by about two centuries, its earliest record in the N.E.D. being 1604. The N.E.D. suggests that it may be a variant of *blot* influenced by *botch* (F. *bosse*), 'swelling or tumour.' Its oldest meaning is 'pustule, swelling, tumour,' while its later uses point to association with *blot*. The date of its appearance is rather against its being an English formation, and makes it possible that it is a loan-word. I suggest that it may possibly be the F. *beloce*, 'sloe, bullace,' of which Littré says: "Ce mot, confiné aujourd'hui dans la Normandie, était autrefois du langage commun." Roquefort has "*bloce, bloche, prunes qui ne se mangent que lorsqu'elles sont très molles.*" Duméril gives the form *bloche* as Norman. Moisy, s.v. *beloce*, says: "On prononce *bloche*." There is no doubt that O.F. *beloce* was used metaphorically in at least three senses—(1) object of no value (cf. *alise*), (2) blow, and also swelling resulting from it, (3) eye.

(1) "Pour l'amour sa feme ne donne une *beloce*" (Jean de Meung). Here *beloce* is used like *alise* in O.F.

(2) "Tien, vilain, tien ceste *beloce*" (Mart. de S. Estienne, 15th century). Here it rimes with *bosse*.

"*Blosse*, tumeur qui se forme sur le front lorsqu'on le heurte" (Roquefort).

(3) "*Blosses, yeux*" (Orne). Duméril suggests Germ. *blicken*, but it is obviously the word *beloce* used like its synonym *prunelle*; cf. use of *sloe* and *bullace* in English.

As *blotch* appears to have originally meant a black pustule, it is possible that it may be taken from the name of a fruit the colour and shape of which it suggested. For somewhat similar processes cf. *carbuncle* and *strawberry-mark*.

Bludgeon.—The N.E.D. does not propose a definite etymology for this word—"a short stout stick or club, with one end loaded or thicker and heavier than the other, used as a weapon." A word

blogon is quoted by Dr. Whitley Stokes from the Cornish drama "Origo Mundi" (fourteenth century), but its relation to the English word is uncertain. The possibility of its being a 'cant' word derived from *blood* is mentioned. The late occurrence (Bailey, 1730) and form of the word both suggest a foreign origin. The essential meaning being that of 'knob-stick,' I propose to derive it from O.F. *bouge*, *boujon*, going back to *boule* < *bŭlla* (cf. *boulon*). Roquefort gives the forms *bougeon*, *bougon*, *boujon*, *bouyon*, *bouzon*, all meaning, along with other significations, a cross-bow bolt with a large head. Diez (s.v. *bolzone*) considers derivation of It. *bolzone*, O.F. *bouzon*, Pr. *bosso* from *bŭlla* possible without invoking Germ. *Bolzen*, the forms *bulcio*, *bultio* occurring in O.G. glossaries. Kluge (s.v. *Bolzen*) regards M.L. *bultionem* as of Germanic origin. O.F. *boujon* and its very* numerous variants probably belong to *bŭlla*, since O.F. *boujon* is used technically in connection with the cloth trade ("espèce d'aune de fer servant à mesurer les laines" (Godefroy), "statut de draperie" (Roquefort), "*boujonneur*, maitre, garde ou juré de la draperie" (Roquefort)), while modern F. has *bouille* < Sp. *bolla* < *bulla* in a similar connection: "Petit sceau de plomb que mettaient aux pièces d'étoffe, de drap les jurés du métier, pour en certifier la qualité, l'aunage, etc., ou les commis des bureaux des fermes, pour marquer qu'elles avaient été déclarées" (D.G.). A number of examples for *boujon* used as a standard in the cloth trade are given by Godefroy. Apart from this technical meaning the uses of *boujon* fall into two groups: (1) cross-bow bolt with a large blunt head, (2) bolt or rung furnished with a head (cf. modern *boulon*). Cotgrave has "*bougeon*, a bolt or arrow with a great head." Borel says "*bougeon*, sagette qui a une teste. D'autres l'appellent un *materas*." It is also in Corneille (ed. 1731) "*bougeon*, vieux mot, flèche qui a une tête." Both *bouge* and *boujon* (cf. *bât*, *bâton*, *bourde*, *bourdon*) appear to have meant a club in O.F.: "Et lors le dit Maingret, qui tenoit un *bouge*, s'efforça d'en frapper le dit suppliant" (Godefroy gives as meaning *hache d'armes* or *grande serpe*, but it may equally well mean *club*), "*Glavyes*, *beghons*, *maches*" (Godefroy, 1394). According to Godefroy it also occurs in the N.E. dialects in various technical senses, including *traverse de chaise*, *d'échelle*. Sigart gives the same meanings—*traverse ronde de chaise*, *de ridelle*, *boujon d'eskièle*, *échelon*. I suggest that *bludgeon* is this word (altered under the influence of *blood* or *blow*?). That such an intrusion of *l* is possible is shown by the M.E. *blōding* (S. & B.), seventeenth century *blouding* from F. *boudin* (Holyoak, Gouldman), *blouding*,

boudin (Sherwood), *blouiding* or *bloud-pudding* (Littleton). It may be noted that O.F. has three words for a heavy cross-bow bolt with a head intended for smashing rather than piercing, viz., *boujon*, *garrot*, *materas*, and that all three have also the sense of *cudgel*. The D.G. quotes *cent coups de garrot* from Furetière, and Duméril has "*matrasser*, *assommer*, *rouer de coups*. Il vient sans doute du vieux français *matras*, sorte de dard à grosse tête qui ne perçait pas." The M.E. *bougouns*, only recorded once (Stratmann & Bradley), may quite well be a beating instrument.

Brack.—The N.E.D. gives only one reference for the use of *brack* in Elizabethan nautical language, and suggests for meaning and derivation only a possible connection with O.F. *brague*, *braque*, breeching of a gun, or with E. *bracket*, cheeks of a gun carriage. The passage occurs on p. 305 of the "Hawkins Voyages" (Hakluyt, 1878 edition), in connection with hand-to-hand fighting at sea and the successive means of defence of a ship which has been boarded by the enemy. "For if our enemy had come to board with us, our close fights were such, as we were secure, and they open unto us. And what with our cubridge¹ heads, one answering the other, our hatches upon bolts, our *brackes* in our deckes and gunner room, it was impossible to take us as long as any competent number of men had remained." I suggest that a *brack* was a light piece of artillery placed between decks for use in the last struggle when the defenders were driven below. This is no doubt Sp. *barraco*, "une sorte d'artillerie dont l'on use à la guerre" (Oudin), "a tame boar, also a small kind of canon" (Stevens). For the contraction cf. the common form *crack* for *carrack* (Sp. *carraca*, F. *carraque*, etc.). The Sp. word may be related to *barraca*, "logette ou cahulette de soldats, cabane, etc." (Oudin), if the *barraco* was essentially a gun for indoor defence. It seems possible that E. *brack* may have given F. *braquer*, to aim a gun (first recorded for 1564 in D.G.), for which Diez (p. 532) suggested O.N. *brāka*, to break, an etymology rejected by the D.G., while Körting puts it under Germ. *brakko*, a hunting dog.

Branks.—This word, almost invariably used in the plural, was applied to an instrument used in Scotland and the North of England for punishing scolding women and, occasionally, other culprits. It was also used for a bridle. This second sense is no doubt the older. Jamieson says, "Instead of leather, it has on each side a *piece of wood* joined to a halter, to which a bit is sometimes

¹ See *Cobridge-head*.

added." He quotes from Colvil's *Mock Poem* (1681), "Why sodds for saddle and *branks* for bridle?" His description of the *branks* used as an instrument of punishment shows that it was an iron bit which acted as a painful gag. The *branks* are mentioned in Brand's "Popular Antiquities" (ed. Ellis, Lond., 1813), vol. ii, p. 445, with a quotation from Plott's "History of Staffordshire" with reference to their use at Newcastle-under-Lyme and Walsall—"such a Bridle for the Tongue as not only quite deprives them of speech . . . fastened with a padlock behind." In Andrews' "Old Time Punishments" (Hull, 1890) there are seventeen illustrations of the *branks*, many of which are somewhat elaborate, but the quoted description of an eye-witness of a late use of the instrument shows that the essential part was the *bit*—"The bridle was fixed in their mouths and tied at the back of their heads with gay ribbons." Jamieson suggests as etymologies Gael. *brancas*, halter, and Du. *pranghe*, *muyl-pranghe*, confibula, etc. (Kilian).

The N.E.D. agrees with Jamieson in taking 'bridle' as the older meaning and assigns the word to Scotland (sixteenth century). It regards the singular *brank* as exceptional and notices the use of *a branks* (cf. a bellows). No settled etymology is given, but the following conjectures are noted:—M.E. *bernak*, brake; Germ. *Pranger*; Du. *prang*, fetter.

Wright localizes the word (obs.) in Scotland, Ireland, and the northern counties of England with both meanings, giving as etymology Du. *prange*, M.L.G. *prange*. According to Macbain, quoted in Wright, the Gael. *brang*, halter, is a loan-word from Eng.

There is also a verb *to brank*, both transitive and intransitive. Jamieson gives four meanings: (1) to bridle, to restrain; (2) to raise and toss the head, as spurning the bridle (applied to horses); (3) to bridle up oneself (of women); (4) to prance, to caper. The N.E.D. gives an example for meaning (1) from 1574, and for (2-4), which are practically identical, from *c.* 1400 (*Morte Arthur*) and 1513 (Douglas). Wright derives the latter meaning from M.H.G. *brangen* (*prangen*).

It is quite obvious, from a comparison with *bridle*, that we have to do with one word throughout—

- (a) *branks*, piece of harness; *bridle*, piece of harness;
- (b) *branks*, gag; *bridle*¹ = branks (N.E.D.);
- (c) *brank*, to restrain; *bridle*, to restrain;
- (d) *brank*, to toss the head; *bridle*, to toss the head;

¹ "A Brydle for a curste queane" (1623).

and that the initial meaning is connected with a horse's bit, the *branks* being originally the two pieces of wood by means of which a rough bridle was improvised. This excludes both *Pranger* and *prangen*.

I believe that *branks* is the same word as *branch*, a word used in a great number of expressions, usually of French origin (N.E.D., s.v. *branch*, iv, 11), to indicate objects arranged in pairs, and derived from L. *branca*, which Diez regards, owing to its presence in all the Romance languages, including Roumanian, as belonging to the Roman popular language—"Zusammenhang desselben mit dem altgael. *brae*, corn. *brech* (*e* aus *a*), kymr. *breich* mit ausgefallenem *n* muss man anerkennen und vielleicht vergegenwärtigt das bret. *brank* noch die reinere form" (p. 63). The form *branque* is normal in Normandy (Moisy) and in Wallon (Sigart).

The almost invariably plural form *branks* suggests a plural as origin. In Italian and French such a use of *branca* and *branche* is very common, e.g., "*branca*, Quelle parti degli strumenti da presa, che servono a stringere, et afferrare" (Costa & Cardinali, "Dizionario della lingua Italiana," Bologna, 1819); and, in French, "les *branches* d'un compas, d'une lunette, d'une épée, etc." The origin of *branks* appears in "Les *branches* de la bride, les deux pièces de fer, d'acier que relie le mors" (D.G.).

Corneille has the following definition: "On appelle en terme de Manège *Branches* de la bride, deux pièces de fer courbées, qui dans l'intervalle de l'une à l'autre, portent l'embouchure, les chaînettes et la gourmette. Ces pièces de fer répondent d'un côté à la tête, et de l'autre aux rênes, et servent à tenir la tête du cheval sujette. On dit *Branche* hardie, en parlant de celle qui ramène. On forgeoit autrefois une *branche* pour relever, qu'on appelloit *Branche* flaque. Elle n'est plus en usage." Richelet has a shorter definition to the same effect. Cramer has "*branches* de bride, de mords, d'embouchure, Die Stangen an einem Gebiss, oder Mundstück." Oudin has "*Branche* de bride, Cama de freno." Cotgrave gives, as one of the meanings of *branche*, "the cheek of a bit." The O.F. dictionaries do not record it, as neither form nor meaning is obsolete.

It is clear that the original meaning of *branks*, from which the other meanings are easily deduced by the parallel process in bridle, corresponds pretty closely with that of *branches* de bride. The *branches* are the outward and visible sign of the bit which

constrains or reduces to silence, and would naturally be shaken and made to jingle by the tossing of the head. This is confirmed by the fact that *E. branches* is used in the same technical sense. The N.E.D. (s.v. *branch*, iv, 11) has, "in Harness-making, a pair of parallel levers passing through the ends of a curb-bit, and provided with rings or loops for the curb-chain, etc.," Ex. (1884) "The *branches* should be long or short, as the rider wishes a *mild or a severe bit*" (the italics are mine). Cotgrave has "*gardes d'un canon*, the *branches* of a canon-bit" (see D.G. *canon du mors*). The description of *branks*, bridle, in Brockett's Glossary seems to indicate that the *branks* were the two pieces of wood which converted a rope into an extempore bridle.

Cobridge-head.—The N.E.D. says "understood to have been bulkheads across the fore and after parts of the ship." This is the editor's note in the "Hawkins Voyages" (Hakluyt, 1878). Hawkins also uses the form *cubridge*. The N.E.D. also quotes Kingsley ("Westward Ho!"), who took this and other words from the "Hawkins Voyages." The form *cobridge* occurs on p. 293, where Hawkins is discussing the use of artillery in defending a ship already boarded (v. *brack*): "Againe, all that which hath beene spoken of the danger of the artillery in bourding, it is not to be wrested nor interpreted, to cut off utterly the use of all artillery after bourding, but rather I hold nothing more convenient in shippes of warre, than fowlers and great bases in the cage workes, and murderers in the *cobridge heads*." The double form *cobridge*, *cubridge* shows clearly that the word is a derivative of Sp. *cobrir*, *cubrir*, to cover, protect. It is possibly "*cobija*, une petite mante, ou couverture courte, que portent les servantes et villageoises" (Oudin); cf. military use of F. *mantelet*.¹ Diez (p. 441) derives *cobija* from *cooperculum* (It. *coperchio*) with euphonic loss of *r*. Thus it would represent an older **cobrija*. It is not impossible that *cobridge-head* is simply nautical etymology for the past participle *cob(r)ijado* (due to *bulk-head*), for the Elizabethan seamen distorted foreign words in a curious way. Even the pedantic Sir Richard Hawkins calls the Patagonians the Pentagones (p. 188). Or *cobridge* may be, by metathesis of *r*, from "*cobertijo*,² un couvert, une loge, ou logette, une galerie, l'avance et saillie d'un toict"

¹ *Mantell* was used in a somewhat similar sense in the fifteenth century; see "Accounts and Inventories of Henry VII," ed. Oppenheim, p. 91 (Navy Records Society, 1896).

² Stevens gives "*cobertizo*, a pentice; sometimes taken for a cover'd passage or gallery."

(Oudin). For a similar corruption cf. *cartridge* from *cartouche*. In any case its connection with *cobrir* is evident. "*Cubbridge-head*; is the same as a bulk-head; only that this word is us'd of the bulk-head of the fore-castle and the half-deck" (Sea Dictionary, 1708).

Cockney.—The N.E.D. adopts as the origin of this much discussed word the compound *coken-ey*, 'cock's egg,' meaning first of all a delicacy, such as an egg of unusual form, etc., and then a mother's darling, spoiled child, effeminate person, etc. The modern developments of the meaning can be neglected so far as the etymology of the word is concerned. This derivation (see N.E.D. for parallels) seems to satisfy the use of the word in the well-known and difficult passage in "*Piers Plowman*" (vi, 287), which is its earliest recorded occurrence. It is discussed at length (*Academy*, May 10, 1890) by the editor of the N.E.D. I am inclined to regard *cokeney*, applied to a person, as a separate word, and I suggest that it is the F. *acoquiné*,¹ the oldest meaning of which is roughly 'spoiled,' 'self-indulgent.'

The N.E.D. treats *cockney* under the following heads: (1) 'cock's egg,' with four quotations, including the passage from "*Piers Plowman*"; (2) 'a child that sucketh long,' 'a nestle-cock,' 'a mother's darling,' 'a cockered child, pet, minion,' 'a child tenderly brought up,' hence 'a squeamish or effeminate fellow,' 'a milksop'; (3) 'a townsman'; (4) 'a Londoner.'

It is the group of meanings under (2) which I propose to connect with O.F. *acoquiné*. The examples given under this head in the N.E.D. are numerous from the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and show that *cockney* was in common use from c. 1350 to c. 1650, if not later, in the sense of 'milksop.' If the derivation I suggest is correct, the first meaning would have been 'a self-indulgent frequenter of the kitchen, unfit for manly doings,' and the word would have been later applied, half endearingly, to exigent sucklings. Thus the semantic development would be the converse of that of 'milksop.'

The F. *acoquiné* is used colloquially, especially in the east of France, and generally in the expression "*acoquiné au coin du feu*" in the sense of 'self-indulgent.' The following are some of the definitions which I have collected:—

Nineteenth Century.

D.G. *acoquiner*. Famil. et généralt. en mauvaise part. Attacher par l'habitude. "S'acoquiner au coin du feu."

¹ This was suggested by Henshaw; v. Skinner.

Eighteenth Century.

Furetière (1727). *Accoquiner* ou *acoquiner*, se plaire, s'attacher à une vie coquine, faineante et libertine; s'amuser, s'accoutumer à quelque chose d'indigne. "Ce mot vient de *coquus*, parceque les faineans se plaisent fort à la cuisine."

Seventeenth Century.

Oudin (1660). *Accoquiner*, amansar, domar. *S'accoquiner*, ser holgaçan, picarear.

Cotgrave (1611). *Accoquiné*, made tame, inward, familiar; also growne as lazie, sloathful, idle, as a begger.

Nicot (1606). "*Accoquiner* est rendre quelqu'un ou quelque beste si privée en sa hantise, qu'elle ne veuille estre nulle part ailleurs."

The following literary examples occur:—

Sixteenth Century.

1. La Noue. "Ils se souillent en se pensant delecter, et *s'acoquinans* aux escrits de mensonge, ils desdaignent ceuz où reluit la vérité."

2. Montaigne, ii, 37. "Tant les hommes sont *accoquinés* à leur estre misérable." iii, 13. "Six mois après, vous raurez si bien *accoquiné* votre estomach que . . ." These are translated by Florio: "So much are men *enured* in their miserable estate. Six months after you shall finde your stomache so *enured* unto it that . . ." Cotton (1685-6) has *enslaved* in the first case and *inured* in the second.

Seventeenth Century.

3. Malherbe. "Locataires *acoquinés* en une maison."

4. "Quand on s'est une fois *accoquiné* à faire des vers, l'on ne peut plus s'appliquer à autre chose" (? quoted by Furetière from Œuvres mêlées).

5. Molière. "Mon Dieu, qu'à tes appas je suis *acoquiné*" (Dép. Am., iv, 4). "Nous les verriens (les femmes) nous courir sans tous ces respects et ces soumissions où les hommes les *acoquinent*" (Princ. d'El., iii, 2).

6. Regnard. "On *s'acoquine* à servir ces gredins-là, je ne sais pourquoi" (Sérén. 9).

Eighteenth Century.

7. Mme. de Caylus. "Je ne sais ce que l'académie dira du mot *acoquinée*, mais j'en sens, moi, toute l'énergie avec vous" (Lett. 1714).

This last example is important as appearing to indicate that the word was a provincialism and unfamiliar to Parisian society. Of the other examples, three (4-6) are put into the mouths of comic valets, and the others are used by writers noted for their homely and vigorous style (La Noue, Montaigne, Malherbe). It is curious that the word does not seem to occur in Rabelais. The meaning of *acoquiner* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to be 'to spoil by indulgence, to humour, to cocker,' with something of the meaning both of *accagnarder* and *apprivoiser*,¹ while the reflexive form is used of acquiring self-indulgent habits and becoming slothful and exigent. Palsgrave has an example for each use. "I accustome one with wylde condicions. *Je acoquaine*. I accustome him for the bent of my bowe. *Je l'acoquaine à ma mode*" (p. 417). "I come to a mans place, onlooked for, onbydden, onwelcome, as a malapert felowe dothe. *J'accoquine*. If you use to come to mennes houses on this fashion unbydden, other men will call you a bolde begger, or a dysour. Si vous vous acoustumez dainsi *accoquiner*, les gens vous tiendront pour ung belistre deshonté, ou pour ung diseur" (p. 504). It is noteworthy that Palsgrave does not use the reflexive form and that he is apparently influenced by O.F. *coquiner*, to beg. Similarly, in later dictionaries compiled by foreigners, meanings are given which are obviously suggested by the later meaning of *coquin* (in the development from 'beggar' to 'rogue').

A comparison of the foregoing examples with the meaning which *cockney* had in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to show that the equation *cockney* = *acoquiné* is plausible so far as sense is concerned. While the dictionaries always give the double meaning of 'spoilt baby' and 'self-indulgent loafer,' it is only the latter which is illustrated by the literary examples available. See N.E.D.

From the phonetic point of view there are two difficulties, viz. the loss of initial *a-* and the unusual development of O.F. *é-* > M.E. *-ay, -ey* (see *Academy*, May 10, 1890, for the latter). The loss of initial *a-* is of course normal in the case of M.E. loanwords from O.F., but the two forms generally continue to exist for some time, and the form with *a-* is sometimes the survivor, e.g., *apprentice, prentice; annoy, noy; avangard, vanguard*. But in many cases only

¹ Roquefort (s.v. *adomestiquer*) has "C'est ainsi que de *coquina*, on a fait *s'accoquiner*."

aphetic forms are recorded (Behrens,¹ p. 980). As the loss of *a-* is a colloquial feature, I suggest that in this case the aphetic form came into existence before the word was ever written.

I propose to explain the termination in this way. The dialects of the East regularly develop L. *-atum*, *-atem* (and, in general, free tonic *a*) into *-ei(t)* instead of the *é(t)* of the Ile-de-France. Brunot (i, 310-19) describes this as a regular feature of Wallon, Lorrain, Comtois, and Bourguignon, and as occurring also in Champenois. A page of an O.F. text from either of these regions will usually furnish a dozen examples of past participles in *-ei(t)* or of forms like *queil* for *quel*, *citei(t)* for *cité(t)*, etc. Littré remarks that even in modern F. the regular Burgundian pronunciation is *ecodquignai*. The theory which I put forward is that the special form of M.E. *cokeney* is due to the Burgundian pronunciation. There are several examples of M.E. *-eye*, *-ey* from the fem. *-ée*, e.g. *valley*, *contreie*, etc. (see Behrens, p. 969). I believe that it is a mere accident that only feminines are thus recorded, since the *-e* mute could hardly have influenced the development of the tonic vowel. The probable explanation is that Eastern forms in *-ei*, *-eie*, not felt as participles, survived, while those felt as participles were levelled to the ordinary Anglo-French form. A parallel to *cockney* is *attorney*, for which the regular *aturne* appears to be recorded once only (1303), while we have *attorney* (1347 and Lydgate), *atturneye* (Prompt. Parv.) representing, I believe, O.F. *atornei* (Godefroy, 1311, Roquefort). Behrens also gives *priveye*, which probably represents both m. and f. forms. See also Behrens (p. 962) on the probable independent development of such forms in E.

To cozen.—The N.E.D. is inclined to accept the derivation from F: *cousiner*, "to act as cousin or kinsman, to sponge upon, beguile." This dates from Minsheu. The N.E.D. points out, however, that, in the early spelling, *-in* predominates in the sense of 'kinsman,' and *-en*, *-on* in *cozen*. The derivation from It. *cozzonare*, "to play the horse-breaker or courser . . . also to play the craftie knave, . . . ; *cozzone*, a horse-breaker, a horse-courser, also a craftie knave" (Florio), is regarded as unsupported by sufficient evidence (see also Torriano). I think, however, that the semantic arguments in favour of the It. origin are overwhelming.

The oldest meaning of *cozen* is not "to sponge like a needy kinsman," but simply 'to cheat, swindle.' The earliest record of

¹ In Kluge, "Geschichte der englischen Sprache."

the word is in Awdeley (1561), where "*cousoners*¹ and shifters" is used to include "a curtesy man, a cheatour or fingerer, and a ring-faller," i.e. three recognized types of professional swindlers. In the "Grounde-worke of couny-catching" (1592) *coossen* occurs five times in a few pages: (1) "the horrible *coossenings* of all these loose varlots"; (2) "playing their *coossenings* in their kinde"; (3) "*coossening* devises and devilish deceites"; (4) "his *cosening* walks" (i.e. expeditions); (5) "seeing himself so *coossened*." Nashe (†1600) uses the word several times, e.g.: "all *coosonages*, all cunning drifts overgilded with outward holiness" ("Pierce Penilesse"); "thou common *coosener* of curteous readers" ("Foure Letters Confuted"); "a number of my creditors that I *coossed*" ("Unfortunate Traveller"); "*coosning* fantasies" ("Summers Last Will and Testament"); "such notorious *cosonage* and villany" ("Christs Teares over Jerusalem"); "under vilany I comprehend murder, treason, theft, *cousnage*, cut-throat coyetise, and such like" ("Pierce Penilesse"); "the unskilfuller *cousning* kind of alchumists" ("Terrors of the Night"). These examples, which could be multiplied indefinitely from the Elizabethans (e.g., Greene, Gabriel Harvey, Dekker, etc.), show conclusively (a) that the 'needy kinsman' idea is altogether absent, (b) that *to cozen* is to swindle and deceive, (c) that the *-in* forms are practically absent in the earliest occurrences of the word.

Italy had, rightly or wrongly, in the sixteenth century, the reputation of being the nursery of rogues, and supplied a considerable number of unsavoury words to English, either directly (*bona-roba*, *bravo*, etc.) or through French (*assassin*, *courtezan*, *polltroon*, etc.). The words "Italian, Italionate, Italionism" are commonly expressive, in Nashe and his contemporaries, of cruelty or cunning. Italy was the happy hunting-ground of English rogues and adventurers. All men of birth and learning included Italy in the grand tour, and probably few escaped being swindled by an Italian *cozzone*.

That *cozen* and *cousin* were confused later is very probable, but this confusion does not appear to have penetrated into the earlier dictionaries. Holyoak, Gouldman, Littleton, all give separate entries for *coosen*, to deceive, and *coosin*, a kinsman, and do not suggest any possible connection. Cooper does not appear to use the word at all (in 1575 it was quite a neologism), but gives

¹ As far as I can judge, the *-on* spelling predominates largely in the earliest instances of the word.

"deceiver, beguiler, cheat, etc.," for the Latin words which are glosses for *coosener* in Holyoak, Gouldman, Littleton. Hexham gives *bedrieger* for *coosener*, *bedriegen* for *coosen*, and, for a *coosen*, refers to *kindred* (so also Holyoak).

Most convincing of all, Cotgrave does not use the word in defining *cousiner*, "to clayme kindred for advantage, or particular ends; as he who, to save charges in travelling, goes from house to house, as cousin to the owner of everie one"; while for *maquignon* (a horse-dealer) he gives "a hucster, broker, horse-scourser, *cousening* marchand." From L. *mango* to American *horse-scapper*, the words used in most European languages for a 'horse-dealer' have the secondary sense of swindler or worse.¹ Veneroni (1714) has "*cozzone*, piqueur de chevaux, etc., *cozzone* de matrimonie, . . . courtier ou maquignon de chair humaine, . . . mango." Junius (1611) gives two entries for *mango*: (1) de artificibus non liberalibus; (2) de infamibus; (1) *mango equorum*, ein Rosstäuscher, een Rosstuyscher, maquignon, etc. Grimm gives a large number of examples for *Rosstäuscher* (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) almost invariably used with the second part identified with *täuschen*, to deceive, rather than *tauschen*, to exchange. Kilian gives "*peerdtuyscher*, *rostuyscher*, hippoplanus, hippocomus, curator equorum." The disparaging sense and subsidiary meanings of *maquignon* are well known. Oudin renders it by "corredor, ganadero, alcahuete." See also R. Estienne (1538) s.v. *mango*. Körting, following Diez, derives *cozzone* from *coctio* for *cocio*, 'a pedlar or huckster' (Gouldman), and gives the cognates Pr. *cussó-s*, O.F. *cosson*, Cat. *cussó*.

The verb *cousiner*, to sponge, is given by Littré, but no authority is quoted. Furetière has "*cousiner*, s'appeler cousin; aller visiter comme cousin, ou ami. Un tel *cousine* avec un tel. Cet hobereau ne vit que d'aller *cousiner* çà et là. Il n'y a guères que les provinciaux qui se *cousinent*. Ce terme de familiarité n'est point en usage à la cour." In the second example, the only one that suggests any connection with *cozen*, the verb is, as in Cotgrave, intransitive, while *cozen* is almost always transitive.

Dekker ("The Belman of London," 1608), who plagiariized

¹ "The bawds, pettie bawds, and panders are the horse-courers that bring jades into the market; where they swear they are free from diseases, when they have more hanging on their bones than are in a French army; and that they are but coltes of halfe a years running, when they have scarce a sounde toothe in their heades" (Dekker, "The Dead Tearme," 1608).

largely from Harman, repeatedly uses *cozen* in the sense of the gull, or victim, and says that this is thieves' cant: "He that is drawn in to venture his money, is (amongst this cursed brotherhood of Cheators) termed a *Cozen*, and is handled so kindly, as if he were a *cozen* indeede." He plays more than once on the word: "Thus have I discovered a strange art, by which conyes are caught after a new maner of hunting, and *cozens* found out that were never of the kindred before." I imagine that this is an additional argument against the derivation *cousiner*, for even Dekker would hardly pun on one word instead of two. His use of *cozen* is either an error (see the earlier authority of Awdeley and Harman) or a later development. Except in this particular connection, he constantly uses *to cozen* for 'to cheat, swindle,' and especially when it is a question of disguising the real condition of goods, e.g. "So is a citizen, that *cozens* other men of their goods, and sels bad ware in a blind shop" ("The Catch-pols Masque"). In the following passage we get the three elements of *cozen*:—"So then, a horse-courser to the merchant is as the cheator to the faire gamester: he is indeed a meere jadish Nonpolitane,¹ and deals for none but tyred, tainted, dull, and diseased horses. By which meanes, if his picture bee drawne to the life, you shall finde every horse-courser for the most part to be in quality a *coozener*, by profession a knave, by his cunning a varlet, in fayres a hagling chapman, in the citty a cogging dissembler, and in Smithfield a common forsworne villaine" ("Lanthorne and Candle-light": of Ginglers).

Crewel.—The N.E.D. suggests no etymology for this word, "thin worsted yarn of two threads" (Bailey). The earliest example is *crule* (1494). The form *crewle* appears almost simultaneously (1502). The forms *crue*, *crewe* also occur. The word seems to have become obsolete about 1800, and to have revived c. 1860, when crewel-work was fashionable (N.E.D.). The examples show that it was applied especially to coloured yarns. If the monosyllabic form *crule* is due to arbitrary spelling, which, as the early examples are from inventories, may very well be the case, it seems possible to connect the forms *crue*, *crewe* with F. *crû*, raw, and to regard *crewel* as a diminutive. Palsgrave gives "*crule* or caddas, sayette." The D.G. has "*cadis*, serge commune, droguet de laine fabriqué dans le midi de la France; *sayette* petite serge de soie ou de laine." The adj. *crû*, applied to yarns, means

¹ A play on 'Neapolitan.'

simply 'unbleached.' The D.G. does not give an example for *cru*, but, under the compound *écru* (a common term in the Nottingham lace-trade), it has "*Soie écruë, fil écru, qui n'ont point été soumis à l'eau bouillante. Toile écruë, qui n'a pas été blanchie.*" Furetière, however, gives "*cru . . . qui n'a point passé par le feu, ou par un certain degré de chaleur nécessaire pour acquérir la dernière préparation requise, e.g. Les petits velours à un poil, crêpes et crêpons, se font de soie teinte sur le cru. Les satins, damas et Venitiennes ne doivent point être faits de soye teinte sur le cru. Toutes ces étoffes doivent être de soye cuite en chaîne, trame, poil, ou bouchée, ou toute de soye cruë, sans aucun mélange de cruë et de cuite.*" Thus *cru* or *écru* was applied to yarns which were dyed without previous bleaching, e.g.—

" Et qui voudra faire œuvre de fil *escru*,
Si fasse raie de fil teint."

(13th cent., Littré.)

I do not know whether the wool used in *crewel* work answers to this description, but it seems a reasonable presumption that the original *crus* or *crewe* did so. The exact meaning of the word soon became obscured, for Littleton (1685) gives "*crewel* or *erule*, *glomus fili*," which, as he renders *glomus* "bottom of yarn or clew of thread," seems almost to suggest that he felt *crewel* as a dissimilated *clewel*¹; cf. Germ. *Knäuel*. Thus also Encyc. Lond. *crewel* (*klewel*, Du.), yarn twisted, etc., with a quotation from Izaak Walton. Roquefort gives "*crus, cruse, soie qui n'a pas été adoucie, travaillée, qui est crus.*" I suspect that he found the nominative *crus* and made a feminine for it. An alternative to regarding *crewel* as the diminutive of *crue* is to consider the *-l* as being added in E. as in the case of *scroll* from M.E. *scrow* (Prompt. Parv.), O.F. *escroue*, O.H.G. *scrôt*, shred, but in the case of this word I conjecture the influence of *roll*,² a scroll being commonly felt as something rolled up (cf. *volume*), hence the *scroll* of a violin. The formation of diminutives from names of materials is fairly common, e.g., *sayette* from O.F. *saie* (*soie*), *créseau* from O.F. *crésé* (see *Kersey*). The common West Country *crewel*, cowslip (N.E.D.), primrose (Wright), is of unknown origin. Both in meaning and form it could represent L. *crocale*, cf. *jewel*, *fewel*, *newel* (*jocale*, *focale*, *nücale*), but no O.F. **croiel* appears to be recorded.

¹ This, I find, is Skinner's etymology.

² Conversely O.F. has *roue* for *roüe* (Roquefort) due to *escroue*.

Crow.—The N.E.D. regards *crow*, later *crowbar*, as identical with *crow*, a bird, the bent end of the implement suggesting a bird's beak. That it has been popularly associated with the bird is certain, but rather with the claw than the beak, e.g. "a *crow-foot* or yron bar, vectis" (Holyoak). I suggest, however, that this association is accidental, and that E. 'crowes (commonly *croes*¹) of iron,' the phrase in which all the earliest examples occur (v. N.E.D.), represents O.F. 'cros (pl. of *croo*) de fer' used in the same sense. Comparing the three headings under which it is treated in the N.E.D. with three headings in Littré (*croc*), we have—

N.E.D., 5a: "A bar of iron usually with one end slightly bent and sharpened to a beak, used as a lever or prise." Examples (c. 1400, 1468, 1555) are all in the form 'crowes of iron.'

5b: "Used as an agricultural tool. Earliest example 1573 (Tusser)."

Littré, 3: "Terme d'agriculture. *Croc*, ou crochet, instrument aratoire à une, deux, ou plusieurs deuts aiguës, . . . principalement employé dans la petite culture."

N.E.D., 6: "A grappling hook, a grapnel (cf. *corvy*, F. *corbeau*)."

Littré, 2: "Longue perche dont le bout est armé d'un crochet, e.g. un *croc* de batelier."

Littré, 4: "Terme de marine. L'extrémité recourbée d'un grand nombre d'ustensiles de fer."

Comparing the N.E.D. examples with those in Littré and Godefroy, we have—

"Certaine instruments wherewyth they might pull downe the workes yt their enemyes made, called Harpagons, and also *crowes* of yron called corvi" (Brende, Q. Curtius, 1553). "His batt'ring *crow* (1614). Les *croes de la ville* se disaient . . . de grands *croes* dont on se servait pour abatte les maisons qui brûlaient" (Littré). "Iron wolves and *crowes* to grasp the ram withall" (1632). "*Crow*, in the sea language, a machine with an iron hook, for fastening hold, and grappling with the enemies vessels" (Chambers' Cycl., 1727-51). "Et prenoit les nes totes ardanz a *croes*" (Villehardouin, in Godef. Comp.). "Et li vaissiaus sachiez hors a *croes*." "Et jeterent grans *kros* et haves au dit pont leveis" (Froissart, ib.). "De picques, de *crocs* et de angines." Palsgrave does not give *crow*, but for *grapple* has *havet*, used by

¹ v. "Naval Inventories," ed. Oppenheim.

Froissart in conjunction with *croc* (v.s.). Cotgrave has "*croc*, a grapple, or greate hook," and Sherwood even gives the plural form "*crocs* of iron, pince. Voyez *crow*." As late as 1763 Delpino has "*croc*, tenazas." Altieri (1751) gives *rampino*, *raffio*, which would both be rendered in F. by *croc*. All the meanings of E. *crow*, implement, including those most closely associated with L. *corvus*, appear to be covered by F. *croc*, and I suggest that association with *crow*, bird, began with the early Tudor translators dealing with *corvus*,¹ which is, of course, the origin of *corvy*, and ultimately of F. *corbeau*, used in the same sense. The phonology of the word is simple. The earliest O.F. and E. examples are in the plural, and the mod. F. pronunciation is *cro*, due to O.F. plural *crocs*, except in the liaison *croc-en-jambe*. See Addenda.

Gantry or **gantree**.—Jamieson gives *gantrees*, a stand for ale-barrels. The N.E.D. does not commit itself to an etymology. Wright gives the correct derivation from F. *chantier*, L. *canterius*, which occurs under the form *gantier*² in Hécart's "Dictionnaire du Rouchi." This is confirmed by the entry in Cotgrave, "*Chantier*, a *gantrie* or stilling for hogsheads, etc., to stand on." Cotgrave also has "*chantellage*, a certaine fee due unto some lordes for the *gantries* whereon wine that is sold hath stood," and he gives *gantrie* for *ponton*. The change of suffix is not commented on in Wright. It is clear that *gantree* is due to folk etymology, *tree* being used in Scots for 'barrel' (Jamieson), as well as for many other contrivances of wood.

The form *gantry* is to be ascribed to the influence of *buttery*, *scullery*, *pantry*, especially the last, with which it would be naturally coupled, and with which it occasionally rhymes in popular songs, e.g.—

" His *pantry* was never ill-boden ;
The spence was ay couthie an' clean ;
The *gantry* was ay keepit loaden
Wi' bowies o' nappie bedeen."

(Jamieson's "Popular Ballads.")

In "to go a *gantree*" (v. Wright) we have another meaning of *chantier*, viz. 'rafter' (Junius, "Nomenclator," p. 388).

Kersey.—Professor Skeat derives this word from the village of Kersey in Suffolk, "where a woollen trade was once carried on."

¹ None of the early L. dictionaries (Holyoak, Gouldman, Littleton) render this *corvus* by *crow*, and their only gloss for *crow-foot*, *crow of iron*, is *vectis*.

² It is also in Sigart, "Dictionnaire du Wallon de Mons."

The N.E.D. says there is no historical evidence for this, but points out that the earliest quotation (1262) seems to support it. The O.E. name of the village was *Caersige*, and the quotation in question has L. abl. pl. *tersegis*, misprinted for *cersegis*. It is not stated whether this emendation is based on comparison with the MS. If it is not, there is just a possibility that the whole word is misprinted and should read *kerseyis*, i.e. *kersey*. The connection of names of products with their place of manufacture is not as a rule difficult to establish, and it is curious that a word so commonly used in M.E. should nowhere occur in such a way as to indicate association with any particular place.¹ On the other hand, there is very strong evidence in favour of its being the F. past participle "*croisé*, étoffe fabriquée à quatre marches au moins et dont les fils de la trame sont plus serrés que dans l'étoffe à deux marches" (Littré); "*croisée*, en termes de tisserand, est un entrelacement de fils bien serrés ensemble" (Corneille); so also Furetière. Modern F. has *carisel*, *créseau* (obsolete): "altération de l'anglais *kersey*, étoffe de laine croisée. Sorte de grosse serge à deux envers" (D.G.). An example is given for both forms: "*Carisez* ou *creseau* d'Angleterre" (1582). I believe that only *carisel* is of E. origin, and that *creseau* is from O.F. *crésé*, for *croisé*. This view is supported by the above quotation: "*Carisel* or English *creseau*." Apparently *carisel* was not only applied to closely woven materials, such as E. *kersey* and F. *croisé*, for Corneille has "*carisel*, grosse toile claire, qui est une manière de canevas dont on se sert pour travailler en tapisserie. Il y a du *carisel* blanc et du *carisel* teint, et on le nomme autrement *creseau*"; so also Furetière. Littré has "*créseau*, terme de commerce, étoffe de laine croisée à deux envers. Etym. *croiser*." In O.F. *croisé* was used as in Modern F. of a similar material, e.g. Godefroy has (s.v. *croisé*) "*cresee*, étoffe de laine croisée, *créseau*," with the example "*cresee* et aultres estoffes" (Valenciennes, 1444), and, Compl., "*croisié*, étoffe dont la laine est croisée d'une certaine façon . . . drap d'or cramoisy a une bordure decoupee de *crezé* blanc." It is noticeable that the O.F. examples have always the dialect form *crésé*, *crésée*, now replaced by *croisé*, *croisée*. Palsgrave (p. 236) has 'kersay, *cresey*'; Cotgrave, '*creseau*, kersie,' and '*carizé*, kersie' (not quoted in N.E.D.). The constant association of E. *kersey* with Modern F. *croisé* and O.F. *crésé* seems to put the

¹ It is also one of the commonest commercial terms in early records of travel. See publications of the Hakluyt Society, *passim*.

identity of the words beyond doubt. I do not suggest that the manufacture was of French origin,¹ but that it was regularly described in England by the O.F. past participle *crese*. In the earliest records we find *kersey* and *kerseye*, due no doubt to *drap* and *étouffe*, just as we find the masculine and feminine forms used in Old and Modern F. (v.s.). For the change from *cre-* to *ker-* cf. the M.E. doublets *kerse* and *eresse*, M.E. and E.S. *kernel* for O.F. *crenel* (*créneau*), and the Norman forms *queroix*, *querouaix* for *croix*, and *queroisée* for *croisée* (Moisy). There may even have been popular association with the name of the village of Kersey, if it can be proved that it was ever a flourishing cloth town. The material seems to have been made in many parts of England, e.g. "Hampshire and Devonshire *karsies*," "Northerne *karsies*" (1578, Hakluyt, extra series, xi, 26, 29). The importance of the manufacture is shown by the way in which the name spread, e.g., Germ. *Kirse*, Du. *karsaai* (*karseye*), panni genus (Kilian), "Sp. *cariséa*, du *crese* ou *carisé*, qui est un drap ou sarge bien deliée; il se fait en Angleterre" (Oudin). See Addenda.

Oriel.—No satisfactory etymology has been proposed for this word. Professor Skeat suggests L. *aureolum*, but, although no doubt some such association was set up in the later life of the word (hence perhaps M.L. *oriolum*), its earliest meaning appears to be purely structural, without any reference to ornamentation. From Hamper's exhaustive article in *Archæologia*, xxiii, it would appear that *oriel* (O.F. *oriol*) was used in a variety of senses, all of which are covered by Germ. *laube*, but it does not seem possible to connect it with this word. The mod. Germ. is *Erker* (in M.H.G. often, by dissimilation, *erkel*), M.L. *arcora* (Du Cange, Kluge). Hamper describes *oriel* as meaning: (1) pent-house, (2) porch, (3) detached gate-house, (4) upper story, (5) loft, (6) gallery for musicians. His arguments are not always convincing, but by comparing the examples he quotes with those in Du Cange and Godefroy, one is inclined to conclude that an *oriel* was originally very much what it is now, viz. a projecting structure, forming inwardly a kind of recess or sanctum in a hall and outwardly a kind of bay window or balcony. Du Cange, s.v. *oriolum*, gives "porticus, atrium"; Godefroy, s.v. *oriol* (*eurieul*, *aurieul*), "porche, allée, galerie, corridor." He does not quote for *aurieul*, and only once for *eurieul*

¹ At the same time, the wild suggestion that *kersey* is a corruption of Jersey, if based on any facts connected with the early history of the industry, would seem to suggest association with Normandy.

(1426). This latter is a freak spelling which may be neglected, as *eu* (unless for *el* vocalized) cannot occur correctly in O.F. in a protonic syllable; *aureolum* would give regularly *oriol*, *ourieul*; but the word was introduced into E. before the change of *o* to *eu* in the tonic syllable. The oldest record (*oriol*) is in the A.N. Life of St. Thomas, by Garnier de Pont Sainte-Maxence (twelfth century)—

“ A l'uis de la chambre out un *oriol* fermé,
droit devers le chardin, qui out maint jor esté.
pur refaire erent dunc abatu li degré,
e li carpentier erent a lur disner alé,
a cel *oriol* sunt li chevalier turné.”

This is not quite clear, but the *oriol* appears to have been a kind of bay or gallery above the hall, looking on to the garden. Now the usual M.L. word for 'hall' in all shades of meaning is *aula*, to which Du Cange gives ten entries; *aulæum* also occurs in the same sense. A recess or adjunct to a hall¹ might be called *aulæolum*, just as we have *atriolum*, a little portall (Cooper), a porch, piazza, or little hall (Ainsworth, 1736), a small hall, ante-chamber (Lewis), from *atrium*² (often synonymous with *aula* in M.L.), *podiolum* from *podium*, and perhaps other architectural terms. Both *atriolum* and *podiolum* cover some meanings of *oriel*. The word *aulæolum* exists, and is recorded by the German Thesaurus and Du Cange. By the former it is quoted from a tenth century MS. (Berne) without context or gloss, and the passage in Du Cange is from the "Bollandists' Martyrologium": "*auleolum*, sacellum, ab *aula*, ecclesia, de qua suo loco, Miraculo S. Urbani Mart. tom. 6. Maii pag. 18: In qua benedictione dum carpentarii vellent aptare analogium ad sermonicandum, de *auleolo* S. Urbani quod situm erat super Maternam, ubi solebat poni corpus Urbani pretiosi martyris, exigente ratione temporis membratim disjunctum, nullatenus redintegrare valuerunt." This is from a MS. in a Catalonian monastery. It would appear that the *auleolum* or *sacellum* was a niche, side-chapel, or oratory, meanings which might very well go with *oriel*. If it is admitted that *auleolum* satisfies the meaning *oriel*, the form presents no difficulty. The dissimilation of *l-l* or *r-r* is almost normal in O.F., cf. *rossignol*

¹ "A small excursion out of gentlemen's halls in Dorsetshire is commonly called an *oriol*" (Fuller, quoted by Hamper); v. also other examples in *Archæologia*, xxiii.

² "*Atrium* also occurs for *oriel*, e.g. *atrium* nobilissimum in introitu quod porticus vel *oriolum* appellatur" (Matthew Paris, quoted in *Archæologia*, xxiii). Cf. E. use of 'hall' for 'vestibule.'

from **lusciniolum*, and can be traced back to V.L., e.g. *flagellum* non *fragellum*, *tebra* non *telebra*, *meretrix* non *menetrix*, *frustrum* non *frustum* (Appendix Probi, seventh or eighth century). In the majority of cases F. does not record the non-dissimilated form, e.g. *flaiver* (**fraiver*) from *fragrare*, *pèlerin* (**pererin*) from *peregrinum*, so that, while an O.F. *oliol* would be conclusive, it is not a necessary link.

Partner.— Professor Skeat explains *partner* as “a curious corruption of M.E. *parcener*, frequently misread and misprinted as *partener*, by the common confusion between *e* and *t* in MSS. and through the influence of *part*.” But the form *partener* (thirteenth century, N.E.D.) seems to be at least as old as *parcener* (v. Stratmann & Bradley), of which it is a synonym, both being used to render L. *particeps* (*parcener* in Wielif, *partenere* in the Prompt. Parv.). The most literal E. translation of *particeps* is *partaker*, i.e. *part-taker* (cf. Germ. *Teilnehmer*), and all three words seem to be used almost indifferently, e.g. Cooper has “*particeps*, that taketh part, a companion, a complice, a coparcioner; *particulones*, coheires, or parteneres that have an heritage together.” Bearing in mind the very common use of E. to hold in matters of law and possession, whence the modern derivatives *householder*, *leaseholder*, etc., and of F. *tenir* in similar senses (cf. E. *tenant*, *tenure*, etc.), it seems quite possible that M.E. *partener*, *partenour*, etc., may represent O.F. *part* and *teneor*, ‘tenant, holder’ (Godefroy), formed into an E. compound by the same instinct as the less natural hybrid *partaker*. Its equivalent, *share-holder*, was formed some centuries later in the same way; cf. Germ. *Teilhaber*. Laurière, “Glossaire du Droit français” (ed. Favre, 1882), does not actually give a F. *part-teneur* or *partie-teneur*, nor do I suggest that the compound existed in F., but the following juxtapositions of *parçonnièr* and *part* with *tenir* tend to support the derivation I suggest: “*Parceners*, . . . ce sont sœurs qui partagent une heredité ou tenement entre elles, comme coheritières.” “*Parchonnièrs* . . . sont ceux qui sont communs.” “Tenir heritage sans parchonnerie, c’est jourir seul d’un heritage.” “Tenir en parchonnerie, etc.” “Tenir comme partprenant, c’est quand l’on acquiert portion d’un fief.” “Quand l’on tient partie d’un fief.” The fifteenth and sixteenth century spelling, *parteynor*, suggests that the word was still felt as belonging to *tenir*; cf. *conteyn*, *deteyn*, etc. This etymology would also explain *partners*, “a frame work of timber

fitted round any hole or scuttle in a ship's deck, through which a mast . . . passes" (N.E.D.). The object of this contrivance is to relieve the strain on the deck. The earliest quotation in the N.E.D. is *c.* 1608. It occurs also in the description of the *Madre de Dios*, the great carrack captured in 1592: "The length . . . of the maine-mast was 121 foot, and the circuite about at the *partners* 10 foote 7 inches" (Hakluyt Soc., extra series, vii, 117), and it seems to have been a pretty familiar word, for Cotgrave has "*estambres*, the two thicke pieces of wood that environ the hole through which a mast passes the decke, or hatches. We call them *partnours*." Now it seems very difficult to connect this word with *partner* in its general sense, and impossible to connect it with *parcener*, but it could quite obviously be derived from F. *tenir*, representing either a compound *part teneor* or *par teneor*, the essential idea being that of *holding*, as is shown by the definitions in Veneroni: "*étambres*, terme de marine, pezzi di legno che abbracciano il piede dell' albero d'un vascello; die Höltzer, so den Mastbaum unten fest halten; ligna malum firmantia."

The analogy of *share-holder* suggests that the first element of *partner*, in its ordinary sense,¹ is F. *par(t)* (the form *par* occurs quite early in O.F.), but, in some of its subsidiary meanings, there may have been some influence of O.F. *partenir*, *détenir*, *posséder* (Godefroy), where *par* is the intensive *per*; cf. *partenant*, *tenant*, *parent* (Godefroy), *partenieux*, *partisan* (Godefroy); and the nautical *partners* is probably from this verb. Examples of *tenir* used of part possession are numerous in Godefroy, e.g., "doit avoir et *tenir* par parçon de terre" (1273), "chescune parchon . . . *tenue* et chargie" (1439), "s'aucuns *tient* en parchonneries avec autres" (Contumes de Beauvoisis), "les *tenemenz* qe nous *tenomz* en la vile, nous les *tenomz* en parcenerie ov Robert de Romgley nostre *parcener*" (Edward I, 1304); "*tenir* en parcenarie ceo que a eux affiert sans partition" (Littleton).

Raynouard gives a Prov. form *partender*, participant, sociétaire: "Si es compains de la covercio des bos, tu seras *partenders* de lor vertut" (Trad. de Béda, fol. 74). Moisy (Glossaire Anglo-Normand) even quotes O.F. *partener* (Vie de S. Thom. de Cant.). This I have not been able to verify.

¹ The N.E.D. treats it under four heads: (1) sharer, (2) colleague, (3) business partner, (4) partisan, all of which correspond closely with the ordinary meanings of Modern and O.F. *part* (v. Littré).

Patch.—The N.E.D. does not commit itself to an etymology, and does not trace the word beyond the M.E. *pacche*. Professor Skeat says, “apparently a by-form of *platch*.” I suggest that it is simply a doublet of *piece*, as its two principal meanings, ‘a piece sewn on a garment, a plot of ground’ (Skeat), are exactly represented by F. *pièce*. There does not seem to be any phonetic difficulty. Modern E. *cratch*, M.E. *cracche*, *crecche*, O.F. *creche* (*crèche*) and Modern E. *match*, M.E. *macche*, O.F. *mesche* (*mèche*) are parallel cases to Modern E. *patch*, M.E. *pacche*, O.F. *pieche* (*pièce*). The *i* was lost as in *piece* (M.E. *pece*, still spelt so in the Manip. Vocab.; *peece* in Cotgrave), which represents a learned spelling only. The variant *pieche* is common in O.F., e.g. “escroele, drapel ne *pieche*” (Godefroy), in the sense of ‘shred, patch,’ and E. *piece* and *patch* are still interchangeable terms in speaking of repairing clothes. In Modern F. a ‘patch’ (of cloth) is *pièce*, e.g. “mettre des *pièces* à un vêtement,” and ‘to patch’ is *rapiecer*, in O.F. often *piecer* (Palsgrave, p. 655). There may have been also an O.F. *pee(h)e*,¹ cf. *dépecer*. ‘A patch of wheat’ is ‘une *pièce* de blé.’ ‘Patchwork’ is “un ouvrage fait de *pièces* et de morceaux” or “un ouvrage fait de *pièces* de rapport.” The identity of *patch* and *piece* is shown pretty clearly by the M.E. and later glossaries: Prompt. Parv., “*patche*, or clowt sett on a thyng: scrutum, pictacium. *Pecyn*, or set pecys to a thyng, or clowtyn: repecio, reb(r)occo, sarcio.” Cath. Angl.,² “a *pece* of leder or of clathe: assumentum. To *pece*: assuere.” Manip. Vocab., “a *patche*: cento, particula. To *patche*: sarcire, reparare. A *peece*: pars. To *peece*: sarcire, superaddere.” Cooper, “panniculus: a *peece* of cloth, a clout, a ragge.” Cotgrave, “rapiecer: to *peece*, *patch*, botch, clowt, mend.” The Latin dictionaries of the seventeenth century appear to treat *piece*, *patch*, *botch* as interchangeable terms. Sherwood gives practically the same collection of F. equivalents under *patch*, *patched*, *patcher*, etc., and *peece*, *peeced*, *peeceer*, etc. Bishop Hall has “the *piecing* up of these domestic breaches,” where we should now say “patching up.” Also “all being now *pieced* up between them” (N.E.D., 1630).

I believe that the earlier form *peche* actually occurs in E. In the “Ancren Riwe,” p. 256 (Camden Society), we find “a lute

¹ Godefroy has *pechier* in the sense of *dépecer* (in Palsgrave, p. 655, *piecer* means ‘to mend’). Godefroy Comp. gives the variants *pece* (1241), *peice* (1272), *peece* (1275), *pieesse* (1364), *pieche* (1370), *peesse* (1385), so that *peche* may almost be assumed.

² Does not give *patch*.

clut mei lodlichen swuže a muchel ihol *peche*," where the variant is *mantell*, and the editor suggests the emendation *pilch*. I believe it is *piece*, used, not in the sense of modern *patch*, but in that which *piece* has preserved in speaking of a measured quantity of fabric.

Scotch **paullie**.—The N.E.D. gives the variants *pallie*, *paullie*, *palie*, *paley*, and suggests no derivation. The word is used both as adj. and subst. in the sense of weakly, undersized, etc., applied especially to sheep. Jamieson gives more various meanings, including 'lame, dislocated, distorted,' e.g. "a *paullie* hand." It appears to be F. *épaulé*, blessé à l'épaule, e.g., "le cheval s'est *épaulé*" (D.G.); "Cheval *épaulé*, qui s'est démis une épaule" (Richelet, 1693); also "bête *épaulée*, fille qui a fait un enfant avec un galant" (Richelet). Godefroy gives *espaulé*, applied to a dislocated shoulder and to inferior cloth (warped?). Cotgrave has "*espaulé*, whose shoulder is burst or out of joint. Une beste *espaulée*, crackt stuffe, broken ware; a wench, etc." So also Boyer (1742). Michel, "The Scottish Language" (1882), does not appear to mention the Scotch word. The special application of the word to sheep and horses, the only domestic animals that have 'shoulders,' seems natural. It is not impossible that the E. adjective *poorly*, which the N.E.D. regards as apparently due to the expression "to look *poorly*," may be corrupted from the same word. In the earliest example quoted it is used of cattle (Tusser).

Peevish.—The N.E.D. regards the derivation as quite unsolved. Professor Skeat suggests imitative origin. But this does not suit the older meanings. These are, according to the N.E.D.—

- (1) Silly, senseless, etc. (1393).
- (2) Spiteful, malignant, etc. (1468).
- (3) A general epithet of dislike (1513).
- (4) Perverse, refractory, etc. (1539).
- (5) Morose, irritable (modern use).

An examination of the examples given in the N.E.D. shows that all possible shades of meaning of *peevish* are practically covered by *perverse*, a word constantly given as its synonym in the older dictionaries and parallel in formation and meaning to *froward*.¹ Junius derives *peevish* from *perversus* and gives a quaint explanation of the double disappearance of *r*. Later etymologists do not

¹ Harman frequently uses the word in speaking of rogues, e.g. "Their *pevishe* peltinge and picking practyses. Their *pevyshe* speeche," etc.

discuss this theory at all, being repelled apparently by the phonetic difficulties. These are, however, not insurmountable. The oldest form of *peevish* is *peyvesshe*, *peyvisho* (Langland), which looks like the feminine of the form *pevess* used by Douglas along with *pevische*, *pevage*. This would correspond to an O.F. **pevesche* from *perversa*, which may have existed and been ousted early by the learned *pervers* (twelfth century). The disappearance of the second *r* is not abnormal.¹ We have *dos* from *dossum* for *dorsum* and *pêche* from *peccica* for *persica*. Moreover, we have a close parallel to **pevesche* in *revêche*, described by the D.G. as of unknown origin but derived by Diez (pp. 272, 742) from *reversus*, a derivation strongly supported by Romance cognates (Sp. *reves*, It. *rivescio*, etc.). The fact that Cotgrave gives *reverseche*² as *revesche* supports this etymology. Körting accepts **robesticum* (Förster). The disappearance of the first *r* in *pevesche* I should explain by the influence of *revêche* (*revesche*, thirteenth century), with which it is almost synonymous.³ The three words occur together in Sherwood—*peevish*, *revesche*, *pervers*, etc. For the later change of suffix cf. *relish* for M.E. *reles*; *parish*, *rubbish*, etc.

Riddle and rideau.—The Century derives *riddle*, curtain, from O.F. **ridel* (*rideau*), which, according to the D.G., “semble dérivé de *ridere*.” But the E. word is, according to the dictionaries, much older than the F. It is common in M.E., and occurs in *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1250–1340), *Gawayne* (c. 1360), *Ferumbras* (c. 1380), *Alexander* (c. 1400–50), in a will of 1418 and an inventory of 1431 (see Stratmann & Bradley, Halliwell, Cath. Angl.) in the *Prompt. Parv.*, *Cath. Angl.*, and *Medulla*. On the other hand, the first record of *rideau*, curtain⁴ (D.G. and Godefroy), is 1471. I suggest, therefore, that F. *rideau* is from M.E. *ridel*. As for the latter word, I believe it to be identical with *riddle*,⁵ sieve, which is for an older *ridder* of E. origin (Skeat). The connection between the two ideas, in which ‘separation’ is the essential, is seen in *to*

¹ Cf. M.E. *travas* (screen?), *transversum* (*Prompt. Parv.*), and E.S. *trewiss*, *trevesse*, *travesse* (Jamieson): *base*, a canon, O.F. *berse*, etc.

² Roquefort gives *reverchier* and *revesser* for *reverse*; *revès*, à l'envers, and also “*revers*, il paraît que ce terme, ajouté à une injure, l'augmentait beaucoup.”

³ Or the *r* becoming mute before another consonant already in M.E. (Behrens, p. 988) may have exceptionally disappeared in the written word. Before another consonant *r* regularly disappears in Norman in the tonic syllable, e.g. *abre* for *arbre*, and occasionally in the protonic, e.g. *paleux* for *parleur* (Moisy).

⁴ In the sense of *hill* it is recorded for 1427.

⁵ Also introduced into O.F. in the verb “*rideler*, passer au tamis” (Godefroy).

riddle, "to darn a hole in linen or woollen, to fill it up by working cross and cross," and *riddle-wall*, "a wall made up with split sticks worked across each other" (Halliwell); see also Wright. For a semantic parallel cf. the double meaning of E. *screen*, *umbraculum*, *cribrum*.

To rummage.—Professor Skeat, following Skinner, derives this verb from *roomage*, stowage, from *room*. I suggest that it is more probably F. *arrimage*, earlier *arrumage* from *arrimer*, earlier *arrumer*: "ranger la cargaison dans la cale d'un navire" (D.G.). The earliest example I have found is 1560: "And that the masters of the ships do looke wel to the *romaging*, for they might bring away a great deale more than they doe, if they would take paine in the *romaging*" (Hakluyt Society's Publications, extra series, vol. ii, p. 409). It is evident that from a noun *rummage* was formed the verb *to rummage*,¹ to pack, and from the notion of general dragging about and confusion connected with this work came the modern sense 'to ransack,' originally a seaman's word,² e.g.: "Our greedy seamen *rummage* every hold, Smile on the booty of each wealthier chest" (Dryden). Furetière gives the form *arrumage* as more usual than *arrimage*: "On dit qu'un vaisseau est mal *arrumé*, lorsqu'il n'est pas à son plomb qui le fait tenir droit sur bout; car alors les poinçons se déplacent, courent et roulent vers la pente, et du heurt s'enfoncent les uns les autres, ce qui cause de grands coulages. *Arrumeurs*, sont de petits officiers établis sur les ports, et surtout en Guyenne, que le marchand chargeur doit fournir et payer, qui ont soin de placer et de ranger les marchandises dans un vaisseau, et surtout celles qui sont en tonneaux, et qui sont en danger de coulage." From this it is pretty evident that the word came to England in connection with the Bordeaux wine trade. (Professor Skeat, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July, 1906, ascribes to the same source *funnel*, *puncheon*, *rack*, *spigot*, *ullage*.) Sp. *arrumar* is given by Oudin with the same meaning. The earliest dictionary record I have come across is in Littleton, "*to rummage*, scrutator, colligere vasa," where the secondary sense is already put first.

The origin of *arrimer* is described by the D.G. as unknown. Körting, following Diez and Mackel, derives it from O.H.G. *rim*, row, and Diez notes that in modern Prov. the aphetic *rima* is used

¹ But, according to Skinner, there was also a verb *rume*, which would be direct from *arrumer*.

² Cf. Laugier, "Dizionario di Marina" (Genoa, 1880): "*rummage*, perquisizione che fa la dogana in cerca di contrabbando."

in the sense of 'arrange,' so that to arrange casks and verses may be etymologically the same (but see Kluge, *Reim*). This supposes *arrimer* to be the older form, in which case *arrumer* may be a labialized form (cf. *jumeau*). Scheler, regarding the *u* form as older, proposes Du. *ruim*, room, and quotes Sp. *arrumar* in the same sense. This is also Littré's opinion. The question is still further complicated by the form *arruner*, the only one given by Oudin, and which occurs also in Duméril and Moisy. This is apparently from Norm. *run*, "tour, rang" (Moisy), which seems to represent E. *room*. Roquefort gives all three forms—*arrimer*, *arrumer*, *arruner*. The probable solution is that *arrimer* is derived from *rim* (v.s.), and has, by association of meaning, gradually supplanted *arrumer*, a word of separate origin (but see Diez, p. 275). Furetière gives "*arrumer* une carte marine, c'est y décrire des rumb." The D.G. defines "*rumb*, espace angulaire qui sépare l'une de l'autre les trente-deux aires de vent de la boussole," with a quotation from 1483. Skeat (Concise Diet.) derives E. *rumb*, *rhumb*, similarly used,¹ from *rhombus*, and rejects the alternative derivation from Du. *ruim*. This is also Körting's view. Scheler, on the other hand, declares for Du. *ruim*, with inorganic *-b*, passing through F. into It. and Sp. However that may be, the fact remains that O.F. had a verb *arrumer*, to mark out spaces on a chart, and if, as seems probable, this is the older, the secondary sense of ranging casks in a hold may very well have been derived from it by a seaman's metaphor. Furetière derives *arrumer*, in both senses, from Port. *ruma*, règle, ligne droite (Diez gives Port. *rumbo*, *rumo* as identical with F. *rumb*). Oudin gives "*arrumar*, agencer, accommoder; *arrumar* el navio, accommoder la charge du navire, en sorte qu'elle ne pese pas plus d'un costé que d'autre." The derivation of F. *arrumer* from *rhombus* is very strongly supported by the use of the latter word in heraldry. Veneroni gives "*à rombo*, losengé en terme de blason." *Losengé*, in works on heraldry, is defined as 'covered alternately with lozenges of two different tinctures.' Now, the *rumb*s on a compass-chart easily suggest a diamond form, and casks in a hold are usually arranged, like bricks, in such a manner that every cask above the ground-tier rests on two others, so as to produce very much the general effect of a *losengé* shield. Cotgrave gives "*carte arrumée*, a sea-card, wherein all the quarter winds, or travers boards, are delineated," and "*arrumer*, to delineate, or set

¹ The word appears to be common to the Romance languages, which is some argument for its Latin origin.

out, in a sea-card, all the Rums of winds." In the other sense he gives the Norman "*arruner*, to ranke, sort, range, dispose, put in order, set in array." This I believe to be a separate word (v.s.). He does not give *arrimer*. Godefroy has *ariner*, *arinner*, *arimer*, *arrimer*, *aruner*, etc., in the sense of 'arrange, array,' e.g. "toute l'ost bien *arissimee*" (G. de Palermie). It is also used of keeping sheep together. Other examples in Godefroy are "*arrummer son ménage*"; "*disposer et arruner les champs de semences*"; "*contre grans roys me suis bien arrimee* (var. *arrinée*)"; "*cils qui au parler s'arime*." Godefroy notes variants, all with the sense of 'arrange,' as being used in the patois of Saintonge, Poitou, Picardy, and Berri.

Arrumer means to arrange in the hold. If it meant to put into the hold we should expect to find *enrumer* (cf. *emballer*, *embarquer*, *embariller*, *emboiter*, *embourser*, *embouteiller*, etc.); cf. *arranger* from *rang*, and O.F. *arruner*, possibly from Norm. *run* (v.s.).

Scabbard.—Professor Skeat derives this from O.H.G. *scala*, 'scale, husk, case,' *bergan*, 'to hide, protect,' through O.F. *escauberc*, of which Godefroy gives only the plural *escaubers*. Thus *scabbard* would mean 'cover-cover.' This derivation seems sound so far as the form of the word is concerned, but is very unsatisfactory from the point of view of meaning.¹ In O.F. compounds from *bergan* the other part of the word is the object of the verb, e.g., *halberc*, guard neck, *herberge*, guard army, *berfroi*, guard peace. Thus for *scabbard* we should expect a compound meaning 'guard-blade.' The O.F. sing. **escauberc* may be inferred from the M.E. forms *scaberge*, *scauberk*, *scaubert*, *scaberke*, *scabarge* (S. & B.), and the change of termination presents no difficulty; cf. F. *haubert* for O.F. *hauberc*, and the very common confusion between *-t* and *-c* in both languages. I suggest that the first element of O.F. *escauberc* is cognate with the English *shear*, *share* (cf. *ploughshare*). Lexer gives "M.H.G. *schar*, schneidendes eisen, pflugschar, scheere." Schade (1866) gives "O.H.G. *scāra*, *scār*, scheere, *bezeichnung eines Schwertes*," with a reference to Schmeller, iii, 384 sq., where it is glossed *novacula*. Thus *scār-berg* would give the meaning required, and would be a perfectly natural formation falling into the same group as those mentioned above, while *escale*, though of German origin, is obviously, by its form, a comparatively late loanword (see D.G., s.v. *écale* and *écaille*). In two of the three words undoubtedly thus formed from O.H.G. *bergan* dissimilation has taken place—

¹ The subsidiary meanings of Germ. *Schale* do not lend themselves at all to association with a sword-sheath.

herberge > *héberge*, *berfroi* > *beffroi*; cf. also Prov. *alberc*, *alberga*, etc., from O.H.G. *hari-berg*. Thus *scár-berg* > **escarberc*, **escalberc*, *escauberc*,¹ which is the form required.

Scovel.—The Century derives *scovel*, a long-handled broom for sweeping out ovens, from Welsh *ysgubell*, a whisk, besom, broom, and the latter from L. *scopa*. This seems rather a round-about way of accounting for a very common F. word, which of course goes back ultimately to *scopa*. The D.G. has "*écouvette*, petit balai de maréchal ferrant; *écouvillon*, sorte de balai ou de brosse à long manche," etc. Cotgrave has "*escouvelle*, a brush, as *ecouëtto* (a plaisterer's whiting brush)." O.F. has *escouve*, L. *scopa*, and the diminutive *escouvel*, with very numerous variants. Sherwood has "*scovell*, *escovillon*. Voyez à *Maulkin*." It is this word which has given E. *scovel*, and the Welsh word, if related, is from E. Cf. Sp. "*escobilla*, vergettes à nettoyer, brosses" (Oudin).

Sentry.—In the *Academy* of September 26, 1908, I published an article in which I suggested that our word *sentry* represented an older *centry* for *century*, 'a band of soldiers,' influenced by another word *centry*, *sentry*, which is common in the seventeenth century for *sanctuary*. Though I am still convinced that *sentry* has been to some extent identified with *centuria* (Lear, iv, 4; Cor., i, 7; Par. L., ii, 412; N.E.D., s.v. *century*), I am now satisfied that the main element of the word is *sentry* for *sanctuary*, the transition from abstract to concrete having come about just as in the case of F. *garde* and Germ. *Schildwache* (cf. to stand sentry, monter la garde, Schildwache stehen, Du. de wachte houden). The accidental resemblance of the word to its synonym *sentinel* misled the etymologists of the seventeenth century and prevented them from seeking the etymology elsewhere. The oldest military sense of *sentry* appears to be 'place of safety' or 'watch-tower.' Cotgrave gives the word under—

"*barbacane*, . . . some hold it also to be a *sentry*, scout-house, or hole.

"*garite*, a place of refuge, and of safe retrall in a rowt, disaster, or danger; the recourse of such as are discomfited; (hence), also, the dungeon of a fortress, whither the beleaguered soldiers make their last retire and flight; also, a by way or path that leads one aside, and out of the high way; also, a *sentry*, or little lodge for a sentinell, built on high.

¹ There is also the influence of *hauberc* as a possible factor.

"*guerite*, as *garite*: or a place of retreat, or hiding-hole (whereof divers were wont to be made) in thick rampiers, for the preservation of those that, in a surprize, had the lucke, or leisure, to get into them; also a *sentries*, or watch-tower.

"*eschaugnette*, a *sentries*, watch-tower, beacon."

Cotgrave also gives *sentries*, s.v. *sentinslle*, but as a rule, for a single soldier, he uses *sentinel* (e.g. s.v. *eschaugnetteur*). Sherwood has "*sentries* or watch-tower, *guerite*."

The purely abstract meaning of *sentry* appears in—

"Thou, when nature cannot sleep,
O'er my temples *sentry* keep." (Sir T. Browne.)

"Here toils, and death, and death's half-brother, sleep,
Forms terrible to view, their *centry* keep." (Dryden.)

Sentry (sanctuary) is at present hardly documented. The earliest occurrence I have noted is in Nashe (1590). It does not occur apparently in Cooper, Minsheu, or Holyoak. Skinner has two entries—

centry, pro sanctuary.

centry, v. *sentinel*.

Phillips (1678) has "*centry*, a word contracted from *sanctuary*, a place of refuge for malefactors." Littleton has "*centry* or sanctuary, sanctuarium." Semantic parallels are numerous, e.g. L. *custodia*, "custodie; keeping; watch; ward; a prison or place where one is kept; or the place where watchmen be" (Cooper); "keeping, charge, guard, watch and ward, a prison, a watch-tower, a watchman" (Holyoak); "*custodie*, guards or *sentries* of horse or foot" (Gouldman). For the special transition from 'watch-tower' to 'watchman' cf. It. *vedetta* (F. and E. *vedette*, a cavalry sentry), "a watch-tower whence may be seen a farre off, a sentinels standing place, a prying or peeping-hole, a beacon, a loure or high lantern on the top of a house, fane or weather-cock" (Torriano¹); "aguet, vedette, lieu par où l'on regarde, échaugnette, eine Wacht, vigiliæ, ein Wacht-Thurn, specula" (Veneroni). For the transition from the abstract meaning of 'safety' to that of 'sentry-box' cf. the parallel development of F. *guérite*, the formation of which is difficult to explain, but which is certainly a derivative of *guérir*, O.F. *garir*, to save, protect (cf. *garrison*), O.H.G. *warjan*. Modern F. *guérite*, sentry-box, meant formerly

¹ Florio's definition is shorter, but to the same effect.

'watch-tower' (cf. *garret*¹), and its original meaning was 'refuge,' 'sanctuary'; the expression *enfiler la guérite*, 'to take refuge,' occurs as late as Régnier (D.G.), while Cotgrave gives *prendre la garite*, 'to run away,' Oudin *gagner la guerite*, huys. The following examples are given by Godef. Comp. :—

"Ceste roche est Ihesucrist meismes qui est li refuges et la *garite* aus humbles."

"Ayant pris la *garite* pour se sauver, il se trouva le matin au milieu du camp des Suisses." (Pasquier.)

"A la *garite*, a la *garite*!

Fui tost, fui tost, et guari te." (Coinci.)

"Et gens de bien et les meschans

Ont tout gagné a la *guerite*." (Marot.)

See also Borel, s.v. *garite*, *guarite*, *guerite*.

Thus *sentry* and *guérite* were in the sixteenth century synonymous in two senses, (1) sanctuary, refuge, (2) sentry-box. The later development of *sentry* is due to its accidental resemblance to *sentinel*.

Sharper and to sharp.—The Century does not assign an etymology to the verb *to sharp*, 'to defraud, pluck, etc.,' and its derivative *sharper*. Professor Skeat treats it as belonging to the E. adjective *sharp*. This seems an improbable development of meaning, since the natural sense of the verb *to sharp(en)* would be, and is, 'to make sharp.' Originally a cant-word, *sharp* can be quite well derived, both in form and meaning, from O.F. *escharper*, to plunder, L. *ex-carpere*. Godefroy gives "*escharpir*, tailler, découper; *escharpiller* (with numerous variants), mettre en pièces," and, locally, "mettre les toisons de laine par petits flocons pour les briser, les carder." There is also a noun *escharpillerie* (with variants), "vol, pillage, brigandage sur les grands chemins, friponnerie." The form *escharpiller* is a derivative of *escharper*, *escharpir* (cf. *sauter*, *sautiller*; *mordre*, *mordiller*, etc.), felt, in one of its senses, as *eschar piller* (cf. O.F. *eschargaitier*), and, in the form *escharpeler*, probably associated with *peler*. Godefroy does not give *escharper* in the same sense, but Roquefort has "*escharpiller*, *escharper*, *escharpiller*, ravager, voler, depouiller, etc." Modern F. has "*écharper*, *charpir*, diviser (le crin, la laine); mettre en pièces" (D.G.). Cf. also *charpir* (obs.), "étirer, effiler (la laine)," and its derivative *charpic*, "amas de fils tirés de vieux

¹ Skinner, s.v. *garret*, gives "*garite*, propugnaculi turris, perflugium."

linge, dont on se sert pour les pansements" (D.G.). Thus O.F. *escharper* is a parallel to the E. 'to pluck,' 'to shear,' used literally and metaphorically, and may have given E. *to sharp* in the same sense. It does not appear to be older than the seventeenth century. It may be noted that the simple *carpere*, 'to pluck,' is used in exactly the same sense in classical Latin—

"Et soror, et mater, nutrix quoque carpat amantem."

(Ovid, Amor. i, 8, 91.)

So also "*carpere aliquem*, to pill one and ridde him of that he hath" (Cooper). In the case of the noun *sharp(er)* there is no doubt popular association with the adj. *sharp*.

Skillet.—The Century does not distinguish etymologically *skillet*, a vessel, from *skillet*, a rattle or bell used by criers. The latter is, of course, O.F. *eschellette*, *esquillette*, diminutive of O.F. *eschelle* from M.H.G. and mod. G. *schelle*, bell. Jamieson gives *skellat* and *skellie*, with the correct derivation; so also Wright. *Skillet*, a vessel, has always been derived from O.F. *escuellette*, 'a little dish' (Cotgrave), diminutive of O.F. *escuelle*, L. *scutella*. I suggest that this etymology is phonetically improbable, if not impossible. O.F. *eschellette* and *escuellette* would not give the same form in E., as the *u* of *escuelle* has always been sounded, and was syllabic in O.F. (Littré and D.G.). In another E. word, *scullery*, derived from it, the *u* has persisted, just as it has persisted in F. derivatives. Godefroy gives *escule* as a variant of *escuele*, *esculete* of *escuelete*, *esculier* (1361) and *esculer* (1395) of *escuellier*, and *esculee* six times for *escuelee* once; cf. also Modern F. *éculer*, *éculon* (D.G.). Thus *escuellette* would have given *scullet* or *squillet*; cf. *scullery* and *squillery*. I suggest that *skillet*, older *skellet*, is a diminutive formed in E., by analogy with its synonym *posnet*, from E. *skeel*, common in various dialects (v. Wright) for a vessel; cf. S. *skiel* and *skeil* (Dunbar). This word appears as M.E. *skele* in the Cath. Angl., the editor of which gives, in a footnote, the forms *skell*, *skill*, *skail*, *skeele*, and indicates *skillet* as its diminutive. It is obvious that this word is rather connected with Du. *schaele* (Kilian), *schael* (Hexham), and Germ. *Schale* than with O.F. *escuelle*. The fact that *skillet* has, as a subsidiary meaning, that of a piece of metal cast in a form flatter than an ingot (Century), also confirms this rapprochement; cf. Germ. *Schalenguss*, F. *coquille*. Apart from phonetic difficulties, the meanings of *skillet* and *écuelle* do not very well correspond. *Écuelle* in O. and Modern F. seems always to be used of a vessel, usually shallow or flat, in which food or drink is

served; hence its use in various proverbs. Its most natural E. rendering is *platter* or *bowl* (in Palsgrave *disshé*). *Skillet*, on the other hand, is used especially of a vessel used for boiling and cooking, and is usually described by the older dictionaries as standing on three feet: "a vessel of metal with feet for boiling" (Bailey). It is not used of a vessel brought to table. Shakespeare's "Let housewives make a *skillet* of my helm" suggests *pot*, and *skillet* is regularly used as equivalent to *posnet*, diminutive of O.F. *poçon*, which had a handle and three feet (N.E.D.). Holyoak has "a *skellet* or *posnet*, ollula, chytra, anthepsa, chytrapus, coculum, anulum": "*ollula*, a little pot, a pipkin" (Cooper); "*chytra*, a posnet, a skillet, a pot with feete; also, a trivet, a brandiron" (Cooper); "*chytropus*, a skillet, posnet or pan, having feet; also, a trivet, a brandiron" (Gouldman); "*coculum*, a brazen pot or kettle to boyl in" (Gouldman); "*anulum*, a cauldron, or like brazen vessel" (Gouldman). All these meanings are very remote from Cotgrave's 'little dish.' Palsgrave has "*skellet* with a handle, poillon." Cotgrave appears to give it only under *poisle*. It is not in Stratmann & Bradley. The oldest occurrence I have found (*skellet*) is in Skelton (Elynour Rummyng, l. 250), where Dyce explains it 'kettle.' The *escuellette* etymology, due to Henshaw, appears first in Skinner, who comments on the change of meaning.

Skull.—The accepted derivation, which dates from Minsheu, connects this word with the Germanic root represented by *shell*, "named from its shell-like shape" (Skeat). This does not seem to account for the regular occurrence of the vowel *u*, nor does it satisfactorily explain the fact that the word occurs quite early in three separate senses—(1) cranium, (2) helmet, (3) drinking-cup. I believe that the M.E. form *sculle* may be equally well derived from O.F. *escuelle*, bowl, for which *escule* commonly occurs (cf. derivatives *esculee*, *esculete*, *esculier*, etc., in Godefroy). It may be regarded as certain that E.S. *skul*, used by Douglas to render both *cymbium* and *cratera*, represents O.F. *escu(e)lle*. The application of the same word to a steel cap is quite natural and easily paralleled; cf. F. *bassinot*, O.F. *hanap* and its derivatives, Du. *beckeneel*, etc. The brain-*pan* is also described in the same playful way in many languages, e.g., Sp. *casco*, skull, helmet, potsherd; Germ. *Hirnbecken*, *-kasten*, *-kugel*, *-pfanne*, *-schale*; Du. *beckeneel*, "galea, cassis; calva, calvaria, cranium" (Kilian); "the *scull* or *pan* of the head; head-peece, helm or murrion" (Hexham). The F. *tête*, *hanap*, It. *teschio*, Germ. *Kopf* illustrate the same tendency. Cf. also

Du. *bol* and *kop* (Kilian; Hexham). For the natural association between helmet and cup cf. L. *galea* and *galeola*. Skinner derives *scull*, a boat,¹ from *escuelle*. This is probably right; cf. the double meaning of *vessel* in English, of *alveus* and *linter* and the relationship of *cymba* and *cymbium*, *scapha* and *scaphium* in L.; cf. also F. *bac*, 'tub, trough, and ferry-boat.' Holinshed uses *skew* for coracle, and the Dict. of the Canting Crew (1690) has *skew*, 'a begger's wooden dish,' for which the Century also gives the meaning 'drinking-cup' (Brome). These are perhaps back formations from *scull* in its two senses.

NOTE.—The fact that *escu(e)lle* is not recorded in O.F. in the sense of *skull* does not seem to be a serious objection to identifying the two words; cf. *mazzard*, 'skull, helmet,' from M.E. *mázer*; drinking-bowl, O.F. *masere*, drinking-bowl (only).

Spraid, sprayed.—This provincial word is widely used in E. (v. Wright) in the sense of roughened or chapped with cold. The Century connects it with S. *spreagh*, plunder. Variants (*spreathe*, *spreaze*) are given in Wright. These must be corruptions of *sprayed*, for the word is obviously from O.F. *aspreier*, 'to roughen.' It is used especially in "hands (*a-*)*sprayed* with cold," and also "a *spraying* wind." Godefroy gives *aspreier* (*-oier*, *-eer*) and several derivatives illustrating the very wide application of O.F. *aspre* to whatever seems rough to any of the senses, and to the effect of heat, cold, hunger, illness, etc.; see also Littré, s.v. *ápre*. *Aspreier* seems to have been supplanted in the sixteenth century by *aspirer*, the only form in Cotgrave. Godefroy Comp. gives an example: "Le maniemment de la neige *asprit* (i.e. *sprays*) le cuir des mains." Cf. "*lingua aspera*, rough with driness" (Cooper).

Squinch.—The Century connects both *squinch* and *sconcheon* with *sconce*. Wright gives the correct derivation of *sconcheon* from O.F. *escouinsson*, "a scunch, the back part of the jaumbe of a window" (Cotgrave). *Scunch* is a back formation from *sconcheon*, and *squinch* is its doublet. Godefroy does not give the O.F. variant *escouinsson*, but cf. Norman *cuignié*, axe (Vie de S. Thomas), for *cognée*, like *écoinsson*, a derivative of L. *cuneum*.

Sullen.—The traditional derivation is O.F. **solain*, lonely, "given as a pittance for one monk in Roquefort" (Skeat), equivalent in sense to O.F. *soltain*, solitary. This etymology is, however, not quite satisfactory: (1) **solain*, lonely, is not recorded by Godefroy,

¹ Apparently older than *scull*, a short oar.

though *soltain* is a fairly common word; (2) Roquefort's *solain*, "portion qu'on sert à un religieux" ('a monk,' not 'one monk'), has, I think, nothing to do with *solus*. It can only represent L. *solamen* (= *solatium*), the suffix *-men* being added to verb-stems only (*examen*, *nomen*, *nutrimen*, etc.). Du Cange, from whom Roquefort appears to have taken it, says (s.v. *solatium*): "Haud scio an a *solatium* hoc significatu (refectio) deducenda sit origo vocis Gallicæ *solain*, qua . . . portio monachica designatur; an a verbo *solero* quia quotidie solet præberi." The word simply means 'comfort,' 'refreshment'; cf. "*solari* famem quercu concussa, to ease his hunger with mast" (Virg. quoted by Cooper). It was erroneously connected with *solus* by the compiler of the Prompt. Parv. ("*soleyne*, or a mess of mete for on alone, *solinum*"), and this mistaken etymology was adopted by Halliwell, who is quoted in the Century.

M.E. *soleyn* cannot obviously be O.F. *soltain*. But, at the same time, it often occurs in the sense of 'solitary' (v. Stratmann & Bradley), and in Chaucer ("Book of the Duchesse," 981). There is, however, another M.E. *solein*,¹ solemn, O.F. *solenne* (Godefroy), L. *solemnis*, which is used in the sense of 'dignified, serious, excellent, etc.' I take examples from the same texts quoted by Stratmann & Bradley for *solein*, 'solitary.'

Partenay, l. 864 :

"All redy was made a place ful *solain*."

Ibid., l. 6104 :

"So by hym was made and furged again
Off Maillers the church, with fresh werke *solain*"

(*beaulx* in F. text). Ibid., l. 4394 :

"Noghtwithstanding went to se his dedes *solain*."²

Gower, iv, 448 : "Thereof a *solein* tale I rede."

There were thus in M.E. two adjectives of identical form, one meaning 'solitary' and the other 'solemn,' 'stately,' etc. Only the latter is found in O.F. I suggest, therefore, that the latter is the original word, and that in one of its* senses (*agelastus*) it became associated with the adj. *sole* and was popularly connected with solitude.

¹ The learned form *solem(p)ne* is of course common (and is alone recorded in Stratmann & Bradley), and retains its original meaning, giving modern E. *solemn*.

² Interpreted 'done alone' in E.E.T. (Skent), but might equally well come under the other meaning.

Palsgrave has two entries: "*solempne* high, solemnel"; "*solempne* of maners, haultain" (glossed by *surlie* in Cotgrave). Cotgrave gives *sullen* under *melancholique*, and under *rechigné, refrigné* (both adjectives which could be used to describe what we call 'a solemn ass'), but not under *maussade, morose, morne, revêche*, which rather correspond to modern E. *sullen*. In fact, M.E. and sixteenth century *sullen* must have meant rather 'austere,' 'gloomy,' a meaning more easily growing out of *solemn* than out of *solitary*. The discovery of an O.F. *solain*, solitary, would prove a separate origin for one M.E. *solain*, but would not alter the fact that Modern E. *sullen* derives its chief force from *solemn*. The learned *solemn* has had, of course, an almost independent existence, though it is sometimes curiously juxtaposed with *sullen* as an epithet of kindred force (see examples from Skelton and Shakespeare below). The evidence of the early Latin-English dictionaries is conclusive. Cooper does not give the word under *solus, solitarius, solivagus*, but he has "*acerbus, soleyne*, austere; *agelastus*, that never laugheth, sadde, *soleyne*; *vultuosus*, of a grave and *solemne* countenance." Holyoak has "*sullen, acerbus, agelastus*." Gouldman has "*solemnness* or sadness of countenance, *tetricitas*; *solemn, tetricus*; *sullen, acerbus, agelastus, vultuosus, stomachosus*; *acerbus, . . . sullen, austere*; *agelastus*, one that never laugheth, sad, *sullen*; *vultuosus*, of a grave and *solemn* countenance." Littleton has "a *solemn* look, *vultus tetricus*; *sullen, acerbus, vultuosus, tetricus*; *tetricus, . . . sullen, surly*; *acerbus, . . . sullen, crabbed, austere*; *vultuosus*, of a *sullen, grim* countenance." Skelton uses *solayne* three times, glossed in each case *sullen* by Dyce, but obviously equivalent to *solemn* in its uncomplimentary meaning—

"Nay, jape not with hym, he is no small fole,

It is a *solempne* syre and a *solayne*."

("Against a comely coystrowne," l. 51.)

"By Cryste, quod Favell, Drede is *soleyne* freke."

("Bowge of Courte," l. 187.)

"Addressyng your selfe, lyke a sadde messengere,

To ower *soleyne* seigneour Sadoke."

(Speke, Parrot, l. 305.)

Shakespeare uses *sullen* at least nineteen times. It sometimes has rather the modern sense of 'peevish,' 'surly' ("She is peevish, *sullen*, froward, proud, disobedient, etc." "They told me you were rough and coy and *sullen*"). It never has any direct

association with solitude, but it occurs generally in the sense of 'gloomy, austere, doleful,' and even 'solemn,' e.g. :—

"Come, mourn with me for that I do lament,

And put on *sullen* black incontinent" (Richard II, v, 6).

Cf. "Customary suits of *solemn* black" (Hamlet, i, 2).

"And like bright metal on a *sullen* ground,

My reformation, glitt'ring o'er my fault,

Shall show more goodly" (1 Henry IV, i, 2).

So also: "the colours . . . neither *sullenly* dark, nor glaringly lightsome" (Sidney, Arcadia).

"Our *solemn* hymns to *sullen* dirges change"¹ (Romeo, iv, 5).

"Yet the first bringer of unwelcome news

Hath but a losing office; and his tongue

Sounds ever after as a *sullen* bell,

Remember'd knolling a departing friend"

(2 Henry IV, i, 1).

"No longer mourn for me when I am dead

Than you shall hear the surly *sullen* bell

Give warning to the world that I am fled" (Sonnet 71).

Cf. Milton—

"Oft on a plat of rising ground,

I hear the far-off Curfew sound,

Over some wide-water'd shoar,

Swinging slow with *sullen* roar" (Penseroso, l. 76);

and "the *solemn* curfew" (Tempest, v, 1).

Thus *solemn* and *sullen* are doublets, with meanings sometimes almost identical (gloomy, *agelastus*), but going so far apart when *solemn* has its etymological meaning of *festal* that Shakespeare could even contrast them. The popular form acquired, in M.E., under the influence of *sole* and the popular etymology of *soleyne*, allowance of food, the meaning of 'solitary,' 'misanthropic,' which easily grew out of *agelastus*.

Surly.—The etymology given by Skinner (*sour*) seems to be generally accepted (Century, Skeat). Wedgwood derives it from *sir*, in accordance with the oldest recorded spelling, and explains *sur-* by the influence of *sour*. The Century does the converse.

¹ This contrast is curious, identical words being actually opposed to each other. The sense remains unaltered if we read: "Our *festal* hymns to *solemn* dirges change" (see context in the play).

Skeat says "probably from A.S. **sūrlie*, sour-like." There are three very strong arguments against this etymology: (1) A.S. *sūrlie* does not occur; (2) the word is not found in M.E., where we should certainly expect to find a fairly common sixteenth century epithet if it went back to A.S.; (3) *surly* did not at first mean 'sour, morose, peevish,' but 'haughty, tyrannical.' Although it may have been associated with *sour*, its original meaning appears as late as Hexham (1675), who gives "*sullen*, *suyr*,¹ *stuyr*, *die nimmermeer en lacht*," but "*surly*, *hoovaerdigh*, *opgeblasen*." I have no doubt that *surly* is for *sirly*, formed by analogy with *kingly*, *queenly*, *lordly*, *masterly*² (cf. also *imperious*, *tyrannical*, and the older meaning of *lady-like*), and that it is a parallel to Germ. *herrisch*, which renders its sixteenth century meaning; cf. Langland, "And suthē I sauh him sute, as he a *syre* were," which suggests *syrely*. The use of *sire* in the sense of 'ruler' is not uncommon in O.F. of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, e.g.—

"Jamais *sire* ne se fasse subget" (Deschamps);

"Faquins commandent, et les pires
Au dessus des bons font les *sires*" (Baïf);

[cf. *siresse*, *maitresse-femme*, *femme absolue*, *impérieuse* (Roq.)];

nor in E. of the same period, e.g.: "He is such a grim *syer*"; "Syrus, that soleme *syar* of Babylon" (Skelton); "Melancholly, that angrie *sire*" (Rom. Rose). Cotgrave gives *surly* under the following F. adjectives:—*haultain*, *haut à la main*, *orgueilleux*, *rogue*, *sourcilleux*, *superbe*, and under *faire du grobis*, all implying arrogance, but not under *hargneux*, *morne*, *revêche*, its modern equivalents. He also gives it under *amastiné*, but the 'surliness' of the house-dog has its element of arrogance also. The fact that it is not used by Cooper (a contemporary of Levins), at least under any of the words under which it might be expected to occur, seems to prove it a neologism. It also does not appear to be in Holyoak. Gouldman gives for it *fastuosus*, *superciliosus*, *arrogans*, *contumax*, *ferox*, while *morosus* first appears in Littleton, who also gives *surly* under *imperiosus*. It is thus clear that for the dictionary-makers of the first half of the seventeenth century, the period at which the word becomes common in literature, the word meant 'imperious' and not 'churlish.' The earliest occurrences I have found are—

¹ Kilian has "*suor-mensch*, homo acerbus, immitis, austerus, tetricus."

² Hybrid formations of this kind are fairly common, e.g., clerkly, miserly, priestly, princely, scholarly, etc.

Manip. Vocab., *serly*, imperiosus (glossed in Cooper by *lordly* and *ladylike*).

"Like *syrlis* shepheards han we none
They keepen all the path."

(Spenser, Shepherd's Calendar.)

"With that *surlie* and imperious colleague of his sirnamed
Imperiosus." (Holland's Pliny.)

"And as for these soure *surlings*, they are to be commended to
Sieur Gaulard." (Camden.)

In the first three examples *surly* = arrogant. In the last the author seems to be playing on both *soure* and *sieur*. This is quoted by Richardson, s.v. *surly*. The word *surling* can only be a diminutive of *sir*, probably coined for the nonce by analogy with *lordling*.

Shakespeare uses *surly* apparently ten times—

"Be opposite with a kinsman, *surly* [= haughty] with servants."
(Twelfth Night, ii, 5, and iii, 4.)

"'T is like you'll prove a jolly *surly* [= masterful] groom,
That take it on you at the first so roundly." (Shrew, iii, 2.)

"Or if that *surly* [= imperious] spirit, melancholy,¹
Had baked thy blood." (King John, iv, 3.)

"The sad-eyed justice, with his *surly* [= imperious] hum,
Delivering o'er to executors pale
The lazy yawning drone." (Henry V, i, 2.)

"What, shall King Henry be a pupil still,
Under the *surly* [= arrogant] Gloster's governance?"
(1 Henry VI, i, 3.)

"See, how the *surly* [= haughty] Warwick mans the wall."
(3 Henry VI, v, 1.)

"What a vice were it in Ajax now—
If he were proud—

Or covetous of praise—

Ay, or *surly* borne [= arrogant]." (Troilus and Cressida, ii, 3.)

"Or else it would have galled his *surly* [= imperious] nature."
(Coriolanus, ii, 3.)

"Against the Capitol I met a lion,
Who glar'd upon me, and went *surly* [= haughtily] by
Without annoying me." (Julius Cæsar, i, 3.)

¹ Cf. "Melancholly, that angrie *sire*" (Rom. Rose).

An examination of the context of these passages will show that the alternative I have suggested renders the sense pretty accurately. Thus Shakespeare does not use *surlly* in the plays in the sense of *churlish*. The word occurs also in Sonnet 71: "Than you shall hear the *surlly*, sullen bell Give warning to the world that I am fled From this vile world . . ." Here it is, as in the plays, a dignified epithet, with which may be compared "in cradle of the rude, imperious surge."

Taint.—The modern authorities all seem to accept the old derivation from F. *teint(e)*, *teindre*, L. *tingere*, which dates from Minshew. The Century says "in some senses *taint* is prob. associated with *tangere* or confused with *attaint*." Professor Skeat, s.v. *attaint*, says, "in no way allied to *taint*." Richardson remarks, "our old writers seem to use it as equivalent to *touch*, or touch lightly." I propose to show that *taint* is the aphetic doublet of *attaint*, O.F. *atainte*, *ataindre* (*ad-tangere*), M.E. *teint*, *taint*, for *ataint* (Stratmann & Bradley), and has been very slightly influenced by *taint*, colour, F. *teint*. The mistaken etymology so generally accepted is due to the fact that in modern E. *taint* always has the meaning of infection, corruption, etc., easily associated with change of colour; cf. L. *inficere*. The real order of development has been roughly—(1) to attain, touch, (2) to wound, attack, (3) to affect, influence, (4) to spoil, vitiate. The legal *attaint* preserves, generally speaking, the first meaning only, "*atteint par la justice du roi*." All the examples in the Century¹ for *taint* (noun, adjective, verb) can be paralleled by F. examples of *atteinte*, *atteint*, *atteindre*. I select a few only—

"His *taints* and honours

Waged equal with him" (A. and C.).

Cf. "Porter *atteinte* à l'honneur, à la réputation de qqn"
(D.G.).

"Your business has received a *taint*" (B. Jonson).

Cf. "Percé jusques au fond du cœur,
D'une *atteinte* imprévue aussi bien que mortelle" (Corn.).

"A hallowed temple, free from *taint*
Of ethnicism" (B. Jonson).

Cf. "La doctrine est demeurée sans *atteinte*" (Bossuet).

¹ Except "with a silver *taint* like a lily" (Greene), which is obviously F. *teint* (*tinctum*).

"Nero will be *tainted* with remorse" (3 Henry VI).

Cf. "Je sais de quel remords son courage est *atteint*" (Rac.).

"Infection spreadeth upon that which is sound and *tainteth* it" (Bacon).

Cf. "*Atteint* de la peste, d'une maladie" (Littré).

"Cold and wet lodging had so *tainted* their people"
(*"New England's Memorial"*).

Cf. "Car si l'avait *atainte* et la pluie et la bise" (*"Berte aux grands pieds"*).

"and the truth

With superstition and tradition *taint*" (Milton).

Cf. "La première *atteinte* que nous donnons à la vérité"
(Bossuet).

"The honour of a gentleman is liable to be *tainted*"
(Steele).

Cf. "Sa bonne foi ne reçut jamais la moindre *atteinte*"
(Bossuet).

"a pure unspotted heart,

Never yet *taint* with love, I send the king"

(1 Henry VI).

Cf. "Qui vous a dit que j'ai pour elle l'âme *atteinte*?"
(Mol.).

Taint, and *to taint*, used of thrusting, tilting at a ring, etc., are of course F. *atteindre*; v. examples in Richardson and Century, and cf. "*atteinte*, au jeu de bague, donner *atteinte* à une bague, la toucher sans l'emporter" (Littré). The Century absurdly calls it a variant of *tent*, *tempt*. Similarly, in the various definitions of *taint* in the Century, the idea of tinging and tincturing is forcibly introduced without reason. F. *teindre* is rarely used with a personal object, and practically its only metaphorical use is in speaking of feelings, ideas, etc., e.g. "un sentiment *teint* de tristesse," without any idea of 'tainting.' On the other hand, Littré gives "*atteindre*, fig. *toucher*, *léser*, *concerner*." "*Tainted* with heresy" is in O.F. "*atains* de l'heresie" (Quesnes de Béthune); "*tainted* with the same murder" (Holl. Plutarch) can be paralleled by O.F. "Quiconques est *atains* du cas si comun de murdre ou de traison" (Godef.). Palsgrave does not give the aphetic form, but only "I *attheynt*, I hyt or touche a thyng," etc. Cotgrave has "*attaint*, . . . touched, hit, stricken; also, *tainted*, *attainted*, *convicted*."

The transition from 'attacked' by disease, heresy, etc., to 'corrupted' in the same way, appears clearly in the seventeenth century dictionaries. Neither Holyoak, Gouldman, or Sherwood register *taint*, except in the sense of *convictio*, but they all have *attainted* in both senses, e.g. "*attainted*, *attaint*, *attainct*; *corrompu*, *gasté*" (Sherwood). In Littleton the process is complete; he gives only (for *taint*) '*corrumpo*, *inficio*,' neither of which is glossed by *taint* in Cooper.

Shakespeare uses *taint*, *tainted*, *tainting* thirty-seven times. Some of these cases have been quoted already. In others the word has obviously its final meaning of infection, corruption. The following examples show that, even as late as Shakespeare, *to taint* was sometimes, consciously or unconsciously, identified with *to attack*, F. *atteindre* :—

"For, sure, the man is *tainted* in his wits."

(Twelfth Night, iii, 4.)

"Il a évidemment le cerveau *atteint*" (cf. *touched*).

"We come not by the way of accusation,
To *taint* that honour every good tongue blesses."

(Henry VIII, iii, 1.)

Cf. "Porter *atteinte* à l'honneur de qqn."

"His actions show much like to madness; pray Heaven his wisdom be not *tainted*" (Measure for Measure, iv, 4).

"Ses actions ressemblent à celles d'un fou; fasse le ciel qu'il ne soit pas *atteint* de folie!"

The N.E.D., s.v. *attaint*, accepts *taint* from *teindre*—"The subsequent development [of *attaint*] was affected by its being associated in fancy with *taint* (F. *teindre*), with which its aphetic form coincided, so that in some senses it passed into the latter verb." These senses are dealt with by the N.E.D. under *attaint* 9 (influence of *taint*) and 10 (full sense of *taint*). However, the examples quoted can be brought under F. *atteindre* in the same way as those I have dealt with, e.g. "Lest she with blame her honour should *attaint*" (Spenser), which would be in F. "de peur qu'elle ne porte *atteinte* à son honneur."

To sum up, *attaint* and *taint* are the same word. Neither of them has anything to do with dyeing, although there is another rare word *taint* from *teindre* (v.s.). For the transition of meaning from mere contact to corruption, cf. E. *contagion*, *touched*, Germ. *anstecken*. The mistaken derivation from *teindre* is perhaps due to

the M.L. *attinctus* quoted by the N.E.D. s.v. *attaint*, and this M.L. form for *attactus* is itself due to a mistaken etymology, or is simply a barbarous form from *attingere* (cf. V.L. **pinctus* for *pictus*). Skinner was undecided between the two etymologies: "Verum autem etymon est a Fr. *teinct*, *atteinct*, part. verbi *teindre*, *atteindre*, *attingere*, q.d. *Attinctus* putredine, vel ab *attaint*, part. verbi *atteindre*, *attingere*, q.d. putredine *attactus*, ut vulgo dicimus, 'it has gotten a touch.'" Cf. "I will not poison thee with my *ataint*" (Lucrece, 154).

NOTE.—*Taint*, a spider, which was popularly supposed (Browne's "Vulgar Errors") to infect cattle, is probably the same as Ray's *tant*, a small field spider, the form being corrupted in accordance with the superstition. *Tant* is perhaps an adaptation of F. *taon*, gadfly, also particularly hostile to cattle, and used of other parasites; "*tahon*, a brizze, brimsee, gadbee, dunflie, oxeflie; *tahon marin*, the sea brizze; a kind of worme found about some fishes" (Cotgrave). Milton uses *taint*-worm (Lycidas, l. 46).

Tallant.—"The upper hance or break of the rudder abaft" (Smyth). Not in Century. This appears to be "F. *étalon*, cheville reliant deux bois enchâssés dans des mortaises" (D.G.); "O.F. *estalon*, . . . a short, and thicke pegge, or piece of timber, whereby two sparres are fastened byas-wise together" (Cotgrave). The D.G. regards it as cognate with Germ. *stiel*, handle. The E. word is not in Stratmann & Bradley. The earliest occurrence I have noted is (1486) in "Naval Accounts and Inventories," ed. Oppenheim (Navy Records Society, 1896): "Also the same day paid to Raufe a Calton for a pece of tymbre of hym bought and spent in making of a *talland* for the same rother of the said ship" (p. 14).

ADDENDA.

Crow.—Professor Skeat calls my attention to the fact that in the earliest example *crowes* is a dissyllable and must be the plural of *crowe*. Hence either I am mistaken as to identity with F. *croc*, or the association with *crow*, bird, dates from the introduction of the F. word.

Kersey. Professor Skeat tells me that he has satisfactory evidence of the connection of this word with *Kersey* in Suffolk. In that case the O.F. *eresé* must be from E.

The following are brief summaries of articles which have appeared recently in the *Academy*:—

Akimbo.—Earliest record *c.* 1400 (Beryn.) “in kenebowe.” The analogy of L. *ansatus* (Plaut. *Persa*, ii, 5), F. *faire le pot à deux anses*, Du. *koperen pot* (v. Cooper, Gouldman, Cotgrave, Kilian) in the same sense suggests that *kimbo* = jug-handle, pot-ear. Dryden renders *ansas* by ‘kimbo handles’ (Verg. *Ecl.*, iii, 44). Second element is *bow*, handle (N.E.D. and Wright). The first is either Pic. *quenne*, can (Godefroy, Corblet, Roquefort, François), or E.S. *kim* (Jamieson, Supp.); v. Kilian s.v. *kime*, *kimme*, *kieme*, Grimm s.v. *kimme*, *kumme*, *kumme*. (*Acad.*, Oct. 31, 1908.)

Louver.—O.F. *lov(i)er*. Oldest record of latter is thirteenth century Norm. (Godefroy), where it seems to be used of an upper room or loft. M.E. glosses and equivalents for *lower* are *lodium*, *umbrex*, *fumarium*, *fumerale*, *lucar*, *lucanar*, *lucare*, *impluviare*, *impluvium*, *lacunar*. Thus it was used of a great variety of roof-structures, and may be a derivative (**laubar*) of O.H.G. **laubja* (v. Kluge, Grimm, *laube*; Kilian, *louce*), also used in very many similar senses (cognate with E. *loft*). The unintelligible *lodium* was perhaps at first a mistake for *lobium* (v. Du Cange, *lobia*, *lobium*, *laubia*, etc.), as Du Cange gives for *lodia*, (1) *lobia*, (2) *tugurium*, the latter of which is glossed by R. Estienne *loge* (O.H.G. **laubja*). (*Acad.*, Dec. 12, 26, 1908.)

Nape.—Originally the ‘hollow’ at the base of the skull. Cognate with E. dialect *nap*, goblet, but early forms, *naape*, *naupe*, *naupe*, preclude identity. Perhaps M.E. *hanap* (N.E.D. 1494), O.F. *hanap*, goblet, O.H.G. *hnapf*. Semantic parallels, O.F. *chaon* (**caconem*), F. *canneau*, *fossette* (Palsgrave, Cotgrave), It. *coppa* (Florio), Sp. *colodrilla*, little bowl (Oudin), all meaning *na(u)pe*. (*Acad.*, Sept. 12, 1908.)

Spread eagle.—For ‘*splayed eagle*’ (?), and this not for ‘*displayed eagle*,’ but from O.F. *aigle esployée* (Oudin). See Dict. Gén., Littré, Godefroy Comp. s.v. *éployé*. Cotgrave has “*esployé*, displayed; and hence, *aigle esployée*, a spred-Eagle.” (*Acad.*, Nov. 14, 1908.)

Studding-sail.—Apparently a comparatively new word. I have not found it before 1708. The regular M.E. term is *bonnet* (c. 1400), also used in Germ., Du., It., Sp., Port., Basque (Jal). *Studding-sail* is evidently related to O.F. (Norm.) *estouin(e)*, *estuinc* (Wace’s Brut, Vie de S. Gilles, Jehan d’Authon), used in precisely the same sense. No doubt a Germanic word. I suggest that *studding-sail* is a meaningless corruption of *stunsæl* (the invariable pronunciation), and that this is from O.F. *estouin(e)*, recorded as late as 1785 (*Encyclopédie*) and 1798 (Röding). Professor Thomas, whose article on *estoinc* (Romania, xxix, 172) I had not seen, covers the same ground in the opposite direction, and derives both the F. and E. words from a conjectural Icelandic *stod* + *ing(r)*. He does not, however, quote any early examples of *studding-sail*. (*Acad.*, Nov. 26, 1908.)

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IX.—ON KERSEY AND LINSEY. By the
Rev. Professor SKEAT.

It has been said in N.E.D. that there is nothing known that connects Kersey cloth with Kersey in Suffolk.

But cloth-making in Suffolk is no new thing, and was carried on down to the nineteenth century. The Imperial Cyclopædia, s.v. *Suffolk*, says that, in 1841, the principal manufactures were—the silk, employing 879 persons; the woollen and worsted, employing 160 persons; etc. There were also 832 weavers and 75 spinners. Hadleigh (which is but 2 miles from Kersey) was well known for it. In Clarke's Gazetteer, 1852, s.v. Hadleigh, I find:—"There was anciently a considerable wool trade here; there is a silk-mill, employing upwards of three hundred persons."

The historical fact is that the Southern district of Suffolk, in the neighbourhood of Kersey, was once a chief seat of the woollen manufacture of England, and represented that trade just as characteristically as Lancashire now represents cotton. This is set in the clearest light by the events of the year 1526, when Wolsey's attempt to raise money without the assent of Parliament was successfully checkmated by the influence of the Suffolk cloth-workers. The story is told in Hall's Chronicle, under the 17th year of Henry VIII. The Duke of Suffolk had induced the master clothiers of Suffolk to grant the subsidy amounting to "the sixt parte," or nearly 17 per cent.; but "they called to them their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weuers, and other artificers, whiche were wont to be set a-woorke and haue their liuynges by cloth-makyng, and saied, sirs, we be not able to set you a-woorke," etc. Whereupon the men "began to rage," and there was open armed rebellion. "And so, of Lanam [Lavenham, some 8 miles from Kersey], Sudbery [some 10 miles from Kersey], Hadley [2 miles on the other side of Kersey from Lavenham], and *other townes aboute*, there rebelled foure thousande men." It shows how difficult it is to obtain evidence, when we consider that, but for this successful resistance to unconscionable demands, we should never have learnt that there were more than 4,000 men then employed upon cloth-making in the district round Kersey. As it is, we now know that there are strong facts in favour of the

derivation of Kersey cloth from the place so called. Kerseys were known in 1376; see the Victorian County History of Suffolk. Bardsley records a "Silvestre de Kereseye, co. Suffolk," in 1273; so that there is no difficulty as to the form of the place-name. Kersey Priory is as old as 1158.

I wish to suggest further that the "clothis of lynesey," first mentioned in 1435-6, were really cloths of Lynsey. According to Dr. Copinger's Collections for Suffolk, Lynsey was a Middle English spelling of the place now spelt Lindsey, with an unoriginal *d*. The form Lynsey is a substitution for Lilleseye (Inquis. p. Mortem, p. 298). And Lindsey is but 2 miles from Kersey, which lies between Lindsey and Hadleigh. The name Linsy-wolsy first appears in the Catholicon (1483), and is obviously extended from Linsey. Linsey-wolsy or Linsey-woolsey is said to have been a mixed material of linen and woollen; for all that, there may have been a punning allusion to Wolsey, the most celebrated of all Suffolk names. Skelton, at any rate, saw this; for in his "Why come ye Nat to Courte," which is a strong attack upon that great prelate, he has the expression—"To weue al in one lome A webbe of *lylse wulse*," l. 128. The fact that it is here spelt *Lylse*, with *l* for *n*, surely proves, up to the hilt, that the particular Lynsey meant was the place which was also called *Lylsey*!

See further in the same poem, ll. 930-49, which describes the contest between Wolsey and one "Sprynge, of Lanham," concerning "his clothe-makyng." It is obvious that Lanham does not refer to Langham (Essex), as Dyce supposes, but to Lavenham, in Suffolk, as above.

Cloth of Sudbury is mentioned in the *fourteenth* century; Black Book of the Admiralty, ii. 187.

X.—MORE ANGLO-FRENCH ETYMOLOGIES. By
Professor ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A.

[Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on June 4, 1909.]

E.S. **abate**.—The N.E.D. explains this word as 'depression, casting-down,' from *abatre*, following Jamieson's explanation of the only quotation available ("King's Quhair," stanza 40). I would suggest that the context shows that the meaning is exactly the opposite. The king has just caught sight of the lady in the garden—

"The fairest or the freschest young floure
That ever I saw, methought, before that houre,
For which sodayne *abate*, anon astert
The blude of all my body to my hert";

and he continues in the next stanza—

"for quhy my wittis all

Were so overcom with *plesance* and *delyte* . . ."

It is clear that *abate* here means 'joy, pleasure, delight,' from O.F. *esbat*, of which Godefroy gives several examples, e.g., "A quoi elle prenoit son *esbat*" (La Boëtie); "La guerre est mon *esbat*" (Schelandre). The word *abaitment* is used in a similar sense by Douglas (Verg.), and correctly explained by Jamieson with reference to O.F. *esbattement*. Cotgrave gives "*esbat*, sport, pastime, play, recreation; delight, pleasure, dalliance, feasting."

To amain(e).—Under "*to amain*, to strike the flag, surrender," F. *amener* (le pavillon), the N.E.D. gives a metaphorical use: "They somewhat *amayned* their furie for their princes sake" (1578). I suggest that *amayn* is here more probably an adaptation of O.F. "*ameinrir*, *ameinrir*, to diminish." Godefroy Comp. gives, s.v. *amoindrir*, numerous examples of the form *ameinrir*, followed by an abstract noun as object (*dolor*, *paine*, *ounour*, *delis*, etc.).

E.S. **to amaise**.—Jamieson gives the variants "*amese*, *ameyss*, to mitigate, appease," and quotes Barbour and Wyntown. The aphetic *meis* (*meise*, *mese*, *mease*) is used by Douglas. The Supplement quotes *amese* from Lyndsay. Jamieson derives the word from Germ. *massen*. It is apparently O.F. "*ameisier*, to appease" (Christine de Pisan), L. *ad.*mitiare*.

Ansire.—This word is not recorded by the N.E.D., nor have I found it in any dictionary. It occurs in John Wilson's blank verse tragedy, "Andronicus Commenius" (1663), iii, 4—

"Was it for this—

For this, I say, your famous *ansires* spread
Their flying banners far as earth had shore,
Only to leave the empty fame to you?"

It is obviously a mixed form from *ancestor* and *sire*.

E.S. askar.—Jamieson, Supplement, explains this by O.F. "*à eschar*, in derision," from "*escharnir*, to mock." The passage in which it occurs—

"Thay gart me stand fra thame *askar*,
Evin lyk a begger at the bar" (Lyndsay)

shows that it is O.F. *à escart* (*à l'écart*).

Chert (quartz).—All geological authorities that I have consulted lay stress on the 'splintery' nature of this variety of quartz. As E. *slat(e)* is derived from O.F. "*esclat*, shiver, splinter, etc.," I suggest that *chert* is similarly an adaptation of F. "*écharde*, splinter." This word meant in O.F. especially 'scale' (of a dragon, etc.), and Godefroy gives several variants, including *escherde* (Philippe de Thau's "Bestiaire"), *eschierde*. This etymology is an exact parallel to that of *slate*.¹ The origin of F. *écharde* is disputed. Körting (Etym. Wb. der fr. Spr., 1908) connects it with *L. carduus*. This is certainly wrong. The D.G. has an interesting note on the word: "En ancien français *escharde* signifie 'écaille' et 'éclat de bois'; c'est un mot d'origine germanique: néerlandais *schaard*, allemand *scharte*, anc. part. du verbe *scheren*, fendre. Le mot actuel *écharde* est identique à l'ancien français *escharde*; le sens de 'piquant de chardon' que donnent la plupart des dictionnaires, n'a pas d'existence réelle; il a été imaginé pour les besoins de l'étymologie erronée qui rattache *écharde* à *chardon*." See also Kluge (*Scharte*), Franck (*shaard*). There can be no doubt that O.F. "*escharde*, *escherde*, scale," is identical with M.E. *scherde* used in the same sense. Stratmann & Bradley, s.v. *sheard*, quote from Gower²: "a dragon, whos *scherdes* schinen as the

¹ In Walloon slate is called *skaille* (Sigart).

² The Encycl. Lond. also quotes from Gower—

"With his sword, and with his spere,
He might not the serpent dere,
He was so *sherded* all about,
It held all edge toole withoute."

sonne." If this is the same word as "*shard, sherd, splinter*" ("The splinters and *shards* of so violent a jousting," Milton), which authorities agree in deriving from A.S. "*sceard*, a fragment" (and the double correspondence of the F. and E. words seems to put this beyond doubt), the F. *écharde* must obviously be of Germanic origin.

I should like to hazard the guess that the M.H.G. *quarz*, from which the other European forms of the word *quartz* are derived (Kluge, Franck), will be found to be an O.F. plural **esquards*, a variant not given by Godefroy, but authorized by the verb variant *esquerder* (Godefroy) and Catalan *esquerdar*, to split (Diez).

Chignon.—The E. word, introduced in the eighteenth century (N.E.D.), is, of course, from F. "*chignon*, nape of the neck, chignon." This is derived (D.G., Littré, Diez, etc.) from O.F. *chaaignon*, L. **catenionem*, which became *chaegnon, chegnon, chignon* (D.G.). Littré gives among the older forms *chaon*, which is a separate word, L. **cavonem*, Nackengrube (Diez). The ultimate form *chignon* seems to require some explanation. Godefroy gives nearly twenty variants, including *quignon* (seventeenth century), but not *chi(g)non*. There is no doubt that *chainon du col* was applied to the 'nape' in O.F., though in the first example in the D.G. (Rol. 1826) it means nothing of the kind, but simply *chain* ("Et si li metent el col un *caignun* ; Si l'encaient altresì cume un urs"), but apparently the change of vowel is partly due to the influence of "*échine, chine*." Godefroy does not give *eschinon* in this sense, but Littré, s.v. *chignon*, quotes the variants *chinon* and *eschignon* from Amyot, while the D.G. dates the modern *chignon* from 1731 (Trévoux). Cotgrave has "*chainon du col*, the naupe, or (more properly) the *chine*-bone, of the necke"; "*chesnon*, the *chine*"; "*eschinon*, the *chine*, or upper part of the backe between the shoulders." Oudin has "*eschinon*, espacio entre las espaldas." If Modern F. *chignon* is not from Amyot's *eschignon* and thus a derivative of O.F. *eschine*, it has certainly been influenced by it.

Clock (of a stocking).—The N.E.D. notes the suggestion that this may have been applied to some bell-shaped device, but says that there is no evidence. I suggest that the *clock* was originally not the ornamentation, but the *gusset* where the foot and leg of the stocking joined. This is called in most European languages by names indicating its shape, e.g.: "The *clock* of a stocking, le *coin* d'un bas" (Boyer); "*coins* de bas, attacher les *coins* d'un bas, Strumpf-*zwickel*, die *zwickel* anstricken" (Cramer); "*zwickel*,

zwischen eingehendes keilartiges Stück" (Weigand); "*zwickel* (in den Strümpfen), staffa, staffetta, cogno" (Valentini); "*quadrado*, une piece de toile quarrée comme un gousset de chemise, c'est aussi le *coing* qu'on met à un bas de chausses" (Oudin); "... the gusset in a shirt . . . and the *clock* in a stocking" (Delpino); "*coin* de bas de chausse, de *klink* van eene kous" (Winkelman). There is a sufficient resemblance in profile between a stirrup (*staffa*) and a bell to justify the assumption that the stocking gusset in E. was called *clock* from its resemblance to the latter. Cf. the 'bells' which make up the *vair* pattern in heraldry.

E.S. **cockernony**.—"The gathering of a young woman's hair, when it is wrapt up in a band or fillet, commonly called a snood" (Jamieson). Used by Allan Ramsay and Scott (see N.E.D.). This appears to be a corruption of F. *coque à nonnain*. The D.G. gives "*coque de cheveux*, cheveux tournés en forme de coque." I have not come across *coque à nonnain* in F., but it is quite a possible combination. Cotgrave does not give anything but 'nunne' under *non(n)ain*, but he has "*nonnette*, a little nunne; *mesange nonnette*, a little titmouse, called the nunne, because she seemes to weare a *nunne-like fillet* about her head." Furetière, speaking of the same bird, says: "Elle porte *une coëffure* sur la tête, comme fait aussi cette espece de petite oÿe qu'on nomme un *cravant*. C'est de là qu'elles sont appellées toutes deux *nonnettes*."

E.S. **codderar**.—Jamieson gives two quotations for this word from the Aberdeen Registers (1538), and conjectures for it 'tramp, beggar, sorner.' The quotations are: "To ceress, vesy, and se al maner of *codderaris*, vagaboundis, and puyr boddeis"; "Strangear, vagabound, nor *codderar*." The word is obsolete. I suggest that it means 'tinker' and is a Picard form of O.F. *chaudrier* (Godefroy) with the same meaning. Sigart gives the Wallon form *caudérié*. Tinkering seems always to have been regarded as a contemptible trade in England and to have been practised especially by gipsies and vagabonds. In the sixteenth century 'tinker' was synonymous with 'rogue' and 'vagabond.' The word occurs in the classification of rogues in Awdeley's "Fraternitie of Vacabondes" (1575) and Harman's "Caveat" (1567): "A Tinkard leaveth his bag a sweating at the alehouse, which they term their bousing in, and in the meane season goeth abrode a begging" (Awdeley); "These dronken Tynckers, called also prygges, be beastly people" (Harman).

Dago.—This word, as a contemptuous term for Spaniards, Italians, etc., is stated by the N.E.D. to be of quite modern

American origin. It is there suggested that it may be for the common Spanish name *Diego*. It appears that the name was similarly applied three centuries ago. Dekker ("A Strange Horse-race," 1613), speaking of the Spaniard, whom he also calls the Don, says: "The *Diego* was a dapper fellow, of a free minde and a faire, bounteous of his purse, but sparing in his cups . . ."

E.S. *flawkertis*.—Jamieson gives "boots, greaves, or armour for the legs." The word only occurs once (Doug., Verg. B. vii), and Small prints *flaukartis* ("burnist *flaukartis* and leg harness"). It looks like a mistake for *flankartis*, not given by Godefroy, but a fairly common term in M.E. But this term was applied only to part of the horse's armour: "The *flancardes* or *flançois* were coverings for the horses' flanks" (Meyrick's "Ancient Armour"); "*flancars*, side langes: armour for the flankes or sides of a barbed horse" (Cotgrave). I am therefore inclined to think that it is a scribe's mistake for *plaukart*. Godefroy has "*placart*, partie de l'armure," with an example from 1616. Meyrick, ii, 214, explaining *plachardes* in Hall, says: "The *plackard*, or the *placket*, was an additional breast-plate."

Imbrue.—The accepted derivation of this word from O.F. *embruer* (Cotgrave), "variant of O.F. *embeverer*, *embreuver*, to moisten," seems to me contrary to meaning and evidence. To take these in order, the oldest meaning of *imbrue* is not to moisten, saturate, but to "stain, dirty, defile" (N.E.D.). The oldest example is "with mouth *imbrowide* the cuppe thou not take" (c. 1430, "Babees Book"), which suggests stickiness and bedabblement. Later the word is used especially of defilement by blood. In the sense of 'saturate' or 'besprinkle' it is not recorded till 1555 ("The stones were *imbrued* with the tears of her devout eyes," N.E.D.). Here we have, I suggest, the influence of *imbue*, which, like F. *emboire* and *imbiber*, really has that meaning; cf. Cotgrave, "*embu*, imbued, imbrued, wet, moistened, imdued; drunke with; dyed or stained with." See also Cotg. *imbu*. Again, as an apothecary's word ("*imbrue* them in the juice of fumitory," 1590), it was probably associated with *brew* (v. N.E.D. *brew*, v.²). As late as 1600 we find, without any suggestion of blood or other liquid, "his foul *imbrued* hands" (Hooker, N.E.D.). Cotgrave's *embruer* cannot very well be a variant of O.F. *embeverer*, *embreuver*. Godefroy gives numerous variants of this word, but none without *-v-*, and Cotgrave's word must have another origin. His "*s'embruer*, . . . also, to *imbrue*, or bedable himselfe with," is probably for *s'embrouer*. He does

not give this verb, but has the p.p. "*embroué*, bedurtied, soiled, defiled," which suits in sound and sense the earliest example given by the N.E.D. for *imbrue*. Godefroy refers for *embruer* to *embroier*, for which he gives two sets of meanings, viz. (1) engager, fixer en percant, enfoncer, plonger, (2) var. *-broer*, *-braier*, couvrir de boue, plonger dans la boue, dans la fange, e.g.—

"Qui dou monde est bien *embroez* (= bemired)

A enviz en est remuez."

Probably two or three different verbs are mixed up in this article, as verbs of this form, and akin in meaning, are very common in French, e.g. Cotgrave has "*embarbouiller*, to beray," etc., "*embeurrer*, to bebutter," etc., "*embouer*, to bemire," etc., "*embourber*, to bemud," etc., "*embousé*, bedunged," etc., "*embrener*, to beray," etc., "*embuscher*, to belay," etc., taking those only in which *en* is compounded with a word beginning with *b*. The mode of formation is usually from a noun, and *embrouer* is perhaps from an O.F. *bro* (see D.G. s.v. *brouet*), meaning something thick and soupy; cf. the dim. "*brouet*, potage, or broth; also, any liquor, podge, or sauce, of the thicknesse or consistence of that whereof our pruine tarts are made" (Cotgrave), and Norman "*bro(u)e*, froth, saliva" (Moisy). A parallel F. passage in the "Babees Book" (ii, 12) has "avec la bouche orde et *baveuse*." *Embrouer* has no connection with *embrewer*, which Cotgrave glosses quite correctly "to moisten, bedeawe, soake in, soften with, liquor; also, to die, indue, imbue, as *abbrewer*." The converse of *embrouer* is "*esbrouer*, to rub hard, or together, as in the washing of a foule or hard thing" (Cotgrave), Modern F. *ébrouer*, to wash (clothes).

Stratmann & Bradley compare It. *imbrodare*. Torriano only gives "*imbrodolare*, to foul, to wet, to scald, to sullie, to beslabber or bedabble with broth, with dishwash, with swill, or with kitchin-stuff," app. from "*brodo*, any kind of kitchin broth" (see Körting, 1589).

Pinion.—A small cog-wheel, etc. The N.E.D., following the D.G., identifies this word with *pinion*, battlement, "the teeth of a wheel being compared to the crenellations of battlements." Körting (Etym. Wb. der fr. Spr., 1908) gives the much more plausible derivation from **pectinonem*. *Pignon*, in this sense, is evidently connected with "*peigne*, comb," O.F. *peigne*, *pigne*; cf. Germ. *Kammrad* in the same sense and E. "*cam*, cog." It is the same word, with a different application, as "*pinion*, wool-combings," F. *peignon* from *peigne* (v. N.E.D.). It seems

likely that in the case of *pinion* applied to 'crenellations' we have rather an extension of *pignon*, toothed arrangement, than of *pignon*, gable; cf. technical senses of *F. dentelé*.

Race, rare.—The N.E.D. connects *race* in "race-built ship" with *F. ras*, with the definition 'lying low in the water.' It says: "There is apparently no authority for Kingsley's statement." The examples are from the "Hawkins Voyages" and from Kingsley's "Westward Ho!" I give the former in full: "Here is offered to speake of a point much canvassed amongst carpenters and sea captaines, diversly mainetained but yet undetermined: that is, whether the *race* or loftie built shippe bee best for the merchant, and those which imploy themselves in trading. I am of opinion that the *race* shippe is most convenient . . . But for the princes shippes, and such as are employed continually in the warres, to be built loftie I hold very necessary for many reasons." The context shows clearly that the N.E.D. definition is right. But another passage, not quoted, seems to indicate that the word had another slightly different meaning and that Kingsley was also right in saying: "The Spanish fashion . . . was . . . to build their men of war flush-decked, or, as it was called, *race*." The passage is: "A third and last cause, of the loss of sundry of our men, most worthy of note for all captaines, owners, and carpenters, was the *race* building of our shippe, the only fault she had . . . For in such, those which tackle the sayles, of force must be upon the deckes, and are open without shelter or any defence . . . Some captaines, observing this error, have sought to remedie it . . . not by altering the building, but by devising a certaine defence, made of foure or five inche planckes, of five foote high . . . running upon wheeles, and placed in such partes of the shippe as are most open . . . These they name blenders¹ . . .: but best it is, when the whole side hath one blender, and one armour of prooffe, for defence of those which of force must labour and be aloft." Here it is evident that a *race*-built ship had not the high defensive bulwarks (rampires) which Hawkins preferred, but was flush-decked.² On the same page (396, edition of 1878) he says: "This *race* building first came in . . ." (quoted by N.E.D.). The word *rare* is used in

¹ Cf. *F. blindage*.

² Cf. "her upper works altogether *rased*" (by artillery fire) in Raleigh's account of the last fight of the "Revenge" (Hakluyt, Extra Series, vol. vii, p. 45).

the same sense. The N.E.D. registers it under *rare* (*rarus*), "having the component parts widely set; of open construction," and suggests no connection with *race*. The following examples from Hawkins show that it was exactly equivalent to, and used indifferently with, *race*. "For although shee (the Spanish vice-admiral's ship) was as long, or rather longer then our shippe, being *rarely* built, and utterly without fighte or defences; what with our muskets, and what with our fire works, we cleared her decks in a moment" (p. 283). "For they being *rare* shippes, and without any manner of close fights, in bourding with us, their men were all open unto us, and we under covert and shelter" (p. 284). These passages also seem to indicate that Kingsley was right about the Spaniards. The ultimate derivation of *race* is certain, though it may represent Sp. or Port. *raso* (Da Costa gives "*batiment ras*, navio *raso*," with details) rather than F. *ras*. It seems difficult to separate *rare* from it, and I suggest that the latter word is a misprint.

Sale.—The Century derives "*sale*, willow," from A.S. *sealh*, M.E. *salhe*, *salwe*, *salghe*, etc. This has, however, given *sallow*. *Sale* is from the cognate F. "*saul*, willow"; cf. *sage* from F. *sauge*, *safe* from F. *sauf*, M.E. *pame* from F. *paume*.

M.E. scarbote.—This word occurs in the Prompt. Parv. (p. 392, E.E.T.S.). Mr. Mayhew, in a note, quotes *scharbot* (Voc. 609, 47) and the F. forms *escharbot* (Cotgrave), *escherbot* (Metz Psalter). He gives the etymology from L. *scarabæus*. This is the accepted etymology, though no one has accounted for the suffix. Körting (Etym. Wb. der fr. Spr.) says "connected with *scarabæus*." I believe that there has been natural association with the latter word, which has Romance derivatives (Körting, 8424), hence *escharbot* for the correct *écherbot*, but that *escharbot* is of A.S. origin. Its meaning in Old and Modern French is 'dung-beetle' ("insecte . . . qui vit dans les fumiers, les charognes," etc., D.G.). Godefroy gives the variants *escharbote*, *escarbote*, *escabote*, *escherbote*, *escarboite*, and also a form *escharaveau* (coupled with *fouille-merde*), which Körting (8424) derives from **scarabellum*. Leaving this form, possibly of separate origin, out of the question, it is evident that O.F. *escharbot* (used in the twelfth century by Marie de France) is the semi-Saxon "*scearnbudoa* vel *budda*, *scarabæus*" (Voc. 543, 10), M.E. "*scarbude*, *stabo*" (Voc. 767, 28). This means literally 'dung-beetle'; cf. *scearnfifel* (Voc. 121, 17), *scearnwibba* (Voc. 319, 2). The second element is identical with M.E. "*bude*, weevil"; "*boude*,

gurgulio" (Stratmann & Bradley). The M.E. *sharnbude* (cf. modern *shornbug*), occurring in Gower and elsewhere (see S. & B.), represents the A.S. word, while the *scarbote* of the Prompt. Parv. is its F. doublet. Palsgrave has "*warbot* a worme, *oscarbott*," while for "*bettle* a black flye" he misprints *escargot* (snail). The second element of *warbot* is apparently identical with that of *escarbott*.

To scotch.—Professor Skeat derives "*to scotch*, to cut with narrow incisions," from *scor-ch*, an extension of *score*, confused with M.E. *scorchen*, to flay. Thus it would be a Scandinavian word. That it is a loan-word is clear from the initial *sc-*. Starting from the noun *scotch*, and regarding the verb as formed from it, it seems possible to establish some connection between *scotch* and F. *coche*. The word "*scotch*, a strut or prop to hold a wheel, log, etc., stationary," is probably the same word. The essential meaning of *scotch* is a nick or notch purposely made either alone or as one of a regular series. It is especially used in the following senses:— (1) a notch on a tally-stick; (2) a series of incisions in meat, fish, etc.; (3) a notch used for checking or holding a piece of mechanism. This last I take to be the origin of *scotch*, a strut, a word which seems to be comparatively modern. Shakespeare uses *scotch* metaphorically in both of the first two senses—

(1) "I have yet
Room for six *scotches* more."

Ant. and Cleop., iv, 7.

(2) "Before Corioli he *scotched* and notched him like a carbonado."

Cor., iv, 5.

The D.G. gives "*coche*, petite entaille pratiquée sur une pièce de bois. *Spécialt.* 1. Entaille que fait un boulanger, un boucher, sur une taille pour marquer la quantité de pain, de viande, fournie à crédit. 2. Entaille du fût d'une arbalète, du gros bout d'une flèche, où vient se placer la corde tendue de l'arbalète, de l'arc." French does not appear to use *coche* of incisions made in meat. The initial *s-* of *scotch* may be intensive *s-*, corresponding to O.F. *es-*, as in *scratch*, *smash*, *squash*, *squeeze*, etc. Cotgrave has "*coche*, a nocke, notch, nick, snip or neb; (and hence) also, the nut-hole of a cross-bow." Cooper has "*cicatricosa vitis*, a vine full of *scotches* and chops." The derivation of *coche* is uncertain. The D.G. quotes it in the sense of 'nut-hole' of a bow from the twelfth century. As this is its oldest meaning (cf. M.H.G. *nuz* used in the same sense), it may very well be from **cōcca* for *concha*. (See Körting, 2283, for cognate words.)

Shard.—This word is used by Spenser (F.Q., II, vi, 38) in a doubtful sense—

“ Upon that shore he spied Atin stand,
 There by his master left, when late he far'd
 In Phedria's fleet bark, over that per'lous *shard*.”

The Century explains it as “bourn, boundary, division.” Johnson suggests “frith, strait,” which suits the sense best. Now O.F. *eschars*, stingy (L. *ex-*carpsum*), has among its subsidiary meanings that of “étroit, resserré” (Godefroy), and among twelve variants occurs the form *eschard* (ibid.). Godefroy gives two examples of this use—“Ansois entrait par lui en une chartre que moult estoit *escharse* et estroite a herbergier” and “Le passage fust moult *escars*, enclos de boys et de marreis.” The latter example, from Hist. de Foulques, is in Moisy (“Glossaire Anglo-Normand”). It suits fairly well two other dialect meanings of *shard*, viz. ‘gap’ and ‘prospect through an avenue’ (v. Century). The form *eschart*, *eschard* may be reconstructed from *eschars*, the *-s* being felt as a nom. or plur., or it may represent *ex-*carptum*. Victor Hugo gives *écart* as a Guernsey word (Moisy, s.v. *écars*). The adoption of this O.F. adjective as a noun is paralleled by that of *strait*, in the same sense, from O.F. *estreit*, narrow. We also use ‘narrows’ of a strait; cf. Germ. *Meerenge* and Du. *engte*. Spenser may have come across the word applied to a strait in du Bartas or one of the Pléiade poets. Its solitary occurrence is disconcerting, but Spenser is rich in these surprises.

Tache, tack.—The Century describes “*tache*, a fastening,” as an assimilated form of O.F. “*taque*, nail” (*tack*). Professor Skeat (Concise Dict.) considers the latter to be of E. or L.G. origin, and compares Norm. “*taque*, a nail.” The two words are, of course, identical (“*takke*, fibula,” Prompt. Parv.; “*tach*, fibula,” Baret; see Cath., p. 376, note, for numerous early examples). It seems simply to regard both words as aphetic forms of O.F. “*attache*, clasp, brooch,” etc., for which Godefroy Comp. gives numerous examples in which it is coupled with *tassial* (see *tassel*), *fermail*, *anial*, etc. There is also a dim. *atachet* (Guernsey *taquet*, E. *tacket*) coupled with *crochet* in Godefroy. O.F. “*tache*, agrafe, boucle,” also occurs (Gloss. de Glasgow, Godefroy), and is probably also an aphetic form. *Attaquer* is the regular Norman-Picard form of *attacher* and originally had the same meaning (see Moisy, *attaquer*), which survives in Modern F. “*s’attaquer à*, to attack,” i.e. to fasten on. The Norm. *taque* has given the E. nautical *tack*, in F. *amure*.

In F. *taque(t)* means 'cleat,' and is recorded by Godefroy Comp. for 1384. Apparently we usually change slightly the meaning of a nautical loan-word. 'To tack' (needlework) is an aphetic form of the Norm. *attaquer*, and is thus a doublet of M.E. *tachen* (Stratmann & Bradley). This has been pointed out by Moisy ("Dictionnaire de Patois Normand" and "Glossaire Anglo-Normand"). Jal suggests that 'to tack' (nautical), *courir des bordées*, is due to the fact that "l'idée que donne l'amure, le *Tack*, c'est celle des voiles orientées au plus près du vent, et par conséquence celle de la course que fait le vaisseau, de la bordée, du bord, au plus près du vent." I do not understand this, but no doubt the word *tack* occurred in the command used for the manœuvre. Lescallier has "to *tack*, virer vent devant," and "up *tacks and sheets!* Commandement fait en virant vent devant."

The verb *tachen*, to mark, cf. *tetchy*, is not in Stratmann & Bradley. It occurs in Merlin (E.E.T.S., i, 88, 4), where it is wrongly explained as 'take,' ". . . a wif . . . the trewest of this londe and beste *tached* of alle gode condicions." This is a stock phrase in O.F., e.g. "et si estoit *enteciés* de bones *tecos*," lit. "marked with good marks" (Auc. et Nic. 2).

Tassel.—The derivation of this word has never been properly cleared up. The Century derives it from O.F. "*tassel*, clasp," L. "*taxillus*, die." Now, a *tassel* bears no resemblance to either of these objects. It is, according to the Century, "a pendent ornament, consisting generally of a roundish mold covered with twisted threads of silk, wool, etc., which hang down in a thick fringe. The mold is sometimes omitted." In F. the word "*gland*, acorn," sometimes given in dictionaries for *tassel*, means properly the 'mold.' It was originally a solid ornament appended to cravats, etc. (cf. Germ. *Eichel*), and only becomes a *tassel* when the fringe is added. This fringe is in F. "*houppe*, petit nœud, ou assemblage de plusieurs brins de soye, ou de laine, qu'on met par ornement en plusieurs endroits. On fait des boutons, des *glans* à *houppes*" (Furetière). Palsgrave (279, 2) has "*tassell* that hangeth at a thyng of sylke or golde, *houppe* dorée." Cotgrave gives *tassel* under *houppe* ("a tuft, or topping; a *tassell* or pretie locke"), *toupeau* ("a tuft, or *tassell* of silk, etc., a flock, or lock of wooll"), *flocquars* ("tassels, puffed, or tufts, as of sarcenet thats drawne out of, or cut under, another stuffe"). He also uses the word under *houpé*, *houpelu*, *houper*, *toupet*. Minshew has "*tassell*, vide *tuft*,"

Holyoak "*tassell*, vide *fringe*." Gouldman gives only *apex*, explained by Cooper as "the threede in the crowne of a cappe," and by Estienne as "une petite queue de laine au sommet du bonnet." The Century quotes from Greene "a large leather purse with faire threaden *tassels*." Richardson quotes from Hakluyt "kerchieffes of fine white lawn . . . fastned under the chinne with two long *tassels* pendent." These would be the fringed ends of the kerchief. Shakespeare has "thou idle, immaterial skein of sley'd silk, thou green sarcenet flap for a sore eye, thou *tassel* of a prodigal's purse" (T. & C., v, 1). Thus in the sixteenth century a *tassel* was essentially a bunch (*manipulus*, *fasciculus*) of silk, etc., and had nothing to do with a brooch. It had the same meaning in M.E., e.g. in Merlin, vol. ii, p. 620 (E.E.T.S.), it occurs twice in connection with using the king's beard as a fringe for a mantle. Chaucer has "a purs of lether, *tasseld* with silk, and perled with latoun" (A., 3251). The names for *tassel* in the other European languages also mean essentially 'bunch.' F. *houppe* is conjecturally derived by Diez from Du. "*hoppe*, hop." I suggest that it is rather Du. *hoop*, as in "*hoop wolle*, bundle or heap of wool" (Hexham). Germ. *quast* (Du. *kwast*¹) meant originally bundle of leaves or twigs (Laubbüschel), broom of twigs, and even apron of leaves (v. Kluge, Franck). Florio has "*fiocco*, a *tassel*, a button, a Locke or bushe of haire or wooll or silke; *fiocconne*, a great *tassell*, bush, Locke, flake, or tuffe of anything." See also *fiocaggio*, *fiocatura*. Oudin renders *houppe* by *borla* (L. **burrula*, Körting), for which Delpino gives "a tuft, or a *tassel*, of silk or other matter." Godefroy's article *tassel* is in a muddle. He gives—evidently influenced by E. *tassel*—as the first meaning 'gland, frange.' Of the eighteen examples it is clear that thirteen should be rendered 'clasp, brooch,' etc., the *tassel* being described as of gold, precious stones, etc., large enough in one case to contain part of the bones of St. John the Baptist. In a few cases it apparently means 'fringe,' etc., the best example being—

" par honnour

De vous fera faire au mantel

De votre barbe le *tassel*";

with which cf. the passage in Merlin mentioned above. In the light of the parallel words I have quoted from other languages, it is clear, at any rate to me, that O.F. "*tassel*, fringe, tassell," is identical

¹ "*Quast*, s. *Quispel* (wisp), une houpe de soye ou d'autre qu'on pend aux bardures de chevaux," etc. ("Trium Linguarum Dictionarium," Frankfurt, 1587).

with O.F. "*tassel*, *tas*, *amas*, *troupe*, *meulon*," which Godefroy treats separately. In the meaning 'small shock of corn,' it occurs as late as the eighteenth century in the dialect of Liège (Godefroy). This is the dim. of F. *tas*, O.F. *tas* and *tasse*, "a *tuffe* of *grasse*; *tasse de foing*, a bundle or trusse of hay" (Cotgrave), of Germanic origin (Körting); also in M.E., "*tasse* of *carne* or *oder lyke*, *tassis*" (Prompt. Parv.); see also Halliwell for "*tasse*, bunch." The E. variant *tossel* is probably due to confusion between this word and its O.F. synonym *trossel*, *trousseau*, ". . . (little) *trusse*, *fardle*, bundle. or bunch" (Cotgrave). The variant *tarsel* (Paston Letters and Manip. Voc. "*tarsel*, appendix") is perhaps due to M.E. *tarse*, silk (v. Skeat, Chaucer Glossary). Du Cange has "*tassa*, vel *tassus*, ornamenti genus, vittarum strues seu nexus, ut videtur, Gallis *noëd de rubans* . . . nisi idem sit quod *tassellus*," and "*tassellus*, fimbria, ex Anglico *tassel*." No doubt there was confusion in O.F. between "*tassel*, *houppe*," and "*tassel*,¹ *fermail*," both being ornaments of garments, and the same confusion may have existed in M.E., which also perhaps has the latter word, e.g. "He drow, seo held, þe *tassel* brak" (Cursor Mundi, 4389, episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife). Here *tassel* may refer to the fringe of the garment, the *lacinia* of the Vulgate, but more probably means 'brooch.'

The common form *tassel* for *teasle* (*carduus*) is, I suggest, due to the fact that an ornamental tassel exactly resembles a conventional thistle.

Tendril.—The accepted derivation connects this word with F. *tendre*, tender. I wish to point out that, though there may have been confusion with that adjective (e.g. Cotgrave has "*tendron*, a tender, nesh, delicate, or effeminate fellow; also, a cartilage, or gristle; also, a *tendrell*, or the *tender* branch, or sprig of a plant"), semantic arguments are all in favour of connecting *tendril* with *tendre*, to stretch. In the sense 'cartilage or gristle' it seems difficult to separate *tendron* from "*tendon*, a tendon, or taile of a muscle" (Cotgrave), which of course belongs to *tendère*, as *tenon* belongs to *tenère*. The derivatives of the two words *tendre* (adj. and verb) are numerous in Old and Modern French (v. Godefroy and Cotgrave), and it is just in this special meaning

¹ Probably identical with mod. F. "*tasseau*, bracket, *tassel* (arch.)." Cf. L. "*fibula*, a buckle; a tache; a claspe; in building, a brace to fasten beams. In masonrie, a crampon or yron hooke to holde squares together, also a haspe . . ." (Cooper). It is rendered *Bindlatte* by Sachs-Villatte. Derivation from *taxillus* is very unlikely, but there is also an O.F. "*tassel*, *osselet*" (Godefroy), probably from *taxillus* influenced by *tessera*.

of 'young shoot' that confusion has taken place, so that *tendron* now means 'partie tendre, facile à entamer' (D.G.). The idea contained in *tendrîl* is not that of a tender bud, but of a spiral elastic growth which stretches out and holds to a support. In O.F. even *tendon* was used of a clutching plant, "La caupe-treppe et le *tendon* (= *bugrane*, rest-harrow), Et toute herbe qui point et tue" (Deschamps, in Godefroy), as well as for *tenon* (v. Godefroy) and for *tendrîl* (v.i.). Ambroise Paré has "la vigne par ses *tendrons* ou capreoles tortues embrasse toutes choses" (Godefroy). Junius, p. 588 ("De Vite et Partibus eius"), gives "*capreolus, clavicula, viticula, crinis, coliculus viteus cincinni in modum contortus, quo locum serpendo capit, annulus vitis*. Al. *gablen* an Weinreben, B. *clavierken*, G. *fleaux* ou *vuilles* de la vigne, It. *viticcio* ò *tralcio* che lega . . . la vitte alli pali, H. *fisereta* ò *carçillo* de la vid." Most of these words contain the idea of taking hold. I give sixteenth and seventeenth century glosses for some of them—" *capreoli vitium, veluti cincinni, les fleaux et tendons* ou villes de la vigne de quoy elle s'agrappe et se tient a quelque chose" (R. Estienne); "The little *tendrels* of vines whereby they take hold of things, and grow about them" (Cooper).—" *clavicula, les vuilles ou tendons* de la vigne," etc. (Estienne); "the *tendrell* of a vine" (Cooper).—" *viticulum*,¹ le fleau ou *tendon* et ville de la vigne," etc. (Estienne); "the *shoot* of a viné," etc. (Cooper); "le *tendon* de la vigne dont elle s'attache à quelque chose" (Martinez, 1671). Thus Estienne uses, not *tendron* but *tendon*, undoubtedly from *tendère*, in the sense in which Cooper uses *tendrîl*. Cotgrave has "*fleau*, . . . also, the *tendrell*, or tender shute of a vine, whereby it catcheth hold on what is next unto it"; "*vuilles, the tendrels, or twining sprigs, of vine-branches*." The Germ. and Du. words given by Junius obviously imply 'taking hold of.' The ordinary Modern F. is *vrille* (L. *viticula*), Modern Germ. *Ranke* (M.H.G. *ranken*, to stretch, Kluge); cf. Modern Du. *rank*, older "*rancke, ramus tenuis et longe se extendens*" (Kilian). Of the Sp. words given by Junius I know nothing, but Oudin has "*fisereta, çarcillo* de la vid, la petite fourchette avec laquelle la vigne s'attache elle-mesme, la *voils* (corr. *vuille*) ou *fleau* ou *tendron* (corr. *tendron*) de la vigne; je tiens que c'est mieux dit *tigereta*, que vous pouvez voir en son lieu"; "*tigeretas, des petits ciseaux, pincettes, forcettes; tigeretas de vid, la vuille, fleau, ou tendron, dequoy elle s'agraffe et se tient*

¹ *viticella* was used in A.S. times for the 'woodbine.' See Voc. 138, 28; 301, 20. See also Voc. for *capreoli*.

à quelque chose"; "*çarcillos*, pendants d'oreilles . . . *çarcillos de la vid, fleau ou tendron* de la vigne dont elle s'accroche."

Thus, in the other European languages *tendrîl* is regularly represented by words meaning 'to stretch out' or 'to cling to'; in O.F. *tendon* is used indifferently with *tendron* in the same sense. Hence *tendrîl* is a derivative of *tendre*, to stretch, and is thus ultimately cognate with *tenêre*, to hold. It has been, both in F. and E., associated with *tendre*, tender. The form **tendrille* does not appear to be recorded in O.F., but may be assumed from its derivative "*tendrillons*, *tendrells*, little gristles" (Cotgrave).

Cotgrave also has "*campoles*, the *tendrels*, or twyning sprigs, of plants." Is this related to *cammock*, one of his glosses for *bugrane*, called in O.F. *tendon* (Godefroy Comp.)?

Note.—Minshew has two entries: (1) "*tendrell*, or young branche of a tree," (2) "*tendrell* of a vine." He connects the first with L. *tener* and the second with L. *tenêre*. It is, however, unlikely that we have to do with separate words, though derivatives of *tener* have no doubt been used in the Romance languages in connection with buds. We speak of 'tender' buds as inevitably as of 'clinging' tendrils.

Tiny.—None of the etymologies suggested for this word are in any way convincing. It is noted twice by Stratmann & Bradley—"a litil *tine* egg" (Alexander); "littell *tine* child" (Lud. Cov.). The Century gives ("Townley Mysteries")—

"Haylle lyttyle *tyne* mop! rewarder of mede!
Haylle lyttyle milk sop! David sede."

These three examples belong to the fifteenth century. I believe that *tine*, recorded by Nares, is the same word, "but stay a little *tine*"¹ (Heywood, 1556). Shakespeare uses it four times, *tine* in the first folio—

- "Any pretty little *tiny* kickshaws" (2 Henry IV, v, 1).
- "Welcome my little *tiny* thief" (ibid., v, 3).
- "When that I was and a little *tiny* boy" (Twelfth Night, v, 1).
- "He that has and a little *tiny* wit" (Lear, iii, 2).

Blount (1670) also gives it as "a little *tiny*."

From these early examples it is evident (1) that the word was used always with *little*, (2) that it represented indifferently F. *petit* and *peu*. Similarly, in O.F. and in colloquial Modern F. *petit* is commonly used for *peu*, and the two words are often employed

¹ Not a misprint for *time*, as it rhimes with *fine*.

together. Thus the quotation from Heywood represents "attends un *petit peu*," and that from Lear, "Celui qui n'a qu'un *petit peu* d'esprit." The regular use of *little* makes it likely that *tiny* was at first equivalent to *peu*, and only later acquired its adjectival meaning. Thus *tiny* represents both *tantillus*, *tantulus*, and *tantillum*, *tantulum*. Cf. with some of the examples above "Quem ego puerum *tantillum* in manibus gestavi meis" (Terence), rendered by Cooper "being a very little childe." The word seems to have been somewhat local (Blount says Worcestershire, Skinner Lincolnshire), and does not appear to be in Palsgrave or Cotgrave. I cannot find it in Cooper, Holyoak, or Gouldman; but Littleton has "*tantillus*, so little and small, very little, little *tiny*." The Romance languages are rich in forms corresponding to *tantillus*, e.g. F. *tantin*, *tantinet*, It. *tantino*, *tantinetto*, Sp. *tantico*, *tantillo*, etc. In Modern F. we have *tantet*, *tantin* (obs.), *tantinet*, for which the D.G. quotes (fourteenth century) "Icelluy *tantet* de an ou petit an"; "Un *tantin* de polygamie, quoi que l'on dise, fait grand bien" (Scarron); "Combien qu'il n'ayme bruyt ne noise, si lui plaist-il ung *tantinet*" (Villon). These words are used either as nouns of quantity, e.g. "un *tantinet* de pain," or as adverbs, e.g. "Il a l'âme un *tantet* féroce" (Regnard). "Louez Dieu un *tantinet*" (Rabelais). Littré quotes also Froissart (*tantet*), and gives a form *tantelet* (fifteenth century). Godefroy has (s.v. *tantin*)—

"Vers eus s'adresse ce mutin,
Disant: Attendez un *tantin*."
(Arest. Amor.)

(Cf. quotation from Heywood, above.)

"Au bœuf et a l'asne Martin
Pour le chauffer un *tantin*
Fut présenté presque nu";

and (s.v. *tantinot*, *tantinet*)—

"Rendez le nous ung petiot
Pour nous jouer un *tantinot*"
(Greban, Passion);

and Comp.—

"Jusqu'a tant que la voye
Ung *tantet* essayé j'avroye."

"Elle mist au dit galand un *tantinet* d'herbe entre sa chemise et le dos" (1587).

“ Mon beau petit sade groignet,
Que je te baise ung *tantinet*.”

(Mist. du viel Test.)

I suggest that *tiny* is an aphetic form of *tantinet*, which belongs to the same style of language. If introduced into E. in the sense of “tant soit peu,” “très petite quantité” (Littré, Godefroy), “never so little” (Cotgrave), it could be felt as a compound *tantinet*, never so little, tantulum. Cotgrave has “*tantinet*: m. un tan, a little, small deale, poore quantitie, never so little.” For the aphæresis cf. also *tivy* for *tantivy*.

Note.—In Professor Skeat’s “Notes on English Etymology,” pp. 300–2, will be found other early examples of *tiny*. As I disagree with his conclusion, I think it best to leave this article just as I wrote it before seeing his.

Tret.—Attempts at connecting this word (older *treat*, *trete*, Century) with F. *trait(e)* have generally been based upon a supposed connection with an allowance for waste in transport. The Century says: “an allowance formerly made to purchasers of certain kinds of goods on account of their being obliged to transport their purchases.” No authority is given for this statement, which I regard as a myth. E. “*tret*, a certain allowance that is made by merchants, before a commodity is garbled from its refuse” (Phillips, 1678), is not connected with transport, but, like *tare*, with weighing. It is from F. “*trait*, the turn of the scale, Ausschlag der Wage” (Sachs-Villatte). Furetière (1727) has “*trait*, en termes de mécanique, est le poids ou la force mouvante qui emporte l’équilibre. Un poids en équilibre ne trebuche point, si on n’y ajoute quelque chose pour le *trait*. Le frottement des parties qui se fait dans les machines demande une augmentation de force pour le *trait*. Les petits poids ne reviennent pas aux grands à cause du *trait*.” This is not in the D.G., but the word appears to be still in use commercially. In a work on commercial correspondence (Glauser & Poole, London, 1902) there is a list of ‘allowances’ under the heading “Pesage de la marchandise.” The list includes *tare*, *surtare*, *vidangs*, and *trait*, the last being thus explained: “On appelle *trait* ce qui emporte l’équilibre d’une balance et la fait trébucher. Pour certaines marchandises (huiles) où l’on pèse très juste, le vendeur accorde par facture une réduction de tant pour cent ou par pesée qu’on appelle *trait*.” Cf. It. *tratto*. The F. word *trait* (L. *tractum*) is almost as overworked as its German equivalent *Zug*; here it has its original meaning, ‘pull.’

F. *traite* has two commercial meanings—(1) ‘bill, draft’; (2) ‘transportation,’ chiefly in the phrase “*la traite des noirs*, the Slave Trade.” Cf. It. *tratta*. Neither of these has any connection with *tret*.

To trick.—Professor Skeat recognizes three verbs: (1) to deceive, F. *tricher*, (2) to delineate a coat of arms, Du. *trekken*, (3) to deck out, from the same verb. It is, however, difficult to see how a verb meaning simply ‘to sketch’ (Cotgrave has “*esbaucher*, in painting, to *tricke*”) could have acquired the meaning of ‘to adorn,’ with a personal object. Neither Holyoak nor Gouldman record *trick* in the sense of ‘deceive’ or in the technical sense of heraldry. Holyoak has “to trimme, decke, *tricke*, or dresse up, 1. polio, perpolio, orno, adorno, excolo, concinno, 2. limo, apparo, curo,” and Gouldman much the same. Littleton has “to *trick* or trim, orno, exorno”; “a *trick*, techna, dolus, *trica*” (= *trick* in the sense of trifle), but also nothing about heraldry. Cooper does not appear to use *trick* as a gloss to any of the Latin verbs given by Holyoak, so that it may be concluded that the word was not familiar before the middle of the sixteenth century. It is not in Palsgrave. I suggest that E. *to trick*, in the sense of ‘adorn,’ is F. “*étriquer*, i. (marine) amincir (une pièce de bois) pour qu’elle s’applique exactement à une autre. ii. priver d’ampleur” (D.G.). Both of these meanings contain the idea of ‘trimming,’ and Littré gives as examples “Voilà un plan bien *étriqué*”; “Cette scène est bien *étriquée*.” It is given by Godefroy in the sense of ‘serrer.’ Cotgrave’s evidence leaves little doubt as to the identity of the two words. He gives “*estriqué*, pranked, decked, neat, fine, spruce, *trickt* up”; “*s’estriquer*, to pranke, *tricke*, decke, or trimme up himselfe.”

For the following etymological note I am indebted to Professor Baist: “O.F. (Northern) *estrique* = *racloire*,¹ cf. Walloon *striche*, *strichi*² (Grandgagnage); probably from Salian-Frankish *strika*.³ *Étriquer* has not in Mod. F. dialect the meaning given by Cotgrave, but it is confirmed by Namur ‘*si ristrichi*, se pimper, s’attifer.’”

Trinket.—Professor Skeat regards “*trinket*, a small ornament,” as an extended use of M.E. “*trenket*, a shoemaker’s knife.” “Tusser speaks of ‘trinkets and tooles.’ Hence it seems to have meant a toy-knife, such as ladies wore on chains; and, generally, a small

¹ “*racloire*, strickle” (Cotgrave).

² See also Remacle, *strig*.

³ See Schade, *striche*.

ornament. Prob. from O. North F. *trenquer*, to cut." There can be little doubt as to the derivation of "*trinket*, a knife," though it is curious that Palsgrave defines it somewhat differently: "*Trenket*, an instrument for a cordwayner, batton a torner" (p. 282); "*trynket*, a cordwayner's toole, baton a tourner soulies" (p. 283). The Prompt. Parv. has "*trenket*, sowtarys knyfe, auxorium"; the Cath. Angl. "*trenket*, ausorium," etc.; Junius, "*scalprum sutorium*, Schuhmesser, *trenchet*, *trinchetta*," etc.; Cotgrave, "*trenchet* de cordouannier, a shoemakers cutting knife"; Oudin, "*trinchete*, *trenchet* de cordonnier"; Veneroni and Castelli, "*tranchet* de cordonnier, *scalprum sutorium*"; Furetière, "*trenchet* de cordonnier, de bourrelier, et autres ouvriers travaillans en cuir, qui leur sert à couper"; D.G., "*tranchet*, outil de cordonnier pour couper le cuir," etc. The Latin dictionaries (Cooper, Holyoak, Gouldman, Littleton) do not seem to record it either in the English part or as a gloss to *scalprum sutorium* ("a shoemakers paring knife or shaving knife," Cooper). They give "*trinket*, a sail" (s.v. *dolon*). It is difficult to believe that so technical an instrument as a shoemaker's knife should have acquired the sense of 'trifle, gewgaw,' which seems to be the oldest sense of *trinket*. Littleton, the first of the four above-mentioned to record it, gives *nugamentum*, *recula*. Cotgrave has it under "*babioles*, trifles, nifles, *trinkets*, toys," and also under *menuailles*, and it is used by Shakespeare in the same sense (=trumpery, "Winter's Tale," iv, 4). I suggest that it is a nasalized form of **tricket*. The noun *trick* is used in exactly the same sense, e.g., "A knack, a toy, a *trick*, a baby's cap" ("Taming of the Shrew," iv, 3); "The women of the country wear above an hundreth *tricks* and trifles" (Hakluyt); "I prefer that kind of tire; it stirs me more than all your court-curles, or your spangles, or your *tricks*: I affect not these high gable-ends, these Tuscan tops" (B. Jonson). Cf. *tricking* in "Get us property and *tricking* for our fairies" ("Merry Wives," iv, 4). For the nasalization cf. *trinkle* for *trickle*, Prov. E. (Halliwell) and S. (Douglas), e.g., "Her yellow hair, beyond compare, Comes *trinkling* down her swan-white neck" (Burns). So also Prov. E. and I. *trinket* for *tricklet* (Century), E. *prink* for *prick* and even *trink* for *trick*, "His shyrt after the nu *trink*" (1575, quoted by Century), and *trinkery*. The word *tricket* exists in E., but not in the exact sense required. Halliwell gives it as (1) the game of bandy wicket, (2) a card game. In the first of these it is apparently F. "*triquet*, battoir étroit avec lequel on joue à la

courte paume" (Littré), which is a diminutive of F. *trique*, a cudgel. Godefroy has *triquet*, *trinquet*, *tringlet*, *trimblet* for games played with dice (see Du Cange, *trinquetum*), and *trinicle*, sorte de joyau (1474).

Turrel.—"A sort of tool used by coopers" (Bailey, 1736). The Latin dictionaries up to Littleton do not appear to register the word. Littleton has "*turrel* which coopers use, terebella." For the Latin word the earlier dictionaries give only 'wimble' or 'auger.' *Turrel* is, however, given by Cotgrave (v. *barroir*, *tirefond*), and seems to have been an everyday word in the eighteenth century (Coles, 1703, Boyer, 1742, Ainsworth, 1773). It is given in some modern dictionaries, but I doubt whether it is ever used, except perhaps by coopers. The etymology of the word is complicated by the existence in the Romance languages of two groups of words which, owing to accidental resemblance in form, are somewhat difficult to divide up; v. Diez, s.v. *taraire*. I think, however, that it is probably the Pic. *térelle*, which Diez derives from *terebellum*, and that it has been influenced by O.F. "*touret*, instrument servant à percer" (Godefroy); ". . . also, a drill, the instrument where-with holes are made into metall," etc. (Cotgrave). It has no connection with "*terrier*, auger," which belongs to the other group, F. *tarière*.

Turret.—In the sense of 'a ring in a horse's bit' this word is used by De Quincey (Century). The Century's derivation is "prob. O.F. **touret* equiv. to *tournet*, a ring in the mouth of a bit, from *tourn-*. Same as *terret*." The latter word is a corruption of *turrel*, which is from O.F. *touret*, a fairly common word, of which Godefroy, s.v. *toret*, gives copious examples with the definition "anneau double qui empêche les jets d'un faucon ou toute autre courroie de s'embrouiller." It is also in Cotgrave—"touret, . . . also, the chain which is at the end of the checke of a bit; also, the annulet, or little ring whereby a hawkes lune is fastened unto the jesses." Oudin gives "*touret*, anillo de pihuelas (i.e. jesses)." Both Cotgrave and Oudin also give *tournet*, meaning practically the same thing, but there is no need to invoke it in order to explain *turret*. The word seems to have been common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Palsgrave gives "*tyrettes* for a grayhounds collar, bouclettes"; and in the Bury Wills and Inventories (p. 16) "my lityll bagge of blakke ledyr with a cheyne and *toret* of siluyr" (1463). The correct derivation, with the meaning "ring on a dog's collar" (Chaucer), is given by Stratmann & Bradley.

As the above quotations from Cotgrave and the Bury Wills show, it was not limited to this use (v. definition in Godefroy).

Madrigal.—This, says Miss Charlotte K. Saunders, is not from *mandra*, as given in the N.E.D., but from *matricale* = maternum; so that *madrigal* means a song in one's mother tongue, the vernacular. Professor Rajna states that this derivation is accepted by all competent Italians.

The following are brief summaries of etymological notes which I have recently published in the *Academy*:—

January 16, 1909. Docket.—Earliest form *doggette* (1483). It. "*doghette*, bendlets in armory" (Torriano); cf. *label*. This *doghette* is a dimin. of It. "*doga*, a bende in armory, a garbe or border about a garment" (Torriano); the older meaning is a 'barrel-stave' (F. *douve*, Germ. *Daube*). Semantic parallels are E. *list*, *scroll*, Germ. *Zettel* (*schedule*), F. *bordereau*, all meaning approximately 'docket,' but etymologically 'shred, strip.' Change of form chiefly due to E. *cocket*, often coupled with *docket*, and occasionally equivalent to it. It. *doghette* does not appear to be recorded in business sense, but cf. *label*, *ticket*, which have assumed in E. meanings not occurring in F.

February 6. Awning.—Perhaps derived from the name of a kind of sailcloth; cf. F. "*cotonnine*, awning" (Jal, Lescallier). Cotgrave has "*aulonnes*, canvas," etc. This is the famous *toile d'Olonne*, which has forms and variants in all the Romance languages (see Jal, s.v. *toile*). Cf. *dowlas*, *lockram*, *poldavy*, all named after villages in Brittany. Is *awning* for **aulonning*? Very doubtful. Wedgwood's conjecture (F. *auvent*) is certainly wrong.

March 27. Scar.—Used of a mark on the skin, this word has two separate origins. "*Scar*, a scab, also written *esc(h)ar*" (Bailey), is O.F. "*escare*, croûte qui se forme sur la peau" (Godefroy), L. *escara*, Gk. *ἐσχάρα*, "fire, cauterization." "*Scar*, a cicatrice," is identical with "*scar*, steep cliff" (connected with *shear* as *cliff* is with *clip*), and hence with F. "*eschare*, brèche." It appears in M.E. as "*scarre*, rima" (Prompt. Parv.), and is used by Gower (Prol. to Conf. Am.) of a 'fissure.' So the other European languages express the same idea by words meaning 'seam, mark,' etc., e.g., L. *cicatrix* (seam), Sp. *tropa* (fold of a dress), *costuron* (large seam), *señal* (sign), Germ. *Narbe* (connected with 'narrow'), Du. *wondt-teecken* (wound-token),

It. *segno* (mark). Palsgrave has "*scarre* of a wounde, *cousture*, *trasse*, *cicatrice*." The two *scars* have been confused.

May 8. **Pun.**—There is also a form *pundigrion* (N.E.D.), of which *pun* is a clipped form (cf. *cit*, *mob*, etc.). The sixteenth century F. for *pun* was *pointe*. It. *puntiglio* is recorded (1584) in the sense of quibbling, word-splitting, cavilling, "*argutia*, *Spitzfindigkeit*," and Ainsworth (1736) has "*argutor*, to pun." *Pundigrion* may be an illiterate attempt at spelling *puntiglio*. The parallel history of F. *pointe* makes it likely that *pun* also ultimately belongs to *punctum* (*Spitze*).

May 15. **Dodge.**—I suggested that if the original meaning was to 'swerve, wobble' (see Torriano) this might be O.F. "*douger*, to trip, of a horse" (only in Palsgrave and Cotgrave). Mr. Mayhew (*Academy*, May 22nd) pointed out that *douger* would give *dudge*. Palsgrave's *douger* seems inexplicable.

May 29. **Dodge.**—Godefroy has a verb *doquier*, *dokier*, occurring twice in one passage, and evidently referring to some 'dodging' manoeuvre of a knight's horse in jousting. This would be a Picard form of O.F. **dochier*, and probably represents O.Du. "*docken* (*duycken*), to duck." In Binnart's Biglotton (1676) *duycken* is glossed "*diverticula quærere*," i.e. *dodge*. E. *dodge* might therefore represent an older **dotch* (cf. *grutch*, *grudge*), and Palsgrave's verb may be a mistake or misprint for **dochier*. This is pure conjecture.

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XI.—ON THE OLD PLURALS IN FRISIAN (§ 1),
AND THE OLD GERMANIC SUFFIX *ĪN* (§ 2).
By JOHN S. WESTLAKE.

[Read at the Society's Meeting on March 5, 1909.]

§ 1.—There are three strong nom. acc. plur. forms of the *-os* masculines in the Hunsigo MS.: *-ar*, *-an*, *-a*—*dagar*, *daga*, *dagan*. These plurals, as found in the extant MS. and in the Friesische Rechtsquellen of Richtofen, would seem at first counting to be almost indiscriminate in their use. But a careful consideration shows that their use varies largely according to the legal headings and subject-matter. The only possible solution of this curious grouping, aside from a confusion which would be in practice impossible, lies in the assumption, which must also be taken on other grounds, of successive scribes and copyists working on various MSS. which have been brought into one later whole.

These forms have to be taken according to their position in the various documents originally making up the Hunsigo MS. The Constitutions and Landlaws use *-ar* both as nom. and acc.; *-an* as acc. plur. strong masculines and nom. plur. weak masculines; and *-a* as acc. plur. strong masculines, nom. and acc. plur. weak masculines: *dagar*, nom. and acc.; *dagan*, acc.; *guman*, nom. plur.; *guma*. The 1252 Kūren use *-an* practically exclusively for nom. acc. plur. strong and weak masculines, besides *-a* weak stems: *dagan*, *guman*, *guma*. The 1252 Fines use *-ar* nom. and acc. strong masculines, besides *-an* used as strong nom. (and acc.) masculine, as well as for masculine consonantal stems (*thōthan*, 'teeth') and weak stems; *-an* is also met with in ancient passages in the gen. sing. weak *-an* stems: "fira thene sunnandei and there heliche degan," where *-an* is used both as gen. sing. weak fem. (in *sunnan*) and also as acc. plur. masculine of a strong noun. This agrees with the oldest Northumbrian, where the solitary gen. sing. weak *-an* stem masc. and fem. was in *-an* (Leiden Riddle, "wullan fliusum"), whereas the acc. sing. *-an* stem was in *-u*. The only example to the contrary did not exist in reality, *sefu tornas* being merely a conjectural restoration of Professor Napier's to suit a Runic hypothesis, where he had remodelled this genitive from six accusatives, which are of

different morphological ancestry. This difference in the forms would be caused possibly by the presence of a final in *-s* in the gen. sing. and nom. plur. in Indo-Germanic *-onos*, *-ones*. Probably we have here to deal with a levelling out which made *-u* (*ōn*) forms the regular ones in the accusative. The *-u* of these Northumbrian forms, e.g. *eorþu*, is of the same origin as the Old Saxon *u* in *tungun*, the Old High German *u* in *zungūn*, and the Old Norse *u* in *tungu*, *tungur*. It comes from a long *-ō* before a primitive Germanic *-n*, which would be preserved until the last period of the West Germanic or, better still, the English-Frisian finality laws (Auslautgesetze) by an original vowel following it, which had itself disappeared. These *-u* forms might well be older, then, than the *-an* forms of West Saxon and Frisian. Their existence might be owing to the long vowel of the feminine being carried over into the accusative and thence to the masculine accusative, the masculine nominative having, of course, also a long vowel, whose difference of accentuation was not a gender mark in primitive Germanic; cf. the Latinized nom. fem. *idistāvisō* or *idisiāvisō*. The gen. sing. masc. and fem. *-an* might come thus: I.G. *-on(o)s*, *-on(e)s* > Germ. *anz* > *ann* > *an*.

Having briefly considered the possible relations of the English-Frisian *-an* and *-u* forms in the weak stems to each other, we must now pass to consider the relations of this form *-an* and its later development *-a* to the strong masculine plural forms in *-an*, *-a*, and incidentally in *-ar*.

There are two Germanic nom. and acc. plur. forms in the strong stems. The nom. form is that of the masculine and feminine forms in *-ōs* in primitive Germanic (from the originally differing masculines in *-ōs* and feminines in *-ās* of Indo-Germanic). The acc. plur. form masculine was *-ans* Germanic (for Indo-Germanic *-ons*). The fem. acc. plur. was, of course, the same as in the nom. plur. Now, the three Old Frisian forms are, as above stated, *-ar*, *-a*, *-an*. The fem. plur. *-ōs* stem (Germanic) is *-a* in Old Frisian as in Old West Saxon, e.g. W.S. *lufa*. Of these forms it is obvious that the Old Frisian *-an* forms do not come from the Germanic *ōz* (*ōs*) forms, and since in the masculine the only representatives of Germanic *ōz* (*ōs*) are *-ar*, *-a* and the fem. nom. and acc. plur. *ō* stems (Germanic) are in *a*, it is clear that *a* goes back to Germanic *ōz* both in the Frisian nom. plur. masc. and the English-Frisian nom. plur. fem., but *-an* can only be equal to Indo-Germanic *-ons*, Germanic *-anz*.

The history then would be: Germanic $-on \begin{smallmatrix} (os) \\ (os) \end{smallmatrix} > -ons > onz > anz$, Germanic $-ons > onz > anz$, O.E. Fr. $-anz > ann > an$, remaining in certain Hunsigo dialects, $> a$ in others. The $-an$ plurals could not come from $-en$ in Middle Low German. And this is owing to the simple fact that the Middle German forms had much earlier become $-en$.

The history of the difference between nom. plur. $-ar$ and nom. plur. masc. $-a$ is more difficult; $-a$ in Hunsigo MS. seems to be partly due to loss of final $-r$ in late Old Frisian in the 1252 Fines, as is also the regular confusion of nom. $-ar$ and Germ. $-a$ after $-tech$ numerals (*thritech*) in the Fines.

This would seem to be pointed out by the regular loss of $-r$ in nearly all the modern Frisian dialects. The ancient usage was, of course, $-a$ gen. plur. after $-tech$ and $-hund$ numerals, *sextich penninga*, $-ar$ after others, *sex dagar*, since the $-tech$ and $-hund$ forms were originally nouns qualified by numerals and adjectives and governing genitive plurals. When once final r was lost, under any conditions absolute confusion between $-ar$ and $-a$ must have entered in. The nominative and genitive plurals masculine must have become confused, i.e. we should have both *sextich penninga* and *sex daga*. The $-a$ forms can also possibly be derived from the $-an$ forms under different accentual conditions. But in this latter case it would be, of course, derived from the accusative plural masculine forms with loss of final $-n$.

In other Frisian MSS., as in O.E., the difference seems to be primitive Germanic and of accentual origin, since the masculine $-as$, $-ar$ answered to the suffix stresst Lithuanian and Slavonic nom. plur. masc.; whereas the feminine $-a$ in O.E. and O.Fr. answers to the *stem* stresst nom. plur. fem. in Lithuanian and Slavonic (*mērgos*). This does not refer to the primitive Indo-Germanic accent or stress, for the Slavonic and Baltic accent system differs therefrom in several sporadic shiftings of the stress from the flexional syllable on to the stem, as well as in the organized accentual changes recognized by Fortunatov, Hirt, and others. One of these is the drawing back of the stress on to the stem or root in the feminine nominative plurals as in Lithuanian *mērgos*, whilst the masculine nominative plurals have a variable accent under other laws. The loss of the s or r in the nom. plur. fem. in English-Frise can only be referred to a similar drawing back of the accent in this form, for otherwise the nom. plurals masculine

and feminine must agree as they did in Indo-Germanic and do in Old Norse *armar*, *gjafar*, where *ar* = I.G. *ās*, *ās*. The loss of *r* in Old English-Frese shows that the sound was weak enough (untrilled?) finally to be lost early when it had no heavy secondary stress. Such a heavy stress existing where final *r* is kept would seem to be due to the perseverance of the old stress position (as in the masculine plur.) on the Indo-Germanic circumflex.

It would be necessary on this hypothesis to assume that the throwing back of the stress on to the first syllable began at first sporadically—probably earlier than the working of Verner's law—before it became generalized through the arising of the heavy initial dynamic stress. Verner's law under this theory did not operate on an accent scheme which was similar in all respects to the Indo-Germanic, but on one which had already undergone several sporadic changes. The keeping of *-s* then answered to the primitive Baltic-Slavonic stress laws, and a new light is thrown on the Germanic gradual accent shifting. The *-u* stems are also stem stressed in Baltic, and hence have lost their final *-s*, *-r* (*sunā*). The *-a*, for which we should expect *-i* (**syne* = **sunī*), was due to the use of the *-ōs* stem plural to the *-u* masculines, as in Baltic (*vaisius*, but *vaisiai*) and Slav. tongues, the two declensions becoming early mixed together. The stress place of the *-u* declension, however, prevails. That is to say, that Indo-Germanic **sūneues* became replaced by **sūnōs*, or, better, English-Frese *sūnōz* replaced Germanic *sūniuz*. The old I.G. accent must then have remained at least as a strong secondary accent when circumflex and *persistent* (unshifted) under the conditions formulated by Professor Axel Kock until the English-Frese race and language had become a separate entity. Possible survivals of other stress placing are O.E. *wealdas*, etc., O.Fris. *frethar*.

§ 2.—In Cæsar the form *Silua Bācēnis* (emendation for *Silua Lacēnis*). This *Bācēnis* was the same as our *beechen*, O.E. *bēcen* (= *bōkin*). It was obviously the oldest recorded form of the suffix *-in*. According to Brugmann this suffix *-in* equalled either Indo-Germanic *-inos* (locative) or *-inos* (genitive). These forms come either from locative *ei* + suffix *nos* or genitive *ī* (Latin *domini*, Keltic *eich*) + *nos*. Of these two forms only the locative is found kept in Germanic, where (in Old English) it has even strayed from its province into the feminine stems. Thus Old English *daegi hraecli*, but also feminine *rōdi*. This is further shown by

the fact that there is no known example of Early Germanic \bar{e} from Indo-Germanic \bar{i} . The $-\bar{e}$ - of *Bacēnis* could not well come from $-\bar{i}$ -; it must therefore have come from $-ei-$. But this $-\bar{e}$ also is equal to the later form $-in$ (*bōkīn*). Hence one would suppose Indo-Germanic $ei > \bar{e}$ about Cæsar's time in Germanic, and later this \bar{e} (which was not of like quality to primitive Germanic \bar{e}) becomes \bar{i} . This \bar{e} probably survived under conditions in the Germanic \bar{e}^2 , which had generally parallel forms in \bar{i} . O.E. *tīr* (= * $\sqrt{dēi}$), O.H.G. *ziari* (= * $tēri$), O.E. *wīr*, O.H.G. *wīar*, O.E. *sōir*, O.H.G. *skēro*, *skiaro*, O.E. *cēn*, O.G. *kien*. The example of Greek $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, Gothic *mizdō*, O.E. *mēd*, *meord*, O.H.G. *mēta*, as well as the numerous reduplicated perfects with operation of Verner's law, point to early pretonic conditions as being essential to the retention of \bar{e}^2 of whatever origin. The origins for Germanic \bar{e}^2 are probably (1) I.G. *ei*, (2) I.G. \bar{e} , lengthened to \bar{e} by compensatory conditions in Germanic, e.g. *fēngon*, (3) Indo-Germanic $-\bar{e}$ -, lengthened under unknown conditions into $-\bar{e}$ -, at least in so-called West-Germanic dialects. The pretonic conditions necessary to the keeping of \bar{e}^2 are best shown by the working of Verner's law in the plural of the so-called reduplicating verbs, such as *hēton*, *slēpon*, backed by the loss of stem syllables after initial *w* before Germanic *u* = Indo-Germanic \bar{e} as reduced vowel grades, as shown in such preterites as O.E. *wēopon* = *weupun* = *weupun* = *wewupun* = *wewopn*, *eodon* = *eudun* = *ewodn*. Hirt (Ind. Abl.) has postulated stress on the first or reduplicative syllable in the case of the 3rd person plural of the Indo-Germanic perfect (Germanic strong preterite). But the 1st person plural of the same perfect (or Germanic strong preterite) would have had the accentuation on the final syllable: Sanskrit *vavṛtimā*, O.E. *wurdon*. This varying accentuation scheme would have become levelled out with uniform accentuation of the plural. Some verbs would have taken the accentuation of the 1st person plural, some the accentuation of the 3rd person plural. Verner's law would mark those following the accent scheme of the 1st person plural. But Verner's law with long \bar{e} is only found in the 'reduplicating' class of verbs, so-called. Hence this \bar{e}^2 (O.E. \bar{e} , O.H.G. \bar{e} , *ia*) is essentially pretonic. The Frisian Anglian \bar{e} of classes iv, v equals West Saxon \bar{e} and earlier West Germanic \bar{a} , and therefore Germanic \bar{e} , and marks the 3rd person plural scheme (Streitberg, Hirt). The levelling out of the plural accentuations would then have been pre-Verner in date. The change I.G. $ei >$ Germanic \bar{e}^2

(Cæsar's time), \bar{e} (old pretonic), \bar{i} (other positions) does away with any need for a late keeping of $\bar{e}i$, and simplifies the gradation question. It explains the Germanic *Rīn* which Bremer held to be equal to fourth century Keltic *Reinos* (before ei became \bar{e}), and not later *Rhēnus*; since, if $ei > \bar{e}^2 > \bar{i}$, the Germanic tribes could have borrowed the word in Cæsar's time, when they are known to have reached the Rhine, under the later Keltic *Rhēn*-form, and then it would in Germanic have become *Rīn*. This is much more likely than Bremer's theory that they borrowed it at a great distance from the Rhine (probably when they were in Thuringia or Saxony). They would at that time have been near other great rivers, and this would militate against their adoption of a Keltic name for a foreign river, whatever its size.

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**SUPPLEMENT TO THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1907-1910.**



PROPER TERMS :

AN ATTEMPT AT A RATIONAL EXPLANATION OF THE MEANINGS OF
THE COLLECTION OF PHRASES IN "THE BOOK OF ST. ALBANS,"
1486, ENTITLED "COMPAYNYS OF BEESTYS AND FOWLYS," AND
SIMILAR LISTS.

BY

JOHN HODGKIN, F.L.S., F.I.C., F.C.S.,
Member of the Folk Lore Society.

Well I wote that the workes of no writers have appeared to the world in a more curious age than this, and that therefore the more circumspection, and warinesse is required in the publishing of anything that must endure so many sharpe sights and censures . . . My desire and endeavour hath here in concurred (as neere as I could) to please all, and not in any sort unto any be offensive . . . And if I may happen to find this my labour so well pleasing and accepted of, as I wish it may be, I shall then be much encouraged (God lending life) to continue my study in the same kind.

RICHARD VERSTEGAN, 1605.

Yet doe I notwithstanding submit my selfe and doings, to the iudgement of the discreet, learned, and wise, . . . knowing it is hard to please few, harder to please many, impossible to please all: I leaue these my labours to the view of all, so to bee censured as they shall finde themselves profited by them. Vale.

JOHN MINSHEU, 1623.

I WISH here to express my thanks to those who in one way or another have helped me in this matter: to the Philological Society for accepting my paper for publication, and to Dr. Furnivall for his kindness in having arranged for this to be done; to various gentlemen for permission to make and publish transcripts, viz., Lord Harlech (Porkington MS. 10), the College of Arms (Robert of Gloucester MS.), Rev. Professor Skeat ("Nominale sive Verbale"), W. W. Greg, Esq. (Femina MS.), F. Madan, Esq. (transcript of "Lytyll John" list); and last, but not least, to Dr. Henry Bradley, for his most valuable aid in assisting me to revise the proofs for publication. Dr. Bradley, in a manner as kind as it was scholarly, has supplied many emendations and suggestions, of which the fullest possible use has been made, and without his friendly help there would have been many blemishes, which, it is hoped, are now satisfactorily removed.

J. H.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1909.

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PART I.

In the year 1486 there was printed at St. Albans an extremely interesting book, which for want of any specific title is generally known as "The Book of St. Albans." In that portion in which the Treatise on Hunting is contained there occurs a list which is headed "The Compaynys of beestys and fowlys," and consists of a strange and motley collection of queer expressions, which at first sight are not easily explicable. On reference to such of these terms as are contained in the portions already issued of that monumental work, the New English Dictionary, it is found that where the explanations are given they are generally stated to be 'technical,' 'fanciful,' or 'alleged' terms for a 'company' of this or that, and we are told that these were "artificial terms invented in the fifteenth century as distinctive collectives referring to particular animals or classes of persons"; and it was in order to get at the root of the matter, and settle it once and for all, that the present investigation was undertaken, and I hope to be able to show from the evidence collected that the majority of these are not company terms, and that there are no solid grounds for supposing them to be such.

As the Italian proverb says, "*Chi vuol dell' acqua chiara, vada al' fonte.*" I have accordingly made a duplicate search, first of all going back to the St. Albans and similar lists, and seeing what they say about the character or nature of the terms, and then checking this experience by wading through the principal dictionaries, from the "Promptorium Parvulorum" upwards, to see if such explanations were included, and if a mistake in interpretation had arisen, to determine its origin, and to trace its subsequent course. For this purpose I have made every endeavour to procure any such lists that I became aware of, and the following is the result. They may be divided into various classes—

- A. The MS. lists.
- B. The printed lists, which include "The Boke of St. Albans" and its literal descendants, and certain lists in books printed by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde.
- C. The lists of avowedly company terms given in Hunting Books.

THE MS. LISTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:—

Egerton MS., 1995 B.Mus.

Porkington MS., 10, belonging to Lord Harlech, who very courteously permitted me to make a transcript.

Harley MS., 541 B.Mus.

Harley MS., 2340 B.Mus.

Add. MSS. 33,994 B.Mus.

"Robert of Gloucester" MS., College of Arms.

Digby MS., 196, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

A MS. communicated by Gerard Langbaine to Franciscus Junius for his "Etymologicum Anglicanum," Oxon., 1743.

In Class B we have the following:—

1. The Hors, the Shepe, & the Ghoos, printed by Caxton, c. 1476 (?); Roxburgh Club Reprint, 1822.
2. The Booke of Curtesye or lytyll John, printed by Caxton, Bodl. Library, a fragment only.
3. The Book of St. Albans, 1486.
4. Do., printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1496.
5. Do., printed by Abraham Vele, c. 1560.
6. Do., printed by Wm. Coplande for Rd. Tottell, c. 1561.
7. Do., printed by Edward Alde, 1586.
8. A Ievvell for Gentry, John Helme, 1614.

In Class C—

1. The Booke of Hunting, George Turbervile, 1575.
2. The Gentleman's Academie, G. M(arkham), 1595.
3. The Display of Heraldrie, John Guillim, 2nd ed., 1632.
4. Gentleman's Recreation, Nich. Cox, 3rd ed., 1686.
5. Gentleman's Recreation, Richard Blome, 1686.
6. Academy of Armory and Blazon, Randle Holme, 1688.

Out of these twenty references it surely ought to be possible to arrive at a definite conclusion one way or the other.

We will now see what the lists say, or omit to say, by way of preface or heading to the various compilations. The Porkington MS. 10 starts straight away without any heading at all as to the meaning of the terms,

A Herd of harttus/

so that here, at all events, there is no evidence to warrant the interpretation of the terms as fanciful, technical, or alleged definitions of companies.

The Egerton MS., probably written about the middle of the fifteenth century, is fortunately very precise, and offers a complete explanation of the terms. Let us see what it says:—"Note ye the properteys that longythe to a yonge gentylle man to haue knowynge of suche thyngys that longythe vnto hym that he fayle not in hys propyr termys that longythe vnto hym as hyt shall folowe hereynne wrytynge, etc."

Then follows the well-known description of the 'propyrteys' of a 'grehounde.' Next the list headed by "Termys of venery, etc." So that here, at all events, we have a succinct description of the nature of the terms. They are 'proper terms' for use by a young gentleman, as Mallory says in "King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table" (London, 1816, repr. 1634 ed.), "that thereby, in a manner, all men of worship may discover a gentleman from a yeoman, and a yeoman from a villain." Not only is there no suggestion in the Egerton MS. that these are all company terms, but the list is specifically headed "Terms of Venery, etc."

The next list is in the Harley MS. 541, which has no title or explanatory heading. In the Harl. MS. 2340 the list follows on after the "Terms of Venery, etc.," which include "a boye is bedded brawlyng."

The Addl. MS. 33,994 heads its short list "Distretacio Rerum," the first word being the Med. Latin *Discretacio* (*discretare*, to make a difference, Diefenbach). The heading therefore indicates that the list shows the distinctions that are to be observed in speaking of different classes of things—'proper terms,' in fact. The MS. shows the word quite distinctly as spelled with *st* and not *se*, but the fifteenth century scribes used the *t* and *c* very promiscuously, so that this particular list may have been copied from an earlier list where it was quite uncertain as to which letter, *t* or *c*, was intended. (See Lumby's remark in the preface to his Higden.) The Langbaine, College of Arms, and Digby MSS. have no heading or direction as to the meanings of the terms.

The Langbaine MS., according to Junius, taught him that "coetum chrysomitrium a chirring of goldfinches vocant aucupes," though why it should have done so he omitted to state. That Junius was not always looked upon as an infallible authority is

shown by the Editors' Preface to Bishop Gawin Douglas' "Eneidos" in the 1710 edition, in the following passage:—

"We were at first full of Expectation from what the Famous *Franciscus Junius* has left in MS. upon our Author, extant in the *Bodleian Library*; But we met with no small disappointment, after that by the Favour of a worthy Gentleman we had obtained a Copy of his *Index Alphabeticus Verborum Obsoleteorum, quæ occurrunt in versione Virgilii Æneidos per G. Douglas; cum relatione ad paginas*. Many of the hardest words are wholly omitted, he has mistaken the Meaning of others, and very rarely gives the Original of any."

Before referring to the printed lists it may not be out of place to quote a passage from William Blades' Introduction to the 1881 Facsimile Edition of the 1486 "Book of St. Albans," since it cannot be too strongly urged that notwithstanding that the list of "Compaynys of beestys and fowlys" occurs in "The Book of St. Albans," yet it forms no part whatever of "The Book of Hunting," and derives no consequent authority from its having appeared in conjunction therewith. Hear what Mr. Blades says:— "The same idea controlled the arrangement of 'The Book of Hunting,' which, beginning on sig. e j, ends with Dame Juliana's 'Explicit' on the recto of sig. f iiij. This left the last seven pages of the quaternion to be filled up. Now it was a common practice both with the scribes and with the early printers, when they got to the end of their text and found that a page or two of blank paper was left, to occupy the blank pages with such common household aphorisms or popular rhymes as came easily to the memory, or were at hand in some other book. So here the school-master printer fills up his vacant pages with a number of odd sentences and rhymes, most of which occur over and over again in numerous manuscripts of early poetry.

"Among others we notice the well-known—

' Arise erly,
serue God deuouteli,
and the world besely,' etc., etc.

"Also the folks proverb—

' Too wyues in oon hous,
Too cattys and oon mous,
Too dogges and oon boon,
Theis shall neū accorde ī oon.'

“Then the list of proper terms to be used by gentlemen and those curious in their speech is of very common occurrence—

‘ An herde of Hertis
 An herde of all man dere
 A pride of Lionys
 A sleuth of Beeris,’ etc., etc.

“This was evidently copied from some MS., and ends with ‘ ¶ Explicit ’ and nothing more.”

I desire to call particular attention to these remarks, since it clearly substantiates what has already been stated, that the list has nothing to do with “The Book of Hunting” *as such*, and since it is evident that Mr. Blades did not entertain the slightest idea of these terms being exclusively company terms; they were only “proper terms to be used by gentlemen and those curious in their speech”—and nothing more. Accordingly it is not surprising to find that a similar list is appended for the same reasons to Caxton’s little books.

1. “The Hors, the Shepe, & the Ghoos,” *c.* 1476 (?). The list, however, has no heading or explanation of the terms. The Wynkyn de Worde edition in Bishop Moore’s library, being differently spaced in printing, had not room for the complete list, and only inserted the terms which begin with “An Hare in his forme is sholdrynge or lenynge.”

2. The “lytyll John” list is only fragmentary, being a solitary proof-sheet of the last page of Caxton’s edition (2) of “The Boke of Curtesye,” and is one of the Douce fragments in the Bodleian Library. This list, of which Mr. F. Madan most kindly made me an accurate transcript, is practically identical with the last fifteen terms in “The Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos” list.

3. The next list is that contained in “The Book of St. Albans,” 1486, and is headed “The Companyns of beestys and fowlys,” and this, through the careless omission of the little ‘etc.,’ has probably been the cause of the subsequent misinterpretation of the terms.

4. The 1496 Wynkyn de Worde has the heading similarly, “The companyes of bestys and foules,” following the 1486 edition. This is also the case in (5) Vele (1560) and (6) Tottell (1561), but when we come to (7) Allde (1586), copied by John Helme (8) in his “Ievvell for Gentry” (1614), we find that the list is headed “The proper tearmes and names of companies of Beastes and Foules with others.” It seems to me that the insertion of

the term '*with others*' was intended to indicate that the list contained other proper terms and names than those employed for "companies of Beastes and Foules"—in fact, as the Egerton MS. says, borne out by Mallory, "the propyr termys that longythe to a yong gentyll-man." If the list had been intended to include proper terms and names of companies of 'others' would it not have said '*and others*,' and not '*with others*'? The phraseology of the heading being rather indefinite, I may, however, be wrong in my opinion.

The next series, that of hunting and similar books, deals distinctly with the proper terms for companies of beasts, showing us definitely what they were—

1. The first in this class is George Turbervile's "Book of Hunting," 1575. The second edition printed by Thomas Purfoot, 1611, is identical, as regards these terms, with the first of 1575. The heading here, of this quite short list, is as follows:—"The proper termes for the companies of all beasts, when they are more than one together."

2. The second is Gervase Markham's "Gentleman's Academy," printed for Humfrey Lownes, 1595. The list is headed "Certaine proper termes belonging to all chace."

3. John Guillim's "Display of Heraldrie," second edition, 1632, states that

"Skilful Foresters and good Woodmen
Doe vse to say . . ."

4. The "Gentleman's Recreation," third edition of Nicholas Cox, 1686, states—"Terms to be used for Beasts of Venery and Chase, as they are in Company, one with another."

5. The "Gentleman's Recreation," folio edition of Richard Blome, 1686, "Terms of Art, used for Beasts of Venery and Chase, as they are in Company, one with another."

And lastly 6. Randle Holme's "Academy of Armory and Blazon," 1688, "The Proper Terms given to Beasts when they are in Companies. Birds how termed when many are together." This is a very careless and superficial compilation and cannot be relied upon.

In addition to these lists may be added the lists of Twety, and that in "The Book of Hunting" in "The Book of St. Albans," 1486, etc. The following tabulated list will show what were actually considered to be proper terms for companies:—

	<i>Twety, 14th cent.</i>	<i>B. St. A., 1486.</i>	<i>Turberville, 1575.</i>	<i>G. Markham, 1595.</i>	<i>Gullim, 1632.</i>	<i>N. Cox, 1686.</i>	<i>R. Blome, 1686.</i>
Herd of Harts	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Hindes	*	*	*				
Buckles	*	*	*				
Does	*	*	*				
All manner of Deer				*	*	*	*
Bevy of Roes	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sounder of Swine	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Rowt of Wolves		*	*	*	*	*	*
Trip of Goates			*	*			
Heard of Goates				*			
Richesse of Marternes			*		*	*	*
Slowth of Bears			*				
Hares, 2 A Brase			*		*	*	*
3 A Lease			*		*	*	*
Harts, A Brace of			*				
Hinds, do.			*				
Buckles, do.			*		*	*	*
Does, do.			*				
Bucks, A Lease of			*		*	*	*
Foxes, A Brace of					*	*	*
A Lease of					*	*	*
Conies, 2 A Couple			*		*	*	*
3 A Couple and a half			*				
Rabbetts, 2 A Couple					*	*	*
Litter of Cubbes (Fox)			*	*	*	*	*
Nest of Rabbets				*	*	*	*

It will be noted from this list that the original company list of Twety was confined to terms for deer and wild swine, practically the only animals which were hunted. To this the compiler of "The Book of Hunting," 1486, has added a "Rowt of Wolves." Turberville adopts this list, adds to it others on his own authority which he had observed as being in use, and a "Richesse of Marternes" and a "Slowth of Bears" on the authority of "Sir Tristram," meaning thereby "The Book of St. Albans," these particular terms being given in the list headed "Compayns of beestys and fowlys."

That "The Book of St. Albans" is indicated by Turberville is

shown by a passage in Mallory: "And therefore the book of venery, of hawking, and hunting is called the book of Sir Tristram," and Sir Henry Dryden, amongst others, has shown that "The Book of St. Albans" is practically a metrical version of William Twety's "Le Art de Venerie" and "The Maystre of Game." Turbervile had not himself come across the terms he added on Tristram's authority, for good reasons, as will be shown later on, and he did so in error.

Summing up the evidence as shown by the lists, we have only the incomplete heading in the St. Albans list, and a few of its immediate, and copying, descendants in favour of the company theory, and against this we have the negative evidence in those lists which have no heading, and the direct and explicit directions of the Egerton MS. and the "Distretaço Rerum" heading in the Addl. MS. 33,994, both of which, in my opinion, are corroborated by the corrected headings in the Alde and Helme editions of "The Book of St. Albans," "with others," Mallory's explanation, and lastly Blades' description. Where, then, is there any ground for stating that they are company terms? And it must be remembered that it is either a list of company terms or it is not, and that if it be a list of company terms there are plenty of expressions which it is manifestly impossible to turn into such, which exposes the futility of the contention. There must be no garbling and omission where the difficulty of turning into a company term is too great.

We now come to the second class of evidence bearing on the question. Are these terms included in the old dictionaries as company terms? If they are, well and good; if not, then the only inference and logical deduction is that they were *not* company terms, and that consequently their absence is only in accordance with what one might expect, and is perfectly natural, or that they were *bogus* company terms, which the compilers were sufficiently well informed to omit. A steady but absolutely unproductive search has been made through the following dictionaries, which of a surety would have given some indication of this 'alleged' meaning had it ever existed:—"Prompt. Parvulorum" (c. 1440); "Catholicon" (1483); Palsgrave (1530); Huloet (1552); Huloet, ed. by Higgin (1572); Levin's "Manipulus" (1570); Baret's "Alvearie" (1573); Cooper's "Thesaurus" (1573); Minsheu's "Guide into the Tongues" (1617 and 1627 eds.); Holyoke's "Riders' Dictionarie" (1612); Cotgrave (1650); Blount's

"Glossographia" (1st ed. 1656, 2nd ed. 1661, 3rd ed. 1670); and it was not until I reached Skinner's "Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae" (1671) that I was able definitely to locate the error of misinterpretation which has been followed consistently by subsequent lexicographers.

The fourth section of the "Etymologicon" is entitled "Etymologicon Vocum omnium antiquarum Anglicarum; quæ usque à *Wilhelmo Victore* invaluerunt, & jam ante parentum ætatem in usu esse desierunt, vitatis ubique quæ non obscurè *Romanum* redolent prosapiam," and in this will be found several terms which have been taken from the list printed in "The Book of St. Albans," and if a detailed and critical examination be made of the terms Skinner selected for insertion in his Dictionary, the fallacy of the 'company term' theory will be easily seen. The words that he has chosen from Juliana Barnes' book are as follows:—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Badelynge of Dokys or Ducks. | 13. Serye of fowles. |
| 2. Cete of Grays. | 14. Sculk of foxes. |
| 3. Cherme of Goldfinches. | 15. Scull of Frerys. |
| 4. Gagle of geys. | 16. Sege of herons, or bittours. |
| 5. Kerf of Panters. | 17. Slewthe of beerys. |
| 6. Kyndyll of Cats. | 18. Smear of Caryours (<i>sic</i>). |
| 7. Muster of Peacocks. | 19. Sorde or Sute of Mallards. |
| 8. Nye of feasants. | 20. Sounder of swine. |
| 9. Pase of Asses. | 21. Stode of maarys. |
| 10. Rag or Rake of colts. | 22. Synguler. |
| 11. Rascall of boyes. | 23. Thrave of Throsshers. |
| 12. Scoll of fish. | 24. Tryppe of gete. |
| | 25. Tygendis of pies. |

In all twenty-five terms, which he characterizes either as *Cœtus*, *Agmen*, *Armentum*, *Examem*, or *Grege*, words of similar meaning; in each instance the reference is to Juliana Barnes, so that there can be no possibility of referring the words to any other authority. And his right to classify all of these as company terms is simply based upon that incomplete heading in "The Book of St. Albans," doubtlessly thinking that he was confirmed in this supposition by the term 'Cete of Grays.' He mistakenly considered the word *cete* to be an English equivalent of the Latin word *cœtus*.

It may be well to remark here that internal evidence shows that

Skinner worked from the list given in Wynkyn de Worde's edition, in which various words are misprinted, and furthermore in all probability from a manuscript copy which, as will be seen later on, was incorrectly transcribed.

We will now examine these terms in detail, each of which has been adopted by the N.E.D. as a recognized interpretation. The expressions referred to are given in Skinner's own language. The first is—

1. "Badelynge of *Dokys* or *Ducks*, vox occurrit apud solam *Jul. Barns*, cui videtur Anatum cœtum significare, fort q.d. a *Padling* of *ducks*."

This word is correctly given in the Egerton MS. as a "Padelynge of *Dookysse*," and as it is self-evident that one duck can paddle in the water by itself and does, there is not the slightest reason for any suggestion of this being a company term; it is simply one of the series of proper terms applicable to the characteristics of birds.

2. "Cete of Grays, vox occurrit apud solam *Jul. Barns*, lib. de re Venatica (i.e.) *Cœtus* Taxorum."

In view of the disagreement between our authorities, it is impossible without further evidence to say what this word *cete* meant. As keenness of sight is no characteristic of the badger, the reading *syght* of the Egerton MS. is probably an error; that the term cannot be a proper collective is shown by the fact that the badger is not gregarious.

Turbervile, "Booke of Hunting," 1575, p. 235, says: "As for Fox, Badgerd & other such vermine, you shall seldome see more than one of them at once, vnlesse it be when they engendre; and then their encrease is called *A lytter*." He very naturally, therefore, gives no term for that which does not exist in Nature. Skinner's *cœtus* is certainly a bad guess.

It is worth noting with regard to this particular word *cete* that in the dictionaries which appeared after Skinner's date (1671) Cocker (1715) gives it as "a company of badgers"; so does Coles in the editions of 1685, 1718, 1717, but omits it in the "corrected and improved" edition of 1732; that Blount ("Glossographia," 4th ed., 1674) does not give it, although he gives some other Skinnerisms; that the "Glossographia Nova" (1707 and 1719), Kersey, Dyche, Bailey

(in neither volume), Phillips, and later Nares, do not give the word at all. Even Ash, perhaps the greediest and most indiscriminate word-collector—the Ash of *cœur méchant* fame—does not give it in this sense, but only as the Chaucerian word for ‘city.’ In the dictionaries prior to the “Etymologicon,” of course, it is not found, but Halliwell inserts in his Archaic Dictionary, “Cete, a Company of badgers.”

3. “A Cherme of Goldfinches, vox quæ apud solam Jul. Barns occurrit (i.e.) Cætus Aurivittium, credo ab It. *Ciurma*, Turba vilis hoc à Lat. *Turma*.”

This word *cherme* has many variants, such as *chirm*, *chyrme*, *chirk*, or *chirp*, *chirrup*, etc., and this phrase comes properly under the heading of “Noises of Birds,” of which lists are occasionally given, and as a matter of fact several terms for the noises of birds occur in this St. Albans list, and in the “Nominale sive Verbale,” edited by the Rev. Professor Skeat, we have amongst other headings—

Nomina avium.

Congregacio Avium.

La noyse de oysealx naturelment.

Huloet gives “Chyrme or chur, as byrdes do, *Gingrio*,” for which latter word Cooper in his “Thesaurus” gives the English equivalent of “To churke, or make a chyrme, as birds do.” The word manifestly refers to the noises of birds and not congregation. Why otherwise does Huloet give only this one meaning? That the word definitely refers to the *noise* of birds and not their congregation is shown by the following quotation from Harl. MS. 2343, fol. 47a: this is a little MS. on vellum, and contains treatises on the diseases, etc., of hawks, and referring to a certain complaint called the ‘akylls’ says, with regard to the symptoms, “þe schall knowe whan fehe strenyth sodenly heryng no chyrmyng of no byrde,” clearly indicating that this is something to be heard, and not seen as a ‘company’ would be. The etymology of *turma* seems to have been proposed by Skinner to support his ‘company’ theory. The word is the O.E. *cirm*, related to the verb *cirman*, which has cognates in the Germanic languages. The root may perhaps be onomatopœic.

4. "A Gagle of geys (i.e.) gees, sic autem vocat *Jul. Barnes* Cætum anserum, vox proculdubio à sono naturali quem edunt anseres, ὀνοματοποιημένη, v. Cackle."

Skinner rightly enough derives this word from the characteristic sound, and this term, as the last, comes under the heading of "Noises of Birds."

Concerning *gaggle*, the N.E.D. states that it is "One of the many artificial terms invented in the fifteenth century as distinctive collectives referring to particular animals or classes of persons; but unlike most of the others, it seems to have been actually adopted in use"; and quotes a remark from the description of a conjuring trick, from the pen of Reginald Scot, in his "Discoverie of Witchcraft" (1584, Booke 13, ch. xxx, p. 338)—"To make a shoale of gollings drawe a timber log. To make a shoale of gollings, or (as they saie) a gaggle of geefe to seeme to drawe a timber log, is doone by that verie meanes that is vsed, when a cat dooth drawe a foole through a pond or riuier: but handled somewhat further off from the beholders."

This idea receives a certain amount of corroboration from the word *gale*, given in Jamieson's Etym. Dict. Scot. Lang., Paisley, 1880, vol. ii—

"GALE, s., A gale of geese, a flock of geese (Teviotdale). This is said to be a very ancient phrase: Isl. *gagl* signifies *pullus anserinus*, 'a gosling,' and might be transferred to a breed of young geese, or the term might originate from the noise made by a flock. . . . The old phrase in a MS. (*sic*) ascribed to Juliana Barnes as appropriate to this fowl has some resemblance: 'A *gagylyng* of geese'; although I suspect that this is equivalent to modern *cackling*, especially as Juliana was so ill-bred as to illustrate it by the following: 'A *gagylyng* of women.'"

Further, it may be remarked that the term "*Vn pipe de oysealx*, A pipe of briddus," in the "Nominale" (Skeat), under the heading "Congregacio Anium," also seems to strengthen the idea of a company term, but this latter term would seem to apply properly to a company of birds (*smale briddes*, gloss in Bibbesworth's Treatise) under the specific conditions of (collectively) *piping*.

It is therefore possible that *gaggle* may have been genuinely used as a collective, but the ordinary meaning of the word related to the well-known noise of the bird.

The following from George Meriton's "Nomenclatura clericalis,"

1685, four years after Skinner — “The Gagging of a Goose, *Gingritus*; A Flock of Geese, *Polabrum*” — shows that Meriton did not consider there to be any doubt with regard to the meaning, and his little dictionary was especially written for law clerks, for whom exactness in terminology was so essential. Howell, in his “Parly of Beasts; or Morphandra,” 1660, uses both these terms in one single passage—“we brought also thither the silly Swains of the Country like a flock of geese to gaggle up and down the streets with papers in their hats they knew not what about”; and again, in his “*Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*,” book iv, 1, “The gagging of Geese did once preserve the Capitol from being surpriz’d by my Countryman, *Brennus*.”

Coles, in his Dictionary, 1685, follows Skinner, but Blount, 1674, “*Glossographia Nova*,” Cocker, and Bailey all steer clear of this interpretation. Huloet, 1552, gives “Gaggle like a Goose, *Strepo, is*”; he also (1572) says, “Gaggle like a Goose, *Glacito, as*, Author. Philom. *Strepo, is, ut Virgil.*”

‘Nam neque vario videor nec dicere Cinna
Digna; sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.’

‘For neither yet with *varius* verse
Nor Cinna—s myne compare:
J seme a gagglyng goose mong swannes
Of heauenly tunes that are.’”

5. “A Kerf of Panters, occurrit apud solam *Jul. Barns*. Sic autem appellatur Cœtus animalium quorundam, ex sono nemo non suspicaretur *Pantheras* seu *Pardales* intelligi; sed quis unquam Pardalem in Angliâ vidit? Sed unde inquires Kerf? nescio an à Teut. Krafft, Vis, & secundario Multitudo, ut Lat. magna Canum vis, Fr. *Force Escus*, &c.”

Here Skinner makes a grievous mistake, being evidently unacquainted with Wynkyn de Worde’s “The boke of seruyce & keruyng and sewyng & all maner of offyce in his kynde vnto a prynce or ony other estate & all the feestes in the yere” (2nd ed., 1513, and several subsequent editions). Had he only known this book he would have been aware that *to kerfe* was *to carve*, and that a *kerf* was the act of carving or cutting up

food, or the result of such; the word still survives as *kerf*, indicating the cut made by a saw in wood. He would also have found on the very first page of the book, after the "Termes of a Keruer," a paragraph headed "¶ Here begynneth Butler and Panter. Thou shalte be Butler and Panter all the fyrst yere," etc. Now, a panter was a servant who looked after the bread, seeing that it was properly cut and served, *pannetier* in French, and his room or office was called the panneterie, *anglice* pantry, and yet Skinner talks 'learnedly' about "Pantheras seu Pardales," the leopard being introduced by him apparently to show his superior knowledge, a panther at this time being supposed to be a female leopard. [Panther: a female libbard, Cocker, 1715. *Leopard* or *libberd*, a certain *African* beast, otherwise called a panther. This beast is all over full of streaks, or little spots, and is begotten between a pard and a lioness (Phillips' N.W. of W., 1696). But as *pard* is given as "*pard* (Lat.), a certain beast called a Libard," these definitions cannot be considered as either clear or helpful.] Rightly enough does the doctor want to know who ever saw them in England, and then gaily fitting off to *kerf* suggests the German word *Krafft*, strength, as a probable derivation. Skinner's interpretation was adopted by Coles, "Kerf, a great company" (1685 ed.). It was given in the appendix to the fourth edition of Phillips' "New World of Words" (1678), but it was not embodied in the fifth edition (1696), nor in the sixth (1706), edited by J. K., Philobibl., who was John Kersey, who gives the word in the first edition of his "Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum" (1708) as "*kerf*, a notch in wood." Cocker does not give it, nor Bailey, nor Dyche. Ash gives it, quoting Coles, as also does Halliwell, and finally the N.E.D. as "a humorous term for a Company of Pantrymen." Blount, even, who annexed several of Skinner's definitions, does not give it in his fourth edition (1674). Nor does the "Glossographia Nova." The expression simply means that if a "Yonge Gentyll Man" wanted to use the "Proper Terme" for the cutting up of bread by the men-servants deputed for that purpose, he was to speak of it as a "Kerf of Panters."

6. "A Kyndyll of *Cats*, vox occurrit apud solam *Jul. Barns*. Videtur felium Familiam, seu Pullitium, tot sc. quot uno partu excluduntur, & simul aluntur significare, ab

A.S. Cynd, Cynne, Genus, Progenies, hoc à verb. Cennan, Acennan, Parere, Gignere."

This is one of the expressions that has been correctly explained by Skinner, and adopted by Halliwell and the N.E.D., the latter pointing out Randle Holme's error on this point, when, in his list of "Proper Terms given to *Beasts* when they are in *Companyes*," he states for cats the term is "a Kindle, or a Wauling of Cats," this latter term not occurring in any of the lists. For some obscure reason Strutt alters the word to *kendel*.

7. "Muster of *Peacocks* (i.e.) *Cœtus seu Grex Pavonum*, & sane vox est perelegans, & digna quæ in usum revocetur, à Fr. G. *Monstre*, Spectaculum; multi enim pavones gemmatis & stelliformibus suis caudis jucundissimum oculis spectaculum exhibent, vide *Jul. Barns*."

The word *muster* is written *monstre* in the Egerton MS. and *mostur* in the Porkington MS., and simply refers to the habit of this bird in spreading or showing his tail, which is perhaps his most characteristic feature. What a child or a person, who had never seen this fowl before, and saw him in all his glory, would be most impressed by would unquestionably be this showing of his expanded 'tail.'

This error of considering the word to mean a flock or company of peacocks was unfortunately followed by Phillips, N.W. of W., 1706, and Bailey in the 1730 fol. ed., and subsequently. Halliwell does not give it, but Davies (Suppl. Eng. Glossary, 1881) does so and gives a quotation from Washington Irving's "Sketch Book" ("Christmas Day"): "Master Simon . . . told me that according to the most ancient and approved treatise on hunting I must say a muster of peacocks"; but Master Simon was wrong if he meant a company. Cotgrave (1650) defines the Fr. word *moustre* as a muster, view, show, sight; and Holland in his "Plinie," vi, c. 20, tells us that "The *peacocks* farre surpasseth all the rest in this kind, as well as for beautie as also for the wit and understanding that he hath; but principally for the pride and glorie that he taketh in himself. For perceiving at any time that he is praised, and well liked, he spreadeth his taile round, *shewing* and setting out his colours to the most, which shine againe like precious stones." This is a good description of a muster of peacocks. The word

muster when used was apparently a military term, and was also employed in this sense by foreign nations, e.g. *La monstre de gendarmie, mostra di genti di guerra*, etc., as given by Minsheu, who does not give it as a company term for peacocks.

8. "A Nye of *fesasants*, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*.
Videtur Gregem seu Cœtum Phasianorum significare,
à Fr. G. *Nid*, Lat. *Nidus*."

So far, so good, but it has a corresponding meaning to a covey of partridges, i.e. the young brood which accompany the parent birds until the mating season. There are many variations of the form of spelling this word in the lists I have consulted, as the following will show:—

- a Ny of fresauntys (Eg. MS.).
- a Ny of ffeysandys (Porkington MS.).
- a ye of fesūntes (Harl. MS.).
- An Jye of fresauntes (Addl. MS.).
- a je of fesants (Langbaine).
- a Nye of fresaunttys (B. St. Albans).
- any of Fesants (Ievvell for Gentry).

This last entry shows either want of care in revising proofs or else a complete ignorance of what was meant, probably the former. The Harl. MS. 2340, fol. 7, gives the word as *eye*: "And ye schull say I haue fonde a couey of *pertrich* a beuey of *quayles* / and *eye* of *fesauntes*."

9. "A Pase of *Asses*, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*, cui Gregem seu Cœtum Asinorum notat, vel à Fr. G. *Bast*. Clitella, quod frequentissimum ipsorum gestamen est, vel à *Pas*, Passus, Gressus quia sc. lento passu incedunt."

10. "A Rag or Rake of *colts*, vox occurrit apud solam *Jul. Barns*, videtur Cœtum seu Pullitiam Equulorum seu Pullorum Equinorum signare, credo q.d. a Race of *Colts*."

It will be better to take these two terms together, although at first sight the immediate connection be not evident. Halliwell defines the words respectively as a herd or company of asses and

a herd of young colts, whilst the N.E.D. says *pace*, a 'company' or herd of asses, and *rage*, *ragge*, or *rake* (of colts) an alleged name for a 'company' of colts, from *ragged*. There has been more trouble in arriving at what appears to me to be the true and satisfactory explanation of this pair of terms than with any other in the series. Wright, in vol. i, 1857 (Mayer's edition), of his *Vocabularies*, gives a transcript of a "Nominale" of the fifteenth century, and in this list, on p. 209, occurs "*Hic passus*, a rayke," to which he adds a footnote—"A step. This word is no doubt connected with the old English word *rayke* or *rake*, to proceed or go." Apparently he has suggested the word 'step' as an easy translation for *passus*. But this is not what it means. *Passus* and *rayke* are manifestly equivalents, but this explanation will not help us in understanding the St. Albans list; we must therefore go farther afield, and without citing the many references which have been made, it will suffice to give the following from Cotgrave (1650): "*Les passées d'un Cerf, His rack, or passages; the places which he hath gone through or by.*" So that now we have the following pairs of equivalents:—

Hic passus, a rayke.

Une passée, a rack.

So that not the slightest possible doubt can exist as to the meaning of the words *pace* and *rage*, *ragge*, or *rake*. As regards the word *pace*, the Egerton MS. gives it correctly as *passé*, a good equivalent in old English for *passus*. The St. Albans printer, followed by Wynkyn de Worde, drops an *s* and make it *pase*, probably not knowing what it meant; subsequently Vele, Coplande, Alde, Helme, Randle Holme, Halliwell, and the N.E.D. all turn this into *pace*, thus completely losing sight of the fact that the word was originally *passé*.

As regards the word for the colts, *rag* or *rake*, this does not seem to me to have anything whatever to do with *ragged*, but to be rather the same word as is found in the expression given in Brockett's Glossary, 1829, "Rake, the extent of a walk or course. Hence a *sheep rake*." Stratmann gives *raike*, *O. Icol. reik*, *raik* (*rake*), *cursus*, and quotes *M. d'Arthure*, 2985; and also *raike*, 'vagation,' Prompt. 427. The words thus, being more or less synonymous, probably refer to the 'track' or 'walk' of these particular quadrupeds to their feeding-grounds, or elsewhere. A mule-track is a modern term of corresponding idea. It should be

noted that the word *rage* was probably pronounced with the *a* short and the *g* hard, and must not therefore be confounded with the word as used by Chaucer in "The Marchaundes Tale"—"He was al coltish, ful of ragerye," in which this latter word is the A.N. *ragerie*, wantonness, which is the *rage* indicated in the expression "a *rage* of Maydenys" in the St. Albans list. The alternative interpretations which suggested themselves as *pace*, indicating the steady *pace* of asses, in contradistinction to the racking pace or rack of colts (e.g. Canterbury *rack*=canter), will not do now that the fifteenth century Nominale expression is in evidence, and the Egerton MS. List clearly shows that the word for 'asses' was *passé*, not *pace* as we understand it.

11. "A Rascall of boyes. Vox occurrit apud Jul. Barns, videtur ex contextu Cœtum puerorum signare, q.d. Fr. G. *une Racaille des garçons* (i.e.) Vilis turba puerorum."

A reference to the quotations given under the heading 'Rascal' in the N.E.D. will show that the original sense of the word was collective: the offscourings of the people, the rabble, the mob. The later sense, as applied to an individual, does not appear until late in the fifteenth century, and seems, as is natural, for some time to occur only in the plural. At the time when these lists of proper terms were in vogue, the sense of 'rabble' or 'mob' was the ordinary one. This is one of the few terms in the list applied to persons which are genuine collectives.

Cotgrave (1650 ed.) gives—"Peautraille: f. *Scrapings or offalls of skins; and hence, a rascall, or base crue of scoundrells.*"

Halliwell correctly explains it as follows:—"Rascall: Common, low. It is the translation of *commune* in Hollyband's Dictionarie, 1593. The word also occurs in this sense in 'The First Part of the Contention,' ed. 1843, p. 31. *Rascalys*, low people, refuse of anything."

The Hon. Daines Barrington ("Observations on the more Ancient Statutes," 5th ed. 1796, p. 288) states that "Sir Thomas Smith (in his 'Commonwealth') distinguishes the English below the rank of Esquire, into Gentlemen, Yeomen, and *Rascals* (ch. 21, London, 1612, 4to). In another place he uses the word *rascallity* in the above sense." The word 'rascal' was also a hunting term, being applied to all beasts other than the four beasts of

venery, the hart, the hare, the boar, and the wolf; and the four beasts of the chase, the buck (and the doe), the fox, the marten, and the wild roe. Richard Verstegan, in his "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence," etc., 1634, p. 336, points out that "As before I have shewed how the ill names of beasts in their most contemptible state, are in contempt applyed unto women, so is *Katfall*, being the name of an ill-favoured, leane, and worthlesse Deere, commonly applied unto such men as are held of no credit or worth."

12. "A Scoll of *fish* (i.e.) Shole, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*, & examen piscium signat."

This definition of Skinner's is accurate, and will pass muster. The word *scoll* is not in the Egerton MS.; in the Porkington MS. it figures as "a Skoue of fyche." In the "Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos" list, which is reputed to be earlier than "The Book of St. Albans," it is printed "Scole of fysshe." Vele misprinted it "Scul of fyshe," whilst Coplande had it "Scull of fyshe," and Allde "Scale of Fish."

This word is given by Halliwell thus—"SCULL (1), a shoal, generally of fishes; but Lilly mentions 'a scul of pheasants,' ed. 1632, sig. x, xii." From this reference one would imagine that Lilly, the purist, had seriously used the word as being correct in referring to a company of pheasants. Let us see what Lyly actually wrote. The reference is to the 1632 edition of "Six Court Comedies," 12mo, published by Edward Blount. It is from the play called "Mydas," Act iv, Sc. 3, the full quotation being as follows. Petulus is speaking—

Pet. Ile warrant he hath by this started a couey of Bucks, or roused a scul of Pheasants.

Hunt. [i.e. *Huntsman*]. Treason to two braue sports, hauking and hunting, thou shouldest say, start a hare, rowse the deere, spring the partridge.

Pet. Ile warrant that was deuised by some Country swad; that seeing a hare skip vp, which made him start, he presently said, he started the hare.

Li. [i.e. *Licio*]. I, and some lubber lying besides a spring, and seeing a partridge come by, said he did spring the partridge.

Hunt. Well remember all this.

Pet. Remember all? nay then we had good memories, for there be more phrases than thou hast haire.

Lyly puts a deliberately incorrect remark into the mouth of one of his characters, on purpose to show that it is only an ignoramus who would speak of a "covey of bucks" or "a scul of pheasants."

13. "A Scrye of fowles (i.e.) a Cry of fowles, à Teut. Schreyen, Clamare, Strepere vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*, & Cœtum avium significat."

This term is not in the St. Albans list, and should not have been inserted by Skinner. It does, indeed, occur "apud *Jul. Barns*," but is in "the treatyse of fyshynge with an angle" (sig. *h*j, *a* and *b*). The full quotation is as follows; the writer is speaking of the joy of being an angler, and says:—"And yet atte the leest he hath his holfom walke and mery at his ease. a swete ayre of the swete faouere of the meede floures: that makyth hym hungry. He hereth the melodyous armony of fowles. He feeth the yonge swannes: heerons: duckes: cotes and many other foules wyth theyr brodes./ Whyche me femyth better than alle the noyse of honndys: the blaftes of hornys and the scrye of foulis that hunters: fawkeners & foulers can make. And yf the angler take fyfthe: surely thenne is there noo man merier than he is in his spyryte."

Here there is no suggestion that "Cœtum avium significat": it is "a cry of fowles" and nothing else. This term of Skinner's was among those copied by Blount in his fourth edition of his "Glossographia," and is defined as "a great flock or number." There is no question that this was copied from Skinner, and was not inserted on Blount's own authority, because the selection contains the curious term "a Thrane of Quails." *Thrane* is, of course, a miscopying for *thrive*, or a misprint, it matters not which; under any circumstances it has nothing to do with quails. This is duly corrected in the fifth edition, 1681.

14. "A Skulk of foxes, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*, sic appellatur Cœtus vulpium, q.d. Latibulum seu Latebra vulpium, quia sc. hoc animal domicilium sibi intra terram solerter effodit."
15. "A Scull of Frerys, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*, & Cœtum fratrum significat, ab AS. Sceole, Multitudo, Examen."

In the Porkington MS. the three terms of *skulk* occur together thus:—

“ a Skolke of freris/
 a Skolke of thewys/
 a Skolke of foxys/”

And there is but little doubt that these terms were all meant to convey a similar meaning; the lists became so mixed up owing to constant copying that the early lists are of great assistance in assigning expressions to one another's company, and afford a great help in arriving at a correct interpretation.

The word *sculle* is a misprint in the 1496 edition, being correctly enough printed as *sculke* in the St. Albans 1486 edition. Skinner's idea of *scoole* for a derivation thus drops to the ground. The word is not a company word, but only refers to the prowling around, stealthily and quietly, of foxes round the hen-roost, and thieves round the house, and also of the *freres*, the compilers of these lists showing a contemptuous and hostile attitude to the clergy. It is, of course, possible that in the word *sculk*, as defined by Halliwell, “an impure person,” there may be a kindred idea to the “Frape des clers” in the “Nominale,” and the “Frap des clerkes” in the Femina MS., which of a certainty impute impurity to the clergy. The same quotation from Turbervile, 1575, regarding the badger, will also do duty to show that the fox, as is well known, is not a gregarious animal, and that such a thing, therefore, as Halliwell gives, “a company of foxes,” is unknown.

16. “A Sege of herons, or bittours, vox occurrit apud Jul. Barns, & Coetum ardearum seu buteonum signare videtur, à Fr. G. Siege Sessio, quot sc. simul humi consident; Siege autem ab It. Sedia, & hoc manifestè à Lat. Sedes & Sedeo ortum ducit.”

There is nothing wrong here with the etymology, but the explanation is incorrect. Let us now see what it really does mean, and how it comes about. The Egerton MS. has three terms thus arranged:—

“ a Sege of Betowrys/
 a Sege of Hayrynnys/
 a Sege vnto a Castelle/”

All these are of similar meaning: just as a commander lays siege to a “castelle” and, metaphorically, *sits* down until it capitulates or is taken or he is driven off, so does the patient heron stand at

the waterside, or in the water, motionless for hours, waiting for the unwary fish to pass by and be caught. That this is the correct interpretation is shown by the list of falconers' terms in the "Gentleman's Recreation," by N. Cox, 1686, a similar definition being also in R. Blome's edition of the same date: "*Hern at seidge*, is when you find a *Hern* standing by the water-side watching for Prey, or the like" (p. 7). And further on, p. 47: "Now to fly the wild *Hern*, it is thus: If you find a wild *Hern* at *Siege*, win in as nigh unto her as you can, and go with your *Hawk* under the Wind; and having first loosed her Hood in a readines, as soon as the *Hern* leaveth the *Siege*, off with her Hood and let her fly." As for Skinner's statement that *siege* is derived from the French *siège*, meaning 'sessio,' "quod sc. simul humi consistit," it is only necessary to remark that any ornithologist will tell you that herons have never been known to behave in such a fashion as sitting on the ground together in company, neither do they stand 'at siege' in flocks, like a Thames fishing competition; they live together in the heronry, but that is all; sometimes a pair of herons with their young may be seen flying overhead, but generally it is only one or two at the most.

17. "A Slewthe of *beerys* (i.e.) recentiori nostrâ dialecto, a Slouth of *beares*, hoc autem nomine *Jul. Barns* Agmen seu Cœtum ursorum appellat, fort. à Tardo & lento gressu istius animalis."

The word *slewthe* or *slouth* is the A.S. *slæwþ*, slowness or sloth, and refers, as Skinner justly surmises, to the slow and gentle mode of progression of the animal, and cannot refer to a company of bears, because they are not gregarious. ("This is a dull phlegmatic animal; dwelling for the most part *solitary* in woody and mountainous places": p. 93, vol. i, "Elem. of Nat. Hist.," C. Stewart, Edinburgh, 1817.)

It may be just as well to point out that this word *sleuth* has nothing to do with *sleuth* as applied to a hound, which is a different word and meaning altogether.

As was pointed out earlier, Turberville included this term, "a slowth of beares," on the authority of "Sir Trystram," which I showed meant "The Book of St. Albans"; he had not observed the term himself, and he was careful enough, but seeing that it referred to a wild animal and was in "The Book of Hunting" he evidently preferred to include rather than omit it, but was

particular to say that "Tristram addeth." We may take it, then, the expression is simply the proper term for the characteristic attribute of the bear, and nothing else. The "Lover of the Arts," who revised the ninth edition of Dr. John Bulloker's "English Expositor" (1695), varies the definition thus: "*Slowth*, an herd or company of wild *boars* (!) together." *Sownder* is also given with a similar explanation. In the eleventh edition (1713), revised and corrected "by R. BROWNE, Author of *The English School Reform'd*," the word becomes *slowch*, "an herd or company of wild boars together," *slowch* or *slouch* being quite in keeping with Skinner's remark "fortasse à Tardo & lento gressu istius animalis."

18. "Smear of *Caryours*, vox occurrit apud solam *Jul. Barns*, quæ hoc nomine Agmen Tabulariorum seu Vecturariorum appellat, nescio an à Belg. *Smoor*, Fumus, Vapor, quia ubi multi adequitant multum fumum & pulverem excitant, multumque sudorem emittunt."

In connection with this term Skinner either misread his list or his friend copied it wrongly for him; one thing is quite clear, "Jul. Barns" never called a company of carriers a *smere*, or anything else rude for the matter of that. The word as given in the first edition is *coryouris* and in the second *coryours*, and nowhere is it given as *caryours*. Skinner, however, tries to find an explanation for the collocation of *smere* and *caryour*, and proceeds to sketch a pretty little picture of the village carrier perspiring for all he is worth on a hot dusty day; perhaps other carriers are with him—they *must* be to form a company—and what with the traffic and the dust, *multum sudorem emittunt*.

Nothing so interesting, alas! The word is *coryour*, a currier as we term it, and a *smear* is only the name for the chief characteristic of a currier's art, which is thus described in Chambers's Cyclopædia, 1728, vol. i, p. 359: "The skin is then sing'd a second time, laid four Hours in a Vessell of fresh Water, trampled, and work'd a second time with the Pummel on each side, and stoutly drain'd; *smear'd* over with its first black, made of Galls and Ferrailles, boil'd in Beer-agre, or Sour Beer; half dry'd, Stretch'd on a Table, and the Grain beat down with a flat Iron Instrument, drawn over it from place to place. It now receives its second black, made of Galls, Copperas, and Gum Arabic; when dry, and Stretch'd on

a Table, 'tis *smear'd* over with Beer-agre," etc., etc. Surely a smear of carriers is plain-sailing after this.

19. "A Sorde or Sute of Mallards, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*, quæ hoc nomine Cœtum seu Agmen anatum sylvestrium vocat; Sord autem videtur a Fr. G., *Sourdre*, Surgere, Sute, à Fr. G., *Suite*, Sequela, Series rerum se invicem sequentium."

This is properly not a company term as such, but is one of terms referring to the characteristics of waterfowl, and is correctly ranged with a diving of atteals, a dopping of herles, a spring of teals, and the like. It is the name which refers to their action when disturbed: they rise, *surgere*, out of the water and fly off one after another—*suite*, *sequela*, as Skinner correctly observes.

Nevertheless, the following quotation will show that *sorde* has been used for a flock or company of mallards. It is from the hawking pages of "The Book of St. Albans," 1486, v ij:—

"¶ Querre.

And yowre hawke fleeth to the querre. When ther be in a stobull tyme Sordes of mallardes in the felde and when she epith theym and commyth couerte her selfe. and flie preuyli vnder hedges or low bi the grownde. and nym oon of hem or thay rise then ye shall say that the fowle was flayn at the querre."

The meaning is clearly shown in the following quotation from Harl. MS. 2340, fol. 49b: "it spryngyth or sordyth vp sodely be hym."

In the Egerton MS. the term is "a flushe of mallardys," and in the Porkington MS. it is written "a sort of mallarttus." "The Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos" list calls it a *sourd*, and Langbaine also a *sourde*, thus approximating more closely to the French *sourdre*; but Alde, copied verbatim by Helme, misprints the terms as a *sore* or *suce* of mallards, which gives Halliwell the opportunity to print "sore (1), a flock of mallards." He used "The Book of Hunting," etc., printed by Alde, several times in his references, so that this is where he found the word. With great self-restraint he omits the word *suce*.

20. "Sunder of swine, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*, & Cœtum seu Gregem porcorum designat, q.d. à Swineder."

20a. "A Sourde of swine, videtur Grex porcorum, credo contr. à Sowheard."

The word *sounder* is the O.E. *sunor*. This would normally have become *sunder*, as *þunor* has become *thunder*. The spelling *sunder* occurs in the fourteenth century. But when the word was adopted into Norman French it necessarily became *soundre*; and as Norman French is the main source of hunting terms, the Anglo-French spelling came into later English.

The fact that *sunor* is applied to the herd of Gadarene swine shows that it was not originally restricted to wild swine. The restriction is due to the fact that the term was adopted into the hunting vocabulary, which had no concern with the domestic pig. Naturally, therefore, as the word became obsolete except as a hunter's word, it came to mean a herd of wild and not tame swine.

Halliwell gives the wrong number for a 'middle sounder,' which he places at fifteen. "The Book of St. Albans" (1486) defines the numbers for different-sized *sounders* as follows:—

"What is a Sounder of swyne grete or small.

¶ Twelwe make a Sounder of the wylde swyne
Xvi. a medyll Sounder what place thay be inne
A grete sounder of swyne .xx. ye shall call
Forr geet not this lesson for thyng that may fall
Thynke what I say: my sonne nyght and day."

It is not a question of having dropped the 'i' in the 'Xvi,' because he prints 'fifteen' *in extenso*. He gives a quotation from MS. Bodl. 546, the same phrase also occurring in Digby MS. 182, the "Master of Game," in the same library, which is interesting as showing that the number was not universally accepted as twelve for the least number to form a *sounder*: "That men calleth a trip of a tame swyn is called of wylde swyn a soundre: that is to say, ȝif there be passyd v. or vj. togedres."

21. "Stode of maarys, vox apud Jul. Barns occurrit, videtur Gregem seu Armentum Equarium signare, & est ni fallor verbale verbi *to Stand*, quot sc. equæ simul Stant seu stabulantur, vel fort. aliquantum deflexo sensu *ab* A.S. STOT, Jumentum, Equa."

This particular term is of interest, as it shows that Skinner derived his list from Wynkyn de Worde's (1496) edition of "The Book of

St. Albans," where it occurs as "A Stode of maarys," identically as Skinner gives it. The word is given as "*Equartium*, stood," in Archbishop Ælfric's "Vocabulary." Hiekes, in his "Diet. Islandicum" (Institt. Grammaticæ, 1689), gives "fōsð, equi admiffarii: & equæ quando ad generationem septis includuntur atque aluntur"; and it is *stot* in Danish, so that this is the most likely derivation. Of course, "a stud of mares" is an admittedly collective term.

22. "A Synguler, a Boar of above four years old is a SYNGULER, because he leaves his sounder and goes alone, ob quam eandem rationem & Galli Sanglier vocant, inquit Doct. Menagius, parce que le Sanglier va seul à la reserve des deux premieres années, pendant lesquelles il est appelé beste de compaignee, q.d. Singularis. Vox occurrit apud Jul. Barns. lib. de re Venaticà. Rectè monet Vir. Rev. etiam Græcis ob eandem causam Μόγιον appellari."

This is so far plain-sailing and perfectly correct. The reference by *Jul. Barns* is of interest, being so explicit as to think that no mistake could be possible—

"¶ Now to speke of the boore the fyrst yere he is
A pygge of the Sounder called ale have J. blis
The secunde yere an hogge and so shall he be
And an hoggestere when he is of yeris .iiij.
And when he is of .iiij. yere a beore shell he be
From the Sounder of the swyne then departrith he
A Synguler is he so: for a lone he will goo."

Disregarding this clear explanation, Randle Holme says in his "Academy of Armory and Blazon," 1688 (bk. ii, ch. vii, p. 131): "*Swine*. 12 makes an Heard, or a Sounder, a Scoure, or a Singuler"; and is followed by Sir Henry Dryden in his edition of "*Le Venery de Twety*," Daventry, 1843 (n. 13, p. 32): "The terms for the companies of the beasts of Venary are these:—

Boar { Singular of boars.
 { Sounder of wild swine."

The term *synguler* indicates solely one wild boar of four years and upwards in age, and does not apply to any greater number. George Turberville curiously enough derives the word from the

French *sanglier*, and says that the English word is a corruption from this, evidently not being aware of the etymology of the French word, which is unquestionably from *singularis*.

23. "A Thrave of *Throsshers*, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Barns*, videtur autem Cœtum seu Examen Coturnicum significare, nescio an à Belg. DRAVE, DRAF, Cursus Succussatio, verbo DRAVEN, Succutere, Succussare, vel corr. à nostro DROVE, verbali verbi *to DRIVE*."

Some extraordinary blunder has occurred here, Skinner translating the word *throssher* by the Latin word *coturnix*, which means a quail. The only way imaginable for him to have arrived at such an interpretation is that he mistook the word, not realizing that it meant 'threshers' (of wheat, or such like grain), and concluded that it meant 'throstles'; we then get the following steps: — *Throsshers* = throstles = thrushes = thrush = *turdus* in Latin, and the quail being formerly classified as *Turdus coturnix*, therefore *throsshers* = quails. The whole matter is obscure, and reference to Cooper's "Thesaurus" and Rider's "Dictionarie" equally afford no clue to Skinner's train of thought when he was engaged upon this strange definition. Swainson's "Folklore of British Birds," which gives so much information as to the country names of birds, likewise throws no light on the subject. The form *thrusher* appears in modern dialects for 'thrush'; Skinner was evidently thinking of this, but why he rendered it 'quail' instead of 'thrush' is not clear. The mistake was adopted by Blount in the fourth edition of his "Glossographia," where he gives the word incorrectly as *thrane*. This misprint was corrected in the 5th edition. Coles in his 1685 edition also gives it.

As for the correct meaning of the expression, it is somewhat difficult to say. A *thrave* was a certain number of shocks or stooks of corn, generally two, but sometimes four, each shock consisting of six, or in some localities twelve, sheaves of corn. John Ray, in his "Collection of English Words," 1674, gives the word as "A *Thrave*; a shock of corn containing twenty-four sheaves, ab A.S. *Threaf*, manipulus, a Handful, a bundle, a Bottle." There is, however, no such A.S. word; the derivation is from the Old Norse *þrefi*, a stook or pile of sheaves. Originally the word seems to have indicated an indefinite amount, but possibly came to denote a certain quantity of corn to be thrashed. Eventually it

seems, according to a quotation given by Halliwell, to have come to mean an indeterminate number of things or people collected together.

“Many a man wylle go bare
 And take moche kark and care,
 And harde he wylle fare
 Alle the days of hys lyfe:
 And after comyth a knave
 The worst of a thrave,
 And alle he shalle have
 For weddyng of hys wyffe.”

MS. Lansd. 210, f. 80.

But, after all, this expression is only used metaphorically, meaning that the man was, so to speak, the worst sheaf of a thrave, just as nowadays “the best of the bunch” is used. Hall (Sat. iv, 6) speaks of “thraues of ballads,” and Ben Jonson of

“Gallants, men and women,
 And of all sorts, tag, rag, been seen to flock here
 In threaves, these ten weeks, as to a second Hogsden.”

Alch. v, 2.

It is therefore possible that the word, a collective for a lot of sheaves that come under the thresher's hand, may now be used here collectively for threshers, for which it would not be inappropriate.

24. “A Tryppe of *gete*, vox occurrit apud *Jul. Burns*, & videtur Gregem Caprorum signare, vel à nom. Troop, Turma, vel à verb, to Trip . . . *quia* sc. hoc animal potiùs saltat quàm ambulat vel occurrit.”

This word is one of the accepted collectives, but as to its origin there is nothing that can be stated with any degree of certainty. It has been suggested that it may be a corruption of ‘tribe.’ Todd gives it as from Icel. *thyrpa*, caterva; the Craven Gloss. quotes this as *thrypa*; Jamieson (1818) suggests C.B. *tyrfa*, ‘a flock,’ and so on. The word was not invariably applied to goats, for, as already noticed, the MS. Bodl. 546 speaks of “a trip of tame swyn,” and Ray (1684) gives “a trip of sheep, i.e. a few sheep. *Norf.*” Strutt turns the word into a *tribe* of goats.

The lists have revealed great diversity in the spelling of the name of the animal: *gete* (Eg.), *gayte* (Porkington MS. 10), *goete*

(Langbaine), and *gotes*. As a matter of fact, *goet* is the plural of *goat*, as teeth of tooth. Turberville was evidently puzzled by the two forms, and guessing what difference they represented gives the following explanation in "The Book of Hunting," 1611: "Then the Goats part from the female (which are called *Geats*, and the buckes *Goats*) and the Geats draw neare to some little brooke or water to fawne, & to abide there all the sōmer" (p. 146). The term *tryppe* was also applied to hares, and occurs in the Porkington MS. "The Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos" list, and "The Book of St. Albans." Gawin Douglas also makes use of the word in his "Aeneidos" (p. 75, l. 6, 1710 ed.)—

"And in the port enterit, lo, we see
Flokis and herdis of oxin and of fee
Fat and tydy, rakand ouer all quhare,
And *trippis* eik of *gait*, but ony kepare."

25. "A Tygendis of pies, vox occurrit apud Jul. Barns. Videtur Cœtum seu Examen picarum avium signare, nescio an *ab* A.S. Tyȝe, Tiȝ, Productio, hoc à verb. Teon, Trahere, Producere."

This strange-looking word *tygendis* is nothing more nor less than our current word tiding, or tidings, which on its journey through the different lists has been sadly mangled. It is only given in identical form in two out of eight lists which contain the word, as will be seen from an examination of the following:—

- A Tydyng of Pyys (Egerton MS.).
- a Tythingys of pyis (Porkington MS. 10).
- a Titengis of Pies (Book of St. Albans, 1486).
- a Tygendis of pyes (Book of St. Albans, 1496).
- atygendes of pyes (Vele, 1561).
- a tygendes of pyes (Coplande, 1560).
- a tygenes of Pyes (Allde, 1586).
- a tygenes of Pyes (Helme, 1614).

The word means exactly what the Egerton MS. says, "a Tydyng of Pyys," the superstitions as to the future according to the number of magpies encountered or seen being indicated, the word *tythyng* being used for 'news' at this period, as is shown in "The King and the Barker" ("Early Popular Poetry of England," W. Carew Hazlitt, 1864)—

“Yffe y may her eney now *tythyng*
Y schall het to you saye” (ll. 13-14).

“Y know now *teytheyng* the thanner seyde” (l. 62).

Halliwell gives *tithing*, a company of magpies.

In the general portion of his dictionary he inserts four other company terms, more or less correctly—‘bevy,’ ‘harass,’ ‘rout,’ and ‘team’—the only other term being “à Rafull of knaves, (i.e.) a Rabble.”

As *rascall of boyes* is a contemptuous collective, so probably is a *rafull of knaves*. The word, however, does not appear to have been in common use, for in the N.E.D. there is no quotation for it between “The Book of St. Albans,” 1486, and G.H., “Hist. of Cardinals,” 1670, where it is used in the sense of ‘mob’ or ‘rabble.’

The origin of the word is doubtful. Strutt changes it into *rayfull*, and in brackets explains “(that is, a netful),” having adopted this etymology presumably to make it a company term. *Ray* was apparently an Old French term for a net, as is seen in the “*Nominale sive Verbale*,” ll. 319-320—

“Homme en meer pesche de ray
M. in the fee fifchuth with nette.”

Bibbesworth writes it *roy*. (Lat. *rete*, a ‘net.’)

This completes the examination of the selection made by Skinner, and of these only the following can be regarded as true collectives :—

Kyndyll of cats.
Nye of feasants.
Rascall of boyes.
Scole of fish.
Sunder of swine.
Stode of maarys.
Tryppe of gete.

Of the others, “Gagle of geys,” “Sorde or Sute of Mallards,” and “Thrave of Throsshers” may possibly have been used as collectives: the term *synguler* is correctly explained, and the rest are incorrectly interpreted.

It is now of interest to see how far this mistaken notion was carried by later lexicographers; but before starting on the dictionaries, Randle Holme may be dealt with. Holme seems to have been a most voracious and indiscriminate collector of

information, which he frequently gives in a very inaccurate manner. In his "Academy of Armory and Blazon," 1688, he adopts a considerable number of Skinner's definitions, but adds several of his own manufacture. Amongst his worst mistakes may be pointed out that "a Game of Conyes" is not the equivalent for "a Nest of Rabits": that more than three foxes is not called a "Litter or a Stalke"; this latter word refers to foresters, not foxes: that twelve swine do not make a singuler; that "a Swrednes" is not a proper term for a company of apes, any more than "a Labour" is for "Moeles," or "a Leape" for "Lipards," or "a Kindle or a Wauling" for cats. *Broud* is not applied to cocks, and a *Peep* is not a flock of chickens (v. "a Gaggle of geys," p. 16): an *Excalting* of larks can only refer to *one* bird; no one ever saw a company of larks soar into mid-heaven: he gives *mustet* for 'peacocks,' *shagh* for 'herons,' *seigh* for "Bitters," as company terms; but his supreme effort is when he inserts "a *Flight of Stares*" amongst the birds. He has evidently recalled the expression of "a Flight of *Stairs*, or *Steps*," has confused it with *stares*, starlings, and includes it as a company term.

As regards the Dictionaries and Skinner's definitions, of these Blount, 1674, adopted half a dozen, but made a further mistake by misprinting *thrave* as a "Thrane of Quails." Coles, 1676, adopted the list in its entirety, and still retained it in the subsequent editions up to the fifth (I have no edition later than this). Coles, from the frequency with which copies of his Dictionary are to be met with, is very generally quoted, and he probably, by adopting the errors, has had a great deal to do with their perpetuation. The next dictionary, in chronological order, is the fourth edition of Edward Phillips' "New World of Words," 1678, in which he inserts two terms in the body of the dictionary and six in the Appendix; in the sixth edition, three of these, viz. *kerf*, *rascall*, and *tygendis*, no longer appear. Phillips was very hazy in his views about the name of the presumed authoress or compiler of "The Book of St. Albans," Juliana Barnes or Berners; he first of all calls the good lady plain "Barns," then "Julius Barns," "J. Barns," and finally "Julio Barns."

According to the list, appearing after the Preface to the 1678 edition, of the names of those learned and ingenious persons, "Eminent in or Contributory to any of those Arts, Sciences, or Faculties contained in the following Work," Mr. Tuberville (*sic*) was responsible for the Hawking and Hunting terms; but since

Turberville published his "Book of Hunting" in 1575 and the first edition of Phillips' dictionary was in 1658, or some eighty-three years later, it is not possible for Turberville to have been a contributor, consequently he must not be blamed in any way for the continuation of these errors. In the fifth edition (1696) the name of "Mr. Laughbain" is bracketed with that of Mr. Turberville; this is probably intended for Gerard Langbaine, who, as already pointed out, communicated a list of terms to Franciscus Junius, and with regard to this list it should be noted that it does not appear to have been copied *literatim*, the spelling seeming to be considerably modernized, or perhaps Junius 'amended' it, before printing.

The "Glossographia Nova," first edition (1707), only gives two terms, *muster* and *sleuthe*. John Kersey, first edition (1708), gives eleven of Skinner's selection. Cocker's "English Dictionary," very much enlarged and altered by John Hawkins (1715), second edition, has only two, viz. *cete* and *thrive*. Bailey, in the first edition, 8vo, of his Dictionary (1721), copies Kersey's selection; and without going through all the many other dictionaries published we will come straight to modern times, and see what Halliwell has done in the matter.

Halliwell omits the following items in Skinner's selection: *cherne*, *muster*, *rascall*, *sleuthe*, *smear*, and *sourde*, i.e. the use of these words as company terms; but in order to compensate us for this loss he gives the following special varieties of his own manufacture:—

Barren (2), a company of mules.

Berry (3), a herd of conies.

Cast (23), a brood or flight of hawks. "Caste of haukes, niee d'oiseaux" (Palsgrave). Sometimes a couple.

Dule (3), a flock of doves. Also the sorrowful moan made by these birds.

Husk (2), a company of hares. A term used in ancient hunting.

See Twici, p. 32.

Stalk (1), a company of foresters.

Troth (2), a band or company.

Walk (2), a flock of snipes.

Wache, a flock of birds.

I propose to deal with these as briefly as possible, contenting myself with pointing out what I conceive to be the real meaning of the phrases.

"*Barren*, a company of mules." The Egerton MS. gives this word as "a Burdynne of Mulysse," and the word *baren* may therefore possibly mean a 'bearing,' i.e. carrying a load. There are plenty of words in the Prompt. Parv. where the final *g* or *ge* is omitted. It may also refer to the characteristic physical attribute of a mule, i.e. its unproductiveness and infertility, but the Egerton MS. is in favour of the word being *bearing*. Cf. "No *burthen-bearing* Mules" (Peacham's "Compleat Gentleman," 1634; p. 150, Oxford repr. 1906). Just as there is the *double entendre* between *baron*' and *barren*, so with the Egerton variant we have the *double entendre* of *burdynne* and *burdon*, which latter is the proper term for the progeny of a horse and a she-ass, a 'mule' being derived from a jack-ass and a mare.

"*Berry*, a herd of conies." This, until Edward Alde's edition of "The Book of St. Albans," from which Halliwell frequently quotes, was always spelt *bery*, and in the Porkington MS. *byrr*, meaning a 'bury' or 'burrow,' in fact our modern rabbit's burrow.

"*Cast*." Halliwell says "sometimes a couple." The old falconers always, not sometimes, used the word for a couple of hawks of the tower, and a *leash* for three of the same hawks. It was not used for other kinds of hawks, such as goshawks, where the proper term was a *flight*.

"*Dule*, a flock of doves, also the sorrowful moan made by these birds." Halliwell has completely missed the whole essence of the true meaning when he talks about *dule* signifying a flock of doves. *Dule* is the French word *duil*, mourning, and the word refers to the old tradition that if the dove were bereft of her mate she sat alone ever after, being an absolutely strict monogamist, never taking another husband to console her for the loss of "the late lamented." As Chaucer ("Marchaundes' Tale") remarks, "Soul as the turtill that hath lost hir make." In the Porkington MS. 10, with which Halliwell presumably was acquainted, since he quotes it on occasion, occurs the synonym "a Pyttyvsny of turtyllys," and in the Harl. MS. 541 it is written "a Trewlone of Turtelis," and in the second Harl. MS. No. 2340 "a Trewlone of Turtyllys." According to Halliwell's views, we ought therefore to believe that "a Pyttyvsny" and "a Trewlone" are company terms, surely a self-condemned absurdity.

"*Husk*, a company of hares." It is not quite clear whether the 'hare' referred to is the animal or the *hair* of the head. I rather fancy that it will turn out to be the latter, but at the moment

I would rather not express any definite opinion as to the correct meaning of this term.

"*Stalk*, a company of foresters." To stalk a deer was the characteristic occupation of a forester, and the term is used in the same way as "a Blast of Hunters," which refers to their blowing of horns, by means of which the hunting was regulated and carried on. Halliwell does not give this latter phrase, "a Blast of Hunters," as a company term.

"*Troth*, a band or company." This word is *truth* or *troth*, and has nothing whatever to do with a 'company'; it has reference to the Oath of Allegiance taken by the Temporal Peers at coronations, which is used to this day, as will be seen from the following transcript from a form actually used by a Peer at the Coronation of King William IV, which is identical with that used at the Coronation of King Edward VII [see also No. 147, p. 141]:—

"THE
WORDS OF THE HOMAGE
TO BE USED
BY THE TEMPORAL PEERS.

I ——— of ——— do become Your Liege-
man of Life and Limb, and of Earthly Worship:
And Faith and Truth I will bear unto You to live
and die against all manner of Folks. SO HELP
ME GOD."

This particular word *troth* has had a very chequered career during its passage from one list to another, as will be seen from the series given below:—

- a Trought of Barronnysse (Eg.).
- a Trothe of barrovns (Porkington).
- a Trouthe of barons (H. S. & G.).
- a Thongh of barons (B. St. A. 1486).
- a Thongh of barons (B. St. A. 1496).
- a though of barons (Vele, 1560; Copelande, 1561).
- a though of Barons (Allde, 1586).
- a thought of Barons (Helme, 1614).

In fact, quite such another jumble and series of misprints as the "Tygendis of Pyes."

"*Walk*, a flock of snipes." This word is an allusion to the bird's

manner of progression. Similar terms occur in Harl. MS. 2340, fol. 51a:—

A *percar* walkyth.
 a *perterych* lythe.
 a *fesawnte* stalkyth.
 a crane stalkyth.
 a *heyron* stalkyth.

“*Wache*, a flock of birds.” This term is only applied to the nightingale, and refers to its nocturnal singing, the reason for this being as follows:—“The nightingale and the blindworm had only one eye apiece. Having been invited to the wren’s wedding the former was ashamed to show herself in such a condition. So one day she surprised the snake while asleep, and stole his eye. On discovering his loss he said, ‘When I catch you asleep I will get it back!’ ‘Will you?’ was the bird’s reply; ‘I will take care never to go to sleep again.’ And so, ever since, from fear of being caught, the nightingale continues singing both day and night.” (Swainson.) The word *wache* or *watch* is not in any sense a company term for a flock of birds; it is a term only used of a nightingale under certain conditions.

From the evidence now presented it will, in my opinion, be seen—

1. That the headings of the lists do not state that the expressions contained therein are to be treated as being all “companyns of beestys and fowlys,” and it is manifest that they are not so, if for no other reason, for the plain, straightforward one that many of the expressions apply to things which are neither beast nor fowl.

2. That the Egerton MS. states distinctly that the terms are Proper Terms for a young gentleman’s use, and the Addl. MS. corroborates this by heading the list as a “Discretacio Rerum.” They are explicit as to the *general* nature of the terms, and diametrically opposed to any suggestion of restricted use as company terms.

3. That specific lists of companies of beasts are given in various hunting books.

4. That the heading as given in “The Book of St. Albans” was amended in later editions to show distinctly that other terms, and not company terms either, were included.

5. That the expressions, in the sense of company terms, are not to be found as such in any of the dictionaries before Skinner’s

Etymologicon, 1671, with the exception of the ordinary admittedly company terms.

6. That Skinner misunderstood the St. Albans list, imagining that all the phrases contained in it were intended to be company terms, and that in consequence he misinterpreted it; that Randle Holme, followed by Halliwell, still further extended this idea.

7. That Skinner's attempted explanations and definitions are wrong, with the exception of a few accepted company terms, and that the meanings he gives, and in some instances the derivations, are irrational.

The definitions of Skinner and Halliwell seem to have been followed by the N.E.D., which has extended considerably the number of phrases in "The Hors, Shepe, and Ghoos" and "The Book of St. Albans" lists to be interpreted as company terms.

PART II.

THE first portion of this paper having been devoted to a destructive criticism of the "alleged company terms," this second part will endeavour to repair the loss by reconstructing, or rather reinstating, the original meaning. For this purpose an ECLECTIC LIST of every term that is to be found in the lists consulted has been prepared, and the terms themselves rearranged into natural groups. Constant copying of the lists by different scribes and printers on to paper of varying sizes has terribly disordered the correct sequence, terms which should be adjacent often being found far away from their original and natural neighbours, and this confusion has been set right as far as possible in the Eclectic List. With one or two exceptions, e.g. where a variant is widely different from the original word, only the oldest variety is given.

THE COMPLETE LIST follows the arrangement of the Eclectic List, and contains under its proper heading every term that occurs in the list of MSS. and printed books given below, and in addition the definition as shown in the N.E.D. With each set of proper terms is given that which appears to be the real and intended meaning. Two indices are appended, one of the nouns commencing, the other of those ending the proper terms contained in the Eclectic List, and by means of one or other of these there should be no difficulty in finding any term in its proper place. For instance, that terrible word *atygendes* of pyes can be located by looking under *pyys*, *atygendes* not being given; and under *pyys*, 116, it will be found that this was the form in which it did duty for "a tidings of pies" in Vele's edition of "The Book of St. Albans," 1560.

A distinguishing letter or letters have been assigned to each of the following MSS. and printed books for convenience of reference, the number attached to such letter indicates the position of the term in such list.

LIST OF MSS. AND PRINTED BOOKS WITH PROPER TERMS.

CLASS A. *MSS.*

Egerton MS. 1995	Eg.	1
Porkington MS. 10	P.	2
Harley MS. 541	Harl. 1	3
Harley MS. 2340	Harl. 2	4
Addl. MS. 33,994	Addl.	5
Robert of Gloucester MS., College of Arms	R. G.	6
Digby MS. 196, Bodleian Library	D.	7
Gerard Langbaine's List in "Junius"	L.	8

CLASS B. *Printed Books.*

The Hors, Shepe, & the Ghoos (Caxton)	S.	9
The booke of curtesye or lytyll John (Caxton, 2nd ed.)	L. J.	10
The Book of St. Albans (1486)	A. 1	11
The Book of St. Albans (W. de Worde's ed., 1496)	A. 2	12
The Book of Hawking, Huntyng, etc. (Vele, 1560)	V.	13
The Book of Hawking, Huntyng, etc. (W. Coplande for R. Tottell, 1561)	T.	14
The Book of Hawking, Huntyng, etc. (Edward Allde, 1586)	All.	15
A Ievvell for Gentry (for John Helme, 1614)	H.	16

CLASS C.

The Booke of Hunting (G. Turberville, 1575)	G. T.	17
The Gentleman's Academic (G. M., 1595)	M.	18
The Display of Heraldrie (John Gvillim, 2nd ed., 1632)	G.	19
The Gentleman's Recreation (Nich. Cox, 3rd ed., 1686)	N. C.	20
The Gentleman's Recreation (Richard Blome, 1686)	B.	21
The Academy of Armory and Blazon (R. Holme, 1688)	R. H.	22
Sports and Pastimes (Joseph Strutt, 1801)	Str.	23

The list is arranged under the following heads, with subsections :

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Quadrupeds, chiefly company terms. | 13. Insects. |
| <i>a.</i> Deer. | 14. Fish. |
| <i>b.</i> Goats. | 15. Inanimate Things. |
| <i>c.</i> Hares. | 16. Persons, chiefly company terms. |
| <i>d.</i> Cattle. | 17. Domestic and Married Life. |
| <i>e.</i> Sheep. | 18. Boys and Girls. |
| <i>f.</i> Swine. | 19. Court Affairs. |
| <i>g.</i> Wolves. | 20. Ecclesiastical Affairs. |
| 2. Cats. | 21. Legal Affairs. |
| 3. Dogs. | 22. Trades or Occupations. |
| 4. Horses, Asses, and Mules. | <i>a.</i> Domestic. |
| 5. Young of Quadrupeds. | <i>b.</i> Indoor trades or Occupations. |
| 6. Habitations of Quadrupeds. | <i>c.</i> Innkeepers, etc. |
| 7. Attributes of Quadrupeds. | <i>d.</i> Shoemakers. |
| 8. Birds, chiefly company terms. | <i>e.</i> Outdoor Occupations. |
| 9. Progeny of Birds. | <i>f.</i> Vagrants, Rogues, 'Musicians,' etc. |
| 10. Characteristics of Land Birds. | 23. Sundries. |
| 11. Characteristics of Waterfowl. | |
| 12. The Noises of Birds. | |

ECLECTIC LIST OF PROPER TERMS.

1. Quadrupeds, chiefly company terms.

a. Deer.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | a Herde of Dere | Eg. 2 |
| 2 | a Herd of all manner der | P. 2 |
| 3 | a heerde of Bukkys | Harl. 1/2 |
| 4 | a Herde of Hertys | Eg. 1 |
| 5 | a Beuy of Roys | Eg. 10 |

b. Goats.

- | | | |
|---|------------------|--------|
| 6 | a Tryppe of Gete | Eg. 71 |
|---|------------------|--------|

c. Hares.

- | | | |
|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 7 <i>a</i> | a Drouc of Harrys | Eg. 73 |
| 7 <i>b</i> | a Huske of Harrys | Eg. 73 <i>a</i> |
| 7 <i>c</i> | a downe of harys | Harl. 2/22 |
| 8 | a Trace of harrys | P. 109 |
| 9 | a Tryppe of harrys | P. 108 |

d. Cattle.

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------|
| 10 | a Droffe of nete | Eg. 70 |
| 10 ^a | A drove of beestes | D. 27 |
| 11 | a Teme of Oxen | Harl. 1/24 |

e. Sheep.

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------|
| 12 | a flocke of Schepe | Eg. 72 |
|----|--------------------|--------|

f. Swine.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---------------|
| 13 | a Dryfte of tame swyne | Eg. 62 |
| 14 | a Trip of tame swyn | MS. Bodl. 546 |
| 15 | a Sundyr of wylde swyne | Eg. 61 |
| 16 | a Synguler of Boorys | Eg. 60 |

g. Wolves.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|--------|
| 17 | a Rowte of wylde wolfys | Eg. 42 |
|----|-------------------------|--------|

2. Cats.

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 18 | a Cloude of Cattys, non dicitur a clouster | Eg. 63 |
| 19 | a Cluster of tame cattes | S. 86 |
| 20 | a Dovt of Wylde cattys | P. 55 |
| 21 | a destruction of wild cattes | S. 87 |
| 22 | a Gloryng of Cattis | Harl. 1/45 |

3. Dogs.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 23 | a Brasse of houndys | Eg. 54 |
| 24 | a Brace of grehoundis of .ij. | A. 1, 36 |
| 25 | a Lesse of Grehoundys | Eg. 53 |
| 26 | a Copylle of Spaynellys | Eg. 56 |
| 27 | a Couple of rennyng houndis | A. 1, 39 |
| 28 | a Kenelle of Raychys | Eg. 55 |
| 29 | a Mute of houndes | A. 1, 114 |
| 30 | a Sute of a lyhm̄ | S. 52 |
| 31 | a Cowardenys of Currys | Eg. 59 |

4. Horses, Asses, and Mules.

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---------|
| 32 | a Burdynne of Mulysse | Eg. 69 |
| 33 | a Barreñ of mullys | Por. 49 |
| 34 | a Harrys of Hors | Eg. 64 |
| 35 | a Passe of Assys | Eg. 68 |
| 36 | a Rage of Coltyz | Eg. 67 |
| 37 | a Stalyn of olde Hors | Eg. 66 |
| 38 | a Stooode of Marys | Eg. 65 |

5. Young of Quadrupeds.

39	a Kyndyll of yong Cattis	A. 1, 41
40	a Lyttur of whelpys	Eg. 58
41	a litter of Cubbes	M.
42	a neste of Rabettys	Eg. 50

6. Habitations of Quadrupeds.

43	a Bery of Connys	Eg. 49
44 ^a	a Syght of Grayys	Eg. 47
44 ^b	a cete of grayis	P. 36
44 ^c	a Cety of greyes	S. 38
45	a Nerthe of ffoxys	Eg. 48
46	a Draye of Squirrels	Topsell, 1607

7. Attributes of Quadrupeds.

47	a Besynys of fferettys	Eg. 52
48	a Labyr of Mollys	Eg. 51
49	a Lepe of Lybardys	Eg. 44
50	a Sawt of a lyon	P. 60
51	a Sowse of A Lyonas	Eg. 57
52	a Pryde of Lyons	Eg. 43
53	a Schrewdenys of Apys	Eg. 46
54	a Skolke of foxys	P. 93
55	a Slouthe of Beerys	Eg. 45
56	a Riches of Martronyes	A. 1, 45

8. Birds, chiefly company terms.

57	a Caste of hawkys of the Toure	Eg. 32
58	a Lece of thessame haukis .iiij.	A. 1, 102
59	A lesshe of Marlions	Harl. 1/46
60	a fflyght of Gosse hawkys	Eg. 33
61	a fflygt of coimeravnttys	P. 74
62	a fflyght of Douys	Eg. 24
63	a flyght of larkys	Harl. 1/28
64	a fflyght of Swalys	Eg. 25
65	a Beuye of larkes	S. 9
66	a Beuy of Quaylys	Eg. 9
67	a Congregaeyon of Plouers	Eg. 20
68	a Herde of Cranys	Eg. 4
69	a Herde of Curlewys	Eg. 5
70	a Herde of Swannys	Eg. 3
71	a Herd of Wrennyes	P. 3
72	a Oste of Sparrowys	Eg. 28

9. Progeny of Birds.

73	a Broode of Hennysses	Eg. 75
74	a Couerete of Cootys	Eg. 21
75	a Couaye of Parterygys	Eg. 7
76	a Ny of ffesauntys	Eg. 6
77	a Teme of Duckys	Harl. 1/26
78	a Teme of Swannes	Harl. 1/25

10. Characteristics of Land Birds.

79	a Byldyng of Rookys	Eg. 36
80a	a Dyssayte of Lepwynkys	Eg. 16
80b	a Desserte of Lapwynges	A. 1, 93
81	a discēcion of wodewalis	S. 36
82	a Dyssmylacyon of alle smalle Bryddys	Eg. 39
83	a Pyttyvsnyys of turtyllys	P. 32
84	a Treweloue of Turtelis	Harl. 1/44
85	a Duell of Turtillis	A. 1, 97
86	a Exaltacyon of larkys	Eg. 22
87	a ffalle of Woodecockys	Eg. 18
88	a Monstyr of Pecoockys	Eg. 17
89	a Mutacyoñ of threstyllys	P. 34
90	a Unkyndenys of rauynnys	Eg. 34
91	a Waycche of Nyghtynggalys	Eg. 23

11. Characteristics of Water-fowl.

92	a Dyuyng of Attelis	Harl. 1/40
93	a Doppying of herles	Harl. 1/39
94	a doppying of Scheldrakys	Harl. 2/37
95	a ffushe of Mallardys	Eg. 15
96a	a Sort of mallarttus	P. 14
96b	a Soorde of malards	Harl. 1/38
97	a sute of malardis	A. 1, 14
98a	a Padelyng of Dokis	Eg. 77
98b	a badelyng of Dokis	A. 1, 51
99	a Sege of Betowrys	Eg. 11
100	a Sege of Hayrynnys	Eg. 12
101	a Spryñge of Telys	Eg. 14
102	a Walke of Snytys	Eg. 19

12. The Noises of Birds.

103	a Chaterynge of Choughys	Eg. 38
104	a Clatterynge of choughthis	P. 29

105	a chattering of sterlyngys	Harl. 2/15
106	a clatering of Staris	Harl. 1/41
107	a Murmuracyon of Starys	Eg. 37
108	a Chyrme of Goldefynchys	Eg. 31
109	a Tremynge of goldefynchis	Harl. 1/15
110	a chyrme of fynches	S. 33
111	a Gagelynge of Gesse	Eg. 74
112	a Mursher of crowys	Eg. 35
113	a Morther of crowys	P. 28
114	a Pype of Chekynnyse	Eg. 76
115	a serye of fowles	Skinner
116	a Tydynge of Pyys	Eg. 26

13. Insects.

117	a Besynes of flyes	S. 62
118	a Flock of lyse	S. 61
119	a Swarme of Beys	Eg. 30

14. Fish.

120	a Skoue of fyche	P. 69
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15. Inanimate Things.

121	a Cast of bred	P. 71
122	a Clustur of grappus	P. 86
123	a clustyr of nottys	P. 87
124	a Couple or a payer of botillis	A. 1, 124
125	a Rage of the teeth	A. 1, 162
126	a Sege vnto a Castelle	Eg. 13

16. Persons, chiefly company terms.

127	a Beuy of Ladyes	Eg. 8
128	a Clostyr of chourllys	P. 88
129	a clowdyr of Carlys	Harl. 2/44
130	a Congregacion of peple	A. 1, 17
131	a haras of harlottes	Harl. 2/24
132	an Herde of harlottys	A. 1, 7
133	a Oste of men	Eg. 27
134	a Rowte of Gentyll men	Eg. 41
135	a Rowte of knyghtys	Eg. 40

17. Domestic and Married Life.

136	a Gagulle of womene	P. 85
137	a Gagelynge of Gossipps	Harl. 1/19
138	a Noonpaciens of wyues	A. 1, 52
139	a Multiplieng of husbandis	A. 1, 125
140	an vncredibilite of Cocoldis	A. 1, 90

18. Boys and Girls.

141	a Blush of boyes	A. 1, 89
142	a Rafulle of bayis	P. 95
143	a Raskall of boyes	S. 96
144	a Scole of scolers	S. 82
145	a Rage of Maydenys	A. 1, 87

19. Court Affairs.

146	a State of Pryncysse	Eg. 79
147	a Trought of Barronnysse	Eg. 81
148	a Thretynge of Curtyers	Eg. 102

20. Ecclesiastical Affairs.

149	a Bewparis of freris	Harl. 1/30
150 ^a	a Charge of Curettysse	Eg. 82
150 ^b	a Charge of curattys	P. 65
151	a Conuertynge of Precherysse	Eg. 86
152	a Deuowtenesse of mōkys	Harl. 1/31
153	a Dygnyte of Channonyssse	Eg. 80
154	a Dyscrecyon of Prestys	Eg. 84
155	a Doctryne of Doctersse	Eg. 85
156	a holynesse of Nuñys	Harl. 1/32
157	a Lordship of monkes	S. 78
158	a Lyyng of Pardynersse	Eg. 106
159	an Obseruans of herimytis	A. 1, 134
160	a Pontyfycalle of p ^r lettus	P. 61
161	a Pontyfycalle of Prestysse	Eg. 78
162	a Preys of preystys	P. 68
163	a Prudens of Vycarysse	Eg. 83
164	a Skole of clarkys	P. 70
165	a Skolke of freris	P. 91
166	a State of p ^r estis	Harl. 1/33
167	a Superflouite of nōnys	P. 67
168	a Bomynable Syȝte of movnkys	P. 66

21. Legal Affairs.

169	a Dampnyng of Juryersse	Eg. 89
170	a Eloquens of Lawyers	Eg. 88
171	a Execucyon of offycers	Eg. 90
172	a Good awyse of borges	P. 79
173	a Pyte of prysoners	S. 103
174	a Sedent of Juggysse	Eg. 87
175	a Centtans of jugys	P. 76
176	a sotely of sergeauntis	A. 1, 79
177	an Vntrouth of Sompneris	A. 1, 76

22. Trades or Occupations.

a. Domestic.

178	a Credens of Seweris	A. 1, 140
179	a Dylygens of Massyngers	Eg. 91
180	a Draught of Buttelerys	Eg. 97
181	a Hastynes of cookes	S. 106
182	a Kerffe of Panteresse	Eg. 96
183	a obedyens of Seruandys	Eg. 93
183 ^a	an Obeisians of Seruauntis	A. 1, 63
184	a Preuysyon of stywardysse	Eg. 94
185	a Sauegarde of Porterysse	Eg. 99
186	a Sete of Huscherysse	Eg. 95
187	a Temporans of Cokys	Eg. 98
188	an unbrewyng of Kerueris	A. 1, 141

b. Indoor Trades or Occupations.

189	a Disgysyng of Taylours	A. 1, 82
190	a Proude shewyng of taloris	A. 1, 66
191	a Example of Maisteris	A. 1, 133
192	a ffaythe of Marchauntysse	Eg. 92
193	a ffelyschyppe of yemen	Eg. 29
194	a Festre of Brweris	A. 1, 155
195	a ffraunch of Mylneris	A. 1, 154
196	a Goryng of Bochouris	A. 1, 156
197	a Misbeleue of paynteris	A. 1, 147
198	a skoldyng of kemyssteris	P. 105
199	a Squat of davberis	P. 98
200	a Tabernacle of bakers	A. 1, 80
201	a Worship of writeris	A. 1, 152

c. Innkeepers, etc.

202	a Glosynge of Tauernerysse	Eg. 105
203	a Lawghtur of Ostylersse	Eg. 103
204	a Promys of tapsterysse	Eg. 104

d. Shoemakers.

205	a Blecche of sowters	S. 101
206	a smere of coryers	S. 102
207	a Plocke of shoturneris	A. 1, 158
208	a Trynkette of cordwaners	S. 100
209	a Trynket of coruesiris	A. 1, 157
210	a Dronkship of coblers	A. 1, 159

e. Outdoor Occupations.

211	a Blaste of Huntersse	Eg. 101
212	a Bost of sovdears	P. 90
213	a Drifte of fishers	A. 1, 81
214	a Lache of carttars	P. 97
215	a Stalke of ffostersse	Eg. 100
216	a Tharfe of threysschars	P. 96
217	a Thraue of thresshers	S. 98
218	a Waywardnes of haywardes	A. 1, 151

f. Vagrants, Rogues, 'Musicians,' etc.

219	a ffyttynge of beggars	P. 106
220	a mallapertnys of pedlers	P. 101
221	a Melody of Harpers	A. 1, 77
222	a Neuertreyuyng of jovghelars	P. 99
223	a Powertte of harppers	P. 100
224	a Pauuerty of pypers	A. 1, 78
225	a Rafulle of cnavys	P. 94
226	a Skolke of thewys	P. 92
227	a Wondering of Tynkeris	A. 1, 150

23. Sundries.

228	a Glorifieng of lyers	S. 104
229	a Dysworschype of Stottys	P. 107

Explicit.

PART III.

CLASS A.

I.

Eg.

EGERTON MS. 1995 : B. Mus. (c. 1452).

[Begins on fol. 55b.]

Note ye the properteys
that longythe to a yonge gentylle
man to haue knowynge of suche
thyngys that longythe vnto hym
that he fayle not in hys propyr
termys that longythe vnto hym
as hyt shalle folowe hereynne
wrytynge &c.

The Condyscyons of A grehounde ande of
hys propyrteys.

Thy grehounde moste be heddyd lyke a snake
y neckyd lyke a drake
y brestyde lyke a lyon
y sydyd lyke a noynon
y fotyde lyke a catte
y taylyd lyke a ratte

Thenne ys the grehounde welle y schapte.

Termys of venery &c.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. A Herde of Hertys/ | 11. A Sege of Betowrys/ |
| 2. A Herde of Dere/ | 12. A Sege of hayrynnys/ |
| 3. A Herde of Swannys/ | 13. A Sege vnto a Castelle/ |
| 4. A Herde of Cranys/ | 14. A sprynge of Telys/ |
| 5. A Herde of Curlewys/ | 15. A flusche of mallardys/ |
| 6. A Ny of ffesauntys/ | 16. A Dyssayte of lepwynkys/ |
| 7. A Couaye of Parterygys/ | 17. A Monstyr of Pecockys/ |
| 8. A Beuy of Ladyes/ | 18. A ffalle of woodcockys/ |
| 9. A Beuy of Quaylys/ | 19. A Walke of Snytys/ |
| 10. A Beuy of Roys/ | 20. A Congregacyon of plouers/ |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 21. A Couerete of Cootys/ | 59. A Cowardenys of Currys/ |
| 22. A Exaltacyon of larkys/ | 60. A Synguler of Boorys/ |
| 23. A Waycche of Nyghtyng-
galys/ | 61. A Sundryr of wyld Swyne/ |
| 24. A fflyght of Douys/ | 62. A Dryfte of Tame Swyne/ |
| 25. A fflyght of Swalys/ | 63. A Cloudyr of Cattys/
<i>Non dicitur a clouster/</i> |
| 26. A Tydyng of Pyys/ | 64. A Harrys of hors/ |
| 27. A Oste of men/ | 65. A Stood of marys/ |
| 28. A Oste of Sparowys/ | 66. A Stalyn of olde hors/ |
| 29. A ffelyschyppe of yemen/ | 67. A Rage of Coltys/ |
| 30. A Swarme of Beys/ | 68. A Passe of Assys/ |
| 31. A Chyrme of Goldefynchys/ | 69. A Burdynne of mulysse/ |
| 32. A Caste of hawkys of the
Towre/ | 70. A Droffe of Nete/ |
| 33. A fflyght of Gosse hawkys/ | 71. A Tryppe of Gete/ |
| 34. A Vnkyndenys of rauynnys/ | 72. A flocke of Schepe/ |
| 35. A mursher of Crowys/ | 73. A Droue or A Huske of
Harrys/ |
| 36. A Byldyng of Rookys/ | 74. A Gagelyng of Gesse/ |
| 37. A murmuracyon of Starys/ | 75. A Broode of hennysse/ |
| 38. A Chaterynge of Choughys/ | 76. A Pye of Chekynnyssse/ |
| 39. A Dyssmylacyon of alle
smalle Bryddys/ | 77. A Padelyng of Dookysse/ |
| 40. A Rowte of knyghtys/ | 78. A Pontyfycalle of Prestysse/ |
| 41. A Rowte of Gentyll men/ | 79. A State of Pryncysse/ |
| 42. A Rowte of wyld wolfys/ | 80. A Dygnyte of Chanonnyssse/ |
| 43. A Pryde of Lyons/ | 81. A Trought of Barronnyssse/ |
| 44. A Lepe of lybardys/ | 82. A Carge of Curetysse/ |
| 45. A Slouthe of Beerys/ | 83. A Prudens of Vycarysse/ |
| 46. A Schrewdenys of Apys/ | 84. A Dyscrecyon of Prestys/ |
| 47. A Syght of Grayys/ | 85. A Doctryne of Doctersse/ |
| 48. A Nerthe of ffoxys/ | 86. A Conuertynge of Precher-
rysse/ |
| 49. A Bery of Connys/ | 87. A Sedent of Juggysse/ |
| 50. A Neste of Rabettys/ | 88. A Eloquens of Lawyers/ |
| 51. A Labyr of mollys/ | 89. A Dampnyng of Juryersse/ |
| 52. A Besynys of fferettys/ | 90. A Execucyon of Offcers/ |
| 53. A Lesse of Grehoundys/ | 91. A Dylygens of Massyngers/ |
| 54. A Brasse of houndys/ | 92. A ffaythe of Marchauntysse/ |
| 55. A Kenelle of Raycechys/ | 93. A Obedyens of Seruandys/ |
| 56. A Copylle of Spaynellyys/ | 94. A Preuysyon of stywardysse/ |
| 57. A Sowse of A lyonas/ | 95. A Sete of huscherysse/ |
| 58. A Lyttur of whelpys/ | 96. A Kerffe of Panterysse/ |

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 97. A Draught of Buttelerys/ | 102. A Thretynge of Curtyers/ |
| 98. A Temporans of Cokys/ | 103. A Lawghtur of Ostylersse/ |
| 99. A Sauegarde of Porterysse/ | 104. A Promys of Tapsterysse/ |
| 100. A Stalke of ffostersse/ | 105. A Glosyng of Tauernerysse/ |
| 101. A Blaste of huntersse/ | 106. A Lyyng of Pardynersse/ |

* * * * *

Explicit &c.

2.

P.

PORKINGTON MS. 10.

[Begins on fol. 184a.]

No title or explanatory remarks.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. H Herd of harttus/ | *29. A Clatteryng of chovthis/ |
| *2. Herd of all māner der/ | 30. A Mormeracyoñ of staris/ |
| *3. A Herd of Wrennys/ | 31. A Exsaltyng of larkys/ |
| 4. A Herd of swannys/ | *32. A Pyttyvsny of turtyllys/ |
| 5. A Herd of crānys/ | 33. A Wache of nyttyūgalys/ |
| 6. A Ny of ffeyсандys/ | *34. A Mutacyoñ of threstyllys/ |
| 7. A Covey of parttrygys/ | 35. A Tythingys of pyis/ |
| 8. A Bevy of rossys/ | 36. A Cete of grayis/ |
| 9. A Bevy of ladys/ | 37. An erthe of foxis/ |
| 10. A Bevy of quayllys/ | 38. A Byrr of connys/ |
| 11. A Cegee of betterys/ | 39. A Nest of rabettys/ |
| 12. A Cege of herronns/ | 40. A lytter of Whelpus/ |
| 13. A spryng of teyllys/ | 41. A Route of knyꝝtys/ |
| *14. A sort of mallarttus/ | 42. A Rovte of Woluys/ |
| 15. A dyssayt of lappwyūges/ | 43. A pryd of lyonnys/ |
| 16. A Mostur of peycokys/ | 44. A lepe of leberttys/ |
| 17. A ffaulle of wodcokys/ | 45. A slothe of bayris/ |
| 18. A Walke of snyttys/ | 46. A Harres of horssys/ |
| 19. A Cōgregacoñ of plouerys/ | 47. A stode of marys/ |
| 20. A Cowert of cottys/ | 48. A Rage of colttys/ |
| 21. A Nost of mene/ | 49. A Pase of assys/ |
| 22. A hoste of sparrovs/ | *50. A Barreñ of mullys/ |
| 23. Affeyllyschype of yovmeyne/ | 51. A Syngelar of borys/ |
| 24. A swarme of byne/ | 52. A Sondyr of Wyld swyne/ |
| 25. A Chyrme of goldfynchys/ | 53. A Dryfte of tame swyne/ |
| 26. A Wnkyndnys of rawynnys/ | 54. A Cloddyr of tame cattys/ |
| 27. A Byldyng of rookys/ | *55. A Dovt of Wyld cattys/ |
| *28. A Morthur of crowys/ | 56. A Leys of grayhoundys/ |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 57. A Brace of hovndys/ | 84. A Gagulle of gyse/ |
| 58. A kennel of racchys/ | *85. A Gagulle of womene/ |
| 59. A Covpul of spannelis/ | *86. A Clvstur of grappus/ |
| *60. A Sawt of a lyon/ | *87. A Clostyr of nottys/ |
| *61. A Pontyfyçalle of perlettus/ | *88. A Clostyr of chourllys/ |
| 62. A Stat of prynsys/ | 89. A Tr ^{ete} of covrtears/ |
| 63. A Dyngnete of chennans/ | *90. A Bost of sovdears/ |
| 64. A Trothe of barrovns/ | *91. A Skolke of freris/ |
| 65. A Charge of curattys/ | *92. A Skolke of thewys/ |
| *66. A Bomynabul syte of | *93. A Skolke of foxys/ |
| movnkys/ | *94. A Rafulle of enavys/ |
| *67. A Superflovite of nōnys/ | *95. A Rafulle of bayis/ |
| *68. A Preys of preysttys/ | *96. A Tharfe of threysschars/ |
| *69. A Skoue of fyche/ | *97. A Lache of carttars/ |
| *70. A Skole of clarkys/ | *98. A Squat of davberis/ |
| *71. A Cast of bred/ | *99. A Neuertreyuyng of |
| 72. A Cast of havkys of the tour/ | jovghehars/ |
| 73. A fflyȝt of goshavkys/ | *100. A Powertte of harppers/ |
| *74. A fflyȝt of cořmeravnttys/ | *101. A Mallapertnys of pedlers/ |
| 75. A fflyȝt of dowys/ | 102. A Lying of pardnars/ |
| *76. A Centtans of jugys/ | 103. A Lavȝtȝr of hostelers/ |
| 77. A Ellequens of laweris/ | 104. A Prōmes of tappestrs/ |
| 78. A Damnyng of jurrears/ | *105. A skoldyng of kēmȝssteris/ |
| *79. A Good awyse of borges/ | *106. A ffȝtȝyng of beggars/ |
| 80. A ffaȝth of marchandys/ | *107. A Dysworschȝe of stottys/ |
| 81. A Drovfe of neyte/ | * * * * * |
| 82. A Trype of gayte/ | *108. A Trype of harrys/ |
| 83. A floke of schepe/ | *109. A Trase of harrys/ |

3.

Harl. 1.

HARLEY MS. 541, fol. 225a, 15th century.

No title or explanatory remarks.

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. A heerde of hertis | 7. a Bevy of Roes |
| *2. a heerde of Bukkys | 8. a Bevy of Quayles |
| 3. a heerde of Cranes | 9. a ye of fesūntes |
| 4. A herde of Curlewys | 10. a Cove of partrichys |
| 5. a heerde of wrennys | 11. a Rought of kynghtis |
| 6. a Bevy of ladies | 12. a Route of wolfis |

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 13. a Skulke of foxis | *32. a holynesse of Nūnys |
| 14. a Sowndir of wylde swyne | *33. a State of p̄stis |
| *15. a Tremynge of goldefynchis | 34. a dignite of Chanons |
| 16. a Ost of men | 35. a Sege of herons |
| 17. a Ost of Sparowys | 36. a Sege of Betoris |
| 18. a Gagelynge of gese | 37. a Sprynge of telis |
| *19. a Gagelynge of Gossippes | 38. a Soorde of malardeſ |
| 20. a floke of Shepe | *39. a Doppynge of herles |
| 21. a Trippe of gete | *40. a Dyuyng of Attelis |
| 22. a huske of haris | *41. a Clateryng of Staris |
| 23. a haras of horsis | 42. a Disseit of lapwynkis |
| *24. a Teme of Oxen | 43. a vnkyndenese of Rauons |
| *25. a Teme of Swannes | *44. a Trewe loue of Turtelis |
| *26. a Teme of Duckys | *45. a Gloryng of Cattis |
| 27. a flyght of Dowfis | *46. a lesshe of marlions |
| *28. a flyght of larkis | 47. a Caste of haukys of the
toure |
| 29. a flyght of swalowys | 48. a Cluster of Knottes |
| *30. a Bewperis of freris | |
| *31. a Deuowtenesse of mōkys | |

4.

Harl. 2.

HARL. MS. 2340, 15th century.

[Begins on fol. 51a.]

No title or explanatory remarks.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| A har is formydschulderyng
or leneyng | 7. A Bevee of q̄alyſ |
| A boye is beddyd brawlyng | 8. A Beve of ladys |
| A Cony Syttyth | 9. A nye of fesawntes |
| A percar walkyth | 10. A Couy of pertrikkys |
| A perterych lythe | 11. A Rowte of wolfys |
| A fesawnte stalkyth | 12. A Rowte of knyts |
| A Crane stalkyth | 13. A Sovneder of wyld swyn |
| A heyron stalkyth | 14. A Chermyng of goldf̄ychys |
| 1. A herde of hartys | *15. A Chatterying of sterlyngys |
| 2. A herde of Bukkys | 16. A ost of men |
| 3. A herde of Cranys | 17. A ost of Sparowys |
| 4. A herde of Corlewis | 18. A Gagylyng of gese |
| 5. A herde of Wrennys | 19. A Gagylyng of womē |
| 6. A Bevee of roys | 20. A ffloke of Schepe |
| | 21. A Trype of gete |

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| *22. A huske or A downe of harys | 34. A Sege of Botowrys |
| 23. A haras of horse | 35. A Spryng of Telys |
| *24. A haras of harlottes | 36. A Sorde of malaridy |
| 25. A teme of oxyn | *37. A Dopyng of Scheldrakys |
| 26. A teme of Swānys | 38. A Dyuyng of autelys |
| 27. A teme of Dukys | 39. A Dyaseyte of lapwynkes |
| 28. A fflyjth of Dowfys | 40. A onkyndenes of Ravynnys |
| 29. A fflyjth of larkys | 41. A Trewloufe of Turtyllys |
| 30. A sculke of foxys | 42. A Clustyr of Grapys |
| 31. A sculke of freyrs | 43. A Clustyr of Nottys |
| 32. A sculke of theuys | *44. A Clowdyr of carlys |
| 33. A Sege of heyrōnys | 45. A Clowdyr of cattys |

lat cattes scrate carlys w^t Sorow j wys
lerne or be lewde j tell þ^e thys

Explicit. g. B^o.

5.

Addl.

ADDL. MS. 33,994, f. 26b, 15th century.

Distretāco

Rerum

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. An heerd of hertis. | 6. An Jye of fresauntj. |
| 2. An heerd of dere. | 7. A Covy of partrikes. |
| 3. An heerd of Cranes. | 8. A Bevy of ladyes. |
| 4. An heerd of Curlues. | 9. A Beve of quayles. |
| 5. An herd of wrennes. | 10. A Bevy of Roes. |

This is all there is of this list; the page terminates here, so probably the remaining pages have been lost.

6.

R. G.

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER MS., College of Arms, 15th century.

No title or explanatory remarks.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. A herde of Hertýs. | 6. A Bewý of Roys. |
| 2. A Herde of cranýs. | 7. A Bewý of quaýles. |
| 3. A herde of Buckes. | 8. A Bewý of ladýes. |
| 4. A herde of Curlewes. | 9. A ný of fesantes. |
| 5. A herde of wrannýs. | 10. A Couy of pertrýches. |

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 11. A Rawte of Woluys. | 32. A fflyth of Dowys. |
| 12. A Rowte kytys. | 33. A sculke of ffoxys. |
| 13. A sowndyr of Swyne. | 34. A sculke of Thewes. |
| 14. A Cynguler off Bores. | 35. A sculke of ffryers. |
| 15. A chÿrmÿng of goldefÿnches. | 36. An abhomÿnabylle syÿte of
monkes. |
| 16. A chaterÿng of starÿs. | 37. A superfflewÿte of Nunnÿs. |
| 17. A hoste of sparowÿs. | 38. A state of prestÿs. |
| 18. A hoste of men. | 39. A Dignÿte of chanons. |
| 19. A Gagelÿng of Gese. | 40. A sege of hayrons. |
| 20. A Gagelÿng of wommen. | 41. A Sege of betorÿs. |
| 21. A flocke ¹ of chepe. | 42. A sprÿnge of telÿs. |
| 22. A Trepÿ of gete. | 43. A sowrde off malardÿs. |
| 23. A huske of harÿs or. | 44. A Desyte off lepewÿkes. |
| 24. A duÿne of hares. | 45. A vnkÿndenÿs off Rawÿnnÿs. |
| 25. A hares of hors. | 46. A Trewloue of Turtuldowÿs. |
| 26. A Teme of oxen. | 47. A Clowster of grapÿs. |
| 27. A droue of bestÿs. | 48. A Clowster of Notÿs. |
| 28. A teme of Cwannÿs. | 49. A Clowder of karlÿs. |
| 29. A Teme of wylde Dokes. | 50. A Clowder of Cattÿs. |
| 30. A fflyth of larkÿs. | |
| 31. A fflyth Swaleus. | |

¹ A long f, not an f, in MS.

7.

D.

DIGBY MS. 196, fol. 160a, Bodleian Library, 15th century.

No title or explanatory remarks.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. A heerde of hertes. | 12. A rowte of knyÿttes. |
| 2. A heerde of cranes. | 13. A sovnder of wylde swync. |
| 3. A heerde of bukkes. | 14. A Syngler of boores. |
| 4. A heerde of curlewes. | 15. A chirmyng of goldfÿnches. |
| 5. A heerde of wrannes. | 16. A chaterÿng of stares. |
| 6. A bevey of quayles. | 17. A hoost of sparovns. |
| 7. A bevy of rooÿs. | 18. A hoost of men. |
| 8. A bevy of ladyes. | 19. A gagelyng of geese. |
| 9. A Je of fesawntes. | 20. A gagelynge of woemen. |
| 10. A covey of pertryches. | 21. A flok of chepe. |
| 11. A route of wolffes. | 22. A Tryppe of geete. |

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 23. A huske of hares. | 37. A superfluite of nōnes. |
| 24. A don of hares. | 38. A state of prestes. |
| 25. A harresse of horses. | 39. A dignyte of chanoñs. |
| 26. A Tyme of oxen. | 40. A Sege of herovvnes. |
| *27. A drove of beestes. | 41. A Sege of bytorys. |
| 28. A Teeme of Swañes. | 42. A Sprynge of teles. |
| 29. A Teeme of wylde dokes. | 43. A sovrde of malarde. |
| 30. A flyȝht of larkes. | 44. A deseyte of lapewynkes. |
| 31. A flyȝht of swalowes. | 45. A Vnkyndenes of ravenes. |
| 32. A flyȝht of doves. | 46. A trewlove of turteles. |
| 33. A Skulke of foxes. | 47. A Cluster of grapes. |
| 34. A skulke of thefes. | 48. A Cluster of Notes. |
| 35. A skulke of frerees. | 49. A Clowder of Karles. |
| 36. A abhōiablesȝth of monkes. | 50. A Clowder of Cattes. |

8.

L.

GERARDUS LANGBAINIUS.

CHIRRE, Gemere instar turturum. A.S. ceorian dicunt. Ad hanc verbi *chirre* acceptionem addebat eximius ac nostri quondam amantissimus Langb. Quin & Chrysomitres dicimus *to chirre*, & coetum chrysomitrium, a *chirring of goldfinches* vocant aucupes, ut me docuit vetus codex MS. Affinia his videntur *χηρος*, Vox, & *χηρῶν*, Loquor, vocem edo. Hanc suam de verbo *chirre* conjecturam amice mihi communicavit doctiss. Gerardus Langbainius per epistolam, in qua porro exhibuit integrum locum codicis memorati, dicens: Locum integrum tibi forte non molestum fuerit perlegere: apponam itaque; is ita se habet.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. A heerd of herts. | 13. A sounder of wild swine. |
| 2. A heerd of cranes. | 14. A syngler of boores. |
| 3. A heerd of bucks. | 15. A chirring of goldfinches. |
| 4. A heerd of curlews. | 16. A chatering of stares. |
| 5. A heerd of wranns. | 17. A hoste of sparous. |
| 6. A bevey of quayls. | 18. A hoste of men. |
| 7. A bevey of roes. | 19. A gagling of geese. |
| 8. A bevey of Ladies. | 20. A gagling of women. |
| 9. A je of fesants. | 21. A flock of sheep. |
| 10. A covey of partriches. | 22. A tryp of goete. |
| 11. A route of wolves. | 23. A husk of raies. |
| 12. A rout of Knights. | 24. A don of hares. |

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 25. A harrusse of horses. | 38. A state of priests. |
| 26. A teeme of oxen. | 39. A dignity of chanons. |
| 27. A drove of beests. | 40. A sege of herons. |
| 28. A teeme of swans. | 41. A sege of bytours. |
| 29. A teeme of wild doks. | 42. A springe of teals. |
| 30. A flight of larks. | 43. A sourde of malards. |
| 31. A flight of swallows. | 44. A deceyt of lapewynks. |
| 32. A flight of doves. | 45. An unkyndnes of ravens. |
| 33. A skulk of foxes. | 46. A trew love of turtles. |
| 34. A skulk of theeves. | 47. A cluster of grapes. |
| 35. A skulk of freers. | 48. A cluster of nots. |
| 36. An abhominable sight of monks. | 49. A clowder of carles. |
| 37. A superfluity of nonnes. | 50. A clowder of cats. |

from FRANCISCI JUNII Francisci Filii

ETYMOLOGICUM ANGLICANUM.

Oxonii : e Theatro Sheldoniano, M.DCC.XLIH.

Fo.

CLASS B.

9.

S.

From Sir Mark Masterman Sykes' reprint of John Lydgate's "The Hors the Shepe & the Ghoos," for the Roxburgh Club: 4to, 1822. Brit. Mus. R. Ac. 8104/14.

No title or explanatory remarks.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. an Herde of hertes | 15. a Spryng of teeles |
| 2. an Herde of dere | 16. a Sourd of malardes |
| 3. an Herde of swannys | 17. a disceite of lapwinks |
| 4. an Herde of cranys | 18. a Muster of pecocks |
| 5. an Herde of wrennys | 19. a Falle of wodcoks |
| 6. an Herde of alle dere | 20. a Walke of snytes |
| 7. a Neye of fesantes | 21. a Cōgregacōn of plouers |
| 8. a Coueye of partrichs | 22. a Couerte of cootes |
| *9. a Beuye of larkes | 23. an vnkindnes of rauons |
| 10. a Beuye of ladyes | 24. a Murther of crowes |
| 11. a Beuye of quayles | 25. a Byldyng of rooks |
| 12. a Beuye of roos | 26. a Clatering of chowhis |
| 13. a Siege of bytours | 27. a Murmeraōn of stares |
| 14. a Siege of heyrons | 28. an Hoost of men |

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 29. an Hoost of sparowes | 68. Trippe of hares |
| 30. a Felouship of yomen | 69. a Trase of an hare |
| 31. a Gagyll of ghoes | 70. a Skulke of foxes |
| 32. a Gagyll of women | 71. a Skulke of freres |
| *33. a Chyrme of fynches | 72. a Skulke of theues |
| 34. a Swarme of bees | 73. a Pontifical of prelates |
| 35. a Cxaltacion of larkes ¹ | 74. a State of princes |
| *36. a discõcion of wodewalis | 75. a Dignite of chanons |
| 37. a Mutacion | 76. a Trouthe of barons |
| 38. a Cety of greyes | 77. a Charge of curates |
| 39. an Erthe of foxes | *78. a Lordship of monkes |
| 40. a Bery of conyes | 79. Supfluyte of nonnes |
| 41. a Neste of rabettis | 80. Prees of prestes |
| 42. a Lytter of whelpes | 81. Scole of fysshe |
| 43. a Rowte of knyghtes | *82. Scole of scolers |
| 44. a Rowte of wolues | 83. Cluster of grapes |
| 45. a Pryde of lyons | 84. Cluster of nottes |
| 46. a Lepe of lebardes | 85. Cluster of carles |
| 47. a Slouth of beres | *86. Cluster of tame cattes |
| 48. a Lees of grehoundes | *87. destruction of wilde cattes |
| 49. a Brase of houndes | 88. Boste of souldyours |
| 50. a Kenel of recches | 89. Threte of coryars |
| 51. a Copill of spaynels | 90. Lawster of hostelers ² |
| 52. a Sute of a lyhñ | 91. Glosyng of tauerners |
| 53. a Caste of hawkes of the tour. | 92. a Promesse of tapsters |
| 54. a Caste of breed | 93. a Scolding of kēpsters |
| 55. a Flight of goshawkes | 94. a Fighting of beggers |
| 56. a Flight of douves | 95. a Disworship of stottes |
| 57. a Flight of cormerants | *96. a Raskall of boyes |
| 58. a Droue of nete | 97. a Rafull of knaues |
| 59. a Trippe of gete | *98. a Thraue of thresshers |
| 60. a Flock of shepe | 99. a Lasshe of cartars |
| *61. a Flock of lyse | *100. a Trynkette of cordwaners |
| *62. a Besynes of flyes | *101. a Blecche of sowters |
| 63. a Hareys of hors | *102. a Smere of coryers |
| 64. a Stode of mares | *103. a Pyte of prysoners |
| 65. a Ragg of coltes | *104. a Glorifieng of lyers |
| 66. a Drifte of tame swyn | 105. a Lyeng of pardoners |
| 67. a Sondre of wilde swyn | *106. a Hastynes of cookes |

¹ C for E.² f, not f.

. Explicit. .

There are no explanatory remarks or heading to this list.

10.

L. J.

"lytyll John" List.

DOUCE Fragm. e. 4. : Bodleian Library, Oxford.

No title or explanatory remarks.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. a Promesse of tapsters | 9. a Trynkette of cordwaners |
| 2. a Scolding of kēpsters | 10. a Blecche of sowters |
| 3. a Fighting of beggers | 11. a Smere of coryers |
| 4. a Disworship of stottes | 12. a Pyte of prysoners |
| 5. a Raskall of boyes | 13. a Glorifyeng of lyers |
| 6. a Rafull of knaues | 14. a Lyeng of pardoners |
| 7. a Thraue of thresshers | 15. a Hastynes of cookes |
| 8. a Lasshe of carters | |

Here endeth a lytyll treatyse called the booke of curtesye or lytyll John. Emprynted atte westmoster.

Caxton's Device upside down.

11.

A. I.

From the Boke of St. Albans, 1486.

The Compaïnys of beestys and fowlys.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. H AN Herde of Hertis | 19. a Wache of Nyghtingalis |
| 2. an herde of all maner dere | 20. an hoost of men |
| 3. an Herde of Swannys | 21. a ffelishippyng of yomen |
| 4. an Herde of Cranys | 22. a Cherme of Goldefynches |
| 5. an Herde of Corlewys | 23. a Cast of Brede |
| 6. an Herde of Wrennys | *24. a Couple or a payer of botillis |
| *7. an Herde of harlottys | 25. a fflight of Doues |
| 8. a Nye of fresauntys | 26. an vnkyndenes of Rauenes |
| 9. a Beuy of Ladies | 27. a Clateryng of choughes |
| 10. a Beuy of Roos | 28. a Dissimulacion of breddis |
| 11. a Beuy of Quaylis | 29. a Route of Knyghtis |
| 12. a Sege of heronnys | 30. a Pride of Lionys |
| 13. a Sege of betouris | 31. a Sleuth of Beeris |
| *14. a Sorde or a sute of malardis | 32. a Cete of Graies |
| 15. a Mustre of Pecoockys | 33. a Bery of Conyis |
| 16. a Walke of Snytis | *34. a Riches of Martronyis |
| *17. a Congregacion of peple | 35. a Besynes of ferettis |
| 18. an Exalting of Larkis | *36. a Brace of grehoundis of .ij |
| | 37. a Lece of Grehoundis of .iij |

38. a Coupull of spaynellis
 *39. a Couple of rennyng houndis
 40. a Litter of Welpis
 *41. a Kyndyll of yong Cattis
 42. a Synguler of Boris
 43. a Dryft of tame Swyne
 44. an Harrasse of horse
 45. a Ragg of coltis or a Rake
 46. a Baren of Mulis
 47. a Trippe of Gete
 48. a Trippe of haaris
 49. a Gagle of gees
 50. a Brode of hennys
 51. a badelyng of Dokis
 *52. a Noonpaciens of Wyues
 53. a State of Prynces
 54. a Thongh of barons
 55. a Prudens of vikeris
 56. a Superfluyte of Nunnys
 57. a Scole of clerkes
 58. a Doctryne of doctoris
 59. a Conuerting of prechouris
 60. a Sentence of Juges
 61. a Dampnyng of Jurrouris
 62. a Diligens of Messangeris
 *63. an Obeisians of *seruauntis*
 64. a Sete of vssheris
 65. a Draught of boteleris
 *66. a Proude shewyng of taloris
 67. a Temperans of cokys
 68. a Stalke of fosteris
 69. a Boost of saudiouris
 70. a Laughtre of Osteloris
 71. a Glosyng of Tauerneris
 72. a Malepertnes of pedleres
 73. a Thraue of Throsheris
 74. a squatte of Dawberis
 75. a Fightyng of beggers
 *76. an vntrouth of sompneris
 *77. a Melody of Harpers
 *78. a Pauerty of pypers
 *79. a sotelty of sergeauntis
 *80. a Tabernacle of bakers
 *81. a Drite of fishers
 *82. a Disgysyng of Taylours
 83. a Bleche of sowteris
 84. a Smere of Coryouris
 85. a Clustre of Grapys
 86. a Clustre of chorlis
 *87. a Rage of Maydenys
 88. a Rafull of Knausy
 *89. a blush of boyes
 *90. an vncredibilite of Cocoldis
 91. a Couy of partrichis
 92. a Sprynge of Telis
 93. a Desserte of Lapwynges
 94. a fall of Woodecockis
 95. a Congregacion of Pleuers
 96. a Couert of cootis
 *97. a Duell of Turtillis
 98. a Titengis of Pies
 99. an Ost of sparowis
 100. a Swarme of bees
 101. a cast of haukis of y^e tour
 .ij
 *102. a Lece of thessame haukis
 .iiij
 103. a Flight of Goshaukes
 104. a Flight of swalowes
 105. a beldyng of Rookees
 106. a Murmuracion of stares
 107. a Route of Woluess
 108. a Lepe of Lebardis
 109. a Shrewdenes of Apis
 110. a Skulke of Theuys
 111. a skulke of ffoxis
 112. a Nest of Rabettis
 113. a Labor of Mollis
 *114. a Mute of houndes
 115. a Kenell of Rachis
 116. a Sute of a lyam
 117. a Cowardnes of curris

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 118. a Soundre of Wilde swyne | *141. an vnbrewyng of Kerueris |
| 119. a Stode of Maris | 142. a Safegarde of Porteris |
| 120. a Pase of Assis | 143. a Blast of hunteris |
| 121. a Droue of Nete | 144. a Thretenyng of courteyeris |
| 122. a fflocke of Shepe | 145. a Promyse of Tapsteris |
| 123. a Gagle of Women | 146. a Lyeng of pardeneris |
| 124. a Pepe of chykennys | *147. a Misbeleue of paynteris |
| *125. a Multiplieng of husbandis | 148. a Lash of Carteris |
| 126. a Pontificalite of prelatis | 149. a Scoldyng of Kemsteris |
| 127. a Dignyte of chanonys | *150. a Wonderyng of Tynkeris |
| 128. a Charge of curatis | *151. a Waywardnes of haywardis |
| 129. a Discrecion of Prestis | *152. a Worship of Writteris |
| 130. a Sculke of freris | 153. a Neuerthriuyng of
Jogoleris |
| 131. a bhomynable sight of
mōkis | *154. a ffraunch of Mylneris |
| 132. a Scoll of ffysh | *155. a Festre of Brweris |
| 133. a Example of Maisteris | *156. a Goryng of Bochouris |
| *134. an Obseruans of herimytis | *157. a Trynket of Corueseris |
| 135. an Eloquens of laweyeris | *158. a Plocke of Shotturneris |
| 136. an Execucion of Officerys | *159. a Dronkship of Coblers |
| 137. a faith of Marchandis | 160. a Sculke of foxis |
| 138. a preuision of stewardes of
hous | 161. a Clustre of Nottis |
| 139. a Kerff of Panteris | *162. a Rage of the teethe |
| *140. a Credens of Seweris | 163. a Rascall of Boyes |
| | 164. a Disworship of Scottis |

¶ Explicit

12.

A. 2.

From "The manere of hawkyng & huntynge: and also of
diuysynge of Cote armours." pp. 50-2

Wynkyn the worde, westmestre, M.CCCC. lxxxxvi.

¶ *The companyes of bestys and foules.*

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. H N Herde of hartys | 7. an Herde of harlottys. |
| 2. an Herde of all manere
dere | 8. a Nye of fesauntys |
| 3. an Herde of swannys | 9. a Beuy of ladyes |
| 4. an Herde of cranys | 10. a Beuy of roes |
| 5. an Herde of corlewys | 11. a Beuy of quayles |
| 6. an Herde of wrennys | 12. a Sege of herons |
| | 13. a Sege of bytourys |

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 14. a Sorde or a sute of malardis | 55. a Prudence of vycaryes |
| 15. a Mustre of pecockys | 56. a Superfluyte of nonnys |
| 16. a Walke of snytes | 57. a Scole of clerkes |
| 17. a Congregacōn of people | 58. a Doctryne of doctours |
| 18. an Exaltinge of larkys | 59. a Conuertynge of prechers |
| 19. a Watche of nyghtyngalys | 60. a Sentence of Juges |
| 20. an hoost of men | 61. a Dampnyng of Juryours |
| 21. a Felyshyppynge of yomen | 62. a Dyligence of messengers |
| 22. a Chernie of goldfynches | 63. an Obeysaunce of seruautis |
| 23. a Caste of breed | 64. a Cete of vssherys |
| 24. a Couple or a payr of botellis | 65. a Draught of Buttellers |
| 25. a Flyghte of douues | 66. a Proude shewynge of taylers |
| 26. an Unkyndnes of rauens | 67. a Temperaunce of cokys |
| 27. a Claterynge of choughes | 68. a Stalke of fosters |
| 28. a Dyssymulacōn of byrdes | 69. a Boste of sadyoures |
| 29. a Rowte of knyghtes | 70. a Laughtre of ostelers |
| 30. a Pryde of Lyons | 71. a Glosynge of tauerners |
| 31. a Slewthe of beerys | 72. a Malepertnesse of pedlers |
| 32. a Cete of grayes | 73. a Thraue of throsshers |
| 33. a Bery of conyes | 74. a Squatte of dawbers |
| 34. a Ryches of martrones | 75. a Fyghtynge of beggers |
| 35. a Besynesse of ferettes | 76. an Vntrouth of sompnors |
| 36. a Brace of grehoundes of two | 77. a Melody of harpers |
| 37. a Lece of grehoundes of thre | 78. a Pouuerty of pypers |
| 38. a Cowple of spanellys | 79. a Subtyltee of sergauntes |
| 39. a Couple of renninge houndes | 80. a Tabernacle of bakers |
| 40. a Lytter of whelpys | 81. a Dryfte of fysshers |
| 41. a Kyndyll of yonge cattys | 82. a Disgysynge of tayllours |
| 42. a Synguler of boores | 83. a Bleche of sowers |
| 43. a Dryfte of tame swyne | 84. a Smere of coryours |
| 44. an Harrasse of horse. | 85. a Clustre of grapys |
| 45. a Ragge of coltys or a Rake | 86. a Clustre of chorlys |
| 46. a Baren of mulys | 87. a Rage of maydens |
| 47. a Tryppe of gete | 88. a Rafull of knaues |
| 48. a Tryppe of haarys | 89. a Blusshe of boyes |
| 49. a Gagle of geys | 90. an Vncredybylyte of co-
coides |
| 50. a Brode of hennys | 91. a Couy of pertryches |
| 51. a Badelynge of dokys | 92. a Sprynge of telys |
| 52. a Noonpacyens of wyues | 93. a Desserte of lapwynges |
| 53. a State of prynces | 94. a Falle of wodcockes |
| 54. a Thongh of barons | |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 95. a Congregacōn of plouers | 130. a Sculle of frerys |
| 96. a Couerte of cootes | 131. a bomynable syght of
monkes |
| 97. a Duell of turtylles | 132. a Scoll of fysshe |
| 98. a Tygendis of pyes | 133. an Example of maysters |
| 99. an Oost of sparowes | 134. an Obseruans of heremytes |
| 100. a Swarme of bees | 135. an Eloquens of laweyers |
| 101. a Cast of hawkis of y ^e toure
.ij. | 136. an Execucōn of offycers |
| 102. a Lece of the same hawkys
.iij. | 137. a Fayth of marchauntis |
| 103. a Flyght of goshawkys | 138. a prouysion of steward of
hous |
| 104. a Flyght of swalowes | 139. a Kerff of panteres |
| 105. a buyldyng of rokys | 140. a Credens of seweris |
| 106. a Murmuracōn of stares | 141. an Vnbrewyng of keruers |
| 107. a Rowte of Wulues | 142. a Saufgarde of porters |
| 108. a Lepe of leberdes | 143. a Blaste of hunters |
| 109. a Shrewdenes of apys | 144. a Thretenyng of courteyers |
| 110. a Skulke of theuys | 145. a Promyse of tapsters |
| 111. a Skulke of foxes | 146. a Lyenge of pardoners |
| 112. a Nest of rabettys | 147. a Mysbyleue of paynters |
| 113. a Labor of mollys | 148. a Lasshe of carters |
| 114. a Mute of houndys | 149. a Scoldyng of kempters |
| 115. a Kenell of rachys | 150. a Wonderyuge of Tynkers |
| 116. a Sute of a lyam | 151. a Waywardnes of haywardes |
| 117. a Cowardnes of currys | 152. a Worshyp of Wryters |
| 118. a Sourde of wylde swyne | 153. a Neuerthriuyng of Jogolers |
| 119. a Stode of maarys | 154. a Fraunch of myllers |
| 120. a Pase of asses | 155. a Feest of bruers |
| 121. a Droue of nete | 156. a Goryng of bouchers |
| 122. a Flocke of shepe | 157. a Trynket of coruesers |
| 123. a Gagle of wymen | 158. a Pløcke of shoturners |
| 124. a Pepe of chekyns | 159. a Dronkenshyp of Coblers |
| 125. a Multyplyng of husbondes | 160. a Sculke of foxes |
| 126. a Pontifycalyte of prelates | 161. a Clustre of nottes |
| 127. a Dygnyte of chanons | 162. a rage of the teeth |
| 128. a Charge of curates | 163. a Rascall of boyes |
| 129. a Dyscrecōn of prestys | 164. a Dysworshyp of scottes |

Explicit

Enprynted at Westmestre by Wynkyn the Worde
the yere of thyncarnacōn of our lorde. M.CCCC.lxxxxvi.
From the copy on Vellum in the British Museum : G. 10,548.

13.

V.

From The Booke of Hawkyng . . . Huntynge and Fysshynge.

a. Imprinted at London in Paules church yarde at the Sygne of the Lambe by Abraham Vele.

C. 31. c. 2. Brit. Museum. *circa* 1560.

14.

T.

b. Jmprynted at London in Fletestreate at the Sygne of the Rose Garlande, by Wyllyam Coplande: for Rychard Tottell.

C. 10,494, Brit. Museum. *circa* 1561.

The lists of Abraham Vele and Rychard Tottell are practically identical; apparently the latter is a copy of the former, the spelling being slightly more modern in its form. Where Tottell's list differs in any way, however slight, from Vele's, the variation is given at the bottom of the list. This list is that given by Vele.

¶ *The Companyes of beastes and foules.*

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. AN herde of hartes | 22. a sege of Herons |
| 2. an herde of al maner dere | 23. a sege of byttoures |
| 3. an herde of swans | 24. a sord or a sute of mallards |
| 4. an herde of cranes | 25. a mustre of pecookes |
| 5. an herde of curlewes | 26. a walke of snites |
| 6. an herde of wrennes | 27. a congregacion of people |
| 7. an herde of harlottes | 28. an exalting of larkes |
| 8. a nye of fesauntes | 29. a watch of nyghtyngales |
| 9. a beuy of Ladyes | 30. an hoste of men |
| 10. a cete of grayes | 31. a feloshyppyng of yemen |
| 11. a bery of conyes | 32. a cherme of goldfinches |
| 12. a rychesse of martrons | 33. a caste of bread |
| 13. a besynes of ferettes | 34. a couple or a payre of botels |
| 14. a brace of grehoundes or .ii. | 35. a flyght of doues |
| 15. a lese of grehoundes or .iij. | 36. an vnkyndnes of rauens |
| 16. a couple of spanyels | 37. a clateryng of choughes |
| 17. a couple of rēning houndes | 38. a dissimulacion of byrdes |
| 18. a lytter of welpes | 39. a route of knightes |
| 19. a kyndell of younge cattes | 40. a pryde of lyons |
| 20. a beuy of roes | 41. a sleuthe of beares |
| 21. a beuy of quayles | 42. a draught of butlers |

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 43. a proude shewig of taylers | 83. a murmuracyon of stares |
| 44. a temperaunce of cookes | 84. a route of wulues |
| 45. a stalke of fosters | 85. an vntrouth of sompners |
| 46. a boste of souldyours | 86. a melody of harpers |
| 47. a laughter of ostlers | 87. a pouerty of pypers |
| 48. a glosyng of tauerners | 88. a subtiltie of sergeauntes |
| 49. a malepertnes of pedlers | 89. a tabernacle of bakers |
| 50. a thraue of thresshers | 90. a dryft of fysshers |
| 51. a squat of daubers | 91. a dysgysyng of taylers |
| 52. a fyghtyng of beggers | 92. a bleche of souters |
| 53. a synguler of bores | 93. a smere of coryours |
| 54. a dryft of tame swyne | 94. a cluster of grapes |
| 55. an harrasse of hors | 95. a cluster of churles |
| 56. a ragge of coltes or a rake | 96. a rag of maydens |
| 57. a baren of mules | 97. a rafull of knaues |
| 58. a tryppe of gotes | 98. a blusse of boyes |
| 59. a tryppe of hares | 99. an vncredibilite of kocoldes |
| 60. a gaggyll of geese | 100. a couy of patryches |
| 61. a broode of hennes | 101. a spryng of teles |
| 62. a badelynge of duckes | 102. a dessarte of lapwynges |
| 63. a nonpaciens of wyues | 103. a fall of wodcockes |
| 64. a state of prynces | 104. a congregacion of plouers |
| 65. a though of barons | 105. a couerte of cootes |
| 66. a prudence of vycaryes | 106. a dule of turtylles |
| 67. a superfluitie of nunnes | 107. a scull of freres |
| 68. a scoole of clerkes | 108. a bomivable sight of monks |
| 69. a doctrine of doctours | 109. a sclul of fyshe |
| 70. a conuerting of prechours | 110. an example of masters |
| 71. a sentence of Judges | 111. an obseruaunce of heremites |
| 72. a dampnyng of Juryours | 112. an eloquence of lawers |
| 73. an obeisaunce of seruaūtes | 113. an execucyon of officers |
| 74. a sete of vsshers | 114. a fayth of marchauntes |
| 75. atygendes of pyes | 115. a prouisiō of steward of hous |
| 76. an hoste of sparowes | 116. a kerfe of panters |
| 77. a swarme of bees | 117. a credence of sewers |
| 78. a caste of Haukes of the
toure, two | 118. a lepe of lybardes |
| 79. a lese of y ^e same haukes .iii. | 119. a shrewednes of apes |
| 80. a flyght of goskaukes | 120. a sculke of theues |
| 81. a flyght of swallowes | 121. a sculke of foxes |
| 82. a byldyng of rookes | 122. a nest of rabbettes |
| | 123. a labour of moles |

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|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 124. a mute of houndes | 143. a blast of hunters |
| 125. a kenell of raches | 144. a thretenyng of courtiers |
| 126. a sute of a lyam | 145. a promyse of tapsters |
| 127. a cowardnes of cures | 146. a lyeng of parloners |
| 128. a sourde of wylde swyne | 147. a mysbeleue of paynters |
| 129. a stod of mares | 148. a lasshe of carters |
| 130. a pace of asses | 149. a skolding of kemsters |
| 131. a droue of nete | 150. a wondering of tynkers |
| 132. a flocke of sheep | 151. a waiwardnes of haiwards |
| 133. a gagle of women | 152. a Worshyp of wryters |
| 134. a pepe of chekyns | 153. a neuerthryuyng of iuglers |
| 135. a multeplyeng of husbādes | 154. a fraunche of myllers |
| 136. a pontyfycalytye of prelates | 155. a feast of bruers |
| 137. a dygnytye of chanons | 156. a goryng of buchens |
| 138. a charge of curates | 157. a trynket of coruysers |
| 139. a discrecion of preestes | 158. a plucke of shooturners |
| 140. a disworship of scottes | 159. a dronkeshyp of coblers |
| Explicit. | 160. a cluster of nuttes |
| 141. an embrewyng of caruers | 161. a rage of the teeth |
| 142. a sauegarde of porters | 162. a rascall of boyes |

153. neuerthryuyng.

Tottell: 3, swanes; 4, 5, and *for* an; 9, ladyes; 11, conies; 15, iii; 18, whelpes; 28, exalting; 29, wache; 32, goldfynches; 34, paire; 39, knyghtes; 43, shewing . . . tailers; 46, souldiours; 62, badelyng; 66, prduence, vicaries; 67, superfluytie; 75, a tygendes; 78, haukes; 79, the; 80, goshaukes; 82, byldyng; 83, murmuracion; 84, woulues; 87, pouertie; 88, subteltie; 91, dysgysyng; 99, cokoldes; 108, mōkes; 109, scull; 110, maisters; 111, obseruaūcc; 113, execucion; 115, a prouision of stewarde of hous; 132, shepe; 133, gaggle; 135, a multeplyng of husbandes; 136, pontyficalitie; 137, dignytie; 138, carates; 139, priestes; 140, disworshyp.

15.

All.

From Hawking, Hunting, and Fishing, with the true measures of Blowing. Newly corrected and amended, 1586.

At LONDON, Printed by *Edward Alle*, and are to be solde at the Long Shop adioyning vnto Saint Mildreds Church in the Pultrie, 1586. 4to, Brit: Mus: C. 31. b. 46.

*The proper tearmes and names of companies of Beastes and Foule,
with others.*

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. An heard of Hares. | 39. a stalke of Fosters. |
| 2. an heard of all maner of
Deere. | 40. a boste of Souldiours. |
| 3. an heard of Swannes. | 41. a laughter of Ostlers. |
| 4. an heard of Cranes. | 42. a glosing of Tauerners. |
| 5. an heard of Curlewes. | 43. a malepertnes of Pedlers. |
| 6. A riches of Matrons. | 44. a litter of Whelps. |
| 7. a Besenes of Ferret. | 45. a kindle of yong Cats. |
| 8. a Brace of Greyhounds .ij. | 46. a Beuy of Roes. |
| 9. a Lease of Greyhounds .iij. | 47. a Beuy of Quailes. |
| 10. a couple of Spanielli. | 48. a siege of Herons, |
| 11. a couple of running hounds. | 49. a siege of Bytours. |
| 12. An heard of Wrens. | 50. a gaggle of Geese. |
| 13. an heard of Harlots. | 51. a brood of Hens. |
| 14. a ny of Fesants. | 52. a badling of Ducks. |
| 15. a Beuie of Ladies. | 53. a nonpatients of wiues. |
| 16. a cete of Greys. | 54. a state of Princes. |
| 17. a Berry of Conies. | 55. a though of Barons. |
| 18. a sore or a suce of Malards. | 56. a prudence of Uicars. |
| 19. a muster of Peacocks. | 57. a superfluitie of Nunnes. |
| 20. a walke of Snites. | 58. a schoole of Clarkes. |
| 21. a congregation of people. | 59. a doctrine of Doctors. |
| 22. an exalting of Larkes. | 60. a conuerting Preachers. |
| 23. a watching of nightingals. | 61. a sentence of Judges. |
| 24. an hoste of men. | 62. a damning of Jurours. |
| 25. a felowship of Yemen. | 63. an obeisance of seruants. |
| 26. a cherm of goldfinches. | 64. a seate of Ushers. |
| 27. a cast of bread. | 65. a tygenes of Pyes. |
| 28. a couple or a payre of bottles. | 66. a host of Sparrowes. |
| 29. a flight of Doues. | 67. a swarm of Bees. |
| 30. an unkindenes of Rauens. | 68. a cast of Hawkes of the
Tower, two. |
| 31. a clattering of Choughes. | 69. a lease of the same Hawkes. |
| 32. a dissimulation of Birds. | 70. a flight of Goshawkes. |
| 33. a rout of Knights. | 71. a flight of swallowes. |
| 34. a pride of Lyons. | 72. a building of Rooks. |
| 35. a sleuth of Beares. | 73. a murmeration of Starres. |
| 36. a draught of Butlers. | 74. a routes of Wolues. |
| 37. a proud shewing of Tailors. | 75. a thraue of Threshers. |
| 38. a temperance of Cookes. | 76. a squat of Daubers. |

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 77. a fighting of Beggars. | 118. a gaggle of wemen. |
| 78. a singuler of Bores. | 119. a peep of Chikens. |
| 79. a drift of tame Swine. | 120. a multiply of Husband. |
| 80. a harrase of Horsse. | 121. a pontifica of Prelats. |
| 81. a rag of colther, or a rake. | 122. a dignitie of Chanons. |
| 82. a Baren of mules. | 123. a charge of Curates. |
| 83. a trip of Gotes. | 124. a discretion of Preests. |
| 84. a cluster of grapes. | 125. a disworship of Scots. |
| 85. a cluster of churles. | 126. an embruing of Caruers. |
| 86. a rag of Maidens. | 127. a safegard of Porters. |
| 87. a raufull of knaues. | 128. a blast of Hunters. |
| 88. a blush of Boyes. | 129. A credence of Sewers. |
| 89. an vncredibility of cokolds. | 130. a leap of Lybards. |
| 90. a couie of Partriches. | 131. a shrewdnes of Apes. |
| 91. a spring of Teles. | 132. a sculke of Foxes. |
| 92. a desart of Lapwings. | 133. a nest of Rabits. |
| 93. a fall of woodcocks. | 134. a labor of Moles. |
| 94. a congregation of Plouers. | 135. a mute of hounds. |
| 95. a couert of Cotes. | 136. a kenell of Raches. |
| 96. a dule of Turtles. | 137. a sute of Lyam. |
| 97. a scull of Friars. | 138. a cowardnes of Cures. |
| 98. Abominable sight of monks | 139. a sourd of wilde Swine. |
| 99. a scale of fish. | 140. a stod of Mares. |
| 100. an example of marters. | 141. a goring of Buchers. |
| 101. a obseruance of Hermits. | 142. a trinket of Cornisers. |
| 102. an eloquence of Lawyers. | 143. a pluck of Shooturners. |
| 103. a faith of Marchants. | 144. a dronken ship of Coblers. |
| 104. a prouision of Stewards of
houses. | 145. a cluster of Nutts. |
| 105. a kerfe of Panters. | 146. a roge of teeth. |
| 106. an vntrueth of Somners. | 147. a rascall of boyes. |
| 107. a melodie of Harpers. | 148. a threatning of courtiers. |
| 108. a Pouertie of Pipers. | 149. a promise of Tapsters. |
| 109. a subtiltie of Seriants. | 150. a lying of pardoners. |
| 110. a tabernacle of Bakers. | 151. a misbeleef of Painters. |
| 111. a drift of fishers. | 152. a lash of Carters. |
| 112. a disguising of Tailors. | 153. a scolding of gamsters. |
| 113. a bleach of Souters. | 154. a wundring of tincars. |
| 114. a smere of Curriers. | 155. a waywardnes of haiward |
| 115. a pace of Asses. | 156. a worship of writers. |
| 116. a droue of Nete. | 157. a neuerthriuing of Juglers. |
| 117. a flock of Sheep. | 158. a fraunch of Millers. |
| | 159. a feast of Brewers. |

16.

H.

T.S.

From a Ievvell for Gentrie: ~~S.T.~~ Printed at London for Iohn Helme and are to be sold at his shop in St. Dunstanes Church-yard in Fleet street, 1614.

B.Mus. C. 31. c. 4.

The proper tearmes and names of companies of
Beastes and Fowles, with others.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. An heard of Hares. | 30. An host of men. |
| 2. An heard of all manner of Deere. | 31. A fellowship of Yeomen. |
| 3. An heard of Swannes. | 32. A cherme of Goldfinches. |
| 4. An heard of Craines. | 33. A cast of bread. |
| 5. An heard of Curlewes. | 34. A couple or payre of Bottles. |
| 6. An heard of Wrenes. | 35. A flight of Doues. |
| 7. An heard of Harlots. | 36. An vnkindnes of Rauens. |
| 8. Any of Fesants. | 37. A clattering of Choughes. |
| 9. A Benie of Ladies. | 38. A dissimulation of Birds. |
| 10. A cete of Greyes. | 39. A route of Knights. |
| 11. A Berry of Conies. | 40. A pride of Lyons. |
| 12. A Riches of Matrons. | 41. A sleuth of Beares. |
| 13. A Besenes of Fires. | 42. A draught of Butlers. |
| 14. A Brace of Greyhounds .ij. | 43. A proud shewing of Taylors. |
| 15. A lease of Greyhounds .iiij. | 44. A temperance of Cookes. |
| 16. A couple of Spaniels. | 45. A stalke of Fosters. |
| 17. A couple of running Hounds. | 46. A hoste of Souldiours. |
| 18. A litter of Whelps. | 47. A laughter of Ostlers. |
| 19. A Kindle of young Cats. | 48. A glosing of Tauerners. |
| 20. A beuy of Roes. | 49. A malepertnes of Pedlers. |
| 21. A Beuy of Quailes. | 50. A thraue of Threshers. |
| 22. A siege of Herons. | 51. A squat of Dawbers. |
| 23. A siege of Bytours. | 52. A fighting of Beggers. |
| 24. A sore or a suce of Mallards. | 53. A singuler of Bores. |
| 25. A muster of Peacockes. | 54. A drift of tame Swine. |
| 26. A walke of Snites. | 55. A harrase of Horse. |
| 27. A congregation of people. | 56. A ragge of colthor or a rake. |
| 28. An exalting of Larkes. | 57. A Baren of Mules. |
| 29. A watch of Nightingales. | 58. A trip of Gotes. |

59. A gaggle of Geese.
60. A broode of Hens.
61. A badling of Duckes.
62. A nonpatients of wiues.
63. A state of Princes.
64. A thought of Barons.
65. A prudence of Uicaries.
66. A superfluitie of Nunnes.
67. A schoole of Clarkes.
68. A doctrine of Doctors.
69. A conuerting of Preachers.
70. A sentence of Judges.
71. A damning of Jurours.
72. An obeisance of seruants.
73. A seate of Ushers.
74. A tygenes of Pyes.
75. A host of Sparrowes.
76. A swarme of Bees.
77. A cast of Hawkes of the
Tower, two.
78. A lease of the same Hawkes.
79. A flight of Goshawkes.
80. A flight of Swallows.
81. A bilding of Rookes.
82. A murmuration of Stares.
83. A route of Wolues.
84. An vntruth of Sumners.
85. A melodie of Harpers.
86. A pouertie of Pipers.
87. A subiltie of Serieants.
88. A tabernacle of Bakers.
89. A drift of Fishers.
90. A disguising of Taylers.
91. A bleach of Souters.
92. A smere of Curriours.
93. A Cluster of Grapes.
94. A Cluster of Churles.
95. A rage of Maydens.
96. A raufull of Knaues.
97. A blush of Boyes.
98. An vncredibilitie of Cokolds.
99. A couie of Partriches.
100. A spring of Teles.
101. A desart of Lapwings.
102. A fall of Woodcockes.
103. A congregation of Plouers.
104. A couert of Cotes.
105. A dule of Turtles.
106. A scull of Friers.
107. Abhominable sight of
Monks.
108. A scale of Fish.
109. An example of Marters.
110. An obseruance of Hermites.
111. An eloquence of Lawyers.
112. A faith of Marchants.
113. A prouision of Stewardes
of houses.
114. A kerfe of Panters.
115. A credence of Sewers.
116. A leap of Lybards.
117. A shrewdnes of Apes.
118. A sculke of Foxes.
119. A nest of Rabites.
120. A labor of Moles.
121. A mute of Hounds.
122. An embruing of Caruers.
123. A safegard of Porters.
124. A blast of Hunters.
125. A threatning of Courteours.
126. A promise of Tapsters.
127. A lying of Pardoners.
128. A Misbeleue of Painters.
129. A lash of Carters.
130. A scolding of Gamesters.
131. A wondring of Tinckers.
132. A waywardnesse of
Hawards.
133. A worship of Writers.
134. A neuer thriuing of Juglers.
135. A kenell of Raches.
136. A sute of a Lyam.

17. GEORGE TURBERVILLE, THE BOOKE OF HUNTING, 1575 73

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|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 137. A cowardnes of Curras. | 149. A discretion of Priestes. |
| 138. A sourd of wild Swine. | 150. A disworship of Scots. |
| 139. A stod of Mares. | 151. A fraunch of Myllers. |
| 140. A pace of Asses. | 152. A feast of Brewars. |
| 141. A droue of Nete. | 153. A goring of Butchers. |
| 142. A flocke of Sheepe. | 154. A trinket of Coruisers. |
| 143. A gaggle of women. | 155. A plucke of Shooturners. |
| 144. A peepe of Chickens. | 156. A drouken ship of Coblers. |
| 145. A multiply of Husbands. | 157. A cluster of Nuttes. |
| 146. A pontifica of Prelates. | 158. A roge of teeth. |
| 147. A dignitie of Chanons. | 159. A rascall of Boyes. |
| 148. A charge of Curates. | |

CLASS C.

17.

G. T.

From The booke of Hunting by George Turberville Gentleman,
"from my chamber this xvi. of June 1575."

Imprinted by Henry Bynneman, for Christopher Barker.
Brit. Mus. C. 31. g. 1. (2.).

p. 234.

Of the Termes of Venerie.

I Haue thought meete to write a briefe note or abstracte of such termes & proper woordes as I haue obserued in Venerie, either by reading or by experience: aswell bycause mine Auctor hath done the like, as also bicause I finde it very pertinent to the purpose. But bicause I find that his termes in the Frenche are in many places much different frō ours (& yet many holde opinion that we borowed all our termes of Hunting, Hawking, and such like out of the Frenche) therefore I haue thought my parte to set downe suche as I my selfe haue eyther herd pronounced by olde Huntresmen, or founde approued in olde *Trystrams* booke. And if the Reader do finde that in any parte of the discourses in this booke, I haue termed any of them otherwise, then let him also consider that in handling of an Arte, or in setting downe rules and precepts of any thing, a man must vse suche woordes as may be most easie, perspicuous and intelligible. But here (as neare as I can) I will set them downe in suche termes as wee ought by lawe of Venerie to name them: as followeth.

The proper termes for the companies of
all beasts, when they are more than
one together.

To beginne with the termes that are proper for the companies of beasts: you shall vnderstand that Huntmen vse to saye, *An Heard of Harts* and *Hindes*, *Buckes* and *Does*: and *A Trippe of Gotes* and *Geates*. *A Beuie of Rowes*. *A Sounder of Swine*. And a *Rowte of VVolues*. I haue not readde any thing of the *Rayne-deare* in this respect, and I could not heare any thyng bycause in deede they are not in this Realme as farre as euer I coulde learne. But in my iudgement it should also be called *An Heard of Rayne-deare*. *Trystrā* addeth, *A Richeesse of Marternes*, and a *Slowth of Beares*. As for *Hares*, if they be two together, we say, a brase of *Hares*, and a *Lease* when there are three: as also a brase of *Harts* or *Hindes*, *Buckes* or *Does*, is very properly spoken: but more than two or three *Hares*, you shall seldom see together at once. Two *Conies* are called a couple, and three are called a couple & a halfe of *Conies*. If they be many feeding out together, we say it is a fayre game of *Conies*. As for *Fox*, *Badgerd* & other such vermine, you shall seldome see more than one of them at once, vnlesse it be when they engendre: and then their encrease is called *A lytter*. This is asmuche as I thinke requisite to say of the termes for the companies of Beastes: Sauing that .xx. is the least number which maketh an *Hearde* of any *Deare* sauing the *Rowe*: but sixe *Rowes* make an *hearde*. And of *Swyne* twelue is the least nūber, which may be called a *Sounder*: as also the same nūber serueth for a *route* of *Wolues*.

18.

M.

From *The Gentleman's Academie*. OR *The Booke of S. Albans*:
. . . *And now reduced into a better method*, by G. M. [Gervase
Markham]. London, printed for Humfrey Lownes, 1595.

Brit: Mus: C. 31. e. 30.

pp. 37b, 38.

Certaine proper termes belonging to all chace.

A heard of Harts.	A sounder of Swine.
A heard of all maner of Deere.	A rowt of Woolues.
A beuie of Roes.	A trip or heard of Goates.

You shall say, an Hart harboureth.	You shall say, the Deere is broken.
A bucke lodgeth.	The Foxe is cased.
A Roe bedeth.	The Hare is cased.
A Hare seated or fourmed.	We say, dislodge the Bucke.
A Conie sitteth.	Start the Hare.
A Foxe kenelleth.	Vnkennell the Foxe.
An Otter kenelleth.	Rowze the Hart.
A litter of Cubbes.	Bolt the Conie.
A nest of Rabbets.	

19.

G.

From The Display of Heraldrie: John Gvillim. 2nd Edition,
printed by Richard Badger for Ralph Mab, 1632.

Brit. Mus. 605. g. 15.

Skilful *Foresters* and good *Woodmen*.

Chap. 14, p. 177.

Doe vse to say, a	}	<i>Hearde</i>	}	Of	}	<i>Harts</i>
		<i>Hearde</i>				all manner of <i>Deere</i> .
		<i>Beuy</i>				<i>Roes</i>
		<i>Sounder</i>				<i>Swyne.</i>
		<i>Rowte.</i>				<i>Wolues.</i>
		<i>Riches.</i>				<i>Marternes.</i>
		<i>Brace, or</i> }				<i>Bucks.</i>
		<i>Lease</i> }				
		<i>Brace, or</i> }				<i>Fozes.</i>
		<i>Lease.</i> }				
		<i>Brace, or</i> }				<i>Hares</i>
		<i>Lease</i> }				
<i>Couple</i>	<i>Rabbets, or Conyes.</i>					

20.

N. C.

From The Gentleman's Recreation: 3rd Ed. 1686. Printed by
Freeman Collins for Nicholas Cox.

Brit. Mus. 1040. h. 1.

pp. 9, 10.

Terms to be used for Beasts of Venery and Chase, as they are in
Company one with the other.

A Herd of <i>Harts</i> .	A Bevy of <i>Roes</i> .
A Herd of all manner of <i>Deer</i> .	A Sounder of <i>Swine</i> .

A Rout of <i>Wolves</i> .	A Brace or Lease of <i>Hares</i> .
A Richess of <i>Marterns</i> .	A Couple of <i>Rabbets</i> .
A Brace or Lease of <i>Bucks</i> .	A Couple of <i>Coneys</i> .
A Brace or Lease of <i>Foxes</i> .	

p. 13.

A Litter of *Cubs*.
It is A Nest of *Rabbets*.
A *Squirrels* Dray.

21.

B.

From Blome's Gentleman's Recreation, 1686, Fo.

Brit. Mus. G. 7428.

Part II, p. 44. And this is the way to train up a *Goshawk* to catch a *Fowl* at *Sowce*.

p. 48. A *Hern* that stands by the Water Side, watching for her Prey, is said to stand at *Seidge*.

p. 61. *Beavy*, of *Quails*, that is a *Brood* of young ones.

p. 62. A *Cast* of *Hawks* are two.

Corey of *Partridges*, that is a *Brood* that always accompany together with the old ones until paring time.

p. 75. *Terms of Art*, used for Beasts of Venery and Chase, as they are in Company, one with another.

A *Heard* of *Harts*, as also of all other sorts of *Deer*, is at least Twenty, but six *Roes* make a *Heard*.

A *Bevy* of *Roes*, a *Sounder* of *Swine*, and a *Rout* of *Wolves*, are at least Twelve in number.

A *Brace* or *Leese* of *Bucks*, the like of *Foxes* and *Hares*. A *Riches* of *Marterns*, and a *Couple* of *Coneys*.

22.

R. H.

From the Academy of Armory and Blazon: Randle Holme, 1688.
Book II, Chap. VII, p. 131.

Brit. Mus. 2101. g.

6. I have thought meet in this place to give a briefe note, or abstract, of such termes, and proper words, as I have odserved in Hunting: And do belong either to Beasts of Venery, of Prey, or those for Servil uses: Of all which I shall speak in these severall

Classes, as First, The Proper Terms given to *Beasts* when they are in *Companies*.

Hares, 2 a Brase, 3 a Lease, or Brase & halfe, more an Herd of Hares.

Conyes, 2 a Couple, 3 a Couple & halfe, if more a Game of Conyes, or a Nest of *Rabits*.

Foxes, 2 a Brase, 3 a Lease, more a Litter or Stalke.

Deare, 2 a Brase, 3 a Lease, 20 the least to make an Heard of Deare.

Swine, 12 makes an Heard, or a Sounder, a Scoure, or a Singuler. But we say a Drift of *Tame Swine*.

Wolves, 12 makes a Route : some say 6 makes a Rout or Rowte.

Goates, a Tripp.

Wilde Goates, an Herd.

Beares, a Slowth.

Marternes, a Richesses.

Hounds, 2 a Couple, 3 a Couple & halfe : 16 a Kennell of Hounds, or a Mute : 20 a larg Kennell.

Grey Hounds, 2 a Brase, 3 a Leafe.

Oxen, 2 a Yoke, 3 a Yoke & halfe. Some say a Pair of Oxen or *Bulloks*. *Cows*, & *Oxen*, a Drove, or a Drove of Nete, or Cattle, or Beasts.

Horses, an Harrase.

Sheep, a Flock.

Apes a Swrednes.

Lipards, a Leape.

Moeles, a Labour.

Asses, a Pace.

Cats, a Kindle, or a Wauling of Cats.

Book II, Chap. XIII, pp. 310/311.

Birds how termed when many are together.

A *Herd* of Swans, Curlews, and Cranes.

a *Broud* of Cocks and Hens, and a *Peep* or *Flock* of Chickens.

a *Ny* of Pheasants.

An *Exalling* of Larks.

A *Watching* of Nightingales.

A *Sore*, or *Safe* of Ducks and Mallards, or a *Team* of Ducks.

A *Chern* of Gold-finches.

A *Mustet* of Peacocks.

A *Clattering* of Choughes.

A *Beavy* of Quails.

A *Flight* of Doves, and Stares.

A *flock* of small Birds ; or a *dissimulation* of Birds.

A *Shegh* of Herons.

- A *Seigh* of Bitters.
 A *Flock* or *Gaggle* of Geese.
 A *Covey* of Partridges, is 3 or more, 2 is a Brace.
 A *Spring* of Teals.
 A *Desart* of Lapwings and Plover.
 A *fall* of Wood-cocks.
 An *Eirey* of Hawks, or a *Cast* of Hawks; 2 a lease of Hawks, and three a staff of Hawks.
 A *Pack* of Grouse, or Heath-cocks.
 A *Swearm* of Bees, Wasps, and such like Insects.

23.

Str.

Sports and Pastimes: Joseph Strutt, 1801.

It has not been considered necessary to reprint this list separately; such terms as he mentions are inserted under their respective headings.

NOTE.—These lists have all been carefully collated with the originals since being set up in type; they are believed to be accurate.

Expansions of contractions have been made where necessary.

The numbers are not in the original lists, but have been added for convenience in reference.

An asterisk * prefixed to a term signifies that it is not contained in the Egerton MS. and that here is its first appearance in these lists, which are arranged in what is believed to be the approximately correct chronological sequence according to their class (v. p. 5).

PART IV.

COMPLETE LIST OF PROPER TERMS.

“ Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.”

HOR. *Epist.* I, vi.

1. QUADRUPEDS, CHIEFLY COMPANY TERMS.

a. Deer.

1. a Herde of Dere	Eg. 2
An heerde of Dere	Addl. 2
An Herde of dere	S. 2
. . . an Heard of Deare	R. H.

A company of animals of any kind, feeding or travelling in company.—N.E.D.

2. A Herd of all mañer der	P. 2
An Herde of alle dere	S. 6
an herde of all mañ dere	A. 1, 2
An Herde of all manere dere	A. 2, 2
An herde of al maner dere	V. 2
An herde of al maner dere	T. 2
an heard of all maner of deere	All. 2
an heard of all manner of Deere	H. 2
a heard of all maner of Deere	M.
a Hearde of All manner of Deere	G.
a Herd of all manner of Deer	N. C.
A Heard . . . of all other sorts of Deer	N. C.
an herd of all sorts of deer	Str.
3. a heerde of Bukkys	Harl. 1, 2
a herde of Bukkys	Harl. 2, 2
A Herde of Buckes	R. G. 3
A heerde of bukkes	D. 3
a heerd of bucks	L. 3
an Heard of Bucks	G. T.
an herd of bucks	Str.

4. a Herde of Hertys	Eg. 1
a Herd of harttus	P. 1
a heerde of hertis	Harl. 1, 1
a herde of hartys	Harl. 2, 1
an heerde of hertis	Addl. 1
A herde of Hertys	R. G. 1
A heerde of hertes	D. 1
a heerd of herts	L. 1
an Herde of hertes	S. 1
an Herde of Hertis	A. 1, 1
an Herde of hartys	A. 2, 1
an herde of hartes	V. 1
an herde of hartes	T. 1
an heard of Hares (<i>sic</i>)	All. 1
an heard of Hares (<i>sic</i>)	H. 1
an Heard of Harts	G. T.
a heard of Harts	G. M.
a Hearde of Harts	G.
a Herd of Harts	N. C.
a Heard of Harts	B.
an herd of harts	Str. 13

The definition of Herds, Bevies, Sounders, and Routes are thus given in "The Book of St. Albans," 1486:—

An Heerde. a Beve. a Sounder. A Route.

¶ My chylde callith herdys of hert and of hynde
 And of Bucke and of Doo where yo hem finde
 And a Beue of Roos what place thay be in
 And a Sounder ye shall of the wylde swyne
 And a Rowte of wolues where thay passin inne
 So shall ye hem call as many as thay bene.

Then as to the names for different-sized herds:—

A Littell herde. a mydyll heerd. a grete heerd.

¶ .xx. is a littyll herde though it be of hyndis
 And .xl. is a mydyle herde to call hym be kyndis
 And .lxxx. is a grete herde. call ye hem so
 Be it hert be it hynde bucke or el lis doo.

Twici gives the terms as follows:—

Quant des herdes sunt des bestes?
De Cerfs et de Bises, o Deyms, e Deymes,
Beavie des Chevereaus, Soundre dez porcs.

Sir Henry Dryden's ed.: Daventry, 1843.

Wright and Halliwell give the following transcript from the Cottonian MS. Vespasian, B. xii (fifteenth century), in their "Reliq. Antiq.," i, 149:—

How many herdes be there of bestes of venery?
Sire, of hertis, of bisses, of bukkes, and of doos. A soundre
of wylde swyne. A bevy of roos.

NOTE.—The words *bises*, *bisses* mentioned here are from the Fr. word *biche*, the female of the hart, and must not be confused with the word *bisse*, *bishe*, or *bis*, which is the name for the fur of the back of the squirrel in winter. This latter word has been wrongly explained by many as "Fur made from some part of the skin of the hind," e.g. by Riley ("Memorials," 1868), Planché ("Cyclopædia of Costume," 1876-9), amongst others. It may therefore be as well to mention here that a marginal note in the "Liber Horn" (Guildhall), A.D. 1314, fol. cexlix, *b*, states that "*Gris & bis est le dos en ijuer desquirrel.*"

In these lists the term Herd is applied to Deer, All manner of Deer, Bucks, Harts; and amongst Birds to Cranes, Curlews, Swans, Wrens; and amongst persons to Harlots.

The "heard of hares" is only a misprint of Alde's, which has unfortunately been copied.

5. a Beuy of Roys	Eg. 10
a Bevy of rossys	P. 8
a Beuy of Roes	Harl. 1, 7
a Bevee of Roys	Harl. 2, 6
a Bevy of Roes	Addl. 10
A Bewý of Roys	R. G. 6
A bery of rooys	D. 7
a bevey of Roes	L. 7
a Beuye of roos	S. 12
a Beuy of Roos	A. 1, 10
a Beuy of roes	A. 2, 10
a beuy of roes	V. 20
a beuy of roes	T. 20

a Beuy of Roes	All. 46
a Beuy of Roes	H. 20
A Beauvie of Rowes	G. T.
A beuie of Roes	M.
a Beuy of Roes	G.
A Bevy of Roes	N. C.
A Bevy of Roes	B.
a Bevy of roes	Str.

The proper term for a company of maidens, or ladies, of roes, of quails, or of larks.—N.E.D.

The "Booke of St. Albans," 1486, says:—

¶ What is a beuy of Roos grete or small.

¶ And sex is a beue of Roos on a rawe
 And .x. is a mydyll beuy full wele I it kawe
 A grete beuy is .xii. when thay to gedre be
 And so call hem sonnys weere that ye hem se
 The moore nombur than ywis: the gretter the beuy is.

There is no satisfactory etymology for the word 'bevy.' The Italian word *beva* may be right, but it is difficult to see the connection between a company of roes and 'drinking,' *bevere*.

The term 'bevy' is used as a company term for roes, larks, quails, ladies. There is no mention in any list of a 'bevy of maidens.'

b. Goats.

6. a Tryppe of Gete	Eg. 71
a Tryppe of gayte	P. 82
a Trippe of gete	Harl. 1, 21
a Tryppe of gete	Harl. 2, 21
A Trepý of gete	R. G. 22
A Tryppe of geete	D. 22
a trypp of goete	L. 22
a Trippe of gete	S. 59
a Trippe of Gete	A. 1, 47
a Tryppe of gete	A. 2, 47
a tryppe of gotes	V. 58
a tryppe of gotes	T. 58
a trip of Gotes	All, 83

a tripp of Gotes	H. 58
A Tripp of Gotes and Geates	G. T.
a tripp or heard of Goates	M.
a Tripp of Goates	R. H.
Wilde Goates an Heard	R. H.
a Tribe of goats	Str.

A Trip of Goats.—This has been dealt with in Skinner's definitions, No. 24, p. 33, and is an accepted company term. The word is used in the lists in conjunction with goats, hares. The Bodl. MS. 546 uses it for Swine, tame; whilst Ray, 1674, gives "A Trip of Sheep, i.e. a few sheep. (*Norf.*)" The curious variety in spelling the word for 'goats' is worth noticing, and Gawin Douglas adds yet another variant, 'gait.' Strutt turns the word into *tribe*, which is wrong.

c. Hares.

7. a Drone or a huske of Harrys	Eg. 73
a huske of haris	Harl. 1, 22
a huske or a downe of harys	Harl. 2, 22
A Huske of Harÿs, or	R. G. 23
A duñe of Hares	R. G. 24
A huske of hares	D. 23
A don of hares	D. 24
a husk of raies	L. 23
a don of hares	L. 24
a huske or a down of hares	Str.

Huske.—According to Strutt, an old name for a company of hares.—N.E.D.

There seems to be some confusion in these terms: a *Drove* might refer to a company of hares when 'driven,' for this form of hunting was in vogue at this period; of *huske* nothing can be said with certainty—Dr. Bradley suspects some scribal error, which the later lists have copied. *Dunne*, *downe*, or *don* suggests comparison with the word *donie*, a hare, which Jamieson gives, which is possibly from the adj. *dun*. Compare the following quotation from Skelton (N.E.D., s.v. *dunny*, adj.):—

I were skynnnes of conny
That causeth I loke so donny.

The Tunnyng of Elinour Rummyng, 400.

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|--------|
| 8. | a Trace of harrys | P. 109 |
| | a Trase of an hare | S. 69 |

The footprint of the hare in snow: "Also in time of snow we say the trace of an Hare" (Turberville, 1611, p. 239). Later, became an active verb: "No person shall *trace*, destroy or kill any hare *in the snow*," etc. (14 and 15 H. 8, c. 10, "The Farmer's Lawyer," 1774, p. 103).

Att wyntter, in the depe snoue,
 Men wyl me sche for to trace,
 And by my steypus I ame i-knowe,
 And followy;t me fro place to place.

"The Mourning of the Hare," Porkington MS., *temp.* Edward IV,
 p. 44, Early Eng. Misc., ed. J. O. Halliwell, Warton Club, 1855.

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|----|--------------------|----------|
| 9. | a Trype of harrys | P. 108 |
| | a Trippe of hares | S. 68 |
| | a Trippe of haaris | A. 1, 48 |
| | a Tryppe of haarys | A. 2, 48 |
| | a tryppe of hares | V. 59 |
| | a tryppe of hares | T. 59 |

an Herd of Hares R. H.

[Copying the misprint for Herd of Hartes in lists All. and H.]

A herd or company of hares—v. No. 6.

d. Cattle.

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|
| 10. | a Droffe of nete | Eg. 70 |
| | a Drovfe of neyte | P. 81 |
| | a Drone of nete | S. 58 |
| | a Droue of nete | A. 1, 121 |
| | a Drōue of nete | A. 2, 121 |
| | a droue of nete | V. 131 |
| | a droue of nete | T. 131 |
| | a droue of Nete | All. 116 |
| | a droue of nete | H. 141 |
| | a Drove of Cows and Oxen, Nete, Cattle, or
Beasts | R. H. |
| | a drove of Kine | Str. |

10a. A droue of bestÿs	R. G. 27
A drove of beestes	D. 27
A drove of beests	L. 27

Drove.—7. *A number of animals, driven or moving along in a body* (*s.v.* DRIFT).—N.E.D.

A self-explanatory company term.

11. a Teme of Oxen	Harl. 1, 24
a teme of oxyn	Harl. 2, 24
A Teme of oxen	R. G. 26
A Tyme of oxen	D. 26
a teeme of oxen	L. 26
a team of Oxen	Str.

A team of horses (or oxen) is properly a string of horses drawing a plough or wagon. For Statute-duty, in a team two oxen or horned cattle were to be considered as equal to one horse. See "Farmer's Lawyer," 1774, p. 187.

e. Sheep.

12. a flocke of Schepe	Eg. 72
a floke of Schepe	P. 83
a floke of Shepe	Harl. 1, 20
a floke of Schepe	Harl. 2, 20
A flocke of chepe	R. G. 21
A flok of chepe	D. 21
a flock of sheep	L. 21
a Flock of shepe	S. 60
a flocke of Shepe	A. 1, 122
a Flocke of shepe	A. 2, 122
a flocke of sheep	V. 132
a flocke of shepe	T. 132
a flock of sheep	All. 117
a flocke of Sheepe	H. 142
a Flock of sheep	R. H.
a flock of sheep	Str.

Correctly explained under meanings 2 and 3.—N.E.D.

A self-explanatory company term.

f. Swine.

13.	a Dryfte of Tame swyne	Eg. 62
	a Dryfte of tame swyne	P. 53
	a Drifte of tame swyn	S. 66
	a Dryft of tame swyne	A. 1, 43
	a Dryfte of tame swyne	A. 2, 43
	a dryft of tame swyne	V. 54
	a dryft of tame swyne	T. 54
	a drift of tame swine	All. 79
	a drift of tame swine	H. 54
	a Drift of Tame swine	R. H.
	a dryft of tame swine	Str.

Drift. *See under Drove.*

DRYFTE, or drywyng of bestys. *Minatus*. Pr. Parv. *Hoc armentum, An^o* a dryfte. (Wright's Voc., 1857, i, p. 279.)

In "Bishop Hall's Contemplations" it is applied to birds as well as to cattle: "he that brought armies of frogs and caterpillars to Egypt can as well bring whole *drifts* of birds and beasts to the desert." ("Craven Glossary," 1828, i, 119, p. 848.)

Drift as "a drove of sheep, *North*," as given by Halliwell, is not in Brockett, "Craven Glossary," Ray, Pegge, or Jamieson.

14.	a Trip of tame swyn v. or vj. togedres	MS. Bodl. 546
	a trippe of tame swyne	MS. Digby, 182
15.	a Sundyr of wylde Swyne	Eg. 61
	a Sondyr of Wylde Swyne	P. 52
	a Sowndir of wylde swyne	Harl. 1, 14
	a Sovneder of wylde swyn	Harl. 2, 13
	A sowndyr of Swyne	R. G. 13
	A sovnder of wylde swyne	D. 13
	a sounder of wild swine	L. 13
	a Sondre of wilde Swyn	S. 67
	a Soundre of wilde swyne	A. 1, 118
	a sourde of wylde swyne	A. 2, 118
	a sourde of wylde swyne	V. 128
	a sourde of wylde swyne	T. 128
	a Sourd of wilde Swine	All. 139
	a sourd of wild Swine	H. 138
	a Sounder of Swine	G. T.

a sounder of Swine	M.
a Sounder of Swyne	G.
a Sounder of Swine	N. C.
a Sounder of Swine	B.
<i>Swine.</i> 12 makes an Heard, or a Sounder,	
a Scoure, or a Singuler	R. H.
a sownder of wild swine	Str.

“The Booke of St. Albans,” 1486, says—

What is a Sounder of swyne grete or small

¶ Twelwe make a Sounder of the wylde swyne
 Xvi. a medyll Sounder what place thay be inne
 A grete sounder of swyne .xx. ye shall call
 Forr geet not this lesson for thyng that may fall
 Thyнке what I say : my sonne night and day.

See Skinner's definition No. 20.

16. a Synguler of Boorys	Eg. 60
a Syngelar of borys	P. 51
A Cynguler off Bores	R. G. 14
A Syngler of boores	D. 14
a syngler of boores	L. 14
a Synguler of boris	A. 1, 42
a Synguler of boores	A. 2, 42
a synguler of bores	V. 53
a synguler of bores	T. 53
a singuler of Bores	All. 78
a singuler of Bores	H. 53
a singular of boars	Str.

“The Booke of St. Albans” says—

¶ Now to speke of the boore the fyrst yere he is
 A pygge of the Sounder called ale haue I blis
 The secunde yere an hogge and so shall he be
 And an hoggester when he is of yeris .iii.
 And when he is of .iiij. yere a beore shell he be
 From the Sounder of the swyne then departrith he
 A Synguler is he so : for a lone he will go.

Sir Henry Dryden (*Twici*, Daventry, 1843) gives among the
companies of the beasts of Venary—

Boar { *Singuler of boars.*
 { Sounder of wild swine.

Randle Holme tells us that "*Swine*, 12 makes an Heard, or a Sounder, a Scoure or a Singuler." Both these statements are incorrect. A singuler is one boar, upwards of 4 years old.

g. Wolves.

17. a Rowte of wyld wolfys	Eg. 42
a Rowte of Woluys	P. 32
a Route of wolfis	Harl. 1, 12
a Rowte of wolfys	Harl. 2, 11
A Rawte of Woluys	R. G. 11
A route of wolffes	D. 11
a route of wolves	L. 11
a Rowte of wolues	S. 44
a Route of Woluess	A. 1, 107
a Rowte of wulues	A. 2, 107
a route of wulues	V. 84
a route of woolues	T. 84
a routes of Wolues	All. 74
a route of Wolues	H. 83
a Rowte of VVolues	G. T.
a rowt of Woolues	M.
a Rowte of Wolues	G.
a Rout of Wolves	N. C.
a Rout of Wolves	R. H.
a route of wolves	Str.

"The Booke of St. Albans" says with regard to Route—

And a Rowte of wolues where thay passin inne
So shall ye hem call as many as thay bene.

George Turbervile ("*Boke of Hunting*," 1575) says that "the same number (as of Swyne) serueth for a route of Wolues"; but this is only because he has misread the passage in "*The Booke of St. Albans*," which defines subsequently the sizes of Sounders, but gives no further directions as to sizes of Routes, for which the above definition is evidently intended to be explicit, i.e. "a Route of Wolues" is just as many as happen to be in the pack.

2. CATS.

18. a Cloudyr of Cattys, non dicitur a clouster	Eg. 63
a Cloddyr of tame cattys	P. 54
a clowdyr of cattys	Harl. 2, 45

A Clowder of Cattys	R. G. 50
A Clowder of cattes	D. 50
a clowder of cats	L. 50
a clowder of cats	Str.

N.E.D. quotes Str.:—Clowder, obs. var. CLUDDER, a crowd, heap, cluster.

19. a Cluster of tame cattes S. 86

See No. 128 for definition of *Cluster*.

Clouder is probably the same word as *clutter*, and is evidently the proper term to be used for "a lot of cats." The Egerton MS. tells us that *clouster* (or *cluster*) is wrong: this is the term that Caxton printed in the H. S. Ghoos list. See note on Cats and Carles (No. 129).

20. a Dvot of Wyld cattys P. 55

Dvot = Do-out, which means the same as the next term, i.e. a destruction of wild cats. It is not in any sense a company term.

21. a destruction of wild cattes S. 87

No reference in N.E.D.

22. a Gloryng of Cattis Harl. 1, 45

The Pr. Parv. gives "GLARYN' or bryghtly shynyn'": this is evidently the proper term to use of a cat's eyes shining in the dark.

3. DOGS.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------|
| 23. a Brasse of houndys | Eg. 54 |
| a Brace of hovndys | P. 57 |
| a Brase of houndes | S. 49 |

A pair : a couple : a. orig. of dogs.—N.E.D.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|
| 24. a Brace of grehoundis of .ij. | A. 1, 36 |
| a Brace of grehoundes of two | A. 2, 36 |
| a brace of grehoundes or .ii. | V. 14 |
| a brace of grehoundes or .ii. | T. 14 |

a Brace of Greyhounds .ij.	All. 8
a Brace of Greyhounds .ij.	H. 14
Grey Hounds, 2 a Brase	R. H.
25. a Lesse of Grehoundys	Eg. 53
a Leys of grayhoundys	P. 56
a Lees of grehoundes	S. 48
a Lece of Grehoundis of .iij.	A. 1, 37
a Lece of grehoundes of thre	A. 2, 37
a Lese of grehoundes or .iij.	V. 15
a lese of grehoundes or .iii.	T. 15
a Lease of Greyhounds .iij.	All. 9
a lease of Greyhounds .iij.	H. 15
Grey Hounds, 3 a Lease	R. H.

A set of three.—N.E.D.

It may be as well to give here Turberville's distinctions between the terms for hounds and greyhounds—

“The difference betweene hounds and Greyhoundes for termes.

We finde some difference of termes between hounds, & Greyhounds. As of Greyhounds two make a *Brase*, and of hounds a *couple*. Of Greyhounds three make a *Lease*, and of hounds a *Couple* and a *halfe*. We let slippe a Greyhoūd, and we cast off a hound. The string wherewith we leade a Greyhound is called a *Lease*, and for a hound a *Lyame*. The Greyhound hath his Collor, and the Hoūd hath his *Couples*. Many other differences there be, but these are most vsuall.” (“Booke of Hunting,” 1611, 2nd ed., p. 242.)

26. a Copylle of Spaynellys	Eg. 56
a Covpul of spannellis	P. 59
a Copill of spaynels	S. 51
a Coupull of spaynellis	A. 1, 38
a Cowple of spanellys	A. 2, 38
a couple of spanyels	V. 16
a couple of spanyels	T. 16
a couple of Spanielli	All. 10
a couple of Spaniels	H. 16
a couple of Spaniels or harriers	Str.

See “A Brasse of Houndys” for distinction between a brace and a couple.

“Chiens d'Espagne, ayans la teste grosse, corps grand, et sont blancs.” (Du Fouïlloux, 1561.)

27.	a Couple of rennyng houndis	A. 1, 39
	a Couple of renninge houndes	A. 2, 39
	a couple of reñing houndes	V. 17
	a couple of reñing houndés	T. 17
	a couple of running hounds	All. 11
	a couple of running hounds	H. 17

Hounds, 2 a Couple	R. H.
3 a Couple & halfe :	
16 a Kennell of Hounds, or a Mute :	
20 a large Kennell	

Couple.—4. *A brace of dogs used for hunting, esp. harriers or spaniels.*—N.E.D.

“*Gris autrement dits chiens courans. Parce qu'ils scauent faire plusieurs mestiers. Les meilleurs sont ceux qui sont gros sur l'eschine et son quatroillez de rouge, et les iambes de mesme poil que la couleur de celle du Lievre. Ils en sort aucunesfois qui ont le poil au dessus de l'eschine d'vn gris tirant sur le noir: et ont les iambes caillees et ondoýées de rouge et de noir, et ceux là sont bons par excellence.*” (Du Fouïlloux, 1561.)

28.	a Kenelle of Rayechys	Eg. 55
	a Kennel of racchys	P. 58
	a Kenel of recches	S. 50
	a Kenell of Rachis	A. 1, 115
	a Kenell of rachys	A. 2, 115
	a kenell of raches	V. 125
	a kenell of raches	T. 125
	a Kenell of Raches	All. 136
	a Kenell of Raches	H. 135
	a Kenel of raches	Str.

A pack of hounds, or of dogs of any kind.—N.E.D.

The Kennell or lodging for the hounds. (“*Boke of Hunting,*” 1611, p. 28.)

A Kennell of hounds. Meute de chiens, mute de chiens. (Sherwood, 1650.)

29.	a Mute of houndes	A. 1, 114
	a mute of houndys	A. 2, 114
	a mute of houndes	V. 124
	a mute of houndes	T. 124
	a mute of hounds	All. 135
	a mute of Hounds	H. 124
	a mute of hounds for a number	Str.

A pack of hounds: quotes A. 1, and R. H.—N.E.D.

“La prentis demande que appellez vous mute de chiens. Modus respond mute de chiens est quant il ya douze chiens courans et ung limier et se moyens en ya elle nest pas dite mute & si plus en ya mieulx vault car tant plus de chiens milleur est la chasse et la noise quilz font est plus toust est prins le certz se les chiens sont bons.” (“Le Roy Modus,” aij. a; printed at Chambéry by Anthoine Neyret, 1486.)

30.	a Sute of a lyhū	S. 52
	a Sute of a lyam	A. 1, 116
	a sute of a lyam	A. 2, 116
	a sute of a lyam	V. 126
	a sute of a lyam	T. 126
	a sute of a Lyam	All. 137
	a sute of a Lyam	H. 136

Limiers. Chiens qui ne parlent point. (Sig kk .iij. recto, “La Venerie de Iaque du Fouïlloux,” Poitiers, 1561.)

“And to every one of these you may give two couples of hounds to lead in lyames.” (“Book of Hunting,” 1611, p. 38.)

“Then take my Hound, in liam me behind.” (The Blazon pronounced by the Huntsman, “Book of Hunting,” 1611, p. 61.)

Means the ‘following’ (*suite*) of a led hound. “Hounde made to the suyte, called a bloude-hounde, *odorator, odoriferus.*” (Huloet, 1552.)

31.	a Cowardenys of Currys	Eg. 59
	a Cowardnes of curris	A. 1, 117
	a Cowardnes of Currys	A. 2, 117
	a cowardnes of curres	V. 127

a cowardnes of curres	T. 127
a cowardnes of Curres	All. 138
a cowardnes of Curres	H. 137
a cowardice of curs	Str.

2. *Applied to a company of curs.*—N.E.D.

To be taken literally as the distinctive characteristic of curs.

4. HORSES, ASSES, AND MULES.

32. a Burdynne of Mulyse	Eg. 69
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See under Halliwell's Selection, p. 37.

33. a Barreñ of mullys	P. 49
a Baren of Mulis	A. 1, 46
a Baren of mulys	A. 2, 46
a baren of mules	V. 57
a baren of mules	T. 57
a Baren of mules	All. 82
a Baren of mules	H. 57
a baren of mules	Str.

Barren: specific term for a drove of mules.—N.E.D.

The Egerton MS. has the probable original reading, "a Burdynne of Mulyse," and as mules are not infrequently described as burthen-bearing ("No burthen-bearing mules," Peacham's "Compleat Gentleman," 1634, p. 150, Clar. Press Repr., 1906), it is possible that *barren* or *baren* may be a corruption of the word *berynge* (bearing), with a *double entendre*, suggested by the *barrenness* of mules. The word *burdynne* itself may, indeed, have a quasi-punning reference to the Latin word *burdo*, which is the name of the offspring of a horse and a she-ass, whereas a *mule* proper is derived from a jackass and a mare.

34. a Harrys of Hors	Eg. 64
a Harres of horssys	P. 46
a haras of horsis	Harl. 1, 23
a haras of horse	Harl. 2, 23
A hares of hors	R. G. 25
A harresse of horses	D. 25

a harrusse of horses	L. 25
a Hareys of hors	S. 63
An Harasse of horse	A. 1, 44
An Harrasse of horse	A. 2, 44
an harrasse of hors	V. 55
an harrasse of hors	T. 55
a harrasse of Horsse	All. 80
a harrasse of Horse	H. 55
An Harrase (of) Horses	R. H.
a harras of horses	Str.

An enclosure or establishment in which horses and mares are kept for breeding: hence a stud breed, or race of horses.—N.E.D.

The N.E.D. definition is accurate. *Hara* in Latin was originally a pigsty. Skene, "De verb. Signif.," gives "*Creffera*, or *hara porcorum*, ane cruife, or ane swines cruife. *Leg. Burg. c. Non licet*. 87. quhilk in sum ault buikes is called ane *Stye*." The word was also classically used as a goose-pen. The word *haratium* is very late and very barbarous Latin.

35. a Passe of Assys	Eg. 68
a Pase of assys	P. 49
a Pase of Assis	A. 1, 120
a Pase of asses	A. 2, 120
a pace of asses	V. 130
a pace of asses	T. 130
a pace of asses	All. 115
a pace of Asses	H. 140
a Pace (of) asses	R. H.
a pace of asses	Str.

Pace.—*A company or herd of asses.*—N.E.D.

A path, pass, or track, made and used by asses in going to their pasturage or otherwise. See Skinner's definitions, Nos. 9 and 10.

36. a Rage of Coltys	Eg. 67
a Rage of coltys	P. 48
a Ragg of coltes	S. 65
a Ragg of coltis or a Rake	A. 1, 45
a Ragge of cotys or a Rake	A. 2, 45
a ragge of coltes or a rake	V. 56

a ragge of coltes or a rake	T. 56
a rag of colther, or a rake	All. 81
a ragge of colthor, or a rake	H. 56
a rag of colts	Str.

An alleged name for a "company of colts," from Ragged, A. 1.—N.E.D.

Rack.—The proper term to be used in connection with colts to express the same meaning as the word *passee* used in connection with asses.

37. a Stalyn of olde Hors	Eg. 66
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A Stallion.—This could hardly be turned into a company term.

This word *stalyn* seems to be a variety of the old word for 'stallion'; cf. "*Hic emissarius, A^c stalon*" (Eng. Voc., 15th cent., Wright's Voc., 1857, i, 185); "*Hic emissarius, a stalan*" ("*A Nominale*," *ibid.*, 219); i.e., a *stalan, stalon, stalyn*, (or stallion), is a proper term to be used when speaking of an *olde Hors*. This seems to me to be a preferable interpretation to the participle of the verb 'to stale,' which applies as much to young horses as to old, whereas 'stallion' does not strictly apply to young horses; they do not become *emissarii* until they have matured.

38. a Stoode of Marys	Eg. 65
a stode of marys	P. 47
a stode of mares	S. 64
a stode of maris	A. 1, 119
a stode of maarys	A. 2, 119
a stod of mares	V. 129
a stod of mares	T. 129
a stod of mares	All. 140
a stod of mares	H. 139
a stud of mares	Str.

A Stud of Mares for breeding purposes. See Skinner's definition No. 21.

5. THE YOUNG OF QUADRUPEDS.

39. a Kyndyll of yong Cattis	A. 1, 41
a kyndyll of yonge cattys	A. 2, 41
a kyndell of younge cattes	V. 19

a kyndell of younge cattes	T. 19
a kindle of yong cats	All. 45
a kindle of young Cats	H. 19
Cats, a Kindle, or a Wauling of Cats	R. H.
a kendel of young cats	Str.

A brood or litter (of kittens). [A company of] Cats [is] a kindle. [*An error of Holme.*—N.E.D.]

“Videtur Familiam seu Pullitiem, tot sc. quot uno partu excluduntur, & simul aluntur significare,” Skinner’s definitions, No. 6. Quite correctly explained by him.

40. a Lyttur of whelpys	Eg. 58
a Lytter of Whelpus	P. 40
a Lytter of whelpes	S. 42
a Litter of Welpis	A. 1, 40
a Lytter of whelpys	A. 2, 40
a lytter of welpes	V. 18
a lytter of whelpes	T. 18
a litter of Whelps	All. 44
a litter of Whelps	H. 18
a litter of whelps	Str.

The whole number of young brought forth at a birth.—N.E.D.

41. a litter of Cubbes	M.
a Litter of Cubs	N. C.
For Fox, Badgerd and other such vermine	
. . . their encrease is called A lytter	G. T.

Just as the term ‘kindle’ was also applied to hares and rabbits (which are also called ‘puss’) so the term ‘litter’ was applied to the young of the fox, of which the male is known as a dog-fox.

42. a neste of Rabettys	Eg. 50
a Nest of rabbettys	P. 39
a Neste of rabettys	S. 41
a Nest of Rabettis	A. 1, 112
a Nest of rabettys	A. 2, 112
a nest of rabbettes	V. 122
a nest of rabbettes	T. 122

a nest of Rabits	All. 133
a nest of Rabites	H. 119
a nest of Rabbets	G. M.
a Nest of Rabbets	N. C.
a nest of rabbits	Str.

A number of birds, insects, or other animals occupying the same habitation. A brood, swarm, colony.—N.E.D.

The nest refers to the comfortable place the doe has prepared for her young in the burrow.

Formerly a *rabet* was called such until a year old, when it became a *coning* or *coney*. This distinction is now lost.

6. THE HABITATIONS OF QUADRUPEDS.

43. a Bery of Connys	Eg. 49
a Byrr of connys	P. 38
a Bery of conyes	S. 40
a Bery of Conyis	A. 1, 33
a Bery of Conyes	A. 2, 33
a Bery of conyes	V. 11
a bery of conies	T. 11
a Berry of Conies	All. 17
a Berry of Conies	H. 11

Specific name for a company of rabbits.—N.E.D.

A bury or burrow of conies, i.e. a rabbit's burrow. It does not mean a herd of conies (Halliwell) or a company of rabbits (N.E.D.). It is the proper term for its dwelling-place or home.

44. a Syght of Grayys	Eg. 47
a Cete of Grayis	P. 36
a Cety of greyes	S. 38
a Cete of Graies	A. 1, 32
a Cete of grayes	A. 2, 32
a cete of grayes	V. 10
a cete of grayes	T. 10
a cete of Greys	All. 16
a cete of Greyes	H. 10
a cete of badgers	Str.

Cete.—[Possibly cœtus (*in med. spelling cetus*), *meeting, assembly, company.*] *A company of badgers.*—N.E.D.

See Skinner's definitions, No. 2. The meaning of the word is not at present known with certainty, but it is not a company, since the badger is not a gregarious animal.

45.	a Nerthe of ffoxys	Eg. 48
	an erthe of foxis	Por. 37
	an Erthe of foxes	S. 39

The hole or hiding-place of a burrowing animal, as a badger or fox, etc. Also fig.—N.E.D.

The 'earth' or underground dwelling-place or home of a fox.

46.	a Draye or Drey of Squirrels.	
	Topsell's "Foure-footed Beastes," 1607	
	A Squirrels Dray	N. C.

"In the summer time they build them nests (which in our countrey are called *Drayes*) in the tops of the Trees, very artificially of stickes and mosse, and such other things as woods do afford them." (Topsell's "History of Foure-footed Beastes," 1607, p. 657.)

7. ATTRIBUTES, ETC., OF QUADRUPEDS.

47.	a Besyns of fferettys	Eg. 52
	a Besynes of ferettis	A. 1, 35
	a Besynesse of ferettes	A. 2, 35
	a besynes of ferettes	V. 13
	a besynes of ferettes	T. 13
	a Besenes of Ferret	All 7.
	a Besenes of Firets	H. 13
	a fesynes of ferrets	Str.

A company of ferrets.—N.E.D.

The characteristic attribute of a ferret. Those who have been out ferreting will grasp this reference to the animal's businesslike and methodical manner of attending to its work.

Note Strutt's misprint '*fesynes*.'

48.	a Labyr of Mollys	Eg. 51
	a Labor of Mollis	A. 1, 113
	a Labor of Mollys	A. 2, 113
	a labour of moles	V. 123
	a labour of moles	T. 123
	a labor of Moles	All. 134
	a labor of Moles	H. 120
	<i>Moeles</i> , a Labour	R.H.
	a labour of moles	Str.

An alleged term for a company of moles.—N.E.D.

The characteristic attribute of the mole.

“The field-mouse builds her garner under ground,
For gather'd grain the blind *laborious mole*
In winding mazes works her hidden hole.”

Dryden's Virgil, “Georgics,” Bk. i.

49.	a Lepe of Lybardys	Eg. 44
	a Lepe of leberttys	P. 44
	a Lepe of lebardes	S. 46
	a Lepe of Lebardis	A. 1, 108
	a Lepe of leberdes	A. 2, 108
	a Lepe of lybardes	V. 118
	a lepe of lybardes	T. 118
	a leap of Lybards	All. 130
	a leap of Lybards	H. 116
	a lepe of leopards	Str.

An alleged name for a company of leopards.—N.E.D.

The three terms (49-51) are only specific variations for the same thing, namely, jumping on to the prey by these animals. The *leap* is probably only inserted here for the sake of the alliteration.

50.	a Sawt of a lyon	Por. 60
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Of the lion, the *sawt* is the same word as the *sault* in ‘assault,’ Fr. *sauter*, Lat. *saltare*.

51. a Sowse of A Lyonas

Eg. 57

"To leape or seaze greedily upon, to souze doune as a hauke"
 ("Florio," ed. 1611, p. 48).

When the gaunt lioness with hunger bred,
 Springs from the mountains tow'rd the guarded fold.

(Pope's Homer, "Iliad," Bk. x.)

As regards the *sowse*, this is the same word as the hawking term (at) *souce* or *souse*. Professor Skeat says ("Concise Dict. M. Eng.," 1888) that this is the downward plunge of a bird of prey, and adds: "originally the same as *sours*, used of a hawk's flight." This does not appear to be correct; the two words are diametrically opposed. To *nym* a bird at *souse* is when the hawk strikes down upon the bird *underneath* her = French *sous*, underneath. Harl. MS. 2340 has the following:—"The jotteferr is whan the cownteryuer laÿth ouyr the fowle to yowe & 3yt lat not the tapyr *serse*" (*serse* = source = to spring or rise up). "All the whyle that the hauke is vndyr & the fowle *soryth vp* 3our hauke is at A vantage." If the hawk strike the fowl now, the fowl is taken at the *source*. There is a passage in "The Book of St. Albans," 1486, where it says, contradistinctively, "If youre hawke nym the fowle a lofte: ye shall say she toke it at the *mounte* or at the *souce*," i.e. either whilst ascending (at the *mounte* = *source*), or whilst descending (at the *souce*, when the fowl is beneath the hawk).

"The Sparowhawkes do vse to kill the fowle at the *Source* or *Souse* as the Goshawkes do" ("Book of Falconrie," G. Turbervile, 1575, p. 127).

"There is yet another kynde of flight to the field which is called the great flight, as to the Cranes, wilde Geese, Bustarde, Bird of Paradise, Bittors, Shouelers, Hearons, and many other such lyke, and these you maye flee from the first, whiche is properly tearmed the *source*."

"Mouvements *curvilignes*, auxquels on donnait le nom de *passades*, et qui consistaient en une descente oblique de l'oiseau, suivie d'une *remontée* ou *ressource* (du Latin *resurgere*)." ("La Fauconnerie au moyen age," L. Magaud d'Aubusson, p. 100, Paris, 1879.)

52. a Pryde of Lyons
 a pryd of lyonnys
 a Pryde of lyons

Eg. 43
 P. 43
 S. 45

a Pride of Lionys	A. 1, 30
a Pryde of Lyons	A. 2, 30
a pryde of lyons	V. 40
a pryde of lyons	T. 40
a pride of Lyons	All. 34
a pride of Lyons	H. 40
a pride of lions	Str.

“ Many desire to foote it with a grace,
Or Lion-like to walke maiesticall.”

(J. Lane, “Tom Tel-Troths Message,” 1600, 22 ;
p. 120, ed. Furnivall, New Shaksp. Soc., 1876.)

Pride was supposed to be the characteristic of lions : as
Phæbus says (Antoine Verard’s edition)—

Quant je parle de tel bataille
Je nentens pas se dieu me vaille
Que se soient connins ne lieures
Tentens de Lyons orgueilleux
Ours horribles et perilleux
Tigres aigres linx et liepars
Quon scent trouuer en plusieurs pars
Sangliers lyres et autres bestes
Que les chiens prennent par les testes, &c., &c.

(Sig. t ii, verso.)

53. a Schrewdenys of Apys	Eg. 46
a Shrewdenes of apis	A. 1, 109
a Shrewdenes of apys	A. 2, 109
a shrewdenes of apes	V. 119
a shrewednes of apes	T. 119
a Shrewdnes of Apes	All. 131
a Shrewdnes of Apes	H. 117
Apes, a Swrednes	R. H.

Shrewdness here means wanton or malicious mischief ; it is well
illustrated by the following passages from “Roberte the Deuyll”
(Hazlitt’s Early Pop. Poetry, 1864):—

The elder he waxed, the more vnhappye
Shrewdenes he woulde do bothe in house and streate.

(ll. 159-60.)

Mennes chyldren there he did mucche harme
 Of them he hurte shrewdelye many a one
 Breakynge both legge, heade and arme,
 Therefore he was beloued of none.

(ll. 169-72.)

Note Randle Holme's special variety, *swrednes*.

54.	a Skolke of foxys	P. 93
	a Skulke of foxis	Harl. 1, 13
	a sculke of foxys	Harl. 2, 30
	A sculke of ffoxÿs	R. G. 33
	A skulke of foxes	D. 33
	a skulk of foxes	L. 33
	A Skulke of ffoxis	A. 1, 111
	a Sculke of foxis	A. 1, 160
	a Skulke of foxes	A. 2, 111
	a Seulke of foxes	A. 2, 160
	a Sculke of foxes	V. 121
	a Sculke of foxes	T. 121
	a Sculke of Foxes	All. 132
	a Sculke of Foxes	H. 118
	a Skulk of foxes	Str.

The characteristic attribute of Reynard when after the hen-roosts or poultry-yard. The same term is metaphorically applied to thieves and friars. See Skinner's definitions, No. 14.

55.	a Slouthe of Beerys	Eg. 45
	a Slothe of bayris	P. 45
	a Slouth of beres	S. 47
	a Sleuth of Beeris	A. 1, 131
	a Slewthe of beerys	A. 2, 31
	a Sleuthe of beares	V. 41
	a sleuthe of beares	T. 41
	a sleuth of Beares	All. 35
	a sleuth of Beares	H. 41
	a Slowth of Beares	G. T.
	a Sloth of bears	Str.

See Skinner's definitions, No. 17.

"They are so heauie, that when they be hunted they can make no speed but are alwaies within sight of the Dogges . . . they go sometimes a galloppe, & sometimes an amble: but when they wallow then they go at most ease." (George Turbervile, "Book of Hunting," 1611, p. 218.)

Slowth = slowness.

56. a Riches of Martrons	A. 1, 34
a Ryches of martrones	A. 2, 34
a rychesse of martrones	V. 12
a rychesse of martrons	T. 12
a riches of Matrons	All. 6
a Riches of Matrons	H. 12
a Richesse of Marternes	G. T.
a Riches of Marternes	G.
a Richess of Marterns	N. C.
a Riches of Marterns	B.
Marternes, a Richesses	R. H.
a richness of martins	Str.

This may be an allusion to the great value of the skin of the marten. Topsell ("Fourefooted Beasts," 1607, pp. 495-6) says that "the *firre-Martin* is most excellent, for princes and great Nobles are clothed therewith, euery skinne being woorth a French crowne or foure shillings at the least. And they are so much the beter, when there are more whit haies aspersed among the yellowe. For their ordinary colour is a deep browne yellowe, and these that are cleane white, are four times worse than the former, and therefore are not solde for aboue three or foure groats a peece, howsoever the saying of *Martiall*, *Venator capta Marto superbus adest*, Heere commeth the proud hunter that hath killed a *Martin*, may very well be applyed vnto them which take any of these beasts for they cannot chuse but bee very ioyfull which get a good sum of money for a little labour as they haue for a *martin's* skin."

That they were from very early times in this country esteemed of great value is shown by the old Welsh Laws in the time of Howel dda, tenth century. In the 1841 edition of these, p. 684, it says (§ 16, ch. iii, bk. xiv): "Tri wrlllys a ddyly y frenines: croen beleu; a llostlydan a charlwng." (Three furs which the queen is entitled to: the skin of a marten; of a beaver; and an ermine.) And in the "Leges Wallicæ," lib. ii, cap. viii, § viij

(*ibid.*, p. 785): "Tres sunt lymbi¹ regis que ad regem de iure pertinent: scilicet, *lostledan* [fiber]; *beleu* [martes]; et *carrlung* [mustela candida]: pellis *lostledan* [fibri] dimidium libre valet; *carrlung* [mustele candide], lx^a denarios; *beleu* [martis] xx^{ti} iii^{or} denarios valet: et si in predatione inventi fuerint, regis erunt."

According to ch. iv, §7 of the "Cyvreithiau Cymru" (*ibid.*, p. 684), "There are three kinds of vermin in law: a marten; a beaver; and an ermine: [they are cognizable] in law for their skins, [with which the] queen's robes [are adorned], wherever [they may be killed]."

Note Allde's curious misprint, "a Riches of *Matrons*," which was followed by Helme. This shows how little the meanings of the phrases were grasped.

8. BIRDS.

57.	a Caste of hawkys of the Towre	Eg. 32
	a Cast of hawkys of the tour	P. 72
	a Caste of hawkys of the toure	Harl. 1, 47
	a Caste of hawkes of the tour	S. 53
	a cast of hawkis of y ^e tour .ij.	A. 1, 101
	a cast of hawkis of y ^e toure .ij.	A. 2, 101
	a caste of Haukes of the toure, two	V. 78
	a caste of haukes of the toure, two	T. 78
	a cast of Hawkes of the Tower, two	All. 68
	a cast of Hawkes of the Tower, two	H. 77
	a Cast of Hawks are two	B (p. 62).

The number of hawks cast off at a time: a couple: also of other birds.—N.E.D.

Just as a brace and a leash were applied respectively to two and three greyhounds, so cast and leash are applied to hawks of the tower. A *cast* of hawks was originally the term to be used for having caused the hawk to fly at a quarry: "Ye shall say *cast* the hawke ther to, and not lett fli ther to" ("Book of St. Albans," 1486); also, "Ye shall say *cast* youre hawke to the perch, and not set yowre hawke vppon the perch" (*ibid.*). The hawk of the tower,

¹ A *lymbus* or *limbus* is explained in Rider's "Dictionarie," 1612, as "a welt, a purple, a hem, a gard, lace or border of a garment."

belonging to the upper classes, had its special terminology; the goshawk, being for a yeoman's use, was only allowed the ordinary term of 'flight.'

Ther havkes byne of *the tovr*
 A garfavkoñ and A tarsetlet A garfavkoñ for a kynge
 A favkoñ jentyl & a tarsetlet jetylle for a pryns
 A favkoñe of *the roche* for a duke
 A favkoñ perygryne for a norle
 A basterd for euyry lord
 A sakor & a sakorret for a knyȝte
 A lannyr and a lanneret for A squyer
 A marlyoñ for a lady
 An hobby for a yovnge squyer
 This byne havkys of *the tour that fleythe prove the lur*"
 Porkington MS. 10, 190a.

58. a Lece of thesame hawkis (hawkis of y^e tour)
 .iij. A. 1, 102
 a Lece of the same hawkys .iij. A. 2, 102
 a lese of y^e same haukes .iii. V. 79
 a lese of the same haukes .iii. T. 79
 a lease of the same Hawkes All. 69
 a lease of the same Hawkes H. 78

A set of three.—N.E.D.

Randle Holme gives "An *Eirey* of Hawks, or a *Cast* of Hawks :
 2 a lease of Hawks, and three a staff of Hawks."

59. A lesshe of Marlions Harl. 1/46
 A lese of marlyons Harl. MS. 2340

A marlion, marlyon, or a merlin was a hawk for a lady's use,
 as the following references show:—

a lese of marlyons for a lady (Harl. MS. 2340, f. 50a);

a marlyoñ for a lady (Porkington MS. 10, f. 190a);

and "The Book of St. Albans," 1486, in the hawking portion of
 the volume says—

"For a lady

¶ Ther is a Merlyon. And that hawke is for a lady."

The merlin was one of the hawks of the tower (v. No. 57), and
 the terms *lesshe* and *cast* were therefore applicable.

60.	a fflyght of Gosse hawkys	Eg. 33
	a ffly;t of goshawkys	P. 73
	a Flight of goshawkes	S. 55
	a Flight of Goshaukes	A. 1, 103
	a Flyght of goshawkys	A. 2, 103
	a flyght of goskaukes (<i>sic</i>)	V. 80
	a flyght of goshawkes	T. 80
	a flight of Goshawkes	All. 70
	a flight of Goshawkes	H. 79

Flight.—8. *Also the special term for a company of doves, swallows, and various other birds.*—N.E.D.

The goshawk was 'lett fli' and not 'cast.' There is no special number, apparently from the lists, attaching to a 'flight.' It means the act or action of flight.

61.	a ffly;t of cōrmeravnttys	P. 74
	a Flight of cormerants	S. 57

'Cormerants' were used for fishing, and were 'flown' at the fish or 'lett fli.' Not a numerical or company term. This term only occurs in the Porkington MS. and "The Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos" list.

62.	a fflyght of Douys	Eg. 24
	a ffly;t of dowys	P. 75
	a flyght of Dowfis	Harl. 1, 27
	a ffly;th of Dowfys	Harl. 2, 28
	A fflyth of Dowýs	R. G. 32
	A fly;ght of doves	D. 32
	a flight of doves	L. 32
	a Flight of douves	S. 56
	a flight of Dones	A. 1, 25
	a Flyghte of douues	A. 2, 25
	a flyght of doues	V. 35
	a flyght of doues	T. 35
	a flight of Doues	All. 29
	a flight of Doues	H. 35
	a Flight of Doves, and Stares ¹	R. H.
	a flight of doves	Str.

¹ Randle Holme has evidently got mixed between *stares* and *stairs*: a "flight of stairs" is well known, but not the other.

This is probably the proper term for the characteristic flight of doves and pigeons. Everyone knows how they will settle on a lawn, and then suddenly fly off in company. The term refers to this manœuvre, rather than to an implication of a definite company which may be at rest. The act of motion is implied.

63.	a flyght of larkys	Harl. 1, 28
	a ffly;th of larkys	Harl. 2, 29
	A fflyth of larkys	R. G. 30
	A fly;ht of larkes	D. 30
	a flight of larks	L. 30

'Larks' assemble in large numbers, and if in the least disturbed fly away simultaneously and with a rush, to settle down again very quickly, only to be off again at a moment's notice. This is probably the proper term for these characteristic 'rushes' or 'flights.'

64.	a fflyght of Swalys	Eg. 25
	a flyght of swallowys	Harl. 1, 29
	A fflyth Swaleus	R. G. 31
	A fly;ght of Swalowes	D. 31
	a flight of swallows	L. 31
	a Flight of swalowes	A. 1, 104
	a Flyght of swalowes	A. 2, 104
	a flyght of swalowes	V. 81
	a flyght of swalowes	T. 81
	a flight of swalowes	All. 71
	a flight of swalowes	H. 80
	a flight of swallows	Str.

This probably is only the proper term for the swift skimming flight of the swallows, and not intended to be a company term; if it be the latter it can only refer to their gathering for their departure.

In all probability each of these examples of 'flight' is intended to convey a different meaning and has its own specific interpretation.

65.	a Beuye of larkes	S. 9
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The proper term for a company of larks.—N.E.D.

A Bevy of Larks occurs solely in the H. S. & G. list; possibly a mistake of the scribe in the MS. from which this list was printed.

A bevy is a company term, though what the etymology really is seems very uncertain. The term is used for ladies, roes, quails, larks, and Bibbesworth uses it for herons.

66. a Beuy of Quaylys	Eg. 9
a Bevy of quayllys	P. 10
a Beuy of Quayles	Harl. 1, 8
a Bevee of q ^a ylys (=quaylys)	Harl. 2, 7
a beuey of quayles (v. No. 75)	Harl. 2, f. 7
a Beve of quayles	Addl. 9
A Bewy of quayles	R. G. 7
A bevey of quayles	D. 6
a bevey of quayls	L. 6
a Beuye of quayles	S. 11
a Beuy of Quaylis	A. 1, 11
a Beuy of quayles	A. 2, 11
a beuy of quayles	V. 21
a beuy of quayles	T. 21
a Beuy of Quailes	All. 47
a Beuy of Quailes	H. 21
a Beuy or a Thrane of quails	

Blount, Glossogr., 4th ed., 1674, p. 577.

The proper term for a company of quails.—N.E.D.

This misprint of Thrane is corrected in the fifth edition, 1681.

67. a Congregacyon of Plouers	Eg. 20
a Cōngregacoñ of plouerys	P. 19
a Cōngregacōn of plouers	S. 21
a Congregacion of Pleuers	A. 1, 95
a Congregacōn of plouers	A. 2, 95
a congregacion of plouers	V. 104
a congregacion of plouers	T. 104
a congregation of Plouers	All. 94
a congregation of Plouers	H. 103
a congregation of plovers	Str.
a Desart of Lapwings and Plover (v. No. 80)	R. H.

Technically of plovers.—N.E.D.

A company term for plovers, who assemble in flocks.

68.	a Herde of Cranys	Eg. 4
	a Herd of crānys	P. 5
	a heerde of Cranes	Harl. 1, 3
	a herde of Cranys	Harl. 2, 3
	an heerde of Cranes	Addl. 3
	A Herde of cranys	R. G. 2
	A heerde of cranes	D. 2
	a heerd of cranes	L. 2
	an herde of cranys	S. 4
	an Herde of cranys	A. 1, 4
	an Herde of cranys	A. 2, 4
	an herde of cranes	V. 4
	And herde of cranes (<i>sic</i>)	T. 4
	an heard of Cranes	All. 4
	an heard of Craines	H. 4
	a Herd of . . . Cranes	R. H.
	an herd of Cranes	Str.

See Herd of Deer for definition in N.E.D.

The proper term for a flock of cranes.

69.	a Herde of Curlewys	Eg. 5
	a herde of Curlewys	Harl. 1, 4
	a herde of Corlewis	Harl. 2, 4
	an heerde of Curlewes	Addl. 4
	A Herde of Curleeves	R. G. 4
	A herde of curlewes	D. 4
	a heerd of curlews	L. 4
	an Herde of Corlewys	A. 1, 5
	an Herde of corlewys	A. 2, 5
	an herde of curlewes	V. 5
	an herde of curlews	T. 5
	an heard of Curlewes	All. 5
	an heard of Curlewes	H. 5
	an herd of Curlews	Str.

See Herd of Deer for definition in N.E.D.

The proper term for a flock of curlews.

70.	a Herde of Swannys	Eg. 3
	a Herd of swannys	P. 4
	an Herde of swannys	S. 3
	an Herde of Swannys	A. 1, 3
	an Herde of swannys	A. 2, 3
	an herde of swans	V. 3
	an herde of Swanes	T. 3
	an heard of Swannes	All. 3
	an heard of Swannes	H. 3
	a Herd of Swans . . .	R. H.
	an Herd of swans	Str.

See Herd of Deer for definition in N.E.D.

The proper term for a company of swans.

71.	a Herd of Wrennys	P. 3
	a heerde of wrennys	Harl. 1, 5
	a herde of Wrennys	Harl. 2, 5
	an herde of Wrennes	Addl. 5
	A Herde of Wrannys	R. G. 5
	A heerde of wrannes	D. 5
	a heerd of wrauns	L. 5
	an Herde of wrennys	S. 5
	an Herde of Wrennys	A. 1, 6
	an Herde of wrennys	A. 2, 6
	an herde of wrennes	V. 6
	an herde of wrennes	T. 6
	an heard of Wrens	All. 12
	an heard of Wrenes	H. 6

See Herd of Deer for definition in N.E.D.

The wren probably was allowed the proper term of 'herd'—the word applied to harts—because it was the king of birds. Swainson refers to the migration of the wren in such numbers that at Caistor they have been observed to be like a swarm of bees on the hedges.

72.	a Oste of Sparowys	Eg. 28
	a hoste of sparrows	P. 22
	a Ost of sparowys	Harl. 1, 17
	a ost of Sparowys	Harl. 2, 17

A hooste of sparowÿs	R. G. 17
A hoost of Sparovns	D. 17
a hooste of sparous	L. 17
an Hoost of sparowes	S. 29
an Ost of sparowis	A. 1, 99
an Oost of sparowes	A. 2, 99
an hooste of sparowes	V. 76
an hooste of sparowes	T. 76
a hooste of sparowes	All. 66
a host of Sparrowes	H. 75
a host of sparrows	Str.

A name for a 'company' of sparrows.—N.E.D.

A company term for sparrows. There is the notion of an army or hostile force, and not without cause, from their destructive habits.

9. THE PROGENY OF BIRDS.

73. a Broode of Hennyse	Eg. 75.
a Brode of hennys	A. 1, 50
a Brode of hennys	A. 2, 50
a broode of hennes	V. 61
a broode of hennes	T. 61
a brood of Hens	All. 51
a broode of Hens	H. 60
a brood of hens	Str.
a <i>Broud</i> of Cocks and Hens	R. H.

A brood: a family of young hatched at once: a hatch.—N.E.D.

The N.E.D. does not give this as a 'technical' term for a company of hens, but gives the term its proper and natural significance. The term ranks in the same category as a "covey of partridges," "nye of fesants," etc., all meaning "a brood, a family of young hatched out at once, a hatch," but each bird mentioned has its specific term for its hatch.

74. a Couerete of Cootys	Eg. 21
a Cowert of cottys	P. 20
a Couerte of cootes	S. 22

a Couert of cootis	A. 1, 96
a Couerte of cootes	A. 2, 96
a couerte of cootes	V. 105
a couerte of cootes	T. 105
a couert of Cotes	All. 95
a couert of Cotes	H. 104
a covert of cootes	Str.

The technical name for a flock or 'company' of coots.—N.E.D.

This word *couerete*, *covert*, or *couerte*, derived from Fr. *couvert*, past participle of the verb *couvrir*, to cover or conceal, would appear to be used here as a synonym for a hatch of young coots, the covering being probably a reference to the process of incubation, the resulting hatch being 'that which was covered.' This sense of the word would seem to be meant, rather than that of 'covert,' as indicating a hiding-place of security, since, according to Hewitson (in Yarrell, 4th ed., 1882-4, iii, 174-5), the nests are large and clumsy, sometimes built on a tuft of rushes, but more commonly amongst reeds; and Colonel Hawker (*ibid.*) says, "The reason that all wild-fowl seek the company of the coots is because these birds are such good sentries, to give the alarm by day, when the fowl generally sleep."

If the coots were hidden away in 'coverts' they clearly would not be of much use for this purpose.

75. a Couaye of Parterygys	Eg. 7
a Covey of partrygys	P. 7
a Coue of partrichys	Harl. 1, 10
a Couy of <i>per^ukkys</i>	Harl. 2, 10
a covy of partrikes	Addl. 7
A Couy of <i>pertryches</i>	R. G. 10
A covey of <i>pertryches</i>	D. 10
a covey of partriches	L. 10
a Coueye of partrichs	S. 8
a Couy of partrichis	A. 1, 91
a couy of <i>pertryches</i>	A. 2, 91
a couy of <i>patryches</i>	V. 100
a couy of <i>patryches</i>	T. 100
a couie of Partriches	All. 90
a couie of Partriches	H. 99

a Covey of Partridges	B.
a Covey of Partridges is 3 or more, 2 is a Brace	R. H.
a covey of partridges	Str.

Meaning correctly given in N.E.D.

“And ye schall say I have fonde a Couey of *portirch*, a beuey of quayles, and eye of *fesautes*.” (Harl. MS. 2340, f. 7.)

The old French *Couvée* . . . “as many as come of one sitting.” (Cotgrave.)

“Covey of Partridges, that is a Brood that always accompany together with the old ones until paring time.” (Blome, p. 62.)

76. a Ny of fesauntys	Eg. 6
a Ny of ffeysandys	P. 6
a ye of fesūntes	Harl. 1, 9
a nye of fesawntes	Harl. 2, 9
an Jye of fesautes	Addl. 6
A nȳ of fesantes	R. G. 9
A Je of fesawntes	D. 9
a je of fesants	L. 6
a Neye of fesantes	S. 7
a Nye of fesaunttys	A. 1, 8
a Nye of fesauntys	A. 2, 8
a Nye of fesautes	V. 8
a nye of fesautes	T. 8
a ny of Fesants	All. 14
Any of Fesants	H. 8
a Ny of Pheasants	R. H.
a nye of fesants	Str.
an eye of fesautes	Harl. 2 (f. 7)

A brood of pheasants.—N.E.D.

A hatch as defined above. Note the variations of the word *nye*. See quotation from Harl. MS. 2340, *sub* Covey of Partridges.

[a <i>Pack</i> of Grouse, or Heath-cocks	R. H.
a pack of grouse	Shooter's "Guide," 1816

This is only given as showing the early use of the word *pack*.]

77.	a Teme of Duckys	Harl. 1, 26
	a teme of Dukys	Harl. 2, 27
	A Teme of wylde Dokes	R. G. 29
	A Teeme of wylde dokes	D. 29
	a teeme of wild doks	L. 29
	a Team of Ducks	R. H.

Brockett ("Glossary N.C. Words," 1829, p. 301) gives "TEAM, a brood of young ducks. A.S., *team*, offspring." The word *teem* in the expressions 'to teem with young' and 'teeming with' is a derivative of this.

78.	a Teme of Swannes	Harl. 1, 25
	a teme of Swanys	Harl. 2, 26
	A teme of Cwannys	R. G. 28
	A Teeme of Swańes	D. 28
	a teeme of swans	L. 28

This may mean a brood of young swans.

10. CHARACTERISTICS OF LAND BIRDS.

79.	a Byldynge of Rookys	Eg. 36
	a Byldynge of rookys	P. 27
	a Byldyng of rooks	S. 25
	a beldyng of Rookes	A. 1, 105
	a buyldynge of rokys	A. 2, 105
	a byldynge of rookes	V. 82
	a byldyng of rookes	T. 82
	a building of Rooks	All. 72
	a bilding of Rookes	H. 81
	a building of rooks	Str.

A company (of rooks): a rookery.—N. E. D.

The ordinary meaning suffices: the birds make such a fuss over it that it is perhaps their most prominent characteristic, and the term is only given so that the "yonge gentylman" shall not speak of rooks nesting. That this theory is correct is borne out by "The Book of St. Albans," 1486, with regard to the proper term given for hawks for this operation. On the first page of "The Boke of Hawkyng" it states: "And we shall say that hawkys doon draw when they bere tymbering to their nestes and nott they beld ne make their nestes."

80. a Dyssayte of Lepwynkys	Eg. 16
a dyssayt of lappwynges	P. 15
a Disseit of lapwynkis	Harl. 1, 42
a dysseyte of lapwynkes	Harl. 2, 39
A Desyte of lep-wy ^k s	R. G. 44
A deseyte of lapewynkes	D. 44
a deceyt of lapewynks	L. 44
a disceite of lapwinks	S. 17
a Desserte of Lapwynges	A. 1, 93
a Desserte of lapwynges	A. 2, 93
a dessarte of lapwynges	V. 102
a dessarte of lapwynges	T. 102
a desart of Lapwings	All. 92
a desart of Lapwings	H. 101
a Desart of Lapwings and Plover	R. H.

Desert.—*An alleged name for a covey of Lapwings.*—N.E.D.
(Quotes A. 1 and R. H.)

Prior to "The Book of St. Albans," 1486, this term is given correctly *Dyssayte* or *disceite*, etc. The word is misprinted in the St. Albans Book, and has been universally followed ever since, including the N.E.D., which had both Langbaine's list in Junius and that in the H. S. & G. from which to correct the error. The word is simply *ДЕСКІТ* and nothing else, and refers to the habit of the bird during the nesting season and after. Swainson states that "During the season of incubation the cock bird tries to draw pursuers from the nest by wheeling round them, crying and screaming to divert their attention. To this habit Shakspeare alludes in the 'Comedy of Errors,' Act iv, sc. 2, 'Far from his nest the lapwing screams away,' whilst the female sits close on the nest till disturbed, when she runs off, feigning lameness, or flaps about near the ground as if she had a broken wing." Chaucer also refers in "The Assembly of Fowls" to "The false Lapwing, ful of trecherie." It is worthy of notice that one of the French country terms for a lapwing is *dix-huit*, from its note or cry. Perhaps the English word 'deceit' is intended as a *double entendre*, or in a punning sense.

81. a discēcion of wodewalis	S. 36
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The alleged term for a flight of 'woodwales' (woodpeckers). Obs.—N.E.D.

This seems to be the proper term for the peculiar flight of the woodwale or green woodpecker.

Yarrell ("Hist. Brit. Birds," ed. by A. Newton, 4th ed., 1876-82, ii, 458) says: "It frequents wooded districts, and is commonly seen passing with an easy and undulating flight from one tree to another, nearly always alighting after a deeper sweep than the preceding, on the lower side of a bough or near the bottom of the trunk, often but a foot from the ground, whence it climbs upwards in an oblique direction, partly supporting itself by the stiff pointed feathers of its tail, moving by starts, and if possible keeping the tree between the observer and itself. Arrived near the top, it will fly off, either returning to the lower part of the same tree by a short circuit, or settling upon another, but in either case to renew its movements in the same way." A footnote adds: "Selby says he had repeatedly seen it descend trees by moving backward. The editor has not been so fortunate, though he thinks he must have enjoyed more frequent opportunities of observing the bird."

This word only occurs in the "Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos" list, and comes next to an *Exaltation of Larkes*, to which it forms an admirable contrast in flight. The term cannot be a company term, or refer to 'a flight' of woodwales, because, as Yarrell says, they are generally solitary in their habits and they do not move in 'flights,' i.e. companies.

82.	a Dyssymylacyon of alle smalle Bryddys	Eg. 39
	a Dissimulacion of breddis	A. 1, 28
	a Dyssymulaçon of byrdes	A. 2, 28
	a dissimulacion of byrdes	V. 38
	a dissimulacion of byrdes	T. 38
	a dissimulation of Birds	All. 32
	a dissimulation of Birds	H. 38
	a <i>flock</i> of small Birds: or a <i>dissimulation</i> of Birds	R. H.

A fanciful name for a 'company' or flock of small birds.—N.E.D.

Probably refers to similar habits for distracting the attentions of unwelcome visitors as are mentioned in connection with the "Deceit of Lapwings."

Cotgrave, 1650, says, s.v. *Alouette*, "*Donner la bourde de l'Alouette*: To mislead, or traîne along from the place hee would

finde; (from the Larke, which ever flies from-ward her nest, when shee sees any body eyes her)."

83.	a Pyttyvsnyſ of turtyllys	.P. 32
84.	a Treweloue of Turtelis	Harl. 1, 44
	a Trewloufe of Turtyllys	Harl. 2, 41
	A Trewloue of Turtuldowys	R. G. 46
	A trewlove of turteles	D. 46
	a trew love of turtles	L. 46

Terms all expressive of the same notion, i.e. the bereaved dove mourning for "the dear departed." The fidelity of the dove was proverbial: as Shakespeare says ("Troilus and Cressida," Act iii, sc. 2)—

"As true as steel, as plantage to the moon,

As sun to-day, as turtle to her make";

and in "Pasquil's Night-cap," 1612—

"Full twenty yeeres she had a widow beene

Like to a turtle mourning for her make."

Horman, in his "Vulgaria" (f. 100, verso), says: "The turtyl that hath loste hir cocke sytteth ever vpon starke braunches."

85.	a Duell of Turtillis	A. 1, 97
	a Duell of turtylles	A. 2, 97
	a dule of turtylles	V. 106
	a dule of turtylles	T. 106
	a dule of Turtles	All. 96
	a dule of Turtles	H. 105
	a dule of turtles	Str.

Dole.—17. *A fanciful term for a company of doves. (From their mournful cooing.)*—N.E.D.

See Halliwell's Selection, s.v. *Dule*, p. 37.

86.	a Exaltacyon of larkys	Eg. 22
	a Exsalttynge of larkys	P. 31
	a Exaltation ¹ of larkes	S. 35
	an Exaltynge of Larkis	A. 1, 18
	an Exaltynge of larkys	A. 2, 18

¹ Spelled *Cxaltation*: misprint *æ* for *æ*.

an exalting of larkes	V. 28
an exalting of larkes	T. 28
an exalting of Larkes	All. 22
an exalting of Larkes	H. 28
an Exalting of Larks	R. H.
an exaltation of larks	Str.

A fanciful name for a flight of larks.—N.E.D.

This is the proper term to use when a lark soars into the sky ; no one yet ever saw a 'company' of larks soar into the sky and sing: just one, and that is all. Randle Holme gives it as "a company of larks," and the N.E.D. follows him with "a flight of larks"; this latter expression properly refers to No. 62.

87. a ffalle of Woodecockys	Eg. 18
a ffaulle of wodeokys	P. 17
a Falle of wodcockes	S. 19
a fall of Woodecockis	A. 1, 94
a Falle of wodcockes	A. 2, 94
a fall of wodcockes	V. 103
a fall of wodcockes	T. 103
a fall of woodcocks	All. 93
a fall of woodcocks	H. 102
a fall of Wood-cocks	R. H.
a fall of woodcocks	Str.

An alleged name for a covey or flight of woodcocks.—N.E.D.

This may best be explained by the following quotation from a tract reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, ii, 583, entitled "An Enquiry into the Physical and Literal Sense of that Scripture, 'Yea, the Stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times: and the turtle and the crane, and the swallow observe the time of their coming' (Jeremiah viii, 7)." This is by Charles Morton, and he says: "Consider their coming, which is so sudden (as to divers of the kinds) that *it is as if they dropped down upon us from above.* In *woodcocks*, especially it is remarkable that upon a change of the wind to the east, about Alhallows-tide, they will seem to have come all in a night; for though the former day none are to be found, yet the next morning they will be in every bush: I speak of the West of England, where they are most plentiful." This sudden appearance of the birds is what is meant by "A ffalle of Woodecockys," and the phenomenon is metaphorically comparable to a *fall of snow*.

88.	a Monstyr of Pecoockys	Eg. 17
	a Mostur of peycokys	P. 16
	a Muster of pecoks	S. 18
	a Mustre of Pecoockys	A. 1, 15
	a Mustre of pecoockys	A. 2, 15
	a mustre of pecookes	V. 25
	a mustre of pecookes	T. 25
	a muster of Peacocks	All. 19
	a muster of Peacokes	H. 25
	a Mustet of Peacocks	R. H.
	a muster of peacocks	Str.

Alleged term for a company of peacocks [the notion is that of sense 1, show, display].—N.E.D.

This is the proper term when the peacock spreads or shows (*monstrat*) his tail; see Skinner's definitions, No. 7. Randle Holme calls the word *muster* a *mustet*.

89.	a Mutacyoñ of threstyllys	P. 34
	a Mutacion	S. 37

The Porkington MS. 10, with its complete rendering of the term, has helped to explain the isolated expression "a mutacion" which occurs in the "Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos" list (to which no reference is given or explanation offered by the N.E.D.). A Mr. William Dodgson writes to the editor of *Hardwick's Science Gossip*, vol. iii, June 1, 1867, and says, "Is it a recognised fact amongst naturalists that thrushes acquire new legs, and cast the old ones when about ten years old. A great many persons in this neighbourhood give what appear well-authenticated instances of this: one of a thrush belonging to a clergyman at Stanwix, near Carlisle, which was visited and examined by many when the change was going on: another near Whitehaven," etc. Mr. D. gives circumstantial details, but J. B. Waters writes in *Science Gossip* for August 1, 1867, q.v., explaining the matter. This may then be the proper term for a thrush when it has its *mutation* of old legs for new.

Alexander Neckham, "De naturis Rerum" (Rolls Ser., 1863, p. 84), has the following curious remarks on the 'mutation' of birds, the mutation here being moulting (the same word with an intrusive *l*):—(Cap. xxxiii) "Quomodo mutari possunt aves generosæ. Etiam vulgo notum est aves generosas mutari in casis ex virgis

compactis. Sunt autem quædam quæ vix etiam operosa diligentia veteres plumas exuunt. Qui ergo in hujusmodi arte, seu curialitate, comiter instructi sunt, hoc utuntur artificio. Serpens in frumento tractu temporis longo decoquitur, de hinc frumentum dictum gallinæ datur in esum. Hac vescitur avis mutanda, et plumis renovatis renovatur et ipsa, majoremque gratiam formæ decentis nobilitas in oculis intuentium promeretur."

90. a Unkyndenys of rauynnys	Eg. 34
a Wnkyndnys of rawynnys	P. 26
a vnkydenesse of Rauons	Harl. 1, 43
a onkydenes of Ravynnys	Harl. 2, 40
A vnkýndenýs of Rawýnnýs	R. G. 45
A Vnkydenes of ravenes	D. 45
an unkyndnes of ravens	L. 45
an vnkindnes of rauons	S. 23
an vnkydenes of Rauenes	A. 1, 26
an Unkyndnes of rauens	A. 2, 26
an vnkyndnes of rauens	V. 36
an vnkyndnes of rauens	T. 36
an unkindenes of Rauens	All. 30
an vnkindnes of Rauens	H. 36

Swainson ("The Folk Lore of British Birds," 1885, p. 90) says: "Ancient writers held the opinion that the raven was utterly wanting in parental care, expelling its young ones from the nest, and leaving them prematurely to shift for themselves, until it saw what colour they would be, during which time they were nourished with dew from heaven. . . . However, this unkindness on the part of the parents was repaid, for when 'they be old, and have their bills overgrown, they die of famine, not sharpening their bills again by beating them on a stone, as the eagle doth. Neither will their young ones help them, but rather set upon them when they are not able to resist' (Swan's 'Speculum Mundi,' p. 389)."

91. a Waycche of Nyghtynggalys	Eg. 23
a Wache of nyȝttingalys	P. 33
a Wache of Nyghtingalis	A. 1, 19
a Watche of nyghtyngalys	A. 2, 19
a watch of nyghtyngales	V. 29
a watche of nyghtyngales	T. 29
a watching of nightingals	All. 23

a watch of Nightingales	H. 29
a Watching of Nightingales	R. H.
a watch of nightingales	Str.

This term has already been dealt with under Halliwell's Selection, p. 39. It is the proper term for the nocturnal singing of a nightingale.

Randle Holme gives "a Watching of Nightingales" as a company term. But nightingales do not sing in company.

11. CHARACTERISTICS OF WATER-FOWL.

92. a Dyuyng of Attelis	Harl. 1, 40
a Dyuyng of autelys	Harl. 2, 38

The proper term for the characteristic action of an *atteal* or *attile* duck. Swainson states the pochard, *Fuligula ferina*, is known in Roxburgh as the *diver* or *doucker*, and in the Orkney Isles is called the *atteal* or *attile* duck, perhaps from the Icelandic *tialldr*. The *atteal* is sometimes spoken of as a kind of wigeon, but is not the common wigeon, *Mareca penelope*. Latham says that he once heard a teal called a 'half-bird'; in the same manner we have full-snipe and half-snipe. Cf. *Brent-goose* = halber ente = half-duck.

93. a Dopyng of herles	Harl. 1, 39
94. a dopyng of Scheldrakys	Harl. 2, 37
a dopping of sheldrakes	Str.

The Pr. Parv. has "DOPPAR, or dydoppar, watyr byrd, *Mergulus*." Way says in a footnote that Forby and Moore mention the word *dop*, as used in East Anglia at the present day, to denote a short quick curtsey. Ang.-Sax. doppelan, *mersare*. The *Mergulus* is the little auk, but the term *Mergus* is applied to the red-breasted merganser, *M. serrator*—i.e. diving goose—which is known in the Orkney and Shetland Isles as the *harle*, *harle* duck, or *herald* duck (from the Icelandic *hareld*), and also to the goosander *Mergus merganser*, which was sometimes known as the *shell* duck. The term 'dopping' is probably equally applicable to either bird in its sudden disappearance under the water when disturbed.

95. a flushe of Mallardys	Eg. 15
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96.	a Sort of mallarttus	P. 14
	a Soorde of malards	Harl. 1, 38
	a Sorde of malardys	Harl. 2, 36
	A sowrde off malardys	R. G. 43
	A sovrde of malardes	D. 43
	a Sourde of malards	L. 43
	a Sourd of malardes	S. 16
96a.	a Sorde or a sute of malardis	A. 1, 14
	a Sorde or a sute of malardis	A. 2, 14
	a sord or a sute of mallards	V. 24
	a sord or a sute of mallards	T. 24
	a sore or a suce of Malards	All. 18
	a sore or a suce of Mallards	H. 24
	a <i>Sore</i> , or <i>Safe</i> of Ducks and Mallards, or a <i>Team</i> of Ducks	R. H.

The mallard is the male wild duck, and the term *fflushe*, is onomatopœic, and is so called from the manner in which they rise from the water. But the term generally used in connection with mallards is *sort*, *sorde*, *sourde*, from the Latin *surgere*, to rise. See Skinner's definitions, No. 19. Note Alde's misprints *sore* or *suce* (both wrong); Randle Holme turns these into a *sore* or *safe* of ducks and mallards, and gives an equivalent, "a Team of Ducks." Apparently, from a passage in "The Book of St. Albans" itself, the term "sorde of mallards" was used in a secondary sense to imply a 'company' of wild duck, but the original meaning is to indicate the characteristic uprising and flight of 'duck' when disturbed or 'flushed.'

97.	a Padelynge of Dookysse	Eg. 77
98.	a badelyng of Dokis	A. 1, 51
	a Badelynge of dokys	A. 2, 51
	a badelynge of duckes	V. 62
	a badelyng of duckes	T. 62
	a badling of Ducks	All. 52
	a badling of Duckes	H. 61
	a badelynge of ducks	Str.

An early term for a brood of ducks.—N.E.D.

To be taken literally. See Skinner's definitions, No. 1.

99.	a Sege of Betowrys	Eg. 11
	a Cegee of betterys	P. 11
	a Sege of Betoris	Harl. 1, 36
	a Sege of Botowrys	Harl. 2, 34
	A Sege of betorýs	R. G. 41
	A Sege of bytourys	D. 41
	a Sege of bytours	L. 41
	a Siege of byttours	S. 13
	a sege of betouris	A. 1, 13
	a Sege of bytourys	A. 2, 13
	a sege of byttoures	V. 23
	a sege of byttoures	T. 23
	a siege of Bytours	All. 49
	a Siege of Bytours	H. 23
	a Seigh of Bitters	R. H.
	a Sege of bitterns	Str.

See Skinner's definitions, No. 16, a Sege of herons, or bittours.

Note Randle Holme's incorrect spelling, a *Seigh* of Bitters.

100.	a Sege of Hayrynnys	Eg. 12
	a Cege of herronns	P. 12
	a Sege of herons	Harl. 1, 35
	a Sege of heyrōnys	Harl. 2, 33
	A sege of hayrons	R. G. 40
	A Sege of herovvnes	D. 40
	a sege of herons	L. 40
	a Siege of heyrons	S. 14
	a Sege of heronnys	A. 1, 12
	a Sege of herons	A. 2, 12
	a sege of Herons	V. 22
	a sege of Herons	T. 22
	a siege of Herons	All. 48
	a Siege of Herons	H. 22
	a Shegh of Herons	R. H.
	a sege of herons	Str.
	[a Sege vnto a Castelle	Eg. 13.]

See Skinner's definitions, No. 16, where the subject is already dealt with.

Note Randle Holme's incorrect spelling, a *Shegh* of Herons. Neither with bitterns or herons has he got the word right, and it differs in each case.

101.	a Sprynge of Telys	Eg. 14
	a sprynge of teyllys	P. 13
	a sprynge of telis	Harl. 1, 37
	a Sprynge of Telys	Harl. 2, 35
	A sprynge of telys	R. G. 42
	A Sprynge of teles	D. 42
	a springe of teals	L. 42
	a Sprynge of teeles	S. 15
	a Sprynge of Telis	A. 1, 92
	a Sprynge of telys	A. 2, 92
	a sprynge of teles	V. 101
	a sprynge of teals	T. 101
	a spring of Teles	All. 91
	a Spring of Teles	H. 100
	a Spring of Teals	R. H.
	a spring of teels	Str.

The proper term for the characteristic action of teals when 'flushed'—they *spring* out of the water.

Palsgrave says: Teele a byrde, plignon, s.ma.
Tele a byrde, plinget, s.ma.

102.	a Walke of Snytys	Eg. 19
	a Walke of snyttys	P. 18
	a Walke of Snytes	S. 20
	a walke of Snytis	A. 1, 16
	a walke of snytes	A. 2, 16
	a walke of snites	V. 26
	a walke of snites	T. 26
	a walke of Snites	All. 20
	a walke of Snites	H. 26
	a walk of snipes	Str.

Dealt with under Halliwell's Selections, p. 38. The proper term for the characteristic mode of progression.

12. NOISES OF BIRDS.

103.	a Chaterynge of Choughys	Eg. 38
104.	a Clatterynge of chovythis	P. 29
	a Clatering of chowhis	S. 26
	a Claterynge of choughes	A. 1, 27
	a claterynge of choughes	A. 2, 27
	a claterynge of choughes	V. 37
	a claterynge of choughes	T. 37
	a clattering of Choughes	All. 31
	a clattering of Choughes	H. 37
	a Clattering of Choughes	R. H.

Applied to a 'company' of choughs.—N.E.D.

'Chattering' and 'clattering' seem to be perfectly synonymous terms, and to be the proper term to describe the noise the chough makes. The Pr. Parv. gives "c(H)YRPYNGE, or claterynge of byrdys (chirkinge or chateringe, P.). *Garritus.*"

105.	a Chatterynge of sterlyngys	Harl. 2, 15
	A chaterynge of Starys	R. G. 16
	A chaterynge of stares	D. 16
	a chatering of stares	L. 16
106.	a Clatering of Staris	Harl. 1, 41

The same term as applied to starlings, but the next expression is the more usual one: perhaps the scribe in each case had confused the clattering of choughs with the murmuration of stares, and had made one term only of them, especially since they give neither of these terms as such.

The proper term for the noise of stares or starlings.

107.	a Murmuracyon of Starys	Eg. 37
	a Mormeracyon of staris	P. 30
	a Murmeracoñ of stares	S. 27
	a Murmuracion of stares	A. 1, 106
	a Murmuracōn of stares	A. 2, 106
	a murmuracyon of stares	V. 83
	a murmuracion of stares	T. 83

a murmeration of Starres	All. 73
a murmuration of Stares	H. 82
a murmuration of Starlings	Str.

An alleged term for a flock of starlings.—N.E.D.

108. a Chyrme of Goldefynchys	Eg. 31
a Chyrme of goldfynchys	P. 25
a Chermyng of goldfȳchys	Harl. 2, 14
A chȳrmȳng of goldefȳnches	R. G. 15
A chirmyng of goldfynches	D. 15
a chirming of goldfinches	L. 15
a Cherme of Goldefynches	A. 1, 22
a Cherme of goldfynches	A. 2, 22
a cherme of goldfinches	V. 32
a cherme of goldfynches	T. 32
a cherm of goldfinches	All. 26
a Cherme of Goldfinches	H. 32
a Cherm of Gold-finches	R. H.
a charm of goldfinches	Str.

The proper term for the noise of goldfinches; already dealt with in Skinner's definitions, No. 3, q.v.

109. a Tremynge of goldefynchis	Harl. 1, 15
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This variant *Tremynge* only occurs in the Harl. 1 list; it evidently expresses the same idea.

110. a chyrme of fynches	S. 33
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A company or flock of finches.—N.E.D.

111. a Gagelynge of Gesse	Eg. 74
a Gagulle of gyse	P. 84
a Gagelynge of gese	Harl. 1, 18
a Gagyllyng of gese	Harl. 2, 18
A Gagelyng of Gese	R. G. 19
A gagelyng of geese	D. 19
a gagling of geese	L. 19
a Gagyll of ghees	S. 31

a Gagle of gees	A. 1, 49
a Gagle of geys	A. 2, 49
a gaggyll of geese	V. 60
a gaggyll of geese	T. 60
a Gaggle of Geese	All. 50
a gaggle of Geese	H. 59
a <i>Flock</i> or <i>Gaggle</i> of Geese	R. H.
a gagle of geese	Str.

A flock of geese.—N.E.D.

The proper term for the peculiar noise of a goose. See Skinner's definitions, No. 4.

Anser gingrit

ga ga G.g

The Goose gaggleth

(Hoole's "Commenius," 1672. The lively and vocal alphabet.)

"Anger the raven, he will fly about

As though his meaning were to seize vpon thee :

The goose will gaggle, and the cocke cry out," etc.

(Pasquil's "Night-cap," 1612, reprinted 1819, p. 101.)

112. a Mursher of Crowys	Eg. 35
113. a Morther of crowys	P. 28
a Murder of crowes	S. 24

None of these words are in the N.E.D., although the last word is in the "Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos."

This is a new word, intended possibly to represent the noise of crows. Each list gives it differently, but the Egerton, being presumably the oldest list, may be the most correct.

114. a Pype of Chekynnyse	Eg. 76
a Pepe of chykenys	A. 1, 124
a Pepe of chekyns	A. 2, 124
a pepe of chekyns	V. 134
a pepe of chekyns	T. 134
a peep of chickens	All. 119

a peepe of Chickens H. 144

a Peep or Flock of Chickens R. H.

A flock of chickens.—N.E.D.

The proper term for the noise chickens make—

Pullus pipit

pi pi P p.

The Chicken peepeth

From "a lively and vocal alphabet" in Hoole's ed. of "Commenius," 1672.

115. a Serye of fowles Skinner, 1671

a Sery of Fowl Blount, 1674

Sery of Fowls has been dealt with under Skinner's definitions, No. 13. It is only a term for the screaming or noise of wildfowl, and is akin to the German word *Schreyen*, clamare; Kluge gives the word *schrei*, 'cry, scream,' from Mid. H.G. *schri*, *schrei*, O.H.G. *screi*, etc., all of which are allied to our 'scream,' 'shriek,' or provincial 'skreek,' indicative of a sharp or shrill cry.

116. a Tydyng of Pyys Eg. 26

a Tythingys of pyis P. 35

a Titengis of Pies A. 1, 98

a Tygendis of pyes A. 2, 98

atygendes of pyes V. 75

a tygendes of pyes T. 75

a tygenes of Pyes All. 65

a tygenes of Pyes H. 74

The tidings, i.e. news, of magpies. See Skinner's definitions, No. 15, "a Tygendis of pies." For a wonder Randle Holme leaves this word alone.

Note.—For those who wish to know more about the 'noises of birds,' "*Voces variæ animantium*," by Wilhelm Wackernagel, Basel, 1869, will be found of great interest.

13. INSECTS.

117. a Besynes of flyes S. 62

A company of flies.—N.E.D.

Go into a butcher's or fishmonger's shop on a hot day and you will understand what "a Besynes of flyes" is: but the term is to

be taken literally, as *one* blue-bottle can be quite busy enough without the assistance of any of his fellows.

118. a Flock of lyse S. 61

Not referred to in the N.E.D.

A proper term for a nasty subject. Doubtlessly common enough in mediæval times, when cleanliness was at a great discount.

119. a Swarme of Beys	Eg. 30
a swarme of byne	P. 24
a Swarme of bees	S. 34
a Swarme of bees	A. 1, 100
a Swarme of bees	A. 2, 100
a swarme of bees	V. 77
a swarme of bees	T. 77
a swarm of Bees	All. 67
a swarme of Bees	H. 76
a <i>Swearm</i> of Bees, Wasps, and such like Insects	R. H.

This may be taken as a company term, for one bee cannot swarm by itself, unless it be like Lord Dundreary, who "flocked in a corner" all by himself.

14. FISH.

120. a Skoue of fyche	P. 69
a Scole of fysshe	S. 81
a Scoll of ffysh	A. 1, 132
a scoll of fysshe	A. 2, 132
a sclul of fyshe (misprint)	V. 109
a scull of fyshe	T. 109
a scale of fish	All. 99
a scale of Fish	H. 108

A Skoue is evidently a North Country writing for 'scole,' or 'school,' or 'shoal.' One still speaks of a *school* of porpoises, but a *shoal* of fish, though the words appear to be identical. Possibly this *scole of fysshe* is in the lists as being of the same sound but of different meaning and origin to the *scole of scolars*. Anyway it is a company term.

15. INANIMATE THINGS.

121.	a Cast of bred	P. 71
	a Caste of breed	S. 54
	a Cast of Brede	A. 1, 23
	a Caste of breed	A. 2, 23
	a caste of bread	V. 33
	a caste of breed	T. 33
	a cast of bread	All. 27
	a cast of bread	H. 33
	a caste of bread	Str.

The quantity of bread made at one time.—N.E.D.

With regard to this term, Halliwell says that it is "a small portion of bread." A *caste* or *cast* is a certain quantity of bread, not of necessity made at one time, as the N.E.D. states, but the definite amount of 'a ration.' Harrison, in his "Description of England," states that "of the flower of one bushell they make fortie cast of manchet," or fine white table-bread. A bushel of flour will make 16 quartern loaves of 4 lbs. each = 64 lbs., therefore a cast of bread = 1 lb. 9.60 ozs., or rather over 1½ lbs. The various references to a 'caste of bread' in the "Ordinances and Regulations" and "The Northumberland Household Book" (1770, p. 354) clearly show that a well-defined and understood 'ration' of bread was indicated.

"ITEM. It is Orderide ande agreide by my Lords Heede Officers ande Councell that the BAKER schal aunswere my Lorde of every Quarter of WHEIT in Maunchettes. cxl—aftir ij Maunchetts to a Loof of Houshold Breade—Of Household Breade cc iiij Score Ande of Trencher Breade cc iiij Score because the Loooffs of the Trencher Breade be larger thanne the Loooffs of the Houshold Breade." ("Northumberland Household Book." "Antiquarian Repertory," 1809, iv, 151.)

This seems to mean that 1 quarter was to make 280 household loaves as such, and the equivalent of 70 loaves in the form of 140 manchetts: alternatively it was to produce 280 loaves of trencher bread, which would make the ratio of these to household loaves as 5 is to 4.

122.	a Clustur of grappus	P. 86
	a Clustyr of Grapys	Harl. 2, 42
	A Clowster of grapys	R. G. 47

A Cluster of grapes	D. 47
a cluster of grapes	L. 47
a Cluster of grapes	S. 83
a clustre of Grapys	A. 1, 85
a clustre of grapys	A. 2, 85
a cluster of grapes	V. 94
a cluster of grapes	T. 94
a cluster of grapes	All. 84
a Cluster of Grapes	H. 93
a cluster of grapes	Str.

N.E.D. gives a general definition of a Cluster. See No. 128 for definition.

This is a company term as applied to inanimate objects, such as grapes and nuts. The modern term 'bunch' would seem to have the same meaning.

123. a clustyr of nottys	P. 87
a clustre of Knottes	Harl. 1, 48
a clustyr of nottys	Harl. 2, 43
A Clowster of Notýs	R. G. 48
A Cluster of Notes	D. 48
a cluster of nots	L. 48
a Cluster of nottes	S. 84
a clustre of nottis	A. 1, 161
a clustre of nottes	A. 2, 161
a cluster of nuttes	V. 160
a cluster of nuttes	T. 160
a cluster of Nutts	All. 145
a cluster of Nuttes	H. 157
a cluster of nuts	Str.

See previous item.

124. a Couple or a payer of botillis	A. 1, 124
a couple or a payr of botellis	A. 2, 124
a couple or a payre of botels	V. 34
a couple or a paire of botels	T. 34
a couple or payre of bottles	All. 28
a couple or a payre of Bottles	H. 34

No reference to bottles under Couple is given by the N.E.D., but under Pair it gives "a set of two."

The following quotation from the "Remembrances for the Apparel, Accoutrements and Necessaries, &c., of the Earl of Northumberland, 1513" (Madden, *Archæologia*, xxvi, 1836), throws some light on this: "Itm̄ a bottell horse wyth a Maill carrying the bottelles and Cuppes"; and further on, in the "Necessaries for Algernons Conte de Northüberland"—

"Itm̄ for the Officers in the Seller and Buttere

vj. *pere* of bottelles redy fynde,

vj. pottes of ledder of pottelles,

vj. galloñ pottes for the Buttere,

and iij. or iiij. Barrelles for to be carried,

some les and some more" (i.e. some smaller and some larger).

The six "*pere* [or *paire*] of bottelles redy fynde" probably means ready cleansed or clean. It is possible that these bottles were slung over the horse, and for that reason were spoken of as a couple (i.e. coupled together) or a payer.

COWPYLE of ij thyngys, *copula*, (*cupla P*).—Prompt. Parv.

Cowpyll of any thyng *paire*, s.fe.

Couple of any thynges *couple*, s.ma.—Palsgrave.

This gives the impression that the term *paire* was applied to two of a kind, and *couple* to two things of any sort, similar or dissimilar.

125.	a Rage of the teethe	A. 1, 162
	a rage of the teeth	A. 2, 162
	a rage of the teeth	V. 161
	a rage of the teeth	T. 161
	a roge of teeth	All. 146
	a roge of teeth	H. 158

Humorously suggested as a name for a set of teeth.—N.E.D.

This is the proper term for a "yonge gentilman" to use, instead of saying that he had got "a frightful jaw-ache," or "beastly toothache," or using some such other choice expression which would doubtlessly occur to him when attacked with this distressing malady. No, even when suffering great agony he must remember his position and call it "A Rage of the teethe"! Note Allde's variant *roge*. The N.E.D. definition does not appeal to me as being either probably or possibly correct.

126. a Segé vnto a Castelle Eg. 13

This term means what it says, and was only inserted in the Egerton list as a contrast to the Siege of herons and bitterns.

16. PERSONS.

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| 127. a Beuy of Ladyes | Eg. 8 |
| a Bevy of ladys | P. 9 |
| a Bevy of ladies | Harl. 1, 6 |
| a Bevee of ladys | Harl. 2, 6 |
| a Bevy of ladyes | Addl. 8 |
| A Bewý of ladýes | R. G. 8 |
| A bevy of ladyes | D. 8 |
| a bevey of Ladies | L. 8 |
| a Beuye of ladyes | S. 10 |
| a Beuy of Ladies | A. 1, 9 |
| a Beuy of ladyes | A. 2, 9 |
| a beuy of Ladyes | V. 9 |
| a beuy of ladyes | T. 9 |
| a Beuie of Ladies | All. 15 |
| a Beuie of Ladies | H. 9 |
| a bevy of ladies | Str. |

The proper term for a company of maidens or ladies, of roes, of quails, or of larks.—N.E.D.

This is a proper term for a company of ladies, though when it came to be applied to them is not certain. In the "Nominale sive Verbale" (ed. Skeat) the term for ladies is "Compaignie de damys." The "Femina" MS. has no term for them, but Bibbesworth gives

" De dames diret la companye
Des oues aussi la companye
Ceux deus sunt asociez
Quele est la resoun ore eliset."

He also uses the term *bevées*, but applies it only to *heyrouns*.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|
| 128. a Clostyr of chourllys | P. 88 |
| a Cluster of carles | S. 85 |
| a Clustre of chorlis | A. 1, 86 |
| a clustre of chorlys | A. 2, 86 |
| a cluster of churles | V. 95 |
| a cluster of churles | T. 95 |

a cluster of churles	All. 85
a cluster of churles	H. 94

A number of persons, animals, or things gathered or situated close together: an assemblage, group, swarm, crowd.—N.E.D.

129. a clowdyr of carlys	Harl. 2, 44
A Clowder of Karlÿs	R. G. 49
A Clowder of Karles	D. 49
a clowder of Carles	L. 49

This term in the Harl. 2 and L. lists is given as a *clowdyr* or *clowder* of carles, and the terms *cluster* and *clowder* were also used of cats. This is probably from the fact that tom-cats, according to Ray, 1674, were called in the North of England carl-cats: "A *carl-cat*; a Bore or He-cat, from the old Saxon *carle*, a male, and *cat*. The Harl. MS. 2340 finishes up its list of proper terms with the following rhyme:—

"lat cattes scrate carlys to sorow I wys
lerne or be lewde I tell þe thys."

There is a punning tendency in some of the words used in the list, and it is difficult to avoid thinking that there is some reference in the use of the word *cluster* to the word *clusterfist*. Under the word *Lourdaut* Cotgrave gives "A sot, dunce, dullard, grotnoll, jobernoll, blockhead; a lowt, lob, lusk, boore, clown, *churle*, *clusterfist*; a proud ignorant and unmannerly swaine." Under the words *Casois* and *Escogriffe* he gives similarly choice selections, each with the same notion as *lourdaut*, and each including *clusterfist*.

130. a Congregacion of peple	A. 1, 17
a Congregacõn of people	A. 2, 17
a congregacion of people	V. 27
a congregacion of people	T. 27
a congregation of people	All. 21
a congregation of people	H. 27

A company term, requiring no explanation.

131. a haras of harlottes	Harl. 2, 24
132. An Herde of harlottys	A. 1, 7
An Herde of harlottys	A. 2, 7
An herde of harlottes	V. 7

An herde of harlottes	T. 7
an heard of Harlots	All. 13
an heard of Harlots	H. 7
a herd of harlots	Str.

A large company of people, a multitude, host. Now always in a disparaging sense.—N.E.D.

There seemed to be some doubt as to the particular kind of 'harlot' which was indicated, but this entry from the Harl MS. leaves no doubt as to which is meant. Is it possible that the scribe has confused the "haras of hors" (= a stud for breeding purposes) in his mind with "a herd of harlottes," thinking perhaps that *hore* = *meretrix* was intended? In Letter-Book H (Guildhall), fols. cxcix and celxxxvii, may be found information respecting the congregation of women of ill-repute, the dates being 1386 and 1393 respectively.

133. a Oste of men	Eg. 27
a Nost of mene	P. 21
a Ost of men	Harl. 1, 16
a ost of men	Harl. 2, 16
A hoste of men	R. G. 18
A hoost of men	D. 18
a hoste of men	L. 18
an Hoost of men	S. 28
an hoost of men	A. 1, 20
an hoost of men	A. 2, 20
an hoste of men	V. 30
an hoste of men	T. 30
an hoste of men	All. 24
an host of men	H. 30

A company term, requiring no explanation.

134. a Rowte of Gentyll men	Eg. 41
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See next proper term.

135. a Rowte of knyghtys	Eg. 40
a Route of kny;ttys	P. 31
a Rought of kynghtis	Harl. 1, 11

a Rowte of knyhtys	Harl. 2, 12
A Rowte Kýtys (<i>sic</i>)	R. G. 12
A rowte of Knyttys	D. 12
a rout of Knights	L. 12
a Rowte of knyghtes	S. 43
a Route of Knyghtis	A. 1, 29
a Rowte of knyghtes	A. 2, 29
a route of knyghtes	V. 39
a route of knyghtis	T. 39
a rout of Knights	All. 32
a route of Knights	H. 39

The word *route* was not confined to knights, being used generally for a multitude, but it seems to have eventually been adopted as the proper term for them in company, but the "Nominale" and "Femina" use *aray* for 'knights' and *route* for 'squires.'

"Aray de Chiualers

Route de Esquiers." (Nominale.)

"Aray dit homme de; chiualers

Route dit homme de; esquiers

Aray seyth man of knyttys

A Route seyth man of squiers." (Femina MS.)

Bishop Gawin Douglas uses the word *rout* to express numbers of men, women; and children (1710 ed., pp. 65, 411, 412).

Cowell, "Interpreter," 1658 ed., has some interesting remarks upon the word: "*Rout (routa)* is a French word signifying a company or flock: as (*une grande route de gents ou de cerfs, i. grex hominum, longa servorum series*). It signifieth in our Common law, an Assembly of three persons or more, going on about forcibly to commit an unlawfull act, but yet do it not," etc. See also Lambarde, "Eirenarchia," lib. 2, cap. 5.

17. DOMESTIC AND MARRIED LIFE.

136. a Gagulle of womene	P. 85
a Gagyllyng of womē	Harl. 2, 19
A Gagelyng of wommen	R. G. 20
A gagelynge of wocmen	D. 20
a gagling of women	L. 20
a Gagyll of women	S. 32

a Gagle of Women	A. 1, 123
a Gagle of wymen	A. 2, 123
a gagle of women	V. 133
a gaggle of women	T. 133
a gaggle of wemen	All. 118
A gaggle of women	H. 143
a gagle of women	Str.

137. a Gagelynge of Gossipps Harl. 1, 19

Derisively a company (of women).—N.E.D.

The term properly of geese is here applied to women, or gossips. As Bibbesworth says, "ceux deus sunt associez" (*vide* No. 127). The Arundel MS. 220 of Bibbesworth's Treatise gives in the margin "*une jangle*," which is a term for the noise of the goose, as is seen from the "Nominale" (Skeat).

Owe iangle	Goos creakith
Iarce agrule	Gandre gagoluth.

Holy-oke, 1612, gives Glacito, as, *to creake like a gander or goose*, and also *A iangling*, Garrulitas; from which the applicability of the term is evident.

Junius has the following remarks about "Gossipps":—"Sed quoniam vulgo Susceptrices frequenter, sub spiritualis hujus cognationis obtentu, ad fabulas computationesque persæpe conveniunt; hinc ortum traxerunt Anglica *to go a gossiping*, item *a gadding and drunken gossip*; prorsus ut Belgis quoque Mater lustrica dicta est *metet* vel *mette*, a *μήτηρ*, quòd sit veluti Mater altera: unde & *mettekens* dicuntur istius modi bibaculæ."

138. a Noonpaciens of Wyues	A. 1, 52
a Noonpacyens of wyues	A. 2, 52
a nonpaciens of wyues	V. 63
a nonpaciens of wyues	T. 63
a nonpatients of wiues	All. 53
a nonpatients of wiues	H. 62
a nonpatience of wives	Str.

Alleged term for a 'company' of wives.—N.E.D.

A term referring to the impatience of wives, as their chief characteristic.

139.	a Multiplieng of husbandis	A. 1, 125
	a Multyplyeng of husbandes	A. 2, 125
	a multeplyeng of husbādes	V. 135
	a multeplyng of husbandes	T. 135
	a multiply of Husband	All. 120
	a multiply of Husbands	H. 145
	a multiplying of husbands	Str.

Alleged term for a 'company' of husbands.—N.E.D.

A term referring to the loose morals of married women. Allde, and Helme following him, give the word as a "Multiply of Husbands," which looks as if they had understood the word in a procreative sense.

Dr. Bradley suggests that "husband" here may mean *æconomus*, not *maritus*. A thrifty "husband" *multiplies* his possessions.

140.	an vncredibilite of Cocoldis	A. 1, 90
	an Vncredybylyte of cocoldes	A. 2, 90
	an vncredibilite of Kocoldes	V. 99
	an vncredibilite of cokoldes	T. 99
	an vncredibility of cokolds	All. 89
	an vncredibilitie of Cokolds	H. 98
	an incredibility of cuckolds	Str.

The word *incredibility* is used here in a curious sense, namely, as a synonym for *incredulity*: the only thing that, to them, is incredible is that they are *cocoldis*. King Arthur, however, accepted the verdict of his wonderful horn without any demur or expression of incredulity, and danced "in the cokwolds rowte" with the rest of them; *vide* "The Cokwolds Daunce" (Hazlitt's Early Pop. Poetry of England, 1864).

18. BOYS AND GIRLS.

141.	a Blush of boyes	A. 1, 89
	a Blusche of boyes	A. 2, 89
	a blusshe of boyes	V. 98
	a blusshe of boyes	T. 98
	a blush of Boyes	All. 88

a blush of boyes H. 97

a blush of boys Str.

A company of boys.—N.E.D.

An allusion to the facility and readiness with which boys blush for the slightest trifle. Cf. "The Boke of Curtasye" (Sloane MS. 1986), edited by Dr. Furnivall ("Meals and Manners," 1876, p. 187)—

"Ne chaunge þou in face coloure,
For lyghtnes of worde in halle ne bourz;
Yf þy vysage chaunge for noȝt,
Men say 'þe trespas þou hase wroȝht.'"

Annotated by the Doctor as "Don't blush when you're chaffed."

142. a Rafulle of bayis P. 95

Probably the scribe's error for "a Raskall of boyes." Note the use of the word bayis, not boyis.

143. a Raskall of boyes	S. 96
a Raskall of boyes	L. J. 5
a Rascall of Boyes	A. 1, 163
a Rascall of boyes	A. 2, 163
a rascall of boyes	V. 162
a rascall of boyes	T. 162
a rascall of boyes	All. 147
a rascall of Boyes	H. 159

A rabble or mob.—N.E.D. [*quotes S.*].

Already explained in Skinner's definitions, No. 11. In the Eltham Ordinances of King Henry VIII (O. & R., 1790, p. 239) the porter has to "make due search throught the House, in case that negligently at any time, any *Boyes or Rascalls* have escaped by them, and entred the Gates," etc.

144. a Scole of scolers S. 82

A company term, requiring no explanation.

145. a Rage of Maydenys	A. 1, 87
a Rage of maydens	A. 2, 87

a rag of maydens	V. 96
a rag of maydens	T. 96
a rag of Maidens	All. 86
a ragge of Maydens	H. 95

Alleged name for a company of Maidens.—N.E.D.

Halliwell's definition of the verb *to rage* is quite sufficiently good, 'to romp or play wantonly,' as the following quotations will show. Halliwell gives the first one—

"When sche seyth galantys revell yn hall,
Yn her hert she thynkys owtrage,
Desyrynge with them *to pley and rage*,
And steleth fro yow full prevely."

(*"Relig. Antiq.,"* i, 29.)

The next is from Chaucer, and shows the expression was "to pley and rage," or "to rage and pley"—

"Now sir, and eft sir, so befel the cas
That on a day this heende Nicholas
Fit with this yonge wyf *to rage and pleye*,
Whil that hir housbond was at Oseneye."

(*"The Miller's Tale."*)

19. COURT AFFAIRS.

146. a State of Pryncysse	Eg. 79
a Stat of pryneys	P. 62
a State of princes	S. 74
a State of Prynces	A. 1, 53
a State of prynces	A. 2, 53
a state of prynces	V. 64
a state of prynces	T. 64
a state of Princes	All. 54
a state of Princes	H. 63
a state of princes	Str.

This means the rank and precedence of princes. For a list of the various estates or states see John Russell's "*Boke of Nurture*," p. 70, and W. de Worde's "*Boke of Keruyng*," p. 170, in "*Meals and Manners*," ed. Furnivall, 1876.

147.	a Trought of Barronnysse	Eg. 81
	A Trothe of barrovns	P. 64
	a Trouthe of barons	S. 76
	a Though of barons	A. 1, 54
	a Thought of barons	V. 65
	a Though of barons	T. 65
	a though of Barons	All. 55
	A thought of Barons	H. 65

See under Halliwell's definitions, pp. 39-40.

A Truth of Barons is that which they swear to bear unto the King in the Oath of Allegiance taken by them at the Coronation.

John Ives printed in his "Select Papers," 1773, pp. 112-13, the following details concerning the "Coronacion of Henrie VIIth," October 30, 1485:—

"The King to sit in his Siege Roiall, accompanied with all the Peeres of the Realme, all the said Peeres to him shall make Fealtie and Homage under such Wordes and Fourme as followeth :

The Archbusshoppes and Busshops under this Fourme :

Ye shall sweare that ye shall be feathfull and trewe, and Trowth and Faith beare unto the King our Sovereign Lorde, and to his Heires, Kings of Englande; and trewly ye shall do, and truly knowledg, the service dewe of the Landes, the which ye claym to hold of him as in the Right of your Church, as God shall helpe yow, and all holie Saynctes.

And all the Temporall Lordes under this Fourme :

I become your Liegeman of Lief and Lymme, and of earthelie Worshipp; and Faith and Trowth shall beare unto you, to lyve and dye with yow against all Maner Folke; so God me helpe," etc.

148.	a Thretynge of Curtyers	Eg. 102
	a Triete of covrtears	P. 89
	a Threte of cortyers	S. 89
	a Thretenynge of courteyeris	A. 1, 144
	a Thretenynge of courteyers	A. 2, 144
	a thretenynge of courtyers	V. 144
	a thretenynge of courtyers	T. 144
	a threatenng of courtiers	All. 148
	a threatenng of Courteours	H. 125

Dr. Bradley suggests that this "probably refers to the insolence characteristic of this class toward their inferiors. It cannot well be the O.E. *prēat*, crowd, because there is no evidence that that sense of the word survived into the fifteenth century: it seems to have died out very early in middle English, and the earliest form in the lists is not *threte*, but *thretynge*."

20. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

149. a Bewperis of freris Harl. 1, 30

The Pr. Parv. gives "BEPYR, or bewpyr (beawpere, P.) *Pulcher pater*." As the N.E.D. points out, this word may mean either (1) a term of courtesy for 'father,' used especially to or of a spiritual or ecclesiastical 'father'; or (2) a good fellow, fellow, companion, compeer. This according to the derivation from *beau père*, or *beau per* = peer = mod. pair. An expression with a *double entendre*.

150. a Charge of Curetysse	Eg. 82
a Charge of curattys	P. 65
a Charge of curates	S. 77
a Charge of curatis	A. 1, 128
a charge of curates	A. 2, 128
a charge of curates	V. 138
a charge of carates	T. 138
a charge of Curates	All. 123
a charge of Curates	H. 148

Term for a 'company' of clergy having the cure of souls.—N.E.D.

Pr. Parv. "CHARGE, *cura, onus*." The special meaning in Charge, 14, N.E.D., is the correct one. The people or district committed to the care of a minister of religion. "Curates, 'the secular or parochial clergy,' who had *cure* (*cura*) of souls, which the religious orders could not properly be said to have, because their jurisdiction was not confined to the ordinary limits, but extended, like that of a missionary, to whomsoever they could persuade." (Bell's Chaucer, 1855, vol. ii, p. 108, footnote.)

151. a Conuertynge of Precherysse	Eg. 86
a Conuertynge of prechouris	A. 1, 59
a conuertynge of prechers	A. 2, 59

a conuerting of prehours	V. 70
a conuerting of prehours	T. 70
a conuerting Preachers [<i>sic</i>]	All. 60
a conuerting of Preachers	H. 69

N.E.D. gives no reference to "The Book of St. Albans." Not given as a company term.

One of the sarcastic terms.

152. a Deuowtenesse of mōkys	Harl. 1, 31
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Probably originally sincere, but afterwards applied sarcastically.

153. a Dygnyte of Chanonnysse	Eg. 80
a Dyngnete of chennans	P. 63
a dignite of Chanons	Harl. 1, 34
A Dignyte of chanons	R. G. 39
A dignyte of chanoñs	D. 39
a dignity of chanons	L. 39
a Dignite of chanons	S. 75
a Dignyte of chanonys	A. 1, 127
a Dygnyte of chanons	A. 2, 127
a dygnytye of chanons	V. 137
a dignytie of chanons	T. 137
a dignitie of Chanons	All. 122
a dignitie of Chanons	H. 147

The term for a 'company' of canons.—N.E.D.

The proper term for the ecclesiastical rank of a Canon. Palsgrave also uses the same term for a prelate: "Dignyte of a prelate, *prelature*, s.f."

154. a Dyscrecyon of Prestys	Eg. 84
a Discrecion of Prestis	A. 1, 129
a Dyscrecōn of prestys	A. 2, 129
a discrecion of preestes	V. 139
a discrecion of priestes	T. 139
a discretion of Preests	All. 124
A discretion of Priestes	H. 149

A fanciful term for a company of priests.—N.E.D.

This, though not necessarily so, is probably meant sarcastically; most of the ecclesiastical terms are evidently inspired with an absence of love for the clergy. The discretion is probably that which should have been shown by the priest with regard to the secrets of the Confessional, but which was probably very often disregarded.

155.	a Doctryne of Doctersse	Eg. 55
	a Doctryne of doctoris	A. 1, 58
	a Doctryne of doctours	A. 2, 58
	a doctrine of doctours	V. 69
	a doctrine of doctours	T. 69
	a doctrine of Doctors	All. 59
	A doctrine of Doctors	H. 68

No reference to "The Book of St. Albans," and not given as a company term in the N.E.D.

The doctrine or teaching of Doctors of Divinity. The *Treatise* of Walter de Bibbesworth is also known as the *doctrine*, i.e. teaching.

156.	a holynesse of Nunys	Harl. 1, 32
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Probably originally meant in a sincere sense, but afterwards used in a sarcastic manner.

157.	a Lordship of monkes	S. 78
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No reference to "Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos": not given as a company term in the N.E.D.

The N.E.D. gives no reference to this word, which is in the "Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos" list, but defines the word, under †3, as "lordliness, arbitrariness," which is a sufficiently good explanation. It is *not* given as a company term.

158.	a Lyyng of Pardynersse	Eg. 106
	a Lying of pardnars	P. 102
	a Lyeng of pardoners	S. 105
	a Lyeng of pardoners	L. J. 14
	a Lyeng of pardeneris	A. 1, 146
	a Lyenge of pardoners	A. 2, 146
	a lyeng of pardoners	V. 146

a lyeng of pardoners	T. 146
a lying of pardoners	All. 150
a lying of Pardoners	H. 127
a lying of pardoners	Str.

Alleged name for a company of pardoners.—N.E.D.

“*Pardoners* were certaine fellows that carried about the Popes Indulgences, and sold them to such as would buy them, against whom Luther, by Sleydan’s report, incensed the people of Germany in his time,” etc. (Minsheu). Riley (Memorials, pp. 583, 587 et seqq.) says, “The Papal Bulls were frequently forged, and a regular trade seems to have been carried on in their production.” The Letter-Book I (Guildhall), fol. cxv, records two instances in the year 1412 of persons being condemned to stand in the pillory for one hour on each of three market days, with one of the forged Bulls fastened and tied about the offenders’ necks. See also “Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, ca. 1350–1370,” in which (pp. 8–9) is a most interesting account of the frauds practised by “one *John Worthin* a friar of the order of preaching Friars,” who pretended “that he was on more intimate terms with the Holy Father at Avignon [Pope Clement VI] than any other person of the English nation.”

159. An Obseruans of herimytis	A. 1, 134
An Obseruans of heremytes	A. 2, 134
an obseruauance of heremites	V. 111
an obseruaũce of heremites	T. 111
a obseruance of Hermits	All. 101
An obseruance of Hermites	H. 110
an obseruance of hermits	Str.

A company of religious persons observing some rule, or belonging to some order.—N.E.D.

A hermit is essentially a *solitary* dweller, and to speak of a *company* of them is a contradiction in terms. There were plenty of so-called hermits about in London. One lived in St. Paul’s Churchyard; another well-known hermitage was “within Crepyllgate, seynt Iamys in the walle”; this was a cell or chapel belonging to the Abbey of Garendon in Leicestershire. Then there was another at St. Osmond’s Chapel, “All hallowyn in London walle,” and yet

another at "a chapell and a house of Seynt Botolfe w^tout Byshopis-gate, and also at a chapell and a house of Seynt Clement w^tout tempil barre." All of these doubtlessly were very punctilious over their observances, which are sure to have been quite sufficiently publicly performed to stimulate almsgiving.

160.	a Pontyfycalle of <i>perlettus</i>	P. 61
	a Pontifical of prelates	S. 73
	a Pontificalite of prelati	A. 1, 126
	a Pontifycalyte of prelates	A. 2, 126
	a pontifycalytye of prelates	V. 136
	a pontyficallitie of prelates	T. 136
	a pontifica of Prelats	All. 121
	a pontifica of Prelates	H. 146

Alleged name for a company of prelates.—N.E.D.

An allusion to pope-like airs that the prelates assumed.

161.	a Pontyfycalle of Prestysse	Eg. 78
	The scribe's error for 'prelates.'	

162.	a Preys of preysttys	P. 68
	a Prees of prestes	S. 80

One of the alliterative terms, but intended sarcastically, implying that there were an unnecessary number of priests.

163.	a Prudens of Vycarysse	Eg. 83
	a Prudens of vikeris	A. 1, 55
	a Prudence of vycaryes	A. 2, 55
	a prudence of vycaryes	V. 66
	a prudence of vicaries	T. 66
	a prudence of Vicars	All. 56
	a prudence of Vicaries	H. 65

Probably intended as a sarcastic allusion to the imprudence or improvidence of vicars, e.g. large families and infinitesimal incomes and the like.

164.	a Skole of clarkys	P. 70
	a Scole of clerkes	A. 1, 57
	a Scole of clerkes	A. 2, 57

a scoole of clerkes	V. 68
a scoole of clerkes	T. 68
a schoole of Clarkes	All. 58
a schoole of Clarkes	H. 67

A divinity school.

165. a Skolke of freris	P. 91
a sculke of freys	Harl. 2, 31
A sculke of ffryers	R. G. 35
A skulke of frerees	D. 35
a skulk of freers	L. 35
a Skulke of freres	S. 71
a Sculke of freris	A. 1, 130
a Sculle of freys	A. 2, 130
a scull of freres	V. 107
a scull of freres	T. 107
a scull of Friars	All. 97
a scull of Friars	H. 106
a skulk of friars	Str.

A contemptuous allusion to the prowling and skulking habits of "freris" round houses; used in a similar sense to the skulk of foxes and thieves with which it is usually ranged in the lists.

166. a State of prestis	Harl. 1, 33
A state of prestys	R. G. 38
A state of prestes	D. 38
a State of priests	L. 38

Probably a scribe's error for a state of 'princes.'

167. a Superflovite of nōnys	P. 67
A superflewÿte of Nunnys	R. G. 37
A superfluite of nōnes	D. 37
a superfluity of nonnes	L. 37
a Superfluyte of nonnes	S. 79
a Superfluyte of Nunnys	A. 1, 56
a Superfluyte of nonnys	A. 2, 56
a superfluitie of nunnes	V. 67
a superfluytie of nunnes	T. 67

a superfluitie of Nunnes	All. 57
a superfluitie of Nunnes	H. 67
a superfluity of nuns	Str.

This is the later substitute in the lists for "a holiness of nuns"; here is no sarcastic allusion, but the plain belief bluntly stated.

168. a Bomynabul syȝte of movnkys	P. 66
An abhomȳnabylle syȝte of monkes	R. G. 36
A abhōiāble syȝth of monkes	D. 36
an abhominable sight of monks	L. 36
a bhomynable sight of mōkis	A. 1, 131
a bomynable syght of monkes	A. 2, 131
a bominable sight of monks	V. 108
a bominable sight of mōkes	T. 108
Abominable sight of monks	All. 98
abhominable sight of monks	H. 107

The same remarks on the last term (No. 167) apply here. It was formerly "a devoutness of monks." The term may mean that the *sight*, i.e. view, of the monks was abominable, or that the word is used as indicating a quantity or number of monks.

21. LEGAL AFFAIRS.

169. a Dampnyng of Juryerse	Eg. 89
A Damnyng of jurroars	P. 78
a Dampnyng of Jurrouris	A. 1, 61
a Dampnyng of Juryours	A. 2, 61
a dampnyng of Juryours	V. 72
a dampnyng of Juryours	T. 72
a damning of Jurours	All. 62
A damning of Jurours	H. 71

A company of Jurors.—N.E.D.

This is the proper term for expressing the adverse verdict of a jury. It has no relation to their strong language when they find that they have been summoned to serve.

170. a Eloquens of Lawyers	Eg. 88
a Ellequens of laweris	P. 77
an Eloquens of laweyeris	A. 1, 135

an Eloquens of laweyers	A. 2, 135
an eloquence of lawers	V. 112
an eloquence of lawers	T. 112
an eloquence of Lawyers	All. 102
an eloquence of Lawyers	H. 111

An alleged technical term denoting a 'company' of lawyers—N.E.D.

Requires no explanation; too self-evident.

171. a Execucyon of Offycers	Eg. 90
an Execucion of officerys	A. 1, 136
an Execucon of offycers	A. 2, 136
an execucyon of officers	V. 113
an execucion of officers	T. 113

An alleged designation for a company of officers.—N.E.D.

The officers referred to are, of course, "officers of the court," i.e. law officers. "An execution signifies the last performance of an act, as of a judgment, etc." (A New Law Dictionary, Giles Jacob, 3rd ed., 1736).

172. A Good awyse of borges	P. 79
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There is nothing here to show what the expression *a good advice of burgesses* was intended to signify. There is without doubt some special significance in the phrase, but now apparently forgotten.

173. a Pyte of prysoners	S. 103
a Pyte of prysoners	L. J. 12

No reference to S., not given as a company term.—N.E.D.

This word has not been defined as "a technical term for a company" (of prisoners); it is left unnoticed, although in the "Hors, Shepe, & Ghoos" list, and also "The Boke of Curtasye," 2nd ed., to both of which the N.E.D. constantly refers. The meaning is too self-evident and humane for it to be explained in any other than an absolutely literal manner.

174. a Sedent of Juggysse	Eg. 87
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This may have been the old law term used when judges were sitting—"Judices sedent"—and may therefore simply mean a *sedent*,

i.e. a sitting of judges. Cotgrave gives: "Juges sedentaires," ordinary judges, such as (almost) every day sit in court.

Cf. "An Act of Sederunt," Scotch Law.

175.	a Centtans of jugys	P. 76
	a Sentence of Juges	A. 1, 60
	a Sentence of Judges	A. 2, 60
	a sentence of Judges	V. 71
	a sentence of Judges	T. 71
	a sentence of Judges	All. 61
	a sentence of Judges	H. 70

This requires no explanation.

176.	a Sotelty of sergeauntis	A. 1, 79
	a Subtyltee of sergauntes	A. 2, 79
	a Subtiltie of sergeauntes	V. 88
	a subteltie of sergeauntes	T. 88
	a subtiltie of Seriants	All. 109
	a subtiltie of Serieants	H. 87
	a subtiltie of serjeants	Str.

The serjeant, like the serpent, evidently had a reputation for subtilty. Knox, "Liberal Education," § 59, speaks of "the subtleties of the art [logic], which consist of abstruse terms, with very little meaning, and of nice distinctions, with very little difference, and no utility." It was evidently upon such a basis that the 'sergeauntis' became connected with the word in this phrase. Doubtlessly it was an extremely 'proper term' to be applied to them.

177.	an vntrouth of Sompneris	A. 1, 76
	an Untrouth of Sompners	A. 2, 76
	an untrouth of Sompners	V. 85
	an vntrouth of sompners	T. 85
	an untrueth of Somners	All. 106
	an vntruth of Sumners	H. 84
	an untruth of sompners	Str.

For a good description of a sompner read the "Frere's Tale" (Chaucer, Cant. Tales). Says the Frere in the Prologue:—

“ I wil you of a sompnour telle a game ;
 Parde, ye may wel knowe by the name,
 That of a sompnour may no good be sayd ;
 I pray that noon of you be evel apayd ;
 A sompnour is a renner up and doun
 With maundementes for fornicacioun,
 And is y-bete at every tounes eende.”

The somnour himself

“ durste not for very filth and schame
 Sayn that he was a sompnour, for the name.”

Untruth certainly seems to have been the chief characteristic.

22. TRADES OR OCCUPATIONS.

a. DOMESTIC.

178.	a Credens of Seweris	A. 1, 140
	a Credens of Seweris	A. 2, 140
	a credence of Sewers	V. 117
	a credence of Sewers	T. 117
	a credence of Sewers	All. 129
	a credence of Sewers	H. 115

A 'company' of sewers, or arrangers of dishes at table.—N.E.D.

“ *Credence* as *creance* . . . also, a taste or essay taken of another man's meat” (Cotgrave). Cowell, “Interpreter,” 1607, says: “I have heard of an old French booke containing the officers of the King of England's Court, as it was anciently governed, that he whom in Court wee now call *Sewar*, was called *Asseour*, which commeth from the French *Asséoir*, to set, settle, or place, wherein his office *in setting down the meat*, is well expressed. And *Sewer* as it signifieth an *officer*, is by Fleta Latined *assessor*, a setter downe, lib. 2, c. 15.” Palsgrave says: “*I sewe* at meate: je taste, and je prends l'*assaye*.” The following is from “Kynge Roberd of Cysille” (Hazlitt's “Rem. Early Pop. Poetry of Eng.,” 1844, p. 276):—

“ Thou schalt ete on the grownde,
 Thyn *assayar* schall be an hownde,
 To *assaye* thy mete before the:
 For thou art a kynge of dygnyte.” (ll. 1735.)

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|------|---------------------------|----------|
| 179. | a Dylygens of Messyngers | Eg. 91 |
| | A Diligens of Messangeris | A. 1, 62 |
| | A Dylygencé of messengers | A. 2, 62 |

A company of messengers.—N.E.D.

One of the sarcastic terms. Even to-day it is not an uncommon thing to see a telegraph-boy possessed of this same diligent spirit.

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|------|-------------------------|----------|
| 180. | a Draught of Buttelerys | Eg. 97 |
| | a Draught of boteleris | A. 1, 65 |
| | a Draught of Buttelers | A. 2, 65 |
| | a draught of butlers | V. 42 |
| | a draught of butlers | T. 42 |
| | a draught of Butlers | All. 36 |
| | a draught of Butlers | H. 42 |
| | a draught of butlers | Str. |

A fanciful name for a company of butlers.—N.E.D.

The butler was the officer responsible for the purveying of "covenable wyne of all kindes" for the king or other great persons; his name is derived from his being in charge of the *buttery* or place where the *butts* of wine were stored. It must not be confused with the French word *bouteille*. In these days wine was stored in the wood; bottles were of much later introduction. The *draught* refers to the wine *drawn* for him to sample, to see if it were good and fit for the use of his master—and himself, without doubt. One of the sarcastic terms. For his official duties see "Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV," 1790, p. 73.

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| 181. | a Hastynes of cookes | S. 106 |
| | a Hastynes of cookes | L. J. 15 |

A fanciful name for a company of cooks.—N.E.D.

Another of the sarcastic terms. When one is in a hurry for something to eat it is well known that it takes the cook about twice as long as usual to get the food ready.

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|------|------------------------|-----------|
| 182. | a Kerffe of Panteresse | Eg. 96 |
| | a Kerff of Panteris | A. 1, 139 |
| | a Kerff of panteres | A. 2, 139 |

a kerfe of panters	V, 116
a kerfe of panters	T, 116
a kerfe of Panters	All. 105
a kerfe of Panters	H, 114

Humorous term for a company of pantrymen.—N.E.D.

Already explained under Skinner's definitions, No. 5, p. 17.

183. a Obedyens of Seruandys	Eg. 93
183a. an Obeisians of seruautis	A. 1, 63
an obeysaunce of seruantis	A. 2, 63
an obeisaunce of seruaūtes	V. 73
an obeisaunce of seruaūtes	T. 73
an obeisaunce of seruants	All. 63
an obeisaunce of seruants	H. 72

Alleged term for a company of servants.—N.E.D.

One of the sarcastic household terms: "I go, sir: and went not" (Matthew xxi, 30).

184. a Preuysyon of Stywardysse	Eg. 94
a preuision of stewardes of hous	A. 1, 138
a prouysion of Steward of hous	A. 2, 138
a preuisiō of steward of hous	V. 115
a prouision of Stewards of houses	All. 104
a prouision of Stewardes of houses	H. 113

'A provision' is the correct term, see the "Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV," 1790, p. 55, for details as to this; the steward of the house, or "Styward of Housholde," as he is therein called, was the chief of the domestic staff. One sentence from the passage will now suffice: "Dicitur itaque *providencia*, id est, *procul videns*, et est ipsa divina ratio in summo omni principe constituta que cuncta disponit." Possibly intended as a sarcastic term. See also "The Book of Curtasye," Sloane MS. 1986, p. 194, ll. 521 et seq. (ed. Furnivall, 1876).

185. a Sauegarde of Porterysse	Eg. 99
a Safegarde of Porteris	A. 1, 142
a Saufgarde of porters	A. 2, 142
a sauegarde of porters	V. 142

a sauegarde of porters	T. 142
a safegard of Porters	All. 127
a safegard of Porters	H. 123
a Safeguard of porters	Str.

This term is probably intended sarcastically or perhaps as a *double entendre*. It may also be pointed out that Higgins mentions in the "Nomenclator," 1585, p. 167, "a kind of aray or attire reaching from the navill downe to the feete, like a woman's safegard, or a bakers."

"A woman's Safegard, Surcot" (Cotgrave). This was a large outer petticoat worn by females when riding to protect them from the dirt (Halliwell). A porter's safegard probably finds its modern equivalent in a large green baize apron.

For the duties of a porter see "Liber Niger," p. 30: "That our saide sonnes porters give good and dilligente attendance to the sure keeping of the gates," etc.; and also p. 239, "Porters at the Gate." Further, see "The Boke of Curtasye," p. 188, ll. 361 et seqq.

186. a Sete of Huscherysse	Eg. 95
a Sete of vssheris	A. 1, 64
a Cete of vssherys	A. 2, 64
a sete of vsshers	V. 74
a sete of vsshers	T. 74
a seate of Ushers	All. 64
a seate of Ushers	H. 73

The usher had his seat at the door of the banqueting hall, but as he was always walking about, showing the guests to their proper places, according to their rank, and afterwards seeing that the dinner was properly served, it was of but little use to him; hence the term is used on the "lucus a non" principle—

"Po vssher alle-way shalle sitt att dore
At mete, and walke schalle on þe flore,
To se þat alle be seruet on ryȝt,
þat is his office be day and nyȝt."

"Boke of Curtasye," Sloane, 1986, 473-6.

187. a Temporans of Cokys	Eg. 98
a Temperans of cokys	A. 1, 67
a Temperaunce of cokys	A. 2, 67

a temperaunce of cookes	V. 44
a temperaunce of cookes	T. 44
a temperance of Cookes	All. 38
a temperance of Cookes	H. 44
a temperance of cooks	Str.

In ancient cookery, tempering apparently meant mixing with some liquid flavouring or menstruum, such as vinegar, verjuice, wine and water, or milk of almonds. In this case a "temporans of cokys" probably is analogous to what we should call the 'heavy hand' in seasoning by our modern cooks, i.e. an injudicious or ill-judged excess. To-day the term might also be used sarcastically, from the not infrequent alcoholic propensities of otherwise first-class cooks.

188. an unbrewyng of Kerueris	A. 1, 141
an Unbrewyng of Keruers	A. 2, 141
an embrewyng of caruers	V. 141
an embrewyng of caruers	T. 141
an embruïng of Caruers	All. 126
an embruïng of Caruers	H. 122

The N.E.D. refers from embrewing to imbruïng, but gives no reference to "*The Book of St. Albans*," and omits giving it as a company.

It means literally making a mess with gravy or sauce. The term refers to careless carvers, splashing the gravy on the cloth whilst carving.

"Enbreme not youre table for þān ye do not ryght,
ne þer-vppōn ye wipe youre knyffes, but ōn youre napkȳn plight."
"Book of Nurture," 22/331-2, 1876 ed.

"Enbreme not the table clothe" ("Book of Keruyng," p. 157, 1876 ed.).

"*S'embruier*, to imbrue, or bedable himself with." (Cotgrave.)

"*Brouet*, potage or broth; also any liquor, podge or sauce, of the thicknesse, or consistence of that whereof our pruíne tarts are made." (Ibid.)

b. INDOOR TRADES OR OCCUPATIONS.

189.	a Disgysyng of Taylours	A. 1, 82
	a Disgysyng of tayllours	A. 2, 82
	a dysgysyng of taylers	V. 91
	a dysgysyng of taylers	T. 91
	a disguising of Tailors	All. 112
	a disguising of Taylers	H. 90
	a disguising of taylers	Str.

An alleged appellation for a company of tailors.—N.E.D.

Refers to the capabilities of tailors in disguising a man, by the means of fine clothes, to look like a gentleman, even though he be not one.

"*What Lord is that (said I) in the Rich Clothes there, and the fine Laces? That Lord (quoth he) is a Taylor, in his Holy-day Clothes; and if he were now upon his Shop-board, his own Scissors and Needles would hardly know him.*" (J. Dodington, "Visions of Quevedo," 1668, p. 89.)

"He that undertakes this strange Journey, lays his first Plot how to be turned into a *brave man*, which he finds can be done by none better than a trusty *Taylor*." ("The Pleasant Art of Money Catching," 5th ed., Glasgow, 1750, chap. ix, "How to travel all *England* over without a Farthing of Money; with an Account of those that have tried the Experiment.")

190.	a Proude shewyng of taloris	A. 1, 66
	a Proude shewyng of taylers	A. 2, 66
	a proude shewig of taylers	V. 43
	a proude shewing of tailers	T. 43
	a proud shewing of Tailors	All. 37
	a proud shewing of Taylers	H. 43

This is in all probability an analogous expression to the "ffelyschyppe of yemen," No.193, q.v. In Riley's Memorials, p. 609, there is a very interesting account of the *yomen tayllours* and their goings on, from which it appears that they annually adopted a livery or suit, when they held their assemblies and 'covins' together, and that further they dwelt "with one another in companies by themselves," and "did hold and inhabit divers dwelling-houses in the City, against the will of their superiors in

the said city, and of the masters of the trade." They had generally misbehaved themselves in an unruly fashion, and in consequence the leaders were brought before the Mayor and Aldermen on April 29, 1415, in the third year of Henry V, and were admonished and put under proper regulations. The details of all this are given, in Latin, in Letter-Book I, fol. cli.

Swainson ("The Folk-Lore of British Birds") says that the name of "Proud Tailor" is given to the goldfinch in the following counties: Derby, Notts, Leicester, Somerset, Northants, Warwick. Probably, then, the livery of the *yomen taillours* was somewhat gay and striking.

191.	a Example of Maisteris	A. 1, 133
	an Example of maysters	A. 2, 133
	an example of masters	V. 110
	an example of maisters	T. 110
	an example of Marters	All. 100
	an example of Marters	H. 109

An alleged designation for a company (of 'masters').—N.E.D.

Probably intended as a sarcastic indication of the example or copy set by the master for others to copy, but to be neglected by himself.

Note that Allde turns the word into *Marters*, and is followed in his error by Helme.

192.	a ffaythe of Marchauntysse	Eg. 92
	a ffayth of marchandys	P. 80
	a faith of Marchandis	A. 1, 137
	a Fayth of marchauntis	A. 2, 137
	a fayth of marchauntes	V. 114
	a fayth of marchauntes	T. 114
	a faith of Marchants	All. 103
	a faith of Marchants	H. 112

An alleged designation for a 'company' of merchants.—N.E.D.

A Faith of merchants does not appear to mean much. This is probably, though not necessarily so, one of the sarcastic terms, and may be in allusion to 'false packing' of goods. There are references in the City records to this practice, and ordinances

against the same; e.g., in the Fishmongers' Ordinances, "Liber Albus" (Rolls Series, i, 378), the following is set forth: "Et qe nulle soit des pessoners si hardi, avauntditz, ne de leur parceners, faucementz a doubler leur panyeres: cestassavoir, mettre al desus panyer un demonstrence de covenable pessoun, et desouthe en les panyers mettre pessoun descovenable de poy de value"; and in the "Skinners' Charter" (Confirmation, 16 Hen. VI, 143 $\frac{1}{2}$) false packing is equally condemned and prohibited.

193.	a ffelyschyppe of yemen	Eg. 29
	a ffeyllschype of youmeyne	P. 23
	a Fellowship of yomen	S. 30
	a ffelishippyng of yomen	A. 1, 21
	a Felyshyppyng of yomen	A. 2, 21
	a feloshyppyng of yemen	V. 31
	a feloshyppyng of yemen	T. 31
	a fellowship of Yemen	All. 25
	a fellowship of Yeomen	H. 31

An alleged proper term for a company of yeomen.—N.E.D.

Those who wish to know exactly what this expression does mean had better consult Riley's "Memorials of London," 1868, pp. 542-4, wherein a translation of a proclamation made in the 20th year of Richard II, A.D. 1396, shows that the "Fellowship of Yemen" was practically the Trades Union Society of sadlers' serving-men, called 'yemen' or 'yomen' in that trade. We learn therefrom how they used to array themselves in a new and like suit once a year, and have a procession on the Feast of the Assumption, (August 15), and march from Stratford, where they assembled, to St. Vedast's in London, to hear Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin; also the inconveniences they caused their masters, and how they formed 'covins,' with the object of unduly raising their wages, and, finally, how deputations of masters and men came before the mayor and aldermen to have their grievances adjusted.

Riley considers that the word *yoman* is not the same as our modern word 'yeoman,' but is probably an abbreviation of the words 'young man,' equivalent to *garcio* or *valettus*.

194.	a Festre of Brweris	A. 1, 155
	a Feest of bruers	A. 2, 155
	a feast of bruers	V. 155

a feast of bruers	T. 155
a feast of Brewers	All. 159
a feast of Brewars	H. 152

Festere is not in the N.E.D.

This word *festere* is mentioned in the "Ordinances and Regulations," 1790, in Henry VII's Articles, etc., 1494, where the following passage is to be found (p. 113):—"Then yee must goe to the servant of the seller [cellar] and warne him to make readie the King's cuppe and the Bishopp's, and as many *festeres* of wine as yee think will serve the people." This was transcribed from the Harl. MS. 642, and on reference the word is found to be written unmistakably *festere* and not *sestere*, and it is probable that a mistranscript has been made. The word is evidently intended for *sestere*, or *sester*, concerning which Bosworth states that it was "a wine or water measure containing 15 pints; used also for grain, a firkin." So that it may have been a measure in common use amongst brewers. Cf. *Amfora*, *sester*, in Ælfrie's Glossary. The following table of measures from the Digby MS. 196 may be of interest:—

Nota quod iij lageni vini faciunt unam cestram.

Et iij cestre & dimidium faciunt j barellum.

Et vij barelli faciunt vnam pipam.

Et due pipe faciunt vnum doleum.

Dr. Furnivall has kindly given me the following references, which clearly show that the *sester* in use amongst brewers was very considerably larger than the one mentioned by Bosworth, so that possibly "a sester of brewers" may have been a well-recognized measure.

1520. "Coventry Leet Book," 675, E.E.T.S., 1909 (*in proof*): "the comyn brewers that brewed do sell and fyll furthe by the *sesters*: the number of the comyn brewers in all the Cytie ys $\frac{xx}{ij}$ viij (68)."

1521. *Ibid.*, p. 678: "and that thei sell xiiij galondes to the sester."

1528. *Ibid.*, p. 696: "that no bruer or other inhabitant of this Citie from hensfurth shall sell eny ale within this Citie by the Cester aboue ijs.; and that they sell xiiij galons to the Cester; and that they that sell ale by the galon, or vnder, sell not aboue the rait of iijd. a galon."

195.	a ffraunch of Mylneris	A. 1, 154
	a Fraunch of myllers	A. 2, 154
	a fraunche of myllers	V. 154
	a fraunche of myllers	T. 154
	a fraunch of Millers	All. 158
	a fraunch of Myllers	H. 151

No reference, although in "The Book of St. Albans."—N.E.D.

There was considerable difficulty in finding anything about this word at all, and it was not until I chanced to find the phrase quoted below in Horman's "Vulgaria" (Richard Pynson, 1519), f. 39*b*, that any light could be thrown on this expression. Horman says—

"He is euer fraunchynge.
Peredia deditus est."

Fraunching evidently means 'an insatiable appetite,' and hence is applied to the miller metaphorically from the manner in which he, that is by means of his mill, is everlastingly eating up corn, and is, of course, never satisfied, but always hungry for more corn to eat, i.e. to grind.

196.	a Goryng of Bochouris	A. 1, 156
	a Gorynge of bouchers	A. 2, 156
	a goryng of buchers	V. 156
	a goryng of buchers	T. 156
	a goring of Buchers	All. 141
	a goring of Butchers	H. 153

An alleged name for a company of butchers.—N.E.D.

This expression may be taken literally, that is, that the characteristic of this trade is the gore or blood which spatters their clothes, of necessity from the nature of their occupation in those days, when butchers always 'killed' themselves, and did not have to rely on Smithfield Market.

197.	a Misbeleue of paynteris	A. 1, 147
	a Mysbyleue of paynters	A. 2, 147
	a mysbeleue of paynters	V. 147
	a mysbeleue of paynters	T. 147
	a misbeleef of Painters	All. 151
	a Misbeleuee of Painters	H. 128

An alleged term for a company of painters.—N.E.D.

This refers to a painter making a portrait more beautiful than it ought to be; he 'misbelieves' that the person is ugly, and accordingly makes the features of the sitter appear on the canvas as quite good-looking, which pleases the latter, who thinks what a fine artist he has been sitting for.

198.	A skoldyng of kemyssteris	P. 105
	a Scolding of kēpsters	S. 93
	a Scolding of kēpsters	L. J. 2
	a Scoldyng of kemsteris	A. 1, 149
	a Scoldyng of kempters	A. 2, 149
	a skolding of kemsters	V. 149
	a skolding of kemsters	T. 149
	a scolding of gamsters	All. 153
	a scolding of Gamesters	H. 130

Apparently an allusion to the tempers of the female wool-combers; anyhow it is not a scolding of 'gamesters' as Allde and Helme have it in their lists.

199.	A Squat of dawberis	P. 98
	a squatte of Dawberis	A. 1, 74
	a squatte of dawbers	A. 2, 74
	a squat of daubers	V. 51
	a squat of daubers	T. 51
	a squat of Daubers	All. 76
	A squat of Dawbers	H. 51

The daubers were those who filled in the timber frames of houses with 'daub,' which was a sort of clay or cement mixture: those who are familiar with a 'half-timbered house' will understand what is meant. Daubers were a recognized trade, and in Riley's Memorials, 1868, p. 254, may be found a proclamation regulating the price of their labour in the City of London, in the year 1350. Ray (1st ed., 1684) gives as a South Country word, "To Squat: to bruise or make flat by letting fall: active, *Suss.*" The word is given as being in use in W. D. Cooper's "Sussex Glossary" of 1853. Anyone who has seen the peculiar movement that a bricklayer employs to make the mortar fall flat from his trowel when laying bricks will realize what a *squat* of daubers is. [This is equally an outdoor trade or occupation.]

200.	a Tabernacle of bakers	A. 1, 80
	a Tabernacle of bakers	A. 2, 80
	a tabernacle of bakers	V. 89
	a tabernacle of bakers	T. 89
	a tabernacle of Bakers	All. 110
	a tabernacle of Bakers	H. 88

In the "Nomenclator," ed. 1585, p. 287, amongst other translations of *tabernacula* is given "little shops made of boords." Perhaps the bakers used these as their stalls in various markets to display and sell their wares, not being allowed to sell their bread at the bakehouse. "And that no baker shall sell bread before his oven, but [only] in the market of his lordship the King. And if anyone is found selling in his house, he shall be amerced in the sum of forty shillings" (*Temp.* Edw. I, fol. 199a, Liber Albus).

201.	a Worshop of Writeris	A. 1, 152
	a Worshyp of wryters	A. 2, 152
	a Worshyp of wryters	V. 152
	a Worshyp of wryters	T. 152
	a worshop of Writers	All. 156
	A worshop of writers	H. 133

The following quotation from Warton's *History of English Poetry* will perhaps best indicate what is meant here:—"It was now a common practice, by these unpoetical and empty panegyrics, to attempt to conciliate the attention, and secure the protection, of the great, without which it was supposed to be impossible for any poem to struggle into celebrity. . . . And not to multiply more instances, Spenser in compliance with a disgraceful custom, or rather in obedience to the established tyranny of patronage, prefixed to the *Fairy Queene* fifteen of these adulatory pieces which in every respect are to be numbered among the meanest of his compositions" (iii, pp. 444-5, ed. 1781, 4to).

c. INNKEEPERS, ETC.

202.	a Glosynge of Tauernerysse	Eg. 105
	a Glosyng of tauerners	S. 91
	a Glosyng of Tauerneris	A. 1, 71
	a Glosynge of tauerners	A. 2, 71

a glosyng of tauerners	V. 48
a glosyng of tauerners	T. 48
a glosing of Tauerners	All. 42
a glosing of Tauerners	H. 48

An alleged term for a company of taverners.—N.E.D.

“GLOSYNGE, or flaterynge, Adulacio” (Pr. Parv.). This refers to flattery or adulation of the tavern-keeper to induce his visitors to come again.

203. a Lawghtur of Ostylersse	Eg. 103
A Lav;ttur of hostelers	P. 103
a Lawfter of hostelers (misprint f for f)	S. 90
a Laughtre of Osteloris	A. 1, 70
a Laughtre of ostelers	A. 2, 70
a laughter of ostlers	V. 47
a laughter of ostlers	T. 47
a laughter of Ostlers	All. 41
A laughter of Ostlers	H. 47

An alleged name for a company of ostlers.—N.E.D.

This is not a laughter of *ostlers* in the sense of to-day, but of *hostelers*, i.e. those who kept hostels or inns; the expression simply refers to the joviality of “mine host.”

204. a Promys of tapsterysse	Eg. 104
A Prōmes of tappestrs	P. 104
a Promesse of tapsters	S. 92
a Promesse of tapsters	L. J. 1
a Promyse of Tapsteris	A. 1, 145
a Promyse of tapsters	A. 2, 145
a promyse of tapsters	V. 145
a promyse of tapsters	T. 145
a promise of Tapsters	All. 149
A promise of Tapsters	H. 126

Refers to the usual habit of tapsters or wine-drawers, who say that they are “coming now, sir,” when they have every intention of attending to about a dozen other thirsty souls first.

“The oath of a lover is no stronger than the word of a tapster” (“As You Like It,” Act iii, sc. 4).

d. SHOEMAKERS, ETC.

205.	a Blecche of sowters	S. 101
	a Blecche of sowters	L. J. 10
	a Bleche of sowters	A. 1, 83
	a Bleche of sowters	A. 2, 83
	a bleche of souters	V. 92
	a bleche of souters	T. 92
	a bleach of Souters	All. 113
	a bleach of Souters	H. 1

The term for a company of sutors.—N.E.D.

The "Blecche of sowters" was a kind of ink, used at the present day, with which the edges of the soles and the heels were blackened. *Blæc*, ink, atramentum (Bosworth-Toller). The mod. Icel. *blek*, n. ink, Swed. *blåk*, Dan. *blæk*, come from *blakkr*, corresponding to Lat. *atramentum* (Cleasby-Vigfusson, 1869, p. 67). The Pr. Parv. gives "BLEKE (blecke, P.), Atramentum." Way's footnote: "Horman says Wrytters ynke shulde be fyner than blatche, atramentum scriptorium lectius esset sutoris." "Bleche for souters, attrament noyr" (Palsgrave).

206.	a Smere of coryers	S. 102
	a Smere of coryers	L. J. 11
	a Smere of Coryouris	A. 1, 84
	a Smere of coryours	A. 2, 84
	a smere of coryours	V. 93
	a smere of coryours	T. 93
	a smere of Curriers	All. 114
	a smere of Curriours	H. 92

Refers to the manner in which curriers prepare the skins; already dealt with amongst Skinner's definitions, *vide* p. 27.

207.	a Plocke of Shoturneris	A. 1, 158
	a Plocke of shoturners	A. 2, 158
	a plucke of shooturners	V. 158
	a plucke of shooturners	T. 158
	a pluck of Shooturners	All. 143
	a plucke of Shooturners	H. 155

The word *plocke* is not given in the N.E.D. as a company term, or otherwise. *Pluck* is not given as a 'company,' although in "The Book of St. Albans."

A *pflocke* is apparently an obsolete term for a wooden peg, such as is used by shoemakers: the word survives in modern German as *Pflock*. "*Pflock*, m. kurzes spitzes Stück Holz, Holznagel; spät. mnd. *pfloc* und *pflocke*, wohl aus dem gleichbed. mnd. *pluck* und *plock* eingedrungen, dunkeln Ursprungs: . . . Bei den Schustern *pflocke* die kleinen hölzernen Nägel zu den Sohlen" (Moriz Heyne, "Deutsches Wörterbuch," 1892). "*Pflock*. [mndd. *pluck*] 2. Holznagel, peg, wooden pin. *Pflock-ahle* (Schuhm.), pegging awl" (Muret-Sanders, "Encycl. Wörterb. Engl. u. Deutsch. Sprache").

Shoturners are clearly shoemakers who make what are known as 'turned' shoes, i.e. those in which the 'upper' is sewn directly to the sole, there being no 'welt,' or 'insole': the shoe is made inside out and then 'turned.'

208.	a Trynkette of cordwaners	S. 100
	a Trynkette of cordwaners	L. J. 9
209.	a Trynket of Corueseris	A. 1, 157
	a Trynket of coruesers	A. 2, 157
	a trynket of coruysers	V. 157
	a trynket of coruysers	T. 157
	a trinket of Coruisers	All. 142
	A Trinket of Coruisers	H. 154

"Trynket, a cordwayners toole, *baton a tourner soulies*, s.ma." (Palsgrave). "Trenchet de cordouännier. A Shoemakers cutting knife" (Cotgrave). Palsgrave seems to have got his explanation wrong—the *baton a tourner soulies* is what the 'shoturner' would use; but trynket = trenchet = tranchette, from *trancher*, to cut.

210.	a Dronkship of Coblers	A. 1, 159
	a Dronkshyp of coblers	A. 2, 159
	a dronkshyp of coblers	V. 159
	a dronkshyp of coblers	T. 159
	a dronken ship of Coblers	All. 144
	A dronken ship of Coblers	H. 156
	a dronkshyp of coblers	Str.

Drunkship.—*A drunken company*.—N.E.D.

This is not a company of drunken cobblers, but only a habit that to this day is too prevalent amongst this class of workmen. Gower, speaking of the vices that spring from original sin, says—

“Whereof the first is dronkeship
Whiche beareth the cuppe felawship.”

Conf. Am., lib. vii.

“Drunkechepe, *ebrietas, vinolencia.*”

Harl. MS. 1002, f. 173*b*.

These are Way's footnotes to “DRUNKESHEPE, *Ebrietas*,” in the Pr. Parv. Notice Allde's subdivision of the word, which was religiously copied by Helme, “A dronken ship of Coblers.”

“One other mate she hath, called Dronkenesse,
A bibbing swilbowle and a bowzing gull,
Which neuer drinks but with excessiuenesse,
And drinkes so long vtill her paunch is full;
She drinkes as much as she can well containe,
Which being voyded, then she drinkes againe.”

John Lane, “Tom Tel-Troths Message,” 1600, ll. 613–18;
p. 131, Dr. Furnivall's ed., N.S.S., 1876.

e. OUTDOOR OCCUPATIONS.

211.	a Blaste of Huntersse	Eg. 101
	a Blast of hunteris	A. 1, 143
	a Blaste of hunters	A. 2, 143
	a blast of hunters	V. 143
	a blast of hunters	T. 143
	a blast of Hunters	All. 128
	A blast of Hunters	H. 124

A company of huntsmen.—N.E.D.

The blowing of the horn was a most important part of a hunter's duties; the blasts on the horn were not made at haphazard, but were on a par with signals made by buglers. “The true measures of blowing” were carefully laid down, and as equally carefully obeyed. The following quotation from “The Booke of Hunting,” 1611, will illustrate this: “And if any of them chance to find where he [i.e. the Hart] hath lept or gone, he shal put his hound to it whouping twice, or blowing two motts with his horne, to call in his fellowes and to cause the rest of the kennel to approche”

(p. 87). It should also be noted that huntsman is not essentially a synonym for a hunter. The huntsman was the attendant or man of 'the hunt,' or as we should correspondingly say nowadays, the head gamekeeper. These offices used to be kept up by the Corporation of the City of London, who had their 'common hunt' and the 'common hunt's man.'

212. a Bost of sovdears	P. 90
a Boste of souldyours	S. 88
a Boost of saudrouris	A. 1, 69
a Boste of sadyours	A. 2, 69
a boste of souldyours	V. 46
a boste of souldiours	T. 46
a boste of Souldiours	All. 40
a hoste of Souldiours	H. 46

Not given as a company term in the N.E.D.

"Bost (boost, P.) Jactancia, arrogancia, ostentacio." (Pr. Parv.)

"If you be a soldier, talk how often you have been in action ; as the Portugal voyage, the Cales voyage, the Island voyage ; beside some eight or nine employments in Ireland, and the Low Countries : then you may discourse how honourably your Grave used you ; (observe that you call your Grave Maurice 'your Grave') how often you have drunk with Count such a one, and such a Count on your knees to your Grave's health ; and let it be your virtue to give place neither to S. Kynoch, nor to any Dutchman whatsoever in the seventeen provinces, for that soldier's complement of drinking. And, if you perceive that the untravelled company about you take this down well, ply them with more such stuff, as ; how you have interpreted between the French king and a great lord of Barbary, when they have been drinking healths together : and that will be an excellent occasion to publish your languages, if you have them ; if not, get some fragments of French, or small parcels of Italian, to fling about the table : but beware how you speak any Latin there ; your ordinary most commonly hath no more to do with Latin, than a desperate town of garrison hath." ("The Gull's Hornbook," T. Decker, 1609 ; J. M. Gutch's Reprint, Bristol, 1812 ; ch. v, "How a Gallant should behave Himself in an Ordinary.")

Note Helme's mistake, *hoste* for *boste*.

213.	a Drifte of fishers	A. 1, 81
	a Dryfte of fysshers	A. 2, 81
	a dryft of fysshers	V. 90
	a dryft of fysshers	T. 90
	a drift of fishers	All. 111
	a drift of Fishers	H. 89

A fanciful name for a company of fishers.—N.E.D.

A *drift* was the name for the recognized fishing-ground of a fisherman, as is shown by the following quotation from "Lex Londinensis, or The City Law," 1680, p. 205. In the section devoted to "The Court of Conservary for the River of Thames" are printed the "Orders devised and agreed upon by the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Ducie* Knight and Baronet, Lord Major of the City of *London*, and Conservator of the River of *Thames* and Waters of *Medway* for the preservation of the brood and Fry of Fish within the West part of the said River as followeth.

12. Item, That no Fisher-man or other shall presume to take up any Rack or Drifith upon the water of *Thames*, without notice given thereof to the Water-Bailiff, or his Substitute, within convenient time, he satisfying him for his pains as shall be reasonable and thought fitting; nor shall conceal and keep secret the said Rack or Drifith from the said Water-Bailiff, to the end that such order and care may be taken therein as hath been accustomed, according to the Laws and Ordinances ordained for the preservation of the said River upon like payment and penalty."

Sir Robert Ducie, or Ducy, a 'Merchant-Taylor,' was Lord Mayor in 1630, having been created a Baronet November 28 in the previous year by Charles I.

The word *rack*, mentioned above as a synonym for a *drifith*, is the same as the Scottish word *raik*, which occurs in the printed copy of the "Acta Auditorum, 19^o Maii, 1491" (p. 158)—

"The Lordes Auditors & Consale decrettis & deliueris that the aldermen bailyeis consale & commite of Abirdene sall kepe & werrand to Maister andro Caidiow & his assignais ane half net of the Raik aponne the watters of Lee & the fishing of the samyn with the pertinentis efter the forme of the assedatione maid to the said maister andro & his assignayis," etc.

For other references *vide* Jamieson, 1880, iii, 606.

214.	A Lache of carttars	P. 97
	a Lasshe of cartars	S. 99
	a Lasshe of carters	L. J. 8
	a Lash of Carteris	A. 1, 148
	a Lasshe of carters	A. 2, 148
	a lasshe of carters	V. 148
	a lasshe of carters	T. 148
	a lash of Carters	All. 152
	A lash of Carters	H. 129

An alleged name for a company of carters.—N.E.D.

An ordinary characteristic of carters.

“Wheels clash with wheels, and bar the narrow street;
The lashing whip resounds.”

(Gay's “*Trivia*.”)

215.	a Stalke of fostersse	Eg. 100
	a Stalke of fosteris	A. 1, 68
	a Stalke of fosters	A. 2, 68
	a Stalke of fosters	V. 45
	a stalke of fosters	T. 45
	a stalke of Fosters	All. 39
	A stalke of Fosters	H. 45
	a stalk of foresters	Str.

The characteristic occupation of a forester, viz. ‘stalking’ a hart.

216.	a Tharfe of threysschars	P. 96
217.	a Thraue of thresshers	S. 98
	a Thraue of thresshers	L. J. 7
	a Thraue of Throscheris	A. 1, 73
	a Thraue of throsshers	A. 2, 73
	a thraue of thresshers	V. 50
	a thraue of thresshers	T. 50
	a thraue of Threshers	All. 75
	A thraue of Threshers	H. 50

Already mentioned in Skinner's definitions, No. 23, *vide* p. 31.

218.	a Waywardnes of haywardes	A. 1, 151
	a Waywardnes of haywardes	A. 2, 151
	a waiwardnes of haiwards	V. 151
	a waiwardnes of haiwards	T. 151
	a waywardnes of haiward	All. 155
	a waywardnesse of Hawards	H. 132

This term *waywardnes* is probably only used because 'wayward' rhymes with 'hayward.' Huloet, 1552, gives "waywardnes, *morositas*," to which Higgin, in the 1572 edition, adds, "Malaisance a contenter." Sherwood, 1650, translates it by "morosité, protervie," whilst for *haiward*, *hayward*, or *haward*, he gives "Qui garde (en commun) tout le bestiail d'un bourg, ou bourgade." Way (Pr. Parv., p. 234) quotes Bishop Kennett's observations that there were two kinds of *agellarii*, the common herd-ward of a town or village, called *bubuleus*, who overlooked the common herd and kept it within bounds; and the heyward of the lord of the manor, or religious house, who was regularly sworn at the court, took care of the tillage, paid the labourers, and looked after trespasses and encroachments; he was termed fields-man or tithing-man, and his wages in 1425 were a noble. Doubtlessly his duties, as representing the lord as against the villagers, would lead him to *morositas* or *malaisance à contenter*; such a man, from the very nature of his occupation, could not be popular.

f. VAGRANTS, ROGUES, MUSICIANS, ETC.

"Item. pur eschuir pluseurs diseases et meschiefs qont advenuz devant ces heures en la terre de Gales, par pluseurs westours, rymours, ministrax, et autres vacabondes, ordeignez est," etc. (Stat. 4 Hen. IV, c. 27.)

219.	A ffy;ttynge of beggars	P. 106
	a Fighting of beggers	S. 94
	a Fighting of beggers	L. J. 3
	a Fightyng of beggers	A. 1, 75
	a Fyghtynge of beggers	A. 2, 75
	a fyghtyng of beggers	V. 52
	a fyghtyng of beggers	T. 52
	a fighting of Beggers	All. 77

A fighting of Beggars H. 52

a fighting of beggars Str.

An alleged designation for a company of beggars.—N.E.D.

Probably this word is not 'fighting,' but Fytōn' or lesynge (fycōn', K.; fyttyn, S.; fytn, P.); mendacium, mendaciolum (Cath.); *Fythen*, mensonge (Palsgrave); Prompt. Parv., Way.

The characteristic of beggars is their lying tales in the hope of obtaining charity.

220. A Mallapertnys of pedlers	P. 101
a Malepertnes of pedleres	A. 1, 72
a Malepertnesse of pedlers	A. 2, 72
a malepertnes of pedlers	V. 49
a malepertnes of pedlers	T. 49
a malepertnes of Pedlers	All. 43
A malepertnes of Pedlers	H. 49
a malepertness of pedlers	Str.

No reference to A. 1.—N.E.D.

A roguery of pedlars—

"*Malapart*, Mal appris, mieure, rogue."

"*Mieure*, malapert, outrageous, ever doing one mischief."

Cotgrave.

"These Swadders and Pedlars be not all evil, but of an indifferent behaviour . . . they are well worthy to be registered among the number of vagabonds." (Harman's "Caveat for Cursetors," 1573, cap. xiv, Hindley's repr., 1871.)

221. a Melody of Harpers	A. 1, 77
a Melody of Harpers	A. 2, 77
a melody of harpers	V. 86
a melody of harpers	T. 86
a melodie of Harpers	All. 107
A melodie of Harpers	H. 85
a melody of harpers	Str.

A pretended name for a company of harpers.—N.E.D.

A sarcastic term, on the *locus a non* principle. From its being usually played by blind men, "as blind as a harper" became proverbial (see Lily's "Sappho and Phao," 1591); and the phrase "blind harper" a term of general ridicule and contempt. (J. Ritson, *Anc. Songs and Ballads*, 1829, i, lvii.)

"BLIND-HARPERS, Canters, who counterfeit Blindness, strowe about with Harps, Fiddles, Bagpipes, etc., led by a Dog or Boy."—*Coll. Cant Words*, Bailey's *Dict.*, 1737, vol. ii.

222.	A Neuertreyuyng of jovghelars	P. 99
	a Neuerthriuyng of Jogoleris	A. 1, 153
	a neuerthriuyng of Jogolers	A. 2, 153
	a neuerthryuyng of iuglers	V. 153
	a neuerthryuing of iuglers	T. 153
	a neuerthriuing of Juglers	All. 157
	A neuer thriuing of Juglers	H. 134

Never-thriving, a thriftless pack.—N.E.D.

"*Neuer to thryue, Frugem non facere, Nunquam rem facere.*" (Huloet, 1552.)

Jongleurs or jugglers come under the category of minstrels.

223.	a Powertte of harppers	P. 100
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Probably a confusion of the copyist between a melody of harpers and the next term, a poverty of pipers.

224.	a Pauerty of pypers	A. 1, 78
	a Pouerty of pypers	A. 2, 78
	a pouerty of pypers	V. 87
	a pouertie of pypers	T. 87
	a Pouertie of Pipers	All. 108
	a pouertie of Pipers	H. 86
	a poverty of pipers	Str.

Alleged name for a company of pipers.—N.E.D.

Nowadays, as formerly, the 'out-of-work' occasionally scrapes up enough money to buy a 'penny whistle' and make so-called 'music' in the streets.

225.	A Rafulle of enavys	P. 94
	a Rafull of knaues	S. 97
	a Rafull of knaues	L. J. 6
	a Rafull of knaays	A. 1, 88
	a Rafull of knaues	A. 2, 88
	a rafull of knaues	V. 97
	a rafull of knaues	T. 97
	a raufull of Knaues	All. 87
	A raufull of Knaues	H. 96
	a rayful (that is, a netful) of knaves	Str.

A rabble.—N.E.D.

Already explained in Skinner's definitions, p. 34.

226.	A Skolke of thewys	P. 92
	A sculke of theuys	Harl. 2, 32
	A sculke of Thewes	R. G. 34
	A skulke of thefes	D. 34.
	a Skulk of theeves	L. 34
	a Skulke of theues	S. 72
	a Skulke of Theuys	A. 1, 110
	a Skulke of theuys	A. 2, 110
	a skulke of theues	V. 120
	a sculke of theues	T. 120
	a skulk of thieves	Str.

Occurs in the lists in company—

“a skolke of freris/
a skolke of thewys/
a skolke of foxys.” (P. MS. 10.)

Each 'skolke' conveying a similar, if not identical notion, that of a furtive prowling around (*vide* Skinner's definitions, Nos. 14, 15).

227.	a Wonderyng of Tynkeris	A. 1, 150
	a Wondrynge of Tynkers	A. 2, 150
	a Wondering of tynkers	V. 150
	a wondering of tynkers	T. 150
	a wundring of tincars	All. 154
	a wondring of Tinckers	H. 131
	a wandering of tinkers	Str.

This is not a 'wondering' but a 'wandering' of tinkers. Harman ("Caveat for Cursetors") says: "These drunken Tinkers called also Prigs, be beastly people, and these young knaves be the worst" (chap. xii, 1573).

23. SUNDRIES.

228. a Glorifieng of lyers	S. 104
a Glorifieng of lyers	L. J. 13

An alleged term for a company of liars.—N.E.D.

"*Se glorifier.* To vaunt, crack, brag, boast of his owne acts, to commend or magnifie himselfe" (Cotgrave). The characteristic of this tribe.

229. A Dysworschype of stottys	P. 107
a Disworship of stottes	S. 95
a Disworship of stottes	L. J. 4
a Disworship of Scottis	A. 1, 164
a Dysworschyp of scottes	A. 2, 164
a disworship of scottes	V. 140
a disworshyp of scottes	T. 140
a disworship of Scots	All. 125
A disworship of Scots	H. 150

Alleged term for a company of Scots.—N.E.D.

This term is given in the Porkington MS. and the two Caxton lists as "a Dysworschype of stottys" or "stottes." The St. Albans printer has printed it 'Scottis,' and has been followed by the other printers or compilers. "A *stot*: a young bullock or steer" (Ray's "Collection of English Words," Northern Counties, 1st ed., 1674). The phrase is in allusion to "Plough Monday," the first Monday after Twelfth Day, when some twenty men yoked themselves with ropes to the plough, instead of harnessing the *stots* or plough-bullocks, and with much festivity went round collecting money and refreshment, but if none were forthcoming they forthwith ploughed up the ground in front of the house of its owner who had denied them 'largess,' no matter what his rank or station. This, then, is the *disworship* = disrespect of stots. A Lincolnshire correspondent says, in Chambers' "Book of Days," 1863, i, 95, that "No doubt they [i.e. the men] were called 'plough bullocks,' i.e. stots. This solution satisfactorily

unravels the mystery of "a disworship of Scots." See also Dr. J. Charles Cox's ed. Strutt's "Sports and Pastimes," 1903, p. 274; Brand's "Pop. Antiq.," i, 280; and Wright's Dialect Dict. under 'plough-bullock.'

The word 'disworship' is not given in many dictionaries, but it occurs in the 2nd ed. of Rider's Dict., ed. by Fras. Holy-oke, 1612—

To disworship, *Dehonesto*, vide dishonour.

To dishonour. 1. *Dehonesto*, *dehonor*. 2. *Traduco*, *dedecoro*, vide to disgrace.

To disgrace. 1. *Dehonesto*. 2. *Dedecoro*, *deturpo*, *deformo*, *spurco*, *inquino*,

And Adelong gives: *Dehonestare*, probro officere.

The general meaning therefore appears to be doing something disrespectful, or offering some indignity or dishonour to a person—in fact, showing the reverse of 'worship'—and would therefore seem to fit in excellently with the 'disworship' shown by the 'Stots' to those who refused them their customary 'largess.'

If the B. of St. Albans reading be correct, though to me this seems hardly probable in view of the Porkington MS. reading being confirmed by two separate Caxton lists, the "disworship of Scots" would naturally refer to the ill-feeling between the English and Scottish peoples which was rife at the period of these lists. An excellent illustration of this is given in the quotation from Laurence Minot's "Bannoeburn," in Warton's Hist. Eng. Poetry, sect. xliii.

The following from Andrew Borde's "Fyrst Book of the Introduction of Knowledge," edited by Dr. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., 1870, further exemplify this feeling: Letter vi, Leith, April 1, 1536 (p. 59): "Shortly to conclude, trust yow no Skott, for they wyll yowse flatteryng wordes, & all ys fal[s]hoede." See also ch. iv, "Of Scotland and the naturall disposycyon of a Scotyshe man." Dr. Furnivall adds the following quotation in a footnote: "And it is said that a Scot will prove false to his Father and dissemble with his Brother" (John Taylor, "Christmas in and out," 1652, p. 9). Borde (p. 149) says of the Amsterdam-ers: "They be gentyll people, but they do not fauer Skottyshe men." Eg. MS., 650, f. 45, says: "And all the world spake of the wykkydnesse that thai (the Scottes) diddyn throghe Crystendome."

¶ Lerne or be lewde.

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APPENDIX.

Excerpts containing Proper Terms from—

1. NOMINALE SIVE VERBALE (Skeat).
2. FEMINA MS. (Trin. Coll. Lib., Cambridge).
3. TREATISE OF WALTER DE BIBBESWORTH (Wright).

1. FROM NOMINALE SIVE VERBALE, ed. by the Rev. Professor Skeat, Litt.D., Philological Society's Transactions, 1906.

ll. 423-7, p. 14.

Assemble de gentz proprement.

Parlement de Roys		Conseil de Euesques
Assemble de Countes		Brut de Barons
Aray de Chiualers		Route de Esquiers
Frape de Clerz		Compaignie de damys
Lure de puclz	Route de Burges	Route de Ribaudes

ll. 762-74, p. 23.

Cy orrez assemble de bestes.

Vn herde de cerfs	A herde of hertes
Vn herde de deymes	A herde of bukkys
Vn soundre de porks	A hep of swyn
Vn pastroil dez asnes	A hep of asses
Vn pastroil de mules	A hep of mulus
Vn route de boefs	A drofe of oxoue
Vn gurdei de vaches	A hep of kyne
Vn gurdei de veels	A hep of calfryn
Vn harasse de poleyns	A stode of coltes
Vn tripe de berbys	A trip of schepe
Vn loreie de purceles	A hep of gris
Vn mute de chiens	A mute of houndes
Vn lesse de leuerers	A lesse of grehoundes

ll. 822-35, p. 25.

Congregacio Auium.

Vn herde de grues	A flok of cranes
Vn herde de gryues	A flok of feldefares
Vn beuee de herouns	A hep of schiterowys
Vn Ny de fesauntz	A hep of fesaundes
Vn Couee de perdyz	A couee of pertrichez

Vn dameye de alowes	A damey of larkes
Vn cumpanye de owes	A cumpanye of gees
Vn grele de gelyns	A floe of hennes
Vn pipe de oysealx	A pipe of briddus
Vn volee de columbes	A flite of dowes
Vn tourbe de cercels	A hep of telus
Vn sondre de estournels	A hep of sterlingges
Vn iaroil de anes	A hepe of dokes
Vn lure de faucouns	A lure of faucouns

Note by Professor Skeat.—On the back of fol. 208 occurs a piece written at the same time or very soon afterwards, which relates to the 14th year of Edward III (1340–1). This may perhaps indicate the date, viz. about A.D. 1340. There are several pieces in the same hand, and the scribe was probably a professional scrivener, whose business was to make copies. Perhaps we may conclude that this Nominale here exists in a copy made about 1340 from an older one, possibly of the thirteenth century.

2. From the MS. called FEMINA. No. B. 14. 40, in the Trinity College Library, Cambridge (A.D. 1420).

Fol. 88. *Capitulum primum docet rethorice loqui de assimilitudine bestiarum.*

Fol. 88b. Primez ou ceruez sount^a asemble
Vn herde donque est^b appelle

Fyrst when hertez beþ assembled
And herde þanne hyt ys appeled

5 Dez grues ensy vn herde
Et dez grüez sanz .h. erde

Of cranes also an herde
And of feldfares *with* oute .h. erde

Nye dez fesauntez coueye dez perdryz

10 Dame dez alowez trippe dez brebyz
A nye of fesautes a coueye of perdryz
A dame of larkes a trippe of shep
Soundre dez porks^c & esturnyz^d
Deueye¹ dez heronez & pipe de oseaux.

Fol. 89. 15 A sondre of hogges & of stares
A deueye of herones a pipe of bryddys

¹ Probably a scribal error for Beueye.

^a sount cum .v. ^b eet ^c pors ^d eturnyz

- Greyle dez geleynez turbe dez cerceies*^a
Lure de ffaukones & puselez
 A *greyle* of hennes a turbe of teles
 20 A lure of ffaukones & damezelez
Eschele^b dit *homme* en batayle
Fusoun dit *homme* de vyf amayle
 An ost sayþ aman in batayle
Fusoun seyþ man of quyk bestayle
 25 Haraz dit *homme* dez poleynez
Folye dit *homme* dez vileynez
Haras seyþ man of coltys
Foleye seyþ man of chorlys
Summe du ble *summe* du bienez
 30 Mace dargent fume dez fuez
Summe of corun *summe* of goud
Mas of seluer fume of fier
Mut dez chiens^c en *venerie*
Et de corner *apres*^d vous^e die
 35 A mut of houndez in *venerie*
 And *after* to blowe y shal say
Mut dez chiens vous dirrez
Quater vint *Racchez* ensemble couplez //deux^f & deux//¹
 Fol. 89b. A mut of houndes ꝑe shul say
 40 xxiiij *Racchez* y coupled to gedere
Vn lese dez leuerers est *g* nome
Quaunt *treis* en lese sount ensemble
 A lese of *grehoundes* ys y named
 When .iiij. en lese beþ to gedere
 45 Et vn *bras* est dez leuerers
Quaunt deux^h en lese sount entiersⁱ
 And a *bras* of *grehoundes* ys
 When ij en lese beþ to gedere
Brut dez barones doit *homme* nomer
 50 *Frap* des clerkes^j & *droit* deuer

¹ ? Intended for transposition, i.e. ensemble deux & deux couplez.

^a cercelez ^b echele ^c chein *secundum* parisium chan ^d apre
^e voy ^f deus ^g eet ^h deus ⁱ enters ^j clers

A brut of barones shal *man* name
 A ffrap of clerkes *with ryjt* deure
 Aray dit homme dez *chiualers*
 Route dit homme dez *esquiers* *

55 Aray seyþ *man* of kny;ttytys
 A Route seyþ *man* of *squiers*

NOTE.—This list is printed in Hicckes' "Thesaurus," vol. i, p. 154, but in a very incorrect manner; I sent the list to W. W. Greg, Esq., the Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was kind enough to correct the same.

This is now printed from his corrections.

3. From the TREATISE OF WALTER DE BIBBESWORTH, end of thirteenth century. [A volume of Vocabularies; ed. by Thomas Wright, 1857, vol. i, pp. 150, 151.]

(The glosses in English are given in this type, over the words in French as they are given in the MS. Glosses in parentheses from a MS. in the public Library of the University of Cambridge.)

Cher enfaunt, ore entendet,
 Après dyner ke cy orrez,
 De checune ^{gadering} assemblé diversement
 Vus covent parler proprement.

^{herdes}
 Primes ou cerfs sunt ensemblez,
 Une herde est appelez;
^{crany}
 De grues une herde;
^{feldefaris}
 E de gryves saunz .h. erde,

5 Nyee¹ de fesaunz, cové de pertrys,
 Une damé des allouues,² trippe de berbiz,
^{sterlinges}
 Soundre de porks et d'estourneus,
^(smale briddes)
 Bevée des heyrouns, pipée des oyseuz,
^(coltes) ^(cherfes)
 Haras des poleyns, une foule de vileyns,

10 Route de boufs, moute de chennos,
^{mochil} ^(mork)
 Masse de argent, femyr de feus,
^{teles}
 Grelée de gelyns, turbe de cercels,
 Eschele de batayle, lure de pucels,³
^{huting}
 Kar pucele seet saun juper

* equers oþer *esquiers* qua fert *scutum*

15 Les gentifs faucouns alurer.
 De dames diret la companye,⁴
 Des ouues aussi la companye.⁵
 Ceuz deus sunt asociez,
 Quele est la resoun ore eliset.

Wright's Notes to p. 151.

1. *Nike*, MS. Sl. *nyne*, a marginal reading in the Arundel MS.
2. *Damoye des aloues*, MS. Sl.; *alouues*, with gloss *larkes*, MS. Camb.
3. The Arundel MS. gives as a reading, or explanation in the margin, *lure de faucouns*.
4. The Sloane MS. inserts before this line one which has no corresponding rhyme—

Fuyson dist homme de vif aumaile

The Arundel MS. also gives the words *fuyson de vif aumayle* in the margin.

5. The Arundel MS. gives in the margin *une jangle*, perhaps as another term for a company of ladies.

[The following from "Nominale," Skeat, p. 25, explains the reference to *jangle*:—

Owe iangle	Goos crekith
Iarce agrule	Gandre gagoluth.]

INDICES TO THE APPENDIX.

I. FRENCH PHRASES ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

[B. = Bibbesworth; F. = Femina MS.; N. = Nominale (Skeat).]

Aray de chiualers	N. 425	Herde de gryues	N. 823
Aray dez chiualers	F. 53	Iaroil de anes	N. 834
Assemble de Countes	N. 424	Lese dez leuevers	F. 41
Beuee de herouns	N. 824	Lesse de leuevers	N. 774
Bevée des heyrouns	B. 8	Lorie de pucels	N. 772
Bras des leuevers	F. 45	Lure de faucouns	N. 835
Brut de Barons	N. 424	Lure de flaukones	F. 18
Brut dez barones	F. 49	Lure de puselez	F. 18
Compaigne de damys	N. 426	Lure de pucels	B. 13
Companye de dames	B. 16	Lure de pucels	N. 427
Companye des ouues	B. 17	Mace dargent	F. 30
Conseil de Euesques	N. 423	Masse de argent	B. 11
Couee de perdyz	N. 826	Moute de chennes	B. 10
Coueye dez perdryz	F. 9	Mut dez chiens	F. 33, 37
Cové de pertrys	B. 5	Mute de chiens	N. 773
Cumpanye de owes	N. 828	Ny de fesauntz	N. 825
Dame dez alowez	F. 10	Nye dez fesauntez	F. 9
Damé des allouues	B. 6	Nyee de fesaun;	B. 5
Dameye de alowes	N. 827	Parlement de Roys	N. 423
Deueye des heronez	F. 14	Pastroil dez asnes	N. 765
Erde dez griuez	F. 6	Pastroil de mules	N. 766
Erde de gryves	B. 4	Pipe de oseaux	F. 14
Eschele de batayle	B. 13	Pipe de oyseulx	N. 830
Eschele en batayle	F. 21	Pipée des oyseux	B. 8
Femyr de feus	B. 11	Route de boeufs	N. 767
Folye dez vileynez	F. 26	Route de boufs	B. 10
Foule de vileyns	B. 9	Route de burges	N. 427
Frap des clerkes	F. 50	Route de Esquiers	N. 425
Frape de Clers	N. 426	Route des esquiers	F. 54
Fume des fuez	F. 30	Route de Ribaudes	N. 427
Fusoun de vyf amayle	F. 22	Sondre de estournels	N. 823
Grele de gelyns	N. 829	Sondre d'estourneus	B. 7
Grelée de gelyns	B. 12	Sondre (dez) esturnyz	F. 13
Greyle dez geleynez	F. 17	Sondre de porks	B. 7
Guardei de vaches	N. 768	Sondre dez porks	F. 13
Guardei de veels	N. 769	Sondre de porks	N. 764
Haras des poleyns	B. 9	Summe du ble	F. 29
Harasse des poleyns	N. 770	Summe du bienez	F. 29
Haruz dez poleynez	F. 25	Tourbe de cercels	N. 832
Herde (de) cerfs	B. 2	Tripe de berbis	N. 771
Herde de cerfs	N. 762	Tripe de berbiz	B. 5
Herde (dez) ceruez	F. 2	Tripe dez brebyz	F. 10
Herde de deymes	N. 763	Turbe de cercels	B. 12
Herde de grues	B. 3	Turbe dez cercieles	F. 17
Herde de grues	N. 822	Volee de columbes	N. 831
Herde dez grues	F. 5		

II. ENGLISH PHRASES ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

Aray of knyjtys	F. 55	Coueye of perdryz	F. 11
Bras of grehoundes	F. 47	Cumpanye of gees	N. 828
Brut of barones	F. 51	Dame of larkes	F. 12
Couee of pertrichez	N. 826	Damey of larkes	N. 827

Deucey of herones	F. 16	Herde of cranes	F. 7
Drofe of oxone	N. 767	Herde (of) hartez	F. 4
Erde of feldfares	F. 8	Herde of hertes	N. 762
Flijte of doves	N. 831	Lese of grehoundes	F. 43
Floc of feldefares	N. 823	Lesse of grehoundes	N. 774
Floc of hennes	N. 829	Lure of faucouns	N. 835
Flok of cranes	N. 822	Lure of ffaukones	F. 20
Foleye of chorlys	F. 28	Lure of damezelez	F. 20
ffrap of clerkes	F. 52	Mas of seluer	F. 32
Fume of fier	F. 32	Mut of houndez	F. 35, 39
Fusoun of quyk bestayle	F. 24	Mute of houndes	N. 773
Greyle of hennes	F. 19	Nye of fesauntes	F. 11
Haras of coltys	F. 27	Ost in batayle	F. 23
Hep of asses	N. 765	Pipe of briddus	N. 830
Hep of calfryn	N. 769	Pipe of bryddys	F. 16
Hep of fesaundes	N. 825	Route of squiers	F. 56
Hep of gris	N. 772	Sondre of hogges	F. 15
Hep of kyne	N. 768	Sondre of stares	F. 15
Hep of mulus	N. 766	Stode of coltes	N. 770
Hep of schiterowys	N. 824	Summe of corū	F. 31
Hep of sterlingges	N. 833	Summe of goud	F. 31
Hep of swyn	N. 764	Trip of schepe	N. 771
Hep of telus	N. 832	Trippe of shep	F. 12
Hepe of dokes	N. 834	Turbe of teles	F. 19
Herde of bukkys	N. 763		

III. INDEX OF ENDING NOUNS. (1) FRENCH.

Alloues	B. 16	Esquiers	N. 425; F. 54
Alowes	N. 827	Estournels	N. 833
Alowez	F. 10	Estourneus	B. 7
Amayle, vyf	F. 22	Esturnyz	F. 13
Anes	N. 834	Euesques	N. 423
Argent	F. 30; B. 11	Faucouns	N. 835
Asnes	N. 765	Fesauntez	F. 9
Barones	F. 49	Fesauntz	N. 825
Barons	N. 424	Fesaunz	B. 5
Batayle	F. 21; B. 13	ffaukones	F. 18
Berbis	N. 771	Feus	B. 11
Berbiz	B. 6	Fuez	F. 30
Bienez	F. 29	Geleynez	F. 17
Ble	F. 29	Gelyns	N. 829; B. 12
Boefs	N. 767	Griuez	F. 6
Boufs	B. 10	Grues	N. 822; B. 3; F. 5
Brebyz	F. 10	Gryues	N. 823
Burges	N. 427	Gryves	B. 4
Cercels	N. 832; B. 12	Heronez	F. 14
Cercieles	F. 17	Herouns	N. 824
Cerfs	N. 762; B. 1	Heyrouns	B. 8
Ceruez	F. 2	Leuerers	N. 774; F. 41, 45
Chennes	B. 10	Mules	N. 766
Chiens	N. 773; F. 33, 37	Oseaux	F. 14
Chiualers	N. 425; F. 53	Ounes	B. 17
Clerkes	F. 50	Owes	N. 828
Clers	N. 426	Oysealx	N. 830
Columbes	N. 831	Oyseux	B. 8
Countes	N. 424	Perdryz	F. 9
Dames	B. 16	Perdrys	N. 826
Damys	N. 426	Pertrys	B. 5
Deymes	N. 763	Poleynez	F. 25

Poleyns	N. 770; B. 9	Roys	N. 423
Porks	N. 764; B. 7; F. 13	Vaches	N. 768
Pucels	N. 427; B. 13	Veels	N. 769
Purcels	N. 772	Vileynaz	F. 26
Puselez	F. 18	Vileyns	B. 9
Ribaudes	N. 427	Vyl amayle	F. 22

IV. INDEX OF ENDING NOUNS. (2) ENGLISH.

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Batayle	F. 23	Hartez	F. 3
Bestayle, quyk	F. 24	Hennes	N. 829; F. 19
Briddus	N. 830	Heronnes	F. 16
Bryddys	F. 16	Hertes	N. 762
Bukkys	N. 763	Hogges	F. 15
Calfryn	N. 769	Houndes	N. 773
Choriys	F. 28	Houndez	F. 35, 39
Clerkes	F. 52	Kyne	N. 768
Coltes	N. 770	Knyttys	F. 55
Coltys	F. 27	Larkes	N. 827; F. 12
Corū	F. 31	Mulus	N. 766
Cranes	N. 822; F. 7	Oxone	N. 767
Damezelez	F. 20	Perdryz	F. 11
Dokes	N. 834	Pertrichez	N. 826
Dowes	N. 831	Quyk bestayle	F. 24
Faucons	N. 835	Schepe	N. 771
Feldefares	N. 823	Schiterowys	N. 824
Feldfares	F. 8	Seluer	F. 32
Fesaundes	N. 825	Shep	F. 12
Fesautes	F. 11	Squiers	F. 56
faukones	F. 20	Stares	F. 15
Fier	F. 32	Sterlingges	N. 833
Gees	N. 828	Swyn	N. 764
Goud	F. 31	Teles	F. 19
Grehoundes, bras	F. 47	Telus	N. 832

A SOLATIUM.

The following collectives, which occur in "The True Edition" of "The Visions of Dom Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, now made English by J. Dodington, Esq.," 1688, are here inserted in order to compensate in some slight measure for the destruction of the "alleged company terms":—

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A Bey of handsome, buxsome <i>Bona Robas</i>	68
A Brace of <i>Devils</i>	158
A Company of <i>Tonys</i>	34
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A Croud of <i>Cut-purses</i>	57
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XII.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF *AI* AND *EI* IN
MIDDLE SCOTCH. By O. T. WILLIAMS, M.A.

[Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on December 3, 1909.]

THE way *ai* and *ei*, derived from various sources, developed into monophthongs in M.Sc., and the time at which the change took place, are still matters of conjecture. Luick¹ takes the view that the monophthongization was completed during the first half of the fourteenth century. According to Morsbach² and Ackermann³ the change took place gradually during the latter half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, *ai* being *ā* in 1400 and *ā* about 1450. Curtis⁴ view is that *ai* > *ei* > *ē*, and not, as is generally held, that *ei* > *ai* > *ā* > *ē*. Heuser⁵ thinks the monophthongization was not complete in all cases even in 1487, the date of the Cambridge MS. of the *Brus*.

An examination of the rimes in M.Sc. texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries throws much light on the problems under consideration. The results obtained, stated briefly, are the following:—The *Brus* (1376) contains the following *ai* : *ā* rimes:—*baill* (O.W. Scand. *bál* = O.E. *bál*) : *availl* 17/619 *tale* (O.E. *talū*) : *battale* 11/5, *way* : *ga* 10/15, *was* : *ras* (O.W. Scand. *reisa*) 3/133, *sais* (= says) : *Thomas* 17/285, *battale* : *all* 16/401, *traval* : *call* 19/173, *batell* : *tell* 20/421. The lines in which the last rime occurs are only found in Hart's edition (1616), and are probably his additions. In the Edinburgh MS. *away* is substituted

¹ Luick, *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*.

² Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*.

³ Ackermann, *Die Sprache der ältesten schottischen Urkunden*.

⁴ Curtis, *An Investigation of the Rimes and Phonology of Clariodus, Anglia*, xvi, 387 ff. : xvii, 1 ff.

⁵ Heuser, *ai und ei unorganisch und etymologisch berechtigt in der Cambriger Handschrift des Bruce, Anglia*, xvii, 91 ff.

for *ga* in the third rime above, as if the scribe felt a difficulty over the *ai* : *ā* rime. The many rimes with *tha* afford us no light, as we cannot be certain whether the word is from O.E. *ṡā* or from *thai* < O.W. Scand. *ṡeir*. The past participle *slān* rimes with words containing O.E. *ā*, O.E. *æg*, and O.F. *ai*, *ei*. But Barbour may have known two forms of the word, one with *ā* from the Old North. *slā*, the other with *ai* from O.E. *slægen*. The same applies to the rimes *hale* : *vittale* 18/237, *swane* : *bargane* 5/235. They prove nothing since two forms of the words *hale* and *swane* are possible (O.E. *hāl*, *swān*; O.W. Scand. *heil*, *sveinn*).

In the *Pistel of Swete Susan* (Vernon MS., 1370-80) there is no rime to prove that the monophthongization of *ai* or *ei* had taken place, but it is evident that they were one and the same sound, from the fact they always rime together. In the *Awntyrs of Arthure* (Thornton MS., 1430-40) final *ai* and *ei* rime together, but never with a monophthong. Before *l* we find one *ai* : *ā* rime, and one *ai* : *ā* before *n*. The rimes with *slayne* we must discard. In the *Kingis Quair* (1423) *ai* and *ei* final and before consonants continually rime together. There is no rime to prove a monophthong. In the *Buke of the Howlat* (1417-55) *ai* and *ei* rime together in all positions. There is no rime to prove that the absorption of the *i*-element of the diphthongs when final had taken place; but before *r*, *l*, and *n*, the change had been effected. Such rimes as *chancellor* : *fair* (O.E. *fæger*) : *mistar*; *perell* : *counsall* : *sall* : *aparele*; *marschale* : *fale* (= fail) : *pontificale* : *hale* (O.E. *hāl* or O.W. Scand. *hail*); *tell* : *fell* : *counsall* : *spell*, show that the endings *-aille*, *-al*, *-ēr*, *-il* in *counsall*, *apparele*, *pontificale*, *mistar* and *perell* at this time contained an obscure vowel sound between *ä* and *ë*, and that *ā* < *ai* or *ā* in *fair*, *fale*, and *hale* was a front sound something like *ē*. In *Rauf Coilgear* (1450-1500) there is no rime to show that final *ai* and *ei*, which rime together, had been monophthongized, if we regard *tha* as a derivative from O.E. *ṡā* and not from O.W. Scand. *ṡeir*. Before *l* and *n*, however, *ai* and *ei* rime with a monophthong. Rimes with *hale* are doubtful. In *Golagros* and *Gawane* (1450-60) final *ai* and *ei* always rime together, but there is no rime to indicate that the *i*-element of the diphthongs in this position had disappeared. Words in which *ai* and *ei* are followed by *n* and *s* show a monophthong. In *Wallace* (1450-60) *ai* and *ei*, with one exception, rime together. Before *r* monophthongization is shown in the majority of cases, and before *l* the monophthong occurs frequently. Before *n* it is only found in the unstressed syllable *-ain* and in the name *Spain*.

It is only found once before other consonants. In *Ratis Raving* (1450-1500) final *ai* and *ei* rime together continually, but three rimes show a monophthong. Before *l*, *ai* rimes with *ā* in the words *daly* (= daily) : *continually* 2875, *petail* (N.F. *pitaille*) : *hospetaill* 3463. The rimes *haill* : *generall* 2955; *tail* (O.E. *talū*) : *haill* 2379; *princypall* : *haill* 2165 are, of course, doubtful. The rime *contrare* : *seire* (O.W. Scand. *sér*) is also doubtful, but it serves to show perhaps that *ā* had been fronted. In *Lancelot of the Laik* (1450-1500) final *ai* and *ei* rime together, but never with a monophthong. They rime with *ā* in the majority of cases before *r*, and there are some *ai*, *ei* : *ā* rimes before other consonants.

Omitting all doubtful rimes, and counting all rime-series as single rimes, we obtain the following results:—

	Final <i>ai</i> , <i>ei</i> .		<i>ai</i> } <i>r</i> , <i>ei</i> }		<i>ai</i> } <i>l</i> , <i>ei</i> }		<i>ai</i> } <i>n</i> , <i>ei</i> }		<i>ai</i> } other <i>ei</i> } cons.	
	Diph.	Mnph.	Diph.	Mnph.	Diph.	Mnph.	Diph.	Mnph.	Diph.	Mnph.
P.S.S.	6	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	2	—
A.A.	8	—	1	—	—	1	2	1	1	—
K.Q.	14	—	3	—	5	—	17	—	7	—
B.H.	11	—	—	7	—	4	5	5	—	—
R.C.	23	—	1	—	—	2	3	3	5	—
G.G.	19	—	—	—	3	—	6	2	—	6(?)
Wall.	97	1 + 1(?)	9	63	44	28 + 2(?)	81	7	9	1
R.R.	53	3 + 2(?)	9	1	5	2	6	—	3	2(?)
L.L.	75	—	4	15	7	—	22	3	11	4

Thus, final *ai* and *ei*, which always rime together, are in most cases sharply distinguished from *ā*. Before *r*, *l*, *n*, *d* and perhaps *st*, *ai* and *ei* seem to have been more or less like the sound represented by *ā*. Before *r*, at any rate, the coincidence was complete. Heuser arrived at practically the same conclusions by examining the orthography of the Cambridge MS. of the *Brus*, written in 1487, see *Anglia*, xvii, 91 ff.

Curtis (46 ff.) argues that the line of development was—

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{O.E. } ag > ai \\
 \text{O.E. } eg > ei \\
 \text{O.W. Scand. } ei > ei
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} ag \\ eg \\ ei \end{array}} \right\} ei > \bar{a} \text{ and not } \bar{e}
 \quad
 \begin{array}{l}
 ag > ai \\
 eg > ei \\
 ei > ei
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} ag \\ eg \\ ei \end{array}} \right\} ai > \bar{a} > \bar{e}$$

This may be true of final *ai*. Before consonants, however, *ai* and *ei* rimed with *ā* either before it was fronted or when it was being fronted, but when final they only coincided with *ā* after the latter had been completely fronted.

XIII.—ETYMOLOGIES, CHIEFLY ANGLO-FRENCH.

By Professor ERNEST WEEKLEY, M.A.

[Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on February 4, 1910.]

Base.—? ‘The housing of a horse’ (1548); ‘plaited skirt appended to a doublet, and imitation of this in armour’ (1580); ‘skirt of a woman’s dress or petticoat’ (1591); ‘apron’ (1605). The word is practically always used in the plural, and I believe it to be, like *bodice*, *trace*, *browse* (q.v.), a perverted plural, perhaps associated, as the N.E.D. suggests, with ‘*base*, lower part’ (cf. the perversion ‘*furbelow*’). The word has practically the same meaning as *tasse*, *tasset* (q.v.), with which it often occurs. It belongs to a F. stem *bast-*, *basqu-*, of uncertain origin. The D.G. explains *tassettes* as ‘*basques* de pourpoint,’ and explains *basque* as an alteration (? infl. of ‘*basquine*, Basque petticoat’) of earlier *baste*, from It. ‘*basta*, flounce, hem.’ Florio has nothing useful under *bast-*, but has ‘*scarselloni*, *bases*, or *taces* for a horseman,’ showing the practical identity of the two terms (v.s.). Cotgrave has ‘*basque* de pourpoint, the skirt of a doublet’; ‘*baste* . . . also, the skirt of a doublet.’ Oudin has ‘*basques*, *bastes* de pourpoint, tiras de jubon,’ and ‘*tiras*, *tassettes*.’ He has also ‘*faldetes*, certaines *bastes*, ou *tassettes* comme en portent ceux qui courent la lance par dessus leurs armes.’ It is, I suggest, this plural *bastes* which has, influenced by *tasses*, *tases*, *taises*, given *bases* (also earlier *baises*, *basées*). It is difficult to explain phonetically, but the correspondence in meaning seems to be exact. The F. *baste* no doubt belongs to the general Romance stem *bast-*, the development of which Meyer-Lübke (‘‘Wörter und Sachen,’’ i) divides into seven branches. One of these, ‘**bastum*, pack-saddle,’ is common to the Romance languages (except Port.). Were the *bastes* originally the side pieces of a pack-saddle? The word *pannel*, common in the seventeenth century for ‘pack-saddle’ (‘*bast*, a pannell or pack-saddle,’ Cotgrave), means also ‘skirt’ in O.F. And *base* from a plural *basts* (*baz*) would present little phonetic difficulty (see *browse*). Palsgrave has ‘*pannell* to ryde on, *batz*, *panneau*.’

Bawd.—In a paper read to the Philological Society, January 8, 1909, I suggested that *bawd* is aphetic for *ribaud*. I have since

come across additional evidence, '*bagos*, a man-*baud*; a *ribauld*' (Cotgrave); '*ribaud*, a *baud*' (Coles). Also Littleton has '*bawdry* or *ribaldry*, obscenitas.'

Becker (Mod. Corn.) or **becket** (1602).—'Sea-bream' (N.E.D.). This appears to be F. *béquet* (to *bec*), now used of the pike (*brochet*) and salmon (D.G.), the latter being also called *bécard*. Cotgrave gives 'pike-fish' under *bechet*, *becquet*, *bequet*, and '*bequet de mer*, a dainty, little, and long-nosed rock fish; not very common, nor above six fingers long.' He has also '*denté*, the ruddy, and spotted, sea-bream, or goldenie, called so for the tushes that appear out of his mouth, whereas the other fishes of that kind either have none or none so appearing.' The 'tushes' may have led to the name.

Bezique.—Earlier *bazique* (1861, N.E.D.). F. *bésigue*, and obs. *bésy*, is called a neologism by the D.G., which gives no early example; nor does Littré. Professor Skeat suggests, as a guess, Pers. '*bāzichah*, sport, a game,' and '*bāzi*, play,' for the two French forms. Earlier French dictionaries do not seem to record it, e.g. it is not in Boiste (1847). Though not in Godefroy or Cotgrave, the word seems to me to have had a brief existence in the seventeenth century, and to have been revived when the game became fashionable again in the nineteenth. Oudin has '*basseque*, jeu, fem. *vaza*, *baza*,' and also '*basa*, fem. *basseque*, jeu,' '*vaza*, fem. *basseque* au jeu des cartes,' '*hazer la vaza*, faire et lever la main en jouant aux cartes.' Diez (p. 47) gives this *baza* under It. *bazza* (Sp. *baza*, Cat. *basa*, gutes glück, stich im kartenspiel) and regards it as (rare) M.H.G., '*bazze*, gewinn,' cognate with archaic G. *basz*, E. *betler*, popularized by German mercenaries. He mentions It. '*bazzica*, ein kartenspiel,' and '*bazzicare*, mit jemand verkehren.' Körting gives these under Arab. '*bazza*, gewinn,' and suggests connexion of F. *bésigue*, *bézigue*, *beset*, *bésy*. According to Nigra, the origin is Tusc. and Venet. '*bazza*, *baza*, spitzes kinn' (supposed to be lucky). Whatever the origin, *baz(z)a* seems to have been a common word in It. and Sp., with the general meaning of 'luck, won trick.' Unless Oudin invented his *basseque*, a derivative of the word was known in France in the seventeenth century, coming probably from It. *bazzica*.

Bow-line.—The N.E.D. inclines to regard this word, forms of which occur in practically all European languages, as of Teutonic origin, and connected with *bow*. Jal derives F. *bouline* from

E. *bow-line*. Kluge ("Seemannssprache") leaves the question open, and quotes Kilian's remarkable gloss, 'funis *bolidis*.' The N.E.D. notes that *bow-line* (c. 1325) occurs in English some centuries before *bow*, from which it differs in pronunciation. The chronology makes it likely that it is a French loan-word, as *buoline* occurs already in Wace (Godefroy, Comp.).

To bream.—'To clear (a ship's bottom) . . . by singeing it with burning reeds, furze, or faggots' (N.E.D.); 'has been conjecturally referred to Du. *brem*, broom, furze, and to E. *broom*, as a derived verb or dialect variant, but evidence is lacking.' As the form *broom* occurs equally early (Captain John Smith), and is given as an alternative by Phillips and Kersey, and as Smith describes it as 'washing or burning of all the filth with reeds or *broome*,' there does not seem much room for doubt. The following parallels seem to me conclusive, though I do not know whether the origin is Dutch or English. Lescallier, who does not give the form *broom*, has 'breaming furze or faggots, bois de chauffage.' Jal defines it as 'placer sous la carène d'un navire des fagots de broussailles, de copeaux, de paille, de *genêts* . . .,' and gives the Italian equivalent *bruscare* (. . . 'to burne, to singe, to skalde, or broile,' Florio), from 'brusca, ling or heath to make brushes or broomes with' (Florio). Valentini, who probably did not know the English word, has '*brusca*, der Mäusedorn (ein Strauch zum Kalfatern dienlich).'

Broil.—I do not see why this verb should not be generally identified with F. *brûler*, O.F. *brusler*. Its earliest meaning is to burn or scorch (*ustulare* in Prompt. Parv.), and the variant *brule* occurs early (e.g. Cath. Angl.). No doubt it also contains O.F. *bruiller*, which is itself probably of cognate origin with *brusler* (cf. *fouir* and *fouiller*). The *s* of *brusler* was probably mute in the thirteenth century (Schwan-Behrens, § 280) and would disappear in the English loan-word (cf. *blame* < *blasmer*). *Brul*-forms occur in O.F. Why F. *u* should give E. *oi* I cannot say, but it appears to have done so frequently, e.g., *recoil* (*reculer*), *moyre* (for M.E. 'mure, ripe'), *moil* (*mule*); cf. also *foil* (*fouler*), *cloy* (*aclouer*). The ultimate prevalence of the form *broil* may be partly due to *boil*, both being kitchen terms.

Browse.—As noun (tender shoots for fodder) and verb this word occurs in the sixteenth century (noun 1523, verb 1542). The N.E.D. points out the obvious connexion with F. *brou(s)t*, *brou(s)ter*, but regards the disappearance of the *t* as difficult to explain. It

suggests that the noun forms indicate an earlier **brus* which may have been a corruption of *brousts*, coll. pl. This is practically right, but I wish to point out that the loss of the *t* can be simply explained, and that the *s* of the English word is not that of the French word, which is a sixteenth-century graphic restoration (Cotgrave has the correct *broust*, *brouster*), and was not pronounced. The ordinary O.F. pl. of *broust*, or of earlier *broust*, would be *brouz*, both *-ts* and *-sts* being regularly thus represented. This plural introduced into English gave *browse*, *brouze* (Coles, 1703, still spells *browz*), which came to be felt as a singular (cf. *bodice*, *trace*, etc.), and was perhaps turned into a verb. The noun *browse* preserved perhaps at first its plural meaning in English, as Cooper has '*vescæ salicum frondes, brouse, made for beastes of withie bowes.*' No doubt the noun occurred commonly in the pl. in O.F., hence the verb '*brouser, to brouze, knap, nibble off, leaves, buds, etc.*' (Cotgrave), which offers a slightly alternative origin for our verb. Kersey gives, for the noun, the spellings *browse* and *brouce*, which suggests that the pronunciation wavered; cf. *brose* < O.F. *broe(t)s*,¹ *trace* < F. *trai(t)s*. As the N.E.D. suggests, the *z* sound for the verb was probably determined by the analogy of *grass*, *graze*, etc. Kersey gives as equivalent to *browse* (s.v.), *bruttle* (not in N.E.D.), which represents F. '*broutille, pousse menue, choses de peu d'importance,*' etc. (D.G.). Cotgrave gives only the secondary meaning, '*beggar's scraps.*'

Bull.—Before being applied especially to an Irishism, this word meant simply '*a ludicrous jest*' (N.E.D., 1630). The N.E.D. compares O.F. '*boul(e), bole, fraud, trickery*'; M.E. '*bul, falsehood*'; Mod. Icel. '*bull, nonsense.*' I notice that Hexham (1672) has '*bol, jesting or jibing,*' which is probably the same as Kilian's '*bol, garrulitas, loquacitas*' (1620).

To bumbast.—In the sense of '*thrash,*' this verb is recorded 1571. The N.E.D. mentions Bailey's etymology² (*bum* and *baste*, in the sense '*beat*'), and the possibility of *bum* being a meaningless intensive prefix. I think that the word may quite well be explained as a metaphorical use of '*bumbast, to stuff with flock,*

¹ Explained by the N.E.D. as O.F. nom. sing. This is, I think, impossible, as French words surviving in the nom. sing. are always names applied to people (*filz, saur, vierge, Jules, etc.*). *Brose*, occasionally used as a pl. (N.E.D.), represents O.F. acc. pl. In the same way I think that *porridge* (used as a plural as late as R. L. Stevenson) has more to do with *porrays* than with *pottage*.

² This is suggested in the "Dictionary of the Canting Crew" (1690): '*bumbaste, to beat much, or hard, on the breech.*'

etc., though I am not quite sure of the actual metaphor involved. The analogy of *quill*, often used by Judge Haliburton for 'thrash,' and of which a somewhat similar use is quoted by the N.E.D. as early as 1630, points one way: that of It. '*scardassare*, to beat, *bumbaste*, bange, touze, or bumfeagle; *scardassare il pelo*, to bange, beate, or *bumbaste*, to thumpe or swaddle one' (Florio), suggests rather the Mod. American image of 'knocking the stuffing out of' (Max Adeler). That the word was generally felt as *bum-baste* is shown by the fact that Torriano (s.v. *scardassare*) substitutes *rib-bast* for Florio's *bumbaste*. My chief argument for the etymology I propose is the parallel history of F. '*bourrer*, to stuffe with flocks and haire; also to beat, or thumpe . . .' (Cotgrave); 'to pad, to stuff, to wad; to beat, thrash, belabour' (Boyer, 1729). Boyer has also 'to *bumbast* one, battre quelqu'un; le *bourrer*, le froter.' This sense of *bourrer* occurs in O.F. Godefroy, Comp., gives two examples (1332 and 1611) with the meaning 'maltraiter.' In the first the method of maltreatment is not specified; in the second rods are mentioned. Miège explains *bourrer*, thus used, as 'battre comme bourre.' It may, however, refer to the softening effect of fustigation; cf. G. *windelweich hauen*. Again, it may have originally been a hunting term, 'to make the fur fly,' e.g.—

'Ainsi les tiercelets sur la pie agassante
Donnent l'un après l'autre et d'æsle non pesante
La *bourrent* tour à tour . . .'

(Gauchet, "Le Plaisir des Champs," 1583.)

Bummaree.—'A middle man in the Billingsgate fish market.' The N.E.D. quotes *bomaree*, 1786. This word is apparently a compound of F. '*marée*, fresh sea-fish'; cf. '*cashmary*, rippier,' from F. *chasse-marée*. The first syllable is mysterious.

Busk.—First quoted by the N.E.D. for 1592. F. *buso* is recorded 1549 (Godefroy, Comp.), and the plural *buz* is in the D.G. (1545). The D.G. derives it from It. '*busco*, bûchette.' Though the *busk* was no doubt originally of wood, I do not believe that so stout a piece of machinery 'that gentlewomen wear before the breast, to make them go upright' (Holyoak), would be called a 'splinter,' 'straw.' Littré suggested It. *busto*, and I believe he is right. Florio has '*busto*, a trunk, a bodie without a head, a trusse. Also a woman's *buske*' (not in N.E.D.). The plural *buz* quoted by the D.G. (v.s.) suggests a singular *bust*. Cf. *bus* (heraldry), plural

of *bust*, older form of ' *buste*, *bust*.' The form *bust* is attested by Cotgrave, who has—

- (1) ' *buc*, a *buske*, . . . worne to make, or keep, the body straight.'
- (2) ' *bucq*, a *buske*; or as *buc*.'
- (3) ' *busq*, as *buc*.'
- (4) ' *busque*, . . . also, a *buske*; or *buste*.'
- (5) ' *bust*, as *buc*, or as *buste* (in the first sence).'
- (6) ' *buste*, as *buc*; or, a *bust*; the long, small (or sharp-pointed), and hard-quilted belly of a doublet; also, the whole bulke, or body of a man from his face to his middle, also a tombe or sepulchre.'

Minshew quotes F. *buc*, *bucq*, *buste*, apparently copied from Cotgrave or from a common source. Oudin has—

- (1) ' *busc*, bofon de jubon, abrigo de pecho.'
- (2) ' *busq*, faxa, abrigo de pecho.'
- (3) ' *busque*, idem.'
- (4) ' *buste*, cuerpo sin cabeça ni braços (cf. Florio). Item, abrigo de pecho.'
- (5) ' *bustes* à l'Espagnolle, bofones.'

It is pretty clear that *busc*, *busque* are perversions of *bust*, *buste* (cf. *baste*, *basque*), and that *busk* is ultimately It. *busto*. The application of the anatomical term to the article of dress which covers it is paralleled by E. *bodice*, F. *corset*, obs. E. *panche*, etc.

Bust.—The quotations given from Cotgrave (v. *busk*) give a somewhat earlier occurrence of E. *bust* than is recorded in the N.E.D.¹ Among the many theories as to the origin of this word, the most plausible is perhaps L. *bustum*, tomb, hence memorial and, eventually, 'monumental bust' (v. Körting, *bustum*). The German Thesaurus has '*bustum*, fere i.q. monumentum,' with examples. I wish to point out a peculiarity in the earlier meaning of the word. The N.E.D. says that in Provençal the *only* meaning of the word is 'trunk' of the body. This appears to have been the case also in Italian and French—

Florio: ' *busto*, a trunke, a bodie without a head.'

Torriano: ' *busto*, a bulk or trunk without a head, also a sleeveless truss or doublet.'

¹ The N.E.D. has *bust* (sculpt.), 1691, earlier (1653) ' *bust* of the rising of the belly ' (Urquhart), for ' *bouque* du petit ventre ' (Rab.).

Cotgrave: '*buste*, . . . the whole bulke or body of a man from his face to his middle.' Here the face appears to be included, but the torso is the essential.

Oudin: '*busto*, cuerpo sin cabeça ni braços.'

Voc. della Crusca (1686): '*busto*, corpo dell' animale (ma comunemente dell' huomo) non comprendendovi ne testa, ne bracia, ne gambe' (example from Dante, Inf. 17).

Du Cange defines *bustum* (3) as '*corporis truncus, corpus sine capite, cadaver*,' with examples from M.L.

Thus a bust was originally identical with a '*torso*, a body or trunk without armes or legs' (Torriano); '*statua a cui manchino capo, braccia, e gambe*' (Voc. della Crusca). This is, of course, roughly the meaning of E. *bust*, apart from sculpture. From the semantic point of view it would be natural that the original of *bust* should belong to the same region of ideas as It. '*fusto*, a stocke, a truncke, a stump, a log, a blocke, a bodie without a head' (Florio), and '*tronco*, a trunk, a stock, a log, a block, a stump, a stem without boughes. Also a bodie without a head' (ibid.).

Capsize.—Earliest record in N.E.D. is 1788. I cannot throw much light on this mysterious word, but I can give a slightly earlier occurrence and an unrecorded form. Lescallier (1777) has '*to capacise*, verb act. Renverser ou chavirer quelque chose; c'est une expression vulgaire.' The regular nautical word up to the nineteenth century seems to have been '*overset*,' and *capsize* is not even in Jal. The analogy of F. *chavirer*, *faire capot*, Sp. *capuzar*, It. *capo volgere* suggests that the first element means 'head'; and this is confirmed by L.G. *koppaeisen*, which Professor Kluge tells me does not occur before about 1850. Here, consciously or not, the L.G. '*kopp*, head,' has been substituted for *cap* in the English word. I should guess that the word will be found to belong to the south coast of France. Provençal is particularly rich in compounds of *cap*, with an adj. or past participle, e.g. *capcaudat*, *capclin*, *capcorp*, *capcubert*, *capdescubert*, *capdreit*, *capenclin*, *capfinit*, *capras*, *captondut*, *captrenat*, but these are all metrical terms ("Leys d'amors"). Is there a Provençal phrase *cap-assis*, '*topsy-turvy*'? Neither Raynouard, Levy, nor Mistral give anything of the kind. As the first part of this 'low word' means head, I am inclined to guess that the second part has some connexion with the head's antipodes, and that the word is a vulgarism of the same type as Du. '*bolærsen*, in caput devolvi, clunibus in altum sublatis' (Kilian).

Carvel.—First recorded as *kervyle* (1462), from O.F. *caruelle* (1438), *kirvelle* (N.E.D.). Godefroy, Comp., has *carvelle* (Wavrin), which is, I suppose, a slightly earlier occurrence. The N.E.D. refers to the separate entry *caravel* (1527), which represents Mod. F. *caravelle*, ad. of It. *caravella* (Sp. *carabella*, Port. *caravela*), prob. dim. of Sp. *caraba*; cf. late L. *carabus*, a sort of vessel, explained by Isidore as ‘parva scapha ex vimine facta, quæ contacta crudo corio genus navigii præbet.’ This is the etymology proposed by Diez (from Du Cange). It is generally accepted, *carabus* being regarded as an extended use of ‘*carabus*, crab.’ It is supported by Mod. F. ‘*carabe*, coracle.’ If this etymology is right, *carvel* and its compounds (used in technicalities of shipbuilding, v. N.E.D.) appear to be unrelated. In the English history of the word it is impossible to separate it from the contrasted *clincher*, *clinker*. We have—

carvel built (*carvel planked*) as opposed to *clincher-built* (see Smyth).

*carvel*¹ *work* as opposed to *clincher-work*.

carvel nails as opposed to *clincher nails*.

The same distinction exists in French; e.g., Jal quotes, s.v. *clin* (à), formerly *à clinc*, *à clincq*, ‘tous vesseaux *à clinc* et *à carvelle*’ (Conflans, 1520). The name *clinciar* or *clinquar* was applied to a special build of boat at the same period, ‘autres petits vaisseaux, comme *caravelles*, *clinquars*, pinaces, balleiniers, gabarres’ (ibid.). We find in E. *clinkere-lightner* (N.E.D., 1592), and Jal quotes from Du Cange, *clincaboot*, which he, no doubt rightly, regards as a scribe’s mistake for *cline-boot*, from a Flemish charter of 1163. It seems, then, that vessels were divided into two classes according as their planks overlapped (*clincher*) or fitted edge to edge (*carvel*), and it would appear likely that the word *carvel*, like *clincher*, is due to this method of building. Accordingly we find that Jal treats *clou à carvelle* as of separate etymology from the name of the *caravelle*. He says: ‘Les dictionnaires de Desroches (1687), d’Aubin (1702), et de Romme appellent ces clous, *clous à carvelle*; Lescallier (1777) les nomme *clous à caravelle*. Leur dénomination véritable est *clous à cravel*, *kravel*, *kraviel*, ou *carvel*. *Caravelle* n’a rien à faire ici . . . Les *clous à carvel*, quand on commença à les employer, servirent surtout à unir ensemble deux pièces de

¹ Erroneously *carvel*, due to misprint (1675), in Phillips (N.E.D.). According to Jal this appears in Mainwaring (1644).

charpente taillées en biseau (*bevel-edged*) et que les Hollandais désignaient par le nom composé *karvel-houten*, *karviel-houten*.' He quotes *clous à crevelle* (1549). This view is adopted by the D.G., which has '*carvelle*, emprunté du hollandais *karviel*, pièce de charpente assemblée à l'aide de clous à tête polygonale, clous à *crevelle* (Littré, sixteenth century).' This seems reasonable, and would ultimately connect the word with G. *kerbe*, E. *carve*. When Jal (1848) dissociated *clou à carvelle* from the name of the ship, he was thinking of F. *caravelle* (1512), which is regarded as a loan-word from It. '*caravella*, a kind of ship called a *caravell*' (Florio); '*a caravellship*' (Torriano). That O.F. *carvelle* corresponds to a type **carabella* is unlikely, for we should expect rather *caravelle* or *carevelle*. Moreover, the variant *kirvelle* (sixteenth century) and the earliest E. form *kereyle* (N.E.D.) point much rather to the Du. '*kerf*, crena, incisura' (Kilian), from which Jal derives *carvel nail*, etc. If a vessel could be called a *clinquar*, etc., because *clincher-built* with *clincher nails*, why should it not be called a *carvel* because *carvel-built* with *carvel nails*? Accordingly we find that Jal derives *carvelle* from *navire à carvelle*, under which he quotes (translated) from Röding, s.v. *Karvielschiffe*: '*Dans l'année 1400, fut fait à Horn le premier navire à carvel (carviel-schip); il n'y avait point alors dans cette ville de hulchs, de razeils et de krajers, et tous les crap-schuits bien construits l'étaient avec des planches placées l'une sur l'autre.*' Thus the *carvel* and *caravel* were, if the *carabus* theory is right, originally distinct, the former being Germanic and the latter Latin. It is to the former that *carvel-work*, *carvel-planked*, etc., belong. They were no doubt regularly confused. Jal gives *carvelle*, *crevelle*, as O.F. forms of *caravelle*. In one of his quotations (v.s.) we have '*caravelles (= carvelles) et clinquars,*' and in another (1495) '*carvelles (= caravelles) hautaines.*' The same confusion appears in the other Romance *carab-*, *carav-* words. He has also *carveille* (1440), evidently of a small vessel serving as tender to a large ship. My own surmise is that the *carvel-planking* has also a good deal more to do with some of the Sp. and It. words than has Isidore's coracle.

Comfrey.—It is known that this plant's name is derived from its reputed healing properties, but its exact origin is unknown. It appears regularly in M.L. as *cumfiria* (c. 1265), in E. as *cumfirie* (this is the normal form, but there are variants), and in O.F. as *confirie*, *confire*, *confiere*. Its Latin name was *consolida*, which has

passed into the chief Romance languages (It. *consolida*, Florio; F. *consoude*, Cotgrave; Sp. *consuelda*, Oudin) and into English, in which *consoude* has a parallel existence to *cumfirie* (v. N.E.D., s.v. *consound*). It was also called in L. *conferva*,¹ the form from which philologists have derived *cumfrey*, a phonetic impossibility. This word has also had descendants, e.g. It. '*conferva*, a glutinous hearb, called the sponge of the river' (Torriano). In M.L. *comfrey* was called *confirma* and *conserva*, the latter of which appears in O.F. *concierge*² (quoted in N.E.D.). There is also an O.F. form *consire*, which represents, I suggest, L. '*consilium*, a leaping together'; cf. F. *naivre* < *navilium*, O.F. *consire* (counsel) < *consilium*. This is supported by the M.E. name *cornsilie*, *counsilie* (Alphita). The botanical name of the plant, *Symphytum officinale*, also illustrates the qualities ascribed to it. None of the words already mentioned will explain *comfrey* < M.E. *cumfirie*, O.F. *confirie*, M.L. *cumfiria*. We obviously want a word suggesting 'congeal.' The French for *congeal* is *figer*, O.F. *fegier*, *figier*, derived from L. **fidicare*, the idea being that of giving a liver-like appearance to a liquid by coagulation (cf. M.H.G. '*liberen*, to congeal,' from '*leber*, liver'). On the extraordinary history of L. *ficatum*, for '*jecur ficatum*, liver stuffed with figs,' and its developments in the Romance languages, see Körting, § 3726. The results there given, fantastic as they may appear, are in the main accepted by such authorities as Gröber, Tobler, and the late Gaston Paris, the last of whom devoted special attention to the word. I propose for O.F. *confirie* a L. **con-fidica* formed from **con-fidicare* like *consolida* from *consolidare*, **confirma* from *confirmare*, etc. **Fidicum* gave in O.F. not only *foie* (Mod. *foie*), *fie*, *fiege*, but also a variant *firie* (not in Godefroy, v. Körting). This *-r-* is not a freak, but a development of L. *d* (or *t*), followed by a palatal of which there are several other examples. Nyrop, § 475, mentions O.F. *envire* < *invidia*, *Gires* (now *Gilles*) < *Ægidius*, *mire* (physician, also *miege*) < *medicum*, *remire* < *remedium*, *daumaire* < *dalmatica*, *grammaire* < *grammatica*, *artimaire* < *ar(tem ma)thematicum*. There is therefore no objection to deriving O.F. *confirie* < **con-fidica*. The M.L. *cumfiria* would be modelled on this. I should like to be

¹ '*Comfrey* . . . is so efficacious in consolidating wounds, that if it be cocted with flesh, it conglutinates its parts together' (Tomlinson's Translation of Renodæus his Dispensatory, 1657).

² This would represent **conservia*. It seems to me to prove the equation *concierge* (doorkeeper) = *conserviens*, which has been disputed because of the *e* from an enclosed *e*.

able to confirm the etymology by an O.F. ‘**confige*, **confiege*, *comfrey*.’

Corduroy.—Recorded for 1795,¹ unknown in French. Earlier form also *corderoy*. The N.E.D. notes that *duroy* occurs in descriptions of serge and druggat in Somerset (eighteenth century). Is there not a possibility that *corduroy* is folk-etymology for the common trade-term *colour de roy*? This occurs frequently in the Hakluyt series (*cullor de or du roy* in the “Diary of Richard Cooks,” 1615 . . .). Cotgrave has ‘*couleur de roy*, was in old time, purple; but now is the bright tawnie, which we also terme *colour de roy*.’ The ‘bright tawnie’ is the commonest colour for new corduroys, and I imagine it might have been written commercially *or de roy*. This is, of course, a pure guess.

Cutt.—The N.E.D. quotes Kersey (1706) and Smyth. The former’s definition is ‘a sort of flat-bottomed boats, formerly us’d in the Channel for transporting horses.’ It is also in Bailey. Jal gives O.F. *escute*, which he derives from Flemish *schuyt* or *skuit*, as the name of a small vessel mentioned by Conflans (early sixteenth century). This is latinized as *scuta* in a Flemish charter of 1163. Jal gives also Icel. Sw. *skuta*, Dan. *skude*; cf. M.E. *schute*, flat-bottomed boat (S. & B.). The sense fits quite well, and O.F. *escute* (**écute*) could, I suppose, give E. *cutt*.

Cuttle (1).—A kind of knife (N.E.D., 1546). The N.E.D. notes that it is first recorded after the *-l* of O.F. *coutel* (couteau) had become vocalized. It is probably F. ‘*coutille*, grand couteau’ (D.G.), recorded 1351 (Du Cange, s.v. *cultellus*); cf. ‘*coustille* (with spurious *-s-*), a kind of long poniard, used heretofore by esquires’ (Cotgrave).

Cuttle (2).—‘A layer of cloth when the finished piece is folded’ (N.E.D.). ‘The said clothes shall be folded either in pleights or *cuttelle*’ (1541). Hence vb. ‘*cuttelle*, to fold,’ still used in Yorkshire. Moisy (Dict.) has ‘*couteler*, plier. Ne s’emploie que pour indiquer le premier pliage provisoire, en longs plis, auquel on soumet le linge lessivé, après son dernier lavage, alors que ce linge se trouve encore légèrement humide.’ With this cf. the method of folding (*cuttling*) as quoted in the N.E.D. *Couteler* is not in Godefroy: it may be a derivative of O.F. ‘*coute*, quilt.’

Felon or whitlow.—The N.E.D. has ‘*felon* (2), inflamed sore,’ etc., recorded in 1340, ‘*kylles* and *felouns* and *apostyms*.’ It occurs in

¹ Earlier 1774, ‘cotton and linen *corderoys*’ (N.E.D. additions and corrections).

leech-Latin *c.* 1116. There is no clear evidence for its use in O.F., in which *felon*,¹ *flon*, is applied to dysentery (Cotgrave, and Ambroise Paré, quoted by Littré). The sense is consistent with derivations from L. 'fell-, gall.' It appears to be generally synonymous with 'whitlow, a sore at the base of the nail.' Although *felon* is not given in the required sense by Godefroy, it occurs in O.F. with the meaning 'abcès, tumeur' (Rom., 152, p. 535). According to Métivier, it is still so used in Guernsey, and it appears to be current in Canada. I wish to suggest that, whether originally thus used in French or English, it is simply a metaphorical use of *felon* (1). This word often means in O.F. 'cruel, savage,' a sense which it preserves in N. *flonné* (v. Du Ménil and Godefroy, *se felonner*), and its application to a painful sore would be in accordance with popular metaphor. The examples in the N.E.D. include 'wykked felone' (*c.* 1450) and 'felons or noughtie sores' (1578). In this connexion no one appears to have quoted the somewhat parallel case of L. '*furunculus*, a little theefe, . . . a sore in the bodie called a *fellon* or *cattes heare*' (Cooper), O.F. '*furuncule*, a *felon*, or whitlow' (Cotgrave), '*froncle*, the hot and hard bume, or swelling, tearmed a *fellon*, or uncome' (ibid.), 'an ancome, *felon* or bile' (Boyer). In Mod. F. both *froncle* and *furuncle* occur. The O.F. forms are numerous and doubtless corrupted in some cases by folk-etymology. The application of the name of a biting animal to a sore (*furunculus* also means 'weasel' in L.) is pretty common; cf. *cancer*, *lupus*,² and Germ. *Wurm am Finger* (Ludwig's gloss for *whitlow*), but, in this particular case, the metaphor is perhaps rather that of the felonious thief. I am assuming throughout that a *felon* and *whitlow* are practically the same thing, L. '*paronychia*, a sore or impostumation under the rootes of the nayles; as a *felon*' (Cooper), or '*panaritium*, a disease often breeding in ones fingers' (ibid.). These are represented by It. '*panariccio*, a *fellon*, a whitblowe, that comes on ones fingers tops' (Florio), 'a whitloe or a *fellon* on fingers ends, also a white flaw and callosity in the feet . . . ' (Torriano), and Sp. '*padraastro*, parastre, le mari de ma mere apres le decés de mon pere . . . ; *padraastro del dedo*, un mal qui vient aux doigts, qui est quand la peau se leve de dessus les ongles par petits filets, envie.' Here we have the stepfather in the familiar

¹ Probably folk-etymology for O.F. *flun*, *flon*, le flux du ventre (*flumen*).

² Skinner derives the second syllable of *whitlow* from F. *loup*, 'propter sevitiam doloris.'

character of the unwelcome stranger. *Padrastro* also means in Spanish a fort overlooking a town 'by which it (the town) may be battered' (Stevens). A somewhat similar idea may also account for the It. variant *patericcio* (see postscript), later '*patreccio*, a felon or witlow, a sore or impostumation under the root of the nails' (Altieri). I gather from Körting that the Italian word has various dialect forms (cf. those of E. *whitlow*), the literature on which I am unable to consult. To the above parallels may be added L. '*tagax*, thievish, a thief, furunculus' (Facciolati, ed. Bailey, 1828), e.g. '*quæstor levis, libidinosus, tagax*,' which is used by Lucilius in the sense of 'a felon on a man's finger' (Cooper), and Du. '*vinne*, boil, sore,' '*vinnigh*, cruel, *fell*, or keen' (Hexham; see Franck). *Felon* and *whitlow* seem to have been common words in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cotgrave has also '*panary*, a *felon*, or *whitlow*, on the end of a finger.' Palsgrave has '*felon*, a sore, entracq' and '*whitflowe* in ones fingre, poil de chat.' Cotgrave has '*poil de chat*, a running sore, or tetter, which we also tearme a cat's haire; also a *whitlow* in the finger.' The derivation of *whitlow* will not be absolutely settled till the N.E.D. gives us all its numerous forms and their chronology. Those that are at present recorded are suspect as products of folk-etymology. Professor Skeat (Concise Dict.) says 'corruption of *whick-flaw*' (Halliwell), where *whick* is Northern for *quick*, thus 'crack near the quick.' He quotes also Palsgrave's *whitflowe*, and *whitflaw* from Wiseman (1676). The Century identifies the second syllable with '*low*, fire.' To these forms may be added Florio's *whitblowe* (v.s.). The word has evidently been associated with *white* and *whick*, and also with *flow*, *flaw*, *blow* (Torriano seems to understand it *white flaw*, v.s.), and a not unnatural inference would be that it has nothing to do with any of these words. The survival of the forms *whitlow*, *whitlaw*, seems rather to indicate that the normal pronunciation had no *-fl-* and that the variants are attempts to give a meaning to a word in which the original metaphor had become obscured. Names of maladies are notoriously the prey of folk-etymology, e.g. in French we have *père Antoine* for *péritoine*, *Hippolyte* for *polype*, *delirium très mince* for *delirium tremens*. An amusing list of these is given by Nyrop (vol. i, p. 469); cf. 'locomotive attacks you' (*Punch*). I suggest therefore, as a sporting conjecture, that *whitlow* is for *outlaw*, used as a jocular substitution for *felon*. The initial sound *w-* has a way of intruding itself in English, e.g. in *one*, *once*, *peri-wig*, and the A.N. forms *Wistace*, *Wistasse*, etc., for

Eustace. Hexham (1672) has '*fijt*,¹ an *whitlo*, or ulcer on the fingers.' *Outlaw* has many variants in English, including *wtelaw* (*law*) (Sc. fourteenth century N.E.D.), and also in O.F. (Godefroy, s.v. *ulage*, gives eleven). The normal law French and Latin is *utlagh(us)*. Boyer (1729) has '*whitlow*, a preternatural and very troublesome swelling in the fingers ends, *mal d'aventure*.' Cf. *ancome* (*morbus adventitiuus*). The N.E.D. may demolish this fanciful structure by showing that the oldest form makes it impossible, in which case my conjecture for *felon* may also have to go by the board. If *-flaw* is original, *felon* may belong to the F. *fêler*, O.F. *fesler* (**fissulare*); cf. *fester*, *fistula*. Cotgrave has '*fellure*, a small craze, cracke, or *flaw*, . . . no bigger than a haire,' which rather suggests connexion with the *poil de chat* or *cattes heare*² (v.s.); cf. also F. *crevasse*; but the fact that the earliest M.L. form of *felon* has no *-s-* makes this unlikely. There may, however, have been contact between the two ideas. In conclusion, the N.E.D. includes the *Chelidonium majus* among the botanical names given to *felon-grass*, *felon-wort*, etc., and Junius gives for this F. '*felongne*, selandine the greater, swallowes herb, swallow-wort, tettar-wort' (Cotgrave).

P.S.—Among fantastic transformations of names of diseases none is more curious than that of F. '*orgelet* (earlier *orgeolet*), petite tumeur, de la nature du furoncle, qui pousse près du bord libre de la paupière' (D.G.); angl. '*sty*.' This is a dim. of O.F. '*orgeol*, a long warte resembling a barley corne, and growing on the edge or corner of an eye-lid' (Cotgrave); L. '*hordeolum* . . . a little swelling or rising in the eye-lids, like a barley-corn, a stian' (Gouldman). Its popular name is *compère loriot*. With the first part cf. It. *patericcio* for '*whitlow*' (v.s.). The *loriot* (*oriole*) appears from the D.G. to be due to the colour of the sty. I think it is much more likely to be connected with some superstition regarding the bird ('*witwall*, *yellow-peake*, *hickway*,' Cotgrave), which appears to have been gifted with peculiar qualities in early medicine, e.g. 'The curing of the jaundies is also to our purpose here; which is then effected, when the diseased attentively beholds that bird which Holerius calls *galbula*, that is, *woodwall*; the French give it the name of *Loriotus*. And it is wonderfull, that this bird cannot endure the sight of him that has the

¹ Mod. Du. *fijt*, explained by Franck as an obscure deformation of *ficus*, fig, used of a swelling; cf. Germ. *Feigwarze*.

² 'A fellon, uncome, or cattes heare, *furunculus*' (Baret, quoted in N.E.D.).

jaundies' ("Renodæus his Dispensatory," trans. Tomlinson, 1657). According to other authorities the patient recovers and 'the bird presentlie dies.'

Kestrel.—First occurs 14—; earliest form, *castrell*; variants, *kest-*, *kist-*, *kaist-*, *keist-*, and (rare) *coistrel* (this last, no doubt, folk-etymology). Also called *stannel* or *wind-hocer* (earlier *steingal*¹ and an unquotable name). The N.E.D. says: 'app. corresponding to O.F. *crosserelle*, *crecerelle*, *quercerelle*; Mod. Poitevin *casserelle*. Ult. etymology obscure; it is difficult to reconcile the various O.F. forms with each other and with the It. equivalents.' O.F. *crosserelle*, etc., appears to be a derivative of O.F. *crecele*, *cresselle*, *cercelle* (Godefroy), used in the same sense. It has been confused perhaps by dictionary makers with O.F. *cercelle*, Mod. *sarcelle*, teal (L. *querquedula*); e.g. Godefroy and the D.G. quote '*cercelle*, kestrel' from the "Chev. au Lyon," but in Förster's edition it is, rightly I think, explained 'teal.' *Querquedula*, like G. *Kriekente* (v. Kluge), is onomatopœic, and O.F. '*crecelle*, kestrel' has, in my opinion, nothing to do with it. Godefroy, Comp., quotes *cercerelle* from Cotgrave. This is, however, not the only form Cotgrave gives. He has—

'*Cercerelle*, a rattle, clicket, or clapper; also a *kastrell*, steingall; also a teale.'

'*Cercelle* (the water-fowle called) a teale.'

'*Crecerelle*, a rattle, or clack, for children to play with; also a *kestrell*, fleingall.'

'*Crosserelle*, a rattle, or clack, for children; also a *kestrell*, stanniell, fleingall.'

'*Quercelle*, a *kastrell*, fleingall.'

'*Quercerelle*, as *quercelle*.'

The F. forms are thus pretty various, and are distinguished by the prevailing initial consonant, and the modern forms, from '*sarcelle*, teale' (Cotgrave). For the Romance forms from *querquedula* see Körting, § 7663. The *kestrel* seems to have been popularly distinguished by (1) his method of sustaining himself in the air; hence G. *Wannenweher*, E. *wind-hocer*, and other E. and It. names, and perhaps Sp. *cernicalo* (to '*cerner*, to

¹ The N.E.D. quotes (1608) '*kaistrels* or *steingals*,' the latter being a misprint which has created a ghost word (v. N.E.D. *steingal*), appearing in Cotgrave, Gouldman, etc. Cooper has, in the corresponding gloss, the correct *steingal*.

soar' ?); (2) his voice, hence E. *staniel*, *stannel*, older *steingall* (A.S. 'stāngella, rock-yeller,'¹ Skeat), and L. 'tinnunculus, a kinde of haukes; a *kistrell* or a *kastrell*; a steyngall. They use to set them in pigeon houses, to make doves to love the place, because they feare away other haukes with their ringing voice' (Cooper). Holyoak and Gouldman give also *tintinnunculus* (from Columella; it occurs also in Pliny). There can be no doubt as to the origin of this word (*tinnulus = crepitans*). The belief alluded to by Cooper occurs elsewhere in English (v. N.E.D., quot. 1577), and in his French contemporary Ambroise Paré, 'La *cresecerelle* de son naturel espouvente les espreviers de sorte qu'ils fuyent sa veue et sa voix' (quoted by Littré). Hence it seems extremely probable that 'crecelle, crecerelle, kestrel,' is simply the same word as 'crecelle, crecerelle, rattle, leper's bell,' etc. (v. D.G. *crecelle*), which probably represents a L. **crepicella* for *crepitacillum* (Lucretius), or 'crepitaculum, instrument d'arain, ou autre chose pour faire bruit, comme une sonnette, ou clochette, crecerelle, et autres' (R. Estienne). I have pointed out that in Dutch and German the same name has been applied to the *kestrel* and to the *stone-chat*.² The latter is called in Mod. F. *traquet*, explained by Cotgrave as 'the bird called a bunting'; also 'the clack, or clapper, of a mill.' This is a parallel to the double meaning of O.F. *crecelle*. The French word has, no doubt, suffered from folk-etymology; the *cer-*, if pronounced *ser-* (which I doubt), may be due to the influence of 'cercelle, querquedula,' with which it has certainly been confused (v.s.). I do not know whether the *kestrel's* cry has any resemblance to a rattle, but it seems quite natural that the rustic belief, apparently as old as Columella, that he warned off other hawks by his voice, should have led to his being named from the 'lazars clicket, or clapper' (Cotgrave, *claquette*) by which people were cautioned not to approach.

Lanner.—The N.E.D. rejects the derivation proposed by Diez for O.F. *lanier* (**lanarius* to 'laniare, to rend,' *lanius*, butcher'), and proposes O.F. 'lanier, cowardly,' comparing the M.L. epithet

¹ Is there not rather an allusion to the sound of the cry than to the habit of the bird? Cf. *stone-chat*, in Germ. *Steinschmätzer*, which is given by Junius for *kestrel*. Cf. Du. 'steen-krijgter, -smetser, ulula . . . , tinnunculus, falco . . . , cinclus, lithoscopus' (Kilian).

² Hexham corrupts *steen-smetser* (Kilian) into 'steen-metser, stone-mason, or *kestrill* that keeps upon steeples (cf. G. *Turmfalke*), a fowle so-called.' The *stone-chat* was also called in E. *smatch* (Turner, 1544, Eticy. Brit., s.v. *wheatear*), and *clot-burd* (cf. F. *motteux*). In G. also *Steinfletsche*, lit. 'gnasher.'

tardiarius (Neckham), and the O.F. description of this falcon as 'mol et sans courage' (Godefroy). Hexham gives for it *blat*, which is in Kilian *blaet*. If this is the same as Germ. 'blöde, shy, timorous' (cf. Sc. *blait*), it supports the etymology proposed. At the same time, it may be worth noting that Florio has '*gazza sparviera*, a kind of *lanaret* hauke called a skreeke or nine murther.' The usual country name of the 'skreeke' is the 'butcher-bird.'

Limber, team.—'Shaft of a cart or carriage' (1480, N.E.D.). Connexion with F. '*limon* . . . the thill of a waine, waggon, etc.' (Cotgrave) is very probable, and perhaps, if the form *lymnar* (G. Douglas, 1501) is genuine, the English word may represent F. '*limonière*, shafts and connected frame-work of a vehicle' (v. N.E.D.). The origin of F. *limon* is quite obscure. Like E. *helm* and F. *timon*, the latter of which it has apparently influenced (L. '*tēmo*, le *limon* d'un chariot, charette, et autres,' R. Estienne), it apparently meant originally the pole, rather than the shafts. Hence, perhaps, O.Sp. '*leme*, helm' (cf. the double meaning of *helm* and *timon*). As all the Romance languages have *ti-* and not *te-* in the words that represent L. *tēmo*, it would seem that there must have been a V.L. **limo*, i.e. that the influence of the other word must have made itself felt in Latin, and hence that there must have been a L. **limo*. This word is actually given by Holyoak, Gouldman, Littleton, and Coles, 'a range, or beame betweene two horses in a coach' (Columella). Ainsworth quotes it from Littleton, but in later dictionaries it disappears or is relegated to the appendix of barbarous Latin. It occurs three times in the Vocabularies, glossed 'a rygwythe,' 'thyllys,' 'a thylle.' It is not in Du Cange. Is it originally a mistake for *tēmo*, which does occur in Columella? If so, what influence converted the latter into *timo*? There is nothing improbable in the theory of a formation from '*limus*, askew' (Körting, § 5615; cf. *limen*), for this is, after all, the business attitude of both a chariot pole and a helm, e.g. 'interque Triones *flexerat obliquo* plaustrum *temons* Bootes' (Ovid). The synonym *tēmo* is even used by Columella for 'bois qu'on met *de travers*' (Estienne), 'a stake or pole layed *overthwart*' (Cooper).

Has this L. *tēmo*, which occurs four times in the Vocabularies ('*þisl*,' '*segelgyrd*,' 'thylle,' 'tēme'), had anything to do with the sense development of *team*? Cf. '*yoke* of oxen' and F.

attelage. It does not appear that either Germ. *zaum* or Du. *toom* are used in the English sense. Gouldman has a verb 'to *team* horses together, *dextro*, to couple horses in a *teeme*' (Cooper).

Mail, sb.—Under *mail*, sb., the special sense of spotting, dappling of hawks (and other animals) seems to be regarded by the N.E.D. as growing out of *mail* (as in 'coat of *mail*'). So also under *mail*, adj., and *mailed*. It should be pointed out that, even though the ultimate origin be in each case *macula*, the falconry term *mail* represents a direct borrowing of O.F. '*maille*, spot,' not felt as having any connexion with armour. Godefroy has '*maille*, tache ou moucheture sur les ailes d'un oiseau,' with the examples: '*Les esperviers blancs roux sont bons . . . mais qu'ils ayent la maille traversée noire*,' and '*Ceux avec deux plumages, c'est assavoir de deux couleurs, et non de maille, sont les plus mechans*.' So also Mod. F. '*maillure*, moucheture sur le plumage d'un oiseau,' and '*émaillure* (Fauconn.), taches rouges dont sont semées les plumes de certains oiseaux de proie' (D.G.). The latter word has apparently been associated with '*émailler*, to enamel,' and the D.G. even derives it thus, which I should take to be an error. The '*mailing*' of a hawk is also called *haglure* (Cotgrave, D.G.), *aiglure*, for *égature* (v. D.G.).

To mail.—The N.E.D. has '*mail*, v. 3, to tie up, wrap up, envelop' [of obscure origin]. It appears to be used generally of wrapping up goods (several examples from sixteenth century), and, technically, of wrapping up, or binding, a hawk (as a term of falconry). In the general sense, it no doubt has been associated with O.F. '*emmalier*, to pack up' (to '*male*, mail'), given by Moisy, Roquefort, Du Cange (s.v. *immalatus*), but the idea of enveloping and binding is so strongly present in the examples given in the N.E.D. as to suggest connexion with F. '*emmailloter*, to swathe,' chiefly used of swathing infants. Cf. with '*Mayle* your hawke fast' (N.E.D., 1575) '*Et ce voules faire, emmaillotes votre oyseau tres bien*' (Franchières, Fauconnerie, in Godefroy, Comp., 1528). I suggest, then, that F. *mail* here represents an O.F. '**emmailler*, to swathe, bind,' lit. 'to enmesh,' replaced early by *emmailloter*, or that the vb. *mail* is formed from '*mail*, mesh,' just as the vb. *trammel* is formed from the noun, F. *tramaill*, L. **tri-maculum*. The formation in French of verbs from *en* + substantive is so common (*emballer*, *entoiler*, *entouiller*, etc., in the

sense required here) that it would be extraordinary if there were no **emmailler*. Godefroy has *emmalie*, for which he suggests 'made worse,' with the example—

'Ocient tant quant qu'il treuvent
Con gens de courrouz *emmaliez*.'

Does not this mean 'wrapt up' in wrath?

Manchet.—The N.E.D. leaves the etymology of '*manchet* bread' unsolved. As it appears to have been originally an adj. (forms in *-yd* occur, v. N.E.D.) may it not be a past participle (cf. *crumpet*, *fitchet*)? Apparently it was made of the very finest flour, sifted much more thoroughly than cheat-bread, ranged bread, ravelled bread, etc. In O.F. '*manche*, sleeve,' means a strainer or 'boulter.' Godefroy gives no examples, but in this sense it must be at least as old as *hippocras*, O.F. *ipocras*, which was so called because strained through the '*manche* (d'Hippocrate), a sleeve; also a long narrow bag (such as Hypocras is made in)' (Cotgrave). This is explained by the D.G. as of felt or cloth, but the distinction between sieve and strainer appears to be very vague in the middle ages, and, apparently, flour can be 'boulted' through cloth. Ludwig (1716) has '*Beutel*, the bolting bag or cloth wherein meal is sifted.' Cowel (1708), '*Bolting* hath also a more common acception, which country housewives say is the sifting of their meal or flour thro' a bag to make it finer.' Cf. also F. '*estamine*, the stuffe tamine'; also a 'strainer, searce, boulter, or boulting cloth . . .' (Cotgrave). Florio (s.v. *pane*) is very vague about the different kinds of bread, but he gives '*pane di cernita*, *manchet* bread, choise bread, ranged bread,' and '*cernita*, a choice, a culling, or election, or picking out, a sifting out,' which belongs to '*cernere*, to discern, to picke, chuse, or cull out, to sift, to bolt.' The natural method of grading flour would be by sieves of varying fineness, and the finest would be the *manche*. Unfortunately I do not find *manche* thus used in M.E. In this connexion I should like to suggest that *ravel* in '*ravelled* bread' (1577), '*ravel*-bread' (1591), '*ravel*, to sift' (1674, 'wheat *unravelled*, or *ravelled* through the coarsest boultel,' N.E.D.) is an extended use of the vb. *ravel* in the meaning 'ravel out, disentangle' ('*desfiler*, to untwist, untwine, unweave, loose, *ravell*,' '*effiler*, to *ravell*, unwind, loose,' Cotgrave). This has the meaning of F. '*démêler*, to disentangle,' met. 'to sift' (*une affaire, ses papiers*, etc.), for which Littré gives an example (from *Le Ménagier de Paris*), meaning literally to sift, or 'range.'

P.S.—*Manchet* appears to have been associated, especially in the later ‘*manchet* (= roll) of bread,’ with F. ‘*miehe* . . . a fine *manchet* . . .,’ ‘*michette*, a small *manchet*’ (Cotgrave); cf. Du. ‘*micko*, hemiartium,’ etc. (Kilian); v. Franck (*mik*).

Mockado, mugget.—*Mockado* first occurs 1543, is a common word in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a material used for clothes, usually spoken of as inferior, and there is a variety called ‘tuft-mockado’¹ (contrasted in one example with ‘plain’). It was originally made in Flanders. Cotgrave has *moucade* (not elsewhere recorded). The D.G. quotes a form *mocade* as occurring in the seventeenth century, now replaced by ‘*moquette*, étoffe pour tapis et pour meubles, veloutée de laine, dont la chaîne et la trame sont en fil,’ and compares E. *moccadoe* and Du. *mokfluweel*. Cotgrave also has *mocayart* and *moncairt*. As an adj. *mockado* is used in the sense of ‘trumpery, inferior’ (cf. *fustian*). There is also an E. ‘*moquette*, a material composed of wool and hemp or linen, chiefly used for carpeting’ (1762), evidently from F. *moquette* (v.s.). The N.E.D. suggests derivation from It. ‘*mocajardo*, mohair, moire,’ which properly means ‘camlet,’ and is ultimately Arab. I think that *mockado* may have been confused with this word, which has several Romance variants, but I do not believe in immediate derivation of the one from the other, although Torriano gives ‘*moccaiario*, *moccaiaro* (cf. Cotgrave), *moccaiorro*, the stuff *mocado*, also a mucketer.’ Florio² (1598) gives ‘*moccaiario*, *moccaioro*, the stuffe we call *mocado*,’ and ‘*moccaiuolo*, *moccatolo*, a mucketer, a handkercher, a snuffer.’ **Mugget.**—‘Intestine of a calf or sheep as an article of food,’ occurs 1481 (*moghettis*), also (1578) ‘*moquet* or *chauden* of a calf.’ The N.E.D. has a separate entry *moquet* (1578) = *chawdron*, with the example ‘crompled leaves, wrinckled and . . . drawn together almost like the *moquet* or *chauden* of a calf.’ This is not brought into connexion with the entry *mugget*, but obviously belongs there, and may be an important clue for both *mugget* and *mockado*. It is admitted that *mockado* was an inferior stuff, and I take it to be very much the same thing as Naples *fustian*. Gouldman has ‘*heteromalla*, a garment of *fustian an apes*, or volure, or of mutft (cor. *tuft*) *mockado*.’ This is from Junius, who has ‘*vestis heteromalla lanæa*, Germ. ein kleyd von Bubensammet, Du. een trijpen aft bastaert-fluweelen cleet, F. de tripe, de chamois velouté, It. di velluto de tripa, Sp. de velludo de tripa.’ Littleton has ‘*heteromallus*,

¹ Cf. tufted *fustian*.

² The N.E.D. quotes only from 1611.

friezed or shagged only on one side; of silk it may be taken for velvet or any tufted silk; of woolen, for *mockado* or *fustian*.¹

A similar material was called formerly *tripe*, and I suggest that in *mockado* (*muckado*) and *mugget* (*moquet*) we have a similar parallelism. I do not know how old *tripe* is in this sense, but I give the following dictionary examples:—

Trium linguarum dict. (1587): '*trÿpe*, heteromallum, *tripe*, chamois velouté.'

Florio: '*trippa*, a kinde of *tripe* velvet that they make women's saddles with called fustian of Naples.'

Cotgrave: '*tripe*, . . . ; also valure, Irish tuftaffata, fustian an apes.'

Oudin: '*terciopelo de tripa*, de la *tripe* de veloux' (the F. *tripe* is quoted by the D.G. for 1483).

Torriano: '*trippa* di veluto, *tripe*-velvet, mock-beggars velvet, fustian of Naples.'

Sobrino (1744): '*moquette*, sorte d'étoffe de laine veloutée, *moqueta*, especie de *tripe*.'

Ebers (1799): '*Bettelsammet*, *Bubensammet*, *Trippsammet*, mock-velvet, or Irish tuft-taffeta, or fustian-an-apes.'

The N.E.D. has 'mock-velvet' (perh. = *mockado*, 1613), and Sewel (1727) has 'mock-velvet, *tryp*.'

Hence it seems that *tripe*, *fustian*, *mock-velvet*, and *mockado* were practically the same thing.¹ Now *mockado*, only occurring in English, may very well be one of those pseudo-foreign trade names in which the early merchant venturers indulged (cf. *perpetuano*, *pintado*, N.E.D.), and its German and Dutch names are so obviously contemptuous that it must have been generally associated with *mock*. On the other hand, '*moquet*, *tripe*,' is apparently older, and cloth is more likely to be named from its suggesting the surface of tripe than the converse process. The resemblance of tripe to a material appears in the wide extension of '*tripe*, fustian.' An examination of the specimens displayed in a tripe-shop window will convince anyone of the close likeness between tripe and a coarse shaggÿ fabric. Cf. Germ. '*Gekröse* (which Kluge regards as connected with *kraus*), a calf's pluck or chaldron, the guts of a calf, the *tripes* (of geese), . . . is also the name for a kind of a collar that has many plaits, which is worn about the neck by some protestant parsons and magistrates of some towns in Germany'

¹ '*Moquette*, *tryp*, mok-fluweel' (Marin, 1773).

(Ebers). Cf. also F. '*fraise*, ruff,' probably from '*fraise*, mesentery,' 'a strawberry; also a ruffe; also a calves chaldern' (Cotgrave). See also the N.E.D. quotation under *moquet* (v.s.).

I suggest, therefore, that there is a strong probability that the proportion *moquet* (intestine) : *mockado* (stuff) :: *tripe* (intestine) : *tripe* (stuff) holds true, and that when the origin of *tripe* is discovered it will throw light on the other words.

The It. *mocajardo* is described in "Voc. della Crusca" (1686) and all the eighteenth and nineteenth century dictionaries I have (Veneroni, Altieri, Baretti, Antonini, Cardinali, Valentini) as made from hair and identical with '*camoiardo*, Turkie chamblet' (Torriano). It was a rare and costly fabric. It is confused with *mockado* only apparently by Florio, Cotgrave, and Torriano, to whom the English word would be familiar. Torriano even gives '*moccado* stuff, drappo *moccado*.'

Since writing the above, I have found '*moucayart*, weerschijn aft cantant' (Meurier, Dict. François-Flameng, 1584). I do not understand *cantant*, but the other word may mean 'sham,' which is rather against my theory, and points to identity of *mocado* and *mocaiardo*.

Mulligrubs.—Explained by the N.E.D. as a 'grotesque arbitrary formation,' meaning a fit of 'spleen,' 'megrim,' etc., hence jocularly stomach-ache, etc. With all deference, I do not believe that there is such a thing as a 'grotesque arbitrary formation.' Even *colliwobbles* probably contains a reminiscence of *colic* and *wobble*. Nor do I agree with the N.E.D. as to the order of meanings, which would be against the usual semantic practice; cf. 'spleen' and 'megrim,' both originally physical; cf. also 'mumps' ('*mulligrubs* or *mumps*, a counterfeit fit of the sullens,' "Dictionary of the Canting Crew," 1690). It happens that the earliest example (Nashe, 1599) has the mental meaning, with the isolated variant *mulliegrubs*, but the earliest Dict. example in the N.E.D. (Ainsworth, 1736) is '*the mouldy grubs*, tormina ventris.' This form is important, and occurs earlier ('*mouldigrubs*, tormina,' Coles, 1703). The second example in the N.E.D., 'Whose dog lyes sicke o' th' *mulligrubs*?' (1619), suggests the disease called 'worms' or 'bots,' to which some animals are subject. *Bots* is rendered by Littleton '*vermiculi*, *verminatio*, *lumbrici* in equis.' *Verminatio* is given by Junius as synonymous with *tormina alvi*, i.e. with *mulligrubs* (v.s.). The agreement of these two terms is shown by It. '*tormina*, fretting or wringing in the guts or

bellie,' *verminatio*, a disease with wormes properly in cattle. Also a vehement ache or wringing of the guts, as if they were gnawne with wormes' (Florio). See also Cooper (*tormina, verminatio*). Florio also has '*lumbrici*, little easses or earth-wormes. Also wormes breeding in any creatures bellie, bellie wormes, or mawe wormes.' Hence I suggest that *mulligrubs* is a rustic name for 'mal de ventre, the *wormes*; or bellyache; a painful griping, or fretting in the guts' (Cotgrave), and that its second element is '*grub*, or maggot, *lumbricus*, *vermiculus*' (Littleton, 1684), '*grub*, *lumbricus*' (Coles, 1703). As for the first element, the variant *mouldigrub* looks like a conscious translation of the obs. '*mull*, mould' (v. N.E.D.) into the word which had replaced it. *Lumbricus* is applied by the early dictionaries both to the earth-worm and the intestinal parasite. Estienne (1536) has '*lumbricus*, ver qui naist & s'engendre de terre,' '*lumbrici*, vers qui naissent au ventre de l'homme & des bestes.' See also Cooper. Holyoak has '*lumbrificus* (corr. *lumbricus*), an earthly worme, also a belly or maw worme.' The '*mully*' or '*mouldy*' *grub* is, I suggest, another name for the '*earthly*' worm. Cf. '*mully*, *pulverulentus*' (Levins), used in Norfolk for '*mouldy*, *powdery*' (N.E.D.). A parallel case of the transference in meaning of a bodily ailment to its effect on the mind is seen in the expression 'to have a *maggot* in the head,' explained by Cotgrave thus: '*ver coquin*, a certaine worme bred in a mans head, and making him cholericke, humorous, and fantasticall when it biteth.' In Germ. *Mücke*, *Grille*, *Ratte*, *Wurm* are all thus used. On the close popular connexion between *worm* and diseases and minds, see Paul, "Deutsches Wörterbuch" (*Wurm*). See also the compounds of *worm* in Kilian.

P.S.—*Mouldigrubs* is also in Ludwig (1706), who identifies it with 'the *frets*, *bauchgrimmen*, *les tranchées de ventre*' (Estienne's gloss for *verminatio*). Ludwig has also *mulligrubs* in the modern sense.

Mystery.—In the senses 'craft,' etc., and 'trade-guild,' etc. (fifteenth century), the N.E.D. thinks that *mystery*, O.F. *mestier*, M.L. *misterium*, L. *ministerium*, may have been influenced by *maistrie*. I should like to go farther, and express a doubt as to whether O.F. '*mestier*, *exercice d'un art mécanique*' (Godefroy, Comp.), has much to do with *ministerium*, from which the authorities derive *métier* in all its various senses. The oldest meaning, 'service, office,' is clearly from *ministerium*, as is well

shown by the earliest records (*menestier*, Eulalie, *mistier*, S. Léger, *mestier*, Wace), and the common O.F. *est mestier = opus est* is from the same source; also '*métier*, loom,' etc. But in the special meaning of 'craft' or 'guild' it seems likely that we have *mestier* (*ministerium*) encroaching on quite a different word. The 'craft, guild' idea is very closely associated with *magister*. There are a great number of German compounds of *Meister* used in this connexion, many of which correspond to English compounds of *master* and Dutch compounds of *meester*. It has '*maestranza*, *maistrise*, or cunning, or skill, or workemanship' (Florio); Sp. '*maestranças*, all the several trades or handicrafts that belong to building of ships' (Stevens); F. '*maistrise . . .*, also, cunning, skill, artificiallness, expert or excellent workemanship . . .' (Cotgrave). The examples in Godefroy, Comp., point clearly to connexion of '*métier*, exercice d'un art mécanique,' with '*magisterium*, *maistrise* et gouvernement' (R. Estienne). The earliest form he gives is *maistier* (1285); *mestir* is recorded 1325, and *maistier* again 1346. Now *maistier* exactly represents *magisterium*, and cannot come from *ministerium*, while on the other hand *maistier* can quite well give *mestier* (cf. *menotte* from *main*, O.F. *meson* for *maison*, and Pr. *mistral* < *magistrale*). I do not know how far the Romance derivatives of *ministerium*, given by Körting and Diez, occur in this special sense. I have only found them in It. '*mestiere*, *mestieri*, *mestiero*, a trade, an occupation, a craft, a *misterie*' (Florio). This evidence contradicts that given by O.F. *maistier* (v.s.), but the earlier history of the word might show it to be for **maestiere* or a French loan-word.

Nappy ale. — The N.E.D. regards *nappy* (1529) here as a transferred use of '*nappy*, villosus.' It may be pointed out that there is a French parallel. Cotgrave has '*bourru*, flockie, hairie, rugged, high-napped,' and '*vin bourru*, new sweet wine, such as is not yet settled after vintage'; or 'new, thicke, unfined (white) wine.' This is still in use (D.G.). Littleton (1683) renders '*nappie* ale' by '*sicera hypnotica*!'

Nifle. — The oldest sense is a fictitious tale, 'He served him with *nifles* and with *fables*' (Chaucer, N.E.D.). Later *nifle* is used of 'some slight or flimsy article of attire.' The N.E.D. suggests *nichil* confused with *trifle*, with the latter of which *nifle* is constantly coupled. I believe in the influence of *trifle* (earlier *trufte*, *treffe*), and suggest that *nifle* belongs to the same region of metaphor. It is generally accepted that the meaning 'humbag,'

which belongs to *truffa*, etc., in the Romance languages, is a metaphorical application of 'truffle,' 'puff-ball.' To 'serve anyone with *nifles*' is in O.F. 'donner la *baie* à quelqu'un,' where *baie*, whether connected with 'bayer, to gape' (D.G.) or not, was probably felt as 'baie, berry' (L. **baca* for *bacca*). Cf. It. '*baia*, a trifle, a toy, a *nifla*, a jest . . .' (Florio), and Sp. '*dar la baya*, se moquer, jouer une trousse, donner une baye à quelqu'un: ce mot est italien, et la phrase aussi' (Oudin). I believe myself that both the Italian and Spanish are from French, and that *baie* means 'berry'; cf. '*repaistre de bayes*, to feed with trifles or vain hopes; to intertaine with fibs, or frivolous tearmes' (Cotgrave). Cf. also the double meaning of F. '*baguenaudes*, bladder-nuts, St. Antonies nuts, wild pistachoes; also the cods, or fruit of bastard sene; also (the fruit of red nightshade, or alkakengie) red winter cherries; (all of which being of little, or no value, cause this word to signifie) also trifles, *nifles*, toyes, paltry trash' (Cotgrave). I suggest that the origin of *nifla* is F. '*nêfle*, medlar,' a fruit of wide but inferior reputation, and called by opprobrious names in sixteenth and seventeenth century English. This word is used metaphorically in French, e.g. 'Je n'en donnerais pas une nêfle,' 'Beau serment de nêfles' (D.G.). '*Neffle* se dit aussi en parlant des choses qu'on veut mepriser: "On vous donnera des *neffles*." "Cele me coute de bon argent, je ne l'ai pas en pour des *neffles*"" (Furetière). Palsgrave's *nifles* (850/2), the only record for the O.F. *nifla* from which the Century derives E. *nifla*, is used apparently in a similar way, '*Nyfels* in a bagge, de tout *nifles*, as baille lui de tout *nyfles*,' and is, I conjecture, a mistake or misprint for *nefle* (v. Cotgrave, *bailler*, for a number of similar phrases). This use of *nêfle* is not exemplified in Godefroy, but it has the character of an early metaphor. Veneroni (1714) has 'Ce sont des *neffles*, ce qui se dit en se moquant, l'Italian dit, son *cipolle*, Germ. das sind Narren- oder Kinder-possen, L. sunt nugæ, ineptiæ.' Florio has '*cipolla*, an onion or chiboll,' '*cipollata*, a flim-flam tale, a tittle tattle . . .' Boyer (1729) has 'cité de *neffles*, a paultry town.' The absence in English of a form **nefle* is a weak point in my argument, but a word of this kind would probably be in use for some time before becoming recorded in a document.

Nock, notch.—For *notch* the N.E.D. accepts Professor Skeat's etymology (Notes, p. 199) from F. *oche*, identical in meaning with '*coche*, nick, notch, etc.', but rejects all etymologies proposed for *nock*. It. *nocca*, *nocchia*, *nocco*, *nocchio*, under which Florio gives

'*nocke* of a bowe,' are regarded as of doubtful genuineness. Kilian's '*nocke*, crena, incisura, incisura sagittæ quæ nervum admittit, ang. *nock*' is made suspicious by the presence of the English word, and the origin of Sw. '*nock* or *nokk*, notch' is quite obscure. If the It. and Du. words are both spurious, the dictionary-makers of the seventeenth century must have been in a conspiracy. Minshew and Skinner give them both. Junius (s.v. *crena*) has Du. *nocke* (so also Hexham), and Torriano gives *nock*, *notch* under *nocchia*, *nocca*, *nocche*, *nocchie*, *nocchio*, *nocco*. Whether of separate origin or not, and I think there can be no doubt that *notch*, in the general sense of indentation, is from F. *oche*,¹ the two words have been curiously confused. The *nock* was 'originally, one of the small tips of horn fixed at each end of a bow and provided with a notch for holding the string' (N.E.D., 1398). It later became identical with *notch*, and was used also of the nick in the arrow. This appears in Cooper's '*arena*, a *notch* in a score; a *nocke* in a bowe; the dent or *notch* in a leafe about the brimmes,' and '*tenus*, the *nocke* or end of a bow.' A similar confusion between the *nock* and the *notch* appears to have existed in Spanish. Oudin has '*empulguera*, la coche d'une fleche, le cren ou la noix de l'arbaleste, le bout de l'arc, ou la pointe.' For the same word Stevens only gives 'the notches at the end of a bow in which the string lyes.' I do not hope to clear up the confusion, but I would point out that the N.E.D. has neglected an important semantic parallel which may throw some light on the question and which entitles Florio to a little more credence. The peg or trigger which held the string of the cross-bow was regularly described as the '*nut*' in E. (1528, N.E.D.), Germ., Du., It., F., Sp.; see Grimm (*nusz*), Kilian (*not*), Florio (*noce della balestra*), Godefroy and Cotgrave (*noix*), Oudin (*nuez*²), and it seems likely that when Burton wrote *notches* for *nocks* ('this present sultan makes *notches* for bows,' N.E.D., 1621) he had the It. *noce* in mind. Florio has not only the meaning *nock* under the words mentioned above, but also '*nocchia*, nut,' and '*nocco*, nut-tree.' Torriano gives for *nocchio* an immense number of meanings which fall roughly under the three headings '*nock*, *notch*,' '*knot* or *knob*,' '*knuckle* or *joint*,' and make it doubtful whether we have to do with a derivative of L. *nux*, or *nodus*, or

¹ The vb. *ocheris* used especially in O.F. of denting a sword-blade; cf. Pr. *osear*, similarly used.

² Translated *notch* in Shelton's "Don Quixote" (see N.E.D.).

Germ. *knochen* (see Körting). At any rate, it seems likely, from the parallels quoted above, that derivatives of *nux* may have been used in O.It. in connexion with the technicalities of the bow. Torriano gives '*noce*, any kind of nut or nut-tree, also the horned ends of a long shooting-bow,' which is uncommonly like the definition of *nock* given in the N.E.D., but at the same time differs considerably from Kilian's '*not van den staelen boghe, uncus, fibula; astragalus arcubalistæ, in cuius canaliculo spiculum locatur; uncus eburneus osseusve, sive hamus qui epizygi immittitur, nervumque balistæ sive majoris arcus retinet.*' This latter, however, agrees with a later meaning of *nock* (1535). The argument that 1398 is too early for an Italian word is weakened by the fact that the Italians were the expert crossbowmen of the fourteenth century and that large bodies of them fought against us in the French service (e.g. at Cressy, 1346). I suggest, then, that E. and Du. *nocke* are of Italian origin, and that *nock* has influenced *notch* (*coche*,¹ not *oche*, is the regular O.F. term for '*nick*' in speaking of the bow and arrow) so far as the latter is specifically used as a term in archery. At any rate the 'nut' theory seems worthy of attention. Some philologists have doubted the identity of the two Germ. words *nusz* (see Grimm) and have regarded the *nusz* of a bow as connected with O.H.G. '*nuska, fibula*' (cf. O.Sp. *nusche*). This would make it identical with E. *ouch*, *nouch*, O.F. *nouche*, *nosche*, etc. (see Du Cange, *nochia, noska, nusca*), and M.L. *nusca*, but the persistence of the 'nut' metaphor in Romance and Germanic languages alike (L. *nux* and Germ. *nusz* being in no way related, Kluge) is rather against such a view. Junius has '*uncus fibula . . . Du. de note van een staelen Boge, quasi nuculam dixeris, F. coche, noix, It. nozetta, coccha, Sp. noz.*' Finally, to add to the confusion, if *notch* is O.F. *oche*, why should not *nock* be its variant *oque* (Godefroy, Comp., of a bow, 1416)?

Pang.—The N.E.D. does not accept unreservedly the derivation from earlier *prange*, *pronge*, in the same sense ('*prongys of deth*,' 1447), and has for *pang* (sb. and vb.) examples later than 1500 only (the vb. being older). I can supply a somewhat earlier example for the noun: '*hytt (a child) hadd a grett pang, what sycknesse hyt was I can nott saye*' ('*Cely Papers*,' 1482, Camden Society). Whether the M.E. *pronge* is the same as '*prong, tine*,' which appears much later (the N.E.D. mentions for it both

¹ Cf. '*cocca, the nut or nocke of a crossebowe, or of an arrow, a dent, a chinke, a nocke*' (Florio).

L.G. 'prangen, to pinch,' and the words *prag* and *prog*), a strong case can be made out, from the semantic point of view, for *pang* < *prang* < L.G. *prange*. Cf. L. *angere*, *angina* ('angina pectoris, breast-pang'), *angor*, F. *angoisse*, G. and Du. *angst*, *b-ange*, and E. 'to wring the heart.' Cooper has 'wringings' for 'pangs.' The N.E.D. points out that there is no reason, as in *speak*, for the loss of a consonant, but there may have been influence of *pain*. Cooper renders *dolor* usually 'paine' or 'sorrowe,' but he has also 'impetus doloris, the pang of sorrowe,' and uses the word several times under *impetus*; e.g. 'libidinum impetus, the panges and assaults of sensual lustes,' 'effrænus, an unruly pangue or passion,' 'sceleratus impetus delendi imperii, a wicked pangue and enterprise . . .,' etc.

Pennyroyal.—Names derived from *pulegium*, etc., are found in most of the European languages. The N.E.D. has no forms connecting *pennyroyal* and *pulial royal*. May not the corruption be due to *pennywort*, quite another plant, but cf. the apparent influence of *speedwell* in the name *gromwell* (for *grommel*). The application of a common name to widely varying species is pretty common in the old vocabularies, and Palsgrave has (252, i) 'penny-worte an herbe, poulliot,' a few lines above 'penneryall au herbe, poulliot.' For the name *pennywort* cf. F. 'escudettes, the herb hipwort, Venus navell, penny-wort, penny-grass' (Cotgrave).

Privet.—This form (1542) for older *primet* has not, I believe, been explained. We have a parallel case in F. *duvet* for older *dumet*, which also needs explanation badly. I really do not see why Minshew's suggestion 'private' should not be right. In interviewing the landlord of a house lately, I remarked that 'privacy' was the first essential of a garden, to which he replied: 'Then you can't beat *privet*.' Is *privet* ever used except for the special purpose of making a good screen? The German names *Hartriegel*,¹ lit. 'strong-bolt,' for older *hartrügel* (see Weigand, and cf. F. *troëne*); *Rainweide*, from *Rain*, earlier 'Rein, Grenzstreifen zwischen zwei Äckern' (Paul); *Mundholz*,² from 'Mund, Schutz, Schirm' (Weigand), seem to express a similar idea. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *privet* seems sometimes to have adjectival force, e.g. 'guistrico, the hearbe that we call *privet*

¹ The oldest definition in Grimm is 'zu hecken und lauben verwandt.'

² Kilian, however, connects Du. *mondhout* with 'mond, mouth' (medicinally); cf. *keelkruyt*, another Du. name for *privet*.

print, or prime print' (Florio); 'prime print, or *private* (!) print' (Torriano).

Punnet.—This word is not recorded till 1822 (N.E.D.). It looks like a French word. Godefroy has *ponete*, of doubtful meaning, in a quotation which I do not understand—

'Engins, onners, comme *ponetes*
J'ey apporté bisacqz, bonetes.'

He explains *bonetes* as 'valises,' and apparently *ponetes* means a receptacle of some kind. It occurs also in Hécart (Dict. du Rouchi) in a special sense: '*ponéte*, petit panier où les poules vont pondre.'

Purrel.—'A transverse stripe, or bar, made by one or several coloured weft threads, in a web of cloth' (N.E.D.). The examples are 14— (Voc.) and two legal proclamations (1592). The N.E.D. says it may be F. '*burelle*, a barulet, etc., in heraldry.' This etymology was, I believe, suggested by me, but the credit for it belongs to my pupil, Miss K. Ashwell, M.A., who undertook the quest for me. It may be pointed out that there is precedent for the change of *b-* to *p-* in a F. loan-word, before the vowel *u*. We have *purse* < *bourse*, *pudding*¹ < *boudin*, and, possibly, '*pujge*, any very small house, or hut' (Jam., 1808, quoted in N.E.D.) < *bouge*, in older French 'a little room, or closet, built without the wall of a chamber' (Cotgrave), but, in the eighteenth century, '*logement, maison misérable*' (D.G.). Littré has '*burelle* (terme de blason), petites bandes, alternant l'une avec l'autre, en nombre pair et de couleurs différentes.' See also Godefroy *burelé*. The N.E.D. gives no examples for *purrel* after 1600, but it survived much later in dictionaries (Kersey, 1720; Coles, 1724; Bailey, 1736). I have now found strong confirmation for the *purrel*, *burelle* etymology. In Cowel's Law Dict. (1708) there is the entry '*burells*, King Henry the Third granted to the citizens of Lond. that they should not be vex'd for the *burels*, or cloath listed according to the constitution made for bredth of cloath, in the ninth year of his reign. See Stow's "Survey of Lond.," f. 297.' I have looked up this in Strype's Stow and the passage appears to throw some light on *buriller*, described by the N.E.D. as of doubtful sense, but app. identical with *burler* (one who dresses cloth by removing knots, etc.), but possibly a maker of *burel* (a kind of frieze). It

¹ Professor Kluge, with whom I discussed this etymology at Freiburg last year, while this part of the N.E.D. was going through the press, accepted the equation unreservedly.

is pretty clear from the following that a *buriller* was neither of these (though etymologically connected with them):—‘*Burillers* were a mystery for the inspecting of cloths woven, as to the well-making of them. For cloth ought to have been two ells wide from list to list (which was called *burrells*) according to an old constitution. There used to be great contentions between the *telars*¹ and these *burilers*. Whereupon King Henry III once interposed his pardon and indulgence against the *burilers* . . .’ (v.s.). It is evident that the *burillers* were named from their functions being connected with the *burrels*, later *purrels*.

To rail.—The N.E.D. has, without any suggested etymology, *rail* v.³ (var. *rayll(e)*, *reyle*, *rail(e)*, *rayle*, Sc. *rale*), ‘to flow, gush (down)’; used of blood; with examples from 1400 onward. This must surely be connected with O.F. ‘*raier*, *ruisseler*, *couler*’ (Godefroy). This is a very common word in O.F., and, like *rail*, is used almost exclusively (in its secondary meaning) of blood streaming downward, e.g. ‘*Li sancs tuz clers fors de son cors li raiet*’ (Rol.). For other examples see Godefroy. Its original meaning is of the streaming of beams, rays (L. *radiare*). It has numerous variants (*rayer*, *raier*, *reier*, *roier*, *royer*, *rahier*, *raer*). The English form is possible of explanation. By analogy with words which have an original *l mouillée*, other words, containing the yod sound, are occasionally perverted in form. A good example is ‘*daillot*, stay-sail cringle,’ which Professor Thomas (Essais I, 276) considers a perversion of *dayau* (*dayal*) from L. *digitale*. From the verb *raier* itself we have ‘*reillère*, water-pipe,’ for *rayère* (Thomas). In A.F. *raier* could have been assimilated to such verbs as *baillier*, *taillier*. Cf. E. *tallyho* from F. *taïaut*. The word *reillère* suggests that there was even an O.F. form **reiller*. Cf. F. *fourmiller* for older *fourmier*. See Cotgrave, *rayer* and *rayere*.

Rewey.—I came across this word in Cowel, applied to cloth that has wrinkled. I find it is in the N.E.D.—‘the same clothes being put in water are found to shrink, be *rewey*, purse, squally, cockling, bandy, light, and notably faulty’ (1601), also in Cowel (1684). The N.E.D. refers it conjecturally to *rew*, sb., in the sense ‘streak, stripe’ (c. 1290), which it regards as a variant of *row*; cf. *rew.*, vb., to mark with lines or stripes (1558). The two ideas are somewhat akin, and *rewey* perhaps was felt as from this *rew*; but the examples of the latter word seem to apply to colour, while *rewey* is apparently equivalent to ‘wrinkled,’ ‘corrugated,’

¹ F. *toilier*, O.F. *telier*, cloth-worker.

etc. It ought to belong to L. '*ruga*, a wrinkle, a playte' (Cooper). O.F. *rugue* occurs in the same sense—'Et ou drappel n'ait nulle *rugue* ne nulle bosse' (Godefroy, 1495); cf. It. '*ruga*, . . . also a puckring or crumbling (crumpling) in cloths . . .' (Torriano), Sp. '*ruga*, ride, plis, froncement' (Oudin), '*arruga*, wrinkle, a corrugation or contraction into furrows; rumple, or rude plait in clothes' (Seoane). I cannot find F. *rue* in this sense, but I feel that it ought to have been thus used. The word occurs pretty often in the dictionaries, Coles (1708), Cocker (1715), Kersey (1720), with the explanation 'unevenly wrought and full of *rows*,' which seems in favour of the origin suggested by the N.E.D. It is even in Sewel (1727), 'stof dat vol yle streepen of gaalen is,' which appears to mean 'stuff full of sleazy stripes and spots.'

Souse.—It is generally assumed that this word is identical with *sauce*. Though ultimately of the same origin (salt), they are too distinct in form and meaning to be identical. *Souse* means (1) pickling brine, (2) flesh thus pickled, (3) to immerse in brine. *Sauce* has none of these meanings, though approximating to the first. Torriano has '*condito*, seasoned, *sawced*, tempered, candied, comfited, conserved, preserved, also, pickled or *souzed* in liquor.' The oldest meaning is perhaps 'brine,' and the secondary the meat thus treated ('*souce*, trippes,' Palsgrave; '*trippe*, all manner of tripes or *souse*,' Florio). But the earliest meaning I have found is already the second: '*sowce*, mete, succidium' (Prompt. Parv.). From this is derived the verb '*sowsyn*, succidio' (ibid.). Cooper has '*succidia*, a piece or fitch of baken salted'; 'chair salée pièce à pièce' (Estienne); cf. Tusser—

'And he that can rear up a pig in his house,
Huth cheaper his bacon, and sweeter his *souse*'

(quoted by Century). Littleton has '*souse*, or swines flesh soused, porcina macerata.' '*Sows(s)e*, succidium, succidia,' occurs twice in the Vocabularies, also '*sowser*, sallarium,' which Professor Skeat explains 'saucer,' but which may, I suggest, mean 'brine-tub' (F. *saloir*). The commonest meaning of *souse* suggests Germ. *Sülze* (*Sulze*), which means both 'brine' and 'pickled meat, brawn,' and Du. '*zult*, brine, brine-tub, salted meat,' etc. These are represented by O.H.G. *sulza* (for **sult-ja*), O.S. *sultia* (v. Kluge, Franck), which appears also in the It. loan-word '*soleio*, a kind of conserving, seasoning or dressing of meat' (Torriano). Kluge explains *Sulze* as an ablaut formation from *Salz*. The older Dutch

form is '*sulte*, brine, or pickell; the brawn or fat of a hog or a boare, layd in wine or vineger' (Hexham); '*muria*, *salsugo*; *acetum quo lardum conditur*; *lardum conditum*; *omasum*' (Kilian). Both Hexham and Kilian have also the verb *sulten*. Kilian gives also '*soutsel*, *salitura*, *salsugo*, *salsilago*.' Sewel (1727) has '*zult*, *souc'd* meat,' '*zulten*, to pickle, *sowze* or *souce*,' etc. The fullest early definition of the English word I have found is in Kersey, '*sousee*, in cookery, a jelly, made of hogs ears and feet boiled in water, and afterwards cut into small pieces, to be stewed in vinegar and sugar,' which agrees pretty well with Germ. '*Sulze*, minced and pickled brawn in jelly' (Flügel-Schmidt-Tanger). Our word is, then, I suggest, Germanic, though ultimately related to *sauce* (with which it is confused both by Littleton and Ebers). Cotgrave's '*sollouoir*, a salting or *sowcing* tub, Rab.,' is, if genuine, a perversion, under Flemish influence, of '*saloir*, a powdering tub, or table' (Cotgrave). I do not know exactly how to account for the *s* in *souse*, but cf. It. *soleio* and Kilian's *soutsel*; there may also have been assimilation to *sauce*. Or *souse* may have been a plural (cf. *browis*, *brose*). Florio seems to use *souse* in a general way (like F. *salaison*) of all kinds of salted meats, e.g. '*salami*, any kinde of salt, pickled or poudred meats or *souse*, namely bacon, sausages, martlemas beefe, salt fish or whatsoever both fish and flesh,' and '*salare*, to salt, to powder, to pickle, to *souse* or season with salt, to lay in brine, to corne with salt.'

P.S.—The E. word is from O.F. *souz*: see Professor Thomas's article in *Rom.*, 152, pp. 579–82. This is not in Godefroy, and the article reached me after the above was printed. Professor Thomas does not mention the E. word, but derives O.F. *souz* as above.

Spigot.—Professor Skeat suggests O.F. **espigot*, and compares Port. *espicho* from L. *spiculum*. He quotes also Wal. '*spigot*, peak of a shoe' (Remacle). The M.E. variant *spikket* and the meaning of the word certainly seem to point to connexion with *spike*, but it is curious that the exact original is not attested. Sigart has '*spicotte*, *espicotte*, coin de fer pour faire éclater les pierres,' which suits the form and is apparently connected with *spike*. Florio gives it under '*spina*, a spigot . . . a forcehead.' For the close connexion between *spike* and *spine* cf. F. *porc épic* and Pr. *porc espin*, porcupine. Oudin has *espiga* and *espigon* in various senses of 'point' or 'peg.' Torriano actually has '*spigo* (*spico*), a *spigot* or quill,' but this does not seem to be attested elsewhere. Francis Junius, who connects *spigot* with Du. '*spie*, assula

inspicata' (Kil.), spells it *spiggat*, *spie-gate*. This rather suggests Du. *spie-gat*, lit. 'spit-hole,' the usual Dutch and German name for 'scupper-hole.' 'Gat, foramen' seems to be the usual Dutch word for an orifice in a cask, e.g. 'bom-gat, bunghole,' 'devieck-gat, plug-hole' (Hexham). Was the *spigot* (*clipsidra*, *ducillus*, Prompt. Parv., *ductileum*, Cath. Angl., cf. F. *doizil*) originally the peg or the hole in it through which the liquid flowed? If it was the latter, it would appear that the *fosset*, *faucet*, F. *faucet*, synonym of *spigot*, might after all represent a derivative of L. 'faux, throat, gullet.' The French for 'bottle-neck' is *goulot*, earlier *goulet*, and the latter word is also used of a narrow entrance like L. 'fauces, a streite entrie, the mouth of a river' (Cooper). Cotgrave has 'goulet, a gullet; the end of a conduit pipe whereat it dischargeth it selfe; also, the mouth or necke of a viol, bottle, or other long and narrow-neckt vessell . . .' The M.L. words from *duco* (cf. *conduit*) rather incline me to think that *spigots* and *fosssets* had more to do with creating a flow than stopping a hole.

Stale.—In the sense of 'decoy,' this word is derived by Professor Skeat from A.F. '*estale*, a decoy-bird' (Bozon). He suggests that this may be adapted from A.S. *stal-* as in '*stal-hrān*, a decoy-reindeer,' allied to M.E. '*stale*, theft' (to *steal*). This is the view adopted by the Century, which traces a sort of transition, 'theft,' 'stealth,' 'ambush.' Sweet gives *stal-hran* in the sense above. I suggest that A.F. *estale* has quite another origin, and that *stal-hran* should read *stāl-hran* (to '*stāl*, place'). The latter point is one on which I am not competent, but that Bozon's *estale* is from the O.F. verb '*estaler*, to place, display,' etc., is clear from the use of Germ. *stellen*, the origin of F. *estaler*. Ebers (1799) gives '*Vogelsteller*, a birder, a fowler, a bird-catcher,' '*Netze stellen*, to lay snares or gins, to set up or pitch nets,' '*nach dem Leben stellen*, to attempt upon ones life,' '*Einem nachstellen*, to lay snares or ambushes for one,' '*Stellvogel*, a decoy-bird,' '*Stellflügel*, a lane in a forest, where the toils, nets, etc., are set up or pitched for catching of deer or any game.' Paul gives among the meanings of *Stelle* also '*Falle*, *Netz*, *Garn*,' so that *stale*, both in the sense of 'trap' and 'decoy' is connected with the Germ. *stellen*. How far it represents O.F. *estale*, for which Bozon seems to be the only authority in this sense, or A.S. *stāl*, is a question which I must leave to Anglists.

Surround.—Professor Skeat ("Notes on English Etymology," pp. 286-9) shows clearly that the original meaning was 'to

overflow' (*super-undare*). The following entries are perhaps worth recording:—'*inundo*, to overflowe, to surround' (Cooper), '*inondare*, to overflowe, to surrounde, to overwhelme or cover with water' (Florio).

To tamp.—The Century gives two meanings for this verb: (1) to fill with *tamping* the hole made for blasting after insertion of charge; (2) to force in or down by frequent and somewhat light strokes, as 'to *tamp* mud so as to make a floor,' with examples from Sir Richard Burton. The Century regards it as developed from the form *tampin* (Halliwell) of '*tampion*, *tampon*, plug,' felt as *tamping*. But 'ramming' is not 'plugging,' although the two ideas are nearly enough allied to allow the supposition that the first meaning given for *tamp* has been associated with *tampion*. In the second meaning the etymology is clear. Godefroy gives O.F. *estamper* with several meanings, all obviously associated with 'stamping': it was used especially of pulverizing in a mortar, e.g.—

'Comme poree les a moult bien tailliees (les herbes)
En une coupe *estampees* et confites' (Les Loh.);

but also in the sense given by the Century for *tamp*, e.g. 'Il faut *estamper* la terre, de peur qu'elle n'assable les pauvres pionniers' (1566). Mod. F. *étamper* does not appear to have kept this meaning, but Godefroy gives Norm. '*estamper*, broyer.' Littré gives several derivatives of Mod. F. *étamper* (*estampe*, *estamper*, etc., are due to the special meaning of '*estampe*, engraving' from It. *stampa*, D.G.), including '*étampe*, batte qui sert à pétrir la terre à pipe,' with which cf. '*tamping-machine*, a machine for packing into the mold the clay or other material for making pipe' (Century). Thus 'to *tamp*' is a French doublet of 'to *stamp*.' I suggest that this verb is responsible for the nasalization of F. *tapon* (cognate with E. *tap*, Germ. *Zapfen*) into '*tampon*, plug, *tompion*, engine-buffer, etc.' In the parallel case of *tabour*, *tambour* we have the onomatopœic element (cf. *tom-tom* and F. *tam-tam*), but such a cause hardly exists in the case of *tampon*. Godefroy gives '*estampon*, *tampon*,' but the example '*estampons* pour charger les couleuvrines' (fifteenth century) shows that it should rather be rendered 'rammer.' There is, however, a sufficient similarity of function, both being driven in, for the two words to have become confused. *Estampon* probably had other meanings before it was used in relation to artillery, and would give

**étampon*. The verb 'to *tamp*' is not in Wright, or, apparently, in any of the early dictionaries. The meanings and derivatives given by the Century can probably all be traced to technical senses of F. *étamper*.

Tassets.—The dictionaries agree that O.F. *tassete* is a dim. of 'tasse, pocket,' but I have not seen any explanation of the development of meaning. The D.G. gives for *tassette* (1) 'Plaque d'acier . . . pour protéger le haut de la cuisse,' (2) 'basque de pourpoint.' I suggest that the latter is nearer the original meaning. The earliest example is '*tassette de brodure*' (1400). The plate 'tasses' were preceded by a chain mail 'gippon' and the latter probably by a *jupon* of cloth, linen, etc. This kind of 'kilt' would naturally be provided with a 'sporrán.' The semantic process is paralleled by It. '*scarselloni* (from '*scarsella*, pocket, budget,' etc.), bases or *taces* for a horseman' (Florio), and Sp. '*escarcela*, *escarcelle*, *gibbecière*, *bourse*; c'est aussi le cuissot d'un harnois, la *tassette*' (Oudin).

Tattoo.—The origin of this word (mil.) is well known, and the explanation usually given is probably right, but the form *tattoo* is somewhat unnatural, as the correspondence in meaning of E. *tap-to* would help to preserve the original form *taptoo*, which occurs 1663 (Skeat). Phillips (1706) gives both forms. In a Military Dictionary (1708) I find *tat-to* only. Kersey (1720) still has both. Ainsworth (1736) has *taptow*, *tattoo*. I suggest that *tattoo* is perhaps rather the Sp. form '*tatu*, the *taptos* that beats at nights in garrisons, for soldiers to repair to their quarters' (Stevens, 1706). Delpino (1763) copies this, substituting the form *tattoo*. This *tatu* does not appear to be in use in Modern Spanish.

Troll.—Bailey (1736) has '*trolling*, fishing for pikes with a rod whose line runs on a reel.' Johnson (1765) has 'to fish for a pike with a rod which has a pulley towards the bottom' with a quotation (*troule*) from Gay. Kersey (1720) has 'to go a-fishing with a particular *net* so called.' Littleton (1684) has 'to *troll* for fish, *laqueo venari pisces*.' These are the earliest definitions I have found. Kersey appears to be wrong about the *net*, as all modern authorities that I have consulted describe a reel or swivel as the essential element in 'trolling,' e.g. 'In lakes, *spinning* is usually termed *trolling*' (Ency. Brit.). Professor Skeat and the Century include this word with '*troll*, to wander,' and 'to *troll* a catch, to *troll* the bowl,' all from F. *tróler*, M.H.G. *trollen* (cf. Du. *drollen*, etc.). I think it possible that in this technical sense *troll* (earlier

trowl) is a separate word. Levins has 'trowell, rotula.' This I suppose to be F. 'treuil, winch, windlass,' etc., for which Littré gives the N. variant *trouil*, explained by Duméril as 'espèce de dévidoir dont on se sert pour mettre le fil en écheveaux.' He quotes a form *trowl* from a Latin-French dictionary in the library of Lille, and gives also a verb *trouiller*, *treuiller*, meaning apparently 'to wind.' Cotgrave has 'trieule (for treuil), d'un puis, the round beame about which the cord of a well doth turne.' Roquefort has 'treulle, treuil, gros cylindre autour duquel tourne la corde d'un puits.' [François has 'trouille, menu engin de pêche,' but it is not clear whether this is a reel or a net, as there is a group of words represented by F. *truble* (L. *tribula*, D.G.) meaning 'fishing net at the end of a pole,' the Wallon form of which is *troûl* (Remacle). Cotgrave gives it under the form 'treule, a little fish-net for stues, and small ponds.' Godefroy has 'truel, filet pour la pêche.'] F. *treuil* is usually derived from **troculum* for *torculum* (Diez), but connexion with 'trochlea, pulley' has also been suggested (D.G.). It seems to be assumed (Körting) that for both meanings, viz. 'wine-press' (in O.F.) and 'winch,' the origin is the same. I venture to suggest that this is not the case, and that 'treuil, winch' represents L. '**trochulus*, a little top.' This is not in Lewis, who gives only 'trochus (τροχός), a hoop,' but is quoted from Plautus by Cooper, Holyoak, etc., and is also given, without gloss, by Robert Estienne. The accepted reading appears, however, to be *torulus* (Gesner, Facciolati). The dialect F. 'se trouiller, to wallow' (Duméril, Moisy, Sigart) may represent **trochularis*; cf. the relation of Germ. 'sich wälzen, to wallow' with 'walze, roller, cylinder, reel.' If I am right in connecting *troll* with **trochulum*, W. 'troëll, a whirl, a wheel, a reel, a pulley, a windlass, a screw, a trope' (Spurrell) must be from French or English.

Vicious.—A 'vicious horse' is supposed to be one that has *vice*, hence the phrase 'warranted free from *vice*' in horse-dealers' advertisements. In spite of the fact that French has 'cheval vicieux, rétif' (D.G.), I very much doubt whether in either language the word represents L. *vitiosus*. We use *vicious* of animals in general, rather in the sense of 'spiteful,' but especially, and I fancy originally, of the horse only. The word is not documented in this connexion. The Century does not go back beyond Washington Irving. Worcester ascribes its use, without quotation, to Herbert, in the sense 'addicted to bad tricks, as

a horse; refractory, unruly, contrary'; this would be c. 1650, I suppose. The earliest dictionary definition I have found is in Bailey (1736) '. . . also unruly, said of a horse.' So far as this evidence goes, the word indicates simply stubbornness, restiveness ('*restif*, restie, stubborn, drawing backward, that will not goe forward,' Cotgrave). The regular name for an *equus calcitro* in M.E., and in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, seems to have been 'wincing horse' (Wiclif, Prompt. Parv., Palsgrave, Levins, Cooper, Cotgrave, Torriano, etc.), from the verb *wenchen*, O.F. *guenchir*, O.L. Frankish *wenkjan*. This is given as late as 1798 by Ebers ('ein Pferd, so ausschlägt'), but I am not sure that the 'vicious horse' was necessarily a kicker, nor can *wincing* very well have become *wicious*! In Adgar's Legends of the Virgin (Förster's "Altfranzösische Bibliothek," p. 188) is a passage which seems to me to throw some light on *vicious* in this sense. The peasant, who has been stopped at the chapel door by the handmaid of Our Lady, and asked to enter in order to do the latter a service, replies that he cannot dismount from his horse because of its wildness—

'De nuvel l'ai pris del haraz.
Cruels est mut orguillus,
E nient dantez e tut *wischus*.'

Professor Förster, in a note, mentions a form *viskeus*, regards the *w-* as original, and identifies with O.F. *guiscos*, *guisqueus*. This is regarded by Diez as equivalent to O.F. '*guiscart*, scharfsinnig' from O.N. *visk-r* (cf. *wizard*). But Förster points out that in all occurrences of *guiscos* the meaning is 'störrisch, grimm,' and that it cannot therefore have the same origin as *guiscard*. He compares 'les *guicheux* et les mal dontez' (Riule S. Renait'). It is clear that in the passage quoted *wischus* has the meaning of E. *vicious* (horse), and the initial *w-* and *gu-* show that it can hardly be from L. *vitiosus*, but is probably of German origin. Förster connects it with the O.F. verb *guicher*, *wiskier*. Godefroy has only *guischer*, from the "Quinze Joyes du Mariage," 'glisser vivement comme une anguille qui s'échappe des mains de celui qui la tient.' In the passage he gives, it clearly means 'swerve' or 'wriggle.' In the earlier editions of the "Quinze Joyes" the *guischer* of the MS. has been replaced by *guincher* ('to wriggle, writhe, *winch* aside,'

¹ Godefroy quotes from the same 'berbiz *guicheux* et inobediantz.' The epithet is also applied to '*estor*, fight.' Godefroy's gloss '*rusé*, mauvais, méchant' is clearly wrong.

Cotgrave), explained by Le Duchat as *gauchir* ('to wry; to turne, bend, writhe from the right, or any way aside . . .', Cotgrave), which is a popular perversion of '*ganchir*, earlier *guenchir*, to *wince*.' This brings the '*wincing* horse' and the '*cheval wischus*' very near each other. This *guiscos* may have been associated even in O.F. with *voisos* (*vitiosus*), which has very many variants, including *wiseux*, and even *wischus*, for Godefroy quotes from Bozon, '*la cove del golpil signifie la fin des gentz wischous et cautulleux*,' where *wischous* appears to be used in the sense of '*crafty, acute*,' the usual meaning of O.F. *voisos*. This meaning, often complimentary in Godefroy's examples, suggests a doubt as to whether *voisos* represents *vitiosus* only. I have no etymology to suggest for *guiscos*, though it looks as though it had some sort of connexion with *wince*. There is also a considerable gap to be filled up between the thirteenth century quotation from A.F. and the modern use of *vicious*.

Whinyard.—Wedgwood's etymology, from Icel. '*hvīna*, to whiz,' could only be accepted if there were parallels to *whinyard* in the Norse languages. So far as I have traced the word, it crops up fairly early in the sixteenth century, is pretty common in the seventeenth, and then disappears. Of the form *whinger* I can find no trace except that quoted by Professor Skeat (Notes, p. 320) from Jamieson (*temp.* James V). There is great probability that it is a Continental word corrupted under the influence of *pony* and *hanger*,¹ which would account for the two forms. The earlier Latin dictionaries seem to ignore it completely. From Coles onward they have *whiniard*. I have found some variants, e.g., *whiniard* (Bailey), *whinyard* ("Dictionary of the Canting Crew," 1690), '*whinneard* or *hanger*' (Minsheu), *whiniard* (also in Barry's "Ram Alley," 1611, D.O.P.), *whineyard* (Cotgrave), and, earliest of all, *whynarde* (Skelton, "Bowge of Court," l. 363)—

' His elbowe bare, he ware his gere so nye ;
His nose a droppynge, his lypes were full drye ;
And by his syde his *whynarde* and his pouche,
The devyll myghte daunce therein for ony crowche.'

Here it is plainly contemptuous, like '*dudgeon dagger*.' The earliest dictionary reference I know is in Cotgrave, '*braquemar*, a wood-knife, hangar, *whineyard*.' Here *wood-knife* must mean

¹ The Century derives it from the latter, via *hinger*, *whinger*, which is at any rate imaginative.

'hunter's knife' and not 'bill-hook' (the latter is the sense which it seems to have in Hexham and Torriano); cf. '*gladius*, a little sword, a *wood-knife*, a dagger, a ponyard' (Littleton). Now, if *wood-knife* is a transferred use of the name of the hedger's instrument applied contemptuously to a short curved sword (the usual description of *hanger* in the early Latin dictionaries), it suggests connexion of *whinyard*, *whinger* with Du. *wjngært-snayer* (Junius), *wjngært-mesken*, *wjngært-hæck* (Hexham), *wjngært-mes* (Kilian) (cf. *falchion*); but if the older meaning is 'couteau de chasse,' *whinyard* may be a perversion of Germ. '*Weidner*, *Hirschfänger*, a huntsman's or hunter's hanger, a wood-knife' (Ebers; cf. Cotgrave's gloss to *braquemar*), 'couteau de chasse' (Schwan). I do not know whether Du. '*weydener*, *venator*' (Kilian) was used in the same sense. The usual Dutch word seems to have been '*weydmes*, *culter venatorius*, *bracmar a veneur*, *vouge*' (Trium Ling. Dict., 1587), but this use of the German word is old. Junius has '*parazonium*, *pugio de zona pendens*, Germ. *stosstegen*, *weidner*,¹ Du. *byhangende*, *dagghe*, *oft poniært* . . .,' and it dates back to M.H.G. (Lexer). This theory supposes that the *-h-* is not original (cf. *ghost*, *whelk*, *whisk*, *whisky*, etc.), a point on which the N.E.D. will enlighten us. Apart from this I see no great difficulty in supposing that, influenced by *hanger* and *poniard*, the German word might have given the two English forms. The loss of the *-d-* is a difficulty, but we have something similar in *shingle* (roof-lath) for *shindle*, and the connexion of *blunderbuss* with its supposed Dutch original presents much greater difficulty. There is even possibility of association with *wjngært* (v.s.), for Torriano explains *wood-knife* by *ronca* (in the sense of billhook), and Junius gives the latter as equivalent to *wjngært-snayer* (s.v. *falcula*).

SOME FRENCH WORDS USED IN ENGLISH PLATE-GLASS WORKS AT
ST. HELENS (LANCASHIRE).

The following words, with their explanations, I owe to the kindness of H. A. Binney, Esq., Rainhill² (Lancs.). They were introduced by French workmen in 1773, none later. The list

¹ Here it has not even the meaning 'hunting-knife,' but is used, as *Hirschfänger* often is, for 'whinger, snicker-snee,' etc.

² "La plus ancienne (fabrique de glaces coulées) a été fondée en 1773, à Revenhead, près Sainte-Hélène, dans le Lancashire" (Peligot, *Le Verre*, Paris, 1877).

is interesting as exemplifying the way in which a set of technical loan-words may appear in isolated localities. Most of the words are obvious, but some have puzzled me—

Cadge-anchor, instrument of iron for occasional use in directing the flow of the molten metal on the casting-table, rather like a bishop's crosier. This is perhaps a popular perversion of a technical word in *chasse*. Or it may be merely a transferred use of E. *ledge-anchor*: Peligot appears to use *main en cuivre* in this sense.

Cullet, broken glass which is to be mixed along with the raw material. Cf. F. '*cueillette, récolte de chiffons à faire le papier*.' The usual French term seems to be *calcin* or *groisil* (Peligot).

Cuvette, fire-clay pot, or crucible. F. *cuvette* (Peligot).

Frit, the raw material of glass. F. *fritte* (D.G.).

Gun, an iron arrangement on each side of the casting-table, travelling with the roller, which determines the width of the plate of glass being cast by confining the flow of the molten material within the required limits. Another use of this exasperating word, the origin of which I regard as quite unsolved. There is no clue to this *gun* in Peligot's book.

Lambo, sand reduced to a fine powder in the process of grinding the glass to a level surface. F. '*lambeau, shred*'?

Lapèll, long iron rod with an iron shoe at the end with which the plate of glass is thrust from the casting-table into the annealing kiln. F. *la pelle*.

Rabble, a large rake (toothless) for levelling the oven floor. F. *râble* (Peligot). See *rabble* (N.E.D.). Here we have the same word independently introduced.

Sarver, blade of copper at the end of an iron rod for skimming. F. *sabre* (used in this sense by Peligot).

Saufer, chief man at a furnace. F. *chauffeur*.

Siege, floor of a glass-melting furnace. F. *siège* (Peligot).

Teaser, second man at a furnace; F. *attiseur*; the aphetic *tiseur* occurs in Peligot. This *teaser* somewhat strengthens a suspicion I have long had that our *tease* owes something to F. *attiser*. We even say 'to *tease* the fire.'

Traugs, long, narrow, thin pieces of iron, placed one on each side of the casting-table to determine the thickness of the plate to be cast. On them rest the ends of the roller. F. *tringle*: 'La table est munie de chaque côté . . . de *tringles* mobiles qui

doivent donner à la glace son épaisseur . . . ' (Peligot). Similarly explained in Furetière.

Turret, an instrument of iron for removing the small peep-hole fire-clay tile which fills up the aperture in the *tuweel* through which the pots are served with the raw material. F. 'touret, drill' (Cotgrave)?

Tweel, movable fire-clay door placed against a furnace opening. F. *tuile* (Peligot).

ADDENDA.

Bummaree.—I find this is explained in Hotten's Slang Dict. as F. *bonne marée*, a fish-salesman's cry. This seems reasonable.

Capsize.—Mr. J. Marshall points out that *capsize* for earlier *capacise* has a parallel in *Belsize* for *belassis*.

Corduroy.—Mr. J. Marshall suggests that, if *corderoy* is for *color de roy*, it is hardly likely that a written abbreviation *cor de roy* can have had anything to do with it. An intermediate **colderoy* seems possible.

Notes on the following words have been published by me in the *Academy* since my last paper:—

Demure.—(*Academy*, August 14, 1909.) Derived by the N.E.D. from O.F. 'meur, ripe,' but the 'nature and history of the prefixed *de-* are obscure.' There are three objections to this: (1) the prefixing of *de-* is unparalleled, while, on the other hand, the loss of an original *de* is very common, e.g., (*de*)*fender*, (*de*)*spite*, (*de*)*splay*, (*de*)*spencer*, (*de*)*stain*, etc.; (2) *demure* (1377) is older than *mure* (1440); (3) the oldest meaning of *demure* is 'calm, settled, still,' used of the sea (N.E.D.). The semantic parallels, viz., E. *staid*, *sedate*, *steadfast*, F. *posé*, *rassis*, L. *sedatus*, *constans*, Sp. *reposito*, Germ. *gesetzt*, etc., point to connexion with Norm. F. 'demurer, to stay.' The verbal adjective **demure* is not in Godefroy, though Palsgrave has 'demeurement, sadly, wysly'; but such adjectives are common in O.F. and in Mod. Dial. F. (see *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, May, 1909); cf. E. *stale* (to O.F. *estaler*) and *staunch* (to O.F. *estancher*). Also we have some in E. which appear to be unrecorded in F., e.g. 'ray, striped' (N.E.D.) and 'treasure trove.' *Demure* has certainly been associated with 'mure, ripe' (see N.E.D. *demurity*), but I think that *mure* in the earliest example in the N.E.D. ('to suffer and to be mure,' 1440) is probably aphectic for *demure*.

Quoit.—(*Academy*, June 12, 1909.) If the E.S. forms *quyte*, *quite*, *quyte*, *qoyte* (Jamieson) are nearer the original, may not the *quoit* be identical with E.S. 'cute, *quytt*, a cute, doit, a small Danish coin worth about one-twelfth of a penny' (Jamieson)? *Quoits* and *curling* as outdoor games correspond to *shove-groat*, *shovel-board* as indoor games, e.g., 'Quoit him down, Bardolph, like a *shove-groat* shilling' (2 Henry IV, ii, 4); 'And away *slid* I my man like a *shovel-board* shilling' (Middleton & Dekker, "The Roaring Girl"). Holyoak has 'quoit or penny-stone.' Germ. *Plapperstein*, given by Cramer for F. 'palet, quoit,' may be from *plappert*, Weisspfennig (F. *blasard*), instead of being connected with the verb *plappern* (Grimm). Cf. also It. 'piastrellare, to quoit, to play at quoits' (Torriano).

Mr. Mayhew (*Academy*, June 19) altogether dissents.

Wallet, wattle.—(*Academy*, October 23, 1909). Professor Skeat mentions that in "Piers Plowman" where one MS. has *watel* another has *walet*. I find that early dictionaries use *wallet*, *wattle*, *waddle* indifferently for *goitre* or for the *wattles* of a bird (e.g., Holyoak, *palea*, Cotgrave, *goitron*). I suggest that *waddle* is the original and a diminutive of *wad*; cf. 'palea, Germ. läplin, Du. lapken' (Junius); see Kluge (Lappen) and cf. E. *dewlap*. Cf. also the sense-development of *scrip*. *Watel* could become *walet* under influence of *budget*, *pocket*, *mallet* (O.F. 'malette, pautner, scrip,' Palsgrave). Naut. F. 'valet, vadeau (*vadel*), wad of a gun' (Jal), seem to represent two of the E. forms.

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XIV.—NOTES ON ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY. By
the Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D.

[Read at a Meeting of the Philological Society on March 4, 1910.]

Anaconda. The etymology of *Anaconda*, as given by Colonel Yule, and copied by the N.E.D. and myself, is entirely wrong. This was clearly shown by Mr. Donald Ferguson, who is intimately acquainted with Cingalese, in *Notes and Queries*, 8 S. xii. 123, and 9 S. viii. 80. The mistake originated with John Ray, the celebrated naturalist, who gave the name as appertaining to the great python, and he spelt it *anacandaia*. But the right name begins with an aspirate, and should be written *henakandayā*. Moreover, the Cingalese do not give this name to the python, but to a long whip-snake, *Passerita mycterizans*, a much more slender creature, and not one of the boas. This snake is much swifter in its movements, and the name literally means 'lightning-stem'; being composed of two Cingalese words, *hena*, 'lightning,' and *kanda*, 'a stem'; to which the suffix *-yā* is added, to denote the masculine nominal termination. The former article in *N. and Q.* gives full details, explaining the whole matter.

Ananas. As the earliest quotation for *ananas* in N.E.D. is dated 1613, it seems worth while to give one that goes back to 1600.

"As soone as we had cast anker, two Indians, inhabitants of that place [Dominica], sayled toward vs, in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call *Ananas*."—Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii. 319, near the bottom of the page.

Barrow, as in *wheel-barrow*. The A.S. form is not entered; but the M.E. *barewe* suggests an A.S. form **bearwe*, as given in N.E.D. The N.E.D. cites, for comparison, the M.H.G. *bera*, Thuringian *berre*, the Icel. pl. *barar*, and A.S. *bær*, a bier. None of these forms throw much light on the suffix, as they end differently. But Berghaus gives the Low G. forms *barve*, *bärwe*, *biärwe* (which not only had the sense of 'barrow,' but also that of 'ladder'), and he gives a short story containing the phrase—"Se nammen nu de Biärwe un satten se an dat uopene Fenster," they took now the ladder and set it up against the open window; where the use of the fem. acc. *se* shows that this form, like all those

already cited above, was also feminine. Besides this, Koolman gives the E. Friesic form *barfe*, where the *-fe* answers to Low G. *-we*, A.S. *-we*. He remarks that the form is wrong, as the *-fe* is superfluous; whereas the form is obviously correct, and the dissyllabic form *barfe* suggests that the word was of the weak declension. We may fairly infer that the A.S. form was actually a weak feminine, of the form *bearwe*, and further, that the Teutonic type was certainly **barwōn-*. In fact, I have found it in a compound already; see *meox-bearwe*, a barrow for carrying dung; in Wright's Vocab. col. 336, l. 8.

Battel. The N.E.D. has no English quotation for the use of the Oxford word *battel* as a sb. earlier than 1706; and none for the verb earlier than 1570 from Levins. I therefore give a good quotation for both the sb. and verb from the Antiquarian Repository, ed. 1807, i. 132. We there find the Will of Wm. Holcott, who died in 1575, where the following sentence occurs: "My name to be weekly entered into their buttery-boke of *battels*. The bible-clerk, or some other pore scolar in either college [i.e. University or Queen's] to *battel* weekly vj. d. vpon my head."

Bret-ful, full to the brim. This is said in the N.E.D. to be a corruption of *brerdful*, where *brerd* is the M.E. form, from A.S. *brerd*, *breord*, brim. But I have already explained, in my Glossary to P. Plowman, that it is absolutely correct. *Bretful* results from an older *bredful*, the *d* becoming *t* owing to the following *f*. And *bred* is quite right, being not an E. form, but Scand.; from the Dan. *bred*, 'brim,' *bredfuld*, 'brim-full'; Swed. *brädd*, 'brim,' *bräddful*, 'brim-full.' It is just the peculiarity of Scand. that it has these assimilated forms. The fact is that there is an Idg. root *bhers*, 'to bristle,' whence the Teut. root *bers*, with the same sense. And the latter appears in three distinct grades, as *bers*, *bars*, *burs*, and again in three more grades, as *bres*, *bras*, *brus*. From nearly all of these we find derivatives, which are not usually distinguished with sufficient care. Thus, from *bars* we have the A.S. *bærs*, a perch, so named from the prickles on its back, whence mod. E. *barse*, *bass*, a perch. Again, the *rs* becomes *rr* in the corresponding Celtic type **barsos*, given in Stokes-Fick, p. 172, whence the O. Irish *barr*, a top, summit, hair of the head, W. *bar*, top, summit, tuft, branch, Corn. and Bret. *bar*, top, summit, branch, O. Norse *barr*, the needles or spines of a fir-tree; all from the idea of something bristling up or shooting forth; and I can see no great difficulty in supposing, with Diez, that the late Latin

barra, a bar, is merely the Celtic word in a Latin form. The remark in the N.E.D. that the sense is unsuitable, can be met by remarking that a wooden bar was originally a stiff straight branch, sticking out like a bristle. So that I would go so far as to claim this for the origin of our *bar*. Then again, from the root *burs*, by the addition of *-ti-*, we have the A.S. *byrst*, a bristle, G. *borste*; whence we may derive *bristle*. Next, from the base *bres*, we have, by adding *d*, the forms **bres-d*, **brezd*, A.S. *brerd*, *breord*, the top edge, brim, or margin of a thing, from the idea of 'prominence.' From the base *bras*, we likewise have the forms **brasd*, **brazd*, A.S. *breard*, a brim; corresponding to which is the Norw. *bradd*, a brim, which explains at once why *bretful* also appears, quite correctly, as *bratful*. And from the base *brus* we have **brus-d*, **bruz-d*, A.S. *brord*, a prick, point, Icel. *broddr*, a spike, prov. E. *brod*, a goad, also a brad. The connexion between 'spike' and 'margin' or 'edge' is best seen by noticing that the A.S. *brord* means a spike, whereas the equivalent O.H.G. *brort* means 'a brim,' with the additional sense of 'prow of a ship,' because it projects. We also see that *brad* is a perfectly legitimate variant of *brod*, with a difference of gradation. Note that the Icel. *broddr* also means 'an arrow'; perhaps as being a thin bar. I may add that the connexion between the above forms is noted by Walde, s.v. *fastigium*.

Buttery. In connexion with Oxford, this term first appears in 1684 (N.E.D.); and *buttery-book* in 1672. But *buttery-book* occurs a century earlier; see the quotation above, s.v. **Battel**.

Care. The N.E.D. well reminds us that *care* has nothing to do with the L. *cūra*, as used to be said in all our Dictionaries some fifty years ago. It seems worth while to emphasize this by pointing out that *care* has Latin cognates beginning, as they should, with *g*. *Care* is from A.S. *cearu*, allied to Goth. *kara*, sorrow. The O. Sax. *kara*, O.H.G. *khara*, have the older sense of 'lament, cry of sorrow,' allied to Gk. *κῆρυς*, 'voice, cry.' The form of the root is *gar-*; closely connected with which is the extended root *gars-*, *gers-*; whence L. *garr-īre*, to chatter, A.S. *ceorr-an*, to creak; L. *garr-ulus*, talkative, whence E. *garr-ulous*. Again, from the root *gar-*, with the suffix *-m*, we have the O. Sax. *karm*, a lament, A.S. *cearm*, an outcry; whence the prov. E. *charm*, *chirm*, the noise of singing birds, and the like. We may even connect the word *chir-p*. The A.S. *cearm* is cognate with the W. *garm*, Gael. *gairm*, 'outcry,' which occurs in the second

syllable of the word *slogan*, lit. *sluagh-ghairm*, outcry of the host, or warcry. The root *gar* is certainly imitative, and probably suggested such names as *er-ane* and *er-ow*; cf. Gk. γέπωνος, L. *graculus*. See further under **Shire**.

Cashew-nut. The etymology in the N.E.D. is taken from Littré, but is incorrect. He says that the F. name *acajou* is from the Brazilian *acajaba*. This is a mistake; he has confused the name of the fruit with the name of the tree. Yule has the right account, but has an unlucky misprint; he has *acaibaa* instead of *acaiaba*. The right account is in the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliæ* (1648), vol. ii. p. 94; which shows that the fruit named *acaiû* [F. *acajou*] grows on the tree named *acaiaba* [F. *acajaba*]. But we need not consider the latter at all.

Chum. I once explained that the verb *to chum* is a back-formation from the sb. *chummy*, which meant (1) a chimney-sweep, and (2) a familiar companion. This is curiously illustrated by the form *chim* in the E.D.D., which has "*Chim*, sb. Sc. a friend, chum"; with examples from the Banffshire dialect, viz. "He's *chims* noo wee 'im"; and "A'm nae *chims* wee ye." In some Northern dialects a chimney is called a *chumla*.

Clove. The form of *clove*, (1) a spice, (2) a weight, has never been explained. Obviously, it represents an A.S. **clāf* (not as yet found), directly from L. *clāuus*, which occurs in the *Corpus Glossary*, l. 484.

Colander, Cullinder, a strainer. The N.E.D. correctly gives the origin, viz. the Lat. *cōlātōrium*, a strainer; but not the immediate source. It is certainly from the O. Prov. **colador*, a form easily deduced from the mod. Prov. *couladou*, the form given by Mistral. The characteristic O. Prov. suffix *-dor* occurs in at least four English words, viz. *troubadour*, *battledore*, *colander*, and *muckinder*; the two last have *n* inserted before *d*. A *muckinder*, i.e. a pocket-handkerchief, is from Prov. *mocador*, which is the F. *mouchoir*. See *Muckinder*.

Cork. The earliest quotation for *cork*, in any sense, is dated 1440. But it occurs half a century earlier, in a book which did not appear till 1894. In the Earl of Derby's Expeditions, ed. Miss Toulmin Smith (Camden Society), p. 91, l. 19, we find "pro uno pare *corkes*," i.e. for one pair of cork soles. The date is 1391.

Cromwell. I suppose that the surname of Cromwell is derived from the place-name Cromwell, in Notts., as stated by Bardsley.

The usual old spelling is *Crumwell*, as in the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, vol. i. The syllable *Crum* may be compared with the M.E. *croombe*, a crook, illustrated in the N.E.D. under the form *croome*; and with the A.S. *crumb*, bent; whence also may be derived the curious word *crundle*, explained below. In Worcestershire there are three places named Croome, viz. Croome d'Abitot, Earls Croome, and Hill Croome, of which Mr. Duignan says, in his *Worcestershire Placenames*, that they are "all separate manors. They all abut on the Severn, here peculiarly winding, and I think its curved course may have given rise to the name. The Welsh *crom*, *crom*, Irish and Gaelic *crom*, have the same meanings as the A.S. forms; hence many place-names in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland commence [with] *Crum-* or *Crom-*. *Crumlin*, the winding glen, is a very common name in Wales and Ireland. Cf. Cromford, Cromhall, Crompton, Cromwell, and Croom in England." Cromwell is near the Trent, upon a small stream that flows into it, and the original sense may well have been 'well near the bend of the stream.' What I particularly wish to draw attention to is the occurrence of the A.S. form *crund-wylle*, as a place-name occurring in a Wiltshire Charter; see Birch, *Cart. Saxon.* iii. 145. It seems to me that this is really the same word, the prefix *crumb-* being here perverted to *crund-* by association with the common compound *crun-dæl*, a crundle, or 'winding dale.' See below.

Crundel. This somewhat mysterious word is best explained in the E.D.D. (It is not in the N.E.D.) We there find: "*Crundel*, Suss. Hamp. a ravine, a strip of covert dividing open country, always in a dip, usually with running water in the middle." Kemble's explanation, in *Cod. Dipl.* iii. xxi, is "a sort of water-course, a meadow through which a stream flows." To this Bosworth objects, saying that it could not mean this, because it was sometimes on a hill; and he refers us to *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 301. Earle repeats this in his *Land Charters*, pp. 471-2. But the fact is that the passage referred to does *not* say it was on a hill at all; for it has been mistranslated. The words are: "Ærest of crawan crundul on Werethan hylle," i.e. "first from Crawan crundel to Werethan hill." The word *on* does not mean 'on' or 'upon,' but 'to,' or 'till you come to,' a construction of which there are literally hundreds of examples, as nearly every boundary is measured *of* (i.e. from) somewhere, *on* (i.e. to) somewhere else. We may therefore take the common modern meaning, as given in E.D.D., to be fairly correct.

The etymology has been so far despaired of that it has been called Celtic, and most unsatisfactory Celtic etymologies have been found for it; for which see Thorpe and Bosworth. It occurred to me, however, that it can easily be derived from the A.S. *crumb*, crooked, whence the later *crumb*, *crum*, duly explained in N.E.D., and the A.S. sb. *dæl*, a dale; and that, accordingly, the sense is simple enough, viz. 'a crooked dale,' or 'a winding dell.' This explanation will suit all the numerous places in which the word occurs. It is obvious, further, that *crumb dæl* would easily become *crun-dæl* or *crun-del* in ordinary talk, because the *d* would inevitably turn the *m* into *n*. Of course, the obvious objection is that there is no proof as to the older form, and this made me hesitate to bring this idea forward. But only a day or two later I discovered that my imagined older form really occurs; so that I may now hope that my view will be accepted. In an early charter, dated A.D. 816, printed in Birch, vol. i, at the bottom of p. 495 and the top of p. 496, we find: "And swa suþ ofer turcendene into þam *crum dæle*; of þam *crum dæle* suþ and west to þære caldan dic." Here we actually have the words written apart, as is usual with compounds, and the true spelling of *dæle*, dative of *dæl*, a dale. And only five lines below, in the same charter, the two words are run together, and the *m* is consequently turned into *n*: "swa east ofer þa sealt stræt to þam *crundelan*," which I take to be a form of the dative plural. Another point of agreement is that *crundel* is neuter; the plural is *crundelu*; just as the pl. of *dæl* is *dalū*. See *crudolu*, miswritten or misprinted for *crundelu*, Birch, ii. 348. But it also sometimes occurs as a masculine, as might easily happen when its connexion with *dæl* was unrecognized. Hence the form *crundelas*, noted in Bosworth. Of course, the plural is very scarce, as it can only be properly used in the case where two valleys happened to meet.

It is a pity that it is omitted in the N.E.D., as it occurs once in Middle English, as noted by Stratmann. The sense there is not 'cave,' as in Stratmann, but merely 'valley'; for the idea of 'cave' is expressed by *eorth-hole*, or 'earth-hole,' in the very same line. I may add that there is a place named Crundale in Kent, near Wye, in which the latter syllable, viz. *dale*, is accurately preserved. And there is a place named Crondall in Hants, not far from Farnham (Surrey), in which *on* is written for *un*, as in *son*, *monk*, *honey*. Both retain *a* in the latter syllable.

Diswere. The curious old word *diswere*, 'doubt,' is only known

as occurring in the fifteenth century. To the examples in N.E.D. add two more from Gairdner's Supplement (vol. iv) to the Paston Letters; see Letter XXVII (1451) and Letter XXXI (1452). Sir James tells us that it is derived from the prefix *dis-* and the sb. *were*, 'doubt, hesitation'; but adds no more. For examples of *were* see Stratmann, who assigns no origin. It is obvious that *were* can only be a Norman word. I have only found it in Anglo-French with the prefix *a-*, as noted in my List of A.F. words. I give (s.v. *were*) the form *awere*, 'doubt,' as occurring in the Statutes of the Realm, i. 310; and in the Liber Albus, p. 212. The latter has: "Mais ascuns sont en *awere* de cest custume," but some are in doubt as to this custom. This makes it doubtful as to whether in the phrase *to be in a were* (occurring thrice in P. Plowman) a *were* is to be taken as two words or as one. However, Barbour has *but wer*, 'without doubt.' I do not know where to find the simple sb. *were* in Norman; but, at the same time, it is not difficult to give the etymology. It must have been adapted from the O.H.G. *wari*, *weri*, 'caution,' a form inferred by Schade from the later form *wer*. This is precisely equivalent to the Goth. *waroi*, wariness, used in 2 Cor. iv. 2, where the A.V. has 'craftiness.' Thus the original sense was wariness, caution; whence hesitation, doubt. Closely allied to this is the O.H.G. *bewarōn*, to keep, and the G. *wahren*, to guard; whence F. *égarer*, to mislead, pp. *égaré*, misled, astray, and the O.F. pp. *desgaré*, *dégaré*, led astray; on which Mr. Mayhew remarks, in his edition of the Promptorium, p. 588, that it not only appears in the Romance of Sir *Degaré*, but also in the more modern *Diggory*, the name of Mr. Hardcastle's servant in *She Stoops to Conquer*.

Elend. This is a form referred to in N.E.D., s.v. *Alange*, but it does not appear. What we really find is *Elenge*, which sends us back to *Alange*; and the last refers us (as above) to *Elend*. A little further search enables us to find *Elendish*, and this gives the reference to *Eilland*. This shows the great difficulty of referring to articles as yet unwritten. All will come right if, under the form *Alange*, the reference to *Elend* is altered to *Eilland*. No one would think of looking under *Eil-*.

Force, a waterfall. Uhlenbeck, in his Skt. Etym. Dict., p. 175, connects *fores*, a waterfall, with the Russ. *porosha*, fresh snow, *poroshite*, to cover with dust, to fall in dust, to snow slightly; from an Idg. root **pers*, to sprinkle. The idea is poetic.

Freight. Given in the N.E.D. as from M. Du. or Low G. *vrecht*, variant of the more usual *vraecht*. But though Lübben notes it in his Low G. Dict., he says it is Dutch rather than Low G.; and Franck, s.v. *vraecht*, calls *vrecht* a Flemish form. This is perhaps the best solution, as De Bo, in his W. Flem. Dict., gives *vrecht* as the Flemish form, with a quotation for its use.

Gaudy-day. As the earliest quotation in the N.E.D. for the interesting word *gaudy-day* is dated 1567, and the earliest instance of *gaudy* in the sense of festival is dated 1540, it is worth while to give a quotation showing that it was in earlier use. In the will of E. Rigge, clerk, printed in Grose's Antiquarian Repository, ed. 1807, i. 128, the testator leaves money to Queen's College, Oxford, "to observe and keepe the Ascension-day as another *gaudy-day*, in recreation of the company." This will is dated 1516; and, as the testator is thus referring to the past, we are taken back to near 1500.

Gibbon, a long-armed ape. F. *gibbon*; first used by Buffon, who had it from Dupleix, governor-general of the French East Indies, 1742-54. Dupleix seems to have been under the impression that it was the name of the creature in some East Indian language; but this notion is entirely unfounded. I suggest that the particular language of India from which it was borrowed was actually English, in which tongue it has been in use, as a common surname, ever since 1307. How such a name came to be conferred upon an ape, we shall never know; probably it was of jocular origin, and suggested by some English soldier. It is worth saying that it is quite appropriate, because *Gib* has been in use, in many English dialects, as the name of a tom-cat for many centuries. *Gib* is short for Gilbert, and *Gibbon* is derived from it. 'Gibbe our cat' is mentioned in l. 6204 of the Romaunt of the Rose, and the name is used with a fine contempt by Hamlet (iii. 4. 190)—

"For who that's but a queen, fair, sober, wise,
Would from a paddock, from a bat, a *gib*,
Such dear concernings hide?"

Glow. Connected by Brugmann with Gk. *χλωρός*, light green; and by Stokes with W. *glo*, a coal.

Gray. I have already noted, in my Concise Dict., that the words *grit*, *groats*, and *grouts* may be allied to the Lat. *rūdus*, rubble, or

small broken stones; the reason being that the E. *gr* corresponds to Idg. *ghr*, and in such a combination the initial sound is possibly reduced in Latin to simple *r*. Another example perhaps occurs in *gray*, which corresponds in a similar manner to the Lat. *rānus*, 'gray.' These equations are accepted by Walde, but are doubtful. For in that case, the Lat. *grāmen* is dissociated from E. *grass*.

Halke. The M.E. *halke*, a nook, a hiding-place, occurs four times in Chaucer, and is well illustrated in the N.E.D. Dr. Murray thinks it is a diminutive from the A.S. *health*, which has given E. *haugh*, but does not give the A.S. form, nor is it in the A.S. Dictionaries. In a Charter relating to Kilmiston, Hants., in Birch, iii. 305, we find, in the description of boundaries:—'to broc-hangran, to ter-healecan,' etc. Whatever *ter* means, there can be little doubt that *healecan* means 'halke,' as *health* is a not uncommon suffix in place-names. It is a weak sb., and the nom. is either *healca* or *healce*. And see *hyle* in Toller.

Hanger. In the particular sense of 'a pendant,' the word *hanger* is quoted only in the Scottish form *hingar* during the fifteenth century; from an inventory dated 1488. But it occurs earlier, and in its English form, in the Supplement to the Paston Letters, which was not published till 1901, and so was not available for use in the N.E.D. The passage is—"Item, my master [Lord Howard] gaff here [Lady Howard] a coler of goolde with xxxiiij roses and sonnes set on a corse of blak sylke with an *hanger* of goolde garnyshed with a saphyre."—p. 110 (1467).

Hemlock. It is noted in N.E.D. that *hemlock* is a Kentish form; the oldest form is *hymblicæ*, in the Epinal Glossary. The etymology is unknown. But it is likely that the prefix *hymb-* would be represented in Lithuanian by *kump-*, and the following Lith. forms are worth noting, viz., *kump-as*, crooked by nature, a thing that has grown crooked; *kump-asis*, a crooked stick; *kumpsoti*, to be bent; allied to Gk. κάμπ-τειν, to bend, to crook; κάμπ-ή, a bending, a bend of the limb or joint. This suggests that *hymblicæ* meant precisely 'crooked-like'; from the remarkably angular growth of its jointed branches. Other allied words are the Lith. *kampas*, a corner, and *trikampis*, triangular. Hence we should be quite justified in assigning to the above idea of 'crooked-like' the more specific sense of 'angular,' as proposed above.

J. I doubt if the whole history of the origin of initial *j* in English has yet been given. I beg leave to discuss it. There was no such sound in Old English, so that we should hardly expect to

find it in native words. But some examples certainly occur, due to the fact that the Early E. *ch* was sometimes replaced by *j*, its corresponding voiced sound. A clear example occurs in *jowl*, M.E. *jolle*, earlier form *chol*, *chaul*, a contraction of M.E. *chauel*, the *jowl*, from A.S. *ceafl*. Other examples occur in our dialects; such as *jar-woman* for *char-woman*; *jig-by-jowl*, for *cheek by chowl*, i.e. very close together; *jink*, a chink; *jink*, vb., to chink money, whence also *jingle*; *jirk*, to gnash one's teeth, the same as to *chirk*; *jowl*, vb., to knock on the head, to knock heads together, from *jowl*, sb.; *jowler*, the same as *chowter*, an itinerant seller of fish; *junder*, the same as *chunter*, to grumble, to murmur; *junner*, the same as *chunner*, to grumble; *junk*, a shapeless lump, the same as *chunk*. We also find in dialects the use of *j* for initial *dy*; as in *jow*, for *deo*; *jowy*, for *dewy*; *jube*, for O.N. *djūp*, the deep sea, the deep; *jubious*, for *dubious*; *juck*, a dialect form of *duck*, sb.; *jed*, *jeth*, i.e. dead, death; *jure*, cattle, animals, Swed. *djur*, lit. 'deer.' With these examples before us, I would explain prov. E. *jouds*, rags, pieces, as connected with *duds*, rags, ragged clothes, and the adj. *dowdy*. We also find *jouk*, to *duck* the head. But there are also cases in which *j* is allied to initial *g*; as in *jabber*, to chatter, also found in the forms *gabber*, *gabble*, though all these are imitative. *Jail* is also spelt *gaol*, as if the *g* had once been hard; at any rate the A.F. *gaole* represents L. *caveola*, a cage. *Gamp* or *gamf*, to mock at, also appears as *jamf* or *jamph*. Perhaps *jobbett*, a small quantity of hay, may have been suggested by *gobbet*, a mouthful. *Goggle* and *joggle* both mean to jog or shake. The phrase *gardyloo*, i.e. *gare de l'eau*, take heed of the water, said when water is emptied out of a window, also appears as *jordeloo*; a very important example, as it admits of no mistake. *Judcock*, a jack-snipe, is also pronounced *jetcock*, and is obviously derived from *ged* (with hard *g*), meaning both a pike and a jack-snipe.

In considering the initial *j* in words of F. origin, it may be remarked that this F. *j* arose from an earlier *y*, as in E. *just*, O.F. *just*, from L. *iustus*; or from *g*, as in O.F. *jambe*, from L. *gamba*. It is especially the case that the Hebrew *yod* appears as *J* in all such names as *Jacob*, *John*, *Jerusalem*, etc. On the other hand the *y*-sound is retained in G. *Jacob*, *Johann*, etc.; and in Du. *Jan*, *John*. Hence it was that there was no initial *y*-sound in French, and the Normans at first hardly knew what to do with it. In the case of *y* before *i* they sometimes ignored the *y*; hence M.E. *yif* became *if*; *yichen*, to itch, became *ichen*;

Gippes-wic (with *g* as *y*) became *Ipswich*. In other cases, when our dialects had both *given* and *yiven*, *geten* and *yeten*, *gildhalle*, and *yeldhalle*, they favoured the hard *g*. We should bear in mind that Middle English was in quite a different position from other languages of medieval times. We had speakers of English with English habits, and speakers of French with French habits, thus creating two sets of phonetic laws that could not always agree. The most curious set of foreign words with which they had to deal were words of Scandinavian origin. If a Norse word began with a *y*-sound, the Englishman would be prepared to accept it, but the Norman would regard it as less acceptable than *j*. Hence it might happen, and actually did happen, that Norse words passed into English dialects with either of these sounds, as the E.D.D. helps us to perceive. Thus we find:—"Yagger, a clandestine purchaser of things unfairly disposed of; the same word as *jagger*." I suppose these to be connected with Dan. *jage*, to hunt after. The Dan. *jamre* means to lament or wail; hence prov. E. *yammer*, to lament, which is also known in the form *jammer*. The Icel. *jarma* means to bleat; hence prov. E. *yarm*, to bleat, to yell, to scold; also *jarne*, to bawl, to cry. Very curious is the Lowl. Se. *joke-fellow*, a yoke-fellow; evidently due to the confusion of *yoke* with *joke*. The prov. E. *yernut* means 'an earth-nut'; cf. Norw. *jordnot*, earth-nut; it also appears as *gernut*, which is precisely the Norman F. form *gernotte*. These examples show that it is possible for a Norse *j* (*y*) to appear as *j* in English; and I have no doubt that the derivation of *jammock* or *jannock*, 'equitable,' from Norw. *jamn*, 'even, level,' as given in E.D.D., is quite justified. And I have no doubt that our E. *jerk* is nothing but a variant of *yerk*, as used by Shakespeare: "their wounded steeds . . . *yerk* out their armed heels at their dead masters" (Hen. V. iv. 7. 83). This suggests a Norse origin; but I do not know the etymology, unless it was formed, as a verb, from the Norw. *jark*, *jerk*, Icel. *jarki*, the outside of the foot; which seems just possible. Cf. prov. E. *yark*, to jerk, to kick, to strike hard, also to work hard; the last sense seems to appear in Swed. dial. *jerkesam*, industrious. Other pairs of words are *yaffle* or *jaffle*, a handful; *yaggle* or *jaggle*, to quarrel, to wrangle; *yank*, to move quickly, *janken*, walking quickly; *yack*, a *jack*et, from Dan. *jakke* (the same). Another source of E. *j* is, ultimately, the Lat. *z*, as in *jealous*, which is a doublet of *zealous*. The E.D.D. gives the extraordinary form *jitch* for 'such'; I would explain this as being

an A.F. pronunciation of *zitch*, not of *sitch*. It only occurs in Wilts., Somersets., and Devon. Perhaps the most striking examples of the use of the French *j* occurs in some English place-names. In Sussex there is a place called Jevington, which must surely be of native origin, as it ends in *-ington*. There is a Yedingham in Yorkshire; but in Scotland there are Jedburgh and Jedworth. It looks as if these three may all go back to a connexion with the known A.S. name spelt *Geddi*. In one case at least we cannot be mistaken; for we find, in the English translation of Bede's *Ecel. Hist.*, bk. v. ch. 21, that there was a place named *on Gyrum*; and no one doubts that this refers to *Jarrow*.

Jade. The E.D.D. gives us both *jade*, *jaud*, and *yaad*, *yaud*, meaning a mare, a horse, an old worn-out horse. The use of either *y* or *j* for the initial sound suggests a Norse origin. Dunbar has the form *yald*, which is evidently an older form; the change from *yald* to *yaud* is precisely the same as in the Northern *ald*, *old*, to *aud*. I believe the etymology of *jade* from Icel. *jalda*, a mare, to be quite correct. Cf. E. *safe* from O.F. *sauf*, from L. *saluus*.

Jag. The etymology of *jag* is unknown, but it seems worth while to compare the Norw. *jak*, which Ross explains as meaning a not very deep cut in a straight and sharp edge; with its derived adj. *jakutt*, full of such notches, which is precisely the sense of *jagged*. There is also a verb *jaka*, to notch.

Javelin. The earliest notice of the use of *javelin* in the N.E.D. is dated 1513. There is a curious example, forty-six years earlier, of the same word, but in an extraordinary form, in the supplementary volume (vol. iv) of the Paston Letters, ed. Gairdner (1901), which was not published at the time when this part of the N.E.D. was issued. At p. 114, A.D. 1467, we have: "They ryd and go dayly . . . in ther trossyng dowblettis with bombardys and kanonys and *chafevelyns*."

Jump. The etymology of *jump* is unknown; but I have pointed out that it is probably of Norse origin, and agrees in sense with the Swed. *gumpa* and O. Low G. *gumpen*. But the solution is really quite easy. I have shown above that E. initial *j* sometimes arises from a Norse *j*, and Feilberg's *Diet. of the Jutland dialect* actually gives the form *jumpe*, to jump; and the author expressly compares it with the E. *jump*. It is therefore of Jutland origin.

Knot. Explained in the N.E.D. as a name for the Red-breasted Sandpiper; and the unfounded suggestion made by Camden, that

the bird was named after King Canute, is rightly condemned. Nevertheless, there is no reason why it should not be a word of Danish origin; and such I believe it to be. Larsen's Dan. Dict. has '*Knot*, a sand-piper'; and Kalkar's Mid. Dan. Dict. gives it also, as being known in Middle Danish. There is also a kind of sand-fly, called *knot* not only in Danish, but also in Norwegian and Swedish.

Muckinder. A pocket-handkerchief, as in Ben Jonson's Tale of a Tub, iii. 1:—"Take my *muckinder*, And dry thine eyes." It is duly treated in the N.E.D., which refers it to an Occitan dialect of French, probably from the language of some district where the article was manufactured. There is a reference also to an article of mine in which Provençal words were discussed. To this I desire to add a few words. First, I can supply another example besides those actually given; for it occurs in Lydgate's Minor Poems, p. 30, in a better form:—"For eyen and nose thee nedeth a *mokadour*." Secondly, I think the assumption that the name came to us from a place where they were manufactured, is unnecessary. The point of my article on Provençal words was that we obtained such words directly and easily. Lydgate died about 1451, which is just the date of our surrender of Bordeaux to the French. Previously to this, Bordeaux was as much an English port as Harwich or Hull. That is how English sailors picked up the word *noose*, the common Old Provençal word for the loop of a rope that moored a boat to the shore, and therefore literally the first word they wanted to learn. They then picked up the word *bateldore*, from the Prov. *batadour*, a beater or batlet, which was used by every washerwoman in the sight of every English sailor that went up the Garonne. And the commonest object on which these women brought down their battledores was certainly what they called a *mokadour*. The word was as easily imported as were the wine-casks which, according to Chaucer, were removed "whyl the chapman sleep."

Parbuckle. This curious word is applied to a device for lowering or raising barrels, etc., by passing two loops of rope round them near each end; see the full description in N.E.D. The older spelling was *parbunkle*, which "about 1760 [was] associated in popular etymology with *buckle*." The etymology is unknown. Having regard to the pair of loops so essential to the device, it is clear that the first syllable is simply the Danish and Swedish word *par*, a pair, Dutch and German *paar*; all from Lat. *par*. According

to Captain Smith and Calisch, it was a sea-term; but it is not Dutch, because the Dutch for it is *schrootouw*. Now the word *par* is always followed by another substantive without any intervening preposition; where we say a pair of gloves, Danish has *et par Handsker*. Hence *parbunkle* must mean 'a pair of *bunkles*.' There are two words spelt *bunke* in Danish; one is our word *bunch*; the other is rare, and properly dialectal or Norwegian. Larsen explains it by 'milk-pan,' though I believe it also means a 'milk-can.' The Swed. *bunke* sometimes means 'a tub.' According to Ross, the Norw. *bunke* also means 'a cylinder, a roller'; or even what is called in mechanics a drum. I cannot find the next connecting link, but it seems to me probable that a *bunkel* was a name for one of the loops or slings which was passed round the *bunke*, i.e. cylinder or tub, to roll it by; and then the two loops collectively were called a *par Bunkle*, with the Danish plural in *s*; and the whole contrivance would be a *parbunkle* in English, without any change of spelling. The change to *parbuckle* was natural enough; the loops went round the barrel like straps, and the idea of strap naturally suggests that of *buckle*. The difficulty of verifying this etymology is due to the difficulty of finding what old sea-terms were in use in Scandinavian.

Parenthesis. Given in N.E.D. from Grafton's *Chronicate* (1568). According to Ellis's reprint, it occurs about twenty years earlier in Hall's *Chronicle*. "The duke [of Buckingham] somewhat maruelynge at his sodain pauses as though they were but *parentheses*, with a high countenance saied."—Hall's *Chronicle*, Rich. III, year 2, § 2.

Pediment. It is shown in the N.E.D. that the older spelling was *periment*, with *r* not *d*. The essential idea of a pediment, which is a triangular or semicircular ornament (usually of stone), is that it is always placed above a window, door, or niche. I suggest that it is merely an aphetic form of *operiment*, duly given in N.E.D. with the sense of 'covering,' from L. *operimentum*, a covering or cover. Cooper's *Thesaurus*, 1565, has: "*Operimentum*, anything that covereth, a cover." The Latin word is used by Skelton at the end of his *Speke, Parrot*, where he exclaims "O my Parrot, . . . lapis pretiosus operimentum tuum!" As to the form *pediment*, I suggest that, after the *o* had been dropped, it was forgotten that the original form was *operimentum*, and so, by prefixing the wrong preposition, they hit upon the form *impedimentum* instead, but without prefixing *im-*. However, the

change from *r* to *d* was, in any case, sufficiently easy. The word *operimentum* occurs in the Vulgate; Skelton was merely quoting Ezek. xxviii. 13. The etymology is made almost certain by the statement that *periment* was a workman's term. Of course, for such a man, the Lat. *operimentum* necessarily became a *periment*; to have made it into an *operiment* would have seemed to him pedantic. *Operimentum* occurs in the Old Testament no less than twenty-four times, and it may easily have attracted attention from being used four times in one chapter in connexion with the 'coverings' of the tabernacle. See Numbers iv. 10, 11, 12, 25.

Pettitoes. I wish to state my belief that the etymology given, somewhat tentatively, in N.E.D. is certainly correct. It is there shown that, although in English popular use, it meant the *petty toes* of a pig or pig's trotters, in earlier use it included not only part of the inwards of a pig, but of a calf, a sheep, or other animal. Hence it is tolerably certain that it was an adaptation of the French phrase which Cotgrave gives as: "*Petitose*, the garbage of fowle, an old word." And again, s.v. *Oye*, 'a goose,' Cotgrave has: "*La petite oye*, the giblets of a goose; also the belly, and inwards or intralls of other edible creatures"; so that, even in French, the expression had been extended from geese to other slaughtered things. Palsgrave has the word also, at p. 224:—"Garbage of a fowl, petitoye." But there is more to be said; for when we read further that the form *petitose* "is not given by Godefroy, and may be some error," a reference to Godefroy's Supplement, s.v. *Oe*, really helps us considerably. All that is wrong is that Cotgrave's form, instead of ending in *-ose*, should have ended in *-oes*; so that, in fact, the English spelling *pettitoes* is absolutely the same as the O.F. form, except that it has two *t*'s in *pettit* instead of one. For the true O.F. form for 'goose' was *oe*, from the Lat. *auca*, and the plural was *oes*. Roquefort enters the old forms under *Oe*, and so does Godefroy, in the Supplement. And the latter says: "*petite oe*, abattis de l'oie"; and gives a quotation from Rabelais, showing its jocular use. The form *os* occurs in Wace. *Auca* is a contraction of *avica*, dimin. of *avis*, a bird.

Puttee. The *puttee* that is worn as a protection for the leg is now a familiar word. The N.E.D. gives its etymology from the Hindi *paṭṭī*, meaning 'a band, bandage'; and compares it with the Skt. *paṭṭa*, a strip of cloth, a bandage. It seems worth while adding to this, that Uhlenbeck discusses the Skt. word. He points

out that it is closely allied to *paſas*, a piece of cloth, and *puſas* a fold. Both of these are pronounced and written with a cerebral *t*, which usually arises from the omission of an *l*, so that the form of the base was originally *palt-*, which is allied not only to the Russian *polotno*, 'linen cloth,' but to the Gothic verb *falthan*, to fold, and the E. *fold*. If then we explain *puttee* by saying that it lies in *fold*s round the leg, we are actually explaining it by using a word that is allied to it etymologically. Miklosich, in his Etym. Dict. of Slavonic Tongues, notices the same connexion.

Rascal. Well known to be from the O. French *rascaille* (F. *racaille*), which Cotgrave explains to mean "the scumme, dregs, offals, outcasts of any company"; which has not been further explained. But I think it can certainly be traced. The O.F. *rascaille*, meaning simply 'refuse,' is a verbal substantive, formed with the prefix *ra-* (Lat. *re-ad*) from the verb *escailler*, to shell, to take off a husk. The complete verb still appears in modern Provençal as *rascalha*, *rascala*, to re-shell, or to re-scale. It even appears with the simple prefix *re-*, as *rescala*, with the same sense. Mistral well explains that it means, in particular, to take the inner skin off a chestnut. Thus the F. *rascaille* means precisely that which is the result of re-scaling, or scaling a thing for the second time; that which is *scaly* in the second degree. There is a fine contempt implied in it. The O.F. *escailler* (F. *écailler*) is given by Cotgrave as 'to skale'; and *escailler des noix* is 'to shale walnuts'; from the sb. *escaille*, a scale. In fact, the etymology is so easy that one wonders why it has been missed. It is well worth adding that Godefroy, like Mistral, gives, s.v. *rascaille* in the Supplement, the equivalent form *rescaille*, with the simple prefix. And it is curious that Mistral, after giving *rescala* as the equivalent of *rascala*, proceeds to derive *rescala* from *re-* and the O.Prov. *escalha*, a shell, without at all suspecting that he is explaining a word which has given a good deal of trouble. A *rascal* is the refuse of a thing re-skinned, or skinned a second time, which is surely a forcible expression.

Rebuke. This verb is referred, in the N.E.D., to the Picard verb *rebuker*; from the prefix *re-* and a form **buker*, the equivalent of O.F. *buchier*, to strike; and we are also referred to the O.F. *rebuchier* in Godefroy. But we are not told the origin of the O.F. *buchier*; although there is a hint that a connexion with F. *reboucher*, to blunt, is doubtful; a remark with which I entirely agree. I take the ultimate source to be the late Lat. *busca*, a log,

whence the mod. F. *bûche*, a log, results regularly. The corresponding North F. form is *bûque*, and the dimin. *bûquette*, 'a log,' is given by Moisy in his Norman F. Glossary. The O.F. *buchier*, better spelt *buschier*, simply meant to cut logs, to chop, to cut faggots, to trim trees; from the sb. *busche*, a log, faggot. Hence the verb *rebuschier* meant to trim trees over again, to cut them back; whence the metaphorical sense of our verb *to rebuke* follows without much difficulty. Hamilton's modern F. Dict. gives *bûcher*, 'to rough-hew, also to destroy,' which is even stronger than 'rebuke.'

Rig. The earliest quotation for the verb *to rig* (a ship) is given from Caxton's *Blanchardyn*, supposed to have been printed about 1489. But it occurs in 1483 in a dated letter. "The said shippes may be wele *rigged*"; Letters of Rich. III. (Rolls Series), i. 19.

Roam. The note in N.E.D., that the M.E. *rome*, to roam, rimes with *home* in Gower, is beside the mark. For it also rimes with *blome*, mod. E. *bloom*, in Havelok, l. 64; and it was variously spelt just because it had a double pronunciation. The same is true of the place-name *Rome*, which rimes with *roam* even now. The remark that these words are connected by puns only in late times can also be contradicted; for Langland (P. Pl. B. iv. 120) calls pilgrims *romares*, i.e. roamers, and only eight lines below calls them *Rome-renneres*, i.e. runners to Rome. This is why the verb *to roam* has no other source than the name of the great city of *Rome*, and has no root in any Teutonic language. Cf. O. Friesic *rumera*, a roamer, and *runfara*, a traveller to Rome.

S (initial). Brugmann draws attention to the root *sker*, to cut or tear apart, where the initial *s* is dropped in the Gk. *κείρειν*, to shear, but preserved in the A.S. *scer-an*, E. *shear*. English is particularly rich in words of this kind, which preserve an original *s* that is frequently lost in Greek and Latin. It will be interesting, I think, to give several examples.

Sk. Roots that begin with *sk* often have Gk. and Lat. examples in which the *s* disappears. Exx. *shear*, A.S. *scer-an*, Gk. *κείρειν* (for **κέρπειν*). *Shard*, orig. 'a piece cut off'; Gk. *καρτός*, in the sense of 'cut' or 'sliced,' a rare word used by Galen. *Shire* is allied to L. *cûra*; see **Shire** (below). *Show*, from A.S. *sceawian*, to behold, to regard, from a root **skau*, is connected by Brugmann and others with the L. *cau-êre*, to heed, Gk. *κοίω*, I observe. *Shower*, A.S. *scâr*, Goth. *skûra windis*, a gust of wind, is connected

by Brugmann with L. *Caurus*, *Cōrus*, north-west wind. *Shriek* and *screech*, rather of Norse origin than native, are compared with the Gk. κριγ-ή, a creaking or screeching, and κρίζ-ειν, pt. t. κέ-κριγ-α, to screech.

Sl. *Slack* is allied to Irish *lag*, slack, whence E. *lag*, sluggish, a word of Celtic origin; also to L. *laxus*, slack, and the verb *languēre*, whence E. *languish*. The adj. *slow* appears in Latin as *laeuis*, used of the left hand, Gk. λαιός. *Slime* is allied to L. *līm-us*, mud. *Slippery* is said to be connected with Gk. ὀλιβρός, slippery, the *o* being prosthetic. The prov. E. *slud*, meaning 'mud,' appears in Latin as *lut-um*.

Sm. The adj. *smart* is allied to L. *mord-ēre*, to bite. A thing that *smarts* is *mordant*. *Small* is allied to Icel. *smali*, small cattle, sheep; cf. Russ. *maluii*, small, Gk. μῆλον, a sheep. *Smelt* is allied to Gk. μέλδ-ειν, to render liquid. *Smile* is allied to Gk. μειδᾶω, I smile, and L. *mīror*, I wonder at.

Sn. *Snare*, a noose, is allied to O.H.G. *snerhan*, to twist tightly, and to Gk. νάρκη, cramp. *Snow* has always been considered as allied to L. *nix*, and the Gk. acc. νίφ-α, snow.

Sp. *Sparrow* may be allied to the Latin *parra*, a bird of evil omen; cf. *pārus*, a tomtit. *Spell*, an incantation, formerly a story, a narrative (as in *go-spel*) is allied to the L. verb **pell-āre*, only used in compounds, as in *ap-pellāre*, to speak to, call upon, whence E. *appeal*. This is the proposal of Walde, who dissociates *appellāre* from *pellere*, to drive. So also *inter-pellāre*, to disturb by speaking.

St. The verb *to stun*, A.S. *stun-ian*, from the root **sten*, is allied to L. *ton-āre*, to thunder. *Steer*, a young ox, is cognate with L. *taurus*, a bull, Gk. ταῦρος. *Star* is allied to Skt. *tārā*, a star. *Stork* appears in Gk. as τόργος. The verb *to starve*, A.S. *steorfan*, is cognate with the L. *torp-ēre*, to be numb or torpid. *Stot*, a stallion, bullock, is allied to Swed. *stöt-a*, to push, G. *stoss-en*, and to L. *tund-ere*, to beat (pt.t. *tu-tud-i*), and *tud-es*, a hammer. *Stub*, a stump of a tree, is allied to Gk. στυπ-ος, a stump, which some connect with τυπ-τειν, to strike. The mod. E. *strife*, O.F. *estriſ*, is from Icel. *strīð*, contention; which is cognate with L. *lis* (O. Lat. *stlis*), strife, appearing in E. *litigate*.

A very curious result of these pairs of bases, with and without *s*, is that we sometimes meet with connexions that are not a little startling. Thus such a word as *shrimp* presupposes a strong verb **skrimpan*, to shrivel, actually found in Old Swedish. If from this

we take away the *s*, the resulting form **krimpan* gives us *crimp*, *cramp*, and *crumple*. But the initial *k* of **krimpan* may become *h* in accordance with Grimm's law, and we get a new strong verb **hrimpan*, whence we may derive the prov. E. *rimple*, to crumple, and the common verb to *rumple*. The E. *sky* originally meant a cloud, and is connected with the Skt. *sku*, to cover, the form of the root being **sgeu*, to cover, whence also the adj. *obscure*. If we take away the *s*, and turn the *q* into *h*, we get a base **heu*, which is the base of the E. *hue*, complexion. It is shown in the N.E.D. that the original sense of *hue* was precisely 'cover' or 'skin.' The same root **sgeu* has an extended form **sgeut*; from which, if the *s* be omitted, we can derive the Lat. *cut-is*, skin, and E. *hide*, sb., with the same sense of 'cover.' I have already noted the E. *stun*, from a root **sten*, to resound, as being allied to L. *ton-āre* and *ton-ītru*. Removing the *s*, and turning the *t* into *th*, we obtain the E. *thun-der*. A very simple example is the E. *tern*, as a bird-name; it is allied to A.S. *stearn*, also meaning 'a tern'; and further, to E. *star-ling*. A very remarkable example is E. *stream*, from a Teut. base **straumo-* and a Teut. root **streum*. The corresponding word in Gk. has neither *s* nor *t*, but appears as *ρῆμα*, whence E. *rheum*. The Dutch word for 'throat' is *strot*; from this drop the *s*, and turn *t* into *th*, and we have the A.S. *þrot-u*, E. *throat*. Sometimes it is the E. form that drops the initial *s*. The Lithuanian *strazdas* means 'a thrush.' Omit the *s*, turn *t* into *th*, change *a* into the A.S. weak grade *o*, and change *d* into *t*, all according to rule, and we get the form *throst-*, of which the dimin. is *throst-le*. Again, the Latin *spūma* means 'foam,' whence the E. *spume* is borrowed; and *spūma* represents an older form **spoima*. If we drop the *s*, the *p* gives E. *f*, the *oi* corresponds to A.S. *ā*, and thus we get the A.S. *fām*, now spelt *foam*. These examples are not exhaustive; but may suffice to show the principles which are now freely used in modern works on comparative philology.

Shades. In some parts of London, especially beside the Thames, you may see wine-vaults with the curious name of The Shades, or The Old Shades. I find no reference to this in our dictionaries, excepting the E.D.D., which sufficiently explains it. The E.D.D. has: "*Shade*, a shed, a lean-to, a lightly constructed building"; which occurs in a dozen dialects. I think it means sheds, shelters, places protected from the weather; easily transferred to cellars and vaults.

Shelf. A.S. *scilfe*, a shelf, ledge, floor. It seems to be agreed that the A.S. *scilfe*, f., for **scolf-jā*, is derived from an Idg. root **squelp*, signifying to cut; so that the original sense was a slice of cut wood, a thin plank or board. The root is well shown in L. *scalp-ere*, *sculp-ere*, to cut, which is supposed to be further allied to Skt. *kalp-aya*, to arrange, pp. *kṛp-ta*, cut, trimmed, said of the hair and nails. See *scalpere* in Walde, and *kalpate* in Uhlenbeck's Skt. Etym. Dict. Without the final *p*, we have the root **squel*, to cut, whence the E. *scale*, *shell*, *skill*. And it is suggested that without the initial *s*, we have the root **quelp*, to cut, which may account for the Goth. *halb-s*, E. *half*; so that the original sense of *half* may have been a thing parted, or cut in two.

Shire. The E. *shire* is from the A.S. *scīr*, 'shire.' It has frequently been connected with the A.S. *sceran*, to shear; but it certainly belongs to a different gradation, and has nothing to do with either *share* or *shearing*. Light can be thrown upon it from a most unexpected quarter, by considering the Lat. *cūra*, which used once upon a time to be connected with E. *care*, though, when phonetic laws are carefully pondered, it is much more likely to be allied to *shire*. Brugmann explains that the Lat. *cūra* represents an O.Lat. *coira*; indeed, the verb *coirāre* actually occurs. The form of the root must therefore be **keir* (for **keis*), or if an initial *s* has been lost, it will be **skeir*, whence also the O.H.G. *skira*, which means precisely 'care' or management, a taking care of a thing; *skira haban* is explained by *procūrāre*. Closely connected with this is the O. Northumb. *gescira*, occurring in Luke xvi, 2: "agef rehto groefscīre ȝines, uutedlice for ȝon ne mæht ȝu gescira," (i.e. give an account of thy stewardship, for verily thou shalt not be steward). This very clearly shows that *gescira* means to take care of, to manage, to administer, and *groefscīre* means stewardship or management of an office. Note also A.S. *scīrig-man*, *scīr-man*, an administrator of a shire. (Can we connect with these G. *schirren*, to harness, and *geschirr*, implements?)

Sucket, Sunket. *Sunkets*, explained by 'delicacies,' is a Lowland Scotch word, employed in Scott's *Guy Mannering*, ch. vii. This is noted in the E.D.D., which also gives *suncate* as an E. Anglian word, meaning 'a dainty, tit-bit, delicacy.' The Cent. Dict. well suggests that *suncate* is a mere variety of the once common word *sucket*, used in the same sense; and that its form was affected by association with *junket* or *juncate*; see *junket* and *juncade* in the N.E.D. The older form *sucket* is given by Nares, with examples

from the dramatists. He explains *suckets* as "dried sweetmeats, or sugar-plums; that which is sucked." The last four words are gratuitous and incorrect, but they show that the word was connected, in popular etymology, with the verb *to suck*, with which it has no real connexion. The real sense is sweetmeats, or sugar-plums. As to the etymology, the Cent. Dict. rightly refers us to the better form *succade*; but there it stops. It is from the O.F. *succade*, noted by Godefroy, who gives: "*Succade, chucade, chuccade, sucrade*, s.f. chose sucrée, dragée, sucrerie, douceur." Obviously, *sucrade* is an older form. We also see that the true F. form is *sucrée*; the form *sucrado* being not French, but Provençal. It is from the Prov. *sucrado*, explained by Mistral as 'sucrée'; and he adds the example '*amelo sucrado, dragée*.' And of course *sucrado* is from the verb *sucra*, 'to sugar'; and this is from the sb. *sucre*, 'sugar.' See also *sucket* and *sucker* in the E.D.D. My note on this appeared in N. and Q., 10 S. xii. 443.

Thrush. A disease in the mouth, especially of young children; Phillips (1706). The right etymology is probably that given by Falk and Torp in their Danish Etym. Dict., s.v. *tröske*. They derive it from the theoretical O. Norse **thrúskr*, as evidenced by Dan. *tröske*, Swed. *torsk*, Swed. dial. *trosk*, Norw. *trausk*, *trosk*, *trösk*; all meaning 'thrush'. And with these words they identify Norw. *trausk*, a frog; variant of Norw. *frausk*, *frosk*. The Norw. *frosk* means (1) a frog, (2) the thrush; cf. *frog* in E.D.D. That this is right is strongly supported by the fact that both the Gk. *βάρραχος* and the Lat. *rāna* have the same double meaning.

Tring. In my Place-names of Herts., I entirely failed to find the etymology of Tring. All I could say was that, in Domesday Book, the spellings are Trevinga, or Treuinga, Trevng or Treung, Treunge; and the form in the Feudal Aids is Trehyngge, which is, practically, better. But Mr. Zachrisson, in his treatise entitled "A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Norman Study on English Place-names," has shown us the way to the right answer. He notes that the Domesday Book gives a fourth and better form, viz. *Tredunga*, which, as he remarks, "makes the derivation from the A.S. *þriþing* obvious." The *T* is shown to be for *Th* by comparison with the surname Thring, which is really more correct. The A.S. *Thrithing* is not given by Toller, but he notes that the debased form *Trehing* occurs in the A.S. Laws; see Thorpe, Ancient Laws, i. 455. Mr. Zachrisson further says that the division of land into thrithings or ridings, as we now call them, formerly

obtained in Lincolnshire, and "in entries relating to this county from the Hundred Rolls and Feudal Aids we find the true form *thrithing*, which hitherto has escaped the attentions of philologists." To this statement I beg leave to add an early example from Birch's Cart. Saxon. iii. 22, where the Latin text has "in schiris, wapuntakis, hundredis, *thrithingis* et omnimodis aliis curis." I have already explained above that the Lat. *curis* is merely a Latin form of *shires*.

Warrison. This remarkable word, misspelt with double *r* by Sir W. Scott, is a fine example of a ghost-word, as noted in my larger Etym. Diet., first ed. 1882, and in the Century Diet., under the correct spelling *warison*. In the Lay of the Last Minstrel, c. iv. st. 24, we find:—

" Either receive within thy towers
Two hundred of my master's powers,
Or straight they sound their *warrison*,
And storm and spoil thy garrison."

A much needed note explains it as 'a note of assault.' Apparently Scott confused it with the M.E. *soun*, 'sound,' as if it meant 'warry (or warlike) sound.' But *warison* meant 'healing,' or 'protection,' or 'reward'; and it is a doublet of *garrison*.

Yankee. I make a note here that the articles in Notes and Queries, 10 S. iv. 509, v. 15, should be consulted. I accept the explanation by Dr. H. Logeman that *Yankee* was formed (like *Chinee* from *Chinese*) from the Du. *Jan Kees*, the familiar form of *John Cornelius*, an extremely common name. Cf. *Jan*, *John*, and *Kēs*, *Cornelius*, in Koolman's E. Frisian Dictionary. The E. Fris. *Kēs* also means 'cheese'; and it seems to me not a little remarkable that *John Cheese* occurs in English as a term of contempt. In Ascham's Scholemaster, ed. Arber, bk. i. p. 54, we find the expression:—"Away, good Peek-goos! hens, *John Cheese!*" It was long ago suggested that *Yankee* was a corruption of *Jankin*, as being a diminutive of *Jan* or *John*, a nickname given to the English colonists of Connecticut by the Dutch settlers of New York; but it is highly unlikely that the common form *Yankin* should have been corrupted to such a form as *Yankee*. The suggestion made by Logeman is surely far better.

XV.—ETYMOLOGIES. By Professor ERNEST
WEEKLEY, M.A.

[Read at the Meeting of the Philological Society on February 3, 1911.]

Akimbo. In the *Academy* of October 31, 1908, I published an article in which I suggested that the original meaning of *kimbo* (earliest recorded form *kenebowe*, Beryn, c. 1400) was 'pot-ear', 'jug-handle'. This article, which, owing to the proof miscarrying, contained many misprints, does not seem to have impressed philologists. I think, however, that the following parallels from various languages will show that there is something in the theory:—

'*Ansa*, the care or handle of a cuppe, or pot' (Cooper's Thesaurus, 1573).

'*Ansatus homo*. Plaut. A man with his arms *on kenbow*' (ibid.).

Ansas (Verg. Ecl. iii, 44, 5) is rendered by Dryden '*kimbo* handles', and *kembow*, *kemboll*, etc., are regularly glossed *ansatus* in the Latin dictionaries of the seventeenth century.

'Les bras courbez en *anse*, with armes *a-kemboll*' (Cotgrave, 1611).

'Il marche, pliant les bras en forme d'*anse*, he walks with his arms *on kembow*' (Miège, 1679).

'Faire le pot à deux *anses*, to set one's arms *a kembo*, to strut' (Boyer, 1702).

'*Koperen pot*. *Adag.* homo *ansatus* (Plaut.), qui incedit utroque brachio in *ansarum* modum ad latera applicato' (Kilian, 1620).

'*Kembo*, *kembole*, e.g. to set his arms *a kembo*, sich breiten, gross und breit machen, die arme in die seite setzen, *wie ein topf mit zwei henckeln*' (Ludwig, 1706).

'On dit fig. et pop. "Einen *Henkeltopf* machen, beide Hände in die Seite setzen, faire le pot à deux *anses*"' (Schwan, 1783).

'To set one's arms *a-kimbo*, ponerse en *jarras ó en asas*' (Seoane, 1854).

Thus the same image—and a more vivid example of popular metaphor could hardly be imagined—is found in Latin, French, Spanish, German, and Dutch. I have not found it in Italian or

Portuguese, but that does not prove that it does not occur in them. The phrases I have noted above are essentially non-literary and only grudgingly admitted into the dictionaries. (Thus the great German Thesaurus has only the one reference to Plautus for *ansatus*, though it was probably a word in popular use, while the N.E.D. has no record for *kimbo* between c. 1400 and 1611.) I give them from the dictionaries I happen to possess, but no philologist will doubt that they are very much older and belong to the popular word-formation of the early stages of a language. When a popular metaphor is found repeated in five languages, it is not unreasonable to assume that an unexplained word expressing the same idea in a sixth may be of similar origin, especially when the form of that word does not absolutely preclude such origin.

I cannot quote for M.E. *kene-bowe* or later *kimbo* in the literal sense 'pot-ear', unless Dryden (v.s.) was using a popular word which has not been booked, but *bow* is common in the sense of 'handle' (v. N.E.D. and E.D.D.). Minsheu (1617) recognized the second part of the word. He has (s.v. *bowe*) '*kem-Bow, ken-Bow, kem-Bol, ken-Bol*: as the armes a *kembow* by the sides. Vi. in litera K. *kembowce*', but, unfortunately, the latter entry is missing. The late Dr. Furnivall, with his usual kindness, compared for me the text of Beryn with the French original, but the corresponding expression did not occur. I suggest that the first element is E. *can* or some word related to it. On the very wide meaning of *can* see the N.E.D. and Jamieson. It is used in older E., and especially in Sc., of all sorts and sizes of vessels. G. and Du. *kanne* have also been used in the same way, as also the N.E. French form *canne, quenne*, still in use (see Godefroy). Among the meanings of the *can* group of words is that of '*amphora*, a two-handled jar', as appears from the following entries: '*kanne, amphora, urna, hydria*' (Trium Linguarum Dict., Franeker, 1587); '*can* with two eares, amphora' (Holyoak, 1612); '*quenne, vase, cruche; amphora*' (Dom François, Dict. Roman, Walon, Celtique, Tudesque; Bouillon, 1777). Unfortunately *kene* does not appear among the early variants of *can* (N.E.D.). On the other hand, the following variant of *akimbo* appears to be likewise unrecorded: '*ansatus homo*, one that in bragging manner strowteth up and down with his arms *a-canne-bow*, or set up by his sides' (Thomas, Lat. Dict., Camb., 1644).

Bootikins. This instrument of torture, like the *boot*, was peculiar to Scotland (v. N.E.D.). As the Sc. tortures were

mostly of F. origin and name, I think it likely that this dim. for the earlier *boot* was suggested by F. '*brodequins*, buskins, or bootes (filled with hot oyle, etc.), whereinto the legges being put are extreamey tormented' (Cotgrave).

Brooch. 'A painting all in one colour.' The N.E.D. finds the word in dictionaries only, from Phillips (1706) onward. This *brooch*, which I believe to be a ghost-word, seems to have had a great attraction for the dictionary-makers of the eighteenth century. It is in Boyer (1702), Ludwig (1706), Kersey (1720), Bailey (1736), and hence in Johnson, Dyche, Ash, etc. The original sinner appears to be Guy Miège, in his folio dictionary (1687). He has '*brooch*, camayeu, ouvrage de peinture qui n'est que d'une couleur; collier d'or'. This *camayeu* is mod. F. *camaiéu*, which formerly (1380, D.G.) meant *cameo* (with which it is evidently connected), and was later applied to a kind of painting, 'où l'on emploie une même couleur avec des teintes dégradées' (D.G.), apparently producing a *cameo* effect. That a *cameo* should be called a 'brooch' is natural. Accordingly we find in Cotgrave '*camayeu*, the precious stone called a sardonix; also a *brooch*'; '*camayeux antiques*, medalls; or old, and auncient images of metall, molten, and caste into the forme of *brooches*.' Apparently Miège was shaky in E., and finding that the F. word had two meanings, '*brooch*, painting in one colour,' he took the second to be explanatory of the first.

Cantilever. The earliest examples in the N.E.D. are 1667 (*candilivers*), 1740 and 1759 (*cantilever*). In Minsheu's Sp. Dict. (1617) occurs '*can debaxo de la viga*, mutilus super quem capita trabium imponuntur, a corbel in masonry', which, as the N.E.D. says, would lead one to expect *can de llevar*, but no such phrase appears to be known. Derivation from *cant* and *lever* is also suggested, but it is difficult to explain the meaning of such a compound. No doubt in the later use of the word in bridge-building there has been association with *lever*, cf. also '*canting lever*, console-bracket' (Smyth, *Sailor's Wordbook*). I have no etymology to propose, but I can give a few rather early examples which are not in the N.E.D. The second example (1740) is from Pineda, but this is copied from Stevens (1706) s.v. *can*. Ash (1775) has '*cantilivers*, a kind of modillions', and also '*cantilivers* (an incorrect spelling), cantilivers'. Ash has also '*cantaliver* (adj. from the subs.), having cantilivers, Scott'. Vieyra's Port. Dict. (1794) has '*cahorrada*, a bragget, corbel,

a prop, or supporter, to bear up the frieze or any other part of a building; *cantalivers*'. This derivative of '*cachorro*, a little dog', rather supports connexion of *cantilever* with O.Sp. '*can*, dog'. Minsheu's *can debaxo* appears to be copied from Junius' Nomenclator. My edition (1602) has it s.v. *mutuli*. The plural '*canes*, modillons, brackets, corbels' is given in modern Sp. dictionaries. Among early authorities Oudin (1660) has '*can* sobre que cargan las vigas, colomne, ou pilier, qui supporte les poutres d'un bastiment, corbeau', and the dim. '*canzillo* un petit corbeau, ou console de pierre', etc. Cf. F. '*chenet*, fire-dog, andiron', also used of supports employed in shipbuilding (v. Dict. Gén.).

Cobridge-head. In a paper read before the Philological Society in January, 1909, I connected this word, occurring in the Hawkins Voyages in the sense of 'bulkhead', with Sp. '*cobrir*, *cuvrir*, to cover'. The double form *cobridge*, *cubridge* made this seem plausible, but I have now found a good deal of evidence against this etymology. I have also come across additional occurrences of the word, e.g. '*cubridge-head*, a division made across the fore-castle and half-deck with boards; which in other places is called the bulkhead' (Phillips, 1678), '*cubridge-head*, is the same as a bulkhead; only that this word is us'd to the bulkhead of the fore-castle and the half-deck . . .' (Sea Dictionary, 1708). Both dictionaries also use *cubridge-head* in defining *passarado*. I have not found *cubridge* alone, but it would seem from the above to be of the nature of a half-deck or orlop deck, and therefore to be identical with G. '*Kuhbrücke* (auf Kriegsschiffen), leichtes Deck unter der Wasserlinie, das nicht immer durch die ganze Länge des Schiffs geht' (Kluge, Seemannssprache). This is recorded for 1608, i.e. rather later than the E. word, and is derived by Kluge from Du. *koebrug*, booked, apparently in the same sense, in 1681. I knew of the existence of this Du. word when I dealt with *cobridge* before, but the explanations I found of it did not seem to fit in with its being part of the structure of a warship. They are the following: '*koe-brugghe*, pons, scalae navales, quibus excipiuntur aut in terram exponuntur vectores' (Kilian), '*pons*, schipluder, oft *koe brugghe*' (Junius), '*koe-brugge*, bridge to put horses or cows out of a ship' (Hexham). This is repeated in Marin's F.-Du. Dict. (1752), and hence is booked by Jal, but Winkelmann (1783) explains it by *faux-pont*, which agrees with the G. meaning. Jal gives both the G. and Du. words s.v. *faux-pont*, without

connecting them with the entry '*koebbrug*, nom de la planche, ou du plancher composé de plusieurs planches, dont on se sert pour faire descendre du navire à terre les vaches qu'on a transportées'. There seem to me to be various possibilities. Kilian's gloss may be a fiction, as his nautical glosses often are, and the rest may have copied him. On the other hand, if he is right, a spar-deck may have been named humorously after the landing-bridge he describes. Or the deck may have been named from its being used for cows on board ship. We know that there were horse-decks in mediaeval ships (for early instances see Jal, s.vv. *écurie* and *stabularia*), and, although *Kuhbrücke* and *cobridge-head* are recorded in connexion with fighting ships only, there is no reason why the earlier sense should not have been humbler. Lastly, as the E. word is so far the earliest record, may not the Du. word be borrowed from it, and my original theory be right? For the wide use of derivatives of *co-operta* in the Romance languages see Jal, s.vv. (F.) *couverte*, *coverte*, (It.) *coverta*, *coperta*, (Sp.) *coberta*, *cubierta*, *cubierta*, all meaning 'deck' in various connexions. If the E. word had been borrowed from Du., one would rather have expected *cow-bridge* or *cow-deck*.

Dairy. The ultimate etymology of this word (1290) is well known, but the addition of the F. suffix to the M.E. '*dey*, servant' is curious. Professor Skeat compares *buttery*, *laundry*, *pantry*, *vintry*, but in each of these the whole word is F. The use of the suffix *-erie* to indicate a collection of people (cf. *chivalry*, *fairy*, etc.) rather suggests that our word was formed first of all in A.F. I find some confirmation of this in Godefroy, who has both *daye* and *dayerie*, 'Si doit la *daye* respondre d'atant de fromage et de buire d'un galoun de leet dez berbitz com d'un galoun et demy de let de vache,' and 'Qaunt al office *dayerie*, il vous covient avoir en chescun manoir un *daye*, homme ou femme, pur garder le menu estor dez leyns'. The N.E.D. notes that in Aberdeen *dey* is similarly used both of a male and female servant. Godefroy's examples are from a 'Traité d'économie rurale du xiii^e siècle', and therefore at least as old as the first example in the N.E.D. The text appears to be Anglo-Norman.

Dally. The verb occurs c. 1300, the noun *dalliance* a little later. *Dalier* is common in A.F., but the N.E.D. finds only one instance of O.F. '*dalier*, to chaff', in Godefroy. The form suggests O.F. *dailler* (cf. *rally*, *tally*), which, though not in Godefroy, is given by Roquefort, '*dailler*, faucher, couper avec

la faux," from '*dail, daille, faux, et principalement le fer de la faux*'; with which cf. '*dail, a sithe to mow with*'; '*daille, a kind of long shell-fish, that's covered, or armed with two shells*' (Cotgrave), what we now call a 'razor-shell'. Roquefort also has '*dayer, veillée, assemblée qu'on fait le soir dans les campagnes pour travailler*'. Körting (§ 2738) mentions Eastern F. '*dayé, to chaff*'; '*dayement, chaffing conversation in the spinning-room*'; O.F. '*s'entredailier, to hew each other*'. Horning (ZfrP., 18, 217) discusses this group of words, still in use in Lorraine, and shows how the meaning '*säumen, zögern, schlendern*', i.e. '*dally, loiter*', may have been evolved from that of idle chaff. The earlier meaning seems to have been a kind of contest of rough wit, and he suggests that the verb *dayer* is a metaphorical application of O.F. '*dailler, to cut and slash*', which is dubiously connected (v. Diez, Körting) with the same root as *dagger*. He does not mention E. *dally*. This is a natural metaphor; cf. '*lardonner, to quip, nip, cut, flout, gird, break a jeast upon*' (Cotgrave). G. *dahlen* is a comparatively modern word (Kluge), and, like E. *dally*, a loan-word from O.F. *dailler* (?**daculare*). This verb occurs in Langtoft—

'Patrick de Graham, ke demourt e *daille*
Del espé furbie, mes tuez est saunz faille.'

Foil. First record 1594. Sometimes explained as a weapon for 'foiling' an adversary. The two ideas have certainly been associated, and in using the verb in its modern sense we perhaps have a fencing picture before our mind's eye. But there is no etymological connexion. The N.E.D. says: 'that the word is, by some far-fetched association, a transferred use of "*foil, leaf*" (cf. F. "*fleuret, fencing-foil*", the button being compared to a bud) is a possibility of which at present there is no evidence.' With this I agree, especially as I regard the 'bud' origin of *fleuret* as a bad guess; but all the same, E. *foil* is, I think, certainly F. *feuille*. The etymology of a word like this can only be got at by going into the history of the object it represents. So far as I can make out, the modern definitions of *foil* and *fleuret* as 'a flexible steel four-faced tapering weapon, buttoned at the point' apply only to the modern implement, for the simple reason that the small-sword, or duelling-sword, of which the *foil* is merely the harmless form, was quite unknown at the period when *foils* and *fleurets* are first mentioned. From the volume on fencing in the

Badminton series I gather that sword-play was originally hacking with sword and buckler, then cut and thrust with sword and dagger, and lastly, with the sword alone. It is obvious that only a lunatic would have delivered thrusts at the polished cuirasses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. 'Agrippa (1553) first discerned the vast capacity for homicide which lay in the *point* of a sword.' 'At the beginning of the eighteenth century the edge was . . . practically discarded for the point.' The small-sword made its way slowly in England, and the joy our ancestors took in hacking is still expressed in single-stick play. For our *foil*, and perhaps for *fleuret* also (though the small sword was regularly used in Italy and France much earlier than in England) we want an original meaning 'blade with a blunted *edge*'. The dictionaries support this view. Cotgrave has '*floret*, a *foile*; a sword with the *edge* rebated', '*espée rabatue*, a *foile*'. Florio has *foil* under *fioretti*, but without description. Torriano has '*fioretti*, foils or blunted weapons as they play in fence schools, as *smarra*', and '*smarra* a shaving iron-tool that tanners use, also a paring-shovel, also a waster (what does this mean?) with a hilt at one end, a *foil* or *flurrett*, as they use in French-schools for young learners', '*spada di filo*, a sharp edged sword', '*spada di marra*, a sword blunted, or without point or edge, a *floret*'. I assume that the earliest foil was an edgeless, pointless blade, of unpolished steel, used originally rather as a toy or a development of the sword of lath. This is confirmed by the Sp. '*espada negra*, a *foile*, gladius obtusus' (Percival, 1591), and Port. *espada preta* (Vieyra), the business swords being in Sp. '*espadas blancas*, celles dequoy on combat à outrance, à la difference des espees à escrimer, qui s'appellent fleurets ou espees rabbattues' (Oudin). Veneroni explains *fleuret* by '*rudis*, une verge de bois qui n'est point acconstrée' (R. Estienne), 'a rodde or yarde that was given to sworde players at 60 years of age in token that they were set at libertie. Lampridius wryteth that sworde players used to play with such rodde' (Cooper). I believe that the original foil still exists as the *rappier* of the morris dancers (v. *rapier*). That the *foil* was essentially the blade appears in the earliest example in the N.E.D. 'Jacke Leiden . . . had . . . a piece of a rustie sworde . . . by his side . . . it was but a *foyle* neither . . .' (Nashe, 1594). It is curious that nobody appears to have noticed this entry in Cotgrave: '*feuille d'un* (sic) *espée*, the blade of a sword.' I have no other immediate authority for this use of *feuille*, but it still means 'blade of a saw' (Littré).

Anyone who considers the relation in sense of F. '*lame*, a thin plate of any metal; (hence) also, a blade' (Cotgrave), from L. '*lamina*, a plate of mettal, a slate, a thin board or plank, a sword blade' (Holyoak), and of E. '*blade*, a leaf; flat part of a sword' (Skeat), and its G. cognate '*blatt*, leaf', will, I think, be convinced. The etymology is clinched by Kilian, '*folie*, folium,' '*folie*, bractea, metalli lamella tenuis,' '*folie*, breed sword, spatha.'

In dealing with *fleuret* I am on less safe ground. It is true that 'button' and 'bud' are cognate, but neither It. *fioletto* nor F. *fleuret* appears to mean 'bud', nor have I seen any evidence that the name was applied to the 'button' before being applied to the 'foil'. The usual F. word for the 'button' is *mouche*, explained as a transferred use of '*mouche*, fly'. I should rather guess that it has something to do with the F. adjective '*mousse*, blunt', applied especially to swords (see D.G. s.v.) from It. *mozzo*; cf. sixteenth century '*mouche*, ship-boy' (Cotgrave, Veneroni) for *mousse*, also from It. *mozzo*; swords were blunted for fencing before the 'button' was devised, and the same name may have been applied to the device which supplanted the earlier method. However that may be, I feel sure that 'buttoned' foils were unknown in the time of Montaigne, who uses *floret*. I have shown the probability of the *foil* having been originally a mere toy and then an unpolished blade. *Fleuret* also apparently had the latter meaning, e.g. '*fleurets à faire des armes payeront, comme lames d'épées, trois livres*' (Littré, 1664). I take this to mean that for customs purposes they were classed with sword-blades, as distinguished from finished weapons. There is an O.F. '*fleuret*, bagatelle' (Godefroy), and it seems to me possible that the original *fleuret* was a wooden sword to be classed with the fool's *bauble* or *marotto*. This would probably make it, by a different road, a derivative of *fleur*. This may appear rather bold, but Sewel has '*foil*, een floret, schermdegen, een degen met een *poppetje* aan de punt'. Even those who admit the 'floweret' will, I think, draw the line at the 'doll'. But this *poppetje* suggests some vague connexion with '*marotta*, a fool's bauble', described as '*une poupée extravagante au bout d'un bâton*'.

Garnet. I do not know of any proposed etymology for this nautical term (recorded 1485). The N.E.D. and Kluge both compare Du. *garnaat*, *karnaat*. The first L. dictionaries to record it appear to be Littleton (*machina elevatoria*) and Coles (*funis tractorius*). Falconer glosses it *garant*, apparently not quite

correctly. The regular F. equivalent appears to be *bredindin* (Jal, Lescallier), while *garant* is really the 'fall' of the tackle. It seems possible that *garnet* and *garant* are both corruptions of the same original. Littleton says '*garnet*, qu. *cranet*'. This may be right. The *garnet* has the function of a 'crane'. It is defined by Kersey as 'a tackle with a pendant-rope coming from the head of the main mast, and a block or pulley strongly fasten'd to the main-stay, to hoist all the casks into a ship, and such goods as are not over weighty'. The Du. forms of *garnet* suggest uncertainty as to the initial consonant; cf. *casket* for *gasket*, and '*garnet*, a kind of hinge' (1459 onwards), perhaps dim. of O.N.F. *carne* < *cardinem* (v. N.E.D.). The metathesis is common; cf. *garner* (*granarium*) and *garnet*, gem (*granatum*). Jal gives, for *garant*, the Breton form *goarant*. The Welsh for *crane* is *garan* (Skeat, s.v. *crane*).

Gasket and Grummet. I take these two words together because they are in close contact on shipboard, and because I believe that they are both due to the same kind of sense development. *Gasket* occurs in E. in the seventeenth century, *caskettes* (1622, Hawkins), *gassits* (1626, John Smith), *gaskets* (1630). The N.E.D. says that F. '*garcette*, plait of rope, rope's end (for flogging)' is in some Dicts. said to mean also 'gasket', but it has not been found earlier than the nineteenth century; it compares, for the form *casket*, Sp. *cajeta* (Jal gives also *gajeta*). I assume *casket* to be a corrupted form due to folk-etymology, or to the printer. It is reproduced in the Gentleman's Dict., the same page of which perpetuates the well-known misprint *carnel*, *carnel-work*, for *carvel*, *carvel-work*. It is not recorded by the experts (Jal, Falconer, Lescallier). The prevailing E. form is *gasket*, a corruption (cf. *lasket* for *lacet*) of earlier *gassit*, which is from F. *garcette*, with the common loss of *-r-* in the combination *-ars-* (cf. *duce*, *gash*, etc.). This *garcette* is quite an old word. Jal glosses it 'gasket' and quotes it for 1634 and 1643. This is a little later than the E. word, but the N.E.D. delves much deeper than a single-handed investigator of 1848. It is booked by Duez (1659) and Oudin (1660), so it was presumably a familiar word in the seventeenth century. It is used, by Falconer and Lescallier, of a number of rope contrivances, but glossed 'gasket' by both. The D.G. regards it as a dim. of '*garce*, girl, wench', used metaphorically, an etymology which is quite admissible in nautical language, especially if the etymology I am going to propose for the much older word *grummet* is accepted. This is identified by Professor Skeat (Concise Dict., 1901) with

'*grummet, gromet, ship-boy*'. In the new edition of the Etym. Dict. (1910) he discards this for the etymology of the N.E.D., viz. F. '*gourmette, curb chain (of a horse)*'. If the derivation of *garcette* from *garce* is correct, it is a strong argument for the other view. *Grummet* (naut.) is recorded for 1626 (John Smith), 1627, '*caskets are . . . small ropes . . . made fast to the gromits or rings upon the yards,*' and 1644 (Manwayring), *grommets*, again associated with *casketts*. '*Grummet, ship's boy,*' is recorded for 1229, '*cum uno garcione qui dicitur gromet,*' 1570, and 1591, '*grumete, a grumet of a ship, a ship-boy*' (Percival's Sp. Dict.). This is probably a dim. of *groom* (v. N.E.D.) and is an old word in F. and Sp. Now, although the application to a nautical contrivance of a term connected with a horse's harness is a possibility (cf. *martingale*), there does not seem to be in this case any particular reason for the metaphor. On the other hand, the naming of the contrivance after the '*garçon ou esclave de galère*' (Oudin, s.v. *grumete*) is quite in accordance with the tendency of nautical language. Moreover, F. *gourmette* does not mean '*grummet*', which Jal renders '*anneau de corde*', but it *does* mean '*ship-boy*', in which sense Jal quotes it for 1643. It is evidently a metathetic form of M.L. *grometus*, E. *gromet*, or Sp. and Port. *grumete* (quoted by Jal for 1611). It is given also by Falconer, who calls it Provençal.

Ingle. In the sense *catamitus*, booked first in 1592 (Nashe). It is also in Florio (*bardascia, catamito, zanzeri*). The verb is almost as early (Florio, s.v. *zanzerare*), *Ningle* occurs 1598. The N.E.D. gives no etymology. Professor Skeat suggests Du. *engel* used as a term of endearment. Minshew says '*vox est Hispanica et significat Lat. inguen*'. This seems possible, especially when we consider that it was written within thirty years of the first recorded occurrence. Cf. the history of *cullion*. Skinner does not dissent. Littleton has '*an ingle in Spain, catamitus, puer pathicus*'. See Sp. dictionaries, s.v. *ingle*.

Lugsail. This word, first recorded for 1677 (a century older than *lugger*), is usually referred to the verb *lug*. Jal says it is for **luck-sail*, and I think he is probably right; cf. its F. equivalent '*voile de fortune*'. This F. parallel alone may not be a convincing argument, but apparently an older E. name for *lug-sail* was *bonaventure-sail*. Jal quotes this for 1532 ('*Inventory of the great barke*'). From the same inventory he quotes '*bonaventure-mast, mâst de fortune*', i.e. '*jury-mast*'.

There is no doubt as to the correspondence in meaning of *lug-sail* and *voile de fortune* (v. Falconer, Lescallier, Romme, Jal, etc.). 'Bonaventure mast' is described by some authorities as an extra mizen mast. The N.E.D. gives this meaning (from Smyth), but the earliest example, 'Some pulled up the *bonaventure*, Some to howes the tope sayle dyde entre' (c. 1500), would seem to apply rather to the sail.

Niece. Trench (Select Glossary) quotes examples (Wyclif, Philemon Holland) of *niece* = *nephew*. The oldest example in the N.E.D. is 'The king said: Sir gawan *nece*, why dois þow so?' (Lancelot, c. 1500). It seems to me that this is not *niece* (*neptia*), but an interesting survival of the O.F. nominative *nies* (*nepos*).

'Carles escriet: "U estes vus bels *nies*?"' (Rol., l. 2402). Nominatives thus used as vocatives have survived even in mod. F. (*filz, gars, sire, traître, vierge*, etc.), and the very common use of *nies* in O.F. epic seems to correspond with that of M.E. *nece* quoted above.

Ninny and Noddy. The N.E.D. suggests that *ninny* may be from *innocent*. This is probably right; cf. '*innocent*, Innocent, Ninny (a proper name for a man)' (Cotgrave). Sigart has '*ninoche*, imbécile, v. *inochein*' and '*inochain*, idiot, crétin'. See also Hécart. A similar process is seen in F. *crétin* (probably for *chrétien*) and '*benet*, a simple, plain, doltish fellow; a noddypeake, a ninnyhammer, a pea-goose, a coxe, a silly companion' (Cotgrave), from Benedict. This suggests a possible origin for *noddy*. We know that Noddy Boffin was christened Nicodemus. The D.G. has '*Nicodème*, nigaud' and says: 'le sens paraît dû au rôle de Nicodème dans un ancien mystère.' Sigart has '*niquedouye*, imbécile; employé en Bourgogne; de Nicodème'. See also Hécart. The Dictionary of the Canting Crew has '*nick-ninny*, an empty fellow, a meer cod's head', which appears to combine Nicodemus and Innocent, and also '*nocky*, a silly, dull fellow' and '*nokes*, a ninny or fool', both of which are perhaps for Nicodemus. Cf. '*tony*, a silly fellow, or ninny' (Dictionary of the Canting Crew), and mod. E. 'silly Johnny', also F. *Colas* (Nicolas), *Claude*, *Nicaise*. I have not, however, found E. *Nicodemus* used in the required sense. This suggestion involves regarding *ninnyhammer* and *noddypeak* as arbitrary elaborations of the shorter words, and, if it is correct, *nincompoop*, earlier *nickumpoop*, probably is of similar origin. F. '*nigaud*, a fop, nidget, ideot; a dolt, lob-cocke, vain, trifling, or loytering fellow' (Cotgrave) has also been

conjecturally derived from *Nicolas* (v. Scheler); cf. the family name Nicot. The fact that *noddy* is the name of a card game and is used for 'knave' (1611) is rather in favour of its being a proper name; cf. *E. Jack* and *Pam* (from *F. Pamphile*) and *G. Wenzel* (for *Wenceslaus*), all similarly used.

Oriel. In a paper read to the Philological Society (January, 1909), I proposed to derive *E. oriel*, O.F. *oriol*, from '*aulæolum*, sacellum' (Du Cange) by regular dissimilation from O.F. **oliol*, or from L. **auræolum*. I have since found an example of this very dissimilation in M.L., viz. '*aulea vel aureola*, fur hang' (M.L., O.H.G., Bohemian Dict., 1470, ed. Diefenbach, Frankfurt-a.-M., 1846). I have found several instances in M.L. of '*aulæum*, curtain', used for *aula*, but there is also the possibility that the original meaning of *oriel* was a 'curtained recess'.

Painter. Recorded, in the nautical sense, 1487 (Naval Accounts). The N.E.D. describes the derivation as uncertain, but compares O.F. '*pendoir, pendoir*, anything for hanging things on', of which Godefroy has one fifteenth century example glossed as '*cordage de forte résistance*'. The oldest form is *paynter*, but variants *penter, panter* also occur. Professor Skeat, in the Supplement to his Dict., pursues the F. word further and quotes O.F. *pentour* (Du Cange, s.v. *pentorium*) and '*pendoir*, a marine term, ropes supporting a pulley, tackle' (Godefroy, Comp. s.v. *pendeur*). I merely wish to furnish a little additional evidence and to point out that the word appears to be modern nautical F., though not in the exact sense of the E. word. It is important to notice that the oldest meaning in E. (in the Naval Accounts) is not 'rope for mooring a boat', but 'shank-painter', i.e. 'a short chain, fasten'd under the fore-mast-shrouds, by a bolt, to the ship's side; having at the other end a rope fasten'd to it; it serves to make fast the anchor at the bow; and the whole weight of the aft-part of the anchor rests thereon, when it lies by the ship's side' (Gentleman's Dict., 1705). This strengthens connexion with '*pendre*, to hang'. Jal has '*pendeur, pendour*, E. *pendant*', i.e. the rope by which the yards are suspended. Falconer has both *pendeur* and *pendour*, Lescallier only the former. This is, of course, not the same as a 'shank-painter' (F. *serre-boisse*), but it is a suspensory device used on board ship, and the transference of the sense in E. is quite as natural as the later further development to the meaning of 'mooring rope'. The transition would take place through the boat's anchor being hung

at the bow by a *painter*. Our nautical words of F. origin have often undergone similar changes of meaning. Among the variants given by Jal are F. *pantoire* (in Littré), Basque *pantoira*, Breton *pantouer* (these two no doubt borrowed from F.). For the *paint*-spelling, cf. *paint-house* for *pent-house* (N.E.D.) and Amer. *painter* for *panther*.

Parch. It is mentioned by the N.E.D. that attempts have been made to connect this verb with O.F. '*percher, perchier, to pierce*', but this is rejected. I suggest that it may be ultimately cognate with it (see **Pierce**) and that it is the same word as *perish*. For the latter word the N.E.D. gives M.E. variants *persch-*, *perch-*, *parish-*, etc., and notes that from c. 1400 it is transitive in various senses. This is also the date of the first appearance of *parch*, the earliest example being *perch*, used of killing pepper by heat (see N.E.D. and Skeat). O.F. *perir* is also used transitively (see Godefroy for numerous examples). The example which is most nearly parallel is, however, from the sixteenth century: 'A la seconde herbe de ceste plante s'y engendrent des petites chenilles noires, appelees barbotes, qui la *perissent*, la faisant dessecher.' The later limitation of the sense is quite normal (cf. *starve*), and it may be noted that *parch* is used also of the effects of cold. Dialect *pearch*, used of the effect of cold, raw weather (Wright), should, I think, go with *parch* and not with *pierce*, the ultimate origin being, perhaps, almost the same (see **Pierce**).

Pawl. The N.E.D. is dubious as to the identity of this word (recorded 1626) with F. '*pal, stake*'. This identity is accepted by Jal and Kluge (Seemannssprache). The same word occurs in Du. and Sw. *pall*, but these are probably from E. I share the doubts of the N.E.D. A *pawl* is not a stake, but, according to a definition of 1768 quoted by Kluge, 'an iron ring or plate with notches or teeth . . .' It may, of course, have been originally a simpler contrivance of the nature of a stake, but of this there is no evidence. I cannot find that F. *pal* has ever been a nautical term. It is essentially a stake, usually sharpened at the top and set upright in the ground, forming part of a palisade or dam. The regular F. term for *pawl* is *linguet*, usually taken to mean 'little tongue', an etymology supported by the variant *lanquette* (v. Jal), but contradicted by the form *élinguet*. Falconer derives *pawl* from *épaule*, an etymology which occurred to me as possible before I acquired Falconer. The metaphor would be a natural one, and would include also the verb 'to pawl' (cf. '*épauler, to*

shoulder up, to prop', Boyer). I do not find the F. word used in the required technical sense, but it shares this disadvantage with *pal*.

Pet, Pettish. The N.E.D. points out that the connexion of '*pet*², fit of temper', with '*pet*¹, tamed animal (esp. lamb or kid) kept as a favorite', is not at all clear or simple, especially in the early phrase 'to take the *pet*', though there has been natural association between the two words. The relation of *pettish* to these words is also chronologically difficult to establish. The following are the earliest records: *pet*¹, 1539, *pet*², 1590 (in the phrase 'take the *pet*'), *pettish*, 1552. As the meaning of 'spoilt darling' for *pet*¹ is comparatively late, this meaning cannot very well, apart from the difficulty of interpreting 'to take the *pet*', be the origin of *pet*² and *pettish*, which are almost as old. At the same time I believe the two *pets* to be identical, and I suggest that 'to take the *pet*' is either a semantic parallel to, or a direct translation of, F. '*prendre la chèvre*, to take the *pet*, or pepper in the nose' (Cotgrave). This is only twenty years later than the earliest record in the N.E.D. (Lodge). The expression is common in the F. comic dramatists (Molière, Regnard, Dancourt), and is recorded earlier than the corresponding E. phrase, e.g., Montaigne, 'J'en ay veu *prendre la chevre* de ce qu'on leur trouvoit le visage frais et le poulx posé' (iii, 9), 'I have seen some *take pepper in the nose*, forso much as they were told that they had a cheerefull countenance, that they looked well, that they had a temperate pulse' (Florio). It is also used by Agrippa d'Aubigné and Régnier. To take 'pepper in the nose' (which occurs in Piers Plowman) is intelligible, but what is the metaphor in 'to take the goat'? Littré says '*Prendre la chèvre*, c'est se faire chèvre, avoir un caprice; l'italien dit d'une façon analogue *pigliar la monna*, *prendre la guenon*, pour s'enivrer'. This would appear to suggest that *prendre* in this phrase means something like 'to assume the character of'. Furetière gives for '*prendre la chèvre*' also 'se cabrer', i.e. 'to rear, prance', from Prov. *cabrar*. Cotgrave has '*cabrer*, to reare, or stand up, right on the hinder feet . . . as a goat or kid, that bronzes on a tree'. The analogy of the words *caprice* and *caper* naturally occur to one, but the difficulty seems to be, not the 'giddy goat' but the verb 'take'. If *pettish* means 'capricious', it should belong to *pet*, but if, as the earliest example (*potyshe*, impetuous, Huloet, 1552) suggests, its original meaning was 'impetuous', it may be for an aphetic **petuous*, **potous*

(cf. *pester*, etc.) with the substitution of *-ish* for *-ous* as in *squeamish* for *squamous*.

Petronel. The accepted etymology (N.E.D. and Professor Skeat) connects this word ultimately with L. *pectus*. This dates back to Minsheu, though the nature of the connexion is variously explained. Minsheu says that this kind of horse-pistol was first used in the Pyrenees, and derives it from Sp. *pretina*, older *petrina* (*pectorina*), girdle, because the horsemen 'hanged them alwayes at their breast, readie to shoote, as they doe now at the horse's breast, called *petto*'. So also Blount. Phillips explains it as 'a kind of harquebuse or horsmans piece, so called, because it is to aim at a horses breast, as it were *poictronel*'. Later authorities (Godefroy, N.E.D.) say that it was rested against the chest when fired. Godefroy has the form *poictrinal* (1585). This is also in Cotgrave, 'a great, and heavy *petronell*; shorter, but of a wider bore, then a musket'. It is obsolete in F., but I have come across *poitrinal* somewhere in Mérimée, used like *petronel* in Scott, i.e. by an archæologist. In spite of the form *poitrinal*, I think there is some doubt as to the correctness of the accepted etymology. This form looks rather like a product of popular etymology due to the way in which the weapon was carried or fired. No *poitr-* forms occur in E. (earliest *petronell*, 1577, N.E.D.), though there is an isolated Sc. example *puitternell* and Coryat has *pewtornall*. Cotgrave has also '*petrinal*, a *petronell*, or horsemans peece', agreeing more with the It. and Sp. forms. Roquefort has '*petrinal*, gros pistolet, inventé par les bandouillers des Pyrénées', which agrees with Minsheu. Neither of them gives authority for this statement, which they took from a common source, apparently Fauchet (flor. 1570-1600), who is quoted in *Archæologia*, xxii, p. 86, as saying 'It is believed that this arm is the invention of the bandouillers of the Pyrenean mountains'. A comparison of the It. and Sp. forms suggests a possible connexion with *petra* rather than with *pectus*. This, I find, is the opinion of Henshaw, in Skinner. Professor Skeat quotes from Florio '*pietranelli*, souldiers serving on horseback, well armed with a pair of cuirasses and weaponed with a firelocke-piece or a snaphance or a *petronell*'. I find also in Florio '*petronello*, a *petronell*' and '*petrinale*, a kinde of gunne called a *petrinall*'. Thus the E. and It. forms are probably quite as old as the F. which is first recorded (*petrinal*) in Ambroise Paré. Torriano has the following entries: '*pedrinale*, a *petronel*,'

'*petrinale*, a *petronel*, a snap-hance-dag, a fire-lock-piece,' '*petronelli*, as *pietronelli*,' '*petronello*, as *petrinale*,' '*pietronelli*, *pietranelli*, souldiers serving on horse-back, serving with *petronels* and cuirasses on their backs,' '*pietronello*, *pietranello*, a *petronel*, a snaphance, or a fire-lock piece.' All these words, except *pedrinale*, which is perhaps a Sp. loan-word (v.i.), look like derivatives of It. '*pietra* (also *petra*), stone', rather than of It. '*petto*, breast'. They all appear to be obsolete. Boccaccio uses *pietra* for '*pietra focaia*, flint' (Voc. della Crusca). Oudin has '*pedreñal*, un *poitriual*, sorte de petite arquebuse à rouet' and also gives the F. *petriual*. Sp. *pedra* is also used for 'gun-flint' and has numerous derivatives in *pedr-*, among which I should reckon '*pedril*, une grande arquebuse' (Oudin). Stevens has '*pedreñal*, a fire-lock'. This can hardly be connected with Sp. '*pecho*, breast', or even with '*petrina*, girdle'. Junius gives Sp. *pedernal* for *silex*. Oudin has '*pedernal*, caillou à feu, pierre à fusil, pierre à feu'. The word has the same meaning in mod. Sp., and, according to Vieyra, in Port. To about the same period as *petronel* belong F. '*fusil*, gun', earlier 'steel to strike flint', and G. '*Flinto*, gun', literally 'flint', from O.Du. '*elinte*, flint' (v. Kluge). Thus the naming of the weapon from its chief feature is paralleled even in the special detail. Cf. also E. fire-lock, flint-lock, match-lock, applied to guns. My own conjecture is that the word is Sp., hence the Pyrenean story, that in F. it was sometimes corrupted into *poitriual*, while in It. the connexion with *pietra* was understood. It is suggested by Grimm (s.v. *Flinte*) that the older match-lock was superseded by the flint-lock among horse-soldiers first, and Grose quotes early authority to the same effect. It was, of course, less cumbersome and could be fired with one hand. This would account for the special meaning *petronel* acquired. In Meyrick's Ancient Arms and Armour, and Skelton's plates to the same, are numerous examples of *petronels* of various shapes and sizes. The earliest appear to have had the wheel-lock (invented at Nuremberg in 1515 according to the Ency. Brit.). An article (by Meyrick) in *Archæologia*, xxii, suggests that the *snaphaunce* represented a simplification without the wheel. The existence of this name (*Schnapphahn*, *snaphaen*) in G. and Du. probably prevented the word *petronel* from penetrating into those languages. Cotgrave also uses the word under '*carabiner*, to shoot, hit, or knocke, with a *petronell*, or horsemans piece'.

Pie. The N.E.D. seems inclined to recognize the identity of

'*pie*, pasty' with '*pie*, magpie', without however committing itself to a definite opinion as to the actual metaphor involved. This identity seems to be very strongly supported by the parallel of '*haggess*, magpie' (cf. F. *agasse*) and *haggis* as a culinary term. I may say that I have long disbelieved the above identities, but am now a convert, chiefly through some indirect evidence contributed by the French word *pâté*. This evidence, which does not perhaps amount to much, connects F. '*pâté*, pasty' in an odd manner with F. '*pie*, magpie', and also with E. *pie* in one of its special senses. The first example in the N.E.D. of (printers') '*pie*, a mass of type mingled indiscriminately, or in confusion, such as results from the breaking down of a forme of type', is 1659. The origin is described as obscure, connexion having been suggested both with '*pie*, pasty' (miscellaneous contents), and '*pie*, ordinal' (illegibility). I think it must be the former, for Littré has '*pâté*. 5. Terme d'imprimerie. Caractères mêlés et confondus par la rupture d'une forme'. I do not know how old this is, but it is in Furetière (1727) and Cramer (1712). That a *pâté* partook of the nature of a miscellaneous collection is evident from another of its transferred meanings; Furetière has '*pasté*, en termes de brocanteurs et de curieux, se dit de plusieurs menues pièces et curiositez qu'on assemble en un tas pour les vendre en un encan, et pour les crier et ajuger tous d'un coup, sans les separer. Ce curieux a acheté un *pasté* où il y avoit une piece qui valoit seule toutes les autres'. This seems to give some indirect support to the theory that the metaphor which connects the two *pies* has something to do with the magpie's collecting habits. F. *pie* also occurs as a kitchen term. We have '*fromage à la pie*, une espèce de fromage blanc écrémé' (Furetière), and '*pie*, se dit aussi d'une grillade faite d'une épaule de mouton, lorsqu'après l'avoir mangée en partie, on en envoie griller les os avec le peu de viande qui y reste' (Furetière). Cotgrave has '*pie*, drinking, bousing, liquor; also a goose, the broyled thicke skinne of a peece of beefe; also the monstrous appetite of maids and big-bellied women, unto coales, ashes, paper, and such other unnaturall meats'. In this sense F. *pie* is obsolete, being replaced by the L. form *pica*, '*à cause de la gloutonnerie de cet oiseau*' (D.G.). F. *pie* and *pâté* are also used as equivalents in a curious metaphorical sense. '*Trouver la pie au nid*' means 'to make a great discovery'. Although not in Cotgrave it is certainly an old expression. But under *pasté* he has '*Il a découvert le pasté*, he hath found ou

the mystérie'. This is used by Bonaventure des Periers in his *Nouvelles Recreations et Joyeux Devis* (1558), Nouvelle 47, 'La faute vint que l'apprentis avoit toujours ouy dire *grille* en feminin, et non pas *gril*: qui fut ce qui descouvrit le *pasté*.' In the editor's (P. L. Jacob) note to this passage the *pie* and the *pâté* are brought together in a curious way: 'La Monnoye raconte en ces termes, d'après Ortensio Lando (Commentario d'Italia), l'origine de ce proverbe: Il vient, dit il, d'une femme qui, voulant régaler, une commère, fit un *pâté* à l'insu de son mari. Une *pie* babillarde, nourrie en cage dans la chambre où le pâté venoit d'être fait, ne manqua pas, lorsque le maître rentra, de répéter plusieurs fois: *Madame a fait un pâté*. "Oh! oh! dit il; et où est donc ce pâté? N'y a-t-il pas moyen de le voir?" "Prenez-vous garde, répondit la femme, à ce que dit une bête? Il n'y'a point ici de *pâté*; vous devez m'en croire plutôt qu'une pie." Le mari prenant cela pour argent comptant, sortit; mais il ne fut pas plutôt sorti, que la femme court à la cage, prend la pie et lui pèle en colère toute la tête. Le lendemain, un frère quêteur, étant venu à la porte demander l'aumône, capuchon bas, la pauvre pie, qui lui vit la tête rase, crut qu'on la lui avait pelée pour avois parlé de pâté, "Ah! ah! lui cria-t-elle, tu as donc parlé de pâté?" lui chantant et rechantant cette gamme tant qu'il fut là.' This explanation is probably about as true as such stories usually are, but the collocation of the two words in question may be due to some vague recollection of the equivalence noted above. These rather disjointed observations on *pâté* do not suggest to me any clear solution of the *pie* metaphor, but I hope they may assist some more acute investigator to 'trouver la pie au nid'.

Pierce. The N.E.D. does not mention the most plausible etymology proposed for O.F. *percier*, viz. L. **peritiare* (Körting, § 7057). The forms *perisse*, *perische*, etc., are common in M.E., 'app. due to confusion with *perish*' (N.E.D.). They seem rather to confirm the above etymology, which is perfectly sound from the point of view of meaning and phonology if **peritium* (cf. *initium*) is granted.

To prime. It is very difficult to account for the various meanings of this verb, and its origin is far from settled. I wish to suggest that in the fire-arm sense (1598, N.E.D.) it is probably identical with '*prime*', to prune or trim trees' (1565, N.E.D.). A preliminary to actually putting the priming in the pan of an old-fashioned gun must have been the clearing of the touch-hole.

Cotgrave has '*esplinguette*, . . . a priming-iron; that wherewith the touch-hole of a piece is usually cleansed'. Cf. F. '*dégorgeoir*, priming needle', from '*dégorgier*, to cleanse, unstop, etc.' The painters' term '*prime*, to put on the first coat of colour', usually grouped with the above, and dubiously connected with *primus*, as being a preliminary operation (Bailey, ed. Scott, 1755, derives it from F. *primer*, to begin), is, I think, quite a separate word. I take it to be an aphetic form from F. '*imprimer une toile* (en termes de peinture), coucher la première couleur, to *prime* a cloth for a picture' (Miège). The verb *imprimer* is thus used in mod. F. (D.G.), and Furetière gives it as used also by house-painters, gilders, etc. It is of course possible that this *imprimer* is a separate word from '*imprimer*, to print', and belongs to *primus*, but the F. authorities appear to identify the two words. The oldest example I have found is in Oudin, who glosses it 'poner la sisa', i.e. to apply the size.

To quill. 'To form into small cylindrical plaits or folds resembling a quill.' The N.E.D. derives from the noun *quill*. The earliest example is 'to wash and *quill* a ruff' (1712). I quite agree, but, as there is another theory (mentioned by Professor Skeat), it may be as well to show that the above etymology is clinched by mod. F. '*tuyauter*, plisser (du linge) en forme de *tuyaux* à l'aide d'un fer cylindrique' (D.G.). This is from the noun '*tuyau*, a pipe, *quill*, cane, reed, canell' (Cotgrave).

Rack. The N.E.D. has a verb *rack*¹, used of a particular pace of a horse. It first occurs in 1530 (Palsgrave) as *racking*. The corresponding noun *rack* occurs 1580, and the word is in modern use. Palsgrave's entry (260. 2) is '*rackyng* of a horse in his pace, *racquassure*', but the N.E.D. observes that the F. word is not otherwise known. I suggest that this *racquassure* is a deformation of, or a printer's error for, **tracquassure*. Roquefort has '*trac*, allure d'un cheval, d'un mulet'. This is used in mod. F., 'allure d'une bête de somme' (D.G.), and is supposed to be connected with *traquer* and *tracasser*. Mod. F. also has '*traquenard*, sorte de trot décousu où le cheval semble trébucher' (D.G., quoted from Rabelais). The origin of these words is obscure, but connexion with Du. *trekken* has been suggested. Florio has *rack*, s.v. '*traina*, a shuffling or racking pace of a nagge', which, if *rack* is etymologically connected with the F. *trac* group, suggests connexion with E. *drag*. Cotgrave uses *rack* several times, e.g., '*traquenard*, a *racking* horse or gelding, a hackney,' '*traquenarderie*, a *racking*, or

shuffling, pace,' *destraqué*, put out of a *racke*, or pace.' He also connects *tracas*, *tracasser*, with 'trotting'. I hardly like to suggest derivation by decapitation. We have E. *rankle* from O.F. *raoncle*, *draoncle* (*dracunculum*), but in that case the *d-* may have been felt as *d'* for *de*, and both forms exist in F. In the Notts dialect *the rack* is pronounced *t'rack*. Can *rack* be from F. *trac*, felt by some North Country groom as *t'rac*?

Rapier. From F. *rapière* (1474, Du Cange). The N.E.D. gives no further derivation. Some connexion with F. *ráper*. E. *rasp* is thought likely by many authorities. The word being regularly contemptuous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Diez conjectured that the 'rasp' idea belonged to the dented appearance of the blade. Professor Skeat takes it in an active sense, q.d. 'rasper', and quotes Sp. '*raspar*, to rasp, scrape, file' and '*raspa*, shoemaker's knife'. Professor Baist (Kluge, s.v. *Rapier*) likens the perforated hilt to a 'grater'; but I doubt whether such hilts, intended for catching the point of the adversary's sword, existed so early. Being recorded for 1474, the word must have been known almost in mediæval times, certainly before the introduction of fencing. We learn, on the authority of Scott, that—

'Trained abroad his arms to wield,
FitzJames' blade was sword and shield.'

But it is very doubtful whether any kind of sword-play, except that of sword and buckler, went on in France in FitzJames' time, and as early as 1474 it is still more unlikely (see **Foil**). I adopt Professor Skeat's view, though I have no opinion as to the country of origin. Percival has '*rapar*, to shave' and '*raspar*, to shave, to pare, to fret, to file', app. both identical with F. '*raper*, to raspe, or scrape hard' (Cotgrave), mod. F. *ráper*. Torriano's gloss for *smarra* (see **Foil**) is an exact parallel to F. '**rapière*, paring knife' and '*rapière*, an old rusty rapier' (Cotgrave). All that we know about the *rapier* is that it was a heavy sword, generally two-edged (Junius gives the Du. form under *gladius anceps*), and probably, from the date of its appearance, used for hacking rather than thrusting. It penetrated early into E. (1536), G. (1534), Du. (1587, perhaps earlier). The 'basket-hilted rapier' was a development of the sixteenth century. The N.E.D. gives *rappier* as a variant, but does not mention the 'rappers' of the morris dancers. These are, presumably, of ancient introduction, and the

pattern is not likely to have varied much. I have recently seen a set, the property of Mr. Cecil Sharp. The *raper* is, of course, edgeless. It consists of a fairly wide strip of flexible steel with a wooden grip, and a corresponding wooden cap at the other end. There is credible tradition that it formerly had a handle at each end. In the dances both ends are usually held. In appearance it is not unlike a spokeshave. I have never seen a tanner's paring-knife, but, as it is 'a large two-handed knife', I imagine it is somewhat of the same shape. I find, on inquiry, that it is curved. I am told that the *raper* of the Yorkshire 'raper-dancers' (E.D.D.) is of quite different appearance. In Germany the sword-dance seems to have been especially associated with the guilds (Müllenhoff, 'Über den Schwerttanz,' Berlin, 1871), especially those of the smiths, cutlers, butchers, and *skinners*. If this was also the case in England, the dancers may have used swords emblematical of their crafts. Morris dancing appears to be as old as the *rapier*. Torriano's *smarra* is confirmed by Duez, who has '*smarra, fleuret à faire des armes, smarrare, parer un cuir*'. About 1700 the *rapier* and *foil* were taken as synonymous, e.g. '*rappir, a foyl to fence withall*' (Ludwig). A F. synonym of *raprière* is *brette*, explained by Cotgrave as 'a (fencers) foile'. This has been explained as '*épée brette*', i.e. Breton; Körting suggests G. '*Brett, board*'. I would suggest Du. *breed-sword* (see **Foil**); Oudin renders it '*espada larga*'.

Ravelin. This name for a 'half-moon' in military engineering is derived by the N.E.D. from F. *ravelin* (Rabelais) and this from It. *ravellino, revellino* (Florio). There are also Sp. and Port. forms *rebellin, rebelin*. It is assumed by the D.G. that the It. form *rivellino* is the original. The only derivation which has been proposed for this connects it with L. *vallum* (Körting, § 8406), which, says Professor Skeat, 'is unlikely.' I do not know whether the word occurs in It. earlier than Florio, but it is older than Rabelais in F. Godefroy's *Complement* has *ravellin* (1450) and *revellin* (J. d'Authon, c. 1500), and it therefore seems possible that the It. word was borrowed from France in the course of the repeated invasions of 1494-1515. Its earliest occurrences in E. recorded by the N.E.D. are 1589 (*ravelin*), 1590 (*revelin*), 1601 (*raveling*). There is another F. word '*ravelin, soulier de peau non préparée*' (D.G.), of which the O.F. forms are *revelin, rovelin, rouvelin*, all occurring in Perceval (Godefroy). The D.G. describes this as of unknown origin. It is surely the M.E. '*riveling*, a sort

of shoe, (nickname for Scotch)', for which Stratmann & Bradley's M.E. Dict. gives three references, including '*revelinis* off hidis' (Wyntown's Chronicle). This is O.E. *rifling* with the same meaning (Sweet). This M.E. word occurs in the M.E. version of Langtoft's Chronicle by Robert de Brunne (c. 1330), which I am not able to consult, but in the extracts from the original Anglo-Norman Chronicle included in Wright's Political Songs (Camden Society, 1839) we find the pious wish expressed that Edward may so treat the Scots—

'Ke rien lour demourge après sun taliage
Fors soul les *rivelins* et la nue nage.'

The thing (shoes of undressed cowhide) and the name (*rielines*) are still common in the Shetlands. Thus there can be little doubt that F. *ravelin* goes back ultimately to O.E. *rifling* via O.F. and M.E. *revelin*.

It seems just possible that this is the origin of the other *ravelin*. The outworks in fortification generally bear names suggested by their shape. Thus the earliest quotation for E. *ravelin* in the N.E.D. has 'they are tearmed to be *ravelins* of the Italyans and Frenchmen, and of us they have been tearmed *spurres*'. F. *éperon* is used similarly (see D.G. and Cotgrave s.v. *esperon*). Cf. also F. *demi-lune*, *tenaille*, *queue d'aronde*, E. *horn-work*, *crown-work*, and, for the special application of names of garments, F. *fausse-braie*, *bonnet*, *bonnet à prêtre*.

To reeve. 'To pass (a rope) through a hole, ring, or block,' first recorded in 1627 (Captain John Smith). The N.E.D. points out that, though this word has been generally connected with Du. *reven*, the latter word means 'to reef' only. The verb *reef* first occurs in 1667. None of the nautical dictionaries that I have consulted hint at any connexion between the two words. Their meanings are, in fact, quite unlike, the object of 'to reef' being a sail, that of 'to reeve', a rope. The F. for 'to reeve' is *passer* (un cordage, etc.). The meaning of *reeve* is closely that of It. '*refare*, to thrid' (Torriano). I cannot find this word elsewhere, but it seems to be a legitimate formation from the common word '*refe*, any kinde of twisted sowing thred' (Florio), of uncertain origin.

Rouncival. (1) Applied, both as adjective and noun, to peas, by Tusser (1573); (2) 'gigantic, huge, robustious', in Stanyhurst (1582), 'a monster' (1641); (3) 'a woman of large build and

boisterous or loose manners', Nashe (1596), 'So fulsome a fat bonarobe and terrible *rouncevall*'; Heywood (1611) also has 'a bona roba, a *rounceval*, a virago'; (4) '*rouncefal*, a heavy fall, crash' (Stanhurst), and '*rouncefallis* or tumbling verses' (1585). The N.E.D. points out that Blount's statement (1674) that these peas came from Roncesvaux in the Pyrenees lacks confirmation. I can add a few early examples for sense 3, which are not in the N.E.D. Sense 4 perhaps belongs to *rounce* (v. N.E.D. *rouncing*) and *fall*. Senses 2 and 3 seem to belong together, but how can they have been evolved from sense 1? A pea might playfully be called 'gigantic', but the application of the name of a pea to monsters and viragoes seems unlikely. The der. suggested for sense 1 is not Blount's, but is taken from Skinner. From Blount onward it appears in practically every dictionary, some dictionaries (Boyer, Ludwig) giving as the F. equivalent '*pois de ronceaux*', of which I can make nothing. But the two earliest dict. references I have found, before Skinner, make no suggestion as to Pyrenean origin. Cotgrave has '*pois ramez, rouncicalls, greate pease, garden pease, branche peason, hastie pease, French pease, Roman pease*'. Torriano, s.v. *pease*, has 'great garden *rouncevall* pease, pisello grosso'. Miège (1679) has '*rounceval pease, Roncevaux. C'est une sorte de pois, qui viennent de Roncevaux, païs des Pyrénées*'. This I take to be copied from Skinner and Blount. *Pois ramés* are so called because trained on branches, *rames*, see D.G. and Cotgrave (*ramer*). This suggests a vague possibility that *rouncival* may have something to do with F. '*ronce, bramble*' (mod. Prov. *rounse*); cf. *ronceux* (v.s.). Roquefort has '*roncherai, ronceroi, roncheval, lieu ou haie remplie de ronces*'. Perhaps his *roncheval*, which seems an unaccountable formation from *ronce*, refers to the valley of *Roncevaux*, which some authorities have derived from *ronce*. But, whatever the origin of the *rounceval* pea, I do not believe that it gave its name to a virago without some punning idea to help the transition. Meaning 3 is in Florio, i.e. only two years later than the first record in the N.E.D., '*cavaleressa, a roncivall woman, a huge bosse of Billingsgate*.' This entry, the It. word being obviously a derivative of *caballus*, suggests to me that *roncivall* has something to do with It. *roncino*, F. *roussin* (O.F. *roncin*), E. *rowney*, M.E. *rounci, runci*, etc., stallion, hackney, etc. I find, in the N.E.D., '*rouncie or rouncivall, een mannelik wijf*' (Hexham. 1647), where *rouncie* is treated as an abbreviated form. But it

is also in Holyoak (1612), '*rounsy*, or *rouncevall*, virago.' As the early L. lexicographers are not very hospitable to neologisms, I conclude that *rounsy* was well established in this sense before being booked. *Virago* is also Littleton's gloss for *rouncival*. Boyer has 'a *rounceval* girl (or a lusty, bouncing girl), une grosse fille', and Ludwig, 'a *rounceval* girl, ein grosses, starckes mädgen.' I conjecture that a 'huge bosse of Billingsgate' may have been called a *rouncy*, just as she might have been called a 'hulking jade', or, in mod. F. 'une grande *rosse*', and that, by a poor sort of pun, this was extended to *rouncival*.

Sallet. This name for a helmet (1440, N.E.D.) is well known to be from F. *salade*, and the latter from It. *celata* or Sp. *celada*. The It. or Sp. word is derived by Diez from L. *cælata* (Sc. *cassis* or *galea*). This derivation appears already in Skinner 'quia sc. olim *galeas* cælabant'. The N.E.D. quotes, from Cicero, '*loricæ galeæque aenæ, cælata* opere Corinthio,' but points out that the L. epithet has not been found alone in this sense. This is, of course, not a fatal objection. A much more serious one is that there is not an atom of evidence for assuming that It. *celata* meant originally 'engraved helmet'. As far as I can make out from works on armour (e.g. Meyrick and Skelton), and from the specimens in the Tower of London Armoury, it was a plain steel cap of the simplest shape, devoid of ornament, and worn by the foot-soldiers, archers, and sometimes by the cavalry. The illustrations and specimens show that it was practically the *bassinet*, or basin helmet, under another name: 'The fourteenth and fifteenth century helmet was little worn in battle, being replaced in the former by the *basnet*, in the latter by the *salade*' (Skelton). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it appears to be the general term for a plain head-piece, to be replaced in this sense by the *burgonet* and *morion*, both booked for 1563. These two names, applied at first, like *sallet*, to special forms of helmets, became general terms for 'head-piece'. I give a few examples to show that *sallet* was a general name for 'helmet' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. '*Cassis*, ung heaulme, une testiere, ung bonnet de fer, une *salade*, ung bassinet' (R. Estienne); '*galea*, bonnet de fer, une *salade*, heaulme' (ibid.); '*cassis*, an helmet, a *salet*, a cap of steele' (Cooper); '*galea*, an helmet or *salet*' (ibid.); '*celata*, a scull, a helmet, a morion, a *sallat*, a head-piece' (Florio); '*galea*, *cassis*, F. heaume, *salade*, bassinet, armet, cabasset, It. elmo, *sellada*' (Junius); 'a *salad*, or head-peece, or

salet, cassida, galea' (Holyoak). Cotgrave explains *bassinet* and *cabasset* as a 'scull, sleight helmet, casket'. The *basnet* was a closely fitting iron 'scull' worn *under* the great ornamented helmet of the Middle Ages (N.E.D. s.v. *bassinet*), which it eventually superseded. The *sallet* was a similar helmet, and may have been originally so worn also. At any rate, I do not believe that 'engraved helmets' were provided for the rank and file in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It seems to me much more likely that It. '*celata*, a *celade*, a morrion, a skull, a cask, a helmet, a steele-cap, an ambuscado, or way-laying' (Torriano), and Sp. '*celada*, an ambush, a *sallet* for the head' (Percival), belong to the same region of ideas as It. '*secreta*, a thinne steele cap, or close skull, worne under a hat' (Florio), 'un morion, une bourguignotte, armure de teste pour les picquiers' (Duez), 'un pot de fer à mettre sur la tête' (Veneroni), O.F. '*segrette*, an yron scull, or cap of fence' (Cotgrave), and come from '*celare*, to conceal', because originally worn under the helmet. I fancy that the F. form *salade* is due to some vague connexion with salad-bowls or salt-cellars. The association between helmets and 'pots' is very close; we even find E. *salet* used of some kind of iron vessel as early as 1473.

Scimitar. I have a very audacious etymology to propose for this word. It comes into E. in the sixteenth century from various Romance languages, and has both in E. and other languages a very large number of forms. It is always described as the name of an Oriental weapon, but no Oriental original for it has been discovered. F. *cimeterre* is usually considered to be It. or Sp. It does not necessarily follow that, because the weapon was Turkish, the name should be Turkish too. It may have been applied to the Turkish sword in some Western language. Most people would say that *assagai* and *kraal* were S. African words. I do not know how old the It. and Sp. forms of *scimitar* are, but I doubt whether they are earlier than the O.F. forms in Godefroy Comp., viz. *saumetaire*, *semettaire* (1453), *symetere*, *semitaire* (c. 1500). In E. we have the forms *smiter*, *smeeter* (Cotgrave, s.v. *cimeterre*), described by the dictionaries as accommodated spellings. My suggestion is that the E. *smiter* may be the original. Its application to a sword used entirely for hewing is paralleled by G. '*Hauer*, *Haudegen*, a back-sword, a falchion, *simitar*, sable or sabre, a crooked sword to strike with' (Ludwig), Du. '*houwer*, ensis securis' (Kilian); Junius has '*harpe*, falcatus ensis, acinaces, gladius Persicus, nunc

Turciæ genti familiaris, Du. *half-houwer*, *cromhouwer*, *cromoort*, F. *semitaire*, It. *simitarra*, Sp. *semitierra*'. His *half-houwer* appears to be due to the *semi-* of the F. word. E. *smiter*, if introduced into France in the fifteenth century, would give *semitaire*, owing to F. inability to pronounce *sm-*; cf. *semaque* from Du. '*smacke*, genus navis oblongæ' (Kilian). But E. '*smiter*, sword' does not appear to be recorded before the sixteenth century.

Scupper. There are two etymologies proposed. One, dating from Skinner and accepted by Professor Skeat, connects the word with *scoop*, the other (Webster, Century) with O.F. (also Sp. and Port.) '*escupir*, *escupir*, to spit'. The first seems unlikely, as the object of the '*scuppers*' is to get rid of water without having to ladle or scoop. The second is supported by G. *Speigatten* ('*Speygaten*, the skupper-holes or scoper-holes,' Ludwig), apparently of Du. origin, and used in the Norse languages also (cf. pop. G. '*Speier*, gargoyle'). But there seems to be no trace of this O.F. *escupir*, etc., in the nautical terms of the Romance languages. They all use (except for F. *dalot*) words which appear to contain a radical *born*, *brun*, etc., e.g. Sp. '*embornales*, the skupper holes in a ship' (Stevens). I suggest, as a possibility, that *scupper* is for **scuber* (cf. *calliper* from *calibre*), from O.F. '*escubier*, hawse-hole', mod. F. *écubier*, of unknown origin. The transference of meaning from 'hawse-hole' to some other kind of hole seems possible. In the oldest example I have found of *scupper* (Travel into Virginia, p. 130), it is used, not in the modern sense, but of holes bored through the bulkheads of a ship to admit of storing tree trunks on board. In '*L'Homme qui rit*' Victor Hugo uses *écubier* in the sense of 'scupper'. His evidence is, of course, of no value, but the coincidence is curious. *Écubier* appears in F. in various forms and appears to be ultimately related to Sp. '*escobenes*, les trous de la prove par où sort le cable qui arreste le navire a l'ancre, *equibiens*, *esquibiens*' (Oudin), Port. *escovens* or *escouves* (1557). If these words ever had the meaning of 'scupper', an obvious conjecture would be L. '*scopa*, broom', Sp. *escoba*, Port. *escova*, O.F. *escouve*, Prov. *escubo*, the water being 'swabbed' out through the scupper-holes, but there is only Victor Hugo's evidence for this meaning.

Sinnet or Sennit. The traditional derivation is from 'seven-knit'. This may be right, as *knittle* occurs in a somewhat similar meaning, and the corresponding terms in the other European

languages are connecting with plaiting, etc. But, so far as I have traced the word, neither form nor definition agrees very well with the above etymology.

Skinner (1671): '*sinnet*, vox naut. Sic autem dicuntur rudentes soluti, instar jubarum equinarum implexi, mallei ictibus expansi, quibus rudentes muniunt ne atterantur.'

Littleton (1684): '*sinnet*, funis triplicatus.'

Coles (1703): '*sinnet*, funis triplex.'

Gentleman's Dictionary (London, 1705): '*sinnet*, is a line made of rope-yarn, commonly consisting of two, four, six, or nine strings, platted in three parts over one another . . .'

Coles, English Dictionary (1708): '*sinnet*, rope-yarns plaited together and beaten smooth (to save ropes, etc.).'

Sea Dictionary (1708): '*sidnet* or *sinnet*, is a line or string made of rope-yarn, of two, six, or nine, platted one over another, and so beaten smooth and flat with a mallet. The use of it is to sarve ropes; that is, to wind about them to keep them from wearing.'

Kersey (1720): '*sinnet*, a line made of rope-yarn, generally of two, six, or nine strings . . . etc.'

Bailey (1736): '*sinnet* (sea term), a line made of rope yarn to bind round ropes to keep them from being fretted or galled.'

Falconer (1771): '*sennit*, garcettes (from *seven* and *knit*), a sort of flat braided cordage, formed by plaiting five or *seven* rope-yarns together.'

Lescallier (1777): '*sennit* (composé de *seven* et *knit*), garcettes, éguillettes.'

The entry in Falconer, copied by Lescallier, is the first record I find of the form *sennit* and of the accepted etymology. Falconer and Lescallier are generally trustworthy, but are of course no authorities in matters of philology. Moreover, their gloss is in this case hardly correct. The F. words they quote mean 'lashings, reefing-points', etc., while the correct equivalent for *sinnet* is '*tresses*, de petites cordes faites de fils de caret tordues ensemble, qui servent à fourrer les câbles et à d'autres usages' (Jal). In the same article (*tresse*) Jal gives as the E. equivalents *sennit*, *foxe*, *plat*.

As far as these records go they seem to show that *sinnet* is the older form and that the mystic 'seven' is conspicuous by its absence. Falconer perhaps introduces it for etymological purposes. If the form *sidnet* is correct, derivation from 'seven-knit' is out of the question. The word is no doubt much older than the

dictionaries. It occurs (1626) in John Smith (*sinnet* and *sinnit*). In mod. E. *sinnet* seems to mean fine cord. It is so used by Mr. Louis Becke, who spells it *cinet*. But the oldest examples (v. Skinner) suggest that it was a flat mat-like arrangement used to prevent galling, and meant the thing rather than the material. Such a contrivance is called in naut. F. *baderne* (origin unknown), *paillet* (pallet), *sangle* (girth), and in E. a *paunch* or *puddening* (v. N.E.D.). I offer the conjecture that it may be aphetic for F. *coussinet*, used of many protective devices and pads (v. Cotgrave, Littré, and D.G.). I have not found it as a nautical term, but *coussin* seems to be widely used (v. Jal, Lescallier, Falconer). The Dict. of Fleming and Tibbins has '*coussin de vieux cordages pour fourrure, mats*'.

Stencil. In *Notes and Queries*, October 15, 1910, I suggested that *stencil* may be M.Du. '*stemsel*, shoemaker's last', which appears in Du. dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The resemblance of the two implements may not be very obvious at first sight, but they have this in common that they are both devices for the indefinite reproduction of a fixed form and size. The Romance languages all use representatives of L. *forma* in the sense of 'last'. The original meaning of *last* was 'footprint, impress'. A sort of connecting link between the two ideas is seen in F. '*calquer*, copier en marquant chaque trait du modèle sur une surface contre laquelle il est appliqué', from It. '*calcere*, to tread'. Both F. *calque* and its synonym *poncif* are used, like G. '*schablone*, stencil', of literary or artistic work devoid of originality. We do not appear to use *stencil* metaphorically.

Tar. This word, in the sense of 'sailor' (1676), is supposed to be short for '*tarpaulin*, sailor' (1647). A more natural and much earlier nickname for a sailor is *tar-breech*, later *tarry-breeks*. This is older than *tarpaulin* (in any sense), and I take the latter to be a polite substitute for it. In Stanyhurst's *Æneid* (1582) Dido calls Æneas 'a runnagat hedgebrat, a *tarbreeche* quystrone' (Arber's ed., p. 108). The F. for 'Jack Tar' is *cul goudronné*.

Tarage. Or *tarrage*, *tallage*, 'taste, flavour, quality, character; esp. as derived or communicated [apparently of F. origin]; also used as verb, to smack of, etc.' (N.E.D.). The ten examples in the N.E.D. show that the prevailing idea in this obsolete fifteenth century word is the flavour of the soil (root, wine, fruit, vine). A comparison of the examples with those given by Littré or Godefroy under '*terroir*, terre considérée par rapport à ses

produits (agricoles)' (D.G.), shows that *tarage* is in all probability for *terrage* (cf. *tarras* for *terrasse*). Godefroy does not record O.F. *terrage* in this particular sense, but it is very common as a legal term connected with agricultural land (see also Cotgrave, *terrage* and its derivatives).

Tarpaulin. First occurrences 1605 (Ben Jonson, *Volpone*), 1625 (Manwayring), 1626 (John Smith). The N.E.D. mentions the possibility of connexion with *pall*, due to the idea of blackness. The old derivation from '*palling, paulin, wagon-tilt*' (Halliwell) is wrong, as this Lincolnshire word is no doubt aphetic for *tarpaulin*, and belongs to the same category as '*tater* and '*baccy*. We want to know exactly what a *tarpaulin* originally was. We now think of it as a tarred cloth in contact with what it protects (in F. *prélar*, also of unknown origin), but this does not seem to be its earliest meaning. The Gentleman's Diet. has '*tarpawling*, is a piece of canvas well tar'd over, to lay on or over any place, to keep off rain'. John Smith says 'to the boate or skiffe belongs oares, a mast, a saile . . . a *trar-pawling* or yawning (awning)'. Here the *trar-pawling* must be a kind of tilt or canopy, and this may be, I suggest, the original meaning. Ludwig has '*tarpawlin, tarpaulin, grobe gepichte leinwand, so man auf einem schiffe gebraucht, tuque, tente goudronnée*'. Boyer has '*tuque, tarpawling, or tarpaulin*'. Jal, s.v. *tuque*, quotes a long decree (1671) forbidding officers to set up '*aucune tuque de charpente sur les dunettes (poops)*', and refers to '*teu, teugue, tugue, abri, tente (Du. Zonne-dek, G. Sonnendeck, etc.)*'. He quotes, s.v. *teugue*, three seventeenth century descriptions which show that the word was applied to frameworks or awnings used as protections against sun and rain. It is described as '*une espèce de gaillard (castle)*' and '*châtelet*'. Further references lead to F. *taud* and Sp. *todo* (both cognate with E. *tilt*), *banne* (tilt), *tente, tendelet*, etc. (awning). Now, if a *tarpaulin* was originally a kind of shelter, distinguished from an ordinary awning by the fact that it was tarred, the *-paulin* may represent *pavilion*. We know that deck-houses on the poop were called *pavillon* in F., e.g. '*Autour de la poupe il y a ès grands vaisseaux des galeries, galions, ou pavillons . . . Aucuns ne mettent que des pavillons ou cabinets, artistement peints et travaillez*' (1643, Jal, s.v. *jardin*; see also Jal, s.v. *pavillon*). These *pavillons* appear to be the *tuques* alluded to in the decree mentioned above. In It. *padiglione* (*pavilion*) appears to have been usual for '*awning*' (v. Jal,

s.v. *tente*). The N.E.D. gives for *pavilion* a number of early Sc. (fourteenth to sixteenth century) forms in which the *-v-* is vocalized (*pailyoun*, *palyoun*, etc.), and it would appear that these forms were also known in E., as '*palyoun*, canopy' occurs in English Gilds, 1381 (N.E.D. s.v. *pavilion*). As *awning* is in F. *tente*, the compound *tar-palyoun* (tar-tent) seems possible. Under '*tarpaulin*, sailor' the N.E.D. gives variants, viz. *tarpalian* (1656), *tarpaulian* (1660), *tarpollian* (1673), explained as due to other substantives and adjectives in *-ian*. May not these forms also represent an older pronunciation of *tarpaulin* from *tar-palyoun*?

Tenser. In the proofs of the N.E.D., communicated to me by the general editor, I find '*tenser*, an inhabitant of a city or borough, who was not a citizen or freeman, but paid a rate for protection' (1444), and, much older, '*tenserie*, the tax exacted by lords . . . in name of a payment for protection or defence' (1154). These words appear to belong to M.L. '*tensare*, to defend', but the ultimate etymology is not clear. A great deal has been written on O.F. '*tencer*, to defend, strive, chide, etc.' I am not able to consult this literature, the results of which are summarized in Körting [§§ 9435, *tempus*, 9450, **tenso*, 9454, **tentio*, 9556, (Franconian) *tins*, mod. G. *zins*]. The majority seem to favour **tentio* (cf. *contendo*), while G. Paris champions **tenso*. I venture to make an attempt at showing the possible filiation of the various meanings of O.F. *tencer*, and to suggest a possible starting-point. The coincidence of the variants points to original identity of the various senses, but these are so old that their chronology must be a matter of conjecture. M.L. *tensare* (with very numerous derivatives) has four main meanings, viz.: (1) to defend, (2) to quarrel, dispute, (3) to scold, (4) to plunder. Godefroy does not appear to give sense 4 for O.F. *tencer*, but it is in Roquefort and Du Cange. So far as records go, sense 1 appears to be the oldest, since the noun '*tensement*, défense' is in Alexis and the Pèlerinage de Charlemagne. I suggest that from the meaning 'defence' would naturally be evolved that of 'quarrel'; cf. G. '*schirmen* (F. *escrimer*, It. *schermire*), to fence', from O.H.G. '*scërm*, *scirm*, shield, shelter', and our own word 'to fence' from (*de*)*fence*. For a similar transition from the defensive to the offensive cf. G. *Gewehr* (to '*wehren*, defend'), which already in O.H.G. is used of offensive weapons (Kluge). From the meaning 'quarrel' to that of 'scold' the transition is also easy. Thus the O.F. '*tençon*, battle' is also used later of

a 'poetical dispute' like the early Sc. *flyting*, i.e. scolding-match. In the sense of 'scold' (mod. F. *tancer*) the earliest F. examples (e.g. Roland) usually have *tenser* *d*, which I take to represent the idea of 'strive against'. As for the sense 'plunder', it may be evolved from the idea of extorting the '*tensamentum*, pensitatio quæ a vassallis aut subditis domino pro . . . protectione solvitur' (Du Cange); cf. F. '*rançonner*, to ransom, to put unto ransom; also, to oppresse, pole, despoyle, exact, or extort most of his substance from' (Cotgrave); or it may be a separate word (from Franconian *tins*, v.s.) and correspond to M.H.G. '*zinsen*, to levy tribute on'. But the help of this latter word, otherwise unrepresented in the Romance languages, seems unnecessary. The oldest example for *tenserie* in the N.E.D. couples it with *tallage* as an 'exaction'. Supposing this suggested sense development to be roughly correct, I should prefer **tensare* to **tentiare* for the following reasons: (1) only *tensare* appears to be recorded in M.L.; (2) we know that there was a L. *tensare*, because we have O.F. '*teser*, to stretch', whence M.E. 'to *teise* (a bow)'. Also Prov. *tensar* must represent this; (3) O.F. *tessement* (for *tesement*) is recorded in the same sense as *tensement* (Du Cange, s.v. *tensamentum*), and this cannot come from **tentiamentum*, while it would be a regular development from **tensamentum*; (4) the O.F. spelling is regularly *tenser*, while **tentiare* would give *tensier*. I see no reason why **tensare* should not have given *teser*, *tenser*, *tanser*, with a differentiation of meaning such as we find in *peser*, *penser*, *panser* from *pensare*. No doubt there has been confusion with **tentiare* in some of the Romance derivatives, e.g. It. *tenzone* or *tentione* represents L. *tentionem*. In any case the ultimate origin is the same (*tendo*). Supposing the meaning 'defend' to be the oldest, how is it to be obtained from '*tendere*, to stretch'? I suggest the following theory. Du Cange has '*tensa* (3), pro *tenda*, tentorium', i.e. 'the thing stretched, screen'. He also quotes M.L. '*tensare*, in pratum defensum redigere', from an E. cartulary. This is also in Cowel, '*tensare*, to teen, to fence, or hedge in—Licet Abbati et Conventui de Rading includere, fossare et *tensare* prædictum pratum . . .' This verb would appear to be formed from '*tensa*, screen' (v.s.). L. '*tensa*, *thensa*, the vehicle in which the images of the gods were carried', is connected by Walde with *tendo*. Holyoak renders it 'a *sereene*, chariot, or wagon'. A verb '**tensare*, to screen', is hence a plausible conjecture.

Tester (sixpence). The ultimate connexion of this word with F. '*teston*, *testoon*' is obvious, but it cannot be derived from it. Professor Skeat regards *testerne* as the original E. form, 'app. a corruption of *teston*.' I would point out that immediate derivation from F. is quite possible. Godefroy has 'ung *testart* d'Angleterre' (1531), Roquefort has '*testart*, monnoie d'Angleterre, valant dix-huit deniers'. Earlier examples are 'deux *testars*, demy *testart*, et un double blancq' (1449), 'en *tiestars* et aultre monnoie' (1452), '*tiestares*' (1468), all in Godefroy, who also quotes 'Ils appellent un *teston* un *testard*' from Bouchet, Les Sérées (1584). The E. *tester* is probably from the plural, which loses the -t or -d. I take the -n in *testern* to be an addition; cf. *gittern*, *taborn*, etc. *Testard* has a parallel in *pollard*, which is first recorded in A.F. The following collocation is curious: '*testard*, *pollard*, or chevin fish' (Cotgrave); '*pollard*, a sort of spurious coin . . . long prohibited' (Cowel). The fish and the coin got their names in the same way; see N.E.D. (s.v. *pollard*).

Testy. In connexion with this word Professor Skeat mentions M.E. *testif* and O.F. **testif* (not found). I would point out that the latter occurs in Palsgrave, p. 777, 'I waxe *testy*, Je deviens *testyf*, or *testu*.'

Trammel. For this difficult word the Century gives the following meanings: 1, drag-net; 2, net for hair (Spenser); 3, shackle for a horse; 4, hindrance; 5, implement hung in a fire-place to support pots, etc.; 6, ellipsograph; 7, beam-compass. It derives the first sense in the usual way (M.L. '*trimaculum*, treble-mesh'), and says 'senses 5, 6, 7 suggest a connexion with *tram*, beam, but there are apparently particular uses of *trammel* in the sense of *shackle*'. I will leave sense 1 for the present. Sense 2 has been repeated by every dictionary since Johnson, but is, I think, quite wrong. Here is the passage:—

'Her golden lockes she roundly did uptye
In breaded *tramels*, that no looser heares
Did out of order stay about her daintie eares.'

(F.Q. ii, 2, st. 15.)

The word seems to me to mean 'braids, plaits, tresses, curls', or something of that kind. The N.E.D. quotes *entrammeling*, of doubtful meaning, from Florio and Cotgrave, viz. '*lucignoti*, certaine sliding knots, *entramelings* or curlings of haire wrought and enterlaced together with ribands, and made in rings as women

weare'. This is a dim. of 'lucigno, a weeke, a match or cotton of a lampe or of a candle', and must mean 'twists' or 'tufts' of hair. See also *lucignolare* (Florio). For fuller definitions see Torriano, and also Cotgrave (*passer-filer, testonner*). Thus *trammel* (2) is not a 'net'.

Senses 3, 4, 5 belong, I suggest, together, and are all derived from the Germanic 'tram, beam, log', etc., for which see Skeat (*tram*). Sense 4 is obviously a metaphorical use of sense 3. This is already in Kersey and Bailey. Sense 5 is also in both. Gouldman has '*tramel* for a pot-hanger, cremaster', the latter being the regular M.L. word for 'pot-hanger'; see Du Cange] and cf. F. *crémaillère*, etc.

Taking the word 'shackle' first, the most elementary form of such a device is a log; cf. E. *clog, stocks*; F. *trave*¹ (*trabs*), and *cep* (*cippus*). Schade has '*drām, trām, beam*', and '*dremil, dremel, tremel, beam, bolt, etc.*' Du Cange has '*tramaiolus, baculus collo canis appensus, ne per ea loca currat, quibus nocere posset. Vox est ejusdem originis, cujus est sequens ("tramallum, trammel-net"); sic nos tramail vocamus non solum rete, sed etiam quodvis pedicæ genus*'. Thus O.F. has *tramail* in the sense of 'shackle', though it is not in Godefroy or Littré. Comparing the above with F. '*cep, the stock of a tree, or plant; also, a log, or clog, of wood; such a one as is hung about the neck of a ranging cur*' (Cotgrave), it becomes evident that this E. *trammel*, O.F. *tramail*, belongs to G. '*tram, a rafter or joist*', '*trämel, a leaver, bar, pole, stick, club, etc.*' (Ludwig); cf. '*ein baur-hund mit einem knüttel am halse, a cur with a clog about his neck*' (Ludwig). Kilian has '*trame* (Fris.), climacter'.

The identity of '*trammel, pothangers*' with the above is made likely by the following entries: '*Tramel* for a pothanger, cremaster' (Gouldman), '*tramel* for a pothanger, cremaster, climacter' (Coles), '*trame, climacter*' (Kilian), '*climacter, een hengel*' (Martinez, 1671), '*trammel, een hengel*' (Sewel), '*climacter, the steppe or rounde of a ladder, the pot-hangers*' (Holyoak), '*climacter, instrumentum in gradus scansile, de quo ahena et lebetes suspendimus, een hanghel, hengel, F. cremeliere*' (Junius). I imagine that the pothangers were a series of beams or rungs to which the hooks were fixed. The same sense occurs

¹ '*Entraves, shackles, fetters; pasterns for the legs of unruly horses*' (Cotgrave).

in M.L. Du Cange has '*tremaculum*, lamina denticulata suspendendis lychnis (1361). Vide *cremasclus*'¹. I do not see how either of the two senses I have dealt with can have grown out of the meaning 'fishing-net'.

As for '*trammel*, drag-net', there is really not much evidence to connect it with 'three-mesh'. It is true that a *trammel* is now composed of three layers (see also Diez, p. 324), while the survival of the F. forms *tramaill*, *trémail*, and the disappearance of *tramaire*, *tramel*, *trameau* point to popular connexion with *-maille*. Cotgrave has '*tremaille*, a *trammell*, or net for partridges', '*tremailié*, treble-mailed, whence *allier tremailié*, a *trammell* net, or *treble* net, for partridges', but this seems to me only to indicate that folk-etymology has been at work. The regular meaning of *trammel*, so far as I have traced it, is 'drag-net' for sea-fishing. The earliest example I know is in the Prompt. Parv., where it is glossed *tragum*. It is similarly glossed in the L. dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the G. equivalents in Ludwig are *Schleppnetz*, *Zugnetz*, etc. This meaning is, I suggest, due to the influence of O.F. '*trainel*, drag-net', given by Du Cange, together with *tramel*. Cf. '*trameau*, a kind of drag-net, or draw-net, for fish; also, a *trammell*-net for fowle; also, a sled, or drag, without wheelles' (evidently to *tram*, beam; see Skeat, *tram*), and '*traine*, a sled; a drag, or dray, without wheelles; also, a drag-net, or draw-net', '*traineau*, as *traine*', '*trainon*, a drag-net, or dray-net for fish', '*traineller*, to *trammell* for larkes' (Cotgrave); '*tramagliare*, as *tranellare*'; *tramagli*, as *tranelli*, *tramel*s'; '*tranellare*, to *entramel*', '*tranelli*, *tramel*s, *entramelings*' (Torriano). In It. the two words seem to have been confused even in the 'shackle' sense, e.g. '*trainello*, a kinde of long horse-fetters or pasterns' (Florio); cf. E. drag = clog. But the net which is mentioned several times in various forms in the *Lex Salica* was not a drag-net used in sea-fishing, but a fixed net used in river-fishing. This seems clear from passages quoted by Du Cange, e.g. '*Si quis statuam aut tremaclum vel vertuolum de flumine furaverit*'. Here three nets are mentioned. Du Cange identifies *statua* (var. *statuale*) with '*statua*, *virga*', a common word in M.L., and compares O.F. '*estave*, grand filet' (Godefroy, 1343). The latter would appear to

¹ It looks as if Burgundian *cramaill*, equivalent to F. *crémaillère*, has been affected by this word.

mean 'stake-net' and be related to E. *stave* or L. *stabilis*, ultimately to both (Kluge, s.v. *stab*). *Vertuolum*, represented by F. *verveux*, is explained by Diez (p. 49) as *Fischreuse*, i.e. 'a leap or weal to take fishes in; a junket of wickers put in the ground under water, for to catch eels and other fishes in' (Ludwig). Cotgrave has '*verveil*, *verveul*, a sweep-net or drag-net', the word having been confused apparently with O. Norm. *verveuil* (Du Cange), belonging to L. '*verriculum*,¹ a drag-net' (Cooper); cf. the confusion between *tramel* and *trainel*. Thus two of the three nets mentioned are fixed nets fastened to stakes, and the inference is that the third was of the same category and hence liable to be interfered with. Professor Skeat, s.v. *trammel*, quotes Kern's opinion that the word is Teutonic and cognate with North Saxon '*treemke*, *trammel*', answering to a simplex *trami* or *tramia*, which he does not pursue farther. I have, as I have shown, come to a somewhat similar conclusion independently. The *trammel* was, I suggest, a 'stake-net' or 'beam-net', and the various M.L. and Romance forms are perverted diminutives of *tram*. Ludwig gives '*Trämel-netz*, a *tramel*, or *trammel*, a drag-net', which is perhaps a loan-word, though *trämel* would be a legitimate G. diminutive of *tram*.

Trunk-hose. Explained by the Century as hose that cover the trunk. Professor Skeat suggests 'trunked (i.e. truncated) hose'. The use of *stock*, *stocking*, and G. *strumpf*, all meaning properly 'stump', 'trunk', suggests that *trunk-hose* is a similar formation. In vol. xxvii of the Percy Society (Satirical Songs on Dress, ed. Fairholt), a footnote (p. 98) quotes 'a paire of *truncke* sleeves of redde cloth of gold' from an inventory of Henry VIII's wardrobe, so that the epithet is not limited to *hose*.

Wash. In the sense of 'wake' or disturbed water left in the track of a ship, this word is coupled by the Century with *wash* used of the movement of the water against a shore, pier, etc. This may be right. I do not know any early instance of the word. There is, however, a F. word which appears to be identical with it, viz. '*ouaiche* (also *ouage*, *houaiche*, *houache*), sillage d'un vaisseau' (D.G.). This is connected by Littré, the D.G., and Körting with E. *wake* (see also Skeat, s.v. *wake*), and ultimately with a Scandinavian *vak*, *vok*, meaning a 'hole in the ice'. The F. word is booked as early as 1643; see Jal, who gives additional variants (*ouaiche* and *houage*); see also Falconer (*houache* and *ouage*).

¹ Junius has '*verriculum*, G. zuggarn, Du. sleypnet, trecknet, F. filé, *verueil*, seine'.

The *-age* forms are no doubt due to the synonymous *sillage*¹ (to *sillon*, furrow). Three possibilities present themselves. If the E. word is not old, it is an adaptation of this common F. nautical term. If the E. word is old it may be the origin of the F. word. If the equation (*h*)*oua*(*i*)*cha* = *wake* is correct, *wash* and *wake* are doublets and the former has passed through F.

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chum	halke	puttee	st
clove	hanger	rascal	sucket, sunket
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crundel	jag	s (initial)	yankee

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anlace	cozen	paulie	skillet
bawd	crewel	peevish	skull
bawker	crow	riddle and rideau	spraid, sprayed
blotch	gantry or gawntree	rummage	squinch
bludgeon	kersey, and see p. 253	scabbard	sullen
brack	oriel	scovel	surly
branks	partner	sentry	taint
cobridge-head	patch	sharper and to sharp	tallant
cockney			

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crow	-kimbo	nape	studding-sail
kersey	louver	spread eagle	

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abate	clock (of a stocking)	race, rare	tendril
(to) amain(e)	cockernony	sale	tiny
(to) ameise	codderar	scarbote	tret
ansire	dago	(to) scotch	(to) trick
askar	flawkertis	shard	trinket
chert (quartz)	imbrue	tache, tack	turrel
chignon	pinion	tassel	turret

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docket	awning	scar	pun	dodge
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base	bust	(to) mail	purrel
bawd, and see	capsize	manchet	(to) rail
p. 206	carvel	mockado, mugget	rewey
becker or becket	comfrey	mulligrubs	souse
bezique	corduroy (see also	mystery	spigot
bow-line	p. 328)	nappy	stale
(to) bream	cutt	nife	surround
broil	cuttle	noek	(to) tamp
browse	felon or whitlow	notch	tassets
bull	kestrel	pang	tattoo
(to) bumbast	lanner	pennyroyal	troll
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