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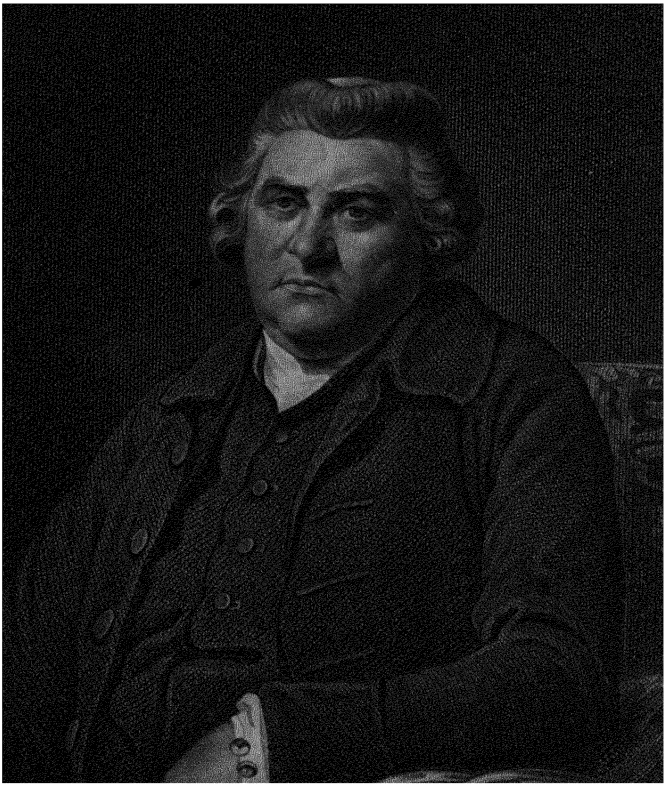
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THOMAS W[illegible], D.D.

THE HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH POETRY,

FROM THE

CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

TO THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

THREE DISSERTATIONS:

1. OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE
2. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND
3. ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM

BY

THOMAS WARTON, B.D.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, AND PROFESSOR OF POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

FROM THE EDITION OF 1824

SUPERINTENDED BY THE LATE

RICHARD PRICE, Esq.

INCLUDING THE NOTES OF MR RITSON, DR ASHBY, MR. DOUCE, AND MR PARK

NOW FURTHER IMPROVED BY THE CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS OF SEVERAL EMINENT ANTIQUARIES

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON.

PRINTED FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73 CHEAPSIDE.

1840.

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Edition of 1824, in four volumes octavo, which has for some time been out of print, and upon which the present is founded, has been generally esteemed for its correctness, and for a valuable body of materials for the illustration of the work collected by Mr. Park, including numerous manuscript notes by Ritson, Ashby, Douce, and other eminent antiquaries*, but especially on account of the important corrections and additions made by its much-lamented Editor, Mr. Richard Price; for whom, though his name did not appear on its publication, it deservedly obtained considerable reputation.

With regard to what he contributed under the head of additions, may be mentioned in particular his notes, or rather essays, on the Lais of Marie de France, on the Saxon Ode on the Victory of Athelstan, on the Romance of Sir Tristram, on the Visions of Piers Plouhman, and his learned Preface, in which is contained a very interesting view of the inquiries that form the subjects of Warton's work, the manner in which he has treated them, their progress since the publication of his work, and of the controversies to which it gave rise. The corrections made by Mr. Price must be considered also as having added much to the value of the edition; both those which apply to errors in Warton's glossarial notes, and those which resulted from a collation of many of the specimens "with manuscripts in the British Museum or editions of acknowledged fidelity." The latter, from the great carelessness of Warton as a transcriber, were very numerous, and not less important, many passages having been rendered quite unintelligible from errors in copying.

* See Editor's Preface, p. (92)

The very necessary task of freeing Warton's work from a defect which so greatly impaired its value, has however been carried out to a much greater extent in the present edition, through the zeal and care of Sir Frederic Madden, who, on learning that the work had once more been placed in my hands by the Publisher, not only most kindly offered to collate the text of the specimens in the earlier period by the best manuscripts, but has contributed a considerable number of notes of great interest, from the important corrections and additional information which they contain. In addition to these, which are distinguished by the letter M., the present Edition has received an accession of various valuable Notes, which have been contributed by Mr. Thorpe and Mr. J. M. Kemble, both deeply versed in the earliest form of our national poetry; by Mr. Wright, Editor of the Collection of the 'Ancient Political Songs' lately published by the Camden Society; Mr. W. J. Thoms, the Secretary of that Society; the Rev. R. Garnett, of the British Museum; and by my brother, Mr. Edward Taylor, Gresham Professor of Music. These are severally distinguished by the initials T. or Th., K., W., W. J. T., R. G., and E. T. I have, moreover, ventured occasionally to add a few, which bear my own initials.

It remains only to state that those Additional Notes from the collections of Dr. Ashby and Mr. Park, which, having come into the hands of the Publisher too late to be otherwise inserted in the edition of 1824, were printed at the end of the volumes, have in the present Edition been annexed to the passages to which they relate: and as the present enlarged form of the page has occasioned numerous alterations in the references both in the Notes and Index, much care has been taken to avoid the errors which often result from such a change.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

May 18th, 1840

Some Notices of the late Richard Price, Esq.

Of my lamented friend Mr. Price, to whom the superintendence of the edition of 1824 was, at my suggestion, committed, the following Notices may be preserved in this page, as testimonials of the estimation in which his character and acquirements have been held by men of learning.—R.T.

Dr. G. J Thorkllin, *in his work entitled "De Danorum Rebus Gestis, &c." being the first edition of Beowulf published; Copenhagen*, 1815.

"Quanta vero apud veteres celebritate et admiratione floruerit Welandus, vel inde liquet, quod regum decus Ælfredus Magnus (ut me monuit *vir doctissimus* et mihi *amicissimus* Richardus Price), in sua versione Consolationis Philosophiæ ab An. M Sever. Boethio scriptæ," &c., p. 266.

Dr. James Grimm, *in "Hymnorum Veteris Ecclesiæ Interpretatio Theotisca," Gottingen*, 1830.

"Pertzium V. Cl. literarum causa iter Anglicanum ingredientem de his Hymnis compellavi Itaque is Pricio auctor fuit *viro doctissimo et humanissimo*, ut omnes transscribi et ad me mitti curaret, brevique tempore ab illo nactus sum quod antea frustra diuque exspectaveram"—p. 4.

The Rev. W D. Conybeare, *in the Introduction to the Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, by the late Rev J J. Conybeare.*

"He had not inserted the original Saxon, in the understanding that it is the intention of Mr Price to publish it critically in the work on Saxon Poetry which he has announced in his very valuable Edition of Warton's History of English Poetry. The learning and acuteness of that able philologist and antiquary will doubtless clear away the difficulties which have, in a few instances, reduced the present translator to the necessity of circuitous and conjectural interpretation."—p. lxxxvii.

The late Mr. Edgar Taylor, F S A., the translator of Wace's Chronicle of the Norman Conquests, in his "*Lays of the Minnesingers and Troubadours.*"

"These sheets were in the printer's hands when the new Edition of Warton's History of English Poetry appeared The reader is referred to it, not only in connexion with the observations made above on the romance of Tristan (on which subject an excellent note will be found), but in relation to the romances of Titurel and Parcival.....The opportunity must not be omitted of bearing testimony to the very great merit of this new edition of a work now rendered doubly valuable. The Editor brings to his task that intimate acquaintance with ancient Scandinavian and German literature, which is so necessary to a full development of the subject, but in which the French and English antiquaries have hitherto been lamentably deficient."—p. 109.

"For a great deal of valuable information on these points, I must again refer to the excellent Preface of the Editor of Warton. The little collection of 'German Popular Stories,' which he has thought worthy of his notice, only touched on a subject highly interesting, no doubt, but requiring for its full de-

velopment a depth of research far beyond my means: I would gladly leave it in the able hands into which the Editor's Preface shows that it has fallen."—*Ib.* p. 116.

To these may be added the passage from Mr. Thorpe's translation of the Saxon Grammar of the late Professor Rask of Copenhagen, quoted below at p. lxxxi: also the following from Mr. THORPE's Preface to his Collection of the "*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, published under the authority of the Record Commission*"—

"A short space must now be devoted to the memory of a good man and highly accomplished scholar, my lamented predecessor in this work, the late RICHARD PRICE, Esq., by whose labours my own have been considerably lightened, and who, had he been longer spared to his friends and country, would, no doubt, have raised another monument of his industry and learning in the work subsequently committed to the care of a less experienced successor"

"Mr PRICE was the editor of an improved edition of Warton's History of English Poetry, in four volumes, 8vo, also of a valuable edition of Blackstone's Commentaries in four volumes, London, 1830, and of the Saxon Chronicle to the year 1066, contained in the first volume of the 'Materials for the History of Great Britain,' not yet completed"—*Preface*, p. xvii.

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TO HIS GRACE

GEORGE,

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH,

MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

A JUDGE AND A PATRON

OF

THE POLITE ARTS,

THIS WORK IS MOST HUMBLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBLIGED

AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THOMAS WARTON.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN an age advanced to the highest degree of refinement, that species of curiosity commences, which is busied in contemplating the progress of social life, in displaying the gradations of science, and in tracing the transitions from barbarism to civility.

That these speculations should become the favourite pursuits, and the fashionable topics, of such a period, is extremely natural. We look back on the savage condition of our ancestors with the triumph of superiority; we are pleased to mark the steps by which we have been raised from rudeness to elegance; and our reflections on this subject are accompanied with a conscious pride, arising in great measure from a tacit comparison of the infinite disproportion between the feeble efforts of remote ages, and our present improvements in knowledge.

In the mean time, the manners, monuments, customs, practices, and opinions of antiquity, by forming so strong a contrast with those of our own times, and by exhibiting human nature and human inventions in new lights, in unexpected appearances, and in various forms, are objects which forcibly strike a feeling imagination.

Nor does this spectacle afford nothing more than a fruitless gratification to the fancy. It teaches us to set a just estimation on our own acquisitions; and encourages us to cherish that cul-

tivation, which is so closely connected with the existence and the exercise of every social virtue.

On these principles, to develope the dawnings of genius, and to pursue the progress of our national poetry, from a rude origin and obscure beginnings, to its perfection in a polished age, must prove an interesting and instructive investigation. But a history of poetry, for another reason, yet on the same principles, must be more especially productive of entertainment and utility: I mean, as it is an art, whose object is human society; as it has the peculiar merit, in its operations on that object, of faithfully recording the features of the times, and of preserving the most picturesque and expressive representations of manners; and, because the first monuments of composition in every nation are those of the poet, as it possesses the additional advantage of transmitting to posterity genuine delineations of life in its simplest stages. Let me add, that anecdotes of the rudiments of a favourite art will always be particularly pleasing. The more early specimens of poetry must ever amuse, in proportion to the pleasure which we receive from its finished productions.

Much however depends on the execution of such a design[a], and my readers are to decide in what degree I have done justice to so specious and promising a disquisition. Yet a few more words will not be perhaps improper, in vindication, or rather in explanation, of the manner in which my work has been conducted. I am sure I do not mean, nor can I pretend, to apologise for its defects.

I have chose to exhibit the history of our poetry in a chronological series; not distributing my matter into detached articles,

[a] [Ritson has observed that "The History of English Poetry stands high in public estimation, that the subject is equally curious, interesting and abstruse, and that he should have experienced satisfaction in finding the work *entirely free from error*." Obs p 2 This was penned, alas! with a selfish disregard to that urbane moral maxim, *humanum est errare*; since it may be considered as one of the highest testimonies to the merits of Mr. Warton's elaborate and multifarious publication, that Ritson himself, in his lynx-eyed scrutiny, has detected little more than what a liberal and candid mind would have communicated to the historian as a mere table of *errata*.—PARK.]

of periodical divisions, or of general heads. Yet I have not always adhered so scrupulously to the regularity of annals, but that I have often deviated into incidental digressions; and have sometimes stopped in the course of my career, for the sake of recapitulation, for the purpose of collecting scattered notices into a single and uniform point of view, for the more exact inspection of a topic which required a separate consideration, or for a comparative survey of the poetry of other nations.

A few years ago, Mr. MASON, with that liberality which ever accompanies true genius, gave me an authentic copy of Mr. POPE'S scheme of a History of English Poetry, in which our poets were classed under their supposed respective schools. The late lamented Mr. GRAY had also projected a work of this kind, and translated some Runic odes for its illustration, now published; but soon relinquishing the prosecution of a design, which would have detained him from his own noble inventions, he most obligingly condescended to favour me with the substance of his plan, which I found to be that of Mr. POPE[b], considerably enlarged, extended, and improved.

It is vanity in me to have mentioned these communications. But I am apprehensive my vanity will justly be thought much greater, when it shall appear, that in giving the history of English poetry, I have rejected the ideas of men who are its most distinguished ornaments. To confess the real truth, upon examination and experiment, I soon discovered their mode of treating my subject, plausible as it is, and brilliant in theory, to be attended with difficulties and inconveniences, and productive of embarrassment both to the reader and the writer. Like other

[b] [See Pope's plan for a History of English Poetry, with another formed upon it by Gray, together with a letter to Warton, in the Gent Mag for 1783 It has also been inserted by Mr Mant and Mr. A Chalmers in their Lives of Warton Mr Malone, in vol 3 of Dryden's Prose Works, pointed out several mistakes in the classification of our English poets by Pope, and Dr. Warton made a new arrangement of them into four different classes and degrees, because he thought we do not sufficiently attend to the difference between a man of wit, a man of sense, and a true poet Ded to Essay on Pope —PARK]

ingenious systems, it sacrificed much useful intelligence to the observance of arrangement; and in the place of that satisfaction which results from a clearness and a fulness of information, seemed only to substitute the merit of disposition, and the praise of contrivance. The constraint imposed by a mechanical attention to this distribution, appeared to me to destroy that free exertion of research with which such a history ought to be executed, and not easily reconcileable with that complication, variety, and extent of materials, which it ought to comprehend.

The method I have pursued, on one account at least, seems preferable to all others. My performance, in its present form, exhibits without transposition the gradual improvements of our poetry, at the same time that it uniformly represents the progression of our language.

Some perhaps will be of opinion, that these annals ought to have commenced with a view of the Saxon poetry. But besides that a legitimate illustration of that jejune and intricate subject[c] would have almost doubled my labour, that the Saxon language is familiar only to a few learned antiquaries, that our Saxon poems are for the most part little more than religious rhapsodies, and that scarce any compositions remain marked with the native images of that people in their pagan state[d], every reader that reflects but for a moment on our political establishment must perceive, that the Saxon poetry has no connection with the nature

[c] [This subject has since been very ably and learnedly illustrated by the pen of Mr Sharon Turner, in his History of the Anglo-Saxons, to which the antiquarian reader is referred —PARK.]

[d] [To evince the unhappy tendency of Ritson's criticisms on Mr. Warton's History, the following comment upon this passage may serve as a sufficient sample. "It may seem (says the critic) a very extraordinary idea in a Christian minister (and who is not only the historian of poets but a poet himself) that these people could not have a poetical genius, because they were not pagans, and that religion and poetry are incompatible." How pitiable was the temper which dictated this forced inference, and what a "picture in little" does it exhibit of morbid spleen!! Indeed, the critic seems totally to misapprehend the drift of Mr. Warton's reasoning, who only infers that when the Saxons were converted to Christianity, they lost all the wild imagery of their old superstitions, and composed religious rhapsodies in lieu of their native barbaric songs —See Gent. Mag. Nov. 1782, p. 528 —PARK.] [The reasoning upon which the author endeavours to justify his neglect of the Saxon period, in a History of English Poetry, is, however, by no means satisfactory.—R. T.]

and purpose of my present undertaking. Before the Norman accession, which succeeded to the Saxon government, we were an unformed and an unsettled race. That mighty revolution obliterated almost all relation to the former inhabitants of this island; and produced that signal change in our policy, constitution and public manners, the effects of which have reached modern times. The beginning of these annals seems therefore to be most properly dated from that era, when our national character began to dawn.

It was recommended to me, by a person eminent in the republic of letters, totally to exclude from these volumes any mention of the English drama. I am very sensible that a just history of our Stage is alone sufficient to form an entire and extensive work; and this argument, which is by no means precluded by the attempt here offered to the public, still remains separately to be discussed, at large, and in form. But as it was professedly my intention to comprise every species of English Poetry, this, among the rest, of course claimed a place in these annals, and necessarily fell into my general design. At the same time, as in this situation it could only become a subordinate object, it was impossible I should examine it with that critical precision and particularity, which so large, so curious, and so important an article of our poetical literature demands and deserves. To have considered it in its full extent, would have produced the unwieldy excrescence of a disproportionate episode; not to have considered it at all, had been an omission, which must detract from the integrity of my intended plan. I flatter myself, however, that from evidences hitherto unexplored, I have recovered hints which may facilitate the labours of those, who shall hereafter be inclined to investigate the ancient state of dramatic exhibition in this country, with due comprehension and accuracy.

It will probably be remarked, that the citations in the first volume are numerous, and sometimes very prolix. But it should

be remembered, that most of these are extracted from ancient manuscript poems never before printed, and hitherto but little known. Nor was it easy to illustrate the darker and more distant periods of our poetry, without producing ample specimens. In the mean time, I hope to merit the thanks of the antiquarian, for enriching the stock of our early literature by these new accessions; and I trust I shall gratify the reader of taste, in having so frequently rescued from oblivion the rude inventions and irregular beauties of the heroic tale, or the romantic legend.

The design of the DISSERTATIONS is to prepare the reader, by considering apart, in a connected and comprehensive detail, some material points of a general and preliminary nature, and which could not either with equal propriety or convenience be introduced, at least not so formally discussed, in the body of the book; to establish certain fundamental principles to which frequent appeals might occasionally be made, and to clear the way for various observations arising in the course of my future inquiries.

MR. PRICE'S PREFACE

TO THE EDITION OF 1824.

THE "History of English Poetry" assumes the first place in the catalogue of Warton's prose writings, and, to use the language of his biographer, "forms the most solid basis of his reputation." Though not the only labour of his life, which embraces the study of early English poetry and antiquities, it is still the only one to which he devoted himself with the ardour inspired by a favourite occupation, or in which the nature of his subject allowed him a fair and appropriate field for the display of his genius, his erudition, and his taste. His other productions are either testimonials of what he felt due to his rank in his college, or the amusements in which an active mind indulges when relaxing from severer pursuits, and even much of his poetry contains but a varied disposition of the same imagery which enlivens the pages of his history. In this his most voluminous and most important work, he found a subject commanding all the resources of his richly stored and fertile mind; a task which had excited the attention of two distinguished poets[1], as an undertaking not unworthy of their talents, where the duties were arduous, the path untrodden, and not a little of public prejudice to subdue against the worth and utility of his object[2]. But Warton was too much in love with his theme, and too confident in his own ability, to be dismayed by difficulties which industry might overcome, or opinions having no better foundation than vulgar belief unsupported by knowledge; and the success attendant upon the publication of his first volume, which speedily reached a second edition[3], en-

[1] The reader will find Pope's plan of his projected history, enlarged by Gray, in Dr Mant's Life of Warton. The reasons for differing from his predecessors are given by Warton in the preface to his first volume

[2] Pope's sneers against "all such reading as was never read," and "the classics of an age that heard of none," were still fresh in public recollection

[3] This second edition is not a mere reprint of the title-page, it is marked by several typographical errors which do not occur in the first.

couraged him to persevere in his course. A second and a third volume appeared in due succession; a small portion of the fourth had been committed to the press, when death arrested his hand, just as he was entering on the most interesting and brilliant period of our poetic annals—the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The comprehensive plan upon which Warton had commenced this work, so far exceeded his expectations of its possible extent, that though the original design was to have been completed in two volumes, there was still as much to do as had been accomplished, when his labours were thus abruptly terminated. Of this plan it had been a leading principle, that the historian was not to confine himself to the strict letter of his subject, a chronological account of poets and their writings, with an estimate of their merits or defects. The range of inquiry was to be extended further, beyond its obvious or perhaps its lawful limits; and the History of English Poetry to be made a channel for conveying information on the state of manners and customs among our feudal ancestry, the literature and arts of England and occasionally of Europe at large. A life longer than Warton's might have been unequal to the execution of such an extensive project; and there will be as many opinions upon the necessity of thus enlarging the boundaries of his theme, as of the manner in which he has acquitted himself in the undertaking. For while the general reader will complain of the frequent calls upon his patience for these repeated digressions, the scholar will regret, that subjects so attractive and copious in themselves are only passingly or superficially treated of. Without attempting to justify or deny the force of these objections, it may be more to our present purpose to inquire, what may have been the author's views of his duty, and the manner in which this was to be accomplished. In common with every one else who has duly canvassed the subject, Warton indisputably felt that the poetry of a rude and earlier age, with very few exceptions, can only command a share of later attention in proportion as it has exercised an influence over the times producing it, or conveys a picture of the institutions, modes of thinking or general habits of the society for which it was written. To have given specimens of these productions in all their native nakedness, would have been to ensure for them neglect from the listless student, and misapprehension from the more zealous but uninformed inquirer. A commentary was indispensably necessary, not a mere gloss upon words, but things, a luminous exposition of whatever had changed its character, or grown obsolete in the lapse of time, and which, as it unfolded to the reader's view the for-

gotten customs of the day, assisted him to live and feel in the spirit of the poet's age. For such a purpose it was requisite to enter largely into the domestic and civil economy of our ancestors, their public and private sports, the entertainments of the baronial hall, the martial exercises of the tournament, the alternate solemnities and buffooneries of misdirected devotion, and those coarser pastimes and amusements, which relieve the toil of industry, and give a zest to the labours of the humbler classes. The spirit and gallant enterprize of chivalry was to be recorded in conjunction with the juggler's dexterity and the necromancer's art, the avocations of the cloister, the *wode-craft* of the feudal lord, and the services of his retainer, were each to receive a share of the general notice; and though romance and minstrelsy might be the prominent characteristics of the age, the occult mysteries of alchemy were not to be overlooked. With these were to be ranged, the popular superstitions of a departed pagan faith, and the legendary marvels of a new religion; the relations of the citizen to the state, and of the ecclesiastic to the community; the effects produced by the important political events of five centuries, and their consequences on the progress of civilization and national literature. In addition to these varied topics, Warton considered it equally imperative upon him to account for the striking contrast existing between the poetry of the ancient and modern world; and, in developing what he has termed the origin of romantic fiction, to discuss the causes which embellished or corrupted it, and to explain those anomalies which appear to separate it both from more recent compositions and the classic remains of antiquity. He also knew, that though poetry be not the child of learning, it is modified in every age by the current knowledge of the country, and that as an imitative art, it is always either borrowing from the imagery of existing models, or wrestling with the excellences which distinguish them. It was therefore not only necessary to investigate the degree of classic lore which still diffused its light amid the gloom of the earlier ages of barbarism, but to show the disguises and corruptions under which a still greater portion had recommended itself to popular notice, and courted attention as the memorials of ancient and occasionally of national enterprize. But the middle age had also produced a learning of its own, and the scholar and the poet were so frequently united in the same personage, that in this ill-assorted match of science "wedded to immortal verse," the muse was often made the mere domestic drudge of her abstruse and erudite consort. Of this once highly-valued knowledge, so little has descended to our own times, that the modern reader, without

a guide to instruct him in his progress, feels like the traveller before the walls of Persepolis, who gazes on the inscriptions of a powerful but extinguished race, without a key to the character recording their deeds. Above all, it was of importance to notice the successive acquisitions, in the shape of translation or imitation, from the more polished productions of Greece and Rome; and to mark the dawn of that æra, which, by directing the human mind to the study of classical antiquity, was to give a new impetus to science and literature, and by the changes it introduced to effect a total revolution in the laws which had previously governed them. This is clearly the outline of what Warton proposed to himself as his duty:—of the mode in which this design has been fulfilled it must be left to others to determine. But let it not be hastily inferred, that when he has been excursive upon some collateral topic, he has consequently given it an importance disproportionate to its real bearing on his subject; or that the languor produced upon the reader's mind in certain periods of these annals, is exclusively the author's fault. The results attendant upon literary, as well as moral or political changes, are not always distinguished by that manifest equality to their exciting cause, which strikes the sense on a first recital, and the poetry of so many centuries, like the temper of the times, or the constitution of the seasons, must necessarily exhibit the same fitful vicissitudes of character, the same alternations of fertility and unproductiveness. Of the materials transmitted to his hands, whether marked by excellence, or proverbial for insipidity, it is still the historian's duty to record their existence, and though many of these may contain no single ray of genius to redeem their numerous absurdities, they yet may throw considerable light on the state of public opinion, and the ruling tastes or customs of their age. The most popular poetry of its day is well known not always to be the most meritorious, however safely we may trust to the equity of time for repairing this injustice. The only question therefore will be, as to the degree in which such compositions ought to be communicated. In the earlier periods, where any memorials are exceedingly scanty, and those generally varying in their prevailing character, a greater latitude will be granted than in those where the invention of printing equally contributed to multiply the materials, and render the documents more generally accessible. Of Warton's consideration in this respect, it will be sufficient to remark, that in the sixteenth century (when every man seems to have been visited with a call to court the muse, and had an opportunity of giving publicity to his conceptions,) he has frequently consigned a herd of spiritless versifiers to the

"narrow durance" of a note. There is another point upon which it may be more difficult to rescue his fame at the bar of outraged criticism: but as this seems to have been a crime of malice prepense, rather than inadvertency, his name must be left to sanctify the deed. The want of order in the arrangement of his subject is a charge which has been repeated both by friends and foes. A part of this Warton seems to have intentionally adopted. In a letter to Gray, tracing the outline of his forthcoming history, he specifically states, "I should have said before, that although I proceed chronologically, yet I often stand still to give some general view, as perhaps of a *particular species of poetry*, &c., and even *to anticipate* sometimes for this purpose. These views often form one section; yet are interwoven into the tenor of the work without interrupting my historical series[4]." He possibly thought, that as it is of the essence of romantic poetry "to delight in an intimate commingling of extremes, in the blending and contrasting of the most opposing elements[5]," it was equally so of its historian to deviate from established rules; and may have been so smitten with his ancient masters as to conceive some of their distinguishing characteristics not unworthy of occasional imitation. But when it is said that his materials are ill digested, that we are frequently called upon in a later century to travel back to one preceding, that we are then treated with specimens which *ought* to have found a place in an earlier chapter[6], the zeal of criticism is made to exceed the limits either of justice or candour. It is wholly overlooked, that Warton was the first adventurer in the extensive region through which he journeyed, and into which the usual pioneers of literature had scarcely penetrated. Beyond his own persevering industry, he had little to assist his researches; his materials lay widely scattered, and not always very accessible, new matter was constantly arising, as chance or the spirit of inquiry evolved the contents of our public libraries[7], and he had the double duty to perform of discovering his subject, and writing its history.

But these objections, whether founded in error, or justified by facts,

[4] Chalmers's Biog Dict. art Warton.

[5] Schlegel on Dramatic Literature, vol iii. p. 14.

[6] See Monthly Review for 1793.—Dr. Mant, who has refuted some of these charges, states them to have been copied (without acknowledgement) by Dr Anderson, in his Life of Warton. May we not rather infer, that Dr. Anderson felt no obligation to acknowledge a quotation from himself?

[7] The poems of Minot could only have he published his first volume It is well known, that they were accidentally discovered by Mr Tyrwhitt, while engaged in searching for MSS. of Chaucer. A similar accident led to the discovery of the alliterative romance on the adventures of Sir Gawain, quoted vol i. p 100, by the writer of this note, and which there is every reason to believe must have passed through the hands of Mr Ritson. [Lately edited by Sir F Madden for the Bannatyne Club.—R.T.]

have all been urged with temper, and are distinguished by that consideration for Warton's personal character, which every gentleman is entitled to, and every liberal scholar prides himself upon observing. In those now to be noticed, a widely different spirit was manifested; and one so opposite to every principle of decent or manly feeling, that it might be safely left to the contempt which Warton in the proud conviction of his own honour and integrity bestowed upon it, were it not interwoven with matter requiring attention on other accounts, of which occasional notice has been taken in the body of the work, and which must again be the subject of discussion. The reader of early English poetry will be at no loss to perceive, that the objections and conduct here spoken of, are those of the late Mr. Ritson. To be zealous in detecting error, exposing folly, or checking the presumptuous arrogance of any literary despot, is an obligation which the commonwealth of learning imposes upon all her sons. The tone of the reproof, and the character of the offence, are all that will be demanded of the ministrant in his office; and so great is the latitude allowed, that he who will condescend "to break a butterfly upon a wheel," *secundum artem*, runs no greater risk, than a gentle censure for the eccentricity of his taste; and even acrimony, where great provocation has been given, may pass for just and honest indignation. But Mr. Ritson, in the execution of his censorial duty, indulged in a vein of low scurrility and gross personalities, wholly without example since the days of Curll. He not only combated Warton's opinions, and corrected his errors, questioned his scholarship, and denied his ability; but impugned his veracity, attacked his morality, and openly accused him of all those mean and despicable arts, by which a needy scribbler attempts to rifle the public purse. There would have been little in this beyond the common operation of a nine days' wonder, and the ferment of the hour which every deviation from established practice is sure to excite, had the charges been limited to a single publication. But for a period of twenty years, both while the object of them was living, and after his decease, they were repeated in every variety of form, always from the same amiable motives, though occasionally in a subdued style of animosity. The result of this extraordinary course was the establishment of Mr. Ritson as the critical lord paramount in the realms of romance and minstrelsy; his fiat became the ruling law, and no audacious hand was to raise the veil which covered the infirmities of the suzerain. For though he has magnified those venial errors, which, as the human mind is constituted, are almost

inseparable from such an undertaking as Warton's, into offences which only meet their parallel in the criminal nomenclature of the country—into fraud, imposture and forgery—yet his own labours in the same department of literature, his "Ancient Songs," and "Metrical Romances," though scarcely equalling a tithe of the "History of English Poetry," are marked by the same kinds of inaccuracy as those he has so coarsely branded. Indeed on such a subject it would have been as marvellous as unaccountable, if they had not:—but this is foreign to our purpose. It will rather be asked, whether the historian of English poetry may not have provoked this treatment by his own intemperance of rebuke, or want of charity towards others; and whether the vehemence of Mr. Ritson's indignation, and the virulence of his invective, may not have had a more commensurate motive, than the misquotation of a date, a name or a text, or the fallacy of a mere speculative opinion. With the exception of one misdemeanor hereafter to be mentioned,—a sin in itself of pardonable levity, if it must be so stigmatized,—Warton's conduct towards his fellow-labourers in the mine of antiquarian research, was distinguished by a tone of courtesy and complimentary address, which the sterner principles of the present day have rejected as bordering too closely upon adulation. Of this therefore as a general charge he must be acquitted, and equally so of any intention to wound the feelings or undermine the reputation of Mr. Ritson, as that gentleman's first publication connected with early English literature[8], was his "Observations" on Warton's history[9]. The causes of this ex-

[8] A Collection of Garlands (which cannot now be referred to) may bear an earlier date But this was a local publication, not likely to extend beyond the limits of a country town The "Observations" produced a controversy in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1782–83. The first letter on the subject, signed Verax, was in all probability written by Warton (See his letter to Mr Nichols of the same date, inclosing a communication to that Miscellany, and requesting a concealment of the writer's name.) Those signed A S. were by the late Mr. Russell of Sydney College The letter signed Vindex contains internal evidence of Mr. Ritson's hand, who may also have drawn up the epitome of his pamphlet (1783, p 281). But who was Castigator? (1782, p 571) Was it the same worthy personage of whom his *friend* records the following creditable transaction? "This *venerabilissimus episcopus* [the bishop of Dromore], upon a different occasion, gave Mister Steevens a transcript from the above [folio] MS, of the vulgar ballad of *Old Simon the King*, with a strict injunction not to show it to this editour [Mr Ritson], which however *he immediately brought him*!" Yet these were *honourable* men!

[9] In this extraordinary pamphlet, Mr Ritson made *thirty-eight* remarks upon the multifarious matter contained in Warton's first volume (extending to p 224, vol ii of the present edition) Nine of these consist of those personalities already spoken of, or are mere objections to the conduct and order of the work Thirteen are devoted to glossarial corrections, among which are the candid specimen recorded vol. ii p 5, note [o], and two literal interpretations, instead of two very appropriate paraphrases The remaining fifteen, or rather the subjects they refer to, it may be worth while to analyse One of these had been already corrected by Warton in the Emendations appended to the second volume,—a circumstance which Mr. Ritson either knew, or ought to have known, as he carefully picked his way through this

traordinary persecution must hence be sought for in other directions. Among these it is not difficult to detect the sullen rancour of a jealous and self-appointed rival, the workings of an inferior mind, aiming at notoriety by an insolent triumph over talents, which it at once envies and despairs of equalling. The "taste and elegance" with which Warton had embellished his narrative, became a source of chagrin to a man who sought distinction by a style of orthography, resembling any thing but the language of his native country; and hence the sarcastic tone in which these graceful advantages are complimented, while they are carefully contrasted with the historian's "habitual blunders." Warton's learning was also of no common order; and his reading of that extensive kind which enabled him to illustrate his theme from the varied circle of ancient and modern literature; and here again it became matter of exultation to discover, that his knowledge of Italian had *once* been but limited, or to hint that his acquaintance with Hickes's Thesaurus had been assisted by a translation of "Wotton's Conspectus." But in the gaiety of his heart, Warton had smiled at the solemn dullness of Hearne, the idol of Mr. Ritson's affections; he had descanted on the laboured triflings of this diligent antiquary in a style of successful yet playful irony, and chose to entertain no very exalted opinion of the patient drudgery by which "Thomas" was to recommend himself to posterity. This was an unpardonable offence, and little short of a declaration of hostilities by anticipation: for though genius will approve the well-directed satire which exposes its own peculiar foibles, while portraying the follies of a contemporary, yet moody mediocrity never forgives the bolt which, aimed at another's eccentricities, inadvertently grazes its own inviolable person. In addition, the historian of English poetry was a Christian, a churchman, and a distinguished member of his college, all and either of them sufficient to condemn

additional matter, for the purpose of supplying two corrections, one of which he afterwards recalled, and in furnishing the other committed an error equally great with that he amended. A second comprises the very "egregious blunder" of calling a piece of political rhyme a "ballad," when it is not written in "your ballad-metre." In a third, Warton has chosen to make a direct inference, where the affair admits neither of absolute proof nor disproof. And a fourth offers an opinion, but a mere and guarded opinion, as to the age of a poem, in which there is every reason to believe he was correct. (See Mr Park's note, vol. ii. p. 104.) In seven examples it may be allowed that Mr Ritson has convicted the historian of "ignorance," though two of these refer to matters that are rather probable than certain: but in four of the remaining five, he has offered objections or corrections on subjects, where the charges of error only rebound upon himself. The fifteenth refers to a subject where Warton candidly acknowledges his inability to gratify the reader's curiosity. Thus, with the exception of the glossarial inaccuracies, of which more will be said hereafter, Mr. Ritson can only be admitted to have corrected *seven* mistakes, or more rigidly speaking *five*, in a 4to volume of 468 pages, and in the execution of which he has himself become chargeable with *four*

him in the eyes of a man whose creed was confined to a rigid abstinence from animal food; with whom a clergyman was but another name for a "lazy, stinking and ignorant monk;" and who seems never to have been better pleased, than when retailing the coarse and pointless ribaldry of the fifteenth century against the honours and dignities of an University. To this full measure of indiscretion, Warton had superadded a warm admiration of the powers and learning of Warburton; and had even adopted, and considerably amplified, the fanciful theory of this eminent prelate on the origin of romantic fiction. This again was siding with the enemy. The bishop of Gloucester had conducted a merciless prosecution against a sect of which Mr. Ritson made no scruple to acknowledge himself a follower, the "Epicureorum factio, æquo semper errore a vero devia et illa existimans ridenda quæ nesciat[10]," and unhappily for his fame and the cause he advocated, in the possession of a giant's strength had too frequently exercised it with the cruelty of a giant. The tyranny of the master was therefore to be avenged on the head of his otherwise too guilty pupil; and the double end to be gained, of inflicting an insidious wound upon a foe too powerful to be encountered in the open field[11], and crushing an unresisting and applauded rival. But enough of this revolting subject, of which justice to the memory of an amiable, unoffending and elegant scholar required that some notice should be taken, and which no language can be too strong to mark with deserved reprobation.

It is now time to turn to those objections of Mr. Ritson, which embrace the literary defects of the History of English Poetry.

There can be no intention of dragging the reader through the minute and tedious details, with which this branch of the controversy is burthened. Wherever the better information of Mr. Ritson has been available, (at least in all cases where his reasoning has produced conviction on the editor's mind,) his corrections will be found submitted in their appropriate places. But as the more important of these were di-

[10] Macrobius Som Scipionis, in init.

[11] It is ludicrous in the extreme to observe a man of Mr. Ritson's attainments, stating Warburton's "distinguishing characteristic" to be "a want of knowledge" The "habitual mendacity" of the same learned prelate finds its parallel, if mere errors of opinion must receive this bland distinction, in such hasty assertions as the following "The real *chanson de Roland* was unquestionably a metrical romance of great length." Introd to Met Rom p. 37 "The Armoricans never possessed a single story on the subject of Arthur and the Round Table" Ib p 46 "The poets of Provence borrowed their art from the French or Normans" Ib p 50 "There is but one single romance existing that can be attributed to a troubadour" p 51 "Before the first crusade, or for more than half a century after it, there was not one single romance on the achievements of Arthur or his knights" Ib p 52. To enumerate all the unfounded assertions contained in the section immediately following "the Saxon and English language" would be to write a small treatise.

rected against opinions rather than facts, and consequently, whether correct or inadmissible, could not always be inserted or combated in the body of the work, without deranging Warton's text or causing too frequent repetitions, they have been reserved for consideration here, and may be classed under the general heads of:—objections to the Dissertation on the Origin of Romantic Fiction, the credibility of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, the character of Warton's specimens, and his glossarial illustrations of them.

If the object of this examination were a mere defence of Warton's opinions, by exposing the false positions assumed by his adversary, it would be an easy task to show that Mr. Ritson's sweeping assertions with regard to the general relations between the Moors in Spain and their conquered subjects, or even their Christian foes, are not borne out by the facts. The inferences he has drawn would consequently fall of themselves, and it might be added, that the discoveries of our own times have sufficiently proved the possibility of this decried system being upheld, if the general principle it assumes, and which has been applied by Mr. Ritson to the progress of Romance in England, Italy and Germany, were otherwise allowable. The romance of Antar might be offered as a sufficient type for all subsequent tales of chivalry; and the story of the Sid Batallah adduced as a proof, that the Spaniards could endow a national hero with a title borrowed from the favourite champion of their foes[12]. But this would be creating a phantom for the purpose of foiling an over-zealous adversary. The ends of truth will be better advanced by examining the causes which led to Warton's adoption of this dazzling theory, and an estimate of its application to the subject it was intended to develope.

The light sketch given by Warburton of the origin of romance in Spain, traced the whole stream of chivalrous fiction to two sources,—the chronicle of the Pseudo-Turpin relative to Charlemagne and his peers, and the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In this system there were many points totally irreconcileable with the state of the subject, both before and after the periods at which these productions obtained a circulation; and it was therefore necessary to account for

[12] Of course this is only stated hypothetically. The reason assigned in the Chronicle for the appellation is indisputably a fable; since every tributary Moor would have used the same address, Sid, Master, to his Spanish liege lord. The Arabian romance is noticed by Warton, Diss. i. p. xi.; and Mr. von Hammer has recently borne evidence to its great popularity among the Saracens. The Moorish Sid died in the campaign against Constantinople, anno 738. See Jahrbucher der Litteratur, No. 14. The German romances on the story of the Saint Graal (to be noticed hereafter) are derived from an Arabic source, through the medium of the Provençal.

what might be termed, the anticipations of their narratives, and even their omissions, by the discovery of a more prolific fountain-head. A large portion of the marvellous imagery contained in the early poetry of Europe, was found to have its counterpart in the creations of Oriental genius. To account for this, by a direct communication between the East and West, was the problem that Warton proposed to solve; and as the æra of the first crusade was too recent to meet the difficulties already alluded to, and Warburton had been supposed to prove that the first romances were of Spanish origin, the subject seemed to connect itself in a very natural order with the Moorish conquest of that country. A more extensive acquaintance with the general literature of the dark and middle ages has fully proved the fallacy of this assumption, which could only have been entertained in the infancy of the study. But that such an hypothesis should have been conceived in this stage of the subject, will be no impeachment of Warton's general judgement, when it is recollected, that his contemporary Dr. Percy had adopted a system equally exclusive; and that Dr. Leyden, at a later period, advocated a third upon the same contracted principles. The analogous conduct of such men, though not wholly exculpatory, is at least a proof that the causes for this procedure rested on no slight foundation. There is however one leading error in Warton's Dissertation, an error it only shares in common with the theories opposed to it, arising from too confined a view of the natural limits of his subject, and too general an application of the system in detail. The consequence has been an unavoidable confusion between the essence and the costume of romantic fiction, and the exclusive appropriation of the common property of mankind to a particular age and people. Indeed, the learned projectors of these several systems no sooner begin to disclose the details of their schemes, than we instantly recognise the elements of national fable in every country of whose literature we possess a knowledge; and notwithstanding the professed intention of conducting an examination into the origin of romantic fiction, their disquisitions silently merge into the origin of fiction in general. To such an inquiry it is evident there can be no chronological limits. The fictions of one period, with some modification, are found to have had an existence in that immediately preceding; and the further we pursue the investigation, the more we become convinced of a regular transmission through the succession of time, or that many seeming resemblances and imitations are sprung from common organic causes, till at length the question escapes us as a matter of historical research, and

resolves itself into one purely psychological. It is even difficult to conceive any period of human existence, where the disposition to indulge in these illusions of fancy has not been a leading characteristic of the mind. The infancy of society, as the first in the order of time, also affords some circumstances highly favourable to the development of this faculty. In such a state, the secret and invisible bands which connect the human race with the animal and vegetable creation, are either felt more forcibly than in an age of conventional refinement, or are more frequently presented to the imagination. Man regards himself then but as the first link in the chain of animate and inanimate nature, as the associate and fellow of all that exists around him, rather than as a separate being of a distinct and superior order. His attention is arrested by the lifeless or breathing objects of his daily intercourse, not merely as they contribute to his numerous wants and pleasures, but as they exhibit any affinity or more remote analogy with the mysterious properties of his being. Subject to the same laws of life and death, of procreation and decay, or partially endowed with the same passions, sympathies and propensities, the speechless companion of his toil and amusement, the forest in which he resides, or the plant which flourishes beneath his care, are to him but varied types of his own intricate organization. In the exterior form of these, the faithful record of his senses forbids any material change; but the internal structure, which is wholly removed from the view, may be fashioned and constituted at pleasure. The qualities which this is to assume, need only be defined by the measure of the will, and hence we see that, not content with granting to each separate class a mere generic vitality suitable to its kind, he bestows on all the same mingled frame of matter and mind, which gives the chief value to his own existence. Nor is this playful exercise of the inventive faculties confined to the sentient objects of the creation; it is extended over the whole material and immaterial world, and applied to every thing of which the mind has either a perfect or only a faint conception. The physical phænomena of nature, the tenets of a public creed, the speculations of ancient wisdom [13] or the exposition of a moral duty, are alike subjected to the same fan-

[13] See the celebrated passage in the Iliad viii. 17 relative to the golden chain of Jupiter, with Heyne's account of the interpretations bestowed upon it in the ancient world. Mr. F. Schlegel has given a parallel passage from the Bhagavatgita, where Vishnu illustrates the extent of his power by a similar image —"*I* am the cause of existence as well as destruction to all, than *me* nothing higher is found and nothing without me. O friend! this ALL hangs united on me like the pearls that are strung on a fillet." Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier, p. 303. See also Il. i. 422. with the ancient expositors.

tastic impress, and made to assume those forms which, by an approximation to the animal contour, assist the understanding in seizing their peculiar qualities, and the memory in retaining them. It is this personification of the blind efforts of nature, which has given rise to those wild and distorted elements that abound in all profane cosmogonies; where, by a singular combination of the awful and sublime with the monstrous and revolting, an attempt is made to render intelligible those infinite energies of matter which surpass the limits of human comprehension. The same law is evident in the obscure embodiment of a moral axiom, or an abstract quality, as shadowed forth in the enigma[14]; in all that condensed imagery which has found its way into the proverbial expressions of nations, and some of the most surprising incidents in romantic narrative have no better foundation than the conversion of a name into an event[15]. But of this universal tendency to confer a spiritual existence upon the lifeless productions of nature, and to give a corporeal form and expression to the properties and conceptions of matter and mind, it would be superfluous to offer any laboured proof. The whole religious system of the ancient world, with one exception, may be adduced as an exemplification of the fact; and even the sacred writings of the Old Testament contain occasional indications of a similar practice[16].

The operation of this principle, while it is sufficient to account for all the marvels of popular fiction, will also lead to the establishment of two conclusions: first, that wherever there may have been any resemblance in the objects calling it forth, the imagery produced will exhibit a corresponding similarity of character, and secondly, that a large proportion of the symbols thus brought into circulation, like the primitive roots in language, will be found recurring in almost every country, as a common property inherited by descent. In illustration of these con-

[14] Considerable collections on this subject are to be found in the preface to Resenius's edition of the Edda. The whole argument is very elaborately discussed in Mr. Creuzer's learned work, Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Volker besonders der Griechen, vol. i. Leipsig 1810.

[15] The name of Cœur de Lion has furnished king Richard's romance with the well-known incident of his combat with a lion. A still more remarkable illustration of the same practice is to be found in the German romance, Heinrich der Lowe, or Henry the Lion. See Gorres Volksbucher, p. 91 There can be as little doubt, that we are indebted to the name of Cypselus (a chest) for the marvellous story related by Herodotus, v. 92. See also the fable relative to Priam (from πριασθαι, Apollodorus Biblioth ii. 6. 4) and Ajax (from αιετος, Schol in Pind. Ist. ε' 76). To the same cause, perhaps, we may also attribute the tale of Pelops and his ivory shoulder. The concurrent practice of the minstrel poets will show these recitals not to have been mere fancies of the grammarians

[16] See the fable of the trees, Judges ix. 8, of the thistle and the cedar, 2 Chronicles xxv. 18

clusions, we need only refer to those local traditions of distant countries which profess to record the history of some unusual appearance on the surface of the soil [17], the peculiar character of a vegetable production, or the structure of a public monument. Whether in ancient Greece or modern Europe, every object of this kind that meets the traveller's eye is found to have a chronicle of its origin; the causes assigned for its existence, or its natural and artificial attributes, wear a common mythic garb; while in either country these narratives are so strikingly allied to the fictions of popular song, that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the muse has supplied their substance, or been herself indebted to them for some of her most attractive incidents [18]. A mound of earth becomes the sepulchre of a favourite hero [19]; a pile of enormous stones, the easy labour of some gigantic craftsmen [20]; a single one, the stupendous instrument of daily exercise to a fabulous king [21];

[17] At the entrance of a cave near the plain of Marathon, Pausanias saw a number of loose stones, which at a distance resembled goats. The country-people called them Pan's Flock. (Attica, 26.) A similar group on Marlborough Down is still called the Gray Wethers. A tuft of cypresses near Psophis, in Arcadia, was called the Virgins. (Arcad. c. 24.) On the downs between Wadebridge and St. Columb, there is a line of stones called the Nine Maids. Borlase Ant. of Corn. p. 159. The Glastonbury thorn, which budded on Christmas day, was a dry hawthorn staff miraculously planted by St. Joseph. Collinson's Somersetshire, ii. p. 265. This is a common miracle in the history of the Dionysiac thyrsus. A myrtle at Trœzene, whose leaves were full of holes, was said to have been thus perforated by Phædra in her moments of despair (Paus. i. 22. See also ii. 28 and 32.)

[18] There can be little doubt that the story of the Phæacian ship (Od. xiii. 163.) was taken from some local tradition well known at the period. In the time of Procopius it had become localized at the modern Cassopé, notwithstanding an inscription explained the origin of the votive structure to which it was attached. At the present day, a small island near the harbour of Corfu, claims the honour of being the original bark. In the same way many incidents in the Argonautica received a "local habitation." According to Timonax, Jason and Medea were married at Colchis, where the bridal bed was shown. Timæus denied this, and referred to the nuptial altars at Cercyra. (Schol. in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1217.) The earliest version of this fiction may be supposed to have confirmed the Colchian tradition, but as the limits of the sphere of action became extended, the later narratives of necessity embraced other fables. Hence the Argonautic poems became for ancient geography and local tradition, what the syncretic statues of Cybele were for ancient symbols. The passage in Apollonius, i. v. 1305. is evidently taken from a local fiction, as it refers to the *rocking-stones* commemorating the event.

[19] In localizing these traditions, little regard is paid to the contending claims of other districts. Several mounds are shown in various parts of Denmark, as the graves of Vidrich Verlandsen, and as many of the giant Langbein (Muller Saga Bibliothek, vol. ii. p. 224.) The residence of Habor and Signe, so celebrated in Danish song, has been appropriated in the same way, and has given name to a variety of places. (Udvalgte Danske Viser, vol. iii. p. 403.) Scottish tradition has transferred the burial-place of Thomas the Rhymer, from Erceldown to a *tomhan* which rises in a plain near Inverness. Grant's Essays, &c. vol. ii. p. 158.

[20] The Cyclops were the contrivers of these works in ancient times, whose place has been supplied by the Giants. See the books relative to Stonehenge, Giant's Causeway, &c. The Arabs have a tradition, that Cleopatra's needle was once surrounded by seven others, which were brought from mount Berym to Alexandria, by seven giants of the tribe of Aad.

[21] The common people call a cromleach, near Lligwy in Anglesea, Coeten Arthur, or Arthur's Quoit. Jones's Bardic Mus. p. 60. The general character of the

the conformation of a rock, or a mark upon its surface, attests the anger or the presence of some divinity[22]; and the emblems and decorations of a monumental effigy must either be explained from the events of popular history[23], or perverted from their original character to give some passage in it a locality[24]. It is thus too that the volcanic eruptions of Lydia, Sicily, Cilicia, and Bœotia, were respectively attributed to the agency of Typhon[25]; that the purple tints upon certain flowers were said to have originated with the deaths of Ajax, Adonis, and Hyacinthus; that the story of the man in the moon has found a circulation throughout the world; and that the clash of elements in the thunder-storm was ascribed in Hellas to the rolling chariot-wheels of Jove[26], and in Scandinavia to the ponderous waggon of the Norwegian Thor. The same general principle has likewise led to that community of ideas entertained by all mankind of the glories and felicities of the past. Every age has been delighted to dwell with sentiments of admiration upon the memory of the "good old times;" they still continue to form a theme of fond and lavish applause; and the philosophic Agis had to console his desponding countryman with a remark which every man's experience has made familiar, "that the fading virtues of later times were a cause of grief to his father Archidamus, who again had listened to the same regrets from his own venerable sire[27]." In this, indeed, the feelings and conduct of nations in their collective capacity, only present us with a counterpart to individual opinion. The sinking energies of increasing age, like the dimness of enfeebled vision, have a constant tendency to deprive passing events of their natural sharpness of outline, and the broader features of their character; and we learn to charge them with an indistinctness of form, and a sombre tameness of colouring, which only exists in the spectator's mind. The defects of our own impaired and waning organs become transferred to the change-

Homeric poems will justify the conclusion, that a similar monument supplied the incident in the Odyssey, VIII. ver. 194 The Locrians showed an enormous stone before the door of Euthymus, which he was said to have placed there by his own efforts Ael. V. Hist VIII. 18.

[22] At mount Sipylus in Attica, there was a rock, which at some distance resembled a woman weeping; the inhabitants called it Niobe. (Paus. I. 21) The footstep of Hercules was seen imprinted on a rock near the river Tyra in Scythia, Herod. IV. 82. In Cicero's time the marks of the horses' hoofs of Castor and Pollux were still shown as a proof of their presence at the battle of Regillus. De Nat. Deor III. 5 11. 2.

[23] The statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus gave rise to a Grecian fable, that the stone of which it was made had been brought to Marathon by the Persians, for the purpose of erecting a victorious trophy. (Paus. I. 33) That it was a mere fable, every practice of their enemies clearly proves.

[24] See the account of sir John Conyers's tomb in Gough's Camden, III. p. 114.

[25] Schol. in Lycoph v. 177.

[26] Hesychius in v. ἐλκεσιβρόντα.

[27] Plutarch. Apophtheg. Lacon. 17.

less objects around us; and in proportion as the imagination recalls the impressions of earlier life, when the sense enjoyed the robust and healthy action of youth, the present is doomed to suffer by an unjust and degrading contrast. Thus also in the lengthened vista of popular tradition, every thing which is shrouded in the obscurity of a distant age, is made to partake of those physical and temporal advantages which the fancy has bestowed upon the reign of Saturn in Hesperia[28], or the joys of Asgard before the arrival of the gigantic visitants from Jotunheim[29]. The qualities of the mind, and the properties of the body, are then supposed to share in the native vigour of a young creation, and those cherished objects of man's early wishes, extreme longevity and great corporeal strength, are believed to be the enviable lot of all[30]. Hence the fictions of every country have agreed in regarding an unusual extension of the thread of life as a mark of divine favour[31]; and every national hero has been endowed with gigantic stature[32], and

[28] See Diod Sic iii 61 Compare also Hesiod's account of the golden age, Op et Dies, v 108, &c. The comic side of the picture is to be found in Athen l vi p 267, &c. But the ancients always had some distant country, where these fancied blessings were still enjoyed In the earlier periods, Æthiopia seems to have been the name ascribed to this land of promise (Il. i 423 Od. i 22), and hence perhaps the flattering, though somewhat sobered picture, of its inhabitants given by Herodotus iii. c 17–24 Later traditions place the scene in the county of the Hyperboræans, a people changing their locality from the northern extremity of Asia to that of Europe, or even the coast of Gaul (compare Diod Sic 2 c 47 with Pomponius Mela, 3 c. 5), and to whom Strabo, on the authority of Simonides and Pindar, has given a life of a thousand years, lib xv p 711 Another chain of fiction assigns it to the isles of the West (Od iv 563), and from hence have sprung the descriptions of Horace (Epod xvi 41), and Plutarch (in Vit. Sertor) For similar accounts of India see Ctesias ap Wesseling's Herod. p 861 and Pliny vii 2

[29] Edda of Snorro Dæmesaga, 12

[30] Josephus, after noticing the age of Noah, cites the testimonies of Manetho for the extreme longevity of the early Egyptians, of Hieronymus for that of the Phœnicians, of Hesiod, Hecatæus, &c. for the Grecians, all of whom gave a thousand years to the life of man in the first periods of the world Archæolog i c 3 § 9. For the same advantage enjoyed by the early Egyptian kings, see Diod Sic. i 26 and compare Pliny's account of the Arcadians and Ætolians, some of whom lived three hundred years Hist Nat vii 48 The long-lived Æthiopians of Herodotus, who, be it remembered, were the tallest and most beautiful of mankind, usually lived 120 years. Herod. iii c. 17 23.

[31] At the siege of Troy the "Pylian sage" was living his third age Il. i 250 A Lycian tradition has assigned to Sarpedon a life of three ages, as the favourite son of Jove Apollod Bibl iii 1, 2. Heyne, forgetful that we are here on mythic ground, wishes to follow Diodorus, who attempts to give the narrative an air of probability, by making two Sarpedons, a grandsire and his grandson Tiresias was said to have lived seven ages, and Agathurchides more than five (Meurs in Lycophr v 682) Norna-Gest, as he lighted the candle on which his existence depended, said he was three hundred years old (Norna-Gest Saga in Muller's Saga-Bibliothek, vol ii p 113) Toke Tokesen was also fated to live two ages of man, Ib p 117 and Hildebrand, the invincible champion and Mentor of Theodoric, died aged 180 or 200 years Ib 278.

[32] The sandal of Perseus found at Chemnis was two cubits in length Herod ii. c 91 The footstep of Hercules shown in Scythia, was of the same size. Ib. iv. c. 82, though the more sober traditions make his whole stature only four cubits and a foot (Herod Ponticus ad Lycophr. v. 663) Lycophron calls Achilles τον ειναπηχυν, Cass v. 860. The body of

made to possess all those virtues which the common consent of mankind unites in considering so, or the ruder ethics of an earlier period have substituted for such.

With regard to those standing types of popular fiction, which have been compared to the roots of language, the history of their application in various periods of society displays the same frequent recurrence of certain primitive images, and the same series of ever-changing analysis and combination which mark the growth and progress of language itself. There will appear something fanciful perhaps in this comparison, yet the nearer we investigate it, the more we shall feel assured, that many of the laws which have governed the one are strictly analogous with those which have swayed the development of the other, and that, however much we may dispute as to the causes which have called forth these important phænomena of the mind, their subsequent regulation is considerably less equivocal. The mass of primitives in every language, (even in those whose decided character gives them the aspect of parent dialects,) is well known to bear a very small proportion to the wealth of its vocabulary, and at some stage of human existence, even these elementary terms must have been sufficient to express the wants, and effect an interchange of thought, between the several members of the community. As fresh necessities arose, and the bounds of knowledge became extended, the original types in their simple import would be unequal to the demands of every new occasion, and hence the introduction of a long roll of meanings to the primitives, and all the intricacies of analysis and synthesis, which have given wealth, dignity, and expression to language. There is however no fact more certain, within our *knowledge* of the past and our experience of the present, than that words neither have been nor are now *invented*; but that they always have been compounded from existing roots in the dialect re-

Orestes when found measured seven cubits (Herod i c 68) And for the large size of Ajax, Pelops and Theseus, see Paus i. 35. v 13 and Plut. in Vit c 36. A Feroe song says of Sigurdr (the Siegfred of the Nibelungen Lied), that he grew more in one month than others did in twelve. (Compare the romance of Sir Gowghther and Homer's account of Otus and Ephialtes, Od xi 308.) He was so tall, that when he walked through a field of ripe rye, the point of his sword (which was seven spans long) might be seen above the standing corn. (Muller, p. 61) A hair of his horse's tail, which Gest showed king Oluf, measured seven ells. (Ib p. 111) Theoderic of Berne was two ells broad between the shoulders, tall as an Eten (giant), and stronger than any man would believe who had not seen him. (Wilkina-Saga, c 14) The grave of Gawain was fourteen feet long, the reputed stature of Little John (Ritson) Of Arthur, Higden has said "Also have mynde that Arthures chyn-bone that was thenne (on the discovery of his body at Glastonbury) shewed, was lenger by thre ynches than the legge and the knee of the lengest man, that was thenne founde Also the face of his forhede, bytweene hys two eyen, was a spanne brode." Trevisa's transl f 290 rec.

quiring them, or borrowed from some collateral source; and for this very obvious reason, that any other mode of proceeding would wholly defeat the only end for which language was intended, the communication of our wishes, feelings and opinions. That the progress of popular fiction has followed a nearly similar course, a slight consideration of the subject will tend to assure us. The extraordinary process already alluded to, which, by endowing inanimate objects with sense, feeling, and spirituality, robs man of his proudest distinction, is no new creation of elementary forms previously unknown, but a simple transference of peculiar properties, the characteristics of a more perfect class of beings, to others less perfectly constituted. The prophetic ship, the grateful ant, the courteous tree[33], *et hoc genus omne*, are none of them subjected to any mutation in their physical qualities; they merely receive an additional grant of certain ethical attributes, which, like secondary meanings in language, enlarge their power without varying their natural appearance. Even the personification of immaterial things, though approaching nearest to the plastic nature of a really creative power, is but an extension of the same principle. For though in these the external forms be wholly supplied by the fancy, the inherent qualities of the thing personified furnish the outline of all its moral endowments; and the contrast between the abstract property in its original state, and the living image representing it, is not more striking than between the different objects which are expressed in language by one common symbol[34]. The wildest efforts of the imagination can only exhibit to us a fresh combination of well-known types drawn from the store-house of nature; and it is the propriety of the new arrangement, the felicitous juxtaposition of the stranger elements in their novel relation to each other, which marks the genius of the artist, which fixes the distance between a Boccacio and a Troveur, a Shakspeare and a Brooke[35]. The same chaste economy which has regulated the development of language, is equally conspicuous in the history of popular fiction; and, like the vocabulary of a nation once supplied with a stock of appropriate imagery, all its subsequent additions seem to have arisen in very slow progression. For this we must again refer to the prevailing state

[33] See Grimm's Kinder- und Haus-Marchen and Muller's Saga-Bibliothek, *passim*. [See also German Popular Stories translated from the above work of J. and W. Grimm, and published with Notes in 2 vols 12mo. by the late Mr. Edgar Taylor, 1823 and 1826, and republished in 1839 in 1 vol under the title of Gammer Grethel, see also Mr. Keightley's Tales and Popular Fictions, and his Fairy Mythology.—R. T.]

[34] The burning lava of Ætna was made the type of Typhœus's fury; but the contrast here is not greater than between those objects of domestic use which are named after animals, such as a cat, dog, horse, &c.

[35] See Brooke's poem on the subject of Romeo and Juliet in Malone's Shakspeare.

of society and the condition of those common agents by whom both subjects have been fostered. The more degraded the intellectual culture of a nation upon its first appearance in history, the poorer will be found its vocabulary, with reference to the innate resources of the language; and the subsequent wealth of every dialect will be discovered to have been attendant upon the progress of civilization, and the acquisition of new ideas[36]. The patrons of popular fiction, as the very name implies, belong to that class of the community which, amid all the changes and revolutions that are operating around it, always retains a considerable portion of its primitive characteristics. Among these may be reckoned the narrow circle of its necessities in the use of language and expression, and the modest demands of its intellectual tastes, so opposite to that later epicurism of the mind, a refined and learned taste, which is only to be appeased by an unceasing round of novelties. Unacquainted with the feverish joys occasioned by the use of strong and fresh excitements, popular taste only asks for a repetition of its favourite themes; and, blest with the pure and limited wants of infancy, it listens to the "twice-told tale" with the eagerness and simplicity of a child. It is on this principle that every country in Europe has invested its popular fictions with the same common marvels; that all acknowledge the agency of the lifeless productions of nature; the intervention of the same supernatural machinery; the existence of elves, fairies, dwarfs, giants, witches and enchanters; the use of spells, charms and amulets, and all those highly-gifted objects, of whatever form or name, whose attributes refute every principle of human experience, which are to conceal the possessor's person, annihilate the bounds of space, or command a gratification of all our wishes. These are the constantly-recurring types which embellish the popular tale, which hence have been transferred to the more laboured pages of romance, and which, far from owing their first appearance in Europe to the Arabic conquest of Spain, or the migration of Odin to Scandinavia, are known to have been current on its eastern verge long anterior to the æra of legitimate history[37]. The Nereids of antiquity, the daughters of the "sea-born

[36] "J'ai eu des idées nouvelles; il a bien fallu trouver des nouveaux mots, ou donner aux anciens de nouvelles acceptions," says Montesquieu in the Advertisement to his *Esprit des Lois*.

[37] It will be felt, that this intricate and copious subject could only be generally noticed here. More ample sources of information are to be found in the preface and notes to the Kinder- und Haus-Marchen of Messrs. Jacob and William Grimm, Sir W. Scott's Essay on the Faeries of Popular Superstition (Minstrelsy, vol. II.), and some useful collections in Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. II. A further consideration of the subject is reserved for another occasion, when the authorities for some opinions, which may appear either too bold or paradoxical, and which could not be introduced here, will be given at length.

seer," are evidently the same with the Mermaids of the British and Northern shores; the habitations of both are fixed in crystal caves, or coral palaces, beneath the waters of the ocean; and they are alike distinguished for their partialities to the human race, and their prophetic powers in disclosing the events of futurity. The Naiads only differ in name from the Nixen[38] of Germany and Scandinavia (Nisser), or the Water-Elves of our countryman Ælfric, and the Nornæ, who wove the web of life and sang the fortunes of the illustrious Helga, are but the same companions who attended Ilithyia at the births of Iamos and Hercules[39]. Indeed so striking is the resemblance between these divinities and the Grecian Mœræ, that we not only find them officiating at the birth of a hero, conferring upon him an amulet which is to endow him with a charmed existence, or cutting short the thread of his being, but, like their prototype or parallel, varying in their number—from three to nine,—as they figure in their various avocations, of Nornæ or Valkyriar, as Parcæ or Muses[40]. In the Highland Urisks[41], the Russian Leschies[42], and the Pomeranian or Wendish Berstucs[43], we perceive the

[38] The Russian Rusalkis belong to the same family. They are represented as a race of beautiful virgins, with long green hair, living in lakes and rivers, and who were generally seen swinging on the branches of trees, bathing in the flood, or dressing their hair in the meads beside a running stream Mone's continuation of Creuzer's Symbolik, vol i. p 145

[39] Compare Helga quitha hin fyrsta, in Sæmund's Edda, with Pindar Ol. vi 72 and Anton. Liberalis, c 29

[40] A further illustration of this subject must also be reserved for a future publication

[41] The Urisk has a figure between a goat and a man, in short, precisely that of a Grecian Satyr.—Notes to the Lady of the Lake, p. 356 There are few antiquarian subjects requiring more revision than the modern nomenclature of this sylvan family This confusion of character and name is no where more apparent than in the account of the ancient monuments in the British Museum The Grecian Satyr is perfectly human in the lower extremities of his person, but the Panes (for the ancients acknowledged more than one Pan, as well as more than one Silenus) and Panisci preserved the legs and thighs of a goat.

[42] These Russian divinities had a human body, horns on the head, projecting pointed ears, and a bushy beard Below they were formed like a goat. (Compare the well-known group of Pan and Olympus in the Villa Albani, and the representations of the same subject in the Pitture d'Ercolano) They had the power of changing their stature as they pleased. When they walked through the grass, they were just seen above it, in walking through forests, their heads ranged above the highest trees Woods and groves were consecrated to them, and no one dared offend them, as they excited in the culprit's mind the most appalling terrors, or in a feigned voice seduced him through unknown ways to their caves, where they tickled him to death Mone, p 143. Among the Finns these practices were attributed to a god Lekkio and a goddess Ajataa The first assumed the form of a man, dog, crow, or some other bird, for the purpose of exciting terror, and the latter led the traveller astray Ib 59. The reader will not fail to recognise in this the Panic terrors of the Arcadian god, and to be reminded of the Olympian invocation, which called Pan Rhea's *κυνα παντοδαπον*. Pind. Frag ap Aristot Rhetor. ii 24 The irritable temperament of these sylvan deities is also common to their parallel Theocritus, Id. i. v. 15.

[43] The worship of these deities appears to have been common to all the Sclavonic tribes situated between the Vistula and the Elbe. This district has been divided by some chroniclers into Pomerania and Vandalia, an arrangement which has caused the inhabitants of the latter to be confounded with the Teutonic invaders of

same sylvan family, who, under the name of Panes and Panisci, presided over the fields and forests of Arcadia. The general meetings of the first were held on Ben-Venew, like the biennial assembly of the Fauns on mount Parnassus; and the Sclavonian hunter invoked the assistance of his Zlebog[44], the Finn of his Wäinämoinen[45], and the Laplander of his Storjunkare[46], with the same solemnity as that with which the Greek implored the aid of the "shaggy god of Arcady." Another feature in the national creed of the same mountainous district of Greece, is to be met with in the ballad of the Elfin-Gray[47]; and if the testimony of Ælfric, in his translation of Dryades by Wudu-Elfen, is to be received as any thing more than a learned exercise[48], the same notion must have prevailed in this country. But the collection from whence the ballad alluded to has been taken, the Danish Kiæmpe-Viser, contains more than this single example of such a belief; and the reader will find below[49] a local tradition, preserved in Germany, which will remind him

the Empire The term in the text has been borrowed from the German to avoid this inaccuracy, but Trevisa has shown that there was a name for it in England "Wyntlandia, that ilonde is by-west Denmark, and is a barren londe, and men [go there] out of byleve, they selle wynde to the shypmen that come to theyr portes and havenes, as it were closed under knottes of threde And as the knottes be unknytte the wynde wexe at theyr wylle" f. 32 In all their attributes the Berstucs appear to have been the same with the Russian Leschies

[44] The head of the Berstucs was Zlebog, usually explained The angry god Frencel de Dus Soraborum et aliorum Slavorum ap. Hoffmann Script. Rer. Lusat. tom. ii. p. 234–6 Care must be taken not to confound them with the Prussian dwarfs, called Barstuck, and who perhaps have usurped a name which designates their form rather than their occupation In Durham and Newcastle the English Puck is called Bar-quest.

[45] Wainamoinen was the inventor of the kandele (a stringed instrument played like the guitar), and the author of all inventions which have benefited the human race He was implored by the hunter, the fisherman and the birdcatcher, to play upon his kandele, that the game might fall into their nets. Mone, 54.

[46] This name has been borrowed from the Norwegians. In Tornea Lapland the same deity is called Seite. He is supreme lord of the whole animal creation (with the exception of the human race), and patron of hunting, fishing, &c. He frequently appears to the fishermen &c of Lulea Lapmark, dressed like a Norwegian nobleman in black, of a tall and commanding figure, with the feet of a bird, and with a gun on his shoulder His appearance never fails to produce a successful fishery or chase. Mone, 36

[47] See the Notes to the Lady of the Lake.

[48] It may be questioned, whether this catalogue of Ælfric's (dun-elfen, berg-elfen, munt-elfen, feld-elfen, wudu-elfen, sæ-elfen, water-elfen,) ever obtained a circulation among the people. It is at least rendered extremely suspicious by its strict accordance with the import of the Grecian names

[49] "A peasant named Hans Krepel, being one day at work on a heath near Salzburg, 'a little wild or moss-wifie' appeared to him, and begged that on leaving his labour he would cut three crosses on the last tree he hewed down. This request the man neglected to comply with On the following day she appeared again, saying, 'Ah! my man, why did you not cut the three crosses yesterday? It would have been of service both to me and yourself In the evening, and especially at night, we are constantly hunted by the wild huntsmen, and are obliged to allow them to worry us, unless we can reach one of these trees with a cross on it, for from thence they have no power to remove us' To this the boor replied with his wonted churlishness, 'Pooh! pooh! of what use can it be? how can the crosses help you? I shall do no such thing to please you, indeed.' Upon this the wyfie

of the conversation between Peræbius and an Hamadryad. How far the Duergar of the Edda were originally distinct from a similar class of dwarfish agents, who are to be met with in the popular creed of every European nation, cannot now be precisely ascertained[50]. The earliest memorials of them in the fictions of Germany and Scandinavia, present us with the same metallurgic divinities who in the mythology of Hellas were known by the various names of Cabiri, Hephæsti, Telchines, and Idæan Dactyli[51]. In the other countries of Europe, the traces of their

flew upon him, and squeezed him so forcibly that he became ill after it, notwithstanding he was a stout fellow. Such wyfies, and even mannikins, are said to dwell upon that heath, under the ground, or in obscure parts of the forest, and to have holes, in which they lie on green moss, as indeed they are said to be clothed all over with moss." Prætorius says, he heard this story from an old dame, who knew the before-mentioned Hans Krepel, and adds, the time of day was a [little] after noon, an hour not usually devoted to labour, because at such a time "this sort of diablerie frequently occurs." Anthropodemus Plutonicus, Magdeburg 1666. vol. II. p. 231. For this superstitious attention to silence at noon, see Theocritus, Id. I. v. 15., and for the persecution of the Nymphs by Pan, the romance of Longus, p 63. ed Villoison, where it is said of him, παυεται δε ουδεποτε Δρυασιν ενοχλων, και Επιμηλισι Νυμφαις πραγματα παρεχων. The passage relative to the Hamadryad, who threatened Peræbius with the consequences of neglecting to prop the falling oak, in which she lived, is to be found in the Schol. to Apollon Rhod. II v. 479.

[50] The Northern traditions relative to the Duerga, are among the most obscure points of Eddaic lore, and are too important to be discussed in a note. Their residence in stone seems to be a portion of the same belief which gave rise to the λιθοι εμψυχοι of antiquity. The author of the Orphic poem on stones mentions one in the possession of Helenus, which not only uttered oracular responses, but was perceived to breathe, ver 339. et seq Photius (coll. 242 p. 1062, from the life of Isidorus by Damascius) mentions another in the possession of a certain Eusebius. This was a meteoric stone, which had fallen from heaven. On being asked to what deity it belonged, it replied, Gennæus—a god worshiped at the Syrian Heliopolis. Others were said to be subject to Saturn, Jupiter, the Sun, &c. (For this notion of the dæmons being the subordinate followers of some superior god, whose name they bore, see Plutarch de Defectu Orac. 21) This will serve to illustrate the account given by Pausanias of the thirty stones at Pharæ, each of which was inscribed with the name of some god (VII c. 22) Damascius thought the stone in question to be under divine, Isidorus only demoniacal influence Photius treats the whole story as a mere piece of jugglery. Plato, however, has said, that these lithic oracles were of the same antiquity as that of the oak at Dodona. Phædrus 276

[51] The spirit of later times, with its characteristic tendency of studying beauty of form in all its imagery, having converted these ancient deities into the youthful Curetes, Corybantes and Dioscuri, a confusion arose in the nomenclature of them which wholly baffled the attempts of Strabo to reduce into a system. See the tenth book of this geographer, under the head of Theologoumena. The Dwarf of ancient mythology is perhaps best represented on the coins of Cossyra, where the figure closely accords with the description of the mining dwarf given by Prætorius, I. p 243. Another representation, from the creed of Egypt, may be seen among the terracottas of the British Museum, No 42. Mr. Coombe calls "this short naked human figure" Osiris; but there can be little doubt, that it exhibits the dwarfish god of Memphis, whose deformity excited the scorn and ridicule of Cambyses. This deity, whether we call him Phthas or Hephæstus, resembled in his person the Patæci or tutelary divinities of Phœnicia, to whom Herodotus has assigned the figure of a pygmy man. (Thalia, c. 37) The attributes on this and a similar monument may be easily accounted for The reader who is desirous of learning the esteem in which these divinities were held in the ancient world, may consult a treatise "On the Deities of Samothrace" by Mr von Schelling, a gentleman chiefly known in Europe for his philosophical works, but who is known to his friends

existence as a separate class, chiefly occupied in the labours of the forge, are not so clearly defined; and if a few scattered traditions[52] seem to favour a contrary opinion, it is equally certain that they have been more frequently confounded with a kindred race, the Brownies or Fairies. The former, as is well known, are the same diminutive beings with the Lares of Latium, an order of beneficent spirits, whom Cicero[53] has taught us to consider as nearly identical with the Grecian Dæmon. In Germany they have received a long catalogue of appellations, all descriptive of their form, their disposition, or their dress; but whether marked by the title of Gutichen, Brownie, Lar, or Dæmon, we observe in all the same points of general resemblance; all have been alike regarded as the guardians of the domestic hearth, the awarders of prosperity, and the averters of evil; and the author of the Orphic Hymn endows the particular Dæmon of his invocation with the same attributes that are given by Hildebrand to the whole tribe of Gutichens or "gude neighbours[54]." The English Puck, the Scottish Bogle, the French Esprit Follet, or Goblin—the Gobelinus of monkish Latinity—and the German Kobold, are only varied names for the Grecian Kobalus[55]; whose sole delight consisted in perplexing the human race, and calling up those harmless terrors that constantly hover round the minds of the timid. To excite the wrath, indeed, of this mischievous spirit, was attended with fatal consequences to the luckless objects who rashly courted it; and Prætorius (i. p. 140.) has preserved a notice of his cruelty to some miners of St. Anneberg, to whom he appeared under the guise of the Scottish Kelpie, with a horse's head, and whom he destroyed by his pestiferous breath. The midnight depredators mentioned by

for his extensive erudition in every branch of ancient and modern learning, and who, among the numerous virtues that adorn his private character, is particularly distinguished for his hospitality to the "stranger, who sojourns in a foreign land"

[52] Essay on the Faeries of popular Superstition, p. 163.

[53] "Quanquam enim Dæmon latius patere quodam modo videatur, non dubito tamen quin melius sit, Larem, quam Dæmonem vertere, ut sit species pro genere." De Universitate.

[54] Hymn 72. and Hildebrand vom Hexenwerke, p. 310.

[55] See the Scholiast to Aristoph. Plut. v. 279. The English and Scottish terms are the same as the German "Spuk," and the Danish "Spogelse," without the sibilant aspiration. These words are general names for any kind of spirit, and correspond to the "Pouk" of Piers Plouhman. In Danish "spog" means a joke, trick or prank, and hence the character of Robin Goodfellow. In Iceland, Puki is regarded as an evil sprite, and in the language of that country "at pukra" means both to make a murmuring noise, and to steal clandestinely. The names of these spirits seem to have originated in their boisterous temper. "Spuken," Germ, to make a noise, "spog," Dan, obstreperous mirth; "pukke," Dan. to boast, scold. The Germans use "pochen," in the same figurative sense; though literally it means to strike, beat, and is the same with our *poke*. In Ditmarsh, the brownie, or domestic fairy, is called Nitsche-Puk. The French "gobelin" seems to spring either from a diminutive—Koboldein? or a feminine termination, Koboldinn?

Gervase of Tilbury, who oppressed the sleeper, injured his person, despoiled his property, and bore off his children, are either confounded by that worthy chronicler with the separate characters of the Ephialtes and Lamia; or the local creed of some particular spot had concentrated in his day the propensities of both in one personage. The numerous tales gathered by Prætorius observe the classical distinctions of antiquity; with them it is the Incubus or Alp, who causes those painful sensations during sleep, which the ancient physicians have so aptly termed the nocturnal epilepsy; and it is the same race of misshapen old hags with the Lamiæ of Gervase [56], who, like the ancient Lamia larvata, alternately terrify and carry away the infant from his cradle.

Sir Walter Scott, from whose Essay "on the Faeries of Popular Superstition" the preceding notice of the Lamiæ recorded by Gervase has been taken, has also extracted from the Physica Curiosa of Schott, a Frisian account of the same destructive tribe, where a similar confusion appears to prevail, though with a different class of spirits. "In the time of the Emperor Lotharius, in 830," says Schott, "many spectres infested Friesland, particularly the white nymphs of the ancients, which the moderns denominate *witte wyven*, who inhabited a subterraneous cavern, formed in a wonderful manner, without human art, on the top of a lofty mountain. These were accustomed to surprise benighted travellers, shepherds watching their herds and flocks, and women newly delivered, with their children, and convey them into their caverns, from which subterraneous murmurs, the cries of children, the groans and lamentations of men, and sometimes imperfect words and all kinds of musical sounds were heard to proceed." Divested of the colouring which seems to identify these spectres "with the fairies of popular opinion," a parallel fiction is related by Antonius Liberalis (c. 8.) in his account of Sybaris, to whom others gave the more appropriate title of Lamia; and, with a change of sex in the agent, the same idea is found

[56] With this class must also be reckoned the Gyre-Carline, or mother-witch of Scotland, whose name is so expressive of her character (gyr-falcon, ger-hound, Trevisa)

Thair dwelt ane grit Gyre-Carling, in
awld Betokis bour,
That levit upoun Christiane menis flesche,
and rewheids unleipit

In this she becomes identified with the "Raw-head-and-bloody-bones" of the English nursery In the fiction on which the beautiful ballad of Glenfinlas is founded, we have the poetic version of her character, and of which Vossius has said "Nam erunt Lamiæ spectra in formosarum mulierum figuram conformata, quæ adolescentes formosos voluptatibus delinebant, dum eos devorarent." Etymolog S Lat in Lamia Compare also Diodorus's account of the queen of Libyssa, l xx p 754 Vossius has likewise shown that the same notion was current in Judæa There is one circumstance in the history of the Gyre-Carline, which runs through all mythology

Lang or Betok was born
Scho (the G. Carline) *bred of an acorne.*

in the curious narratives of Pausanias and Ælian, relative to the "dark dæmon" or hero of Temessa[57]. The earliest memorial of them in European fiction is preserved to us in the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf. In this curious repository of genuine Northern tradition, by far the most interesting portion of the work is devoted to an account of the hero's combats with a male and female spirit, whose nightly ravages in the hall of Hrothgar are marked by all the atrocities of the Grecian fable.

Under the comprehensive name of Fairy, almost every member of the preceding catalogue has been indiscriminately mingled in the living recitals of the cotter's family circle, and the printed collections of our popular tales. A slight attention, however, to the distinctive marks established in the ancient world, will easily remedy the confusion; and few readers will require to be told, that the fairies who attend the birth and foretell the fortunes of a hero or heroine, who connect the destinies of some favoured object with the observance of a command or the preservation of an amulet, are the venerable Parcæ of antiquity. The same rule will hold good of the rest, and it therefore only remains to notice the Fairy of romance, and the Elf or Fairy of the mountain-heath. The former has been considered to have derived her origin from the same country which has supplied us with the name. For this hypothesis there is better reason than usually attaches itself to the solution of an antiquarian problem by the etymologist; and Warton has

[57] Vid Ælian Hist viii c 18 Pausanias, vi. 6 The people of Temessa having slain a companion of Ulysses, (who had violated the chastity of a virgin,) his spirit sought revenge, by carrying slaughter and destruction into every house and the whole country round The Pythian oracle recommended the erection of a temple, the consecration of a grove, and an annual sacrifice of the fairest virgin in Temessa, as the only means of appeasing the angry spirit This was done On one of these occasions, an Olympian victor named Euthymus, inspired by mingled feelings of love and compassion for the beautiful victim, resolved on effecting her rescue, and having awaited the arrival of the dæmon, a struggle ensued, from which the latter made his escape, and for ever, by sinking into the sea. The ravages of Grendel appear have been prompted by the death of an uncle Hrothgar (in whose palace the spirit's nightly incursions are made) and his council vainly implore the powers of hell (it is a Christian who thus denominates the gods of the heathen king) for the means of commuting the deadly feud. The intelligence reaches Beowulf, a champion who had acquired an extensive reputation by his victories over the nicors or nicers, a species of sea monster of which many fables are current at the present day in Iceland, and who in the true spirit of a berserkr, undertakes the task of subduing Grendel from a pure love of glory. The result in both fables is the same The dark dæmon is worsted and sinks into a lake, where he afterwards is found dead of his wounds The female spirit is Grendel's mother's, who answers to the description of A Liberalis. It may be worth noticing, that a picture preserved at Temessa, representing the combat of Euthymus, exhibited the dæmon clothed in a wolf-skin, and the name of the northern hero is Beo-wulf, the wolf-tamer.

[If *ulf* be considered to mean Help, as in Rad-ulf, Bot-ulf, &c, the *w* may belong to the first syllable. In a short note which I communicated to Mr. Conybeare (Illustrations of A Sax. Poetry, 1826, p 286,) I suggested that Beaw, or Beowius, of the genealogies in the Saxon Chronicle and W of Malmesbury, was identical with Beowulf, "Cutha and Cuthwulf being also used indifferently comp. A. 495 and 854." Beaw occupies the same place in the series with Biaf of Snorro's Edda, ed. Goransson, p 6 —R.T]

already shown that the titles of the most distinguished in European romance are borrowed almost to the letter from the fables of the East. The Persian Mergian and Urganda have unquestionably furnished Italian poetry with its Morgana and Urganda; and there is considerable plausibility in the assertion[58], that the Peri of the former country has

[58] This guarded mode of expression must not be mistaken for a love of paradox, it has proceeded from doubts in the writer's mind, which at present he wants leisure to satisfy. The French term for our fairy or fay is *fée*, and, like the Italian *fata*, is said to be derived from *fatua* "Faerie" was a general name for an illusion, a sense in which it is always used by Chaucer. As an appellation for the elfin-race, in this country, it is certainly of late date, and perhaps a mere corruption, a name given to the agent from his acts It is certainly not of Northern origin. Some of the earliest French tales of "faerie" acknowledge a Breton source, may not the term itself be Celtic? The "Ionic Pheres of Hesychius," which has been mentioned as an apparent synonym with the Persian Peri, is but a different aspiration of the Attic θηρ (Germ. "thier"), and which, whether applied to centaurs or satyrs, could only have been given to mark their affinity with the animal race.

[Further examination wholly excludes the supposed connection of the word FAIRY with the Persian *Peri* Indeed as *Féerie* is obviously formed from *Fee* in the same manner as *diablerie* from *diable*, or *chevalerie* from *cheval*, the origin of the monosyllable Fay or Fée only is to be sought, without the formative termination, and the forms in which this word and its congeners exist in the Romance dialects seem to leave no doubt that the Latin *Fatum* is its real source.

Latin	*Italian.*	*Spanish*	*French*
Fatum.	Fato.	Hado, *fate.*	
Fata, *the Fates*	Fata, *enchantress*	Hadas, Hadadas, *witches, enchanted nymphs.*	Fée.
	Fatare, *to charm*	Hadar, *to divine.*	Féer, *to enchant.*
Fatatum, *destined.* (Sallust, B. Cat. c 47.)	Fatato, *destined, charmed.*	Hadado, *lucky.*	Féé
		Hadador, *sorcerer*	
	Fatatura, *charm.*		Feerie

Thus, *Fatum*, *Fée*, *Fairy*
just as *Pratum*, *Prè*, *Prairie.*

Mr. Tyrwhitt has the following note on the word *Faerie*, in the Wif of Bathes Tale "*Feerie*, Fr from *fée*, the French name for those fantastical beings which in the Gothick languages are called Alfs or Elves. The corresponding names to *fée* in the other Romance dialects are *fata*, Ital, and *hada*, Span, so that it is probable that all three are derived from the Lat *fatum*, which in the barbarous ages was corrupted into *fatus* and *fata*. See *Menage*, in v. *Fée. Du Cange*, in v. *Fadus.*

Mr. Keightley, in his Tales and Popular Fictions, 1834, p 340, expresses his opinion, "that, as from the Latin *gratus* came the Italian verb *aggradare*, and the French *agréer*, so from *fatum* came *affatare, fatare*, (Ital.) and *faer, féer*, (Fr.), signifying to *enchant;* and that *fato, fata, faé, faée, féé*, are participles of these verbs I believe there is not a single passage in the old French romances, in which these last words occur, where they may not be taken participially, such are *les chevaliers faés, les dames faées*, and the continually recurring phrase *elle semblоit* (or *ressemblоit*) *féé. La fée* is, therefore, *la femme féé*, and *une fée* is *une femme féé* ... In the Pentamerone *fata* and *fatata* are evidently employed as equivalents I therefore regard *fata* as nothing more than *fatata*, contracted after the usual rule of the Italian language, and esteem *una fata* to signify merely *una donna fatata*"

See also Mr Keightley's Fairy Mythology, 1833, vol i. p 11, and vol. ii. pp. 239, 309, where the conclusions at which he arrives coincide with those given in the above note, which, with Mr. Price's approbation, I appended to the Edition of 1824, vol. iv. p. 482.

Mr Keightley enumerates the following conjectures as to the etymology of Fay, and Fairy Hebr פֵּה, beauty · Greek, φηρες Lat. *Fatua* the wife of Faunus, and the last syllable of Nym-*pha* Persian *peri* Breton, *fat*, or *mat*, good A.S. *faran*, to go O Eng *feres*, companions. Eng *fair*. The A. Sax. *fæge*, or *fæie*, Scotch *fey*, resembles in appearance, but I am not aware that it has ever been referred to, and its meaning is *fated to die.* Vide infra, p. lxxi.—R. TAYLOR]

been transmitted through the medium of the Arabic. But uniformity of name, even admitting an identity of character, is insufficient to prove that the idea attached to the new appellative is of no older date in the country to which it has been transferred than the period when the stranger term was first introduced. The Pelasgian priesthood recommended the adoption of Ægyptian titles for the unnamed divinities of Hellenic worship, on discovering that their secret had been divulged; and the adoration of the Bætyli precedes the annals of authentic history in Greece, while the name is of foreign extraction, and evidently borrowed at a very late period. If therefore the English 'fairy,' or the French 'féerie,' have been imported from the East, the term itself must be of comparatively recent date; though the popular notion respecting the nature and attributes of the beings who bore it is wholly lost in the twilight of antiquity. There is no essential difference between the Persian Peri and the Grecian Nymph, however variedly the inventive genius of either country may have endowed them in points of minor consideration. They are both the common offspring of the same speculative opinion, which peopled the elements with a race of purer essences, as the connecting link between man and his Creator; and the modern Persian, in adopting those "who hover in the balmy clouds[59], live in the colours of the rainbow, and exist on the odour of flowers," has only fixed his choice upon a different class from the ancient Greek. It will however be remembered, that in the particulars just enumerated, the Fairies of Italian romance bear no resemblance to the Peris of the East, and that, in almost every thing else except the name, they are, for the most part, only a reproduction of the Circe and Calypso of the Odyssey. The Fairies in the Lays of Lanval and Graelent, or in the romances of Melusina and Partenopex de Blois, have neither the gross propensities of the daughter of Helios, nor the power and exalted rank of the Ogygian enchantress. They approach nearer, both in character and fortunes, to the nymphs who sought the alliance or yielded to the importunities of Daphnis and Rhœcus[60], and, like their Grecian predecessors, were equally doomed to experience the hollow frailty of human engagements. The conditions imposed upon the heroes of Hellenic fable were the same in substance, though somewhat differing in form, from those enjoined the knights of French

[59] These aerial nymphs were not foreign to the Grecian creed; at least the celestial nymphs of Mnesimachus can only be accounted for on this notion. Schol in Apollon. Rhod. iv. v. 1412.

[60] For Daphnis see Parthenius, c. 18, for Rhœcus Schol in Apoll. Rhod. ii. v 479. See also the history of Caunus in Conon, c. 2, and of Philammon, Ib c 7

romance, and were alike transgressed from motives of self-gratification, or a weak compliance with the solicitations of others. There is something more consolatory in the final catastrophe attached to the modern fictions; but this, as is well known, has been taken, in common with the general outline of the events, from the beautiful apologue of Apuleius One of the earliest tales of faery in our own language, and perhaps the most important for the influence it seems to have had on later productions, is contained in the old romance of Orfeo and Heurodis[61]. The leading incidents of this poem have been borrowed from the classical story of Orpheus and Eurydice, and Mr. Ritson has truly pronounced its character in saying, This lay or tale is a Gothic metamorphosis of the episode so beautifully related by Ovid. A later writer, from whose authority it is rarely safe to deviate, and to whose illustrations of popular fiction the present sketch is so much indebted, has rejected this opinion, and produced it as an example of "Gothic mythology engrafted on the fables of Greece[62]." In support of this assertion, even Sir Walter Scott's extensive knowledge of the subject might find it difficult to offer anything like satisfactory proof.

The minor embellishments of the poem, the rank and quality of Orpheus, the picture of his court, the occupations of the Elfin king, and the fortunate issue of the harper's descent, are certainly foreign to the Grecian story, and have been either copied from the institutions of the minstrel's age, or are the ready suggestions of his own invention. But the whole machinery of the fable—the power of Pluto and his queen (for such Chaucer has instructed us to call the king of Faery), the brilliant description of Elfin land, its glorious abodes and delightful scenery, and the joyous revelry of those who had secured a residence in the regions of bliss, and the miseries

> Of folke that were thidder ybrought,
> And thought dead and were nought,—

are of legitimate Grecian origin, and may be read with little variety of style, though with less minuteness of detail, in the visions of Thespesius and Timarchus, recorded by Plutarch[63].

[61] It is to be regretted that Mr Ritson chose to follow the Harleian MS of this romance, which is so palpably inferior to the Auchinleck copy.

[62] Essay on the Faeries, &c ut supra. [Also Mr Keightley's Fairy Mythology.]

[63] De Sera Num. Vind. c, 22. (where the text reads Soleus the Thespesian, but Wyttenbach has approved of Reiske's correction, which reverses the terms) and De Genio Socrat c. 22 If to these the reader will add Pindar's description of the Elysian amusements (cited in Plut. Consol. ad Apoll c 35 and with some additions in his tract De Occulte Vivendo, c vii.) and the narrative of the Socratic Æschines (Axiochus, § 20) on the same subject, he will find a parallel for almost every peculiarity of these regions mentioned in the Auchinleck MS of Orfeo. The popular

The history of such descents, whether professing to be made in person, or by a separation of "the intelligent soul" from its grosser fellow, and the body[64], was a favourite topic in the ancient world; and many visions of the infernal regions which are made to figure in modern hagiology, from the narrative of Bede[65] to the metrical legend of Owain Miles, have borrowed largely from these pagan sources. It is however obvious, that Chaucer's "Pluto king of Fayrie" and his "Queen Proserpina" have been derived from this or a similar source; and the confusion which has arisen between the Fairies of Romance and the Elves of rural tradition, may in all probability be ascribed "to those poets who have adopted his phraseology." By Dunbar, Pluto is styled "an elricke incubus in a clothe of grene," the well-known elfin livery, and Montgomery confers upon the "king of Pharie" the same verdant garb, an elvish stature, and weds him to the Elf-queen.

> All grathed into green,
> Some hobland on a hemp-stalk, hovand to the hight,
> The king of Pharie and his court, with the Elf-queen,
> With many elfish incubus was ridand that night.

There is nothing in the "Marchaunt's Tale" to justify this diminution of king Pluto's fair proportions, or to identify Queen Proserpina with the Elf-queen. But in another of Chaucer's tales, the practices of the latter and her followers are called "faeries" or illusive visions, and it will easily be felt, that the use of a common name to denote their respective actions, might eventually lead to the notion of a community of character.

> In olde dayes of the king Artour—
> All was this lond ful filled of *faerie*;

view of the subject is discussed in his usual manner by Lucian in his several pieces, Ver. Hist. ii. Necyom. Catapl. and Philops., and a compound of esoteric and exoteric doctrines on the same point is to be found in the Frogs of Aristophanes. Sir Walter Scott justly considers the ymp-tree, a tree consecrated to some dæmon, rather than a grafted tree, as interpreted by Mr. Ritson. This point of popular superstition seems to be referred to by Socrates in the Phædrus, where, with his accustomed style of irony, he ascribes a sudden fit of nympholepsy to the vicinage of a plane-tree adorned with images, and dedicated to the Nymphs (Phædr. 276.) But this idea of dæmoniacal trees enters deeply into Northern and Oriental mythology. The lady Simili, while seated beneath a linden tree, is carried off by king Laurin in the same clandestine manner that the king of Faerie conveys away Heurodis. (See Weber's Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, p. 150.) The rock of entrance to the fairy realm is the λευκαδα πετρην of the Odyssey, xxiv. 11, and perhaps the lapis manalis of Latium.

[64] See Wyttenbach's note to the vision of Thespesius, concerning this division of the soul into νους and ψυχη, and the sources from whence Plutarch obtained it.

[65] Hist. Ecclesiast., lib. v. c. 13. Compare also the vision or trance of the Pamphylian Er in Plato's Rep. lib. x. in fine.

The elf-quene with her joly compaynie,
Danced ful oft in many a grene mede.—
But now can no man see non elves mo,
For the grete charitee and prayeres
Of limitoures, and other holy freres,
That serchen euery land, and euery streme—
This maketh that ther ben no *faeries*.
For ther as wont to walken was an elf
Ther walketh now the limitour himself.

WIFE OF BATH'S TALE.

However this may be, there can be little doubt that at one period the popular creed made the same distinctions between the queen of Faerie and the Elf-queen that were observed in Grecian mythology between their undoubted parallels, Artemis and Persephone. At present the traces of this division are only faintly discernible; and in the Scottish ballad of Tamlane, (Minstrelsy, vol. II.) the hero, though "a wee wee man," declares himself a *fairy* both in "lyth and limb," a communication which leaves us at no loss to divine the size of the fairy queen who had "borrowed him." The beautiful ballad of Thomas the Rhymer[66], and even the burlesque imitation of some forgotten romance by Chaucer in his "Rhyme of Sir Thopas," make the Elf-queen either joint or sole sovereign of fairy-land; while the locality, scenery and inhabitants of the country prove it to be the same district described in Sir Orfeo. In the former fiction she is represented as only quitting the court of her grisly spouse, to chase the "wild fee" upon earth[67], her costume and attributes are of the same sylvan cast with those which distinguished the huntress-queen of antiquity, and the fame of her beauty inspires the lovelorn Sir Thopas with the same rash resolves which from a similar cause were said to have fired the bosom of Pirithous. In the remaining details of Thomas the Rhymer, she is

[66] The editor has already sinned too deeply against the fame of true Thomas, (see infra, p. 96) to make the concealment of his opinion respecting this mysterious personage a saving condition on which he might build a hope of forgiveness, for his previous indiscretion He will therefore further state that, after contrasting the little we know of the real, with the fictitious history of "auld Rymer," he has arrived at that conviction, which is easier felt than accounted for, that the laird of Erceldoun has usurped the honours and reputation of some earlier seer, and gathered round his name the local tradition of his birth-place. The strong power of local association has been sufficiently manifested in the character acquired by a recent residence at Erceldoune See preface to Sir Tristram

[67] A very *veracious* gentleman in one of Lucian's dialogues, has borne testimony to the hunting propensities of the Queen of Hell, whom he calls Hecate. (Philops c 17.) The account of the elf-queen and her followers while engaged in the chase may be compared with Od VII 101 and Virgil's imitation of the same passage, Æn. I. 498.

clearly identified with the daughter of Demeter; and the description of the journey to Elf-land[68] will remind the reader of a story in Ælian respecting the fabled Anostos, or that country whose expressive name has been so aptly paraphrased,

The bourne from whence no traveller returns.

In the Grecian fiction, "the blude that 's shed on earth" seems rather to have impregnated the atmosphere[69], than dyed "the springs of that countrie:" but the rivers that flowed around it, the waters of joy and grief, each produced a tree, whose fruits were as marvellous in their effects as the apple bestowed on "true Thomas." Nor is the prophetic power acquired by the Rhymer in consequence of his visit to this unearthly region, a novel feature in the history of such fictions. In one of Plutarch's tracts[70], a certain Cleombrotus entertains the company with an account of an eastern traveller, whose character and fortunes are still more remarkable than those of the Scottish seer. Of this man we are told, that he only appeared among his fellow mortals once a year. The rest of his time was spent in the society of the nymphs and demons, who had granted him an unusual share of personal beauty, had rendered him proof against disease, and supplied him with a fruit, which was to satisfy his hunger, and of which he partook only once a month. He was moreover endowed with a miraculous gift of tongues, his conversation resembled a spontaneous flow of verse, his knowledge was universal, and an annual visitation of prophetic fervor enabled him to unfold the hidden secrets of futurity.

The Elves and Fairies of rural tradition who "dance their ringlets to the whistling wind," and the traces of whose midnight revels are still detected on the sward, seem originally to have been distinguished from the Fairies of romance, by their diminutive stature and the use of a common livery. In the former circumstance popular fiction has only

[68] Three days they travel through darkness, up to their knees in water, and only hear the "swowyng of the flode." In this we have the ocean stream and Cimmerian darkness, Od xi. 13. The spot where Thomas laid his head in the lady's lap, is the same cross-way in which Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus held their tribunal, one of whose roads led to the isles of the blest, and the other to Tartarus. Plat Gorg p. 524 The forbidden fruit, whose taste cut off all hope of return, is another version of the pomegranate-apple which figures so mysteriously in the history of Proserpine

[69] See Ælian, Var Hist. iii 18. In Lucian's Ver Hist ii. 3 (and which contains only exaggerated statements of popular opinion), one of the rivers encompassing his region of torment flows with blood. The bloody Acherousian rock in Aristophanes (Frogs, 474) appears to be connected with a similar notion.

[70] De Defectu Oraculorum, c. 21. Lucian plays upon the supposed knowledge of future events gained by a visit to the infernal regions, in his Ver. Hist ii. and Philops. For the use made of it by modern poets see Heyne's fourteenth Excursus to the sixth book of the Æneid.

been faithful to the earliest creed of nations, respecting the size and form of their domestic and inferior deities; and of which examples are to be found in the household gods of Laban, the Patæci of Phenicia, the Cabiri of Egypt and Samothrace, the Idæan Dactyli of Crete, the Anaces of Athens, the Dioscuri of Lacedæmon, the earth-god Tages of Etruria, and the Lares of Latium. It would be out of place to enter here upon the probable causes which have led to this community of opinions as to the stature of these subordinate divinities; and it will be sufficient to remark, that the practice of romance in elevating them to the standard of "human mortals[71]," has only followed an ancient precedent already noticed in speaking of the dwarfs. There is even reason to believe, that the occasional adoption of a larger form was not wholly inconsistent with the popular belief on the subject; since the fairy of Alice Pearson once appeared to her in "the guise of a lustie man," and the ballad of Tamlane admits a change of shape to be a leading characteristic of the whole fairy race:

Our shape and size we can convert
To either large or small;
An old nutshell's the same to us
As is the lofty hall.[72]

But the stature of the Elves and Fairies who presided over the mountain-heath, will find a parallel in a kindred race, the rural Lars of Italy; while their attributes, their habitations, their length of life, and even their name, will establish their affinity with the Grecian nymphs. "Their drinking-cup or horn," which was "to prove a cornucopia of good fortune to him who had the courage to seize it[73]," is the sacred chalice of the Nymphs, whose inexhaustible resources are so frequently noticed in Grecian fable, and to which we shall again have occasion to

[71] A distinction used by Titania in the Midsummer Night's Dream, act II. sc. 2

[72] The minor details of this ballad wear too modern an aspect to make it of authority, unless supported by other testimony. The story however is indisputably ancient. The same power has been already noticed in the Russian Leschies, and is also ascribed to king Laurin in the Little Garden of Roses, p. 153

Little was king Laurin, but from many a precious gem
His wondrous strength and power and his bold courage came,
Tall at times his stature grew, with spells of grammary, [he be.
Then to the noblest princes fellow might

[73] See the Essay on the Fairies, &c, where mention is made of the goblet preserved in Eden-hall in Cumberland, on which the prosperity of the Musgrave family depended. Prætorius informs us, that a member of the house of Alveschleben received a ring from a Nixe, to which the future fortunes of his descendants were said to be attached. Anthropodemus Plutonicus, 1 p. 113. Another German family, the Ranzaus, held their prosperity by the tenure of a fairy spindle. Ib p 115. The Scholiast to Lucian's Rhet Præcept says, that every prosperous person was supposed to have Amalthæa's horn in his possession

refer. The places of their abode,—the interior of green hills, or the islands of a mountain-lake, with all the gorgeous decorations of their dwellings,—are but a repetition of the Dionysic and Nymphæic caves described by Plutarch and Diodorus[74]; and their term of life, like the existence of the daughters of Ocean, though extending to an immeasurable length[75] when compared with that of the human race, had still its prescribed and settled limits. To this it may be added, that the different appellations assigned them in Hellas and Northern Europe, appear to have arisen from a common idea of their nature; and that in the respective languages of these countries the words elf and nymph[76] convey a similar meaning.

After this brief review of a most important subdivision of the elements of popular fiction, it will not be too much to affirm, that if their introduction into Europe, and their application to the embellishment of romantic poetry, had been dependent upon foreign agency, the national creed of Greece has the fairest claim to be considered as the parent source. But in this, as in so many other points of public faith common to the Greek and the Barbarian, it is impossible not to perceive the fragments of a belief brought from some earlier seat of empire, and which neither could have been imported into Hellas and Western Europe by a new dynasty of kings, nor communicated by a band of roving minstrels. In the illustrations they have received during the long course of their preservation, and under circumstances so varying as all the public and private events that fill the histories of these countries, there will of course be many particulars exhibiting little affinity with each other, and which taken separately may seem to deny this community of their origin. But even these, when carefully examined, will be mostly found to resolve themselves into distinctions arising from a difference of national character, or corruptions produced by some later change in national institutions; and the most discordant will hardly afford a stronger contrast in their lineaments, than the physical differ-

[74] See Plutarch de Sera Num. Vind., and Diod. Sic. lib. iii. c. 68.

[75] For the lives of the fairies, see Mr Reed's note to the Midsummer Night's Dream, in the variorum edition of Shakspeare, for that of the Nymphs (which Hesiod makes equal to nine thousand seven hundred and twenty years), Plutarch De Defectu Oraculor. c. xi. Pindar gives the Dryads a much shorter term, or a life equivalent to that of the trees they inhabit. Ib.

[76] In the Northern languages *elf* means a stream of running water, and hence the name of the river Elbe. The Grecian *νυμφη* has the same import with the Latin *lympha*, an idea which is also preserved in the Roman name for the disease called Nympholepsy. "Vulgo autem memoriæ proditum est, quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est, effigiem nymphæ viderint, furendi non fecisse finem, quos Græci *νυμφολήπτους*, Latini *lymphatos* appellant." Festus, ap. Salm. Exercit. Plin. 705. [Alveus; Alpheus.]

ences displayed in the conformation of the human frame upon the shores of the Ægean Sea and the banks of the Frozen Ocean. In Greece, like every thing else which has been exposed to the refining taste of that extraordinary people, they will all be found submitted to the same plastic norm which fitted the bard's "thick-coming fancies" for the studies of the sculptor: and in modern Europe, a new religion, in attempting to curtail their influence or obliterate the remembrance of them, has more or less corrupted the memorials of their attributes. It is to the latter that we must more particularly look for an explanation of those anomalies, which not only appear to contradict our recollections of antiquity, but occasionally to exhibit the popular faith as being at variance with itself. It will scarcely need remark, that the introduction of Christianity among the nations of the West, must speedily have effected a change in general opinion, as to the right, and the degree, in which these imaginary divinities were commissioned to exert a power over the destinies of man. But so gradual were the successes of the triumphant faith over this particular branch of the ancient creed, that although the memory of "Thunaer, Wodan, and Saxnote[77]," (?) is

[77] Such are the names of the three divinities mentioned in the Francic profession of faith published by Eccard *Francia Orientalis*, vol i. p. 440. Ek forsacho . . . . . Thunaer ende Woden, ende Saxnote, end allem them unholdum the hira genotas sint. I renounce (forsake) Thunaer and Wodan and Saxnote, and all those impious (spirits) that are their associates. The name of Saxnote has been a stumbling-block to the critics, and appears likely to remain so In its present condition the word has certainly no intelligible meaning, and, if correct, refers to a deity of whom no other trace exists The usual interpretation, Saxon Odin, is a mere conjecture, and certainly not a happy one The same may be said of Mr. A. W. Schlegel's emendation (Indische Bibliothek, p. 256) of Saxmote or assembly of the Saxons, at which they celebrated heathen festivals, and which is as objectionable on the score of grammar as the decried Saxnote. One remarkable circumstance in the present text is, that Thunaer and Wodan are not inflected, while the conjunction has gained the very addition in which they are defective. It is to be regretted that no one has consulted the original document since the publication of the first transcript.—It is difficult to understand why this formulary should be made the foundation of a theory, that Wodan and Odin are distinct personages. The well-known practice of the Scandinavian dialects, which suppresses the aspirate in all those words that in the cognate tongues begin with a *w*, will sufficiently account for the difference of orthography. That they occupied the same rank in the respective mythologies of the two great Teutonic stocks, is confirmed by the days named after them. In England we have had successively Wodnesdag and Wednesday (prout Wensday). In Denmark it has been Odins-dagr and Oens-dag. It was from this circumstance, in all probability, coupled with the notion of Wodan's or Odin's psychopompic duties, that the Romans were induced to consider him as the same deity with their own Mercury In an Etruscan patera published by Winkelmann and afterwards by Lanzi, this god is seen weighing the souls of Memnon and Achilles, which would afford another reason for the supposed affinity. But the worship of Odin as supreme God, like that of Dionysus in his mysteries, and perhaps of Osiris (see Zoega *De Usu Obeliscorum*), appears to have been a comparatively recent feature in the Northern creed. Thunaer, Thor, was the Thunderer, and held the same precedence in Norway, the last refuge of his worship, that he does in the Francic renunciation. The day consecrated by his name was also the Northern sabbath. There is so much affinity between some

scarcely distinguishable among the documents of several centuries, a continued belief in the agency of their subordinate associates still maintains its sway over every sequestered district of Northern Europe. Perhaps the sweeping clause which was to embrace the whole of this fraternity, and who were far too numerous to be specifically named, either admitted of an accommodating latitude in the interpretation, or was taken with considerable mental reservation. However this may be, we shall have no difficulty in believing that the expounders of the new religion were rarely free from those impressions which, imbibed in early infancy, the reason vainly struggles to eradicate in after life, and of which it may be said, that however little they generally appear to govern our external conduct, they always maintain their ground in the recesses of the mind. Few could have been bold enough to assert that the memorials of the past, and the alleged experience of the present, had no better foundation than the terrors and caprice of an over-heated imagination, or those illusions of the sense which owe their existence to disease or defective organization. Many must have retained a lurking conviction of the truth of their former belief; and even where this was not the case, the weapon which had been so successfully wielded in crushing the rule of Wodan, could only be exerted with diminished effect, since the same day which heard the proofs of *his* identity with the Evil One, also witnessed the suppression of that ceremonial which alone ensured the permanency of the public faith. On the other hand, the superstitions of the forest, the mountain, or the domestic hearth, were attended with but few rites, and those of such a nature as to be easily concealed from the general eye. The divinities addressed were mostly local, either attached to particular places, persons, or things, and only petitioned or deprecated in matters of private interest. And however forcibly it might be urged that their interference in human affairs was only prompted by the machinations of Satan, yet as this was nothing better than a change of name in the cause, without denying the effect, and no equivalent agency was made to supply its place, these arguments only tended to corrupt without extirpating the obnoxious opinions. The consequence of such a temporizing system,—but which, with reference to the state of society that it was called upon to influence, contains more practical wisdom than it has usually received credit for,—was a gradual amalgamation of the ancient and established faith.

parts of the history of Odin, Dionysus, and Osiris, that the name of either might be substituted in the respective accounts of Snorro, and the several writers on Greek and Ægyptian mythology, without violating the general truth of the recital.

["Vodden, er ver kaullum Oþin." Snorro's Edda, p. 6]

In those documents approaching nearest to the æra of a nation's conversion, such as the oldest Icelandic Sagas, we find the mention of these domestic deities attended with no diminution of their power, or derogation from their former rank. In later periods they are chiefly noticed to mark the malignancy of their disposition, or to ridicule their impotent pretensions, and occasionally they are brought forward to bear their reluctant testimony to the superiority of the dominant faith. From this source have emanated those recitals which exhibit to us either dwarfs or fairies expressing a desire of procuring the baptismal rite for their infant offspring; and those corruptions of a still later age, which represent their condition as only seemingly felicitous, and the joys and marvels of their subterranean abodes as the mere varnished exterior of misery and filth[78]. It is true, where the stream of tradition has continued pure, we still find them spoken of as the beneficent friends and protectors of mankind; as still in the enjoyment of their attributes and pleasures, their gardens of ever-blooming verdure, their adamantine palaces, their feasts, their revelry, their super-earthly and entrancing music. The Gael indeed has condemned his Daoine Shi' to the hollow mockery of these delights, but the Cymry, more faithful to the tenets of his ancestors, believes his Tylwyth Têg to be in the continuance of their former rights and happiness, which the folly alone of the human race has deprived the present generation from sharing in[79].

There will be no necessity for entering minutely into those embellishments of popular fiction, which owe their existence to a general belief in the powers of magic, sortilege, and divination[80]. The conformity

[78] Perhaps to these ought to be added "the paying the kane to hell," but if, as it is believed, the whole fairy system be but another name for the ancient demonology, the fine may be explained upon other principles. The same argument will then apply to the declaration of the Northumbrian dwarf, who hoped for an ultimate though remote salvation See notes to the Lady of the Lake The better portion of the ancient demons were souls in a progressive advancement towards perfection, and on their return to their celestial birth-place

[79] See Grahame's Sketches, &c quoted in the notes to the Lady of the Lake, and Davies's Celtic Mythology, p 156.

[80] It may be right to caution the reader against a very common error, in which the motives that gave rise to the practice of magic and divination have been confounded with the criminal abuses that sprang from their use in later times. Poor human nature has frailties enough to answer for, without ascribing to its "*malignity*" the invention of magic rites and ceremonies. Nothing can be more clear in this important chapter of the history of the human mind, than that the invocation and the charm have regularly descended from the exploded liturgies of the temple, and that the discarded mantle of infant science has "rested on" the wizard and the crone. The beldame who mutters the spell over the bruise or the wound, only practises the same honourable "craft" which proved the divine descent of the Asclepiades, and the cattle-spayer of Finland publicly chants the Runic rhyme, at the present day, with the same assurance of its efficacy with which the *epode* was sung by the priests of Pergamus and Epidaurus. Comp. Pind. Pyth. iii. 91. These arts, like their names, bore once a sacred character; and however much they may have been made to minister to the

of practice between the ancient and modern world in their application of these several arts has been generally acknowledged, and no exclusive theory has obtained to account for the mode of their transmission. Warton indeed has observed, that "the Runic (Northern) magic is more like that of Canidia in Horace, the Romantic resembles that of Armida in Tasso:" but this is an artificial distinction, which had no existence in the popular creed, however much it may seem to be authorized by the documents to which he has referred. The magic of the North (like the poetry in which it is found) may in a great degree be considered as only a genial reflex of the practices of daily life; since many of the records preserving it were written at a period when the charms to produce the surprising effects noticed by Warton might more or less be procured at every wizard's cell. The magic of romance with "the sublime solemnity of its necromantic machinery" was obviously a matter of only traditional belief. A few vain pretenders to superior intelligence in the art could alone have professed to accomplish its marvels[81], or some equally silly boasters to have witnessed them; and having sprung from the busy workings of the fancy in decorating the tamer elements of the popular faith, could have no other existence than in its own fictitious memorials. On this account it is of necessity wanting in all those poems which, like the early Icelandic songs, make the slightest pretensions to historical worth; and can only abound in such productions as either treat of subjects professedly mythological, or are the manifest creation of the writer's invention. An injudicious comparison of these very opposite kinds of composition, has clearly led to the erroneous opinion offered by Warton; and it will be sufficient to remark, that the legitimate spell of "grammarye" is to be found in

follies and vices of the multitude, in their decried and degraded state, they are clearly referable in their *origin* to one of the most exalted principles of our nature, or (to use the language of Prometheus) were first resorted to δαιμοσιν προς ηδονην (Æsch. P V v. 494) Their history may tend to confirm the axiom,—that the religious usages of one age often become the superstition of a succeeding one but it will also teach the more consolatory doctrine, that the impulses of the human heart may be founded in error, without necessarily involving either malignity or crime.

[81] Among these may be reckoned the mysterious personage, who in the sixteenth century availed himself of a widely circulated tradition to excite the public attention, and to invest himself with the title Faustus junior "Sic enim titulum sibi convenientem formavit magister Georgius Sabellicus Faustus junior, fons necromanticorum, astrologus, magus secundus, chiromanticus, agromanticus, pyromanticus, et in hydra arte secundus" Mr Gorres has given this passage from a letter of Trithemius, dated August 20, 1507 The venerable Abbot, after noticing several of his idle boasts, proceeds. "In ultima quoque hujus anni quadragesima venit Stauronesum (Creutznach), et simili stultitia gloriosus de se pollicebatur ingentia, dicens se in Alchemia omnium qui fuerint unquam esse perfectissimum, et *scire atque posse quicquid homines optaverint.*" See Gorres Volks-bucher, p. 242.

the Odyssey, the Edda, and the popular tale[82], as well as in those romances which suggested the use of it to Tasso. If more frequently resorted to in later compositions than in the earlier fictions, we must rather attribute this circumstance to the spirit of the times in which they were written, than to any want of faith in the auditors of a ruder age: the extravagant events of Beowulf's life might make many a bold romancer blush for the poverty of his imagination.

In referring to those various objects of inanimate nature whose marvellous attributes are usually classed among the chief attractions of romance, it will be equally unnecessary to enter largely into the question of their origin, as the recent labours of abler antiquaries[83] have clearly proved that we are not indebted to the middle age for their first appearance in popular poetry. For every purpose of the present inquiry, it will be sufficient to enumerate a few of the most important points of coincidence between the fictions of the ancient and modern world; and, in noticing some of the disguises under which a common idea has been made to pass from one narrative to another, to evince the fondness of popular taste for a constant recurrence of its favourite types. MM. Grimm have already shown that the fatal garment of Dejanira,—and which by Euripides has been connected with a later fable,—still lives in the German tale of Faithful John; and that no image is more common, or assumes a greater variety of forms, in the current fictions of their native country, than the insidious present sent by Vulcan to his mother Juno[84].

Another favourite symbol, and entering deeply into the decorations of romance, is the talisman of virtue, by which the frailties of either sex were exposed to public detection; and which Mr. Dunlop, with his accustomed accuracy, has referred to the trial at the Stygian fountain, and traced through the Greek romances of the Empire to the romances of chivalry and the pages of Ariosto. In the prose romance of Tristram, whence the poet of Ferrara most probably borrowed it, the ordeal consists in quaffing the beverage of a drinking-horn, which no sooner approaches the culprit's lips, than the contents are wasted over his person. In Perceforest and in Amadis, a garland and rose, which "bloom on the head of her who is faithful, and fade upon the brow of the inconstant," are the proofs of the appellant's purity: and

[82] See the Odyss xiii. 190 Thor's adventures at Utgarda, Dæmesaga, 41. and Chaucer's Frankelein's Tale.

[83] See the preface and notes to the Kinder- und Haus-Marchen of MM. Grimm [also the late Mr. Edgar Taylor's German Popular Stories, translated from that work], and a valuable essay on the same subject contained in the Quarterly Review, No. xxxvii.

[84] Kinder- und Haus-Marchen, vol. iii. p. 19 and 149.

in the ballad published by Dr. Percy, of the Boy and the Mantle, where the same test is introduced, the minstrel poet has adhered to the traditions of Wales, which attribute a similar power to the mantle, the knife, and the goblet of Tegau Eurorон, the chaste and lovely bride of Caradoc with the strong arm[85]. From hence it may have been transferred to the girdle of Florimel, in the Fairy Queen; while Albertus Magnus, in affirming that "a magnet placed beneath the pillow of an incontinent woman will infallibly eject her from her bed," has preserved to us the vulgar, and perhaps the earliest, belief on the subject[86]. The glass of Agrippa, which, till our own times, played a distinguished part in the history of the gallant Surry, has been recently made familiar to the reader's acquaintance by the German story of Snowdrop[87]. But this, in all probability, has only descended to us from a mirror preserved near the temple of Ceres at Patras; or one less artificially constructed, though more miraculously gifted, a well near the oracle of Apollo Thurxis, in Lycia[88]. The zone of Hippolyte[89], which gave a supernatural vigour to the "thews and limbs" of the wearer, is not to be distinguished from the girdle of the Norwegian Thor; and there can be little doubt, that the brisingamen of Freyia, which graced the person of the same pugnacious deity on his visit to Thrymheim[90], is the cestus of Venus under another name and form. Without possessing either the ægis-hialmr of the Edda, or the ægis of Minerva, it might be dangerous to assert that these petrifying objects are verbally identical; since nothing short of their terrific power would be a sufficient protection against the host of Hellenic philologers, whom such a declaration would infallibly call to arms[91].

[85] Jones's Bardic Museum, p 60, from whence all the subsequent notices of British marvel have been taken.

[86] This power is given to the magnet, in the Orphic poem on Stones, v. 314, &c.

[87] See the German Popular Stories from the Kinder- und Haus-Marchen of MM. Grimm, p 133. It is to be hoped that the ingenious translator of this collection will continue his labours The nature of his plan seems to have excluded many of the tales most interesting to an antiquary; but a supplementary volume, containing some of these, accompanied with that illustration which the translator appears so well able to supply, would greatly increase our obligation to him. [The late Mr Edgar Taylor subsequently published a second volume, but on the same plan as the first these he re-edited, shortly before his decease, in one volume, with the title "Gammer Grethel," 1839]

[88] See Pausanias, vii 21. The former only exhibited the person and condition of health of the party inquired after,—the latter displayed whatever was desired.

[89] Ειχε δε Ἱππολυτη τον Αρεος ζωστηρα, συμβολον του πρωτευειν ἁπασων. Apollod. Bibl ii 5 9 In Parsee lore the girdle was a symbol of power over Ahriman In the Little Rose-garden, the belt of Thor has descended to king Laurin. Weber, p. 153. The ring given by the lady Simlt to her brother Diethleb, also ensured victory to him who wore it. Ib. p 164

[90] See Sæmund's Edda, Thryms-Quida.

[91] Αιγις may have meant a breastplate or helmet made of goat-skin, just as κυνεη meant a skull-cap or helmet made of dog-skin, but the fable on which the Greek grammarians have accounted for the application of the term to the armour of Jupiter and his daughter, is an idle fabrication. The qualities of this weapon un-

In obedience, therefore, to the dictates of "the better part of valour," it will be most prudent to remark, that they strikingly agree in their appalling attributes, and that the thunderer of Norway was as efficiently armed for combat as his brother of Olympus. This ægis-hialmr is affirmed to have been the crafty workmanship of the dwarfs, the reputed authors of every "cunning instrument" in Northern fiction; and who manufactured for An the Bow-swinger and Orvar Odd those highly-tempered arrows, which, like the fabled dart of Procris, never missed their object; and having inflicted a mortal wound, returned to the bowstring which had emitted them[92]. Another specimen of their ingenuity is the ship of Freyr, called Skidbladnir, which though sufficiently spacious to contain the whole tribe of the Asæ, with their arms and equipments, was yet so artfully contrived, that it might be folded like a handkerchief and carried about in the pocket[93]. The sails of this extraordinary vessel were no sooner hoisted than a favourable wind sprang up; an attribute which has descended to another ornament of Icelandic fable, the bark Ellide: but this, like the first, and oftenest-sung, of ancient ships, was also gifted with the power of understanding human speech[94]. Homer, however, has told us, that the fleets of Alcinous combined the advantage of the favouring gale with an intelligence which enabled them to divine the wishes of those they bore, and that they also had the power of reaching their destined port without the assistance of a helmsman or a guide.

> So shalt thou instant reach the realm assign'd,
> In wondrous ships, self-moved, instinct with mind:
> No helm secures their course, no pilot guides;
> Like men intelligent, they plough the tides,
> Conscious of every coast and every bay
> That lies beneath the sun's alluring ray.

In other fictions common to the ancient and modern world, this idea

doubtedly had some connexion with its name.

αμφι δ' αρ' ωμοισιν βαλετ' αιγιδα θυσανοεσσαν
δεινην, ην ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΝΤΗ ΦΟΒΟΣ
ΕΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΤΟ Il v. 738.

The verb αισσω, from whence this term takes its derivation, meant—to move rapidly, to be violently agitated, and hence αιγις, the tempestuous wind, and αιξ, the appellation given to the stormy Capella, or the star whose rising was productive of hurricanes The ægis-bearing Jupiter of Virgil is the cloud-compeller—"nimbosque cieret," Æn viii 354. For the same reason, and not from his goatish form, we may be assured, the god of Arcadia, the author of the Panic terror, was called Ægipan In Icelandic "ægir" means the stormy sea, and in Anglo-Saxon we have "eggian" to excite, "eg-stream" a torrent, "ege" fear, and "egesian" to scare.

[92] Compare Muller's Saga-Bibliothek, p. 532–41, with Hyginus, ed Staveren, p 189.

[93] Edda of Snorro, Dæmesaga 37.

[94] Muller's Saga-Bibliothek, vol. ii p. 459. and 592.

has been improved on, and applied to a vast variety of objects for conveying the person from place to place. Herodotus, with his characteristic love of the marvellous, (tempered as this passion was by an unrivalled perception of the truth,) found it impossible to pass unnoticed the fable of Abaris and his dart[95]. He has, however, only mentioned the common tradition of his day, that it transported the Hyperborean philosopher wherever he wished, and left to Jamblichus the further particulars of its history. From the Pythagorean romance of this writer we learn, that Abaris had procured it in the temple of the Hyperborean Apollo; and that in addition to the services it had rendered him in his several journeys "by flood and field," it had assisted him in performing lustrations, expelling pestilences, and allaying the fury of the winds[96]. The place of its deposit clearly shows it to have been the same miraculous weapon employed by the Delian god in destroying the Cyclops, for another authority informs us, he buried this fatal dart in an Hyperborean mountain, and that when banished from Olympus, it was daily borne to him on the winds, laden with all the fruits of the season[97]. In this latter attribute it becomes identified with the horn of Amalthæa, and serves to explain the mystery overlooked by Jamblichus, how Abaris, like another Epimenides, might devote his time to the service of the gods, and yet never be seen to eat or drink. In the traditions of Wales, this dart has been accommodated to the more stately fashions of later times, and one of the thirteen marvellous productions of Britain is the car of Morgan, which carried the possessor to whatever district he desired. But here again we have only another form for the *talaria* of the Nymphs, with which Perseus winged his way to the residence of Medusa; or the ring in the German tale, The King of the Golden Mountain,—while in the popular story of Fortunatus it assumes the humbler guise of a wishing-cap, and in the relations of the Kurds, and the history of Tom Thumb, it has descended to the lowly shape of a pair of seven-leagued boots. Another object enumerated among the thirteen marvellous productions of Britain, is the veil or mask of Arthur, which had the power of rendering the wearer's person invisible, without interrupting his view of the things around him. In other fables of the same country, this property is also given to the ring of Eluned[98], the Lunet of the old English romance of Ywaine and Gawaine: and in several German tales the hero is made

[95] Melpom c 36
[96] Jamblichus, Vit. Pythag. c. 19 28.
[97] Hyginus, Astron. c 15
[98] Mr Jones calls Eluned the lover of Owain, which, if correct, would justify a conclusion, that the Welsh and English romances follow a different tradition. In the Heldenbuch this ring is given to Omit by his mother Weber, p. 49.

to conceal himself from the "ken" of his companions by the assistance of an enchanted cloak. The romance of king Laurin, and the far-famed Nibelungen-lied, follow the general traditions of the North, which confine this mysterious attribute to a nebel-kappe, or fog-cap. But however varied the objects to which this quality has been assigned, we cannot fail to recognise the same common property which distinguished the helm of Pluto, worn by Perseus in his combat with Medusa, or the equally notorious ring of Gyges, whose history has been recorded by Plato[99]. Without detaining the reader to trace the lyre of Hellenic fable through the hands of its several possessors, from Mercury to Amphion—

> Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis,
> Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda
> Ducere quo vellet— HOR. *Ar. Poet.* v. 393.

we may proceed to remark, that the earliest notice of its occurrence in Northern fiction is to be found in the mythology of Finland. Wainámoinen, the supreme god of the Finnish Olympus, was the inventor of a stringed instrument called the kandele, which, resembling a kit in its construction, is still played as a guitar. "When this beneficent deity presented the result of his labours to mankind, no mortal hand possessed the skill to awake its harmonies, till the god himself, touching the strings, and accompanying its notes with his voice, caused the birds in the air, the beasts of the field, and the fishes of the sea to listen attentively to the strain, and even Wainámoinen was moved to tears, which fell like pearls adown his robe[100]." This account, which is literally copied from Finnish tradition, will lose nothing by a comparison with the Grecian fable of Orpheus, and will recall to the reader's memory the celebrated gem representing Pan, the Grecian Wainámoinen, playing upon his pipe in the centre of the ecliptic. The fictions of our

[99] De Repub iii p 359 Plato has most vexatiously dismissed a part of the history of this ring with a *και .. αλλα τε δη ἁ μυθολογουσι*, little thinking that the modern antiquary would have been more beholden to him for information on this head than for all the subtleties of the Cratylus, or the speculations of the Parmenides. Eucrates, in Lucian's Philopseudes, unblushingly affirms that he had one of these rings in his possession, and had used it on a very trying occasion. The ancients explained the helm of Pluto to be an impervious cloud surrounding the person of the wearer (such no doubt as is described in the Little Garden of Roses) but the passage in which this illustration is given, cannot be more specifically referred to than by citing the Scholia to Pluto published by Ruhnken.

[100] Mone's continuation of Creutzer, i. p 54 But this tradition appears to have found its way into Scotland In a singular composition, published by Sir Walter Scott, "An Interlude on the laying of a Gaist," we find the following allusion to it

> And sune mareit the gaist the fle,
> And cround him king of *Kandelie*,
> And they gat theme betwene
> Orpheus king and Elpha quene.
> *Minstrelsy*, vol. i. p. 164.

own country, or more correctly speaking those of Scotland and Wales, have substituted the harp, as a more decidedly national instrument, for the lyre and kandele, and bestowed it upon two native musicians, Glaskyrion and Glenkindie, if indeed we are justified in separating these persons[101]. The former is the hero of a well-known ballad in Dr. Percy's Reliques, (vol. iii. p. 84,) and is placed by Chaucer in the same rank of eminence with the son of Calliope:

There herde I play on a harpe,
That sowned both well and sharpe,
Hym Orpheus full craftily,
And on this side fast by,
Sate the harper Orion (Amphion?)*
And Eacides, Chirion,
And other harpers many one,
And the Briton Glaskyrion. *House of Fame.*

The powers of Glenkindie's harp exceed all that has been said of its rival instruments:

He 'd harpit a fish out o saut water,
Or water out o' a stane,
Or milk out o' a maiden's breast,
That bairn had never nane[102].

From hence the transition to the horn of Oberon, "which if softly sounded would make every one dance who was not of an irreproachable character;" or the harp of Sigurd[103], which caused inanimate objects to caper in the wildest confusion, was but an easy step. In popular story the same qualities have been conferred upon the fiddle of the German tale The Jew in the Bush, and the pipe of Jack in The mery

[101] Mr. Jamieson seems to consider Glenkindie a corruption of some local name, which has been substituted for Glaskyrion. There can be no doubt that the ballad published by him, as well as that in Dr Percy's collection, refers to the same personage; but who this celebrated harper may have been, whether a native of Wales, Scotland, or any other country, is not so clear. The same rationale will also apply to the name.—It is to be regretted that a gentleman so eminently qualified as Mr. Jamieson to illustrate the popular antiquities of his native country, should have abandoned a career in which he has already attained so much distinction, and might have acquired still greater. His name must ever be held in estimation by the friends of Warton's fame, for the spirited manner in which he shook off the trammels of the Ritsonian school, in his first publication, and vindicated the tasteful labours of Warton and Dr. Percy.

* The "harper Orion" is not meant by Chaucer for *Amphion*, as Price strangely conjectures, but *Arion* —R.G.

[102] Jamieson's Scottish Ballads, vol. i. p 93

[103] Herraud of Bosa's Saga, p 49–51. The pipes of Dorco and Daphnis, in the pastoral romance of Longus, seem to have had much the same effect upon their respective flocks See pp 25. 111 112. (ed. Villoison.) The pipe of Pan, in the same romance, equals any thing recorded of its modern parallels.

Geste of the Frere and the Boye, and have thus developed the opp site and contrasting elements contained in this as in every other fabl and without which no mythos seems to be complete.

A still more favourite ornament of popular fiction is the highl gifted object, of whatever form or name, which is to supply the fort nate owner with the gratification of some particular wish, or to furni him with the golden means of satisfying every want. In British fab this property has been given to the dish or napkin of Rhydderch t Scholar, which, like the table, or table-cloth, introduced into a varie of German tales, no sooner received its master's commands, than it b came covered with a sumptuous banquet. The counterpart of Rhy derch's dish is to be found in another British marvel, the horn of Bra which spontaneously produced whatever liquor was called for. and repetition of the same idea occurs in the goblet given by Oberon Huon of Bourdeaux, which in the hands of a good man became fill with the most costly wine. In Fortunatus, and those tales which a either imitations of his adventures or copied from a common origin an inexhaustible purse is made to meet the demands of every occasio while in others, a bird, a tree, and even the human person, are made generate in the same miraculous manner a daily provision of gold[104] A modification of the same idea is also found in the basket of Gwyddn which no sooner received a deposit of food for one, than the gift b came multiplied into a supply for a hundred; or in those stories, whe the charity bestowed upon the houseless wanderer is rewarded by endless stock of some requisite article of subsistence[105]. In Hellen fable, we have already seen the dart of Apollo enabling Abaris to li without appearing to partake of sustenance; and the narrative of Cl ombrotus, also noticed before, seems to imply some similar resource the part of his Eastern traveller. Another mysterious personage early Grecian fable, and whose goetic practices, like those of Abar have secured for him a dubious fame, is Epimenides the Cretan. him we are also told that he was never known to eat, but that he allaye his hunger by occasionally tasting a precious edible bestowed upo him by the Nymphs; and which he carefully kept preserved in an ox

[104] Mr. Gorres has observed, in speaking of Fortunatus, that the story of the goose which laid a golden egg is only a variation of this prolific subject, and that the history of the world contains little more than a kind of Argonautic expedition after the same golden fleece. For the other particulars referred to in the text, see Kinder- und Haus-Marchen, No 60 122 130.

[105] See Der Arme und der Reiche, in MM. Grimm's collection The note this story contains references to the san idea in the fictions of Greece, China, a India. It seems to have escaped the learned German antiquaries, that a muc earlier notice of the same miraculo agency is to be found in the "widow cruse" of the Old Testament, 1 King chap xvii.

hoof[106]. The popular creed of Attica, which seems to have delighted in investing the Theban Hercules with much the same absurdities that Northern fable has gathered round the person of Thor, had recourse to a similar invention as the only appropriate means of appeasing this divinity's ravenous appetites. It has accordingly conferred upon him the horn of Amalthæa, the fruit of his victory over the river-god Achelous; and of which the earliest tradition on record has given the popular view of its powers, that it never failed to produce a constant store of food[107]. As such, it becomes identified with the Æthiopian table of the sun, mentioned by Herodotus[108]; but in later fictions this idea has been refined into a horn, containing every possible delicacy of the vegetable kingdom, overflowing with all earthly good, and conferring wealth and prosperity upon every one who might chance to possess it[109].

This necessarily brings us to the history of the holy Graal[110], or a

[106] See Diogenes Laertius, ed Menage, vol i p 73

[107] See Eustath ad Dionys Perieg v 433 and Pherecydes in Apollod Bibl ii 7 5

[108] See Herod iii 18 Mela, c 10 (quæ passim apposita sunt, affirmant innasci subinde divinitus) and Solinus, c 30

[109] See the Scholiast to Lucian's Rhet Præcept, and Eustathius, as before The "Navigium" of the same writer contains some curious allusions to different points of popular belief, and which may be compared with the subjects treated of in the text One of the parties wishes for a set of rings to endow him with the following qualities and advantages a never-failing store of health, a person invulnerable, invisible, of irresistible charms, and having the concentrated strength of 10,000 men, a power of flying through the air, of entering every dwelling-house strongly secured, and of casting a deep sleep upon whom he chose. Another person in the same piece asks for the wand of Mercury, which is to ensure him an inexhaustible supply of gold For this wand of wealth and luck, see the Homeric Hymn to Mercury, v. 529, and compare Epict. ap Arrian Diss iii. 20 p 435. ed Schweigh, where it is said to convert every thing it touched into gold. This idea of its power found an early circulation in the North, for one of the Glossaries published by Professor Nyerup, in his Symbol Teut, and certainly not of a later date than the tenth century, translates caduceuma, *aun-shulrgarta* The Vilkina Saga mentions a ring which is to excite affection in the wearer towards the donor (Muller, p. 233), and the love stone of Helen is well known. Servius (ad Æn iii 279) notices an ointment, prepared by Venus, which had similar powers The Horny Siegfried becomes invulnerable by bathing in the blood of a slaughtered dragon, and Medea gave Jason an ointment producing the same effect for the space of four-and-twenty hours (Apollod Bibl i 9 23) Orvar Odd had a kirtel which was to preserve him against death by fire or water, hunger or the sword, so long as he never turned his back upon a foe Muller, 533.

[110] The connexion between these symbols, a horn and a cup, will be apparent, on recollecting that the former was the most ancient species of drinking-vessel both among Greeks and Barbarians See Athen xi c 51 Xenophon also notices the application of horns to the same purpose among the Thracians Anab vii 2 23 and it will be needless to offer any examples from the well-known customs of Western Europe It will also be evident why both these utensils should be chosen as the types of fecundity, abundance, and vivification, when we remember that both were the receptacles of that element, which was either the symbol of life (ζωης το ὑγρον συμβολον, Proclus in Timæum, p 318,) or the principal co-operating power in generation (συνεργει γαρ γενεσει ... το ὑδωρ. Porphyrius de Antro Nymph. c. 17) Hence the cornucopia was bestowed upon all those deities who presided over fertility or human prosperity, upon Achelous and the Nile, Bonus Eventus and Annona, from their share in fostering the fruits of the earth, upon Tyche or Fortuna, the Agatho-

sacred cup, which in the house of king Pecheur "appeared daily at the hour of repast, in the hands of a lady, who carried it three times round the table, which was immediately replenished with all the delicacies the guests could desire." The origin of this miraculous vessel, and the manner of its transmission to Europe, are thus related by Robert Borron[111]. "The day on which the Saviour of the world suffered, death was destroyed, and our life restored: on that day there were few who believed on him; but there was a knight named Joseph of Arimathæa, (a fine city in the land of Aromat). In this city Joseph was born, but had come to Jerusalem seven years before our Lord was crucified, and had embraced the Christian faith; but did not dare to profess it for fear of the wicked Jews. He was full of wisdom, free from envy and pride, and charitable to the poor. This Joseph was at Jerusalem with his

dæmon, the tutelary Genii of towns or persons (such as the Roman emperors), the Lares, &c. from their beneficial aid in the direction of human affairs. A cornucopia of good fortune has already been noticed in the possession of the Northern Elves or Fays, and one of the Nymphs in the celebrated relievo of Callimachus leads the way with this identical symbol. On the same principle, we meet with a Demeter Poteriophorus, and a Rhea Craterophorus, the Bonæ Deæ and Magnæ Matres of the ancient world, and the modius of Serapis, the giver and the receiver, is clearly referable to the same source. (Serapidis capiti modius superpositus, quia indicet vitam mortalibus frugum largitate præberi. Rufinus Hist. Eccles. II. 23.) For further illustration of this copious subject, see Mr Creuzer's Dionysus, sive Commentationes Academicæ de Rerum Bacchicarum Orphicarumque Originibus et Causis, Heidelbergæ 1808

[111] Mr Ritson has declared Robert Borron to be "a man of straw." But as he has offered no authority for such an assertion, the mere *αυτος εφα* of this critic is not likely to have much weight beyond his school. The Vatican manuscript, No 1687, commences with these words, "Mesir Robert de Boron, qui cheste estore translata de Latin en Romance, par le commandement de sainte eglise" and no one can for a moment doubt the influence of the Romish priesthood, in the peculiar colouring given to the narrative Mr. Ritson has also been a strenuous opponent of all such declarations as claim a Latin, Greek, or Arabic original for the subject-matter recorded. There may be occasional grounds for scepticism on this point; but the sweeping incredulity which rejects every assertion of the kind, is equally prejudicial to a right knowledge of the subject, with the easy faith it affects to despise We know the mutations inflicted upon the "Seven Wise Masters" prior to its receiving an English dress; a variety of Italian tales and French fabliaux are of Arabic or Oriental origin, Greek fable must have been the immediate source of Alexander's story, the expedition of Attila, and Amis and Amillion still exist in Latin verse, and "Walther [of Aquitain's] and Hildegund's flight from Attila, was sung in Latin hexameters, on the model of Virgil and Lucan, by Eckhart, a priest of St Galle (An 973)" The Anglo-Saxon fragment of Judith was not taken directly from the Apocryphal narrative. The variations indeed from this document are, generally speaking, of such a kind as any translator might be supposed to indulge in, without our having recourse to another original But in one passage we meet with a very distinct mention of a musquito-net, an article of furniture not specified in the Book of Judith, which could not have been in use in these Northern realms, and of which the account must have travelled from the countries situated on the Mediterranean Sea. The original legend or romance must hence have been composed in a Southern dialect: and those who remember the alleged proficiency of the Anglo-Saxon monks in Greek, may be induced to fix their election on that language The immediate source from whence the Scop derived his narrative, is of course beyond our inquiry, but such a fact will teach us circumspection in forming any general theory as to the transmission of romantic fictions. Apollonius of Tyre, another Greek romance, also exists in Anglo-Saxon prose [Lately edited by Mr. Thorpe]

wife and son, who was also named Joseph. His father's family crossed the sea to that place which is now called England, but was then called Great Britain; and crossed it 'sans aviron au pan de sa chemise[112].' Joseph had been in the house where Jesus Christ took his last supper with his apostles; he there found the plate off which the Son of God had eaten; he possessed himself of it, carried it home, and made use of it to collect the blood which flowed from his side, and his other wounds; and this plate is called the Saint Graal." This, however, is only the Breton or British account of the Saint Graal. The German romancers have followed a different version of its history, and derive their knowledge of the subject, though indirectly, from an Oriental source. The Titurel and Parcifal of Wolfram von Eschenbach[113] are respectively devoted to the discovery and the quest of this miraculous vessel: and in both we find a similar account of its powers to that given in the narrative of Robert Borron. The circumstances, however, and the agents which have been connected with it, are wholly different from those contained in the rival version. The name of Arthur is more sparingly introduced than in the Western fiction; and the theatre of its most important events is laid in either Asia or Africa. The immediate source of Eschenbach's poem was a Provençal romance written by one Kyot or Guiot. Of this writer nothing further appears to be known, than the memorial of his labours preserved in the Parcifal of his German translator, and a notice of his strictures upon Chretien de Troyes[114],

[112] This account has been extracted from a version of Borron's prologue, in the British Bibliographer, vol. i. The translator has there rendered "sans aviron,—without oars." The original has been given in the text from Roquefort's Glossary it contains no verbal obscurity, but the allusion is not intelligible to the writer of this note

[The *allusion* is to a very common miracle in Roman catholic legends When a saint wants to cross the water, he generally makes his cloak, or some similar garment, serve as a ferry-boat, thus getting safely conveyed to his place of destination without oar, sail, or rudder The Portuguese missionary Gouvea gravely relates a like exploit of the Grand Lama, whom he calls the *bishop* of Tibet —R G]

[113] These notices of Eschenbach's poems have been collected from Mr. Gorres's preface to Lohengrin, an old German romance, founded on the same fiction as the Chevelere Assigne. (See vol. ii. p 107. [For information respecting Wolfram von Eschenbach, and other German poets of the same class in the middle ages, as well as those of Provence, the North of France, Italy, and Catalonia, the reader is referred to the late Mr. Edgar Taylor's "Lays of the Minnesingers or German Troubadours of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, illustrated by specimens of the cotemporary Lyric Poetry of Provence and other parts of Europe with historical and critical notices, and engravings from the MS. of Minnesingers in the King's library at Paris, and from other sources. London, 1825" This elegant volume, sent forth without the name of the author, and under a title perhaps not adapted for attracting notice, did not meet with the success which it so well merited. An analysis of the story of Parcifal has been given in the Bibliothèque Univ. de Geneve, for Sept. 1837, where the Saint Graal is said to have been "une pierre précieuse qui se détacha de la couronne de Satan, lorsqu'il fut précipité du ciel"—R T]

[114] The language of Eschenbach is thus given by Mr Gorres from the printed edition of the Parcifal.

Ob von Troys meister Christian
Diesem Maere hat Unrecht getan,
Daz (des) mach wohl zurnen Kyot,
Der unz die rechten Maere enbot

i. e. Since Master Christian of Troyes has

who, like most of the Norman troveurs, seems to have drawn his materials from an Armorican source. From Wolfram's poem we gather, that Master Kyot obtained his first knowledge of the Graal from a manuscript he discovered at Toledo. This volume was written in a heathen character, of which the troubadour was compelled to make himself master; and the baptismal rite enabled him to accomplish this arduous task without the aid of necromancy. The author of this mysterious record was a certain heathen astronomer, Flegetanis by name, who on the mother's side traced up his genealogy to king Solomon; but having a Saracen father, he had adhered to his paternal faith, and worshiped a calf. Flegetanis was deeply versed in all the motions of the heavenly bodies; and in the hallowed volume deposited at Toledo, he had carefully inscribed the result of his nocturnal studies. But the book contained nothing more than the astronomer had really read most mysteriously depicted in the skies[115]. Even the name of the Graal was there emblazoned, together with the important fact, that a band of spirits had left it behind them upon earth, as they winged their way to their celestial abodes.

The acquisition of this knowledge stimulated Kyot to further inquiries, and he proceeded to search in Latin books for the name of that people which had been considered worthy of guarding the Graal. He perused the chronicles of Brittany, France and Ireland, without much success; but in the annals of Anjou he found the whole story recounted: he there read a complete history of Mazadan and his race, how Titurel brought the Graal to Amfortas, whose sister Herzelunde became the wife of Gamuret and the mother of Parcifal. This is clearly borrowed from the proeme of Kyot. Divested of its extraordinary colouring, we may receive it as amounting to this: that Kyot was indebted to an Arabic original for some of his details, and that the rest were collected from European records of the same fiction. The truth of this is supported by the internal evidence. The scene for the most part is not only laid in the East, but a large proportion of the names are of decidedly Oriental origin. The Saracens are always spoken of with consideration; Christian knights unhesitatingly enroll themselves under the banner of the Caliph; no trace of religious animosities is to be found between the followers of the Crescent and the Cross; and the

done this tale an injustice, Kyot may well be angry, who has presented us with the right narrative.

[115] In the work already referred to, Mr Görres has endeavoured to prove that Flegetanis must have had a Greek original before him. Of this, or at least of the adoption of Greek traditions, there is the most convincing proof in what is said of the aspis Eccidæmon and the fish Galeotes. The latter is intimately connected with the Northern fiction relative to the Nicors, so frequently mentioned in Beowulf

Arabic appellations of the seven planets are thus distinctly enumerated: Zwal (Zuhael), Saturn; Musteri, Jupiter; Muret (Meryt), Mars; Samsi (Shems), the Sun; Alligasir (the brilliant), Venus; Kitr (Kedr, the obscure), Mercury; Kamer (Kæmer), the Moon. Whether the name of Parcifal be taken from the Arabic Parsé or Parseh Fal, the pure or the poor dummling, as conjectured by Mr. Gorres, must be left to the decision of the Oriental scholar: but the narrative already given affords a strong corroboration of his opinion, that Flegetanis is a corruption of Felek-daneh, an astronomer.

The Breton and Provençal fictions, as we have seen, unite in bringing this mysterious vessel from the East, a quarter of the globe whose earliest records present us with a marvellous cup, as extraordinary in its powers as any thing attributed to the Graal. Such a cup is well known to have occupied a conspicuous place among the traditions of the Jews, and from the Patriarch Joseph[116], the chaste and provident minister of Pharaoh, to have descended to the great object of Hebrew veneration and glory, the illustrious king Solomon[117]. It will therefore be no matter of surprise to those who remember the talismanic effect of a name in the general history of fiction, that a descendant of this distinguished sovereign should be found to write its history; or that another Joseph should be made the instrument of conveying it to the kingdoms of Western Europe. In Persian fable, the same miraculous vessel has been bestowed upon the great Jemshid[118], the pattern

[116] "Is not this it in which my lord drinketh? And whereby indeed he *divineth?*" Gen xliv 5 In Norden's time the custom of divining by a cup was still continued "Je sais," dit Baram Cashef de Derri au Juif, qui servoit d'entremetteur aux voyageurs Européens, "quelles gens vous etes, j'ai *consulte ma coupe*, et j'y ai trouvé, que vous étiez ceux, dont un de nos prophètes a dit, qu'il viendroit des Francs travestis, qui feraient enfin venir un grand nombre d'autres Francs, qui feroient la conquête du pays, et examineroient tout" Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie, iii 68 The lecanomanty of the Greeks is well known.

[117] The Clavicula Salomonis contains a singular variation of this fiction The supernatural knowledge of Solomon was recorded in a volume, which Rehoboam inclosed in an ivory ewer, and deposited in his father's tomb On repairing the royal sepulchre, some wise men of Babylon discovered the cup, and having extracted the volume, an angel revealed the key to its mysterious writing to one Troes a Greek, and hence the stream of occult science, which has so beneficially unfolded the destinies of the West. A parallel fable is found in Messenian story. When the Lacedæmonians stormed the fortress on mount Ira, Aristomenes, warned by the Delphic oracle, secreted in the earth some unknown article, which was to be a future talisman of security to his unfortunate countrymen After the battle of Leuctra, the Argive commander Epiteles was directed in a dream to exhume this mysterious deposit. It was then discovered to be a brazen ewer, containing a roll of finely beaten tin, on which were inscribed the mysteries of the great divinities (*των μεγαλων θεων . ἡ τελετη.* Paus iv. c 20 26)

[118] "Giam en Perse signifie un *coupe* ou verre à boire, et un *miroir* Les Orientaux, qui fabriquent cette espèce de vases ou ustensiles de toutes sortes des métaux aussi bien que de verre ou de crystal, et en plusieurs figures différentes, mais qui approchent toutes de spherique, donnent aussi ce nom à un globe céleste. Ils disent, que l'ancien roi Gianschid, qui est le Salomon des Perses, et Alexandre

of perfect kings, in whose reign the golden age was realized in Iran, and under whose mild and beneficent sway it became a land of undisturbed felicity. On digging the foundations of Estakar (Persepolis), this favourite of Ormuzd, and his legitimate representative upon earth, discovered the goblet of the Sun; and hence the cause of all those blessings which attended his prosperous reign, and his unbounded knowledge of both terrestrial and celestial affairs. From the founder of the Persian monarchy it passed into the hands of Alexander the Great[119], the hero of all later Oriental fiction; and Ferdusi introduces the Macedonian conqueror addressing this sacred cup as "the ruling prince of the heavenly bodies, and as the auspicious emblem of his victorious career." By other Eastern poets it has been referred to as a symbol of the world, and the fecundating powers of Nature, while others again have considered it as the source of all true divination and augury, of the mysterious arts of chemistry, and the genuine philosopher's stone[120]. A goblet of the Sun also forms a favourite object in Grecian fable[121]. On approaching the shores of the Western Ocean, this divinity was supposed to abandon his chariot, and, placing himself in a cup, to be borne through the centre of the earth. Having visited (according to Stesichorus) his mother, wife and children, he then proceeded to the opposite point of the hemisphere, where another car awaited his arrival, with which he resumed his diurnal course. The Theban Hercules, the original type of all erratic champions, once ventured to attack the son of Hyperion; but on being reproved for his temerity he withheld his hand, and received as a reward for his obedience the golden chalice of the god. This he now ascended; and

le Grand, avoient de ces coupes, globes, ou miroirs, par le moyen desquels ils connoissoient toutes les choses naturels, et quelquefois même les surnaturelles La coupe qui servoit a Joseph le Patriarche pour deviner, et celle de Nestor dans Homère, où toute la nature étoit representée symboliquement, ont pu fournir aux Orientaux le sujet de cette fiction Un poete Turc dit, Lorsque j'aurai été éclaire des lumières du ciel, mon ame deviendra le miroir du monde, dans lequel je découvrai les secrets les plus cachés" Herbelot Biblioth Orient. s. v Giam.

[119] "Quum Alexander pervenisset in palatium suum, gyrantes exierunt Græci locis suis, et læti non viderunt noctem regis, (viderunt autem) quatuor pocula. Gyrantibus ita locutus est (Alexander) Salvi estote, lætamini hoc fausto omine nostro, hic enim scyphus in pugna est salus nostra, princeps siderum est in potestate nostra" Shahnameh, as quoted in Wilkins's Persian Chrestomathia, p. 171, and Creuzer's Dionysus, p 62

[120] In the article already referred to, Herbelot says, The Persian poets make of this cup, "tantot le symbole de la nature et du monde, tantot celui du vin, quelquefois celui de la divination et des augures, et enfin de la chymie, et de la pierre philosophale"

[121] See the fragments of this mythos, as variously related in Athenæus, lib xi. p. 469–70. Mimnermus calls it the couch of the Sun, in allusion, as Athenæus observes, to the concave form of the cup. This seems to have been a common metonymy, for in the passage already cited from Pausanias, the brazen ewer deposited by Aristomenes is termed a brazen bed by the old man who appeared to Epiteles in his dream.

during a furious storm, excited for the purpose of putting his courage to the test, he traversed the ocean in it till he reached the western island of Erythæa[122]. The Platonists have dwelt at large upon Hercules thus completing his labours in the West; and, connecting this circumstance with the fancied position of the islands of the blest, have implied that it was here he overcame the vain illusions of a terrestrial life, and that henceforth he resided in the realms of truth and eternal light. With them, as in the school from whence their leading dogmas were derived—the mysteries of Paganism—a cup is the constant symbol of "vivific power;" and this goblet of the Sun becomes the same type of regeneration and a return to a better life with the Graal of romantic fiction. Another version of the contest between Hercules and the Sun, or Apollo, transfers the scene of action to Delphi, and makes the object of strife between these heaven-born kinsmen the celebrated tripod of the oracle. But in the symbolical language of Greece, a tripod and a goblet (crater) were synonymous terms[123]; and the grammarians have informed us, that from this combat between the brothers, and their subsequent reconciliation, arose the prophetic

[122] From the Grecian terminology of their drinking-vessels, it is clear that a cup and a ship were originally correlative ideas, and the catalogue of Athenæus (lib. xi.) recites several words indiscriminately implying either the one or the other. The twofold import of these terms will tend to explain an apparent deviation on the part of the Greeks and Romans, from the general type adopted by other nations in the form of their receptacles for the dead The vase or urn of the former, the larnax of Egypt, the ship or boat of Western Europe, and the canoe of the American savage, are all connected with the same primitive idea expressed in the Welsh apophthegm "Pawb a ddaw i'r Ddavar Long—Every one will come into the ship of the earth" By whatever steps the Greek proceeded from his simple bowl or boat, to all the luxury of form displayed in his cinereal urns, the larnax, ship, or coffin of other nations was by no means a needful accommodation to the doctrine, which forbade the incremation of the dead The ashes of Balldur (Dæmesaga, c. 43.) were deposited in the ship Hringhorne, the body of Scyld (Beowulf, c. 1.) in a bark laden with arms and raiment, and committed to the guidance of the ocean. The varying language of the Iliad seems to countenance a similar distinction between Greek and Phrygian rites The ashes of Patroclus are consigned to a golden cup (εις χρυσεην φιαλην, xxiii 253), those of Hector to a golden ark or coffer (χρυσειην εις λαρνακα, xxiv 795 Compare Thucydides, ii 34), for it is by no means clear, that the latter term ever implied an urn, however much such an interpretation might be justified by analogy We are not, however, to infer, that either of these utensils was the emblem of death or annihilation, or that this application to funereal purposes was in any way at variance with the Platonic doctrine of the text. For as the cup or vase was the symbol of vivific power, of generation, or an earthly existence, so also it was the type of regeneration, or a continued life in a happier and more exalted state The savage is buried in his canoe, that he may be conveyed to the residence of departed souls, the Greek was taught in the mysteries, that the Dionysic vase would be a passport to the Elysian fields, and the religion of Egypt enjoined, that every worshiper of Osiris should appear before his subterranean judge in the same kind of receptacle as that which had inclosed the mortal frame of this divinity. It only remains to observe, that a boat of glass was the symbol of initiation into the Druidical mysteries. Davies's Celtic Mythology, p. 211.

[123] Και το νικητηριον εν Διονυσου, τριπους . . . δει δε νοειν τριποδα του Διονυσου, τον κρατηρα. Athenæus ii. 143.

powers of Hercules. It will however be remembered, that the translators of the Septuagint, in their version of the Hebrew text, have rendered the divining cup of Joseph by the Greek term "Condy." Of this vessel Athenæus has preserved the following account from Nicomachus. "The name of this cup is Persian. It originally meant the celestial lantern of Hermes, which in form resembled the world, and was at once the source of the divine marvels, and all the fruits that abound upon earth. On this account it is used in libations[124]." The reader of Plato will have no difficulty in connecting this mundane cup with the first crater, in which the Demiurgus of the universe mixed the materials of his future creation; in which the soul of the world was tempered to its due consistency, and from whence the souls that animate corporeal substances were dispersed among the stars[125]. The mention of this primary bowl gave rise among the Platonists to a second or distributive cup of souls, which they bestowed upon Dionysus, as lord of the sensitive universe; and hence the Nymphs, as ministrants and followers of this divinity, as the authorized inspectors of generation, were said to be supplied with the same symbol. According to some authorities, these goblets are placed at opposite points of the firmament, and are respectively the types of generation, or the soul's descent into this realm of sensual pleasure, and of palingenesy, or the soul's return to those celestial regions from whence it sprang[126]. The former stands between the signs of Cancer and Leo, immediately before the human portal, and a draught of the oblivious beverage it contains occasions forgetfulness of those pure delights in which the soul had previously lived, and excites a turbulent propensity towards a material and earthly existence[127]. The latter is placed at one extremity of the

[121] Athenæus, xi 473. The present version is founded on the correction of Mr Creuzer, who has at length rendered this passage intelligible by reading 'Ερμου κπνος, where both Casaubon and Schweighauser have 'Ερμιππος. The latter critic has acknowledged the advantage of this emendation. See Dionysus, &c. p. 26 et seq. Nicomachus has used the term applied by Plato (Leg. i. 644.) to the whole animal creation, των θεων τα θαυματα.

[125] Timæus, 41, 42.

[126] See Mr. Creuzer's Symbolik, &c. vol. iii. 410, &c. who has collected the scattered notices of Proclus and Plotinus on the subject. Compare also Porphyry's interesting tract De Antro Nympharum, and Macrobius's Somnium Scipionis.

[127] See Macrobius, S. Scip. i. c. 12. The caldron of Ceridwen, if founded on a *genuine* record, appears to occupy the same place in Celtic mythology. (See the Hanes Taliessin in Mr Davies's Celtic Myth.) Ceridwen, we are told, was "the goddess of various seeds," from whose caldron was derived every thing sacred, pure and primitive. Gwyon the Little sits watching the caldron of inspiration, till three drops of the precious compound alight on his finger. On tasting these, every event of futurity becomes unfolded to his view. This appears to be the "novum potum materialis alluvionis," the intoxicating draught which inspires the soul with an irresistible propensity to a corporeal existence. "Hæc est autem hyle, quæ omne corpus mundi quod ubicumque cernimus ideis impressa formavit" (Macrob. i. 12.) It is this which protrudes the soul into Leo, and furnishes

table of the gods (the milky way). It is held by Ganymede or Aquarius, the guardian of the southern fishes (king Pecheur?); and it is only by a favourable lot from this urn of destiny, that the soul is enabled to find a passage through the portal of the gods (Capricorn) to the circle of eternal felicity.

The sacred vessel of modern fiction is no less distinguished for its attributes. The seat reserved for it at the Round Table, was called "the siege perilous," of which a hermit had declared, "There shall never none sit in that siege but one, but if he be destroyed," [and that one] "shall win the Sanegreall[128]." On the day this seat was to receive its appointed tenant, two inscriptions were found miraculously traced upon it: "Four hundred winters and four and fifty accomplished after the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ ought the siege to be fulfilled:" and, "This is the siege of Sir Galahad the good knight." The healing virtues of the Graal are exemplified on the wounded persons of Sir Bors and Sir Percival[129], two of the knights destined to

it with a prescience of its future career ("cum vero ad Leonem labendo pervenerint, illic conditionis futuræ auspicantur exordium" Ib) Gwyon is now pursued by Ceridwen, and transforms himself successively into a hare, a fish, and a bird, while the goddess becomes a greyhound-bitch, an otter, and a sparrow-hawk. Despairing of escape he assumes the form of a grain of wheat, and is swallowed by Ceridwen in the shape of a black high-crested hen Ceridwen becomes pregnant, and at the expiration of nine months brings forth Taliessin, whom she exposes in a boat or coracle In this we appear to have the soul's progression through the various elements which supply it with the vehicles necessary for incorporation "Tertius vero elementorum ordo, ita ad nos conversus, habeatur, ut terram ultimam faciat, et cæteris in medium redactis in terram desinat, tam ima quam summa postremitas igitur sphæra Martis ignis habeatur, aer Jovis, Saturni aqua, terra vero Aplanes, in qua Elysios campos esse puris animis deputatos antiquitas nobis intelligendum reliquit de his campis anima, cum in corpus emittitur, per tres elementorum ordines, trina morte, ad corpus usque descendit" (Ib) The *pursuit* of Ceridwen would then be a personification of that necessity, by which souls are compelled to descend, in order that the economy of the universe may be sustained. "For the sensitive life suffers from the external bodies of fire and air, earth and water falling upon it; and considering all the passions as mighty through the vileness of its life, is the cause of tumult to the soul" Procl in Tim as cited by Mr T Taylor, ii. p 513 Another favourite figure of the same school is, that the soul is hurled like seed into the realms of generation Ib 510 The remainder of the tale is a piece of common mythology Mr. Davies admits that the bardic lore was a compound of Pagan and Christian dogmas, and it therefore becomes a question, whether this Paganism was purely Druidical, or that syncretic system adopted by Pelagius from the Platonizing fathers of the Eastern church The theological tenets of the triads (Williams's Poems, vol ii) are obviously derived from this source

[128] Morte Arthur, P iii. c 1.

[129] On this occasion Sir Percival "had a glimmering of that vessel, and of the maiden that bore it, for he was perfect and clene" (M Arth c. 14) And again "I wot wele what it is It is an holy vessel that is borne by a maiden, and thereon is a part of the holy blood of our blessed Saviour" Ib There is no clue in the romance to the genealogy of this damsel. But Mr Creuzer has shown that "a perfect and clean maiden" who bore a holy vessel, was a well-known character in Grecian story. Amymone, the *blameless* daughter of Danaus, was exempt from the punishment inflicted upon her father's children, because she had resisted the solicitations of a Satyr (sensual love). Hence she was permitted to draw the cooling reviving draught of consolation and bliss in a perfect vase. Her sisters, who had

accomplish the Quest. A cripple of ten years' suffering is restored to health by touching the table on which it is borne; and a nameless knight of perfect and unspotted life is admitted to kiss it, and finds an instantaneous cure for his maladies. But the courage, prowess and chivalric accomplishments of Sir Launcelot are rendered unavailing in the Quest, by his guilty commerce with Queen Guenever. He is permitted to see its marvellous effects upon the knight already mentioned, and who, less worthy than himself in earthly endowments, is yet uncontaminated by mortal sin; and once indeed he is suffered to approach the chamber containing it. But a voice forbids his penetrating to the interior of the sanctuary: yet, having rashly disregarded the admonition, he falls a victim to his fatal curiosity, and continues in an almost lifeless condition for four-and-thirty days. A similar punishment is inflicted upon king Evelake, who having "nighed so nigh" to the holy vessel "that our Lord was displeased with him," he became "blasted with excess of light," and remained "almost blind" the rest of his life[130]. The most solemn instance of its agency in the presence of a profane assembly, occurs on the day of Sir Galahad's assuming the siege perilous: "Then anon they heard cracking and crying of thun-

yielded to temptation, who had resigned themselves to Desire, were doomed to spend their time in fruitless attempts to fill a bottomless or broken vase, or a perforated sieve, and to become the standing types of the uninitiated, or souls wallowing in the mire of material existence. (The story of the murder was unknown to Homer and Apollodorus, and was doubtlessly a later fiction) The Greeks also placed a vase *upon* the graves of the unmarried persons, as a symbol of celibacy, a practice that seems to illustrate the language of Joseph of Arimathy to Sir Percival "And wotest thou wherefore [our Lord] hath sent me more than other? for thou hast resembled me in two things, one is, that thou hast seen the Sancgreall, and the other is that thou hast been a *clene maiden* as I am." c 103

[130] The punishment here inflicted upon Sir Lancelot and king Evelake, is founded upon an idea, which seems to have pervaded the mythology of most nations, that the person of the Deity is too effulgent for mortal sight, and that any attempt at a direct inspection is sure to be punished with a loss of vision or the senses. Hence the stories of Tiresias and Actæon, of Herse and Aglauros (Paus i 18), of Eurypylus (Ib. vii 19.), and Maneros (Plut. de Isid. et Osirid. c. 17.); and the explanation given to the disease called nympholepsy is clearly referable to the same opinion "Vulgo autem memoriæ proditum est, quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est, effigiem nymphæ, viderint, furendi non fecisse finem, quos Græci *νυμφολη-πτους*, Latini lymphatos appellant" Festus. Hence also the eyes were averted on meeting a hero or heroical demon, and an Heroon was passed in silence. Schol. in Aristoph. Aves, 1490–3 The same opinion appears to have been current among the Germanic tribes who worshiped the goddess Hertha. Her annual circuit was made in a veiled car, but the servants who washed the body of the goddess on her return, and who consequently must have gazed upon her person, were reported to have been "swallowed up quick" by the earth When Hercules demanded an epiphany of the god Ammon, we are told this divinity assumed a ram's vizor, a fiction which seems to be connected with the same common opinion (Herod ii. 42) The numerous veiled statues seen by Pausanias in his tour through Greece, the veiled goblet carried in the Dionysic procession at Alexandria (Athen. lib v. 268.), and the general introduction of the Graal (wherein was "a part of the holy blood of our blessed Saviour") covered with samyte, may be considered as further illustrations.

der, that hem thought the place should all to-rive. In the midst of the blast, entered a sunbeam, more clear by seven times than ever they saw day; and all they were alighted of the grace of the holy ghost[131]. Then there entered into the hall, the holy Grale covered with white samite; but there was none that might see it, nor who bare it; and then was all the hall full filled with good odours; and every knight had such meat and drink as he best loved in this world; and when the holy Grale had been borne through the hall, then the holy vessel departed suddenly, that they wist not where it became." (c. 35.) But these are the mere secular benefits in the power of the sacred cup to bestow. To those allowed to share in its spiritual advantages, who by a life of purity and blameless conduct had capacitated themselves for a more intimate communion with it, it became a cup of eternal life and salvation. On its first epiphany to Sir Galahad and his fellows,

[131] In the ancient world a cup or goblet was not only considered as the most suitable kind of vessel for libations, but it was also regarded as an appropriate type of the Deity. This no doubt arose from the widely extended dogma, that the Demiurgus of the universe framed the world in his own image. The illustrations of this opinion, as exemplified in votive offerings, in the form of an egg, a globe, sphere, hemisphere, cup, dish, &c would fill a volume, and happily Mr Creuzer by his "Dionysus" has rendered further proof on the subject unnecessary. In Ægyptian processions a vase led the way as an image of Osiris (Plut 496), a small urn was the effigy of Isis (Apuleius, Metamorph xi p 693), a bowl or goblet was borne on a chariot, as the emblem of Dionysus, in the festival described by Calixenus (Athenæus, v 268), and hence the long catalogue of craters, tripods, &c so common in the furniture of ancient temples. That the same symbol was acknowledged in other countries previously to any general intercourse with the Roman powers, is more than probable. Herodotus has stated of the Issedones, that they decorated the skulls of the departed with gold, reserving them as images (see Salmas in Solin p 192) of their ancestors, when they performed those annual rites which the Greeks called γενεσια. From this we may infer that the Issedones entertained the same notions of the dead that we find prevailing in almost every ancient and modern nation in a Pagan state; and that they enrolled their deceased relatives among those domestic deities who by a general system of euphemy have been called θεοι χρηστοι, Dii Manes, Gutichen and Guid Neighbours. As the guardians of the family hearth, and the household gods of their descendants, the same class of spirits was also termed by the Greeks and Romans θεοι κατοικιδιοι, Lares, πατρωοι θεοι, and Dii Penates. (See Salmasius Exercit Plin p 46.) Now the images shown at Lavinium, as the identical statues of the Penates brought to Italy by Æneas, consisted of κηρυκια σιδηρα και χαλκα, και κεραμον Τρωικον (Dion. Hal i 67.) With the true or fictitious history of Æneas we are not concerned; it is sufficient to know the form of those symbols which were acknowledged in Italy as suitable representations of the Penates. For an explanation of the caduceal figures we may refer to Servius. "Nullus enim *locus* sine *Genio* est, qui per *anguem* plerumque ostenditur." The Trojan bowl and Issedonian skull will illustrate each other. Livy has also said, "Galli Boii caput ducis (Postumi) præcisum ovantes templo—intulere purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvum auro cælavere, idque *sacrum vas* iis erat, quo solennibus hbarent; poculumque idem sacerdoti esse ac templi antistitibus." It will be remembered, that according to the Edda, the skull of Ymir was converted into the canopy of heaven (Dæmesaga). Something is said on this subject at page xxvi. below, which, though written without the passages above cited being in the Editor's recollection, he by no means wishes to retract, so far as the *moderns* are concerned. Through inadvertency the authorities for that note have been omitted, viz Bartholin for the facts, and the "Transactions of the Scandinavian Society," page 323. 1813. for the correction

the great mystery of the Romish church is visibly demonstrated before them. The transubstantiation of the sacred wafer is effected in their presence, palpably and sensibly; the hallowed "bread become flesh" is deposited in the cup; and the Redeemer of the world emerges from it to administer to his "knights servants and true children, which [were] come out of deadly life into spiritual life, the high meat which [they] had so much desired." Still they "did not see that which they most desired to see, so openly as they were to behold it in the city of Sarras in the spiritual place." Here Sir Galahad's vision of the transcendent attributes of the Graal is perfected; his participation in its hallowed contents is consummated to the full extent of his wishes, he has now obtained the only meed for which this life is worth enduring—a certainty of passing to a better: his earthly travails close, "his soul departs unto Christ, and a great multitude of angels" is seen to "bear it up to heaven. Also his two fellows saw come from heaven a hand, but they saw not the body, and then it came right to the vessel and took it ..... and so bare it up to heaven. Sithence was there never no man so hardy for to say that he had seen the Sangreall."

In the Arabic version the holy vessel is delivered by an angel to Titurel, at whose birth another minister of heaven attended, and foretold the infant hero's future glory, by declaring that he was destined to wear the crown of Paradise. By him a temple is built for its preservation upon Montsalvaez, "a sacred mountain, which stands in Salvatierra[132], a district of Arragon, and lying adjacent to the valley of Roncevalles and upon the high road from France to Compostella." The materials for this structure are of the most costly and imperishable description: they are all produced in their appropriate forms and connection by the miraculous power of the Graal; and the outline of the building is unexpectedly discovered upon a rock of onyx, which the day before had been cleansed of the weeds and herbage that encumbered it. The access to the sanctuary is rendered invisible to all, except the chosen few, by an impervious forest of cedar, cypress and ebony surrounding it. By the daily contemplation of the Graal, Titurel's life is prolonged to "more than five hundred years;" just as the glorious career of Jemshid was extended to nearly seven centuries from a similar cause; and he only sinks to the sleep of death, from omitting to visit it during the space of ten days. In Lohengrin, Mont-

[132] This Montsalvaez in Salvatierra is in all probability the Salisberi of the Norman Romancers, the Mons salutis (Sawlesbyrig?) of the Christian world. This would account for the castle of Luces Sieur de Gast being "pres de Salisberi," or adjoining the sanctuary in which the Graal was preserved.

salvaez assumes the place of the isle of Avalon in British romance[133]; and forms the fabled place of retreat of Arthur and his followers. It is here that the British monarch awaits the hour of his re-appearance upon earth[134]; but far from remaining insensible to those chivalric duties which rendered his court an asylum for injured beauty and distressed sovereigns, he still holds a communication with the world, and occasionally dispatches a faithful champion to grant assistance in cases of momentous need[135]. Here also the Graal maintains the sanc-

[133] The retreat of Arthur to the isle of Avalon forms an exact parallel to what Hesiod has sung of the heroes who fell in the Trojan war, &c (Op et Dies, 140) The skolion of Callistratus relative to Harmodius and Aristogeiton shows how late this beautiful fiction continued to be a favourite with the Athenians In the Islands of the Blest we hear of Semele being married to Rhadamanthus, and Helen to Achilles The offspring of this latter union was a winged boy, Euphorion, who was destroyed by Jupiter in the island of Melos (Ptolem Hephæst c 4) Mr Owen has said of "Arthur the son of Uthyr Bendragon, that he was a mythological and probably allegorical personage, and the Arcturus or Great Bear" of the celestial sphere. It is to be regretted that the Welsh antiquaries have told us so little of this mystic Arthur. The Fins, one of the oldest European tribes, and whose destinies have been even more evil-starred than those of the Celts, retain the following article of their ancient faith —When the soul is permitted to ascend the shoulders of Ursa Major, it passes into the highest heaven, and the last stage of felicity (Mone, ubi supra, 62) Something of this kind is absolutely necessary to make many parts of the Morte Arthur intelligible, for that in this we have to do with the mythological Arthur, would be clear even to those who had no knowledge of an historical British prince. Not that the compilers of these fictions were at all aware of the ground they were treading, any more than Homer, when he described the contest between Vulcan and the Scamander, believed himself "to be philosophizing Orphically," to speak with Philostratus (Heroic p. 100 ed Boissonnade.) The writers of romance, like the great Mæonian (si licet componere, &c), appear to have poured forth in song the sacred lore of an earlier period, but which having already received a secular or historical cast, was uttered as such by them with the most unsuspecting good faith

[134] The doctrine of the metempsychosis, which formed so conspicuous an article of the Celtic creed, would be sufficient to account for the Breton tradition relative to Arthur's re-appearance upon earth A similar belief was entertained respecting Ogier le Danois, whose identity with Helgi, a hero of Sæmund's Edda, has been already noticed At the close of the song "Helgi and Svava," it is stated, that these persons were born again, and at the end of the second song concerning Helgi Hundings-bane, we have, "It was believed in the olden time that men might be born again Helgi and Sigrunr are said to have been regenerated *He* was then called Helgi Haddingia-skate, but *she*, Kara Halfdens daughter" The compiler of this collection does not fail to add, that in his time this opinion was regarded as an old-wives' tale The French romances however have perpetuated the tradition

[135] The author of Lohengrin makes Eschenbach assert, that his information respecting Arthur's "residence in the mountain, the manner in which the British monarch and his hundred followers were provided with food, raiment, horses, and armour, and the names of the champions whom he had dispatched to aid the Christian world," was obtained from St. Brandan. Lohengrin or the "Chevelere Assigne" was one of these heroes. In this Arthur assumes the duty allotted to Proserpine, who, according to Pindar, "having cleansed the soul of its impurities, re-dispatches it to the upper sun, where it becomes distinguished for its wisdom or its power, and in after-time is ranked among the heroes of public veneration" See Plato's Meno 81 and Hermann's disposition of this fragment in the 3rd volume of Heyne's Pindar. In Germany this tradition respecting the Graal became localized Four miles from Dann, St Barbara's hill is seen to rise conically from the centre of a plain. By many infatuated Germans this hill is called the *Graal*, who also believe that it contains numerous living persons, whose lives will be prolonged till the day of judgement,

tity of its character; and becomes at once the register of human grievances and necessities, and the interpreter of the will of Heaven as to the best mode of redressing them[136]. But even here its transcendent purity requires a similar degree of unblemished worth in those who consult its dictates: the attendant knights in Arthur's train are too corrupt and sensual to approach the hallowed fane; and the infant children of Perceval and Lancelot, and the daughter of the courteous Gawaine are alone considered fit to step within the sacred shrine. Perhaps this would be the place to connect these scattered fragments of general tradition, and to offer a few remarks upon the import of a symbol which has thus found its way into the popular creed of so many distant nations. But a history of romantic fiction forms no part of the present attempt, nor an exposition of those esoteric doctrines, which, taught in the heathen temple and perpetuated in the early stages of the Romish church, have descended to the multitude in a less impressive but more attractive guise.

There is, however, one point upon which it may be necessary to make a more explicit avowal, lest the general tendency of the preceding remarks should be construed into an acquiescence in opinions wholly disclaimed. Though the marvels of popular fiction, both in the ancient and modern world, have thus been referred to the same common origin, it is by no means intended to affirm that the elements of fictitious narrative in Greek and Roman literature are nowhere to be found embodied in the productions of the middle age[137]. Such an assertion would be at variance with the most limited experience of the subject, and might be refuted by a simple reference to the German tales of MM. Grimm. In the story of the "Serpent-leaf," the principal incident accords with the account of Glaucus and Polyidus, as related by Apollodorus[138], the cranes of Ibycus figure under another form in the

and who pass their time there in a round of continued revelry and pleasure. Theoderic a Niem lib ii de Schismat. c 20. as cited by Prætorius, i 395.

[136] The distress of Elsam von Brabant is made known to Arthur by her ringing a bell, a subject upon which there is no space to dilate But the reader will not fail to remember that a brazen vessel (or bell) is sounded when Simætha invokes Hecate (Theocritus, ii. 36), and that a similar rite was observed at Athens when the Hierophant invoked the same Goddess as Coré or Proserpine. See Apollodorus, as cited by the Scholiast to Theocritus, and compare the preceding note

[137] Mr Ritson has said, "Nothing seems more probable than that the composers of romance were well acquainted with the ancient Greek and Latin poets" (Met Rom iii p 324) But here his own favourite figure in dialectic might certainly have been retorted upon him Is it so nominated in the bond?

[138] Compare Grimm's Kinder- und Haus-Marchen, No. 16, with Apollod. Biblioth. iii 3 1. There is perhaps no fable that has obtained a more extensive circulation than this. Another version of the story attributes the cure of Glaucus to Æsculapius (Hyg Astron 14) and according to Xanthus, as cited by Pliny (Hist Nat lib. xxv c. 5), it formed a piece of Lydian history A recent num-

tale of the Jew and the Skinker[137]; and the slipper of Cinderella finds a parallel, though somewhat sobered, in the history of the celebrated Rhodope[140]. In another story of the same collection we meet with the fabled punishment of Regulus, inflicted on the persons of two culprits[141]; Ovid's Baucis and Philemon may be said to have furnished the basis of the Poor and the Rich Man[142]; the Gaudief and his Master contains the history of the Thessalian Erisichthon[143], the Bœotian Sphinx exerts her agency in a variety of forms[144]; and the descent of Rhampsinitus, and his dicering with Demeter, is shadowed forth in a series of narratives[145]. Another of Ovid's fables, the history of Picus and Circe, is in strict analogy with a considerable portion of the "Two Brothers," other incidents may be said to have been borrowed from the account of the same enchantress in the Odyssey. the annual sacrifice of a virgin to the destructive dragon forms a pendant to the story in Pausanias concerning the dark demon of Temessa; and the test of the hero's success, the production of the dragon's tongue, which also

ber of the Quarterly Review (No 58) has cited the following illustration of it from Roger Bacon's Opus Majus "At Paris there was lately a sage, who sought out the serpent's nest, and selecting one of the reptiles, he cut it into small pieces, leaving only as much undissected membrane as was sufficient to prevent the fragments from falling asunder The dying serpent crawled as well as it could until it found a leaf, whose touch immediately united the severed body, and the sage, thus guided by the creature whom he had mangled, was taught to gather a plant of inestimable virtue" While this sheet was passing through the press, a similar story was related to the Editor, of an old crone practising leech-craft in Glamorganshire at the present day The ancient name of this valuable herb was balis or ballis (Comp Pliny with the Etymol. Magnum) In the Lai d'Eliduc, two weasels are substituted for the serpents of the ancient fiction

[139] Grimm, No. 115. Cic. Tusc 4. c. 43.

[140] Grimm, No 21. Ælian Var. Hist. lib xiii. c 32.

[141] Grimm, No. 13. Appian in Libycis In the note to the "Three Mannikins in the Wood," it is stated from the Great Chronicle of Holland, that this punishment was inflicted on Gerhard van Velzen, for the murder of Count Florence V of Holland (1296). After being rolled in the cask for three days, he was asked how he felt, when he intrepidly replied

Ich ben noch dezelve man
Die Graaf Floris zyn leven nam

I am still the self-same man who took away the life of Count Florence! The same punishment is also mentioned in the Swedish popular ballads published by Geyer and Afzelius, i. No. 3, the Danish Kiempe Viser, No 165, in Perrault's Fairy Tale "Les Fées," and the Pentamerone, iii 10. (Grimm) [See also Mr Edgar Taylor's German Popular Stories, and the Notes]

[142] Grimm, No 87 Ovid Met viii 679, where the presence of a divinity is manifested by a miracle running through the fictions of every country

Interea, quoties haustum cratera, repleri
Sponte sua, per seque vident succrescere vina,
Attoniti, &c.

Compare note 105 p (52) above.

[143] Grimm, No. 68 Ovid. Met viii. 738 and Ælian Var. Hist. i 28

[144] The popular view of this subject in the ancient world is given by Pausanias, ix c 26 who represents the Sphinx as a natural daughter of Laius, entrusted with a secret delivered to Cadmus by the oracle at Delphi The rightful heir to the throne was in possession of the solution to this mystery, the illegitimate pretenders were detected by their ignorance of it, and suffered the penalty due to their deceit.

[145] Grimm, No 82, and the note containing the several variations of the tale. Herodotus ii 122.

occurs in the romances of Wolf-dietrich and Tristram, is to be met with in the local history of Megara[146]. The mysterious cave of "Gaffer Death" receives its chief importance from its resemblance to a similar scene in the vision of Timarchus[147]; and the most interesting tale in the whole collection—whether we speak with reference to its contents, or the admirable style of the narrative—the Machandel Boom[148]— is

[146] Grimm, No 60 Ovid Met xiv 327 Odyss x 230–335 Comp. Ovid xiv 270 Pausanias vi c. 6 (See note 57. p. (33) above.) Weber's Northern Antiquities, p 123 Sir Tristram, fytte 2 st 37. The scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius relates, on the authority of the Megarica, that Alcathous the son of Pelops, having slain Chrysippus, fled from Megara, and settled in some other town The Megaræan territory being afterwards ravaged by a lion, persons were dispatched to destroy it, but Alcathous, meeting the monster, slew it, and cut out the tongue, with which he returned to Megara The party sent to perform the exploit also returned, averring the success of their enterprise, when Alcathous advanced, and produced the lion's tongue, to the confusion of his adversaries. Schol in Apoll. Rhod. lib i v 517

[147] Grimm, No 44 "Gaffer Death .. now led the physician into a subterranean cavern, containing an endless number of many thousand thousand lighted candles Some were long, others half-burnt, and others again almost out Every instant some of these candles became extinguished, and others lighted anew, and the flame was seen to move from one part of the cave to another Look here! (said Death to his companion,) these are the vital sparks of human existence" In Plutarch's tract "De Genio Socratis," Timarchus is made to address his mysterious guide thus "But I see nothing except a number of stars shooting about the chasm, some of which are plunging into it, and others shining brilliantly and rising out of it" These are said to be the intellectual portions of the soul (Nous), or demoniacal intelligences, and the ascending stars souls upon their return from earth, the others, souls descending into life c. 22 In this we receive the key to the attribute bestowed upon the ancient divinities who presided over generation and childbirth, such as Lucina, Artemis-Phosphorus, &c and hence also the analogy between the stories of Meleager and Norna-Gest may be explained from a common point of popular faith.

[148] This extraordinary tale will be found in the second volume of Mr. Edgar Taylor's German Popular Stories, now on the eve of publication To this the reader is referred, who will feel grateful that no garbled abstract of it is here attempted The points of coincidence may be thus briefly stated In the Cretan fable, the destruction of Zagreus is attributed to the jealousy of his step-mother Juno, and the Titans (those telluric powers who were created to avenge their mother's connubial wrongs) are the instruments of her cruelty The infant god is allured to an inner chamber, by a present of toys and fruit (among these an *apple*), and is forthwith murdered The dismembered body is now placed in a kettle, for the repast of his destroyers, but the vapour ascending to heaven, the deed is detected, and the perpetrators struck dead by the lightning of Jove Apollo collects the bones of his deceased brother, and buries them at Delphi, where the palingenesy of Bacchus was celebrated periodically by the Hosii and Thyades (Compare Clemens Alex Protrept p 15 ed. Potter, Nonnus Dionys vi 174, &c and Plutarch de Isid et Osirid c. 35 et De Esu Carnium, i c vii) But this again is only another version of the Egyptian mythos relative to Osiris, which will supply us with the chest, the tree, the sisterly affection, and perhaps the bird (though the last may be explained on other grounds) (Plut. de Isid &c c 13 et seqq) Mr Grimm wishes to consider the "Machandel-Boom" the juniper-tree, and not the "Mandel," or almond-tree. It will be remembered, that the latter was believed by the ancient world to possess very important properties The fruit of one species, the Amygdala, impregnated the daughter of the river Sangarius with the Phrygian Attys (Paus. vii. 17), and another, the Persea, was the sacred plant of Isis, so conspicuous on Egyptian monuments (For this interpretation of the Persea, see S de Sacy's Abd-allatif Rélation de l'Egypte, p 47-72, and the Christian and Mahommedan fictions there cited) This story of dressing and eating a child is historically related of Atreus, Tantalus, Procne, Harpalice (Hyginus ed Staveren, 206), and Astyages (Herod i. 119), and is obviously a piece of traditional scandal borrowed

but a popular view of the same mythos upon which the Platonists ha expended so much commentary—the history of the Cretan Bacch or Zagreus. In Sweden, the story of Hero and Leander has becon localized, and forms the subject of an interesting national ballad, tl fate of Midas is to be found incorporated as an *undoubted* point Irish history [149]; and the treasury of Rhampsinitus has passed fro Egypt to Greece, and from Mycenæ to Venice [150]. The youthful h story of Theseus bears a strong resemblance to many parts of Sir D goré, the white and black sails, the emblems of his success or failur are attached to the history of Tristram and fair Ysoude, the ball silk given him by Ariadne has passed into the hands of the Russia witch Jaga-Baba; and the heroic feat which was to establish the pro of his descent, has been inserted in the lives of Arthur, and the Nort ern Sigurdr [151]. The talisman of Meleager—"Althæa's firebrand"- has been conferred upon the aged Norna-Gest, a follower of kin Olaf [152], the artifice of Jack the Giant-killer, in throwing a stone amon his enemies, occurs in the histories of Cadmus and Jason [153]; and tl perilous labour of Alcmene is circumstantially related in the Scottis ballad of Willie's Lady [154]. Among the marvellous tales with whic the traveller Pytheas chose to enliven the narrative of his voyage,

from ancient mythology The Platonistic exposition of it will be found in Mr. Taylor's tract upon the Bacchic Mysteries (Pamphleteer, No 15)

[149] Keating's Hist of Ireland, as cited by MM Grimm, iii. 391

[150] Compare Herod ii c 121 Schol in Aristoph. Nub 508 and the notes to Childe Harold, canto iv

[151] Compare Plutarch's Life of Theseus with Sir Degore, as published in the "Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry," Scott's Sir Tristram, p 199, Prince Wladimir and his Round Table, a collection of early Russian Heroic Songs, Leipzig 1819, 8vo, as cited by Mone 130, the Morte Arthur, P I. c 4, and the Volsunga Saga, Muller, p. 31

[152] Apollod Biblioth i c 8 1 "At length Gest told them the reason of his being called Norna-Gest. Three Volar cast his nativity, the two first spaeed every thing that was good, but the last became displeased, and said the child should not live longer than the candle lasted which was then burning. Upon this the two Volar seized the light, and bade his mother preserve it, saying, it was not to be lighted till the day of his death" Norna-Gest's Saga, Muller 113. Gest was more fortunate in his family connexions than the Grecian hero, for on the d king Olaf recommended him to try tl experiment of lighting the candle, he w 300 years old Ib

[153] Schol. in Apoll Rhod iii 1178.

[154] Minstrelsy of the Border, vol Sir Walter Scott has observed, that tl billie-blind, who detects the mother charm in this ballad, was a species of d mestic spirit or Brownie The Theba appear to have held a similar opinion r lative to Galinthias, whom they consider a ministrant of Hecate, and to whom tl first sacrifice was performed during tl festival of Hercules. (Anton Lib c. 2 They were hence reputed to worship weasel (Ælian Hist Nat xii v), an an mal of an exceedingly ominous charact in the ancient world (Theophrastus Ch. ract. 17.) In the reputed house of Amph tryon, Pausanias (ix 11) saw a relie representing the Sorceresses (Pharmac des) sent by Juno to obstruct Alcmen labour According to him (and he g thered the account at Thebes), they we defeated by Historis, a daughter of T resias, which again confirms the analo between the ancient and modern fictio for Tiresias and his family move in Th ban story with all the importance of tut lary divinities.

the risk of sacrificing his character for discernment and veracity, the following has been preserved by the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius: "Vulcan appears to have taken up his abode in the islands of Lipara and Strongyle,.....and it was formerly said, that whoever chose to carry there a piece of unwrought iron, and at the same time deposited the value of the labour, might on the following morning come and have a sword, or whatever else he wished, for it[155]." This fiction has a double claim upon our attention, both from the manner in which it became localized at a very early period in England, and from the interest it has recently excited by its reception into one of those unrivalled productions* which have given a new character to the literature of the day. In a letter written by Francis Wise to Dr. Mead, "concerning some antiquities in Berkshire, particularly the White Horse," an account is given of a remarkable pile of stones, to which the following notice is attached: "All the account which the country people are able to give of it is: At this place lived formerly an invisible smith; and if a traveller's horse had left a shoe upon the road, he had no more to do than to bring the horse to this place with a piece of money, and leaving both there for some little time, he might come again, and find the money gone, but the horse new shoed. The stones standing upon the Rudgeway, as it is called, I suppose gave occasion to the whole being called Wayland-Smith, which is the name it was always known by to the country-people." The reader will have no difficulty in detecting here the previous recital of Pytheas, or in recognising in this simple tradition the germ of a more recent fiction, as it has been unfolded in the novel of Kenilworth*. But he may not be equally aware, that the personage whose abilities it has so unostentatiously transmitted, is a very important character in early Northern poetry; and that the fame of "Wayland-Smith," though less widely extended than it now promises to become, was once the theme of general admiration, from the banks of the Bosphorus[156] to the Atlantic and Frozen oceans.

[155] Schol in Apoll Rhod iv 761

* [Altred the Great speaks of Welond "the wise smith" as a renowned personage of the remotest antiquity, and, paraphrasing the reflections of Boethius on the transient nature of human glory, exclaims, "Where are now the bones of Welond? or who knows the place where they were deposited?" Sir Walter Scott, however, has no scruple in producing him as a matter-of-fact parish blacksmith and mountebank of Berkshire, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, uttering much common-place gossip, shopping in Fleet Street, putting up at the Belle-Sauvage on Ludgate Hill, (chap xiii) &c &c. So mean a profanation of an ancient poetic tradition is far from being deserving of praise, but must be considered as one of those bookmaking expedients resorted to for the supply of the incessant demands of a lucrative and recklessly prolific manufacture —R. T.]

[156] In the Vilkina-Saga he is called Velent but the author adds, he bore the name of Volundr among the Varingar. These Βαραγγοι were mercenaries in the service of the Greek emperors See Anna Comn, Codrin, &c. and Ducange v *Ba-*

The first historical song in the Edda of Sæmund—if it be lawful to giv this name to a composition containing such a strong admixture (mythological matter—is devoted to the fortunes of a celebrated smit called Volundr*. The Vilkina-Saga, a production of the fourteent century, enters more fully into his history; and he is spoken of by vi rious writers between the ninth and fourteenth centuries[157] as the fa bricator of every curious weapon, or unusual piece of art. In the ou line of his story there is a very strong analogy† with the events tha shine so marvellously in the life of Dædalus. The flight of Volunc from his native country, like that of the Athenian artist, is attributc to an act of violence upon the persons of two rival craftsmen. His fir reception at the court of Nidung is attended by every demonstratio of kindness and attention; but an accidental offence occasions th seizure and mutilation of his person, and he is compelled to labour u cessantly in the duties of the forge for his tyrannical host. The doubl cruelties inflicted on him, in the loss of liberty and his bodily injurie inspire him with sentiments of revenge: the infant sons of his pers cutor fall the victims of his artifice; their sister is seduced and public disgraced; and the triumphant artist, having attached wings to h person, takes his way through the air to seek a more friendly en ployer[158]. It is not a little remarkable, that the only term in the Ic landic language to designate a labyrinth is Volundar-hus—a Weland house[159].

rangu In the eleventh century, the Northern portion of this body-guard amounted to 300, according to the Flatœ Codex, c 507–8, which makes a distinction between them and the French and Flemings in the Imperial service Muller, 149.

* [Conybeare's Illustrations, p 236]

[157] Some of these have been already noticed. (See Alfred's Boethius, and the poem of Beowulf, and note[Y] p lxii below) The following may be added from Muller's Saga-Bibliothek "Et nisi duratis Vuelandia fabrica giris obstaret " from a Latin poem of the ninth century, entitled "De prima Expeditione Attilæ regis Hunnorum in Gallia, ac de rebus gestis Waltharii Aquitanorum principis" Lipsiæ 1780. In Labbe's Bibliotheca MSS. Nova, tom. ii, the following notice occurs "Gillermus Sector Ferri hoc nomen sortitus est, quia cum Normannis confligens venire solito conflictu deluctans, ense corto vel scorto durissimo, quem Valandus faber condiderat, per medium corpus loricatum secavit una percussione" Historia Pontificum et Comitum Engolismensium incerto auctore, (but who was living in 1159 p 252 See also the romance of Hor child and Maiden Rimenild, in Ritsor Met Rom vol iii p 295

† [See Mr T. Keightley's "Tales ar Popular Fictions, their Resemblance ar Transmission from Country to Country 1834, p 271 He scarcely admits t analogy]

[158] These circumstances are taken fro the recital given in the Vilkina-Sag (Muller, 154) The Eddaic song mak no mention of Volundr's flight to the cou of Nithuthur (Nidung), nor of his killi his instructors the Dwarfs a deed of me self-defence according to the Vilkina-Sag since, his rapid improvement having e cited their envy, they were devising a pl for destroying him

[159] The name of Volundr became a g neral name in the North for any disti guished artist, whether working in sto or iron. The same may be said of D dalus in Greece (δαιδαλλειν, δαιδαλ whose labours are found to run throug succession of ages, and who, in addit to his numerous inventions, construc

The resemblances here detailed are obviously too intimate to have been the result of accident, or a common development of circumstances possessing some general affinity. The majority, on investigation, will be found to have been derived, however indirectly, from sources of classical antiquity; and their existence in this dismembered state forcibly illustrates a remark of Mr. Campbell's, which is equally distinguished for its truth and beauty: "that fiction travels on still lighter wings [than science], and scatters the seeds of her wild flowers imperceptibly over the world, till they surprise us by springing up with similarity, in regions the most remotely divided[160]." But while these resemblances tend to establish the fact, that popular fiction is in its nature *traditive*[161], they necessarily direct our attention to another important question—the degree of antiquity to be ascribed to the great national fables relative to Arthur, Theoderic, and Charlemagne. It will be almost needless to remark, that the admixture of genuine occurrences in all these romances is so disproportionate to the fictitious materials by which it is surrounded, that without the influence of particular names, and the locality given to the action, we should never connect the events detailed with personages of authentic history. The deeds ascribed to Charlemagne, by a mere change of scene, become as "germane" to the life of the most illustrious of the Gothic kings as any of the circumstances advanced in his own veracious Vilkina-Saga. A similar transference might be effected, in the "most antient and famous history of Prince Arthur," without violating the probability or disturbing the accuracy of the account: and the same process might be applied, with equal success, to almost every other romance laying claim to an historical character. But though all parties may be agreed, that the substructure of these recitals is essentially fabulous, the great point to be investigated, is the æra when each fable first obtained a circulation. Are the fictitious memorials thus united to the names of these several European kings the sole invention of an age posterior to their respective reigns? or the accumulated traditions of a long succession of cen-

such enormous works in Egypt, Sicily and Crete In the former country he received divine honours (Diod Sic. 1 p. 109), the mythologic character of Volundr is clear from the Edda, and Prætorius speaks of Spirits Volands and Water-Nixen as synonymous terms If we allow the daughter of Nidung to take the place of Pasiphae, the Athenian proverb will be fully substantiated εν παντι μυθῳ και το Δαιδαλου μυσος Suidas, 1 p 752

[160] Essay on English Poetry, p 30

To this may be added the doctrine of an ancient aphorism cited by Demosthenes (De falsa legatione)

Φημη δ' ου τις παμπαν απολλυται, ἡντινα πολλοι
Λαοι φημιξωσι· θεος νυ τις εστι και αυτη.

[161] Suppose we on things *traditive* divide,
And both appeal to Scripture to decide.—DRYDEN.

turies, both antecedent and subsequent to the period in which the events are placed? It cannot be expected that such an extensive subject will receive the discussion it merits, on the present occasion; but as some of the preceding remarks are founded on an assumption that the latter position is demonstrable, the general question may be illustrated by one example out of many, of the mode in which this amalgamation has been effected in Northern Romance.

The life of Theoderic of Berne, the mirror of German chivalry, has been connected in later romance with the adventures of Siegfried, the hero of the Nibelungen Lied*. The authentic history of this latter prince is wholly beyond the hope of recovery; but under the more decidedly Northern name of Sigurdr, he has been allowed the same distinction in Icelandic fiction, that attends him in the fables of Germany. In Sæmund's Edda his achievements are recorded in a series of simple narrative songs, and the Volsunga-Saga is wholly devoted to the fortunes of his family. The ground-work of Siegfried's story is indisputably the fatal treasure, originally the property of Andvar the dwarf, but which, extorted from him by violence, as a ransom for three captive deities, receives a doom from the injured Duergr, which involves every after-possessor in the same inevitable ruin as the necklace of Eriphyle in Grecian story. In the Nibelungen Lied the previous history of the "hoard" is wholly overlooked; and its acquisition by Siegfried, notwithstanding the important part assigned it in the subsequent stages of the recital, forms only a subsidiary argument. The Edda dwells with a spirit of eager yet mournful pleasure upon the successive acts of iniquity by which the threat of Andvar is substantiated; and the iron mask of destiny obtrudes itself at every step, with the same appalling rigour as in the tragic theatre of Greece. But in either narrative, the hero of the tale, whether Sigurdr or Siegfried, is spoken of as the son of Sigmund, and to him are attributed the destruction of the dragon, and the consequent spoliation of the treasure. A document nearer home, but which has evidently wandered to these shores from the North, the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, gives a different version of the story. In this interesting record of early Danish fable, the discomfiture of Grendel gives occasion for the introduction of a Scop, or bard, who, like Demodocus in the Odyssey, entertains the warriors at Hrothgar's table with an account of deeds of earlier adventure. In compliment to Beowulf, he selects the most distinguished event in Northern history; and the subject of his song is the slaughter of

* [See the late Mr. E. Taylor's Lays of the Minnesingers, above referred to.]

the dragon, and the seizure of the treasure by *Sigmund* the Wælsing [162]. We are not to consider this as an accidental variation, either intentionally or ignorantly supplied by the Christian translator or renovator of the poem; the celebrity of Sigmund is supported by the mention of his name in other Northern documents. In the Hyndlu-Lioth he is connected with Hermod [163] as a favourite of the Gods, upon whom Odin had bestowed a sword as a mark of his approval. And in the celebrated Dropr upon the death of Eric Blodoxe, who was slain in a descent upon the English coast during the tenth century, and which is perhaps the oldest Icelandic poem having reference to a contemporary historical event, Sigmund is summoned by Odin, as the most distinguished member of Valhalla, to advance and receive the Norwegian king. But independently of this collateral testimony, the song of the Anglo-Saxon scop contains internal evidence of its fidelity to the genuine tradition. The Edda and the Volsunga-Saga make Sigmund the son of a king Volsungr, whom they place at the head of the genealogic line; and consider as the founder of the Volsunga dynasty. It is however certain, that this Volsungr is a mere fictitious personage; since, on every principle of analogy, the Volsunga race must have derived their family appellative from an ancestor of the name of Vols, just as the Skioldings obtained theirs from Skiold, the Skilfings from Skilf, and the Hildings from Hildr. Now this is the genealogy observed by the Anglo-Saxon scop; who first speaks generally of the Wælsing race, and then specifically of Sigmund the offspring of Wæls [165]. From this it will be clear that Sigurdr or Siegfried

[162] The text of Thorkelin reads,

Thæt he framsige
Munde secgan &c p 68

The manuscript,

Thæt he fram Sigemunde
Secgan hyrde.
[Ed Kemble, l 1743]

Mr. Grundtvig, a Danish poet, has the merit of first *making known* the connection between this song and the Edda, by a communication inserted in the "Kjobenhavns Skilderi." (Muller, p. 381) It was detected in the first sheets sent to this country as a specimen of the forthcoming publication. [A correct edition of the text of Beowulf was published in 1833 by Mr J. M. Kemble, to whose Prefaces and Appendix the reader is referred.—R. T]

[163] Gaf han Hermothi
Hialm ac brynu,
En Sigmundi
Sverth at thiggia. vol. i. p 315.
Dedit Hermodo
Galeam et loricam,
At Sigmundo
Ensem accipere (ferre, habere).

This is clearly the Sigmund of the Anglo-Saxon scop, who immediately passes to the history of Hermod The same may be said of the Sigmund mentioned in King Eric's dropr, where he is conjoined with his son Sinfiotli (Compare Sinfiotla-lok in Sæmund's Edda)

[165] Wælsinges gewin—Wælses eafera, ed Thorkelin, p 68, 69 Of the Icelandic Volundr, the Anglo-Saxons made Weland, as they have made Wæls of Vols. —Any objection that might be raised to the antiquity of the Edda from this circumstance would only apply to the Introduction to the song, which is confessedly of a more recent date. It will hence be clear, that at the time when these poems were *collected*, the fiction was of such antiquity that it had become corrupted at the source The authenticity of the Edda

in the great event of his history has been made to assume the place of his father Sigmund, upon the same arbitrary principle that the Theban Hercules has gathered round his name the achievements of so many earlier heroes. Nor is this perhaps the only mutation to which the Northern fiction has been subjected. The catastrophe of the fable, as we have already seen, is wholly dependent upon the treasure of Andvar; and the founder of the Wælsing dynasty bears a name, which in the Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon language is nearly synonymous with wealth or riches[166].

certainly does not stand in need of the additional support here given, but it must be gratifying to those who have favoured the integrity of these Songs, to find their opinions confirmed by such conclusive and unimpeachable testimony Mr Muller, in the interesting volume so repeatedly referred to in various parts of this preface, has satisfactorily accounted for the silence of Saxo Grammaticus upon this branch of fabulous Northern history In his day the fiction had become localized on the Rhine, and was received by him as a portion of authentic German story (Saga-Bibliothek, II p. 401)

[166] Upon a future occasion the Editor will offer his reasons for believing that the present song has been transposed from its proper place, to make way for an episode upon the exploits of Hengest, inserted at p 82 ed. Thorkelin The subject of this latter document is evidently taken from a larger poem, of which a fragment has been published by Hickes, and is known under the name of the Battle of Finsburh In Beowulf the actors are Fin, Hnæf, Hengest, Guthlaf and Oslaf, in the fragment the same names occur, with the substitution of Ordlaf for Oslaf. The scene in either piece is Finnesham, or Finnes-burh, the residence of the before-mentioned Fin That in these we have an allusion to the founder of the kingdom of Kent, and not to a purely fabulous personage of the same name, will be rendered probable, on recollecting that the events recorded contain no admixture of marvellous matter Both productions are clearly of the same historical class, and written in the same sober spirit, with the fragment of Brythnoth, for the Eotena-cyn of Beowulf, over whom Fin is said to reign, is a general term in Northern poetry for any hostile nation not of the Teutonic stock From hence it is desired to make two deductions First, that the events alluded to are anterior to the close of the fifth century, and secondly, that the introduction of this episode into the present poem was not likely to be made after the year 723, when Egbert expelled the last monarch of Kent and dissolved the heptarchy For this last deduction more explicit reasons will be given as before stated on another occasion It only remains to observe, that the Hengest mentioned in Beowulf was a native of Friesland, and to ask whether Fin was a Celt? and can the Gaelic antiquaries connect him with any Erse sovereign bearing this name?

[The Battle of Finsburh has been printed with Dr Grundtvig's and Mr Kemble's "Beowulf," and in Conybeare's Illustrations, p. 173 in which work there is also a translation, by the Editor, the Rev. W D Conybeare, of The Death of Byrhtnoth, p xc the original text of which is given in Mr Thorpe's Analecta, under the title of The Battle of Maldon —With regard to the age of Beowulf, Mr Kemble says, "the poem was probably brought hither by some of those Anglo-Saxons who, in A D 495, accompanied Cerdic and Cyneric" Pref p xix Some particulars relative to the mythic personages whose names occur in these Saxon poems, were, subsequently to the publication of the last edition, communicated by Mr. Price, through me, to the Rev W D. Conybeare, and were given in the Note, p 281. appended to the "Illustrations," on its publication in 1826, together with some remarks of my own, suggested by a comparison which I had made of the Genealogies in the Saxon Chronicle with those of Nennius, both in Gale's edition, and in that which had recently been published from the Vatican MS by my venerable friend the Rev W. Gunn

I there ventured to suggest in the note, p 286 that the Beaw of the Saxon Chronicle, An 854 might be Beowulf —"9 *Beaw* or *Beowius* —[for Beowulf? —So Cutha and Cuthwulf are indifferently read in the Genealogies compare An 495 and 854]"

My conjecture has now been satisfactorily confirmed in the Postscript to the Preface of Mr. Kemble's Beowulf, vol. II. con-

The great length to which the preceding remarks have been carried * will make it necessary to be less excursive in considering the second of Mr. Ritson's objections; and fortunately the previous labours of Mr. Ellis[167] have rendered any discussion of the subject almost superfluous. The fidelity of Geoffrey of Monmouth in the execution of his labours —at least his scrupulous exactness in preparing the reader's mind for any important deviations from, or suppression of, his original—has been so satisfactorily established, that we might cite his example as an instance of good faith that would have done honour to a more critical age, and shining conspicuously amid the general laxity of his own[168]. The licences he has allowed himself, in the shape of amplification, are to all appearance nothing more than a common rhetorical exercise, inherited by the middle ages from the best days of antiquity: and the letters and speeches introduced, admitting them to be of his own composition, are the necessary appendage of the school in which he was disciplined. To charge him with "imposture and forgery" for pursuing such a course, is as just as it would be to doubt the general probity of Livy, for a similar practice in the Roman History: and to question his veracity, because the subject of his translation is a record of incredible events, is a degree of hypercriticism which could only have

taining a very learned and able investigation relative to these Genealogies, and the heroes of the northern mythology

I am led, however, to dissent from Mr Kemble's conjecture, p. vii. that in *Boerinus* the *r* is substituted by a mistake of the copyer (in the time of Hen VI) for the Saxon *w*, as I find in a corresponding genealogy in Resenius's edition of the Edda, that the next person to Skiold is Biaff or *Bjar*, and in that of Goransson, Biaf, or *Baur*, which shows that the *r* in Boerinus is founded upon an ancient synonym. "Biaf, er ver kaullum Baur "— "Biaf, nobis Bear" Edda, Gorans p 6 —R TAYLOR]

* See note appended to this Preface, p (93).

167 Metrical Romances, vol i. Introd.

168 Mr Sharon Turner (in a recent work) has persevered in his objections to Geoffrey's fidelity. "Several of Jeffrey's interspersed observations imply, that he has rather made a book of his own, than merely translated an author. If he merely translated, why should he decline to handle particular points of the history because Gildas had already told them, or told them better? He assumes here a right of shaping his work as he pleased, as he does also when he declares his intention of relating elsewhere the Armorican emigration." Hist. of England, vol i p. 448 It is difficult to understand why Geoffrey was more or less a "mere" translator for these omissions, or how such a practice could make him an original writer —The editor has to apologize for not having referred to this interesting work of Mr. Turner's in the early portion of Warton's History but an absence from his native country at the period of its publication, and for some years afterwards, caused him to be unacquainted with its contents It will be needless to add, how much he might have been benefited personally by an earlier knowledge of its existence, and the trouble he might have been spared in travelling over much of the same ground Mr Turner has now so agreeably shortened to every future inquirer While thus reading his confession, the editor will also express his regret at being unacquainted (from the same cause) with a most valuable Essay on the Popular Mythology of the Middle Ages contained in the Quarterly Review for January 1820, and to which his attention was directed by a general reference in a foreign publication, Grimm's Kinder-Marchen [Since repeated in the English translation, entitled "German Popular Stories."]

been resorted to by a mind eager to escape conviction. But in this, as in almost everything else which was exposed to the reprobation of Mr. Ritson, there was a secondary design in the back-ground, of more importance than the original proposition; and an unqualified denial of Geoffrey's Armorican original was an indispensable step towards advancing a favourite theory of his own. The substance of this theory may be given in the language of its author: "That the English acquired the art of romance-writing from the French seems clear and certain, as most of the specimens of that art in the former language are palpable and manifest translations of those in the other: and this too may serve to account for the origin of romance in Italy, Spain, Germany and Scandinavia. But the French romances are too ancient to be indebted for their existence to more barbarous nations [169]." With the truth or fallacy of this hypothesis we are not at present concerned. But it will be obvious that its success must at any time have depended upon the degree of credit assigned to the repeated declarations of Geoffrey, and the claims possessed by Armorica to an original property in the British Chronicle [170]. A sweeping contradiction therefore, without the shadow of proof—as if proof in such a case would have been an insult to the reader's understanding—was to destroy every belief in the former; while a constant call for proof, a most vehement "iteration" for the original documents, and an unmeaning speculation upon the physical inabilities of the whole Armorican nation, from the ruggedness of their language, to cultivate poetry, was to silence every pretension of the latter. A more candid spirit of criticism has at length conceded, that a general charge of imposture unsupported by testimony,

[169] Metrical Romances, i p c. It may be as well to subjoin the succeeding paragraph in Mr Ritson's dissertation, for the benefit of those who can reconcile the contradiction it contains, to the doctrine avowed in the passage cited above "It is, therefor, a vain and futile endeavour to seek for the *origin of romance* in all ageos and countrys, where literature has been cultivateod, and genius and taste have inspire'd, whether in India, Persia, Greece, *Italy* or France, the earlyest product of that cultivation, and that genius and taste, has been poetry and romance, with reciprocal obligations, perhaps, between one country and another The Arabians, the Persians, the Turks, and, in short, almost every nation in the globe abound in romancees of their own invention" Ibid ci.

[170] There are those who will say, If the Norman minstrels could thus descend to poach upon Armorican ground, they might also have gleaned their intelligence relative to Bevis of Hampton and Guy of Warwick on an English soil But this again would destroy the sneer against the "historian of English Poetry," who has called these redoubted champions "English heroes."—"Wis" is a genuine Saxon name occurring in the Chronicle, and Beo-wis might be formed on the analogy of Beo-wulf That the Norman minstrels, like their brothers of Germany and Scandinavia, should have sought in every direction for subjects of romantic adventure, will be considered no disparagement to their genius, except by that gentle band of critics who believe that the dramatist who borrows his plot is inferior to the play-wright who invents one.

or even a showing of some adequate motive for the concealment of the truth, is not to overrule the repeated affirmations of a writer no ways interested in maintaining a false plea; and that, however much the tortuous propensities of one man's mind might incline him to prefer the crooked policy of fraud to the more simple path of plain-dealing, the contagion of such a disease was not likely to extend itself to a long list of authorities, all of whom must have been injured rather than benefited by the confession, who could have had no common motives with the first propounder of the deceit, and who were divided both by time and situation from any connexion with him, and generally speaking from any intercourse with each other. The concurrent testimony of the French romancers is now admitted to have proved the existence of a large body of fiction relative to Arthur in the province of Brittany: and while they confirm the assertions of Geoffrey in this single particular, it is equally clear they have neither echoed his language, nor borrowed his materials. Every further investigation of the subject only tends to support the opinion pronounced by Mr. Douce; that "the tales of Arthur and his knights, which have appeared in so many forms, and under the various titles of the St. Graal, Tristan de Leonnois, Lancelot du Lac, &c. were not immediately borrowed from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but from his Armoric originals[171].

The great evil with which this long-contested question appears to be threatened at the present day, is an extreme equally dangerous with the incredulity of Mr. Ritson—a disposition to receive as authentic history, under a slightly fabulous colouring, every incident recorded in the British Chronicle. An allegorical interpretation is now inflicted upon all the marvellous circumstances; a forced construction imposed upon the less glaring deviations from probability; and the usual subterfuge of baffled research,—erroneous readings, and etymological sophistry,—is made to reduce every stubborn and intractable text to something like the consistency required. It might have been expected that the notorious failures of Dionysius and Plutarch in Roman history would have prevented the repetition of an error, which neither learning nor ingenuity can render palatable, and that the havoc and deadly ruin effected by these ancient writers (in other respects so valuable) in one of the most beautiful and interesting monuments of traditional story, would have acted as a sufficient corrective on all future aspirants. The favourers of this system might at least have been instructed by the philosophic example of Livy—if it be lawful to ascribe to philo-

[171] See below, p xiii.

sophy a line of conduct which perhaps was prompted by a powerful sense of poetic beauty,—that traditional record can only gain in the hands of the future historian, by one attractive aid, the grandeur and lofty graces of that incomparable style in which the first decade is written; and that the best duty towards antiquity, and the most agreeable one towards posterity, is to transmit the narrative received as an unsophisticated tradition, in all the plenitude of its marvels, and the awful dignity of its supernatural agency. For however largely we may concede that real events have supplied the substance of any traditive story, yet the amount of absolute facts, and the *manner* of those facts, the period of their occurrence, the names of the agents, and the locality given to the scene—are all combined upon principles so wholly beyond our knowledge, that it becomes impossible to fix with certainty upon any single point better authenticated than its fellow. Probability in such decisions will often prove the most fallacious guide we can follow; for, independently of the acknowledged historical axiom, that "le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable," innumerable instances might be adduced, where tradition has had recourse to this very probability, to confer a plausible sanction upon her most fictitious and romantic incidents[172]. It will be a much more useful labour, wherever it can be effected, to trace the progress of this traditional story in the country where it has become located, by a reference to those natural or artificial monuments which are the unvarying sources of fictitious events[173],

[172] The story of the doves at Dodona and the origin of the oracle there, is too well known to require a repetition. There is a connexion and propriety in the solution given by Herodotus, which on a first perusal carries conviction to the reader's mind. Yet nothing can be more questionable than the whole recital. The honours of the sacred oak were shared in common with Jupiter, by Dione, whose symbol, a golden dove, like the golden swallows on the brazen roof of Apollo at Delphi, (Pind. Frag. vol. iii. p. 54.) was seen suspended from the branches of the venerable tree (Philostrat. Icon. ii. 34. p. 858–9.) Hence the tradition. The explanation of the Egyptian priesthood is rendered intelligible by a passage in the Horapollo (ii. 32.), where it is stated that a black dove was the sacred symbol, under which these people expressed a woman maintaining her widowhood till death. That this obvious source of the Dodonæan fable should have yielded to the improbable dictum of the Theban priesthood, will not appear remarkable, when we remember that the same class of men had told Solon, "You Greeks are always children" (Plato, Tim. p. 22.), and that the Greeks, who believed every tale these artful foreigners chose to impose upon them, were proverbial for their admiration of the wondrous out of their own country (Vide Paus. ix. c. 36.) This strong predilection for Egyptian marvels did not escape the notice of Heliodorus. Αιγυπτιον γαρ ακουσμα και διηγημα παν, Ἑλληνικης ακοης επαγοτατον. Lib. ii. p. 92. ed. Coray. A desire of tracing every thing to an Egyptian origin is as conspicuous in the whole body of Grecian story, as the propensity of the middle ages to trace their institutions and genealogic stock to king Priam. According to Sir Stamford Raffles, the Malays universally attempt to trace their descent from Alexander and his followers. Pamphleteer, vol. 8.

[173] Higden will inform us how busily tradition works in this way. "There is another sygne and token before ye Popes palays, an horse of bras, and a man sytyng theron, and holdeth his right honde as though he spake to the peple, and holdeth his brydell in his lytte honde, and

and, by a strict comparison of its details with the analogous memorials of other nations, to separate those elements which are obviously of native growth, from the occurrences bearing the impress of a foreign origin[174]. We shall gain little perhaps by such a course for the history of human events; but it will be an important accession to our stock of knowledge on the history of the human mind. It will infallibly display, as in the analysis of every similar record, the operation of that refining principle which is ever obliterating the monotonous deeds of violence that fill the chronicle of a nation's early career; and exhibit the brightest attribute in the catalogue of man's intellectual endowments—a glowing and vigorous imagination,—bestowing upon all the impulses of the mind a splendour and virtuous dignity, which, however fallacious historically considered, are never without a powerfully redeeming good, the ethical tendency of all their lessons.

The character of the specimens interspersed throughout Warton's History is a subject of more immediate moment; as it is intimately connected with a question which must be previously adjusted, before we can hope to see any advances towards a history of the English language. The most zealous friend of his fame will readily admit, that his extracts from our early poetry have not been made with

hath a cucko bytwen his hors heres And a seke dwerf under his feet Pylgryms callen that man Theodericus And the comyns call him Constantinus; but clerkes of the courte calle hym Marcus and Quintus Curtius.. ..They that calle hym Marcus, telle this reson and skyll. There was a dwerf of the kynred of Messenis, his craft was Nygromancye. Whan he had subdewed kynges that dwelled nyghe hym, and made hem subgette to hym, thenne he wente to Rome, to warre with the Romayns And with his craft he benam the Romayns power and might for to smyte, and beseged hem longe tyme iclosed within the cyte This dwerf went every day tofore the sonne rysyng in to the felde for to do his crafte. Whan the Romayns had espyed that maner doynge of the dwerf, they spake to Marcus, a noble knyght, and behyght hym lordshyp of the cyte, and a memoryall in mynde for evermore, yf he wolde defende hem and save the cyte. Thenne Marcus made an hole thrugh the walle, longe er it were daye, for to abyde his crafte to cache this dwerf. And whan it was tyme, the cucko sange, and warned hym of the daye. Thenne Marcus reysed to, and bycause he myght not hytte the dwerf with wepen, he caught hym with his honde, and bare hym into the cyte And for drede leste he sholde helpe hymselfe with his craft yf he myght speke, he threwe hym undir the hors feet, and the horse al to-trade hym. And therfor that ymage was made in remembraunce of this dede." Then follows the account of those who called it Q Curtius Trevisa's Translation, p 24

[174] The manner in which national fable swelled its mass of incident in the ancient world, by having recourse to this practice, has been already noticed at pp. (22) (23) With the Greeks and Romans, every hero whom they found celebrated in a foreign soil for his prowess against wild beasts, robbers or tyrants, was their own divinity Hercules; and every traveller who had touched on a distant coast, Ulysses This system of appropriating the native traditions of their neighbours was not confined to the ancients The followers of King Sigurd Iorlafar, who visited Constantinople in the year 1111, on their return from the holy land, brought an account to Norway that they had seen the images of their early kings, the Asæ, the Volsungæ, and the Giukings, erected in the Hippodrome of the Imperial city. Heimskringla, vol. iii. p. 245.

that attention to the orthography of his manuscripts, which the example and authority of Mr. Ritson have since established as an indispensable law. There are occasional* instances also, where inadvertency has produced some confusion of the sense, by erroneous readings of his text; and a few errors involving the same results, from indistinctness in the manuscript, or the difficulty of deciphering correctly some unusual or obsolete term. For the last of these deficiencies no further justification will be offered, than that they are of a kind which every publisher of early poetry must be more or less exposed to; that they are neither so important nor so numerous as they are usually considered; and that some allowance is due to the lax opinions entertained upon the subject when Warton's History made its appearance. The former will require a more minute investigation, both from the obloquy cast upon his reputation for omitting to observe it, and the importance it has been made to assume in the labours of every subsequent antiquary. The golden rule of Mr. Ritson, enforced by the precept and example of twenty years, and scrupulously adhered to by his disciples, is "integrity to the original text." The genius of the language, the qualifications of the transcriber, and the power of oral delivery upon the original writer, have been considered so subsidiary to this primary and elemental point, that they are scarcely noticed, or wholly omitted, in the discussion of the question. Every thing written has had conferred upon it the authority of an explicit statute, and fidelity to the letter of a manuscript is only to be infringed under certain obvious limitations. There might have been something to colour the rigid course thus prescribed, if it had been either proved or found that there was a general consistency observed in any single manuscript with itself, or that the various modes of writing the same word in one document were countenanced by a systematic mode of deviation in another. But so far is this from being the case, that a single line often exhibits a change in the component letters of the same word (and which may have been written in the previous pages with every variety it is capable of); and no diligence or ingenuity can establish a rule, which will reconcile the orthography of one manuscript to that of its fellow, upon any principle of order or grammatical analogy. There is, however, nothing singular in this state of our early English texts, or of a nature not to admit of a comparatively easy solution. By far the greater num-

* [It might more truly be said, 'frequent instances.' Mr. Price treats this subject with too much indulgence, as Warton's errors in transcribing were by no means confined to orthographical variations, but had often obliterated the sense of the original, giving occasion to glossarial conjectures which the collation of the text has shown to be wholly groundless —R.T.]

ber of these discrepancies may be fairly ascribed to the inattention of transcribers, a class of men whose heedless blunders have cast a proverbial stigma upon their labours, and who, to pass over the charges left against them by the ancient world, have been successively exposed to the anathemas of Orm and the censures of Chaucer. For the rest, we must refer to the circumstances under which the original documents were written, or the autographs as they were dismissed from the hands of their respective authors.

At whatever age we assume the subject, subsequent to the Norman conquest, and previous to the invention of printing, the very absence of this most important of human arts might of itself assure us, that the forms of orthography would be more or less fluctuating, from the total want of any considerable number of copies following one general principle in the composition of their words. There never could have been, as at the present day, any multiplied exemplars of the same work, the literal fac-similes of each other,—and consequently the reciprocal guarantees of their respective integrity and fidelity to the original text, nor any acknowledged standard of appeal which was to direct the mind in cases of dubious issue. Hence every writer would of course adopt the general style acquired during his school instruction; and where this chanced to be defective, he would naturally fly to analogy as the best arbitrator of his doubts. Now, though nothing is more certain than that the existing laws of our language are the consequences of some antecedent ones, and that all are governed by an analogy systematic in its constitution, yet nothing also is more clear, than that unless we pursue this analogy according to its governing principle, it will lead us to the most erroneous and indefensible conclusions. Let any one for example assume some particular letters, as the unvarying representatives of any determinate sound; and having applied them in conjunction with the remaining symbols making up the different words in which this sound recurs, compare his novel mode of association with that generally received. The result will give him a language strongly resembling the written compositions of all our early manuscripts, with one grand distinction,—that though this kind of analogy has been chiefly followed, it was never systematically adhered to; and that the exceptions to the rule have been hardly less numerous than the cases in which it has been applied. This we may readily conceive to have arisen from the influence of the style acquired enforcing one kind of analogy, and the unbiassed judgement of the writer—unbiassed except by the natural power of oral delivery—giving direction to another. The latter indeed must have been the universal guide in

all cases of uncertainty; and, for the reason before given, both a varying and unsatisfactory one. In addition to these difficulties, there was another co-operating cause, which will of itself explain a large body of minor variations. The study of the English language, in common with that of every vernacular dialect in Europe, was the offspring of comparatively recent ages; and of the component parts which fill the measure of this study, orthography was nearly the last to occupy public attention. That it would have followed in the order of time, without the invention of printing, is clear from the attention bestowed upon it by the ancient world[175]. But it never could have demanded any share of serious notice, until the literature of the country had been to a certain degree matured; until grammar as a science had become sedulously pursued; and the labours of grammarians had established certain rules of orthoepy, which every writer would have willingly followed. From a combination of these causes, therefore, the unsettled state of early orthography is easily deducible. The confusion it has originated will be evident on the perusal of a single page in Mr. Ritson's Romances: but the corollary which has been drawn from it—that the manuscripts exhibit a text whose integrity ought invariably to be preserved—can only be admitted under a presumption that the enunciation of those who wrote them was as fluctuating as their graphic forms. The latter proposition is an inevitable consequence of the previous inference; and is a position in itself so unwarrantable and incredible, that it needs only to be considered with reference to its practicability, to receive the condemnation it merits.

It is true, a great deal of traditionary opinion might be cited in favour of such an hypothesis, and several distinguished writers of our own day have been found to lend it the countenance of their names. Mr. Mitford has declared, that the Brut of Layamon displays "all the appearance of a language thrown into confusion by the circumstances, of those who spoke it[176];" and Mr. Sharon Turner has observed of our

[175] The state of our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and the labours of Ælfric alone might be cited in proof of these positions.

[176] See Mr. Mitford's Harmony of Language. The expressions in the text have been taken from Mr. Campbell's citation, in his Essay on English Poetry, p 33, where the reader will also find an able refutation of Mr. Ellis's opinions upon the progress of the English language.—It is impossible that Mr Campbell should not at all times be awake to the spirit of genuine poetry, however disguised by the rust of antiquity And if some of the criticisms in this genial Essay prove rather startling to the zealous admirer of our early literature, he will rather attribute them to the same cause which during an age of romantic poetry makes the effusions of Mr Campbell's muse appear an echo of the chaste simplicity and measured energy of Attic song. [The much desired publication of the two texts of Layamon by the Society of Antiquaries, with the glossarial annotations of Sir F. Madden, will throw much light on the early history of our language The same may be said of some of the pieces lately printed in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* of Messrs. Wright and Halliwell, and in other collections whilst

language, in a still earlier stage,—" The Saxon anomalies of grammar seem to have been so capricious, and so confused, that their meaning must have been often rather conjectured, than understood; and hence it is, that their poetry, especially in Beowulf, is often so unintelligible to us. There is no settled grammar to guarantee the meaning; we cannot guess so well nor so rapidly as they, who, talking every day in the same phrases, were familiar with their own absurdities. Or perhaps when the harper recited, they often caught his meaning from his gesticulation, felt it when they did not understand it, and thought obscurity to be the result of superior ability [177]." It will be no disparagement to the talents of these distinguished historians, that a subject unconnected with the general tenor of their studies, and only incidentally brought before them, should have eluded their penetration, or that a plausible theory, rather extensively accredited, should have surprised them into an acquiescence in its doctrines. But when it is asserted, under the authority of a name so deservedly esteemed as Mr. Mitford's, that political disturbances have produced a corresponding confusion in the structure of a nation's language, and that a disjointed time has been found to subvert the whole economy of a dialect, we are in justice bound to inquire, by what law of our nature these singular results ensue, and in what degree the example given will warrant such a conclusion. We may readily grant the learned advocate of this hypothesis any state of civil confusion he chooses to assume, in the ages immediately following upon the Norman conquest, and still, with every advantage of this concession, the position he has adopted must preserve all the native nakedness of its character. For, until it shall be shown that political commotions have a decided tendency to derange the intellectual and physical powers, in the same degree that they disorganize civil society, and that, under the influence of troubled times, men are

by the printing of the Exeter Book, under the superintendence of Mr Thorpe, to whose care it has been entrusted by the Saxon Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, a very considerable addition to the body of Anglo-Saxon poetry will be made accessible to the student —R T]

[177] History of England, vol i p 564 All opinions of this kind are evidently founded upon the belief that language is the product of man's invention, and that the succession of time alone has perfected the first crude conceptions of his mind To such a belief we may apply the argument opposed to those who conceive the human race to have grown out of the earth like so many cabbages Bring forward your proof that this phænomenon had a real existence, and your reasons for its discontinuance Both propositions are equally defensible, and entitled to the same degree of credence It is a common piece of address with the favourers of this theory, to refer us to the language of some savage Indian tribe, of whom we know as much as the traveller has been pleased to inform us The personal qualifications of the latter to speak upon the question we have no means of deciding In a parallel case, Dr Johnson justly charged Montesquieu with want of fairness, for deducing a general principle from some observance obtaining in Mexico or Japan, it might be, for which he could adduce no better authority than the vague account of some traveller whom accident had taken there

prone to forget the natural means of communicating their ideas, to falter in their speech, and recur to the babble of their infancy,—we certainly have not advanced beyond the threshold of the argument. That such effects have ever occurred from the cause alleged, in any previous age, remains yet to be *demonstrated*; that they do not occur in the existing state of society,—that they are not therefore the necessary results of any acknowledged law of our nature,—the experience of the last thirty years of European warfare and political change may at least serve as a testimony.

An influx of foreigners, or a constant intercourse with and dependence upon them, may corrupt the idiom of a dialect to a limited extent, or charge it with a large accumulation of exotic terms, but this change in the external relation of the people speaking the dialect, will neither *confound* the original elements of which it is composed, nor destroy the previous character of its grammar. The *lingua franca*, as it is called, of the shores washed by the Mediterranean sea, contains an admixture of words requiring all the powers of an erudite linguist to trace the several ingredients to their parent sources, yet with all the corruptions and innovations to which this oddly assorted dialect has been subjected, it invariably acknowledges the laws of Italian grammar. A similar inundation of foreign terms is to be found in the German writers of the seventeenth century, where the mass of Latin, Greek and French expressions almost exceeds the number of vernacular words: yet here again the stranger matter has been made to accommodate itself to the same inflections and modal changes as those which govern the native stock. In considering the language of Layamon, however, there is no necessity for having recourse to this line of argument. In the specimen published by Mr. Ellis, not a Gallicism is to be found, nor even a Norman term: and so far from exhibiting any "appearance of a language thrown into confusion by the circumstances of those who spoke it," nearly every important form of Anglo-Saxon grammar is rigidly adhered to, and so little was the language altered at this advanced period of Norman influence, that a few slight variations might convert it into genuine Anglo-Saxon. That some change had taken place in the style of composition and general structure of the language, since the days of Alfred, is a matter beyond dispute, but that these mutations were a consequence of the Norman invasion, or were even accelerated by that event, is wholly incapable of proof, and nothing is supported upon a firmer principle of rational induction, than that the same effects would have ensued if William and his followers had remained in their native soil. The substance of the change is admitted on all hands

to consist in the suppression of those grammatical intricacies, occasioned by the inflection of nouns, the seemingly arbitrary distinctions of gender, the government of prepositions, &c.* How far this may be considered as the result of an innate law of the language, or some general law in the organization of those who spoke it, we may leave for the present undecided: but that it was no way dependent upon external circumstances, upon foreign influence or political disturbances, is established by this undeniable fact,—that every branch of the Low German stock, from whence the Anglo-Saxon sprang, displays the same simplification of its grammar. In all these languages, there has been a constant tendency to relieve themselves of that precision which chooses a fresh symbol for every shade of meaning, to lessen the amount of nice distinctions, and detect as it were a royal road to the interchange of opinion. Yet in thus diminishing their grammatical forms and simplifying their rules, in this common effort to evince a striking contrast to the usual effects of civilization, all confusion has been prevented by the very manner in which the operation has been conducted: for the revolution produced has been so gradual in its progress, that it is only to be discovered on a comparison of the respective languages at periods of a considerable interval.

The opinions of Mr. Turner[178] upon the character of the Anglo-Saxon language might be safely left to the decision of the practical inquirer, who, without allowing himself to be dazzled by the brilliancy of an abstract speculation, or to be swayed by the influence of a long-established prejudice, considers every theory with reference to man in

[* A similar revolution took place in the Greek language, in the decline of the Byzantine empire, as has been noticed by Dr Priestley, Lecture xiv. On the Theory of Language,—also by A W Schlegel in his "Observations sur la Langue Provençale," 1818, p 13, where he terms it a change from the synthetic to the analytic form, answering to Priestley's divisions into complex and simple.—R T]

[178] It would take a much greater space, to offer a detailed refutation of Mr Turner's opinions, than is occupied in the original recital of them. But in a future publication, when examining Mr. Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, the editor pledges himself to substantiate by the most irrefragable proofs all that he has advanced. In the present state of the question, he can only appeal to the common sense and daily experience of the reader, coupled with an assurance that the counsel and practice of Junius and Hickes are directly opposed to this novel theory It may be as well perhaps to offer one instance out of a thousand, in proof of the assistance to be gained by a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon grammar The following passage, as it stands in our present text, is false in its grammatical construction, and defective in alliteration

Gif thu Grendles dearst
Night longne
Fyrstne anbidan

Mr. Turner's translation

If thou darest the Grendel
The space of a long night
Awaits thee

Restore the grammar, and we obtain the alliteration, without changing a letter of the text

Gif thu Grendles dearst
*N*ight-longne fyrst
*N*ean bidan.

If thou darest Grendles (encounter, *gethang*, of the context)
(A) night long space
Near abide.

society. To him we might appeal for the solution of our doubts, as to the possibility of conducting the commonest concerns of life, with these imperfect means of communicating our wants, or how the Babel-like confusion attendant upon a people, who had "no settled grammar to guarantee their meaning, who were compelled to guess the import of their mutual absurdities," was not to involve a second dissolution of the social compact, and another separation of the families of the earth so visited. But fortunately Mr. Turner, in the same spirit of candour that attends all his investigations, has supplied us with the proofs upon which his conclusions are grounded; and in so doing has afforded us the most satisfactory means of producing a refutation of his opinions. It may appear surprising, but it is nevertheless true, that of the numerous specimens adduced in support of the "capricious anomalies" to be found in Saxon grammar, not a single instance occurs which is not rigidly in unison with the laws of that grammar: and so strikingly consistent is the obedience they display to the rules there enforced, that any future historian of the language might select the same examples in proof of a contrary position. He would only have to apprise the reader of some peculiarities in those laws, which Mr. Turner seems to have misunderstood, or not to have been acquainted with, and to inform him that the simple rule observed in our own times respecting the genders of nouns, was not acknowledged in Saxon grammar; and consequently, that in this department there was a greater degree of complexity; that the inflection of nouns was governed by no single norm, but varied as in the languages of the ancient world; that every class embraced in this same part of speech, was not alike perfectly inflected; that some exhibit a change of termination in almost every case, while others approach the simplicity of our present forms, having only a change in the genitive; that a difference in the sense produced a change in the government of the prepositions[179]; and lastly, that the adjective was differently inflected, as it was used in conjunction with the definite or indefinite article. With these observances, a reader unacquainted with a single line of Anglo-Saxon, and only assisted by the paradigm of declensions contained in any grammar, might reduce Mr. Turner's anomalies to their original order; and collect from the regularity with which they conform to the standards given, the general spirit of uniformity that obtained throughout the language. Indeed there is nothing more striking, or more interesting to the ardent philologer, than the order and regularity preserved in Anglo-Saxon composition, the variety of expression, the

[179] Mr. Turner has noticed this peculiarity, but then he has denied that it was systematically observed, which is the point at issue

innate richness, and plastic power with which the language is endowed; and there are few things more keenly felt by the student of Northern literature, or a mind strongly alive to the same qualities as they are retained in the language of Germany, than that all these excellences should have disappeared in our own. But it will be better to remain silent on a subject of such vain regret, and to avail ourselves of the only advantage to be derived from the knowledge of it. It is capable of demonstration, that in the golden days of Anglo-Saxon literature, the æra of Alfred, the language of *written* composition was stable in its character, and to all appearance continued so till the cultivation of it among the learned became no longer an object of emulation. The mutations that ensued, it has been already asserted, were not the result of any capricious feeling, acknowledging no general principle of action; but a revolution effected upon certain and determinate laws, which, however undefined in their origin, are sufficiently evident in their consequences. The general result has been, a language whose grammatical rules have been long ascertained, at least in every particular bearing upon the present subject, and we are thus supplied with two unvarying standards of appeal at the extremes of the inquiry. Now, in such a state of the question, it will be obvious that every word which has retained to our own times the orthography bestowed upon it by the Anglo-Saxons, must during the intervening periods have preserved in the enunciation a general similarity of sound, and that however differently it may be written, or whatever additional letters or variations of them may have been conferred upon it by transcribers, there could have been only one legitimate form of its orthography. The changes introduced could only have been caused by an attempt to reconcile the orthography with the sounds emitted in delivery, and ought not to be considered as in any degree indicative of a fluctuation in the mode of pronouncing them. In another numerous class of words, it is equally clear that a change of orthography from the Anglo-Saxon forms has arisen solely from the abolition of the accentual marks which distinguished the long and short syllables. As a substitute for the former, the Norman scribes, or at least the disciples of the Norman school of writing, had recourse to the analogy which governed the French language; and to avoid the confusion which would have sprung from observing the same form in writing a certain number of letters differently enounced and bearing a different meaning, they elongated the word, or attached as it were an accent instead of superscribing it. From hence has emanated an extensive list of terms, having final e's and duplicate consonants, and which were no more the representatives of additional

syllables, than the acute or grave accent in the Greek language is a mark of metrical quantity[180]. Of those variations which arose from elision, a change in the enunciation, or from the adoption of a new combination of letters for the same sound, it is impossible to speak briefly; and a diligent comparison of our early texts, and a clear understanding of the analogies which have prevailed in the constitution of words, can alone enable us to speak decisively. But with this knowledge before us of the real state of the question, it is high time to relieve ourselves of the arbitrary restrictions imposed by a critic wholly ignorant of the first principles by which language is regulated; whose acquaintance with the fountain head of "English *undefiled*" induced him to call it "a meagre and barren jargon which was incapable of discharging its functions," (though possessing all the natural copiousness and plastic power of the Greek); and whose love for the lore itself seems rather to have arisen from a blind admiration of those barbaric innovations which make it repulsive to the scholar and the man of taste, than from any feeling of the excellences that adorn it[181]. The trammels of the Ritsonian school can only perpetuate error, by justifying the preconceived notions of "confusion and anomalies," from the very documents that ought to contain a refutation of such opinions; and we can never hope to obtain a legitimate series of specimens, duly illustrating the rise and progress of the language, till we recur to the same principles in establishing our texts that have been observed by every editor of a Greek or Roman classic. With such a system for our guide, we may expect to see the natural order which prevailed in the enunciation of the language, restored to the pages recording it, and an effectual check imposed upon the "multiplying spawn" of reprints, which, in addition to all the errors preserved in the first impression from the manuscript, uniformly present us with the further mistakes of the typographer. Whether such a principle was felt by Warton, in the substitution he has made of more recent forms in his text, for the unsettled orthography of his manuscripts, must now be a fruitless inquiry; but we shall have no difficulty in convincing ourselves, that his specimens would have been more intelligible to the age in which they were written, if enounced by a modern, than the transcripts of Mr. Ritson with all their scrupulous fidelity.

[180] The converse of this can only be maintained, under an assumption that the Anglo-Saxon words of one syllable multiplied their numbers after the conquest, and in some succeeding century subsided into their primitive simplicity.

[181] Mr Ritson has thus spoken of Dr. Percy's corrections of the Reliques of English Poetry "The purchasers and perusers of such a collection are deceive'd and impose'd upon, the *pleasure they receive is derive'd from the idea of antiquity*, which in fact is perfect illusion!" There is no parrying an objection of this kind, which, forcible as it may be, is not quite original It is the language of that worthy gentleman, M. la Rancune, in the Roman Comique, troisième partie, c. 9.

The glossarial notes of Warton form so small a portion of his labours that they would not have required a distinct enumeration, had they not been made the subject of Mr. Ritson's animadversion. That they constituted no essential part of his undertaking, that his general views of our early poetry, and his opinions upon the respective merits of our poets, would have been as accurate and perspicuous without subjoining a single glossarial illustration, or failing to thrice the extent in which he has committed himself, will be felt by any liberal critic who will take the trouble of examining how few of Warton's positions are affected by these deficiencies. The amount of obsolete terms in any early writer bears so small a proportion to the general mass of his matter, that his genius might be appreciated, and his excellences portrayed, by a person unable to refer to a single gloss on the text. The assistance thus acquired may develope particular beauties, or give a firmer comprehension of their effect; but the poetry which depends for its merit upon the felicity of single phrases, whose import is only to be gathered from isolated terms, can scarcely suffer by our want of ability to detect its disjointed meaning. For every purpose of an historian, Warton's skill in glossography was certainly sufficient; and if not coextensive with the vaunted acquirements[182] of his opponent, it will hardly rank him lower in the scale of such attainments than the place allotted his adversary. There are few men at the present day who have given their attention to this subject, that will think otherwise than lightly of the "utmost care observed in the glossary" to the Metrical Romances; and no one who has advanced to any proficiency in the study, who will not readily acknowledge the easy nature of such labours, how little of success is to be considered as the result of mental energy, the effort of genius rather than passive industry.

It now only remains to give an account of the plan upon which the present Edition has been conducted. The text of Warton has been scrupulously preserved with the exception of a few unimportant corrections, of which notice is given by the interpolations being printed

[182] Whenever Mr. Ritson felt disposed to read a lecture on glossography, Mr Ellis was usually summoned before the magisterial chair The following amusing specimen may be cited by way of example. "*Thañ seyde the boy*, Nys he but a wrecche? What thar any man of hym recche? Mister Ellis hath strangely misconceive'd this simple passage; supposeing *awreche* as it is there printed [i e in Ways Fabliaux] to be one word, and the meaning 'He is not without his revenge (i. e. *compensation*) whatever any man may think of him' The boy however manifestly intends our seedy knight no compliment in the question he asks. 'Is he aught,' says he, 'but a wretch (or begerly rascal)? What does any one care for him'?" Now *simple* as this passage may be, Mr. Ritson has contrived to "misconceive" it in two places. first by affixing a note of interrogation to *wrecche*, and secondly by overlooking the verb "thar" (need) This obsolete term occurs frequently in Mr. Ritson's volumes, but finds no place in his glossary.

within brackets. The specimens of early poetry have been either collated with MSS. in the British Museum[183], or copied from editions of acknowledged fidelity[184]; and the glossarial notes corrected wherever the editor's ability was equal to the task. But less attention has been directed to this latter subject than would otherwise have been bestowed upon it, from an intention long entertained of giving a general glossary to the whole work, which should embrace Warton's numerous omissions. The additional notes are such as appeared necessary, either for illustration or emendation of the subjects noticed: but the editor was early taught that the former would comprise a small part of his duties, since, however lavish Warton may appear in the communication of his matter, it will be obvious to any one who will trace him through his authorities, that he has been parsimonious rather than prodigal in the use of his resources. With such a hint, it was therefore considered incumbent to give no additional illustration which could by possibility have been within his knowledge. To the First Dissertation such notes have been added as could be conveniently introduced without interfering with Warton's theory; the Second is so complete in itself, that the editor has been unable to detect in the more recent labours of Eichhorn, Heeren, Turner and Berrington, any omission which may not be considered as intentional. The Third relates to a subject of which Warton has rather uncovered the surface than explored the depths, and which, notwithstanding the subsequent and important labours of Mr. Douce, still awaits a further investigation. In this Edition, however, it has been made to follow those originally prefixed by Warton to his first volume, from a conviction that it will be found equally useful in preparing the reader's mind for the topics discussed in the succeeding pages.

But though thus compelled to speak of his own labours as first in the order of time, and with reference to the disposition of the work, the editor has the pleasing task of communicating that the most important contributions to these volumes have flowed from other sources. Nearly the whole of Warton's first and second volume had been sent to the press when the publisher acquired by purchase the papers of Mr. Park, a gentleman whose general acquaintance with early English literature is too well known to need remark, and whose attention for many years

[183] Mr Park's collations of the Oxford MSS. will be found at the end of the respective volumes containing Warton's transcripts. [These collations are now incorporated into the text.]

[184] The section on the Rowleian controversy forms an exception. It was originally intended to throw this chapter into an appendix, but a new division of the volumes brought it to the close of the second [In the present edition, vol II pp. 338—360] It has been faithfully reprinted from Warton's text with all the inaccuracies of the first transcripts (as they were gathered at the time from periodical publications), that the reader interested in the subject might form an estimate of the state of the question when Warton pronounced his decision.

has been directed to an improved edition of the History of English Poetry. Among the accessions thus obtained were found some valuable remarks by Mr. Ritson, Mr. Douce, and an extract of every thing worthy of notice in the copious notes of Dr. Ashby[185], and an extensive body of illustrations either collected or written by Mr. Park, of which it would be presumption in a person so little qualified as their present editor to offer an opinion. To have incorporated this newly acquired matter in the respective pages to which it refers was found impossible, without cancelling nearly the whole impression, and it has therefore been subjoined in the shape of additional notes at the close of each volume*. Fortunately, however, the greater share of Mr. Park's commentary was directed to the contents of Warton's Third Volume, and was consequently obtained in time to be inserted beneath the original text. For this portion of the edition, indeed, Mr. Park may be considered responsible, as the editor's notes were withdrawn wherever they touched upon a common subject, and those remaining are too few to need any specific mention. It would have been more agreeable if such an opportunity had presented itself in an earlier stage of the work; but however much might have been gained by having the same information communicated in a more pleasing form, this was not thought sufficient to countervail the objection that might have been brought against the work for its extensive repetitions. Wherever therefore Mr. Park's remarks on the previous volumes referred to a common subject without supplying any further illustration of it, they have been suppressed: but this, with the exception of a few animadversions of a sectarian tendency, and one or two notes copied from other writers, and obviously inaccurate, forms the whole that has been withdrawn from the public eye.

In the progress of his duties, a variety of subjects presented themselves to the editor's mind, as requiring some further illustration than could be lawfully comprised within the limits of a note, and under this impression he more than once ventured to promise a further discussion of the points at issue, in some subsequent part of the work. But the materials connected with these topics have so grown under his hands, that he has been compelled to relinquish the intention, and to reserve for a separate and future undertaking the inquiries to which they relate. The promised account of the distinctions of dialect in the Anglo-Saxon language, and the state of their poetry[186], has been

[185] The papers of Dr. Ashby were also purchased at the same time (at no small expense), but they were not found to contain anything of consequence which had not been previously used by Mr. Park

* [In the present edition they are incorporated. It is admitted, however, that they will bear no comparison, as to value and importance, with those of Mr Price. —R T.]

[186] The Anglo-Saxon ode given at p lxvi will be considered a substitute perhaps for this omission One of the obscurities in that poem may be removed

in part withheld for the same reasons; and partly from a knowledge subsequently obtained that the subject was in much better hands. A volume containing numerous specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman poetry, with translations and illustrations by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, is on the eve of publication*.

NOTE omitted at p. (76) l. 1.

FOR the same reason (want of space) it has been found necessary to omit any examination of the general style of the romantic tale, and the tone and colouring of its events, as compared with similar productions of the ancient world. The latter indeed are only preserved to us in the meagre notices of the grammarians; but even these inadequate memorials contain the traces of all those lineaments which have been supposed to confer an original character upon the poetry of modern Europe. The same love of adventure, of heroic enterprise, and gallant daring; the same fondness for extraordinary incident and marvellous agency obtrudes itself at every step: and to take one example out of many, the Life of Perseus might be made to pass for the outline of an old romance or the story of a genuine chevalier preux. Let the reader only remember the illegitimate but royal descent of this hero, his exposure to almost certain death in infancy, his providential escape, the hospitality of Dictys, the criminal artifices of Polydectes, the gallant vow by which the unsuspecting stranger hopes to lessen his obligation to the royal house of Seriphus, the consequences of that vow, the aid he receives from a god and goddess, the stratagem by which he gains a power over the monstrous daughter of Phorcys—who alone can instruct him in the road which leads to the dwelling of the Nymphs—the gifts conferred upon him by the latter, the magic scrip (which is to conceal the Gorgon's head without undergoing petrifaction), the winged sandals (which are to transport him through the air), the helmet of Pluto (which is to render him invisible), the sword of Mercury, or, according to other traditions, of Vulcan, and the assistance given him by Minerva in his encounter with the terrific object of his pursuit,—let the reader only recall these circumstances to his memory, and he will instantly recognise the common details of early European romance. Again: his punishment of the inhospitable and wily Atlas, the rescue of Andromeda, and the slaughter of the monster about to devour her; the rivalry and defeat of Phineus, the delivery of Danae from the lust of Polydectes, and the ultimate succession of Perseus to the throne of Argos, which he forgoes that he may become the founder of another kingdom,—only complete the train of events, which make up the successful course of a modern hero's adventures. A mere change of names and places,—with the substitution of a dwarf for Mercury, and

by a slight emendation of the text [See the proposed emendation, "weilg *and* wiges sæd," in note [12], p lxxii.]

* [The lamented death of Mr. Conybeare retarded for some time the appearance of this volume, but it was eventually published in 1826 under the editorship of his brother, the Rev Will Dan Conybeare, rector of Sully, who has made many valuable additions. It is however confined to the Anglo-Saxon period, and does not include the Anglo-Norman.—M]

a fairy for Minerva, of a giantess for the Phorcydes, of a mild enchantress for the Nymphs, a magician for Atlas, and the terrific flash of the hero's eyes for the petrifying power of Medusa's head—an Icelandic romance would say " at hafa ægishialmr i augom,"—with a due admixture of all the pageantry of feudal manners, would give us a romance, which, for variety of incident and the prolific use of supernatural agency, might vie with any popular production of the middle-age*. The extraordinary properties of the sandals and helmet have already been shown to occupy a conspicuous rank among the wonders of modern romance; the sword of Mercury was called Harpé, as that of Arthur was named Excalibor; while to prove the affinity of this singular story with the genuine elements of popular fiction, all its incidents are to be found in the life of the Northern Sigurdr, or the Neapolitan tale of Lo Dragone (Pentamerone, Giorn. iv. Nov. 35.).

There is another point connected with the present subject, upon which a similar silence has been observed, and found exclusively in modern romance,—the tone of chivalric devotion to the commands and wishes of the softer sex, and the general spirit of gallantry, which without the influence of passion acknowledged their rights and privileges. On a future occasion it will be shown, that in considering this question, the expressions of Tacitus in his Germany have been too literally interpreted. There is little in this valuable tract, relative to the female sex, which does not find a parallel in the institutions of other nations of the ancient world, wherever we find a notice of them, under a *similar degree of civilization*. The respect paid to female inspiration ought not to receive a more enlarged acceptation than is given to the remark of Pythagoras: " He further observed, that the inventor of names..... perceiving the genus of women is most adapted to piety, gave to each of their ages the appellation of some Deity. In conformity to which also, the oracles in Dodona and at Delphi are unfolded into light by a woman." (Iamb. Life of Pythagoras, c. xi. Taylor's Transl.) Indeed the customs of the Doric States have been wholly overlooked in settling this question, and the Attic or Ionic system of seclusion taken for the general practice of all Greece†. Is there any thing in Tacitus more decidedly in favour of female rights, than the apophthegm of Gorgo preserved by Plutarch (and quoted from memory)? " Of all your sex in Greece," said a stranger, " you Lacedæmonian women alone govern the men." " True," replied Gorgo; " but then we alone are the mothers of men." The elder Cato met a similar charge by observing,—" Omnes homines mulieribus imperant, nos omnibus hominibus, nobis mulieres." But here again it was insufficient to check those results so mournfully portrayed by Tacitus in his Annals and his History. If, however, this feeling were of Northern or Germanic origin, we might naturally expect that it would be most apparent among those nations who were last converted to Christianity, and who are known to have preserved so many of their ancient opinions. Now Mr. Müller, who has just risen from the perusal of all the Northern Sagas, assures us, that there is no trace of romantic gallantry in any of these productions: and it is clear from his analysis of many, that the Scandinavian women in early times were

* [See Keightley's Mythology, ed. 2. p. 414.]

† [See Dr. Heinrich Hase's " Public and Private Life of the Ancient Greeks," a translation of which has been lately published,—R T.]

cuffed and buffeted with as little compunction as Amroo and Morfri castigate Ibla. (See Antar, i. 334. ii. 71.) We might with equal propriety attempt to trace to the forests of Germany all the subtleties of the scholastic philosophy (and which arose in the same age as the courts of Love), as to claim for their inhabitants that reverence and adoration of the female sex which has descended to our own times. This deference to female rights and the establishment of an equality between the sexes have in their origin been wholly independent of love as a passion, (whose language in all ages and among all nations has been the same,) and are manifestly the offspring of that dispensation which has purified religion of every sensual rite, and which, by spiritualizing all our hopes and wishes of a future existence, has shed the same refining influence* on our present institutions: "L'amour de Dieu et des dames" was not a *mere* form.

[* See Aikin's Epistles on Women, 1810, Ep. iii 1. 248]

NOTE ON THE GENEALOGIES OF THE NORTHERN EPIC HEROES.

I subjoin the genealogy from the Edda of Snorro Sturleson to which I have alluded in my note (p 75); and if I am right in supposing that it was overlooked formerly by Mr. Conybeare and Mr. Price in their inquiries relative to the mythic personages of Anglo-Saxon poetry in which I had the pleasure to participate, and recently by Mr. Kemble in the very interesting disquisitions in which he has so ably followed up these investigations, I shall be glad that it has once more fallen in my way to contribute anything to the elucidation of a question which long ago interested me, when I was first led to suggest that Beow-ulf was the Beaw of the Saxon genealogies.

Whether we are to consider the names in these genealogies as those of personages having really existed, and indebted for their supernatural attributes to traditionary exaggeration,—or of the mythic personifications of principles or attributes which were worshipped as gods, and "from being gods, have sunk into epic heroes," may afford matter for curious speculation. Mr. Kemble appears to have come over to the latter opinion, upon grounds which he states much at length in his Postscript. He there suggests that Beow might have been the principle of *fertility*, or god of harvest, (as Eostre was the goddess of spring,) whence his connection with Sceaf;—that Scildwa was an appellative of the Deity as a *protector*, Geata, as the author of *abundance*, and so of others, from etymological conjecture. He concludes that when all the names are rejected from the lists "which are mere appellatives of God, there remain to us five only, Sceafa, Beowa, Geat, Finn, and Woden," "of these five the two last and three first seem respectively classed together, and denote the active, moving godhead, and the fruitful increase-giving godhead." p xxvi., and he thence argues "that the three first are names of Woden himself in one of his characters,—and the two last in another of his characters." Yet though originally "mere appellatives of God," he nevertheless looks upon all the names as having acquired *personality*, and thus been "introduced into epic poetry, and represented as gods to be worshipped with altars and sacrifice, until Christianity, by overturning the old creed, reduced them to the rank of heroes." p. xxvi.

I confess, however, that such a view of the subject appears to me rather to originate in notions derived from philosophical speculation or later schemes of theology, involving even the meaning of the terms 'person' and 'personality,' than in what can be conceived of a barbarous people in such early times: and I should still be inclined, instead of attributing to their deities this ideal origin, to seek for them as really distinct *persons*, of whose individual

existence traces may perhaps still be found among the earliest records of the north.

Edda of Snorro Sturleson.		Saxon Chron.	Textus Roffensis.	
Edit of Resenius.	*Goransson's edit.*	*An.* 854.	*Wessex geneal.*	*MS Trin.*
Siff	Sif, the sybill	Adam	Adam, &c.	Noah
Loride	Lorrithi	Seth		Japhet.
Henrede		Enoh		
Wyngethor	Vingithor	Jared		
Wingener	Vingener	Matusalem	Mathusal	
Moda	Moda	Lamech	Lamec	
Mage	Mage	Noe		
Cespheth	Sefsmeg	Sceaf, [id est, filius Noe], &c	Sceaf, Sescef, fuit filius Noæ natus in Arcâ	Strepheus.
Lieding, (Livding)	Bedvig	Bedwig Hwala	Bedwig	Bedegius. Guala.
Athra, (Annann)	Atra, (*nobis* Annan)	Hathra	Hadra	Hadia.
Urmann	Itrman	Itermon	Heraman	Sternodius
Modar	Eremodr	Heremod	Heremod	Sceph.
Skialdun, (*nobis* Skiold)	Skialldun, (*nobis* Skiolld)	Sceldwa	Scealdwa	Sceldius.
Biaff, (*nobis* Bjar)	Biaf, (*nobis* Bear)	Beaw	Beaw	Boerinus.
				Nennius, *Gunn's edit*
		Tætwa	Tethwa	
Jat	Jat	Geat	Eata	Geta, *qui fuit filius dei*
Gudolff	Gudolfr	Godwulf	Godulf, [aliis Geta]	Foleguald.
Finn	Finr	Finn	Finn	Finn.
Friallaff, (*nobis* Friedlieff)	Frialafr, (*nobis* Fridleif)	Frithuwulf		Fredulf.
		Freawine	Fiealaf	Frealof.
		Frithuwald		
Vodin, (*nobis* Odinn)	Vodden, (*nobis* Odin)	Woden	Woden *Frealafing*	Woden.
Wegdeck	*Odin's* 4 *sons,*	Bældæg	Baldæg	Guechta.
Viturgils	Vegdreg	Brond	Brand	
Bældeck	Beldeg	Frithugar	Freodegar	
Brand	*nobis* Baldr	Freawine	Freawine	
Freawine	Sigi	Wig	Wig	Guicta.
Sigge	Skiolld	Gewis	Gewis	Guictglis.
Igrir		Esla	Esla	*Hengist* & *Horsa*
		Elesa	Elesa	
		Cerdic	Cerdic	
		Creoda	Creoda	
		Cynric	Cynric	
		Ceawlin[Celm	Ceawlin	
		Cuthwine	Cudwine	
		Cutha [-wulf]	Cutha	
		Ceolwald	Ceolward	
		Cenred	Cenred	

Thus "Beaf and Beir" are not to be "at once rejected as Norse blunders, occurring only in the Fornaldar Sog," as Mr. Kemble (Postscript, p. xiii.) had supposed. Buri, mentioned by him at p. xxv. as a progenitor of Woden, is a name also having some resemblance to Boerinus. Lieding, in the edition of Resenius, may have been the error of a transcriber for Bedwig; as probably Strepheus has been for Scepheus, Sternodius either for Itermon or Heremod, and Folepald in Gale for Folcpalb, who in Nennius takes the place of Godulf. This subject will probably receive further illustration whenever Mr. Thorpe shall publish his translation, with notes and additions, of Lappenberg's valuable History of England during the Saxon period.—R. Taylor.

OF THE

ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION

IN EUROPE.

DISSERTATION I.

THAT peculiar and arbitrary species of Fiction which we commonly call Romantic, was entirely unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome*. It appears to have been imported into Europe by a people, whose modes of thinking, and habits of invention, are not natural to that country. It is generally supposed to have been borrowed from the Arabians†. But this origin has not been hitherto perhaps examined or ascertained with a sufficient degree of accuracy. It is my present design, by a more distinct and extended inquiry than has yet been applied to the subject, to trace the manner and the period of its introduction into the popular belief, the oral poetry, and the literature, of the Europeans.

It is an established maxim of modern criticism that the fictions of

* ["It cannot be true," says Ritson, "that romance was entirely unknown to the writers of Greece and Rome, since, without considering the Iliad, Odyssey, Æneid, &c in that point of view, we have many ancient compositions, which clearly fall within that denomination as the pastoral of Daphnis and Chloe by Longus, the Æthiopicks of Heliodorus, Xenophon's Ephesian History," &c &c (MS note in Dr Raine's copy of Warton's History, purchased from Ritson's library) To these recollections, Mr Douce has added the romance of Apuleius, the loves of Clitophon and Leucippe, by Achilles Tatius, and the very curious Adventures of Rhodanes and Sinonis, or the Babylonic Romance, of which an epitome is preserved by Photius in his Bibliotheca, Cod XCIV. "This," says Mr D, "is perhaps the oldest work of the kind, being composed by one Iamblicus, who lived under Marcus Aurelius."

"The progress of romance and the state of learning in the middle ages (says Gibbon, Decline and Fall,) are illustrated by Mr Thomas Warton with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian I have derived much instruction from the two learned dissertations prefixed to the first volume of his History of English Poetry"—PARK]

[This is a mere cavil of Mr Ritson's, who could not *believe* a scholar of Warton's attainments to have been unacquainted with these erotic novels Several of them are mentioned in vol II Sect XII note [b] (second series) In the dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy, Warton is even reproached for describing another—the loves of Clitophon and Leucippe—as a "poetical novel of Greece." In fact, it is manifest from this expression, that Warton chose to exclude this and similar productions from the title of *romantic fictions*—PRICE]

† [See Huet, Traité de l'Origine des Romans, who has discussed this opinion at large.—DOUCE.]

Arabian imagination were communicated to the western world by means of the Crusades. Undoubtedly those expeditions greatly contributed to propagate this mode of fabling in Europe. But it is evident (although a circumstance which certainly makes no material difference as to the principles here established,) that these fancies were introduced at a much earlier period. The Saracens, or Arabians, having been for some time seated on the northern coasts of Africa, entered Spain about the beginning of the eighth century[a]. Of this country they soon effected a complete conquest; and imposing their religion, language, and customs, upon the inhabitants, erected a royal seat in the capital city of Cordova*.

That by means of this establishment they first revived the sciences of Greece in Europe, will be proved at large in another place[b]: and it is obvious to conclude, that at the same time they disseminated those extravagant inventions which were so peculiar to their romantic and creative genius. A manuscript cited by Du Cange acquaints us, that the Spaniards, soon after the irruption of the Saracens, entirely neglected the study of the Latin language; and, captivated with the novelty of the oriental books imported by these strangers, suddenly adopted an unusual pomp of style, and an affected elevation of diction[c]. The ideal tales of these Eastern invaders, recommended by a brilliancy of description, a variety of imagery, and an exuberance of invention, hitherto unknown and unfamiliar to the cold and barren conceptions of a western climate, were eagerly caught up, and universally diffused. From Spain, by the communications of a constant commercial intercourse through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, they soon passed into France and Italy†.

In France, no province, or district, seems to have given these fictions of the Arabians a more welcome or a more early reception, than the inhabitants of Armorica‡ or Basse-Bretagne, now Britany§; for no part

[a] See Almakin, edit Erpenius, p. 72

* [The conquest of Spain by the Arabians becomes one of the most curious and important events recorded in history, when it is considered as having in a great degree contributed to the progress of civilization in Europe, and to the diffusion of science and art (See this illustrated in the Arabian Antiquities of Spain, by J C Murphy) "But there is evidence, though not the most satisfactory," says Mr Douce, "that the fabulous stories of Arthur and his Knights existed either among the French or English Britons, before the conquest of Spain by the Arabians."—PARK.]

[b] See the second Dissertation.

[c] "Arabico eloquio *sublimati*," &c. Du Cang Gloss. Med. Inf. Latinitat. tom. i. Præf. p. xxvii § 31.

† [Ritson avers, that there is not one single French romance now extant, and but one mentioned by any ancient writer, which existed before the first Crusade under Godfrey earl of Bologne, afterward king of Jerusalem, in 1097 —PARK]

‡ [From *Ar y-môr ucha'*, i e on the upper sea See Jones's Relicks of the Welsh Bards —PARK]

§ ["The laws of this country," says Ritson, "were anciently very celebrated, although not one, nor even the smallest vestige of one, in its vernacular language (a dialect of the Britanno-Celtic) is known to exist The Bretons have but one single poem, of any consequence, in their native idiom, ancient or modern the predictions of a pretended prophet, named Gwinglaff, the MS. whereof is dated 1450." Notes to Metric Rom iii. 329. Ritson afterwards expresses his belief, that by Bretagne and Bretons were meant the island and inhabitants of Great Britain. At the

of France can boast so great a number of antient romances[c]. Many poems of high antiquity, composed by the Armorican bards, still remain[d], and are frequently cited by Father Lobineau in his learned

same time, it does not (he thinks) appear, that any such lays are preserved in Wales any more than in Basse-Bretagne, if, in fact, they ever existed in either country. Ibid. p 332. In his Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy, (p xxiv.) Ritson adds two other Armoric poems to the predictions of Gwinglaff, viz. the life of Gwenolé, abbot of Landevenec, one of their fabulous saints, and a little dramatic piece on the taking of Jerusalem. Thus, our doughty critic, from being too positive and too peremptory, had cause to correct his own hallucinations as well as those of others.—PARK]

[See the "Essais Historiques sur les Bardes," &c. by the late Abbé de la Rue, tom 1 pp. 1–100 8vo Caen, 1834 —M]

[c] The reason on which this conclusion is founded, will appear hereafter ["It is difficult," says Mr Douce, "to conceive, that the people of Britany could have been influenced by the Arabians at any period" —PARK]

[d] In the British Museum is a set of old French tales of chivalry in verse, written, as it seems, by the bards of Bretagne. MSS Harl 978. 107.

[These tales were not written by the bards of Bretagne, but by a poetess of the name of Marie de France, of whom nothing is known. In one of these *lais* she names *herself*, and says that most of her tales are borrowed from the old British lais The scenes of several of these stories are laid in *Bretagne*, which appears sometimes to mean Britany in France, and sometimes Great Britain[1] —DOUCE]

[Marie is not mentioned in Le Grand's catalogue, though he has modernised and published her *Fables* in French, from king Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Æsop. That she had written *lays* seems not to have been known to him M de la Rue has given a list of her lays in Archæol. xiii. 42 They are twelve in number and one of them contains 1184 verses. She also wrote a history or tale in French verse, of St Patrick's Purgatory, two copies of which are in the British Museum. This was early translated into English under the title of Owâyne Miles (Sir Owen) Mr. Ellis, in his Specimens of early English Metrical Romances, has introduced an abstract or analysis of the lays of Marie, which he informs us that Ritson either neglected to read, or was unable to understand; since he denied their Armorican origin See his observations, vol 1. p. 137. Mr Way published an elegant version of the first of these lays (Guigemar) in his Fabliaux, and Mr Ellis printed an early translation of the third (Lai le Fresne) from the Auchinleck MS. in his Romance Specimens. —PARK]

"TRISTRAM a WALLS" is mentioned, f. 171 b.

Tristram ki bien saveit HARPEIR.

In the adventure of the knight ELIDUC, f 172 b.

En Bretaine ot un chevalier
Pruz, è curteis, hardi, è fier

Again, under the same champion, f 173

Il tient sun chemin tut avant
A la mer vient, si est passez,
En Toteneis est arrivez,
Plusurs reis ot en la tere,
Entr'eus eurent estrif è guere,
Vers Excestre en cel pais—

TOTENEIS is Totness in Devonshire.—

Under the knight MILUN, f 166

Milun fu de Suthwales nez

He is celebrated for his exploits in Ireland, Norway, Gothland, Lothaingia, Albany, &c.

Under LAUNVAL, f. 154 b.

En Bretun l'apelent Lanval.

Under GUIGEMAR, f 141

La caumbre ert painte tut entur
Venus le dieuesse d'amur,
Fu tres bien mis en la peinture,
Les traiz mustrez è la nature,
Cument hum deit amur tenir,
E léalment è bien servir
Le livre Ovide ù il ensegne, &c

This description of a chamber painted with Venus and the three mysteries of nature, and the allusion to Ovid, prove the tales before us to be of no very high antiquity. But they are undoubtedly taken from others much older, of the same country.

[Mr. Douce observes that Warton has totally misunderstood these lines, in which there is nothing about the mysteries of nature, and they mean no more than that the chamber exhibited the description and manner how a man should fall in love, &c *Mustrez* is put for *montre* —PARK]

At the end of ELIDUC's tale we have these lines, f. 181.

[1] See Note B. at the end of this Dissertation.

history of Basse-Bretagne[e]. This territory was, as it were, newly peopled in the fourth century by a colony or army of the Welsh, who migrated thither under the conduct of Maximus, a Roman general in Britain[f], and Conan, lord of Meiriadoc or Denbighland[g]. The Armoric language now spoken in Britany is a dialect of the Welsh: and so strong a resemblance still subsists between the two languages, that in our late conquest of Belleisle (1756), such of our soldiers as were natives of Wales were understood by the peasantry*. Milton, whose imagination was much struck with the old British story, more than once alludes to the Welsh colony planted in Armorica by Maximus, and the prince of Meiriadoc.

Et tandem ARMORICOS Britonum sub lege colonos[h].

And in the PARADISE LOST he mentions indiscriminately the knights of Wales and Armorica, as the customary retinue of king Arthur.

——————— What resounds
In fable or romance of Uther's son
Begirt with BRITISH and ARMORIC knights[i].

This migration of the Welsh into Britany or Armorica, which during the distraction of the empire, (in consequence of the numerous armies of barbarians with which Rome was surrounded on every side,) had thrown off its dependence on the Romans, seems to have occasioned a close connexion between the two countries for many centuries[k]. Nor will it prove less necessary to our purpose to observe, that

Del aventure de ces treis,
Li *auncien* BRETUN curteis
Firent *le lai* pour remembrer
Que hum nel' deust pas oublier

And under the tale of FRESNE, f. 148

Li BRETUN en firent un *lai*.

At the conclusion of most of the tales it is said that these LAIS were made by the poets of Bretaigne Another of the tales is thus closed, f. 140

De cest conte k'oi avez
Fu Gugemer le LAI trovez
Qui hum dist en harpe è en rote
Bone en est a oir la note

* Histoire de Bretagne, ii tom fol. [Mr. Ritson says, he repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, examined Lobineau for these citations, and that Mr Douce had equally failed in discovering them —PRICE]

[e] Maximus appears to have set up a separate interest in Britain, and to have engaged an army of the provincial Britons on his side against the Romans. Not succeeding in his designs, he was obliged to retire with his British troops to the continent, as in the text He had a considerable interest in Wales, having married Ellena daughter of Eudda, a powerful chieftain of North Wales. She was born at Caernarvon, where her chapel is still shown. Mon Antiq p 166 seq

[f] See Hist. de Bretagne, par d'Argentre, p 2 Powel's Wales, p. 1, 2 seq. and p. 6 edit 1584 Lhuyd's Etymol p 32. col 3 And Galfrid Mon. Hist Brit. lib v c 12. vii 3. ix 2. Compare Borlase, Antiq Cornwall, b. i ch 10 p 40.

* [Mr. Ellis further observes, that the Sclavonian sailors, employed on board of Venetian ships in the Russian trade, never fail to recognise a kindred dialect on their arrival at St Petersburgh. Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the English Poetry and Language, i. 8.—PARK.]

[h] Mansus

[i] Parad L i 579. Compare Pelloutier, Mem. sur la Langue Celt. fol. tom i 19

[k] This secession of the Welsh, at so critical a period, was extremely natural, into a neighbouring maritime country, with which they had constantly trafficked, and which, like themselves, had disclaimed the Roman yoke.

[That the British soldiers, enrolled by Maximus, wandered into Armorica after his death, and new named it, seems to be

the Cornish Britons, whose language was another dialect of the antient British, from the fourth or fifth century downwards, maintained a no less intimate correspondence with the natives of Armorica: intermarrying with them, and perpetually resorting thither for the education of their children, for advice, for procuring troops against the Saxons, for the purposes of traffick, and various other occasions. This connexion was so strongly kept up, that an ingenious French antiquary supposes, that the communications of the Armoricans with the Cornish had chiefly contributed to give a roughness or rather hardness to the romance or French language in some of the provinces, towards the eleventh century, which was not before discernible[l]. And this intercourse will appear more natural, if we consider, that not only Armorica*, a maritime province of Gaul, never much frequented by the Romans, and now totally deserted by them, was still in some measure a Celtic nation; but that also the inhabitants of Cornwall, together with those of Devonshire, and of the adjoining parts of Somersetshire, intermixing in a very slight degree with the Romans, and having suffered fewer important alterations in their original constitution and customs from the imperial laws and police than any other province of this island, long preserved their genuine manners and British character; and forming a sort of separate principality under the government of a succession of powerful chieftains, usually denominated princes or dukes of Cornwall, remained partly in a state of independence during the Saxon heptarchy, and were not entirely reduced till the Norman conquest. Cornwall, in particular, retained its old Celtic dialect till the reign of Elizabeth[m].

And here I digress a moment to remark, that in the circumstance just

unfounded I cannot avoid agreeing with Du Bos, that "quant aux tems ou la peuplade des Britons insulaires s'est établie dans les Gaules," it was not before the year 513 Hist Crit ii 470 —TURNER]

It is not related in any Greek or Roman historian But their silence is by no means a sufficient warrant for us to reject the numerous testimonies of the old British writers concerning this event It is mentioned, in particular, by Llywarc Hen, a famous bard, who lived only one hundred and fifty years afterwards Many of his poems are still extant, in which he celebrates his twenty-four sons who wore gold chains, and were all killed in battles against the Saxons.

[Eight of the Elegies of Llywarc Hen, or Llywarc the Aged, were selected and translated by Richard Thomas, A B. of Jesus College, Oxford, but these translations being more distinguished by their elegance than fidelity, the learned Mr. Owen produced a literal version of the Heroic Elegies, and other pieces of this prince of the Cambrian Britons, which was published with the original text in 1792. It comprises the poem mentioned by Mr. Warton, which is marked by many poetic and pathetic passages. Llywarc flourished from about A.D 520 to 630, at the period of Arthur and Cadwallon. See Owen's Cambrian Biography —PARK]

[l] M l'Abbé Lebeuf, Recherches, &c Mem de Litt tom xvii p. 718 edit 4to "Je pense que cela dura jusqu'à ce que le commerce de ces provinces avec les peuples du Nord, et de l'Allemagne, et SUR TOUT celui des HABITANS DE L'ARMORIQUE AVEC L'ANGLOIS, vers l'onzième siècle," &c

* [Armorica was the north-west corner of Gaul, included between the Loire, the Seine, and the Atlantic —PARK]

[m] See Camd Brit i 44 edit 1723. Lhuyd's Arch p 253. [It did not entirely cease to be spoken till of late years, as may be gathered from an account of the death of an old Cornish woman, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1785.—PARK]

mentioned about Wales, of its connexion with Armorica, we perceive the solution of a difficulty, which at first sight appears extremely problematical: I mean, not only that Wales should have been so constantly made the theatre of the old British chivalry, but that so many of the favourite fictions which occur in the early French romances, should also be literally found in the tales and chronicles of the elder Welsh bards[n]. It was owing to the perpetual communication kept up between the Welsh and the people of Armorica, who abounded in these fictions, and who naturally took occasion to interweave them into the history of their friends and allies. Nor are we now at a loss to give the reason why Cornwall, in the same French romances, is made the scene and the subject of so many romantic adventures[o]. In the mean time we may observe, (what indeed has been already implied,) that a strict intercourse was upheld between Cornwall and Wales. Their languages, customs, and alliances, as I have hinted, were the same; and they were separated only by a strait of inconsiderable breadth. Cornwall is frequently styled West-Wales by the British writers. At the invasion of the Saxons, both countries became indiscriminately the receptacle of the fugitive Britons*. We find the Welsh and Cornish, as one people, often uniting themselves as in a national cause against the Saxons. They were frequently subject to the same prince[p], who sometimes resided in Wales, and sometimes in Cornwall; and the kings or dukes of Cornwall were perpetually sung by the Welsh bards. Llygad Gwr, a Welsh bard, in his sublime and spirited ode to Llwellyn, son of Grunfludd, the last prince of Wales of the British line, has a wish, "May the prints of the hoofs of my prince's steed be seen as far as CORNWALL[q]." Traditions about king Arthur, to mention no more instances, are as popular in Cornwall as in Wales; and most of the romantic castles,

[n] The story of LE COURT MANTEL, or the BOY AND THE MANTLE, told by an old French troubadour cited by M de Sainte Palaye, is recorded in many manuscript Welsh chronicles, as I learn from original letters of Lhuyd in the Ashmolean Museum See Mem Anc Chev. i 119 And Obs. Spenser, i § ii. p. 54. 55. And from the same authority I am informed, that the fiction of the giant's coat composed of the beards of the kings whom he had conquered, is related in the legends of the bards of both countries See Obs. Spens. ut supr p 24 seq. But instances are innumerable.

[o] Hence in the Armorican tales just quoted, mention is made of Totness and Exeter, anciently included in Cornwall. In Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose we have "Hornpipis of Cornewaile," among a great variety of musical instruments, v 4250 This is literally from the French original, v. 3991 [The Cornwall mentioned in the Romance of the Rose was more probably the "Pays de Cornuaille" in France, a name formerly given to a part of Bretagne —DOUCE]

* [The chronicle of the Abbey of Mont St. Michael, gives the year 513 as the period of the flight into Bretagne Anno 513 venerunt transmarini Britanni in Armoricam, id est minorem Britanniam The ancient Saxon poet (apud Duchesne Hist. Franc Script 2. p 148) also peoples Bretagne after the Saxon conquest —TURNER]

[p] Who was sometimes chosen from Wales and Cornwall, and sometimes from ARMORICA. Borlase, ubi supr p 403. See also p 375. 377 393. And Concil Spelman tom i 9 112 edit 1639 fol. Stillingfleet's Orig Brit. ch 5 p 344 seq. edit 1688. fol From CORNUWALLIA, used by the Latin monkish historians, came the present name Cornwall. Borlase, ibid p 325.

[q] Evans, p 43

rocks, rivers, and caves of both nations, are alike at this day distinguished by some noble achievement, at least by the name, of that celebrated champion. But to return.

About the year 1100, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a learned man, and a diligent collector of histories, travelling through France, procured in Armorica an antient chronicle written in the British or Armorican language, entitled, BRUT-Y-BRENHINED, or THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN[r]. This book he brought into England, and communicated it to Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Welsh Benedictine monk, an elegant writer of Latin, and admirably skilled in the British tongue. Geoffrey, at the request and recommendation of Walter, the archdeacon, translated this British chronicle into Latin[s], executing the translation with a tolerable degree of purity and great fidelity, yet[t] not without

[r] In the curious library of the family of Davies at Llanerk in Denbighshire, there is a copy of this chronicle in the handwriting of Guttyn Owen, a celebrated Welsh bard and antiquarian about the year 1470, who ascribes it to Tyssilio a bishop, and the son of Brockmael-Yscythroc prince of Powis Tyssilio indeed wrote a HISTORY OF BRITAIN, but that work, as we are assured by Lhuyd in the Archæologia, was entirely ecclesiastical, and has been long since lost

[The Brut of Tyssilio was published in the second volume of the Welsh Archæology A translation by the Rev P Roberts has since appeared [1811] under the title of A Chronicle of the British Kings The first book of Guttyn Owain's copy being much more ample in its details than the other MSS, was incorporated by Mr Roberts in his volume The remaining books appear to contain no material variations —PRICE]

[From a critical comparison of the Welsh texts, as translated by Mr Roberts, with the Latin of Geoffrey, there does not remain the slightest doubt in my mind, that the former were all taken from the latter, and are much more recent —M]

[s] See Galfr Mon. L i. c 1. xii 1. 20. ix. 2. Bale, ii 65 Thompson's Pref. to Geoffrey's Hist. Transl. edit. Lond. 1718. p xxx. xvi.

[t] Geoffrey confesses, that he took some part of his account of king Arthur's achievements from the mouth of his friend Walter, the archdeacon, who probably related to the translator some of the traditions on this subject which he had heard in Armorica, or which at that time might have been popular in Wales Hist Brit. Galfr Mon. lib xi c. i. He also owns that Merlin's prophecies were not in the Armorican original Ib vii 2 Compare Thompson's Pref ut supr p xxv xxvii The speeches and letters were forged by Geoffrey, and in the description of battles our translator has not scrupled frequent variations and additions.

I am obliged to an ingenious antiquarian in British literature, Mr Morris of Penbryn, for the following curious remarks concerning Geoffrey's original and his translation "Geoffrey's SYLVIUS, in the British original, is SILIUS, which in Latin would make JULIUS This illustrates and confirms Lambarde's BRUTUS JULIUS. Peramb Kent, p 12 See also in the British bards And hence Milton's objection is removed, Hist Engl p 12. There are no FLAMINES or ARCHFLAMINES in the British book See Usher's Primord. p 57 Dubl. edit. There are very few speeches in the original, and those very short Geoffrey's FULGENIUS is in the British copy SULIEN, which by analogy in Latin would be JULIANUS See Milton's Hist Eng p 100 There is no LEIL in the British, that king's name was LLEON. Geoffrey's CAERLISLE is in the British CAERLLEON, or West-Chester In the British, LLAW AP CYNFARCH should have been translated LEO, which is now rendered LOTH This has brought much confusion into the old Scotch history. I find no BELINUS in the British copy, the name is BELI, which should have been in Latin BELIUS, or BELGIUS Geoffrey's BRENNUS in the original is BRAN, a common name among the Britons, as BRAN AP DYFNWAL, &c. See Suidas's Βρήν. It appears by the original, that the British name of CARAUSIUS was CARAWN, hence TREGARAUN, i e TREGARON, and the river CARAUN, which gives name to ABERCORN In the British there is no division into books and chapters, a mark of antiquity. Those whom the translator calls CONSULS of Rome when Brennus took it, are in the original TWYSOGION, i e

some interpolations. It was probably finished after the year 1138[u] [1128*].

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the period at which our translator's original romance may probably be supposed to have been compiled. Yet this is a curious speculation, and will illustrate our argument. I am inclined to think that the work consists of fables thrown out by different rhapsodists at different times, which afterwards were collected and digested into an entire history, and perhaps with new decorations of fancy added by the compiler, who most probably was one of the professed bards, or rather a poetical historian, of Armorica or Basse-Bretagne. In this state, and under this form, I suppose it to have fallen into the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth. If the hypothesis hereafter advanced concerning the particular species of fiction on which this narrative is founded, should be granted, it cannot, from what I have already proved, be more antient than the eighth century: and we may reasonably conclude, that it was composed much later, as some considerable length of time must have been necessary for the propagation and establishment of that species of fiction. The simple subject of this

princes or generals. The Gwalenses, GWAIO, or GWALAS, are added by Geoffrey, B xii c 19" To what is here observed about SILIUS, I will add, that abbot Whethamsted, in his MS. Granarium, mentions SILOIUS the father of Brutus "Quomodo Brutus SILOII filius ad litora Angliæ venit," &c Granar Part i Lit A MSS. Cotton Nero, C vi. Brit Mus. This gentleman has in his possession a very antient manuscript of the original, and has been many years preparing materials for giving an accurate and faithful translation of it into English The manuscript in Jesus College library at Oxford which Wynne pretends to be the same which Geoffrey himself made use of, is evidently not older than the sixteenth century [Certainly an error, the manuscript cannot be later than in the middle of the *fourteenth* —M] Mr Price, the Bodleian librarian, to whose friendship this work is much indebted, has two copies lately given him by Mr Banks, much more antient and perfect But there is reason to suspect, that most of the British manuscripts of this history are translations from Geoffrey's Latin for *Britannia* they have BRYTTAEN, which in the original would have been PRYDAIN. Geoffrey's translation, and for obvious reasons, is a very common manuscript. Compare Lhuyd's Arch. p 265.

[u] Thompson says, 1128 ubi supr p xxx Geoffrey's age is ascertained beyond a doubt, even if other proofs were wanting, from the contemporaries whom he mentions Such as Robert earl of Glocester, natural son of Henry the First, and Alexander bishop of Lincoln, his patrons he mentions also William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon. Wharton places Geoffrey's death in the year 1154 Episc Assav p 306 Robert de Monte, who continued Sigebert's chronicle down to the year 1183, in the preface to that work expressly says, that he took some of the materials of his supplement from the HISTORIA BRITONUM, *lately translated out of British into Latin* This was manifestly Geoffrey's book. Alfred of Beverly, who evidently wrote his Annales, published by Hearne, between the years 1148 and 1150 [in the year 1129 —TURNER], borrowed his account of the British kings from Geoffrey's Historia, whose words he sometimes literally transcribes For instance, Alfred, in speaking of Arthur's keeping Whitsuntide at Caerleon, says, that the Historia Britonum enumerated all the kings who came thither on Arthur's invitation, and then adds, "Præter hos non remansit princeps alicujus pretii citra Hispaniam qui ad istud edictum non venerit" Alured Bev Annal p 63. edit. Hearne These are Geoffrey's own words; and so much his own, that they are one of his additions to the British original But the curious reader, who desires a complete and critical discussion of this point, may consult an original letter of bishop Lloyd, preserved among Tanner's manuscripts at Oxford, num 94

[This letter was printed in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, and in Owen's British Remains, and affords little information worthy of notice —DOUCE]

* [See Mr Turner's History of England, i. p 457.—PRICE]

chronicle, divested of its romantic embellishments, is a deduction of the Welsh princes from the Trojan Brutus to Cadwallader, who reigned in the seventh century[v]. It must be acknowledged, that many European nations were antiently fond of tracing their descent from Troy. Hunnibaldus Francus, in his Latin history of France, written in the sixth century, beginning with the Trojan war, and ending with Clovis the First, ascribes the origin of the French nation to Francio, a son of Priam[w]. So universal was this humour, and carried to such an absurd excess of extravagance, that under the reign of Justinian, even the Greeks were ambitious of being thought to be descended from the Trojans, their antient and notorious enemies. Unless we adopt the idea of those antiquaries, who contend that Europe was peopled from Phrygia, it will be hard to discover at what period, or from what source, so strange and improbable a notion could take its rise, especially among nations unacquainted with history, and overwhelmed in ignorance. The most rational mode of accounting for it, is to suppose, that the revival of Virgil's Æneid about the sixth or seventh century, which represented the Trojans as the founders of Rome, the capital of the supreme pontiff, and a city on various other accounts, in the early ages of christianity, highly reverenced and distinguished, occasioned an emulation in many other European nations of claiming an alliance to the same respectable original. The monks and other ecclesiastics, the only readers and writers of the age, were likely to broach, and were interested in propagating, such an opinion. As the more barbarous countries of Europe began to be tinctured with literature, there was hardly one of them but fell into the fashion of deducing its original from some of the nations most celebrated in the antient books. Those who did not aspire so high as king Priam, or who found that claim pre-occupied, boasted to be descended from some of the generals of Alexander the Great, from Prusias king of Bithynia, from the Greeks or the Egyptians. It is not in the mean time quite improbable, that as most of the European nations were provincial to the Romans, those who fancied themselves to be of Trojan extraction might have imbibed this notion, at least have acquired a general knowledge of the Trojan story, from their conquerors; more especially the Britons, who continued so long under the yoke of Rome[x]. But as to the story of Brutus in particular, Geoffrey's hero, it may be presumed that his legend was not contrived, nor the history of his suc-

[v] This notion of their extraction from the Trojans had so infatuated the Welsh, that even so late as the year 1284, archbishop Peckham, in his injunctions to the diocese of St Asaph, orders the people to abstain from giving credit to idle dreams and visions, a superstition which they had contracted from their belief in the dream of their founder Brutus, in the temple of Diana, concerning his arrival in Britain. The archbishop very seriously advises them to boast no more of their relation to the conquered and fugitive Trojans, but to glory in the victorious cross of Christ Concil Wilkins, tom ii p 106 edit. 1737 fol

[w] It is among the Scriptores Rer. German Sim Schard tom i p 301 edit Basil 1574 fol It consists of eighteen books

[x] See infr. Sect iii p 131.

cessors invented, till after the ninth century: for Nennius, who lived about the middle of that century, not only speaks of Brutus with great obscurity and inconsistency, but seems totally uninformed as to every circumstance of the British affairs which preceded Cæsar's invasion. There are other proofs that this piece could not have existed before the ninth century. Alfred's Saxon translation of the Mercian law is mentioned[x], and Charlemagne's Twelve Peers, by an anachronism not uncommon in romance, are said to be present at king Arthur's magnificent coronation in the city of Caerleon[y]. It were easy to produce instances, that this chronicle was undoubtedly framed after the legend of Saint Ursula, the acts of Saint Lucius, and the historical writings of the venerable Bede had undergone some degree of circulation in the world. At the same time it contains many passages which incline us to determine, that some parts of it at least were written after or about the eleventh century. I will not insist on that passage, in which the title of legate of the apostolic see is attributed to Dubricius in the character of primate of Britain; as it appears for obvious reasons to have been an artful interpolation of the translator, who was an ecclesiastic. But I will select other arguments. Canute's forest, or Cannock-wood in Staffordshire occurs; and Canute died in the year 1036[z]. At the ideal coronation of king Arthur just mentioned, a tournament is described as exhibited in its highest splendor. "Many knights," says our Armoric fabler, "famous for feats of chivalry, were present, with apparel and arms of the same colour and fashion. They formed a species of diversion in imitation of a fight on horseback, and the ladies being placed on the walls of the castles, darted amorous glances on the combatants. None of these ladies esteemed any knight worthy of her love, but such as had given proof of his gallantry in three several encounters. Thus the valour of the men encouraged chastity in the women, and the attention of the women proved an incentive to the soldier's bravery[a]." Here is the practice of chivalry under the combined ideas of love and military prowess, as they seem to have subsisted after the feudal constitution had acquired greater degrees not only of stability but of splendor and refinement[b]. And although a species of tournament was exhibited in France at the reconciliation of the sons of Lewis the Feeble, in the close of the ninth century, and at the beginning of the tenth, the coronation of the emperor Henry was solemnized with martial entertainments, in which many parties were introduced fighting on horseback; yet it was long afterwards that these games were accompanied with the peculiar formalities, and ceremonious usages, here described[c].

[x] L. iii c 13. [y] L. ix. c 12.
[z] L. vii c 4. [a] L ix c 12.

[b] Pitts mentions an anonymous writer under the name of EREMITA BRITANNUS, who studied history and astronomy, and flourished about the year 720. He wrote, besides, a book in an unknown language, entitled, *Sanctum Graal, De Rege Arthuro et rebus gestis ejus.* Lib. i. *De Mensa rotunda et* STRENUIS EQUITIBUS. Lib i. See Pitts, p 122 Bale, x 21. Usser. Primord. p 17. This subject could not have been treated by so early a writer. ["Why so," says Mr. Ashby, "if Arthur reigned in 506?"—PARK]

[c] See infi Sect iii p 113 and Sect xii.

In the mean time, we cannot answer for the innovations of a translator in such a description. The burial of Hengist, the Saxon chief, who is said to have been interred not after the *pagan* fashion, as Geoffrey renders the words of the original, but after the *manner of the* SOLDANS *, is partly an argument that our romance was composed about the time of the crusades. It was not till those memorable campaigns of mistaken devotion had infatuated the western world, that the soldans or sultans of Babylon, of Egypt, of Iconium, and other eastern kingdoms, became familiar in Europe. Not that the notion of this piece being written so late as the crusades in the least invalidates the doctrine delivered in this discourse. Not even if we suppose that Geoffrey of Monmouth was its original composer. That notion rather tends to confirm and establish my system. On the whole we may venture to affirm, that this chronicle, supposed to contain the ideas of the Welsh bards, entirely consists of Arabian inventions. And in this view, no difference is made whether it was compiled about the tenth century, at which time, if not before, the Arabians from their settlement in Spain must have communicated their romantic fables to other parts of Europe, especially to the French; or whether it first appeared in the eleventh century, after the crusades had multiplied these fables to an excessive degree, and made them universally popular. And although the general cast of the inventions contained in this romance is alone sufficient to point out the source from whence they were derived, yet I choose to prove to a demonstration what is here advanced, by producing and examining some particular passages.

The books of the Arabians and Persians abound with extravagant traditions about the giants Gog and Magog. These they call Jagiouge and Magiouge; and the Caucasian wall, said to be built by Alexander the Great from the Caspian to the Black Sea, in order to cover the frontiers of his dominion, and to prevent the incursions of the Scy-

in the account of Boccacio's Theseid, and the Greco-barbarous poem De Nuptiis Theseï et Emiliæ, vol II. I will here produce, from that learned orientalist M. D'Herbelot, some curious traits of Arabian knight-errantry, which the reader may apply to the principles of this Dissertation as he pleases.

"BATTHALL —Une homme hardi et vaillant, qui *cherché des avantures* tels qu'etoient les *chevaliers errans* de nos anciens Romans." He adds, that Batthall, an Arabian, who lived about the year of Christ 740, was a warrior of this class, concerning whom many marvellous feats of arms are reported that his life was written in a large volume, "mais qu'elle est toute remplie d'*exaggerations* et de *menteries*." Bibl Oriental p. 193 a. b In the royal library at Paris, there is an Arabian book entitled, "Scirat al Mogiahedin," i. e. "The Lives of the most valiant Champions." Num 1079

* [It is not easy to conjecture whence Warton derived this singular statement. The words of Geoffrey, when speaking of Hengist's burial, are "At Aurelius, ut erat in cunctis rebus modestus, jussit eum sepeliri, et cumulum terræ super corpus ejus, *pagano more*, apponi," lib viii. c 7., and the passage is literally so translated by Wace, Lazamon, and Robert of Brunne. Warton refers to Geoffrey's *original*, as confidently as if such an acknowledged text were actually in existence, when in reality we have nothing but the recent Welsh versions of Geoffrey's Latin history, with which in the above passage they perfectly agree.—M]

thians[d], is called by the orientals the WALL of GOG and MAGOG[e]. One of the most formidable giants, according to our Armorican romance, which opposed the landing of Brutus in Britain, was Goemagot. He was twelve cubits high, and would unroot an oak as easily

[d] Compare M. Petit de la Croix, Hist. Genghizcan, l iv c. 9

[e] Herbelot, Bibl Oriental p 157 291. 318 438 470 528 795 796. 811 &c. They call Tartary the land of Jagiouge and Magiouge This wall, some few fragments of which still remain, they pretend to have been built with all sorts of metals. See Abulfaraj Hist. Dynast edit Pococke, p 62 A D. 1673. It was an old tradition among the Tartars, that the people of Jagiouge and Magiouge were perpetually endeavouring to make a passage through this fortress, but that they would not succeed in their attempt till the day of judgment See Hist Geneal des Tartars d' Abulgazi Bahadut Khân, p 43. About the year 808, the caliph Al Amin having heard wonderful reports concerning this wall or barrier, sent his interpreter Salam, with a guard of fifty men, to view it. After a dangerous journey of near two months, Salam and his party arrived in a desolated country, where they beheld the ruins of many cities destroyed by the people of Jagiouge and Magiouge In six days more they reached the castles near the mountain Kokaiya or Caucasus This mountain is inaccessibly steep, perpetually covered with snows and thick clouds, and encompasses the country of Jagiouge and Magiouge, which is full of cultivated fields and cities. At an opening of this mountain the fortress appears and travelling forwards, at the distance of two stages, they found another mountain, with a ditch cut through it one hundred and fifty cubits wide and within the aperture an iron gate fifty cubits high, supported by vast buttresses, having an iron bulwark crowned with iron turrets, reaching to the summit of the mountain itself, which is too high to be seen The valves, lintels, threshold, blots, lock and key, are all represented of proportionable magnitude. The governor of the castle, above mentioned, once in every week, mounted on horseback with ten others on horseback, comes to this gate, and striking it three times with a hammer weighing five pounds, and then listening, hears a murmuring noise from within. This noise is supposed to proceed from the Jagiouge and Magiouge confined there. Salam was told that they often appeared on the battlements of the bulwark He returned after passing twenty-eight months in this extraordinary expedition See Mod Univ Hist. vol. iv B i § 2. p 15, 16, 17. And Anc. vol xx pag 23 [See Weber's note on Gog and Magog in his Metr Rom vol iii. p 321 —M] [It is by no means improbable that the mention of Gog and Magog in the Apocalypse gave rise to their general notoriety both in the East and West. This prophecy must have been applied to the Huns under Attila at a very early period, for in the Anonymous Chronicle of Hungary, published by Schwandtner (Scriptor Rer Hungar Tom i) we find it making a part of the national history. Attila is there said to be a descendant of Magog, the son of Japhet, (Genesis ch x ver 2) from whom the Hungarians are also called Moger This is evidently not the production of the writer's own imagination, but the simple record of a tradition, which had obtained a currency among his countrymen, and which, combined with the subsequent history of Almus and Arpad, wears the appearance of being extracted from some poetic narrative of the events —PRICE] Pliny, speaking of the PORTÆ CAUCASIÆ, mentions, "ingens naturæ opus, montibus interruptis repente, ubi fores obditæ ferratis trabibus," &c Nat Hist lib vi c 2 Czar Peter the First, in his expedition into Persia, had the curiosity to survey the ruins of this wall and some leagues within the mountain he found a skirt of it which seemed entire, and was about fifteen feet high. In some other parts it is still six or seven feet in height. It seems at first sight to be built of stone but it consists of petrified earth, sand, and shells, which compose a substance of great solidity It has been chiefly destroyed by the neighbouring inhabitants, for the sake of its materials and most of the adjacent towns and villages are built out of its ruins Bentinck's Notes on Abulgazi, p 722 Engl edit. See Chardin's Travels, p 176 And Struys's Voyage, B iii c 20 p 226 Olearius's Travels of the Holstein Ambassad. B. vii. p 403 Geograph Nubiens vi c. 9. And Act. Petropolit vol i p 405. By the way, this work probably preceded the time of Alexander it does not appear, from the course of his victories, that he ever came near the Caspian gates The first and fabulous history of the eastern nations, will perhaps be found to begin with the exploits of this Grecian hero

as an hazel wand: but after a most obstinate encounter with Corineus, he was tumbled into the sea from the summit of a steep cliff on the rocky shores of Cornwall, and dashed in pieces against the huge crags of the declivity. The place where he fell, adds our historian, taking its name from the giant's fall, is called LAM-GOEMAGOT, or GOEMAGOT'S LEAP, to this day[f]. A no less monstrous giant, whom king Arthur slew on Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall *, is said by this fabler to have come from Spain. Here the origin of these stories is evidently betrayed[g]. The Arabians, or Saracens, as I have hinted above, had conquered Spain, and were settled there. Arthur having killed this redoubted giant, declares that he had combated with none of equal strength and prowess, since he overcame the mighty giant Ritho, on the mountain Aravius, who had made himself a robe of the beards of the kings whom he had killed. This tale is in Spenser's Faerie Queene. A magician brought from Spain is called to the assistance of Edwin a prince of Northumberland[h], educated under Solomon, king of the Armoricans[i]. In the prophecy of Merlin, delivered to Vortigern after the battle of the dragons, forged perhaps by the translator Geoffrey, yet apparently in the spirit and manner of the rest, we have the Arabians named, and their situations in Spain and Africa. "From Conan shall come forth a wild boar, whose tusks shall destroy the oaks of the forests of France. The ARABIANS and AFRICANS shall dread him; and he shall continue his rapid course into the most distant parts of Spain[k]." This is king Arthur. In the same prophecy, mention is made of the "Woods of Africa." In another place Gormund king of the Africans occurs[l]. In a battle

[f] Lib. i c 16.

[Mr. Roberts in his extreme zeal for stripping the British History of all its fictions, and every romantic allusion, conceives this name a fabrication from the mint of Geoffrey The Welsh copies read Gogmagog, yet as Ponticus Virunnius, who lived in the fifteenth century, reads Goermagog, Mr. Roberts has "little doubt but that the original was Cawr-Madog, i. e *the giant or great warrior*" Behagog is the name of a giant in Sir Tristram —PRICE]

* [But there is a Saint Michael's Mount in Normandy, which is called Tombelaine, and Geoffrey of Monmouth says the place was called Tumba Helenæ, to which the combat is said to have related —DOUCE]

[The Norman Mount St Michael is undoubtedly the one referred to by Geoffrey. See the Histoire Pittoresque du Mont-Saint-Michel et de Tombelène. Par Maximilien Raoul. 8vo Par 1833 and Le Livre des Légendes. Par Le Roux de Lincy. Introduction, p. 104. 8vo. Par. 1836.—M.]

[g] L. x. c. 3

[It is very certain that the tales of Arthur and his Knights which have appeared in so many forms, and under the various titles of the St Graal, Tristam de Leonnois, Lancelot du Lac, &c, were not immediately borrowed from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but from his Armoric originals. The St Graal is a work of great antiquity, probably of the eighth century There are Welsh MSS of it still existing, which, though not very old, were probably copied from earlier ones, and are, it is to be presumed, more genuine copies of the ancient romance, than any other extant —DOUCE]

[h] The Cumbrian and Northumbrian Britons, as powerful opponents of the Saxons, were strongly allied to the Welsh and Cornish.

[i] Lib xii. c 1 4, 5, 6.

[k] Lib. vii. c 3

[l] Lib xii 2 xi 8 10.

["Gormund," says Mr. Ritson, "in authentic history was a king of the Danes who infested England in the ninth century, and was defeated and baptized by Alfred." Dissertation on Romance, &c. p. 23.—PARK]

which Arthur fights against the Romans, some of the principal leaders in the Roman army are, Alifantinam king of Spain, Pandrasus king of Egypt, Boccus king of the Medes, Evander king of Syria, Micipsa king of Babylon, and a duke of Phrygia[m]. It is obvious to suppose how these countries became so familiar to the bard of our chronicle. The old fictions about Stonehenge were derived from the same inexhaustible source of extravagant imagination. We are told in this romance, that the giants conveyed the stones which compose this miraculous monument from the farthest coasts of Africa. Every one of these stones is supposed to be mystical, and to contain a medicinal virtue: an idea drawn from the medical skill of the Arabians[n], and more particularly from the Arabian doctrine of attributing healing qualities, and other occult properties, to stones[o]. Merlin's transformation of Uther into Gorlois, and of Ulfin into Bricel, by the power of some medical preparation, is a species of Arabian magic, which professed to work the most wonderful deceptions of this kind, and is mentioned at large hereafter, in tracing the inventions of Chaucer's poetry. The attribution of prophetical language to birds was common among the orientals; and an eagle is supposed to speak at building the walls of the city of Paladur, now Shaftesbury[p]. The Arabians cultivated the study of philosophy, particularly astronomy, with amazing ardour[q]. Hence arose the tradition, reported by our historian, that in king Arthur's reign, there subsisted at Caer-leon in Glamorganshire a college of two hundred philosophers, who studied astronomy and other sciences; and who were particularly employed in watching the courses of the stars, and predicting events to the king from their observations[r]. Edwin's Spanish magician above mentioned, by his knowledge of the flight of birds, and the courses of the stars, is said to foretell future disasters. In the same strain Merlin prognosticates Uther's success in battle by the appearance of a comet[s]. The same enchanter's *wonderful skill in mechanical powers*, by which he removes the giant's Dance, or Stonehenge, from Ireland into England, and the notion that this stupendous structure was raised by a PROFOUND PHILOSOPHICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE MECHANICAL ARTS, are founded on the Arabic literature[t]. To

[m] Lib. x. c. 5 8. 10.

[n] See infr p. 9. And vol. ii Sect. xiii. Note on the description of RICHESSE in the Romaunt of the Rose.

[o] This chronicle was evidently compiled to do honour to the Britons and their affairs, and especially in opposition to the Saxons. Now the importance with which these romancers seem to speak of Stonehenge, and the many beautiful fictions with which they have been so studious to embellish its origin, and to aggrandise its history, appear to me strongly to favour the hypothesis, that Stonehenge is a British monument; and indeed to prove, that it was really erected in memory of the three hundred British nobles massacred by the Saxon Hengist See Sect ii infi. pp. 50, 51. No DRUIDICAL monument, of which so many remains were common, engaged their attention or interested them so much, as this NATIONAL memorial appears to have done.

[p] Lib. ii. c. 9. See vol. ii Sect. xv. on the Squier's Tale.

[q] See Diss. ii. And vol. ii. Sect. xv. near the end.

[r] Lib. viii. c. 15.

[s] Lib. ix. c. 12.

[t] Lib viii. c. 10. See vol. ii. Sect. xv. passim.

which we may add king Bladud's magical operations[u]. Dragons are a sure mark of orientalism*. One of these in our romance is a "terrible dragon flying from the west, breathing fire, and illuminating all the country with the brightness of his eyes[v]." In another place we have a giant mounted on a winged dragon: the dragon erects his scaly tail, and wafts his rider to the clouds with great rapidity[w].

Arthur and Charlemagne are the first and original heroes of romance. And as Geoffrey's history is the grand repository of the acts of Arthur, so a fabulous history ascribed to Turpin is the groundwork of all the chimerical legends which have been related concerning the conquests of Charlemagne and his twelve peers†. Its subject is the expulsion of the Saracens from Spain: and it is filled with fictions evidently congenial with those which characterise Geoffrey's history[x].

Some suppose, as I have hinted above, this romance to have been written by Turpin, a monk of the eighth century, who, for his knowledge of the Latin language, his sanctity, and gallant exploits against the Spanish Saracens, was preferred to the archbishoprick of Rheims by Charlemagne. Others believe it to have been forged under arch-

[u] Lib. ii. c. 10.

* [The stability of Mr Warton's assertion has been shaken by Sir Walter Scott, who states that the idea of this fabulous animal was familiar to the Celtic tribes at an early period, and was borne on the banner of *Pendragon*, who from that circumstance derived his name. A dragon was also the standard of the renowned Arthur. A description of this banner, the magical work of Merlin, occurs in the romance of Arthur and Merlin in the Auchinleck MS.

Merlin bar her gonfanoun;
Upon the top stode a *dragoun*,
Swithe griselich a litel croune,
Fast him biheld al tho in the toune,
For the mouth he had grimminge
And the long out flathinge
That out kest sparkes of fer,
Into the skies that flowen cler, &c.

In the Welsh triads (adds the same authority) I find the dragon repeatedly mentioned. and in a battle fought at Bedford, about 752, betwixt Ethelbald king of Mercia, and Cuthred king of Wessex, a *golden dragon*, the banner of the latter, was borne in the front of the combat by Edelheim or Edelhun, a chief of the West Saxons. Notes on Sir Tristram, p. 290.—PARK.]

[Among the Celtic tribes, as among the Finns and Sclavonians, the serpent appears to have been held in sacred estimation, and the early traditions of the North abound in fables relative to dragons who lay slumbering upon the golden "hoard" by day, and wandered through the air by night. But as the heroes of Northern adventure are usually engaged in extirpating this imaginary race, it is not improbable that some of these narratives may have been founded on the conflicts between the Finnish and Scandinavian priesthoods.—PRICE.]

[v] Lib. x. c. 2.

[w] Lib. vii. c. 4.

† ["But this," says Ritson, "requires it to have been written before the year 1066, when the adventures and exploits of Charlemagne, Rowland and Oliver were chaunted at the battle of Hastings, whereas there is strong internal proof that this romance was written long after the time of Charlemagne." Dissert. on Rom. and Minst. p. 47.—PARK.]

[x] I will mention only one among many others. The christians under Charlemagne are said to have found in Spain a golden idol, or image of Mahomet, as high as a bird can fly. It was framed by Mahomet himself of the purest metal, who by his knowledge in necromancy had sealed up within it a legion of diabolical spirits. It held in its hand a prodigious club, and the Saracens had a prophetic tradition, that this club should fall from the hand of the image in that year when a certain king should be born in France, &c. J. Turpini Hist. de Vit. Carol. Magn. et Rolandi, cap. iv. f. 2. a.

bishop Turpin's name * about that time. Others very soon afterwards, in the reign of Charles the Bald[x]. That is, about the year 870[y].

Voltaire, a writer of much deeper research than is imagined, and the first who has displayed the literature and customs of the dark ages with any degree of penetration and comprehension, speaking of the fictitious tales concerning Charlemagne, has remarked, "Ces fables qu'un moine ecrivit au onzieme siècle, sous le nom de l'archeveque Turpin[z]." And it might easily be shown that just before the commencement of the thirteenth century, romantic stories about Charlemagne were more fashionable than ever among the French minstrels. That is, on the recent publication of this fabulous history of Charlemagne. Historical evidence concurs with numerous internal arguments to prove, that it must have been compiled after the crusades. In the twentieth chapter, a pretended pilgrimage of Charlemagne to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem is recorded: a forgery seemingly contrived with a design to give an importance to those wild expeditions, and which would easily be believed when thus authenticated by an archbishop[a].

There is another strong internal proof that this romance was written long after the time of Charlemagne. Our historian is speaking of the numerous chiefs and kings who came with their armies to assist his hero: among the rest he mentions earl Oell, and adds, "Of this man there is a song commonly sung among the minstrels *even to this day*[b]." Nor will I believe, that the European art of war, in the eighth century, could bring into the field such a prodigious parade of battering rams and wooden castles, as those with which Charlemagne is said to have besieged the city Agennum[c]: the crusades seem to have made these

* ["Whose true name," says Ritson, "was Tilpin, and who died before Charlemagne, though Robert Gaguin, in his licentious translation of the work, 1527, makes him relate his own death Another pretended version of this Pseudo-Turpin, said to have been made by one Mickius or Michael le Harnes, who lived in 1206, has little or nothing in common with its false original." Diss on Rom. and Minst. p. 46. —PARK.]

[x] See Hist. Acad des Inscript. &c vii 293. edit 4to

[y] See Catel, Mem. de l'Hist du Languedoc, p. 545

[z] Hist. Gen. ch. viii. Œuvr tom. i p 84 edit. Genev. 1756

[a] See infr p 128.

[b] "De hoc canitur in cantilena usque *ad hodiernum diem*" cap xi f 4 b edit Schard Francof. 1566. fol. Chronograph Quat.

[In the best MSS of Turpin, the above passage refers to Oger king of Denmark, whose name is omitted in that followed by the editor of Turpin's history here cited There is no work that is known to relate to Oel The romance of Ogier Danois, originally written in rhyme, is here probably referred to —DOUCE]—[The language of Turpin seems rather to imply a ballad or song on the achievements of this hero, such as is still to be found in the Danish Kjempe Viser. The name, however written,—Oger, Ogier, Odiger, Holger,—clearly refers to Helgi, a hero of the Edda and the Volsunga-Saga. In the earlier traditions the theatre of his actions is confined to Denmark and the neighbouring countries, but the later fictions embellish his career with all the marvels of romance, and after leading him as a conqueror over the greater part of Europe and Asia, transport him to the isle of Avalon, where he *still* resides with Morgan la faye.—PRICE]

[c] Ibid. cap. ix. f 3. b. The writer adds, "Cæterisque *artificiis ad capiendum*," &c. See also cap x. ibid Compare Sect. iv. infr p. 162. In one of Charlemagne's battles, the Saracens advance with horrible visors bearded and horned, and with drums or cymbals "Tenentesque sin-

huge military machines common in the European armies. However, we may suspect it appeared before, yet not long before, Geoffrey's romance, who mentions Charlemagne's TWELVE PEERS, so lavishly celebrated in Turpin's book, as present at King Arthur's imaginary coronation at Caer-leon. Although the twelve peers of France occur in chronicles of the tenth century[d]; and they might besides have been suggested to Geoffrey's original author from popular traditions and songs of minstrels. We are sure it was extant before the year 1122; for Calixtus the Second in that year, by papal authority, pronounced this history to be genuine[e]. Monsieur Allard affirms that it was written, and in the eleventh century, at Vienne by a monk of Saint Andrew's[f]. This monk was probably nothing more than some Latin translator: but a learned French antiquary is of opinion, that it was originally composed in Latin, and moreover, that the most antient romances, even those of the Round Table, were originally written in that language[g]. Oienhart, and with the greatest probability, supposes it to be the work of a Spaniard. He quotes an authentic manuscript to prove that it was brought out of Spain into France before the close of the twelfth century[h], and that the miraculous exploits performed in Spain by Charlemagne and earl Roland, recorded in this romantic history, were unknown among the French before that period: except only that some few of them were obscurely and imperfectly sketched in the metrical tales of those who sung heroic adventures[i]. Oienhart's supposition that this history was compiled in Spain, the centre of oriental fabling in Europe, at once accounts for the nature and extravagance of its fictions, and immediately points to their Arabian origin[k]. As to the French manuscript of this history, it is a

guli TYMPANA, quæ manibus fortiter percutiebant" The unusual spectacle and sound terrified the horses of the christian army, and threw them into confusion In a second engagement, Charlemagne commanded the eyes of the horses to be covered, and then ears to be stopped Turpin, cap xvm f 7 b The latter expedient is copied in the Romance of Richard the First, written about the eleventh century [About the year 1300 —M] See Sect iv infr p 163 See also what is said of the Saracen drums, ibid p 169

[d] Flodoard of Rheims first mentions them, whose chronicle comes down to 966

[e] Magn Chron Belgic pag. 150 sub ann Compare J Long Bibl Hist Gall num 6671 And Lambec ii p 333

[f] Bibl de Dauphiné, p 224

[g] See vol ii p 221. Note [a]

[h] See infr. p 138.

[i] Arnoldi Oienharti Notit utriusque Vasconiæ, edit Paris, 1638 4to page 397 lib iii c 3 Such was Roland's song, sung at the battle of Hastings But see this romance, cap xx f 8 b where Turpin seems to refer to some other fabulous materials of history concerning Charlemagne Particularly about Galafar and Brainamant, which make such a figure in Boyardo and Ariosto

[k] Innumerable romantic stories, of Arabian growth, are to this day current among the common people of Spain, which they call CUENTOS DE VIEJAS. I will relate one from that lively picture of the Spaniards, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne, by Mademoiselle Dunois Within the antient castle of Toledo, they say, there was a vast cavern, whose entrance was strongly barricadoed It was universally believed, that if any person entered this cavern, the most fatal disasters would happen to the Spaniards Thus it remained closely shut and unentered for many ages. At length king Roderigo, having less credulity but more courage and curiosity than his ancestors, commanded this formidable recess to be opened At entering, he began to suspect the traditions

translation from Turpin's Latin, made by Michael le Harnes in the year 1207[1]. And, by the way, from the translator's declaration, that there was a great impropriety in translating Latin prose into verse, we may conclude, that at the commencement of the thirteenth century the French generally made their translations into verse.

In these two fabulous chronicles the foundations of romance seem to be laid. The principal characters, the leading subjects, and the fundamental fictions, which have supplied such ample matter to this singular species of composition, are here first displayed. And although the long continuance of the crusades imported innumerable inventions of a similar complexion, and substituted the achievements of new champions and the wonders of other countries, yet the tales of Arthur and of Charlemagne, diversified indeed, or enlarged with additional embellishments, still continued to prevail, and to be the favourite topics: and this, partly from their early popularity, partly from the quantity and the beauty of the fictions with which they were at first supported, and especially because the design of the crusades had made those subjects so fashionable in which christians fought with infidels. In a word, these volumes are the first specimens extant in this mode of writing. No European history before these has mentioned giants, enchanters, dragons, and the like monstrous and arbitrary fictions. And the reason is obvious: they were written at a time when a new and unnatural mode of thinking took place in Europe, introduced by our communication with the east.

Hitherto I have considered the Saracens, either at their immigration into Spain about the ninth century, or at the time of the crusades, as the first authors of romantic fabling among the Europeans. But a late ingenious critic has advanced an hypothesis, which assigns a new source, and a much earlier date, to these fictions. I will cite his opinion of this matter in his own words. "Our old romances of chivalry

of the people to be true: a terrible tempest arose, and all the elements seemed united to embarrass him. Nevertheless, he ventured forwards into the cave, where he discerned by the light of his torches certain figures or statues of men, whose habiliments and arms were strange and uncouth. One of them had a sword of shining brass, on which it was written in Arabic characters, that the time approached when the Spanish nation should be destroyed, and that it would not be long before the warriors, whose images were placed there, should arrive in Spain. The writer adds, "Je n'ai jamais été en aucun endroit, où l'on fasse PLUS DE CAS des CONTES FABULEUX qu'en Espagne." Edit. à la Haye, 1691 tom. iii. pp. 158, 159. 12mo. See infr. Sect. iii. pp. 114, 115. And the Life of Cervantes, by Don Gregorio Mayans. § 27. § 47. § 48. § 49.

[1] See Du Chesne, tom. v. p. 60. And Mem. Lit. xvii. 737 seq. It is in the royal library at Paris, Num. 8190. Probably the French Turpin in the British Museum is the same, Cod. MSS. Harl. 273. 23. f. 86. See infr. p. 137. See instances of the English translating prose Latin books into English, and sometimes French verse. Sect. ii. infr. passim.

In the king's library at Paris, there is a translation of Dares Phrygius into French rhymes by Godfrey of Waterford an Irish Jacobin, a writer not mentioned by Tanner, in the thirteenth century. Mem. Litt. tom. xvii. p. 736. Compare Sect. iii. infr. p. 128, Note [y]. [See De la Rue's Essais sur les Bardes, &c. tom. iii. p. 211 who adds, that this writer was assisted in his translation by Gervais Copale, and refers to MS. 7856. Bibl. du Roi, for copies of the works ascribed to them.—M.]

may be derived in a LINEAL DESCENT from the antient historical songs of the Gothic bards and scalds.—Many of those songs are still preserved in the north, which exhibit all the seeds of chivalry before it became a solemn institution.—Even the common arbitrary fictions of romance were mŏst of them familiar to the antient scalds of the north, long before the time of the crusades. They believed the existence of giants and dwarfs, they had some notion of fairies, they were strongly possessed with the belief of spells and inchantment, and were fond of inventing combats with dragons and monsters[m]." Monsieur Mallet, a very able and elegant inquirer into the genius and antiquities of the northern nations, maintains the same doctrine. He seems to think, that many of the opinions and practices of the Goths, however obsolete, still obscurely subsist. He adds, "May we not rank among these, for example, that love and admiration for the profession of arms which prevailed among our ancestors even to fanaticism, mad as it were through system, and brave from a point of honour?—Can we not explain from the Gothic religion, how judiciary combats, and proofs by the ordeal, to the astonishment of posterity, were admitted by the legislature of all Europe[n]; and how, even to the present age, the people are still infatuated with a belief of the power of magicians, witches, spirits, and genii, concealed under the earth or in the waters?—Do we not discover in these religious opinions, that source of the marvellous with which our ancestors filled their romances; in which we see dwarfs and giants, fairies and demons?" &c.[o] And in another place, "The fortresses of the Goths were only rude castles situated on the summits of rocks, and rendered inaccessible by thick misshapen walls. As these walls ran winding round the castles, they often called them by a name which signified SERPENTS or DRAGONS; and in these they usually secured the women and young virgins of distinction, who were seldom safe at a time when so many enterprising heroes were rambling up and down in search of adventures. It was this custom which gave occasion to antient romancers, who know not how to describe any thing simply, to invent so many fables concerning

[m] Percy on Antient Metr. Rom i. p 3, 4, edit 1767.

[n] For the judiciary combats, as also for common athletic exercises, they formed an amphitheatrical circus of rude stones. "Quædam [saxa] CIRCOS claudebant, in quibus gigantes et pugiles DUELLO strenue decertabant" Worm. p. 62 And again, "Nec mora, CIRCUATUR campus, milite CIRCUS stipatur, concurrunt pugiles" p. 65. It is remarkable, that circs of the same sort are still to be seen in Cornwall, so famous at this day for the athletic art in which also they sometimes exhibited their scriptural interludes. vol. ii. p. 70. Frotho the Great, king of Denmark, in the first century, is said to have been the first who commanded all controversies to be decided by the sword. Worm p 68. In favour of this barbarous institution it ought to be remembered, that the practice of thus marking out the place of battle must have prevented much bloodshed, and saved many innocent lives: for if either combatant was by any accident forced out of the circus, he was to lose his cause, or to pay three marks of pure silver as a redemption for his life. Worm. p. 68, 69. In the year 987, the ordeal was substituted in Denmark instead of the duel; a mode of decision, at least in a political sense, less absurd, as it promoted military skill.

[o] Mallet, Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc, &c. tom. ii. p. 9

princesses of great beauty guarded by dragons, and afterwards delivered by invincible champions[p]."

I do not mean entirely to reject this hypothesis; but I will endeavour to show how far I think it is true, and in what manner or degree it may be reconciled with the system delivered above.

A few years before the birth of Christ, soon after Mithridates had been overthrown by Pompey, a nation of Asiatic Goths, who possessed that region of Asia which is now called Georgia, and is connected on the south with Persia, alarmed at the progressive encroachments of the Roman armies, retired in vast multitudes under the conduct of their leader Odin, or Woden, into the northern parts of Europe, not subject to the Roman government, and settled in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and other districts of the Scandinavian territory[q]. As they brought with them many useful arts, particularly the knowledge of letters, which Odin is said to have invented[r], they were hospitably received by the natives, and by degrees acquired a safe and peaceable establishment in the new country, which seems to have adopted their language, laws, and religion. Odin is said to have been styled a god by the Scandinavians, an appellation which the superior address and specious abilities of this Asiatic chief easily extorted from a more savage and uncivilised people.

This migration is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of various historians: but there is no better evidence of it, than that conspicuous similarity subsisting at this day between several customs of

[p] Mallet, Introd ch. ix. p 243 tom. ii [This and other similar passages in Mallet's lively history would form an excellent supplement to the Homeric allegories of Heraclides Ponticus —PRICE]

[q] "Unicam gentium Asiaticarum immigrationem, in orbem Arctoum factam, nostræ antiquitates commemorant Sed eam tamen non primam Verum circa annum tandem vicesimum quartum ante natum Christum, Romanis exercitibus auspicus Pompeii Magni in Asiæ parte, Phrygia Minore, grassantibus. Illa enim epocha ad hanc rem chronologi nostri utuntur In cujus (GYLVI SUECIÆ regis) tempora incidit Odinus, Asiaticæ immigrationis, factæ anno 24 ante natum Christum, assignanus" Crymogæa, Arngrim Jon lb 1 cap. 4 p 30, 31 edit Hamburg. 1609 See also Bartholin. Antiquitat Dan lb ii cap. 8 p 407 in c 2 p 652. edit. 1689 Lazius, de Gent Migrat l x fol 573 30 edit. fol 1600 Compare Ol Rudbeck. cap v sect 2 p 95 xiv sect 2 p 97. There is a memoir on this subject ately published in the Petersburg Transactions, but I choose to refer to original authorities See torn. v. p. 297. edit 1738 4to

[r] "Odino etiam et aliis, qui ex Asia huc devenere, tribuunt multi antiquitatum Islandicarum periti, unde et Odinus RUNHOI DI seu Runarum (i e *Literarum*) auctor vocatur" Ol Worm Liter Runic cap. 20 edit Hafn 1651 Some writers refer the origin of the Grecian language, sciences, and religion to the Scythians, who were connected towards the south with Odin's Goths I cannot bring a greater authority than that of Salmasius, "Satis certum ex his colligi potest linguam, ut gentem, HELLENICAM, a septentrione et SCYTHIA originem traxisse, non a meridie Inde LITERÆ GRÆCORUM, inde MUSÆ PIERIDES, inde sacrorum initia" Salmas. de Hellenist p 400. As a further proof I shall observe, that the antient poet Thamyris was so much esteemed by the Scythians on account of his poetry, κιθαρωδια, that they chose him their king Conon Narrat Poet cap. vii edit Gal But Thamyris was a Thracian and a late ingenious antiquarian endeavours to prove, that the Goths were descended from the Thracians, and that the Greeks and Thracians were only different clans of the same people Clarke's Connexion, &c. ch ii. p. 65.

[See also Mr. Pinkerton's Dissertation on the Goths, and Dr. Jamieson's Hermes Scythicus —PRICE.]

the Georgians, as described by Chardin, and those of certain cantons of Norway and Sweden, which have preserved their antient manners in the purest degree[s]. Not that other striking implicit and internal proofs, which often carry more conviction than direct historical assertions, are wanting to point out this migration. The antient inhabitants of Denmark and Norway inscribed the exploits of their kings and heroes on rocks, in characters called Runic; and of this practice many marks are said still to remain in those countries[t]. This art or custom of writing on rocks is Asiatic[u]. Modern travellers report, that there are Runic inscriptions now existing in the deserts of Tartary[x]. The WRITTEN MOUNTAINS of the Jews* are an instance that this fashion was oriental. Antiently, when one of these northern chiefs fell honourably in battle, his weapons, his war-horse, and his wife, were consumed with himself on the same funeral pile[y]. I need not remind my readers how religiously this horrible ceremony of sacrificing the wife to the dead husband is at present observed in the east. There is a very remarkable correspondence, in numberless important and fundamental points, between the Druidical and the Persian superstitions: and notwithstanding the evidence of Cæsar, who speaks only from popular report, and without precision, on a subject which he cared little about, it is the opinion of the learned Banier, that the Druids were formed on the model of the Magi[z]. In this hypothesis he is seconded by a modern antiquary; who further supposes, that Odin's followers imported this establishment into Scandinavia, from the confines of Persia[a]. The Scandinavians attributed divine virtue to the misletoe; it is mentioned in their EDDA, or system of religious doctrines, where it is said to grow on the west side of Val-hall, or Odin's elysium[b]. That Druidical

[s] See Pontoppidan Nat. Hist Norway, tom ii c 10 § 1, 2, 3.

[t] See Saxo Grammat Præf. ad Hist Dan and Hist lib. vii See also Ol Worm Monum Dan lib iii

[u] Paulus Jovius, a writer indeed not of the best credit, says, that Annibal engraved characters on the Alpine rocks, as a testimony of his passage over them, and that they were remaining there two centuries ago Hist lib xv p 163

[x] See Voyage par Strahlemberg, &c A Description of the Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia. Schroder says, from Olaus Rudbeckius, that RUNIS, or letters, were invented by Magog the Scythian, and communicated to Tuisco the celebrated German chieftain, in the year of the world 1799. Præf ad Lexicon Latino-Scandic

* [Warton here refers to the sculptured rocks described in "a Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai and back again," edited by Dr Robert Clayton, bishop of Clogher, 4to. Lond 1753. p 34 and also noticed by Pococke and Niebuhr But it is not at all certain that these inscriptions were written by the Jews, nor is it yet determined in what character they appear Engravings of the whole are given in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol ii part i p 147 —M]

[y] See Keysler, p 147 Two funeral ceremonies, one of BURNING, the other of BURYING their dead, at different times prevailed in the north, and have distinguished two eras in the old northern history The first was called the AGE OF FIRE, the second the AGE OF HILLS.

[z] Mytholog Expliq ii p 628 4to.

[a] M. Mallet, Hist Dannem i p 56 See also Keysler, p. 152.

[b] Edd. Isl. fab xxviii Compare Keysler, Antiquit Sel. Sept. p 304 seq The Germans, a Teutonic tribe, call it to this day "the Branch of Spectres" But see Dr. Percy's ingenious note on this passage in the Edda. Northern Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 143.

rites existed among the Scandinavians we are informed from many antient Erse poems, which say that the British Druids, in the extremity of their affairs, solicited and obtained aid from Scandinavia[c]. The Gothic hell exactly resembles that which we find in the religious systems of the Persians, the most abounding in superstition of all the eastern nations. One of the circumstances is, and an oriental idea, that it is full of scorpions and serpents[d]. The doctrines of Zeno, who borrowed most of his opinions from the Persian philosophers, are not uncommon in the EDDA. Lok, the evil deity of the Goths, is probably the Arimanius of the Persians. In some of the most antient Islandic chronicles, the Turks are mentioned as belonging to the jurisdiction of the Scandinavians. Mahomet, not so great an inventor as is imagined, adopted into his religion many favourite notions and superstitions from the bordering nations which were the offspring of the Scythians, and especially from the Turks. Accordingly, we find the Alcoran agreeing with the Runic theology in various instances. I will mention only one. It is one of the beatitudes of the Mahometan paradise, that blooming virgins shall administer the most luscious wines. Thus in Odin's Val-hall, or the Gothic elysium, the departed heroes received cups of the strongest mead and ale from the hands of the virgin-goddesses called Valkyres[e]. Alfred, in his Saxon account of the northern seas, taken from the mouth of Ohther, a Norwegian, who had been sent by that monarch to discover a north-east passage into the Indies, constantly calls these nations the ORIENTALS[f]. And as these eastern tribes brought with them into the north a certain degree of refinement, of luxury and splendour, which appeared singular and prodigious among barbarians; one of their early historians describes a person better dressed than usual, by saying, "he was so well cloathed, that you might have taken him for one of the Asiatics[g]." Wormius mentions a Runic incantation, in which an Asiatic enchantress is invoked[h]. Various other instances might here be added, some of which will occasionally arise in the future course of our inquiries.

[c] Ossian's Works Cathlin, ii p 216 Not. edit. 1765. vol. ii. They add, that among the auxiliaries came many magicians.

[d] See Hyde, Relig Vet Pers. p. 399. 404 But compare what is said of the Edda, towards the close of this Discourse

[e] Odin only drank wine in Val-hall, Edd. Myth. xxxiv See Keysler, p. 152.

[f] See Preface to Alfred's Saxon Orosius, published by Spelman. [And since by Daines Barrington.] Vit. Ælfredi. Spelm. Append. vi. [Oht-here was not sent by Alfred. This voyage was undertaken for the gratification of his own curiosity, and the furtherance of his commercial views. He was doubtlessly ignorant of the existence of Asia. The Orientals, to use the language of the text, were those inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula, whose country lay upon his starboard quarter, while steering due north from Halgoland in Norway —PRICE.]

[g] LANDNAMA-SAGA See Mallet, Hist. Dannem c. ii.

[h] Lit Run. p 209, edit 1651. The Goths came from the neighbourhood of Colchis, the region of witchcraft, and the country of Medea, famous for her incantations. The eastern pagans from the very earliest ages have had their enchanters *Now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments* Exod vii. 11. See also viii. 18, 19. ix. 11, &c. When the people of Israel had overrun the country of Balak, he invites Balaam, a neighbouring prince, to *curse them*, or destroy them by magic, which he seems to

It is notorious, that many traces of oriental usages are found amongst all the European nations during their pagan state; and this phenomenon is rationally resolved, on the supposition that all Europe was originally peopled from the east. But as the resemblance which the pagan Scandinavians bore to the eastern nations in manners, monuments, opinions, and practices, is so very perceptible and apparent, an inference arises, that their migration from the east must have happened at a period by many ages more recent, and therefore most probably about the time specified by their historians. In the mean time we must remember, that a distinction is to be made between this expedition of Odin's Goths, who formed a settlement in Scandinavia, and those innumerable armies of barbarous adventurers, who some centuries afterwards, distinguished by the same name, at different periods overwhelmed Europe, and at length extinguished the Roman Empire.

When we consider the rapid conquests of the nations which may be comprehended under the common name of Scythians, and not only those conducted by Odin, but by Attila, Theoderic and Genseric, we cannot ascribe such successes to brutal courage only. To say that some of these irresistible conquerors made war on a luxurious, effeminate, and enervated people, is a plausible and easy mode of accounting for their conquests: but this reason will not operate with equal force in the histories of Genghizcan and Tamerlane, who destroyed mighty empires founded on arms and military discipline, and who baffled the efforts of the ablest leaders. Their science and genius in war, such as t then was, cannot therefore be doubted. that they were not deficient in the arts of peace, I have already hinted, and now proceed to produce more particular proofs. Innumerable and very fundamental errors have crept into our reasonings and systems about savage life, resulting merely from those strong and undistinguishing notions of barbarism, which our prejudices have hastily formed concerning the character of all rude nations[1].

Among other arts which Odin's Goths planted in Scandinavia, their skill in poetry, to which they were addicted in a peculiar manner, and which they cultivated with a wonderful enthusiasm, seems to be most worthy our regard, and especially in our present inquiry.

have professed. *And the elders of Moab departed with the rewards of* DIVINATION *in their hand* Num. xxii. 7. *Surely there is no* ENCHANTMENT *against Israel.* xxiii 23. *And he went out, as at other times, to seek for* ENCHANTMENTS, xxiv 1, &c. Odin himself was not only a warrior, but a magician, and his Asiatics were called *Incantationum auctores.* Chron. Norweg apud Bartholin. l. iii. c 2. p. 657. Crymog. Arngrim. lib. i. cap vii. p. 511. From this source, those who adopt the principles just mentioned in this discourse, may be inclined to think, that the notion of spells got into the ritual of chivalry In all legal single combats, each champion attested upon oath, that he did not carry about him any herb, SPELL, or ENCHANTMENT. Dugdal Orig. Juridic. p. 82. See Hickes's account of the silver Dano-Saxon shield, dug up in the Isle of Ely, having a magical Runic inscription, supposed to render those who bore it in battle invulnerable Apud Hickes. Thesaur. Dissertat. Epistol. p 187

[1] See this argument pursued in the Second Dissertation.

As the principal heroes of their expedition into the north were honourably distinguished from the Europeans, or original Scandinavians, under the name of Asæ, or Asiatics, so the verses or language, of this people, were denominated Asamal, or Asiatic speech[k]. Their poetry contained not only the praises of their heroes, but their popular traditions and their religious rites; and was filled with those fictions which the most exaggerated pagan superstition would naturally implant in the wild imaginations of an Asiatic people. And from this principle alone, I mean of their Asiatic origin, some critics would at once account for a certain capricious spirit of extravagance, and those bold eccentric conceptions, which so strongly distinguish the old northern poetry[l]. Nor is this fantastic imagery the only mark of Asiaticism which appears in the Runic odes. They have a certain sublime and figurative cast of diction, which is indeed one of their predominant characteristics[m]. I am very sensible that all rude nations are naturally apt to cloathe their sentiments in this style. A propensity to this mode of expression is necessarily occasioned by the poverty of their language, which obliges them frequently to substitute similitudes and circumlocutions: it arises in great measure from feelings undisguised and unrestrained by custom or art, and from the genuine efforts of nature working more at large in uncultivated minds. In the infancy of society, the passions and the imaginations are alike uncontroled. But another cause seems to have concurred in producing the effect here mentioned. When obvious terms and phrases evidently occurred, the Runic poets are fond of departing from the common and established diction. They appear to use circumlocution and comparisons not as a matter of necessity, but of choice and skill: nor are these metaphorical colourings so much the result of want of words, as of warmth of fancy[n].

[k] "Linguam Danicam antiquam, cujus in rythmis usus fuit, veteres appellarunt Asamal, id est Asiaticam, vel Asarum Sermonem, quod eum ex Asia Odinus secum in Daniam, Norwegiam, Sueciam, aliasque regiones septentrionales, invexerit" Steph Stephan Præfat ad Saxon Grammat Hist

[l] A most ingenious critic observes, that "what we have been long accustomed to call the ORIENTAL VEIN of poetry, because some of the EARLIEST poetical productions have come to us from the east, is probably no more ORIENTAL than OCCIDENTAL" Blair's Crit Diss on Ossian, vol II p 317 But all the LATER oriental writers through all ages have been particularly distinguished for this VEIN Hence it is here characteristical of a country, not of an age I will allow, on this writer's very just and penetrating principles, that an early northern ode shall be as sublime as an eastern one yet the sublimity of the latter shall have a different character, it will be more inflated and gigantic

[m] Thus, a rainbow is called, *the bridge of the gods* Poetry, *the mead of Odin* The earth, *the vessel that floats on ages* A ship, *the horse of the waves* Ice, *the vast bridge* Herbs, *the fleece of the earth* A battle, *a bath of blood, the hail of Odin, the shock of bucklers* A tongue, *the sword of words.* Night, *the veil of cares* Rocks, *the bones of the earth* Arrows, *the hailstones of helmets, &c &c.*

[n] In a strict geographical sense, the original country of these Asiatic Goths might not be so situated as physically to have produced these effects Yet it is to be observed, that intercourse and vicinity are in this case sometimes equivalent to climate. The Persian traditions and superstitions were current even in the northern parts of Tartary. Georgia, however, may be fairly considered as a part of Persia It is equal in fertility to any of the eastern Turkish

Their warmth of fancy, however, if supposed to have proceeded from the principles above suggested, in a few generations after this migration into Scandinavia, must have lost much of its natural heat and genuine force. Yet ideas and sentiments, especially of this sort, once imbibed, are long remembered and retained, in savage life. Their religion, among other causes, might have contributed to keep this spirit alive; and to preserve their original stock of images, and native mode of expression, unchanged and unabated by climate or country. In the mean time we may suppose, that the new situation of these people in Scandinavia might have added a darker shade and a more savage complexion to their former fictions and superstitions; and that the formidable objects of nature to which they became familiarised in those northern solitudes, the piny precipices, the frozen mountains, and the gloomy forests, acted on their imaginations, and gave a tincture of horror to their imagery.

A skill in poetry seems in some measure to have been a national science among the Scandinavians, and to have been familiar to almost every order and degree. Their kings and warriors partook of this epidemic enthusiasm, and on frequent occasions are represented as breaking forth into spontaneous songs and verses[o]. But the exercise of the poetical talent was properly confined to a stated profession: and

provinces in Asia. It affords the richest wines, and other luxuries of life, in the greatest abundance. The most beautiful virgins for the seraglio are fetched from this province. In the mean time, thus much at least may be said of a warm climate, exclusive of its supposed immediate physical influence on the human mind and temperament. It exhibits all the productions of nature in their highest perfection and beauty, while the excessive heat of the sun, and the fewer incitements to labour and industry, dispose the inhabitants to indolence, and to living much abroad in scenes of nature. These circumstances are favourable to the operations of fancy.

[o] Harold Hardraade, king of Norway, composed sixteen songs of his expedition into Africa. Asbiorn Pruda, a Danish champion, described his past life in nine strophes, while his enemy Bruce, a giant, was tearing out his bowels. "I *Tell my mother Suanhita in Denmark, that she will not this summer comb the hair of her son. I had promised her to return, but now my side shall feel the edge of the sword.*" It was far otherwise, *when we sate at home in mirth, cheering ourselves with the drink of ale, and coming from Hordeland passed the gulf in our ships, when we quaffed mead, and conversed of liberty. Now I alone am fallen into the narrow prisons of the giants.*" It was far otherwise," &c. Every stanza is introduced with the same choral burden. Bartholin. Antiquit. Danic. l. 1. cap. 10. p. 158. edit. 1689. [Asbiorn Pruda lived at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. But his Saga, which abounds in the most marvellous adventures, and this celebrated death-song, were fabricated in the fourteenth century. See Suhm's History of Denmark, vol. 3, p. 294.—Price.] The noble epicedium of Regner Lodbrog is more commonly known. The champion Orvar-Odd, after his expeditions into various countries, sung, on his death-bed, the most memorable events of his life in metre. [Orvar-Odd's Saga, from which Torfæus (Hist. Norv. P. 1. p. 263—284) has extracted the more sober parts of the narrative, is a romantic composition of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It is even very uncertain whether such a person ever existed.—Price.] Hallmund, being mortally wounded, commanded his daughter to listen to a poem which he was about to deliver, containing histories of his victories, and to engrave it on tablets of wood. Bartholin. ibid. p. 162. Saxo Grammaticus gives us a regular ode, uttered by the son of a king of Norway, who by mistake had been buried alive, and was discovered and awakened by a party of soldiers digging for treasure. Sax. Grammat. lib. 5. p. 50. There are instances recorded of their speaking in metre on the most common occurrences.

with their poetry the Goths imported into Europe a species of poets or singers, whom they called SCALDS or POLISHERS of LANGUAGE. This order of men, as we shall see more distinctly below, was held in the highest honour and veneration: they received the most liberal rewards for their verses, attended the festivals of heroic chiefs, accompanied them in battle, and celebrated their victories[p].

These Scandinavian bards appear to have been esteemed and entertained in other countries besides their own, and by that means to have probably communicated their fictions to various parts of Europe. I will give my reasons for this supposition.

In the early ages of Europe, before many regular governments took place, revolutions, emigrations, and invasions were frequent and almost universal. Nations were alternately destroyed or formed; and the want of political security exposed the inhabitants of every country to a state of eternal fluctuation. That Britain was originally peopled from Gaul, a nation of the Celts, is allowed: but that many colonies from the northern parts of Europe were afterwards successively planted in Britain and the neighbouring islands, is an hypothesis equally rational, and not altogether destitute of historical evidence. Nor was any nation more likely than the Scandinavian Goths, I mean in their early periods, to

[p] The Sogdians were a people who lived eastward of the Caspian sea, not far from the country of Odin's Goths Quintus Curtius relates, that when some of that people were condemned to death by Alexander on account of a revolt, they rejoiced greatly, and testified their joy by SINGING VERSES and dancing When the king inquired the reason of their joy, they answered, "that being soon to be RESTORED TO THEIR ANCESTORS by so great a conqueror, they could not help celebrating so honourable a death, which was the WISH of all brave men, in their own ACCUSTOMED SONGS" Lib. vii c 8 I am obliged to Dr Percy for pointing out this passage. From the correspondence of manners and principles it holds forth between the Scandinavians and the Sogdians, it contains a striking proof of Odin's migration from the east to the north. first, in the spontaneous exercise of the poetical talent, and secondly, in the opinion, that a glorious or warlike death, which admitted them to the company of their friends and parents in another world, was to be embraced with the most eager alacrity, and the highest sensations of pleasure. This is the doctrine of the Edda. In the same spirit, RIDENS MORIAR is the triumphant close of Regner Lodbrog's dying ode. [See Keysler, ubi infr p 154] I cannot help adding here another stroke from this ode, which seems also to be founded on eastern manners. He speaks with great rapture of drinking, "ex concavis crateribus craniorum." The inhabitants of the island of Ceylon to this day carouse at their feasts, from cups or bowls made of the sculls of their deceased ancestors Ives's Voyage to India, ch. 5, p 62 Lond 1773. 4to This practice these islanders undoubtedly received from the neighbouring continent Compare Keysler, Antiquitat Sel Septentr p 362. seq.

[Silius Italicus charges the Celts with indulging in a similar practice·

At Celtæ vacui capitis circundare gaudent
Ossa (nefas) auro, et mensis ea pocula servant.

And the Longobardic and Bavarian histories record single examples of its occurrence for the gratification of personal revenge But except the passage quoted by Warton, there is no authority for the existence of such a custom in the North as a *national* habit, and in this a violent and far-fetched metaphor has been erroneously translated, to be made the basis of an imputation equally revolting and absurd The original Islandic text stands thus

Drekkum bior at bragdi
Ur biug-vidom hausa

Instantly we shall drink ale
From the skull's winding trees

Or in the sober phrase of common parlance "We shall drink our beer out of *horns*." The Celtic antiquaries may perhaps be able to offer a similar vindication of their uncivilized ancestors.—PRICE.]

make descents on Britain. They possessed the spirit of adventure in an eminent degree. They were habituated to dangerous enterprises. They were acquainted with distant coasts, exercised in navigation, and fond of making expeditions, in hopes of conquest, and in search of new acquisitions. As to Scotland and Ireland, there is the highest probability, that the Scutes, who conquered both those countries, and possessed them under the names of Albin Scutes and Irin Scutes, were a people of Norway. The Caledonians are expressly called by many judicious antiquaries a Scandinavian colony. The names of places and persons, over all that part of Scotland which the Picts inhabited, are of Scandinavian extraction. A simple catalogue of them only would immediately convince us, that they are not of Celtic, or British origin. Flaherty reports it as a received opinion, and a general doctrine, that the Picts migrated into Britain and Ireland from Scandinavia[q]. I forbear to accumulate a pedantic parade of authorities on this occasion: nor can it be expected that I should enter into a formal and exact examination of this obscure and complicated subject in its full extent, which is here only introduced incidentally. I will only add, that Scotland and Ireland, as being situated more to the north, and probably less difficult of access than Britain, might have been objects on which our northern adventurers were invited to try some of their earliest excursions, and that the Orkney-islands remained long under the jurisdiction of the Norwegian potentates.

In these expeditions, the northern emigrants, as we shall prove more particularly below, were undoubtedly attended by their scalds or poets. Yet even in times of peace, and without the supposition of conquest or invasion, the Scandinavian scalds might have been well known in the British islands. Possessed of a specious and pleasing talent, they frequented the courts of the British, Scottish, and Irish chieftains. They were itinerants by their institution, and made voyages, out of curiosity, or in quest of rewards, to those islands or coasts which lay within the circle of their maritime knowledge. By these means, they established an interest, rendered their profession popular, propagated their art, and circulated their fictions, in other countries, and at a distance from home. Torfæus asserts positively, that various Islandic odes now remain, which

[q] It is conjectured by Wormius, that *Ireland* is derived from the Runic Yr, a bow, for the use of which the Irish were once famous Lit Run. c xvii p 92. The Asiatics, near the lake Mæotis, from which Odin led his colony into Europe, were celebrated archers Hence Hercules in Theocritus, Idyll. xiii 56

—Μαιωτισι λαῶν ευκαμπια τοξα.

Compare Salmas de Hellen. p 369. And Flahert. Ogyg. Part. iii. cap. xviii. p 188 edit. 1685. Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. Præf. p xxxviii.

[The Celtic population of Ireland precedes the period of legitimate history Their migration to Scotland has been referred with great probability to the earlier part of the fourth century But the origin of the Picts, their language, the etymology "of the names of places and persons over that part of Scotland which they inhabited," is a subject which divides the opinions of Scottish antiquaries See Mr. Chalmers's Caledonia, and Dr Jamieson's Etymological Scottish Dictionary (Introduction) —PRICE.]

were sung by the Scandinavian bards before the kings of England and Ireland, and for which they received liberal gratuities[r]. They were more especially caressed and rewarded at the courts of those princes who were distinguished for their warlike character, and their passion for military glory.

Olaus Wormius informs us, that great numbers of the northern scalds constantly resided in the courts of the kings of Sweden, Denmark, and England[s]. Hence the tradition in an antient Islandic Saga, or poetical history, may be explained; which says, that Odin's language was originally used, not only in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, but even in England[t]. Indeed it may be naturally concluded from these suggestions, that the Scandinavian tongue became familiar in the British islands by the songs of the scalds, unless it be rather presumed, that a previous knowledge of that tongue in Britain was the means of facilitating the admission of those poets, and preparing the way for their reception.

And here it will be much to our present argument to observe, that some of the old Gothic and Scandinavian superstitions are to this day retained in the English language. MARA, from whence our Night-mare is derived, was in the Runic theology a spirit or spectre of the night, which seized men in their sleep, and suddenly deprived them of speech and motion[u]. NICKA was the Gothic demon who inhabited the element of water, and who strangled persons that were drowning[w]. BOH was one of the most fierce and formidable of the Gothic generals[x], and the son of Odin; the mention of whose name was sufficient to spread an immediate panic among his enemies[y].

[r] Torf Hist Orcad in Præfat [See the Sagas of Egill, and Gunnlaug Ormstunga —PRICE.]

[s] Lit Dan p 195 ed. 4to.

[t] Bartholin in 2 p 651 It was a constant old British tradition, that king Arthur conquered Ireland, Gothland, Denmark, and Norway See Galfrid Monum ix 11. Rob of Glouc ed Hearne, p 180 182 What is said in the text must have greatly facilitated the Saxon and Danish conquests in England The works of the genuine Cædmon are written in the language of the antient Angles, who were nearly connected with the Jutes Hence that language resembled the antient Danish, as appears from passages of Cædmon cited by Wanley Hence also it happened, that the later Dano-Saxonic dialect, in which Junius's Poetical Paraphrase of Genesis was written, is likewise so very similar to the language of the antient Angles, who settled in the more northern parts of England [See, in relation to this imaginary *Dano-Saxonic* dialect, Mr. Thorpe's remarks, in the preface to his edition of Cædmon, 8vo 1832 —M.] And in this dialect, which indeed prevailed in some degree almost over all England, many other poems are composed, mentioned likewise in Wanley's Catalogue [See the Preface to this edition —PRICE.] It is the constant doctrine of the Danish historians, that the Danes and Angles, whose successors gave the name to this island, had the same origin

[u] See Keysler, Antiquitat. Sel Septentrional p 497 edit 1720

[w] See Keysler, ut supr p 261. And in Addend ibid p 588

[x] See Keysler, ibid p 105 p 130

[y] See Temple's Essays, part 4. p 346 See also instances of conformity between English and Gothic superstitions in Bartholinus, l ii cap 2 p. 262 266. It may be urged, that these superstitions might be introduced by the Danes, of whom I shall speak below But this brings us to just the same point The learned Hickes was of opinion, from a multitude of instances, that our trial by a jury of Twelve, was an early Scandinavian institution, and that it was brought from thence into England, yet he supposes, at a period later than is necessary, the Norman invasion. See Wootton's Conspectus of Hickes's Thesaur.

The fictions of Odin and of his Scandinavians, must have taken still deeper root in the British islands, at least in England, from the Saxon and Danish invasions.

That the tales of the Scandinavian scalds flourished among the Saxons, who succeeded to the Britons, and became possessors of England in the sixth century, may be justly presumed[z]. The Saxons were originally seated in the Cimbric Chersonese, or those territories which have been since called Jutland, Angelen, and Holstein; and were fond of tracing

p 46 Lond 1708. And Hickes Thesaur Dissertat Epistol vol i p 38 seq The number TWELVE was sacred among the Septentrional tribes Odin's Judges are TWI LVF, and have TWELVE seats in Gladheim Edd. Isl fab vii. The God of the Edda has TWI LVL names, ibid fab i An Aristocracy of TWELVE is a well-known antient establishment in the North In the Dialogue between Heivor and Angantyr, the latter promises to give Heivor TWELVE MEN'S DEATHS [He gives her that which is to be the death of twelve men—the sword Tuning —PRICE] Heivarar-Saga, apud Ol Verel cap vii p 91 The Druidical circular monuments of separate stones erect, are more frequently of the number TWELVE, than of any other number See Borlase, Antiquit Cornw B iii ch vii edit 1769 fol And Toland, Hist Druid p 89 158 160 See also Martin's Hebrid p 9 In Zealand and Sweden, many antient circular monuments, consisting each of twelve rude stones, still remain, which were the places of judicature My late very learned, ingenious, and respected friend, Dr Borlase, pointed out to me monuments of the same sort in Cornwall Compare Keysler, p 93 And it will illustrate remarks already made, and the principles insinuated in this Dissertation, to observe, that these monuments are found in Persia, near Tauris [See the Voyages de Chardin, p 377 ed 1686 12mo It is astonishing, that after the most evident proofs of these stone monuments being the production of our northern ancestors, writers will persist without any authority whatever in calling them Druidical —DOUCE.] [It is also "astonishing," that with such "evident proofs" of their existence in almost every part of Europe and Asia, they should be exclusively assigned either to "our northern ancestors," or their Celtic antagonists The occurrence of such monuments in Cornwall, where the Saxons only obtained a footing at a very late period, and in those parts of Ireland which were frequented by neither Saxons nor Scandinavians, clearly forbids the assumption of their Teutonic origin, while their name (Thing-stadar), and the purpose to which they were applied in the North of Europe, may receive an illustration from the page of Homer

Κηρυκες δ' αρα λαον ερητυον· οι δε γερουτες
Εἱατ' επι ξεστοισι λιθοις, ἱερῳ ενι κυκλῳ.
Il xviii 503

These "sacred circles" in the North were not only used as places of public assembly, but were the scenes of all judicial proceedings From a passage in the 67th chapter of Egills-Saga, there is reason to believe, that they were also made the theatres of the "trial by battle" The Irish antiquaries consider them to have been places of public worship "Magh-Adhan, a plain of adoration, where stood an open temple consisting of a circle of tall straight stone pillars with a very large flat stone called Cromleac, serving for an altar, constructed by the Druids and similar to that in Exodus xxiv 'And Moses . .. builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel'" O'Brian in voc —PRICE] Geoffrey of Monmouth affords instances in his British History The knights sent into Wales by Fitzhammon, in 1091, were TWELVE Powel, p 124 sub anno See also an instance in Du Cariell, Anglo-Norman Antiq. p 9 It is probable that Charlemagne formed his TWELVE PEERS on this principle From whom Spenser evidently took his TWELVE KNIGHTS

[In the poem of Beowulf 'twolf wintra tid,' the time of twelve winters, is evidently a mere epic form of expression to denote an indefinite period It is like the *forty* days of the Hebrews, the ἐννεαχρ of the Iliad, the *eleven* of Piers Plowman This number therefore ought not to be interpreted too literally, unless supported by the context —PRICE]

[z] "Ex vetustioribus poetis Cimbrorum, nempe Scaldis et Theotiscæ gentis versificatoribus, plane multa, ut par est credere, sumpsere" Hickes Thesaur. i. p. 101. See p. 117.

the descent of their princes from Odin[a]. They were therefore a part of the Scandinavian tribes. They imported with them into England the old Runic language and letters. This appears from inscriptions on coins[b], stones[c], and other monuments; and from some of their manuscripts[d]. It is well known that Runic inscriptions have been discovered in Cumberland and Scotland, and that there is even extant a coin of king Offa, with a Runic legend[e]. But the conversion of the Saxons to christianity, which happened before the seventh century, entirely banished the common use of those characters[f], which were esteemed unhallowed and necromantic; and with their antient superstitions, which yet prevailed for some time in the popular belief, abolished in some measure their native and original vein of poetic fabling[g]. They suddenly became a mild and polished people, addicted to the arts of peace, and the exercise of devotion; and the poems they have left us are chiefly moral rhapsodies, scriptural histories or religious invocations[h]. Yet even

[a] See Gibson's Chron. Saxon p. 12. seq. Historians mention WODEN'S BEORTH, i e Woden's hill, in Wiltshire. See Milton, Hist Engl An 588.

[b] See Sir A Fountaine's Pref Saxon Money. OFFA. REX. Sc BOTRED MONETARIUS, &c. See also Serenii Diction. Anglo-Suecico-Latin Præf p 21.

[c] See Hickes's Thesaur BAPTISTERIUM BRIDEKIRKENSE. Par III p 4. Tab. II.—SAXUM REVELLENSE *apud Scotos.* Ibid Tab IV p. 5.—CRUX LAPIDEA *apud Beaucastle* Wanley Catal MSS Anglo-Sax. pag 248 ad calc. Hickes. Thesaur. ANNULUS AUREUS Drake's York, Append. p 102 Tab. N 26. And Gordon's Itin. Septentr p 168.

[d] See Hickes's Thesaur. Par I. p 135 136. 148. Par III. Tab. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5 6 It may be conjectured that these characters were introduced by the Danes. It is certain that they never grew into common use. They were at least inconvenient, as consisting of capitals. We have no remains of Saxon writing so old as the sixth century Nor are there any of the seventh, except a very few charters [Bibl. Bodl. NE. D 11. 19. seq] [This reference cannot be correct, since the only MS that answers to the mark NE. D. II (there is no XI.) 19, is now in the *Auctarium*, F. 3. 34, and contains no charters whatever. Prefixed to it is the portrait of St. Dunstan, engraved by Hickes and Strutt, and absurdly supposed to have been drawn by Dunstan himself. See infr. Diss. II. page CI. note P.—M.] See Hickes's Thesaur. Par. I. p. 169. See also CHARTA ODILREDI AD MONASTERIUM DE BERKING. Tab I. Casley's Cat. Bibl. Reg. in the British Museum.

[e] See Archæol vol. II. p. 131. A. D. 1773 4to.

[f] But see Hickes, ubi supr I p. 140.

[g] It has been suggested to me by an ingenious friend, that GUY and SIR BEVIS, the first of whom lived in the reign of Athelstan, and the latter, as some suppose, in that of Edgar, both christian champions against the pagan Danes, were originally subjects of the genuine Saxon bards. But I rather think, they began to be celebrated in or after the crusades, the nature of which expeditions dictated to the romance-writers, and brought into vogue, stories of christians fighting with infidel heroes. The cause was the same, and the circumstances partly parallel, and this being once the fashion, they consulted their own histories for heroes, and combats were feigned with Danish giants, as well as with the Saracen See infr. Sect III pp 143. 144 There is the story of BEVIS in British, YSTORI BOUN O HAMTUN. Lhuyd's Arch Brit. p. 264

[h] Except an ode on Athelstan, translated below. See Sect. I p 2 See also the description of the city of Durham. Hickes, p 179. It has nothing of the wild strain of poetry. The saints and relics of Durham church seem to have struck the poet most, in describing that city. I cannot discern the supposed sublimity of those mysterious dithyrambics, which close the Saxon MENOLOGE, or poetic calendar, written about the tenth century, printed by Hickes, Gramm Anglo-Sax. p. 207. They seem to be prophecies and proverbs, or rather splendid fragments from different poems, thrown together without connection.

in these pieces they have frequent allusions to the old scaldic fables and heroes. Thus, in an Anglo-Saxon poem on Judith, Holofernes is called BALDER, or *leader and prince of warriors*. And in a poetical paraphrase on Genesis, Abimelech has the same appellation[i]. This Balder was a famous chieftain of the Asiatic Goths, the son of Odin, and supposed to inhabit a magnificent hall in the future place of rewards. The same Anglo-Saxon paraphrast, in his prosopopœia of Satan addressing his companions plunged in the infernal abyss, adopts many images and expressions used in the very sublime description of the Eddic hell[k]: Henry of Huntingdon[l] complains of certain *extraneous words* and *uncommon figures* of speech, in a Saxon ode on a victory of king Athelstan. These were all scaldic expressions or allusions. But I will give a literal English translation of this poem, which cannot be well understood without premising its occasion. In the year 938, Anlaff*, a pagan king of the Hybernians and the adjacent isles, invited by Constantine king of the Scots, entered the river Abi or Humber with a strong fleet. Our Saxon king Athelstan, and his brother Eadmund Clito [ætheling], met them with a numerous army, near a place called Brunenburgh; and after a most obstinate and bloody resistance, drove them back to their ships. The battle lasted from day-break till the evening. On the side of Anlaff were slain five petty kings, and seven chiefs or generals. "King Adelstan, the glory of leaders, the giver of gold chains to his nobles, and his brother Eadmund, both shining with the brightness of a long train of ancestors, struck [the adversary] in war; at Brunenburgh, with the edge of the sword, they clove the wall of shields. The high banners fell. The earls of the departed Edward fell; for it was born within them, even from the loins of their kindred, to defend the treasures and the houses of their country, and their gifts, against the hatred of strangers. The nation of the Scots, and the fatal inhabitants of ships, fell. The hills resounded, and the armed men were covered with sweat. From the time the sun, the king of stars, the torch of the eternal one, rose chearful above the hills, till he returned to his habitation. There lay many of the northern men, pierced with lances; they lay wounded, with their shields pierced through: and also the Scots, the hateful harvest of battle. The chosen bands of the West-Saxons, going out to battle, pressed on the steps of the detested nations, and slew their flying rear with sharp and bloody swords. The soft effeminate men yielded up their spears. The Mercians did not fear or fly the rough game of the hand. There was no safety to them, who sought the land

[i] See Hickes. Thesaur. i. p 10. who adds many more instances.

[k] Fab. xlix. See Hickes, ubi supr. p. 116. [See Conybeare's Illustr. p. 190, and Thorpe's Cædmon, p. 271, 274, 285, &c.]

[l] Who has greatly misrepresented the sense by a bad Latin translation. Hist. lib v. p. 203.

* [See Mr Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol i. p 343 Anlaf, whom Athelstan had expelled from the kingdom of North-humbria, was in all probability a Christian. Wulstan archbishop of York, who united with Anlaf in his second attempt to recover his inheritance, would hardly have fought under a Pagan banner. —PRICE.]

with Anlaff in the bosom of the ship, to die in fight. Five youthful kings fell in the place of fight, slain with swords; and seven captains of Anlaff, with the innumerable army of Scottish mariners: there the lord of the Normans [Northernmen] was chased; and their army, now made small, was driven to the prow of the ship. The ship sounded with the waves; and the king, marching into the yellow sea, escaped alive. And so it was, the wise northern king Constantine, a veteran chief, returning by flight to his own army, bowed down in the camp, left his own son worn out with wounds in the place of slaughter; in vain did he lament his earls, in vain his lost friends. Nor less did Anlaff, the yellow-haired leader, the battle-ax of slaughter, a youth in war, but an old man in understanding, boast himself a conqueror in fight, when the darts flew against Edward's earls, and their banners met. Then those northern soldiers, covered with shame, the sad refuse of darts in the resounding whirlpool of Humber, departed in their ships with rudders, to seek through the deep the Irish city and their own land. While both the brothers, the king and Chto, lamenting even their own victory, together returned home; leaving behind them the flesh-devouring raven, the dark-blue toad greedy of slaughter, the black crow with horny bill, and the hoarse toad, the eagle a companion of battles, with the devouring kite, and that brindled savage beast the wolf of the wood, to be glutted with the white food of the slain. Never was so great a slaughter in this island, since the Angles and Saxons, the fierce beginners of war, coming hither from the east, and seeking Britain through the wide sea, overcame the Britons excelling in honour, and gained possession of their land[m]."

This piece, and many other Saxon odes and songs now remaining, are written in a metre much resembling that of the scaldic dialogue at the tomb of Angantyr*, which has been beautifully translated into English, in the true spirit of the original, and in a genuine strain of poetry, by Gray. The extemporaneous effusions of the glowing bard seem naturally to have fallen into this measure, and it was probably more easily suited to the voice or harp. Their versification for the most part seems to have been that of the Runic poetry.

As literature, the certain attendant, as it is the parent, of true religion and civility, gained ground among the Saxons, poetry no longer remained a separate science, and the profession of bard seems gradually to have declined among them: I mean the bard under those appropriated characteristics, and that peculiar appointment, which he sustained among

[m] The original was first printed by Wheloc in the Saxon Chronicle, p 555 Cant 1644. See Hickes. Thes Præfat p xiv. And ibid Gramm Anglo-Sax. p 181

[At the close of this Dissertation the reader will find the original ode and a nearly literal version of it. The translation in the text was made from the Latin of Gibson, and of course shares the faults of its original —PRICE.]

* [The invocation of Hervor at the tomb of her father Angantyr was translated in prose by Dr. Hickes. It was republished with emendations by Dr. Percy in 1763, and has since been closely and paraphrastically versified by Mr. Mathias and Miss Seward.—PARK.]

the Scandinavian pagans. Yet their national love of verse and music still so strongly predominated, that in the place of their old scalders a new rank of poets arose, called GLEEMEN or Harpers[n]. These probably gave rise to the order of English Minstrels, who flourished till the sixteenth century.

And here I stop to point out one of the principal reasons, why the Scandinavian bards have transmitted to modern times so much more of their native poetry, than the rest of their southern neighbours. It is true, that the inhabitants of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway,—whether or no from their Asiatic origin, from their poverty which compelled them to seek their fortunes at foreign courts by the exercise of a popular art, from the success of their bards, the nature of their republican government, or their habits of unsettled life,—were more given to verse than any other Gothic, or even Celtic tribe. But this is not all: they remained pagans, and retained their original manners, much longer than any of their Gothic kindred. They were not completely converted to christianity till the tenth century[o]. Hence, under the concurrence however of some of the causes just mentioned, their scaldic profession acquired greater degrees of strength and of maturity; and from an uninterrupted possession through many ages of the most romantic religious superstitions, and the preservation of those rough manners which are so favourable to the poetical spirit, was enabled to produce, not only more genuine, but more numerous compositions. True religion would have checked the impetuosity of their passions, suppressed their wild exertions of fancy, and banished that striking train of imagery, which their poetry derived from a barbarous theology. This circumstance also suggests to our consideration, those superior advantages and opportunities arising from leisure and length of time, which they enjoyed above others, of circulating their poetry far and wide, of giving a general currency to their mode of fabling, of rendering their skill in versification more universally and familiarly known, and a more conspicuous and popular object of admiration or imitation to the neighbouring countries. Hence too it has happened, that modern times have not only attained much fuller information concerning their historical transactions, but are so intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of their character.

It is probable, that the Danish invasions produced a considerable al-

[n] GLEEMAN answers to the Latin JOCULATOR. Fabyan speaking of Blagebride, an ancient British king, famous for his skill in poetry and music, calls him "a conynge musicyan, called of the Britons god of GLEEMEN." Chron f xxxii. ed. 1533. This Fabyan translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the same British king, "ut DEUS JOCULATORUM videretur." Hist. Brit. lib. i. c 22. It appears from the injunctions given to the British church in the year 680, that female harpers were not then uncommon. It is decreed that no bishop, or any ecclesiastic, shall keep or have CITHARÆDAS, and it is added QUÆCUMQUE SYMPHONIACA, nor permit plays or sports, LUDOS VEL JOCOS, undoubtedly mimical and gesticulatory entertainments, to be exhibited in his presence. Malmesb Gest. Pontif. lib. iii. p. 263. edit. vet. And Concil. Spelman. t. 1. p. 159 edit. 1639 fol.

[o] See bishop Lloyd's Hist. Account of Church Government in Great Britain, &c. chap. i. §. 11. 4to. Lond. 1684. And Crymog. Arngrim. L. i. cap. 10. p. 104.

teration in the manners of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Although their connections with England were transient and interrupted, and on the whole scarcely lasted two hundred years, yet many of the Danish customs began to prevail among the inhabitants, which seem to have given a new turn to their temper and genius. The Danish fashion of excessive drinking, for instance, a vice almost natural to the northern nations, became so general among the Anglo-Saxons, that it was found necessary to restrain so pernicious and contagious a practice by a particular statute[p]. Hence it seems likely, that so popular an entertainment as their poetry gained ground; especially if we consider, that in their expeditions against England they were of course attended by many northern scalds, who constantly made a part of their military retinue, and whose language was understood by the Saxons. Rogwald lord of the Orcades, who was also himself a poet, going on an expedition into Palestine, carried with him two Islandic bards[q]. The noble ode, called in the northern chronicles the ELOGIUM OF HACON[r], king of Norway, was composed on a battle in which that prince with eight of his brothers fell,

[p] See Lambarde's Archaionom And Bartholin it. c. xii. p 542.

[q] Ol. Worm Lit Run. p. 195. ed. 1636.

[r] In this ode are these very sublime imageries and prosopopœias.

"The goddesses who preside over battles come, sent forth by Odin They go to choose among the princes of the illustrious race of Yngvon a man who is to perish, and to go to dwell in the palace of the gods."

"Gondula leaned on the end of her lance, and thus bespoke her companions. The assembly of the gods is going to be increased· the gods invite Hacon, with his numerous host, to enter the palace of Odin."

"Thus spake these glorious nymphs of war who were seated on their horses, who were covered with their shields and helmets, and appeared full of some great thought."

"Hacon heard their discourse. Why, said he, why hast thou thus disposed of the battle? Were we not worthy to have obtained of the gods a more perfect victory? It is we, she replied, who have given it thee. It is we who have put thine enemies to flight."

"Now, added she, let us push forward our steeds across those green worlds, which are the residence of the gods. Let us go tell Odin that the king is coming to visit him in his palace."

"When Odin heard this news, he said, Hermode and Brago, my sons, go to meet the king. a king, admired by all men for his valour, approaches to our hall."

"At length king Hacon approaches; and arriving from the battle is still all besprinkled and running down with blood At the sight of Odin, he cries out, Ah! how severe and terrible does this god appear to me!"

"The hero Brago replies, Come, thou that wast the terror of the bravest warriors Come hither, and rejoin thine eight brothers the heroes who reside here shall live with thee in peace. Go, drink Ale in the circle of heroes."

"But this valiant king exclaims, I will still keep my arms a warrior ought carefully to preserve his mail and helmet. it is dangerous to be a moment without the spear in one's hand"——

"The wolf Fenris shall burst his chains and dart with rage upon his enemies, before so brave a king shall again appear upon earth," &c

Snorron Hist. Reg Sept. i. p. 163. This ode was written so early as the year 960 There is a great variety and boldness in the transitions. An action is carried on by a set of the most awful ideal personages, finely imagined. The goddesses of battle, Odin, his sons Hermode and Brago, and the spectre of the deceased king, are all introduced, speaking and acting as in a drama. The panegyric is nobly conducted, and arises out of the sublimity of the fiction.

[A somewhat different version of the above ode is printed in Percy's Five Runic pieces. By the wolf Fenris, he observes, the northern nations understood a kind of demon, or evil principle, at enmity with the gods, who though at present chained up from doing mischief, was hereafter to break loose and destroy the world. See Edda.—PARK]

by the scald Eyvynd; who for his superior skill in poetry was called the CROSS OF POETS, [Eyvindr Skálldaspillir*,] and fought in the battle which he celebrated. Hacon earl of Norway was accompanied by five celebrated bards in the battle of Jomsburgh: and we are told, that each of them sung an ode to animate the soldiers before the engagement began[s]. They appear to have been regularly brought into action. Olave, a king of Norway, when his army was prepared for the onset, placed three scalds about him, and exclaimed aloud, "You shall not only record in your verses what you have HEARD, but what you have SEEN." They each delivered an ode on the spot[t]. These northern chiefs appear to have so frequently hazarded their lives with such amazing intrepidity, merely in expectation of meriting a panegyric from their poets, the judges, and the spectators of their gallant behaviour. That scalds were common in the Danish armies when they invaded England, appears from a stratagem of Alfred; who, availing himself of his skill in oral poetry and playing on the harp, entered the Danish camp habited in that character, and procured a hospitable reception. This was in the year 878[u]. Anlaff†, a Danish king, used the same disguise for reconnoitring the camp of our Saxon monarch Athelstan: taking his station near Athelstan's pavilion, he entertained the king and his chiefs with his verses and music, and was dismissed with an honourable reward[w]. As Anlaff's dialect must have discovered him to have been a Dane; here is a proof, of what I shall bring more, that the Saxons, even in the midst of mutual hostilities, treated the Danish scalds with favour and respect. That the Islandic bards were common in England during the Danish invasions, there are numerous proofs. Egill, a celebrated Islandic poet, having murthered the son and many of the friends of Eric Blodoxe, king of Denmark or Norway, then residing in Northumberland, and which he had just conquered, procured a pardon by singing before the king, at the command of his queen Gunhilde, an extemporaneous ode[x]. Egill compliments the king, who probably was his patron, with the appellation of the English chief. "I offer my freight to the king. I owe a poem for my ransom. I present to the ENGLISH CHIEF the mead of Odin[y]." Afterwards he calls this Danish conqueror the commander of the Scottish fleet. "The commander of the Scottish fleet fattened the ravenous

* [Skálldaspillir, poetarum alpha, cui omnes invident poetæ.]

[s] Bartholin. p. 172

[t] Olaf Sag. apud Verel ad Herv Sag. p. 178. Bartholin. p 172.

[u] Ingulph. Hist. p 869. Malmesb ii. c 4 p. 43.

† [This is the same Anlaff mentioned above, p. xxxi. Though of Danish descent, yet as his family had possessed the throne of North-humbria for more than one generation, it is most probable that he spoke the dialect of his province or what Hickes calls the Dano-Saxon —PRICE]

[w] Malmesb ii 6 I am aware, that the truth of both these anecdotes respecting Alfred and Anlaff has been controverted. But no sufficient argument has yet been offered for pronouncing them spurious, or even suspicious. See an ingenious Dissertation in the Archæologia, vol ii. p. 100 seq. A. D. 1773. 4to.

[x] See Crymogr. Angrim. Jon. lib. ii. p. 125 edit. 1609.

[y] See Ol Worm. Lit. Run. p. 227, 195. All the chiefs of Eric were also present at the recital of this ode, which is in a noble strain.

birds. The sister of Nera [Death] trampled on the foe: she trampled on the evening food of the eagle." The Scots usually joined the Danish or Norwegian invaders in their attempts on the northern parts of Britain[z]: and from this circumstance a new argument arises, to show the close communication and alliance which must have subsisted between Scotland and Scandinavia. Egill, although of the enemy's party *, was a singular favourite of king Athelstan. Athelstan once asked Egill how he escaped due punishment from Eric Blodoxe, the king of Northumberland, for the very capital and enormous crime which I have just mentioned. On which Egill immediately related the whole of that transaction to the Saxon king, in a sublime ode still extant[a]. On another occasion Athelstan presented Egill with two rings, and two large cabinets filled with silver; promising at the same time, to grant him any gift or favour which he should choose to request. Egill, struck with gratitude, immediately composed a panegyrical poem in the Norwegian language, then common to both nations, on the virtues of Athelstan, which the latter as generously requited with two marcs of pure gold[b]. Here is likewise another argument, that the Saxons had no small esteem for the scaldic poetry. It is highly reasonable to conjecture, that our Danish king Canute, a potentate of most extensive jurisdiction, and not only king of England, but of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, was not without the customary retinue of the northern courts, in which the scalds held so distinguished and important a station. Human nature, in a savage state, aspires to some species of merit, and in every stage of society is alike susceptible of flattery, when addressed to the reigning passion. The sole object of these northern princes was military glory. It is certain that Canute delighted in this mode of entertainment, which he patronized and liberally rewarded. It is related in KNYTLINGA-SAGA, or Canute's History, that he commanded the scald Loftunga to be put to death, for daring to comprehend his achievements in too concise a poem. "Nemo," said he, "ante te, ausus est de me BREVES CANTILENAS componere." A curious picture of the tyrant, the patron, and the barbarian, united! But the bard extorted a speedy pardon, and with much address, by producing the next day before the king at dinner an ode of more than thirty strophes, for which Canute gave him fifty marcs of purified silver[c]. In the mean time, the Danish language began to grow

[z] See the Saxon epinicion in praise of king Athelstan supr citat p. xxxi Hen. Hunting l v p. 203. 204.

* [Egill fought on Athelstan's side, and did signal service in the battle at Brunanburh.—PRICE.]

[a] Torfæus Hist Orcad. Præfat "Rei statim ordinem metro nunc satis obscuro exposuit." Torfæus adds, which is much to our purpose, "nequaquam ita narraturus NON INTELLIGENTI."

[b] Crymog Arn. Jon. p. 129. ut supr.

[c] Bartholin Antiquit. Danic. lib. i. c. 10. p. 169, 170 See Knytlinga-Saga, in Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Holm Hickes Thesaur ii 312

[Canute's threat—for he did not "command the scald to be put to death"—is thus translated by Mr Turner. "Are you not ashamed to do what none but yourself has dared, to write a *short* poem upon me? Unless by to-morrow's dinner you produce above thirty strophes on the same subject, your head shall be the penalty." Hist of Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p 437 The result was as Warton states.—PRICE]

perfectly familiar in England. It was eagerly learned by the Saxon clergy and nobility, from a principle of ingratiating themselves with Canute: and there are many manuscripts now remaining, by which it will appear, that the Danish runes were much studied among our Saxon ancestors under the reign of that monarch[d].

The songs of the Irish bards are by some conceived to be strongly marked with the traces of scaldic imagination, and these traces, which will be reconsidered, are believed still to survive among a species of poetical historians, whom they call TALE-TELLERS, supposed to be the descendants of the original Irish bards[e]. A writer of equal elegance and veracity relates, "that a gentleman of the north of Ireland has told me of his own experience, that in his wolf-huntings there, when he used to be abroad in the mountains three or four days together, and laid very ill a-nights, so as he could not well sleep, they would bring him one of these TALE-TELLERS, that when he lay down would begin a story of a KING, or a GYANT, a DWARF, and a DAMOSEL[f]." These are topics in which the Runic poetry is said to have been greatly conversant.

Nor is it improbable that the Welsh bards[g] might have been ac-

[d] Hickes, ubi supr. i. 134 136.

[e] We are informed by the Irish historians, that saint Patrick, when he converted Ireland to the Christian faith, destroyed three hundred volumes of the songs of the Irish bards. Such was their dignity in this country, that they were permitted to wear a robe of the same colour with that of the royal family. They were constantly summoned to a triennial festival and the most approved songs delivered at this assembly were ordered to be preserved in the custody of the king's historian or antiquary. Many of these compositions are referred to by Keating, as the foundation of his History of Ireland Ample estates were appropriated to them, that they might live in a condition of independence and ease The profession was hereditary, but when a bard died, his estate devolved not to his eldest son, but to such of his family as discovered the most distinguished talents for poetry and music Every principal bard retained thirty of inferior note, as his attendants, and a bard of the secondary class was followed by a retinue of fifteen They seem to have been at their height in the year 558 See Keating's History of Ireland, p 127. 132 370. 380. And Pref. p. 23 None of their poems have been translated.

There is an article in the LAWS of Keneth king of Scotland, promulged in the year 850, which places the bards of Scotland, who certainly were held in equal esteem with those of the neighbouring countries, in the lowest station "Fugitivos, BARDOS, otio addictos, scurras et hujusmodi hominum genus, loris et flagris cædunto" Apud Hector Boeth Lib x p.201. edit 1574 But Salmasius very justly observes, that for BARDOS we should read VARGOS, or VERGOS, i e. Vagabonds.

[Such, said the late ingenious Mr. Walker, was the celebrity of the Irish music, that the Welsh bards condescended to receive instructions in their musical art from those of Ireland Gryffydd ap Conan, king of North Wales, about the time that Stephen was king of England, determined to reform the Welsh bards, and brought over many Irish bards for that purpose This Gryffydd, according to the intelligent Mr Owen, was a distinguished patron of the poets and musicians of his native country, and called several congresses, wherein laws were established for the better regulation of poetry and music, as well as of such as cultivated those sciences These congresses were open to the people of Wales, as well as of Ireland and Scandinavia, and professors from each country attended. whence what was found peculiar to one people, and worthy of adoption, was received and established in the rest. Hist Mem of Irish Bards, p. 103. Cambrian Biogr. p 145.—PARK.]

[f] Sir W. Temple's Essays, part iv. p. 349.

[g] The bards of Britain were originally a constitutional appendage of the druidical hierarchy. In the parish of Llanidan in the isle of Anglesey, there are still to be seen in the ruins of an arch-druid's mansion, which they call TREB DREW, that is the DRUID'S MANSION. Near it are marks

quainted with the Scandinavian scalds. I mean before their communications with Armorica, mentioned at large above. The prosody of the Welsh bards depended much on alliteration [h]. Hence they seem to have paid an attention to the scaldic versification. The Islandic poets are said to have carried alliteration to the highest pitch of exactness in their earliest periods; whereas the Welsh bards of the sixth century used it but sparingly, and in a very imperfect degree. In this circumstance a proof of imitation, at least of emulation, is implied [i]. There are moreover strong instances of conformity between the manners of the two nations; which, however, may be accounted for on general principles arising from our comparative observations on rude life. Yet it is remarkable that mead, the northern nectar, or favourite liquor of the Goths [k], who seem to have stamped it with the character of a poetical drink, was no less celebrated among the Welsh [l]. The songs of both nations abound with its praises; and it seems in both to have been alike the delight of the warrior and the bard. Taliessin, as Lhuyd informs us, wrote a panegyrical ode on this inspiring beverage of the bee; or, as he translates it, De Mulso

of the habitations of the separate conventual societies, which were under his immediate orders and inspection. Among these is TRER BEIRD, or, as they call it to this day, the HAMLET OF THE BARDS. Rowland's Mona, p. 83 88 But so strong was the attachment of the Celtic nations, among which we reckon Britain, to poetry, that, amidst all the changes of government and manners, even long after the order of Druids was extinct, and the national religion altered, the bards, acquiring a sort of civil capacity, and a new establishment, still continued to flourish. And with regard to Britain, the bards flourished most in those parts of it which most strongly retained their native Celtic character The Britons living in those countries that were between the Trent or Humber and the Thames, by far the greatest portion of this island, in the midst of the Roman garrisons and colonies, had been so long inured to the customs of the Romans, that they preserved very little of the British; and from this long and habitual intercourse, before the fifth century, they seem to have lost their original language We cannot discover the slightest trace, in the poems of the bards, the Lives of the British saints, or any other ancient monument, that they held any correspondence with the Welsh, the Cornish, the Cumbrian, or the Strathcluyd Britons. Among other British institutions grown obsolete among them, they seem to have lost the use of bards, at least there are no memorials of any they had, nor any of their songs remaining: nor do the Welsh or Cumbrian poets ever touch upon any transactions that passed in those countries, after they were relinquished by the Romans.

And here we see the reason why the Welsh bards flourished so much and so long. But moreover the Welsh, kept in awe as they were by the Romans, harassed by the Saxons, and eternally jealous of the attacks, the encroachments, and the neighbourhood of aliens, were on this account attached to their Celtic manners this situation, and these circumstances inspired them with a pride and an obstinacy for maintaining a national distinction, and for preserving their ancient usages, among which the bardic profession is so eminent.

[h] See vol ii p. 106. note [d].

[i] I am however informed by a very intelligent antiquary in British literature, that there are manifest marks of alliteration in some druidical fragments still remaining, undoubtedly composed before the Britons could have possibly mixed in the smallest degree with any Gothic nation. Rhyme is likewise found in the British poetry at the earliest period, in those druidical triplets called ENGLYN MILWR, or the WARRIOR'S SONG, in which every verse is closed with a consonant syllable. See a metrical Druid oracle in Borlase's Antiquit Cornwall B. iii. ch. 5 p 185. edit. 1769.

[k] And of the ancient Franks. Gregory of Tours mentions a Frank drinking this liquor; and adds, that he acquired this habit from the BARBAROUS or Frankish nations. Hist Franc. lib viii. c. 33. p 404 ed 1699. Paris fol.

[l] See vol. ii p 195.

seu HYDROMELI[k]. In Hoel Dha's Welsh laws, translated by Wotton, we have, "In omni convivio in quo MULSUM bibitur[l]." From which passage, it seems to have been served up only at high festivals. By the same constitutions, at every feast in the king's castle-hall, the prefect or marshal of the hall is to receive from the queen, by the hands of the steward, a HORN OF MEAD. It is also ordered, among the privileges annexed to the office of prefect of the royal-hall, that the king's bard shall sing to him as often as he pleases[m]. One of the stated officers of the king's household is CONFECTOR MULSI: and this officer, together with the master of the horse[n], the master of the hawks, the smith of the palace[o], the royal bard[p], the first musician[q], with some others, have a right

[k] Tanner Bibl. p. 706.

[l] Leg. Wall. L. i cap. xxiv. p. 45.

[m] Ibid. L. i. cap. xii. p. 17.

[n] When the king makes a present of a horse, this officer is to receive a fee, but not when the present is made to a bishop, the master of the hawks, or to the Mimus. The latter is exempt, on account of the entertainment he afforded the court at being presented with a horse by the king: the horse is to be led out of the hall with *capistrum testiculis alligatum*. Ibid L i. cap. xvii p 31. MIMUS seems here to be a MIMIC, or a gesticulator Carpentier mentions a "JOCULATOR qui sciebat TOMBARE, to *tumble*" Cang Lat Gloss. Suppl. Verb. TOMBARE In the Saxon canons given by king Edgar, about the year 960, it is ordered, that no priest shall be a POET, or exercise the MIMICAL or histrionical art in *any degree*, either in public or private Can 58 Concil Spelman, tom i. p 455 edit 1639. fol In Edgar's Oration to Dunstan, the MIMI, Minstrels, are said to sing and dance Ibid p 477. Much the same injunction occurs in the Saxon Laws of the Northumbrian Priests, given in 988. Cap. xli. ibid. p. 498 MIMUS seems sometimes to have signified THE FOOL. As in Gregory of Tours, speaking of the MIMUS of Miro a king of Gallicia "Erat enim MIMUS REGIS, qui ei per VERBA JOCULARIA LÆTITIAM erat solitus EXCITARE. Sed non cum adjuvit aliquis CACHINNUS, neque præstigiis artis suæ," &c Gregor. Turonens. Miracul S Martin. lib iv. cap. vii p 1119. Opp. Paris. 1699. fol. edit. Ruinart.

[o] He is to work free, except for making the king's caldron, the iron bands, and other furniture for his castle-gate, and the iron-work for his mills. Leg. Wall. L i. cap. xliv p. 67.

[p] By these constitutions, given about the year 940, the bard of the Welsh kings is a domestic officer. The king is to allow him a horse and a woollen robe; and the queen a linen garment. The prefect of the palace, or governor of the castle, is privileged to sit next him in the hall, on the three principal feast days, and to put the harp into his hand. On the three feast days he is to have the steward's robe for a fee. He is to attend, if the queen desires a song in her chamber. An ox or cow is to be given out of the booty or prey (chiefly consisting of cattle) taken from the English by the king's domestics and while the prey is dividing, he is to sing the praises of the BRITISH KINGS or KINGDOM If, when the king's domestics go out to make depredations, he sings or plays before them, he is to receive the best bullock. When the king's army is in array, he is to sing the Song of the BRITISH KINGS. When invested with his office, the king is to give him a harp, (other constitutions say a chessboard,) and the queen a ring of gold nor is he to give away the harp on any account. When he goes out of the palace to sing with other bards, he is to receive a double portion of the largesse or gratuity. If he ask a gift or favour of the king, he is to be fined by singing an ode or poem; if of a nobleman or chief, three, if of a vassal, he is to sing him to sleep. Leg. Wall. L. i cap. xix. p 35. Mention is made of the bard who gains the CHAIR in the hall. Ibid Artic. 5. After a contest of bards in the hall, the bard who gains the chair, is to give the JUDGE OF THE HALL, another officer, a horn, (*cornu bubalinum*) a ring, and the cushion of his chair. Ibid. L i. cap xvi. p 26. When the king rides out of his castle, five bards are to accompany him. Ibid. L i. cap. viii. p. 11. The *Cornu Bubalinum* may be explained from a passage in a poem, composed about the year 1160, by Owain Cyveiliog, prince of Powis, which he entitled HIRLAS, from a large drinking-horn so called, used at feasts in his castle-hall. "Pour out, O cup-bearer, sweet and pleasant mead (the spear is red in the time of

to be[r] seated in the hall. We have already seen, that the Scandinavian scalds were well known in Ireland: and there is sufficient evidence to prove, that the Welsh bards were early connected with the Irish. Even so late as the eleventh century, the practice continued among the Welsh bards, of receiving instructions in the bardic profession from Ireland. The Welsh bards were reformed and regulated by Gryffyth ap Conan, king of Wales, in the year 1078. At the same time he brought over with him from Ireland many Irish bards, for the information and improvement of the Welsh[s]. Powell acquaints us, that this prince "brought over with him from Ireland divers cunning musicians into Wales, who devised in a manner all the instrumental music that is now there used: as appeareth, as well by the bookes written of the same, as also by the names of the tunes and measures used among them to this daie[t]." In Ireland, to kill a bard was highly criminal: and to seize his estate, even for the public service and in time of national distress, was deemed an act of sacrilege[u]. Thus in the old Welsh laws, whoever even slightly injured a bard, was to be fined six cows and one hundred and twenty pence. The murtherer of a bard was to be fined one hundred and twenty-six cows[w]. Nor must I pass over, what reflects much light on this reasoning, that the establishment of the household of the old Irish chiefs exactly resembles that of the Welsh kings. For, besides the bard, the musician, and the smith, they have both a physician, a huntsman, and other corresponding officers[x]. We must also remember, that an intercourse was necessarily

need) from the horns of wild oxen, covered with gold, to the souls of those departed heroes" Evans, p 12

By these laws the king's harp is to be worth one hundred and twenty pence, but that of a gentleman, or one not a vassal, sixty pence The king's chessboard is valued at the same price and the instrument for fixing or tuning the strings of the king's harp, at twenty-four pence His drinking-horn, at one pound. Ibid. L III cap VII p 265.

[q] There are two musicians the Musicus PRIMARIUS, who probably was a teacher, and certainly a superintendent over the rest, and the HALL-MUSICIAN Leg. ut supr L I cap xlv p 68

[r] "Jus cathedræ." Ibid. L I cap. x p. 13.

[s] See Selden, Drayt Polyolb S. IX. pag. 156. S. IV pag 67 edit. 1613 fol

[t] Hist. of Cambr p 191 edit 1584.

[u] Keating's Hist Ireland, pag 132

[w] Leg. Wall. ut supr. L I. cap. XIX pag. 35. seq See also cap xlv p 68 We find the same respect paid to the bard in other constitutions "QUI HARPATOREM, &c Whoever shall strike a HARPER who can harp in a public assembly, shall compound with him by a composition of *four times more*, than for any other man of the same condition" Legg. Ripuariorum et Wesinorum. Lindenbroch. Cod LL Antiq Wisigoth. etc A.D. 613. Tit 5 § ult.

The caliphs, and other eastern potentates, had their bards, whom they treated with equal respect Sir John Maundeville, who travelled in 1340, says, that when the emperor of Cathay, or great Cham of Tartary, is seated at dinner in high pomp with his lords, "no man is so hardi to speak to him except it be MUSICIANS *to solace the emperor*." chap. lxvii. p 100. Here is another proof of the correspondence between the eastern and northern customs and this instance might be brought as an argument of the bardic institution being fetched from the east. Leo Afer mentions the *Poetæ curiæ* of the Caliph's court at Bagdad, about the year 990 De Med et Philos Arab cap. IV. Those poets were in most repute among the Arabians, who could speak extemporaneous verses to the Caliph. Euseb. Renaudot apud Fabric Bibl Gr. XIII p. 249. Thomson, in the Castle of Indolence, mentions the BARD IN WAITING being introduced to lull the Caliph asleep. And Maundeville mentions MINSTRELLES as established officers in the court of the emperor of Cathay

[x] See Temple, ubi supr p 346

produced between the Welsh and Scandinavians from the piratical irruptions of the latter: their scalds, as I have already remarked, were respected and patronised in the courts of those princes, whose territories were the principal objects of the Danish invasions. Torfæus expressly affirms this of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish kings; and it is at least probable, that they were entertained with equal regard by the Welsh princes, who so frequently concurred with the Danes in distressing the English. It may be added, that the Welsh, although living in a separate and detached situation, and so strongly prejudiced in favour of their own usages, yet from neighbourhood, and unavoidable communications of various kinds, might have imbibed the ideas of the Scandinavian bards from the Saxons and Danes, after those nations had occupied and overspread all the other parts of our island.

Many pieces of the Scottish bards are still remaining in the highlands of Scotland. Of these a curious specimen, and which considered in a more extensive and general respect, is a valuable monument of the poetry of a rude period, has lately been given to the world, under the title of the WORKS OF OSSIAN. It is indeed very remarkable, that in these poems, the terrible graces, which so naturally characterise, and so generally constitute, the early poetry of a barbarous people, should so frequently give place to a gentler set of manners, to the social sensibilities of polished life, and a more civilised and elegant species of imagination. Nor is this circumstance, which disarranges all our established ideas concerning the savage stages of society, easily to be accounted for, unless we suppose, that the Celtic tribes, who were so strongly addicted to poetical composition, and who made it so much their study from the earliest times, might by degrees have attained a higher vein of poetical refinement, than could at first sight or on common principles be expected among nations, whom we are accustomed to call barbarous; that some few instances of an elevated strain of friendship, of love, and other sentimental feelings, existing in such nations, might lay the foundation for introducing a set of manners among the bards, more refined and exalted than the real manners of the country; and that panegyrics on those virtues, transmitted with improvements from bard to bard, must at length have formed characters of ideal excellence, which might propagate among the people real manners bordering on the poetical. These poems, however, notwithstanding the difference between the Gothic and the Celtic rituals, contain many visible vestiges of Scandinavian superstition. The allusions in the songs of Ossian to spirits, who preside over the different parts and direct the various operations of nature, who send storms over the deep, and rejoice in the shrieks of the shipwrecked mariner, who call down lightning to blast the forest or cleave the rock, and diffuse irresistible pestilence among the people, beautifully conducted indeed, and heightened, under the skilful hand of a master bard, entirely correspond with the Runic system, and breathe the spirit of its poetry. One fiction in particular, the most EXTRAVAGANT in all Ossian's poems, is founded on an essential article of the

Runic belief. It is where Fingal fights with the spirit of Loda. Nothing could aggrandise Fingal's heroism more highly than this marvellous encounter. It was esteemed among the ancient Danes the most daring act of courage to engage with a ghost[y]. Had Ossian found it convenient to have introduced religion into his compositions[z], not only a new source had been opened to the sublime, in describing the rites of sacrifice, the horrors of incantation, the solemn evocations of infernal beings, and the like dreadful superstitions, but probably many stronger and more characteristical evidences would have appeared, of his knowledge of the imagery of the Scandinavian poets.

Nor must we forget, that the Scandinavians had conquered many countries bordering upon France in the fourth century[a]. Hence the Franks must have been in some measure used to their language, well acquainted with their manners, and conversant in their poetry. Charlemagne is said to have delighted in repeating the most ancient and barbarous odes, which celebrated the battles of ancient kings[b]. But we

[y] Bartholin. De Contemptu Mortis apud Dan. L. ii. c 2. p. 258. And ibid p 260. There are many other marks of Gothic customs and superstitions in Ossian The fashion of marking the sepulchres of their chiefs with circles of stones, corresponds with what Olaus Wormius relates of the Danes. Monum Danic Hafn 1634 p. 38. See also Ol. Magn Hist xvi. 2. In the Hervarar Sega, the sword of Suarfulama is forged by the dwarfs, and called Tirfing. Hickes, vol i. p 193 So Fingal's sword was made by an enchanter, and was called the SON of LUNO And, what is more, this Luno was the Vulcan of the north, lived in Juteland, and made complete suits of armour for many of the Scandinavian heroes See Temora, B vii. p 159. Ossian, vol. ii edit. 1765. Hence the bards of both countries made him a celebrated enchanter By the way, the names of sword-smiths were thought worthy to be recorded in history. Hoveden says, that when Geoffrey of Plantagenet was knighted, they brought him a sword from the royal treasure, where it had been laid up from old times, "being the workmanship of Galan, the most excellent of all sword-smiths" Hoved. f 444. ii. Sect. 50. The mere mechanic, who is only mentioned as a skilful artist in history, becomes a magician or a preternatural being in romance.

[The sword-smith here recorded, is the hero of the Volundar-quitha in Sæmund's Edda. He is called Weland in the poem of Beowulf; Welond by king Alfred in his translation of Boethius; and Guielandus by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Mr. Ellis affirms that he is also spoken of in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. This has escaped me; but it is to this circumstance, perhaps, that we are indebted for the introduction of his name in the novel of Kenilworth —PRICE]

[The preposterous introduction of this venerable mythic personage into a novel, the time of which is laid in the reign of Elizabeth, may be ascribed to Scott's eagerness to turn every thing thriftily to account in his wholesale literary manufactory —R T.]

[See on the subject of the Smith Velant, an article by G B Depping, in the New Monthly Magazine for 1822, p. 527, and the same paper very much augmented in "Veland le Forgeron, Dissertation sur une tradition du moyen age, par G. B Depping et Francisque Michel." 8vo Par. 1833 —M]

[z] This perplexing and extraordinary circumstance, I mean the absence of all religious ideas from the poems of Ossian, is accounted for by Mr. Macpherson with much address See Dissertation prefixed, vol. i p viii. ix edit 1765. See also the elegant critical Dissertation of the very judicious Dr Blair, vol. ii p 379.

[a] Hickes Thes. i part ii. p 4.

[b] Eginhart cap viii n 34 Bartholin. i. c. 10. p 154 Diodorus Siculus says, that the Gauls, who were Celts, delivered the spoils won in battle, yet reeking with blood, to their attendants. these were carried in triumph, while an epinicial song was chanted, παιανιζοντες και αδοντες ὑμνον επινικιον. Lib v. p. 352. See also p. 308 "The Celts," says Ælian, "I hear, are the most enterprising of men: they make those warriors who die bravely in fight the subject of songs, των Ασματων." Var. Hist Lib xxii. c. 23. Posidonius gives us a specimen of the manner of a Celtic bard. He reports, that Luernius, a Celtic chief, was accustomed, out of a desire of popularity, to gather crowds of his people together, and to throw them

are not informed whether these were Scandinavian, Celtic, or Teutonic poems.

gold and silver from his chariot. Once he was attended at a sumptuous banquet by one of their bards, who received in reward for his song a purse of gold. On this the bard renewed his song, adding, to express his patron's excessive generosity, this hyperbolical panegyric: "The earth over which his chariot-wheels pass, instantly brings forth gold and precious gifts to enrich mankind." Athen vi 184.

Tacitus says, that Arminius, the conqueror of Varus, "is yet sung among the barbarous nations." That is, probably among the original Germans Annal ii. And Mor. Germ ii 3 Joannes Aventinus, a Bavarian, who wrote about the year 1520, has a curious passage, "A great number of verses in praise of the virtues of Attila, are still extant among us, *patrio sermone more majorum perscripta.*" Annal. Boior. L. ii p. 130. edit. 1627. He immediately adds, "Nam et adhuc VULGO CANITUR, et est popularibus nostris, etsi LITERARUM RUDIBUS, notissimus" Again, speaking of Alexander the Great, he says, "Boios eidem bellum indixisse ANTIQUIS CANITUR CARMINIBUS." ibid. Lib. i. p 25. Concerning king Brennus, says the same historian, "Carmina *vernaculo sermone* facta legi in bibliothecis" ibid Lib. i p 16. and p 26. And again, of Ingeram, Adalogerion, and others of their ancient heroes, "Ingerami et Adalogerionis nomina frequentissime in fastis referuntur, ipsos, more majorum, *antiquis proavi celebrarunt carminibus*, quæ in bibliothecis extant. Subsequuntur, quos patrio sermone *adhuc canimus*, Laertes atque Ulysses." ibid. Lib i. p. 15. The same historian also relates, that his countrymen had a poetical history called the Book of Heroes, containing the achievements of the German warriors. ibid. Lib i. p 18. See also ibid. Lib vii. p. 432 Lib. i. p 9. And many other passages to this purpose [The reader who is desirous of further information on this copious subject, may consult Mr. von der Hagen's republication of the "Heldenbuch," or his "Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie."—PRICE] Suffridus Petrus cites some old Frisian rhymes, De Ortg. Frisior. l iii c 2. Compare Robertson's Hist Charles V vol. i p 235. edit. 1772. From Trithemius a German abbot and historian, who wrote about 1490, we learn, that among the ancient Franks and Germans, it was an exercise in the education of youth, for them to learn to repeat and to sing verses of the achievements of their heroes. Compend. Annal. L. i. p. 11. edit. Francof. 1601 Probably these were the poems which Charlemagne is said to have *committed to memory.*

The most ancient Theotisc or Teutonic ode I know, is an Epinicion published by Schilter, in the second volume of his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum*, written in the year 883. He entitles it ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ *rhythmo Teutonico Ludovico regi acclamatum cum Northmannos anno* DCCCCXXXIII *vicisset.* It is in rhyme, and in the four-lined stanza. It was transcribed by Mabillon from a manuscript in the monastery of Saint Amand in Holland. I will give a specimen from Schilter's Latin interpretation, but not on account of the merit of the poetry. "The king seized his shield and lance, galloping hastily. He truly wished to revenge himself on his adversaries. Nor was there a long delay: he found the Normans He said, thanks be to God, at seeing what he desired. The king rushed on boldly, he first begun the customary song [rather, the holy song, lioth frono] *Kyrie eleison*, in which they all joined. The song was sung, the battle begun. The blood appeared in the cheeks of the impatient Franks Every soldier took his revenge, but none like Louis. Impetuous, bold," &c. As to the military chorus *Kyrie eleison*, it appears to have been used by the christian emperors before an engagement. See Bona, Rer. Liturg. ii. c. 4. Vossius, Theolog Gentil. i c. 2. 3. Matth. Brouerius de Niedek, De Populor. vet. et recent. Adorationibus, p 31. And among the ancient Norvegians, Erlingus Scacchius, before he attacked earl Sigund, commanded his army to pronounce this formulary aloud, and to strike their shields. See Dolmerus ad HIRD-SKRAAN, sive Jus Aulicum antiq. Norvegic. p. 51. p. 413 edit Hafn. 1673. Engelhusius, in describing a battle with the Huns in the year 934, relates, that the christians at the onset cried *Kyrie eleison*, but on the other side, *diabolica vox* hiu, hiu, hiu, *auditur* Chronic. p. 1073. in tom. ii Scriptor Bruns Leibnit. Compare Bed Hist. Eccles. Anglican. lib. ii. c. 20. And Schilterus, ubi supr. p. 17. And Sarbiev Od I 24. The Greek church appears to have had a set of military hymns, probably for the use of the soldiers, either in battle or in the camp. In a Catalogue of the manuscripts of the library of Berne, there is "Sylloge Tacticorum Leonis Imperatoris cui operi finem imponunt HYMNI MILITARES qui-

About the beginning of the tenth century, France was invaded by the Normans, or NORTHERN-MEN, an army of adventurers from Norway, Denmark, and Sweden. And although the conquerors, especially when their success does not solely depend on superiority of numbers, usually assume the manners of the conquered, yet these strangers must have still further familiarised in France many of their northern fictions.

From this general circulation in these and other countries, and from that popularity which it is natural to suppose they must have acquired, the scaldic inventions might have taken deep root in Europe[c]. At least they seem to have prepared the way for the more easy admission of the Arabian fabling about the ninth century, by which they were, however, in great measure, superseded. The Arabian fictions were of a more splendid nature, and better adapted to the increasing civility of the times. Less horrible and gross, they had a novelty, a variety, and a magnificence, which carried with them the charm of fascination. Yet it is probable, that many of the scaldic imaginations might have been blended with the Arabian. In the mean time, there is great reason to believe, that the Gothic scalds enriched their vein of fabling from this new and fruitful source of fiction, opened by the Arabians in Spain, and afterwards propagated by the crusades. It was in many

bus iste titulus, Ακολουθια ψαλλομενα επι κατευωδωσει και συμμαχιᾳ στρατου," &c Catal. Cod &c p 600 See Meursius's edit of Leo's Tactics, c xii. p 155. Lugd. Bat. 1612 4to But to return to the main subject of this tedious note Wagenseil, in a letter to Cuperus, mentions a treatise written by one Ernest Casimir Wassenback, I suppose a German, with this title, "De Bardis ac Barditu, sive antiquis Carminibus ac Cantilenis veterum Germanorum Dissertatio, cui junctus est de S Annone Coloniensi archiepiscopo vetustissimus omnium Germanorum rhythmus et monumentum" See Polen Supplem. Thesaur Gronov et Græv. tom iv p. 24. I do not think it was ever published. See Joach Swabius, de Semnotheis veterum Germanorum philosophis. p 8. And Sect i infr p 7. Pelloutier, sur la Lang Celt part i. tom i. ch xii p 20.

[Mr Warton in this note refers to Vossius, but that author does not speak of the *Kyrie eleison* as a *war-cry*, but merely as a common invocation to the Deity among the christians —DOUCE.]—[But Warton is perfectly correct as to the fact, though he may have misquoted his authority "*Kyrie eleison* cantantes more fidelium militum properantium ad bellum, saliendo ingressi sunt Rhenum."—Mirac S. Verenæ, tom. i. Sept. p. 170 col 2 Carpentier in voce —Bede records a similar practice "Tunc subito Germanos signifer universos admonet et prædicat, ut voci suæ uno clamore respondeant, securisque hostibus qui se insperatos adesse confiderent ALLLLUIA tertio repetitum Sacerdotes exclamabant. Sequitur una vox omnium et elatum clamorem repercusso aere montium conclusa multiplicant," &c Beda, Lib i Eccl Hist Anglic. cap xx But see Schilter's notes to this Epinicion, v. 94, where other authorities are cited —PRICE]

We must be careful to distinguish between the poetry of the Scandinavians, the Teutonics, and the Celts. As most of the Celtic and Teutonic nations were early converted to christianity, it is hard to find any of their native songs. But I must except the poems of Ossian, which are noble and genuine remains of the Celtic poetry

[A contrary opinion of their genuineness is now generally and with justice received as the true one See Laing's edition of Ossian, and Adelung's Mithridates —M]

[c] Of the long continuance of the Celtic superstitions in the popular belief, see what is said in the most elegant and judicious piece of criticism which the present age has produced, Mrs Montague's Essay on Shakspeare, p 145. edit. 1772.

respects congenial to their own[d]: and the northern bards, who visited the countries where these new fancies were spreading, must have been naturally struck with such wonders, and were certainly fond of picking up fresh embellishments, and new strokes of the marvellous, for augmenting and improving their stock of poetry. The earliest scald now on record is not before the year 750: from which time the scalds flourished in the northern countries, till below the year 1157[e]. The celebrated ode of Regner Lodbrog was composed about the end of the ninth century[f].

And that this hypothesis is partly true, may be concluded from the subjects of some of the old Scandic romances, manuscripts of which now remain in the royal library at Stockholm. The titles of a few shall serve for a specimen; which I will make no apology for giving at large. "SAGAN AF HIALMTER OC OLWER. The History of Hialmter king of Sweden, son of a *Syrian* princess, and of Olver Jarl. Containing their expeditions into Hunland, and *Arabia*, with their numerous encounters with the Vikings and the giants. Also their leagues with Alsola, daughter of Ringer king of *Arabia*, afterwards married to Hervor king of Hunland, &c.——SAGAN AF SIOD. The History of Siod, son of Ridgare king of England; who first was made king of England, afterwards of *Babylon* and *Nineveh*. Comprehending various occurrences in Saxland, *Babylon*, *Greece*, *Africa*, and especially in Eirice[g] the region of the giants.—SAGAN AF ALEFLECK. The History of Ale-

[d] Besides the general wildness of the imagery in both, among other particular circumstances of coincidence which might be mentioned here, the practice of giving names to swords, which we find in the scaldic poems, occurs also among the Arabians. In the Hervarar Saga, the sword of Suarfulama is called TIRFING Hickes. Thes. i. p. 193. The names of swords of many of the old northern chiefs are given us by Olaus Wormius, Lit. Run. cap. xix. p. 110. 4to ed. Thus, Herbelot recites a long catalogue of the names of the swords of the most famous Arabian and Persic warriors. V. Saif. p. 736. b. Mahomet had nine swords, all which are named, as were also his bows, quivers, cuirasses, helmets, and lances. His swords were called *The Piercing*, *Ruin*, *Death*, &c. Mod. Univ. Hist. i. p. 253. This is common in the romance-writers and Ariosto. Mahomet's horses had also pompous or heroic appellations, such as *The Swift*, *The Thunderer*, *Shaking the earth with his hoof*, *The Red*, &c. as likewise his mules, asses, and camels. Horses were named in this manner among the Runic heroes. See Ol. Wurm. ut supr. p. 110. Odin's horse was called SLEIPNER. See Edda Island. fab. xxi. I could give other proofs, but we have already wandered too far, in what Spenser calls, *this delightfull lande of Faerie*. Yet I must add, that from one, or both, of these sources, king Arthur's sword is named in Geoffrey of Monmouth. Lib. ix. cap. 11. Ron is also the name of his lance. ibid. cap. 4. And Turpin calls Charlemagne's sword *Gaudiosa*. See Obs. Spens. i. § vi. p. 214. By the way, from these correspondencies, an argument might be drawn, to prove the oriental origin of the Goths. And some perhaps may think them proofs of the doctrine just now suggested in the text, that the scalds borrowed from the Arabians.

[See a very curious description of Galleon's sword Duransard in the romance of "La plaisante et délectable Histoire de Gerileon d'Angleterre." Paris 1572. p. 47. A sword of a most enormous size is related by Froissart to have been used by Archibald Douglas. See Lib. ii. c. 10.—DOUCE.]

[See also Taylor's Glory of Regality, p. 71.—PRICE.]

[e] Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 241.

[f] Id. Ibid. p. 196. Vid. infr. p. xlvii. note [o].

[g] In the Latin EIRICÆA REGIONE. f. Erse or Irish land.

fleck, a king of England, and of his expeditions into *India* and *Tartary*.—SAGAN AF ERIK WIDFORLA. The History of Eric the traveller, who, with his companion Eric, a Danish prince, undertook a wonderful journey to Odin's Hall, or Oden's Aker, near the river *Pison* in *India*[h]." Here we see the circle of the Islandic poetry enlarged: and the names of countries and cities belonging to another quarter of the globe, Arabia, India, Tartary, Syria, Greece, Babylon, and Niniveh, intermixed with those of Hunland, Sweden, and England, and adopted into the northern romantic narratives. Even Charlemagne and Arthur, whose histories, as we have already seen, had been so lavishly decorated by the Arabian fablers, did not escape the Scandinavian scalds[i]. Accordingly we find these subjects among their Sagas. "SAGAN AF ERIK EINGLANDS KAPPE. The History of Eric, son of king Hiac, king Arthur's chief wrestler.—HISTORICAL RHYMES of king Arthur, containing his league with Charlemagne.——SAGAN AF IVENT. The History of Ivent, king Arthur's principal champion, containing his battles with the giants[k].——SAGAN AF KARLAMAGNUSE OF HOPPUM HANS. *The History of Charlemagne, of his champions, and captains.* Containing all his actions in several parts. 1. Of his birth and coronation; and the combat of Carvetus king of Babylon, with Oddegir the Dane[l]. 2. Of Aglandus king of Africa, and of his son Jatmund, and their wars in Spain with Charlemagne.

[h] Wanley, apud Hickes, iii. p. 314. seq.

[i] It is amazing how early and how universally this fable was spread. G de la Flamma says, that in the year 1339, an ancient tomb of a king of the Lombards was broke up in Italy. On his sword was written, "C'el est l'espée de Meser Tristant, un qui occist l'Amoroyt d'Yrlant." —i. e. "This is the sword of sir Tristram, who killed Amoroyt of Ireland." Script. Ital tom. xii. 1028. The Germans are said to have some very ancient narrative songs on our old British heroes, Tristram, Gawain, and the rest of the knights *Von der Tafel-ronde*. See Goldast. Not. Vit. Carol. Magn. p 207. edit. 1711.

[k] They have also, "BRETOMANNA SAGA, The History of the Britons, from Eneas the Trojan to the emperor Constantius." Wanl. ibid. There are many others, perhaps of later date, relating to English history, particularly the history of William the Bastard and other christians, in their expedition into the holy land. The history of the destruction of the monasteries in England, by William Rufus Wanl. ibid.

[It will perhaps be superfluous to remark, that all the Sagas mentioned in the text, are the production of an age long subsequent to the reign of William Rufus. —PRICE]

In the history of the library at Upsal, I find the following articles, which are left to the conjectures of the curious enquirer. Historia Biblioth. Upsaliens. per Celsium. Ups. 1745. 8vo. pag. 88. Artic. vii. Variæ Britannorum fabulæ, quas in carmine conversas olim, atque in convivils ad citharam decantari solitas fuisse, perhibent. Sunt autem relationes de GUIAMARO equite Britanniæ meridionalis Æskelhod Britannis veteribus dictæ. De Nobilium duorum conjugibus gemellos enixis, et id genus alia.—— pag. 37. Artic. v. Drama ερωτικον fol. in membran. Res continet amatorias, olim, ad jocum concitandum Islandica lingua scriptum —ibid. Artic vii. The history of Duke Julianus, son of S. Giles. Containing many things of Earl William and Rosamund. In the ancient Islandic. See Observations on the Fairy Queen, i. p. 203. 204. § vi.

[l] Mabillon thinks, that Turpin first called this hero a Dane. But this notion is refuted by Bartholinus, Antiq. Danic. ii. 13. p. 578. His old Gothic sword, SPATHA, and iron shield, are still preserved and shown in a monastery of the north. Bartholin. ibid. p. 579.

3. Of Roland, and his combat with Villaline king of Spain. 4. Of Ottuel's conversion to Christianity, and his marriage with Charlemagne's daughter. 5. Of Hugh king of Constantinople, and the memorable exploits of his champions. 6. Of the wars of Ferracute king of Spain. 7. Of Charlemagne's achievements in Rouncevalles, and of his death[m]." In another of the Sagas, Jarl, a magician of Saxland, exhibits his feats of necromancy before Charlemagne. We learn from Olaus Magnus, that Roland's magical horn, of which archbishop Turpin relates such wonders, and among others that it might be heard at the distance of twenty miles, was frequently celebrated in the songs of the Islandic bards[n]. It is not likely that these pieces, to say no more, were not composed till the Scandinavian tribes had been converted to Christianity; that is, as I have before observed, about the close of the tenth century. These barbarians had an infinite and a national contempt for the Christians, whose religion inculcated a spirit of peace, gentleness and civility; qualities so dissimilar to those of their own ferocious and warlike disposition, and which they naturally interpreted to be the marks of cowardice and pusillanimity[o]. It has, however, been urged, that as the irruption of the Normans into France, under their leader Rollo, did not take place till towards the beginning of the tenth century, at which period the scaldic art was arrived to the highest perfection in Rollo's native country, we can easily trace the descent of the French and English romances of chivalry from the Northern Sagas. It is supposed, that Rollo carried with him many scalds from the north, who transmitted their skill to their children and successors; and that these, adopting the religion, opinions, and language of the new country, substituted the heroes of Christendom, instead of those of their pagan ancestors, and began to celebrate the feats of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver, whose true history they set off and embellished with the scaldic figments of dwarfs, giants, dragons, and enchantments[p]. There is, however, some reason to believe, that these fictions were current among the French long before; and, if the principles advanced in the former part of this dissertation be true, the fables adhering to Charlemagne's real history must be referred to another source.

Let me add, that the enchantments of the Runic poetry are very

[m] Wanley, ut supr. p. 314.

[n] See infr. Sect. iii. p. 135.

[o] Regner Lodbrog, in his Dying Ode, speaking of a battle fought against the Christians, says, in ridicule of the eucharist, "There we celebrated a MASS [Missu, *Island.*] of weapons."

[As the narrative of this ode is couched in the first person, it was for a long time considered to be Regner's own production. A more sober spirit of criticism afterwards referred it to Bragi hinn gamall, who was said to have written it at the request of Aslaug, Lodbrog's widow. But Mr. Erichsen, the learned and judicious editor of the Royal Mirror and Gunlaug Ormstunga Saga, selected this very expression (odda messu) as a proof of its later origin, and of the author being a Christian. It is now usually assigned to the close of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.—PRICE.]

[p] Percy's Ess. Metr. Rom. p. viii.

different from those in our romances of chivalry. The former chiefly deal in spells and charms, such as would preserve from poison, blunt the weapons of an enemy, procure victory, allay a tempest, cure bodily diseases, or call the dead from their tombs; in uttering a form of mysterious words, or inscribing Runic characters. The magicians of romance are chiefly employed in forming and conducting a train of deceptions. There is an air of barbaric horror in the incantations of the scaldic fablers: the magicians of romance often present visions of pleasure and delight, and, although not without their alarming terrors, sometimes lead us through flowery forests, and raise up palaces glittering with gold and precious stones. The Runic magic is more like that of Canidia in Horace, the romantic resembles that of Armida in Tasso. The operations of the one are frequently but mere tricks, in comparison of that sublime solemnity of necromantic machinery which the other so awfully displays.

It is also remarkable, that in the earlier scaldic odes, we find but few dragons, giants, and fairies*. These were introduced afterwards, and are the progeny of Arabian fancy. Nor indeed do these imaginary beings often occur in any of the compositions which preceded the introduction of that species of fabling. On this reasoning, the Irish tale-teller mentioned above could not be a lineal descendant of the elder Irish bards. The absence of giants and dragons, and let me add, of many other traces of that fantastic and brilliant imagery which composes the system of Arabian imagination, from the poems of Ossian, are a striking proof of their antiquity. It has already been suggested, at what period, and from what origin, those fancies got footing in the Welsh poetry: we do not find them in the odes of Taliessin or Aneurin[q]. This reasoning explains an observation of an ingenious

* [With the exception of the "fairies," this is strikingly incorrect The Edda and Beowulf, the earliest remains of Northern poetry, make frequent mention of giants (Jotna-kyn, Eotena-cyn, the Etens-kin) and dragons. The latter speaks of both land and sea dragons, (eord-draca, sædraca, earth-drake, sea-drake) —PRICE]

[q] Who flourished about the year 570. He has left a long spirited poem called GODODIN, often alluded to by the later Welsh bards, which celebrates a battle fought against the Saxons near Cattraeth, under the conduct of Mynnydawe Eiddin, in which all the Britons, three only excepted, among which was the bard Aneurin himself, were slain. I will give a specimen. "The men whose drink was mead, comely in shape, hastened to Cattraeth. These impetuous warriors in ranks, armed with red spears, long and bending, began the battle. Might I speak my revenge against the people of the Deiri, I would overwhelm them, like a deluge, in one slaughter: for unheeding I have lost a friend, who was brave in resisting his enemies. I drank of the wine and metheglin of Mordai, whose spear was of huge size. In the shock of the battle he prepared food for the eagle. When Cydwal hastened forward, a shout arose before the yellow morning, when he gave the signal, he broke the shield into small splinters. The men hastened to Cattraeth, noble in birth their drink was wine and mead out of golden cups. There were three hundred and sixty-three adorned with chains of gold, but of those who, filled with wine, rushed on to the fight, only three escaped, who hewed their way with the sword, the warrior of Acron, Conan Dacarawd, and I the bard Aneurin, red with blood, otherwise I should not have survived to compose this song. When Caradoc hastened to the war, he was the son of a wild boar, in

critic in this species of literature, and who has studied the works of the Welsh bards with much attention. "There are not such extravagant FLIGHTS in any poetic compositions, except it be in the EASTERN; to which, as far as I can judge by the few translated specimens I have seen, they *bear a near resemblance*[r]." I will venture to say he does not meet with these flights in the elder Welsh bards. The beautiful romantic fiction, that king Arthur, after being wounded in the fatal battle of Camlan, was conveyed by an Elfin princess into the land of Faery, or spirits, to be healed of his wounds, that he reigns there still as a mighty potentate in all his pristine splendour, and will one day return to resume his throne in Britain, and restore the solemnities of his champions, often occurs in the antient Welsh bards[s]; but not in the most antient. It is found in the compositions of the Welsh bards only, who flourished after the native vein of British fabling had been tinctured by these FAIRY TALES, which the Arabians had propagated in Armorica, and which the Welsh had received from their connexion with that province of Gaul. Such a fiction as this is entirely different from the cast and complexion of the ideas of the original Welsh poets. It is easy to collect from the Welsh odes, written after the tenth century, many signatures of this EXOTIC imagery. Such as, "Their assault was like strong lions. He is valorous as a lion, who can resist his lance? The dragon of Mona's sons were so brave in fight, that there was horrible consternation, and upon Tal Moelvre a thousand banners. Our lion has brought to Trallwng three armies. A dragon he was from the beginning, unterrified in battle. A dragon of Ovain. Thou art a prince firm in battle, like an elephant. Their assault was

hewing down the Saxons, a bull in the conflict of fight, he twisted the wood [spear] from their hands Gurien saw not his father after he had lifted the glistening mead in his hand I praise all the warriors who thus met in the battle, and attacked the foe with one mind Their life was short, but they have left a long regret to their friends. Yet of the Saxons they slew more than seven ..... There was many a mother shedding tears. The song is due to thee who hast attained the highest glory thou who wast like fire, thunder and storm, O Rudd Fedell, warlike champion, excellent in might, you still think of the war The noble chiefs deserve to be celebrated in verse, who after the fight made the rivers to overflow their banks with blood. Their hands glutted the throats of the dark-brown eagles, and skilfully prepared food for the ravenous birds. Of all the chiefs who went to Cattraeth with golden chains," &c. This poem is extremely difficult to be understood, being written, if not in the Pictish language, at least in a dialect of the Britons very different from the modern Welsh. See the learned and ingenious Mr. Evans's Dissertatio de Bardis, p 68—75

[r] Evans, ubi supr. Pref p. iv.

[s] The Arabians call the Fairies *Ginn*, and the Persians *Peri* The former call Fairy-land, *Ginnistan*, many beautiful cities of which they have described in their fabulous histories See Herbelot, Bibl. Orient Gian. p 306 a. Genn. p 375 a Peri p 701 b They pretend that the fairies built the city of Esthekar, or Persepolis. Id. in V p 327 a One of the most eminent of the Oriental fairies was MERGIAN PERI, or *Mergian the Fairy* Herbel. ut supr V. Peri, p. 702 a. Thahamurath, p 1017 a This was a good fairy, and imprisoned for ages in a cavern by the giant Demrusch, from which she was delivered by Thahamurath, whom she afterwards assisted in conquering another giant, his enemy Id ibid And this is the fairy or elfin queen, called in the French romances MORGAN LE FAY, Morgain the fairy, who preserved king Arthur See Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. 63. 65. §. ii

as of strong lions The lion of Cemais fierce in the onset, when the army rusheth to be covered with red. He saw Llewellyn like a burning dragon in the strife of Arson. He is furious in fight like an outrageous dragon. Like the roaring of a furious lion, in the search of prey, is thy thirst of praise." Instead of producing more proofs from the multitude that might be mentioned, for the sake of illustration of our argument, I will contrast these with some of their natural unadulterated thoughts. "Fetch the drinking-horn, whose gloss is like the wave of the sea. Tudor is like a wolf rushing on his prey. They were all covered with blood when they returned, and the high hills and the dales enjoyed the sun equally[t]. O thou virgin, that shinest like snow on the brows of Aran[u]; like the fine spiders webs on the grass on a summer's day. The army at Offa's dike panted for glory, the soldiers of Venedotia, and the men of London, were as the alternate motion of the waves on the sea shore, where the sea-mew screams. The hovering crows were numberless: the ravens croaked, they were ready to suck the prostrate carcases. His enemies are scattered as leaves on the side of hills driven by hurricanes. He is a warrior like a surge on the beach that covers the wild salmons. Her eye was piercing like that of the hawk[w]: her face shone like the pearly dew on Eryri[x]. Llewellyn is a hero who setteth castles on fire. I have watched all night on the beach, where the sea-gulls, whose plumes glitter, sport on the bed of billows; and where the herbage, growing in a solitary place, is of a deep green[y]." These images are all drawn from their own country, from their situation and circumstances; and, although highly poetical, are in general of a more sober and temperate colouring. In a word, not only that elevation of allusion, which many suppose to be peculiar to the poetry of Wales, but that fertility of fiction, and those marvellous fables recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth, which the generality of readers, who do not sufficiently attend to the origin of that historian's romantic materials, believe to be the genuine offspring of the Welsh poets, are of foreign growth. And, to return to the ground of this argument, there is the strongest reason to suspect, that even the Gothic EDDA, or system of poetic mythology of the northern nations, is enriched with those higher strokes of oriental imagination, which the Arabians had communicated to the Europeans. Into this extravagant tissue of unmeaning allegory, false philosophy, and false theology, it was easy to incorporate their most wild and romantic conceptions[z].

[t] A beautiful periphrasis for noon-day, and extremely natural in so mountainous a country as Wales. This circumstance of time added to the merit of the action.

[u] The high mountains in Merionethshire

[w] See infr vol II p. 158 note[a].

[x] Mountains of snow, from *Eiry*, snow.

[y] See Evans, ubi supr. p. 8. 10, 11. 15, 16. 21, 22, 23. 26. 28. 34. 37. 39, 40, 41, 42. And his Diss. de Bard. p. 84. Compare Aneurin's ode, cited above.

[z] Huet is of opinion, that the EDDA is entirely the production of Snorro's fancy. But this is saying too much. See Orig Roman. p. 116. The first Edda was com-

It must be confessed, that the ideas of chivalry, the appendage and the subject of romance, subsisted among the Goths. But this must be understood under certain limitations. There is no peculiarity which more strongly discriminates the manners of the Greeks and Romans from those of modern times, than that small degree of attention and respect with which those nations treated the fair sex, and that inconsiderable share which they were permitted to take in conversation, and the general commerce of life. For the truth of this observation, we need only appeal to the classic writers, in which their women appear to have been devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity. One is surprised that barbarians should be greater masters of complaisance than the most polished people that ever existed. No sooner was the Roman empire overthrown, and the Goths had overpowered Europe, than we find the female character assuming an unusual importance and authority, and distinguished with new privileges, in all the European governments established by the northern conquerors. Even amidst the confusions of savage war, and among the almost incredible enormities committed by the Goths at their invasion of the empire, they forbore to offer any violence to the women. This perhaps is one of the most striking features in the new state of manners, which took place about the seventh century: and it is to this period, and to this people, that we must refer the origin of gallantry in Europe. The Romans never introduced these sentiments into their European provinces.

The Goths believed some divine and prophetic quality to be inherent in their women; they admitted them into their councils, and consulted them on the public business of the state. They were suffered to conduct the great events which they predicted. Ganna, a prophetic virgin

piled, undoubtedly with many additions and interpolations, from fictions and traditions in the old Runic poems, by Sæmund Sigfusson, surnamed the Learned, [Sage] about the year 1057. He seems to have made it his business to select or digest into one body such of these pieces as were best calculated to furnish a collection of poetic phrases and figures. He studied in Germany, and chiefly at Cologne. This first Edda being not only prolix, but perplexed and obscure, a second, which is that now extant, was compiled by Snorro Sturleson, born in the year 1179

[This has been copied from Mallet, who seems only to have seen the Edda of Snorro as published by Resenius The Edda of Sæmund has since been published at Copenhagen by the Arnæ-Magnæan Commission. The labours of Sæmund were confined to collecting the mythological and historical songs of his country, which he probably prefaced and interspersed with a few remarks in prose, —those of Snorro, to reducing the same or a similar collection into a more intelligible and connected prose narrative. The object of Sæmund appears to have been, the formation of a poetic Anthology, rather than a regular series of mythic and historic documents;—that of Snorro, to offer a general outline of the Northern mythology The Rev P. Erasmus Muller, in his tract "*Ueber die Asalehre*," has successfully vindicated Snorro from the charge of palming upon the world his own inventions as the religious code of the North. It should however be remarked, that tradition alone or very recent manuscripts attribute the formation of the first collection to Sæmund This does not rest on certain testimony —PRICE.]

It is certain, and very observable, that in the EDDA we find much more of giants, dragons, and other imaginary beings, undoubtedly belonging to Arabian romance, than in the earliest Scaldic odes By the way, there are many strokes in both the EDDAS taken from the REVELATION of St. John, which must come from the compilers who were Christians.

of the Marcomanni, a German or Gaulish tribe, was sent by her nation to Rome, and admitted into the presence of Domitian, to treat concerning terms of peace[y]. Tacitus relates, that Velleda, another German prophetess, held frequent conferences with the Roman generals; and that on some occasions, on account of the sacredness of her person, she was placed at a great distance on a high tower, from whence, like an oracular divinity, she conveyed her answers by some chosen messenger[z]. She appears to have preserved the supreme rule over her own people and the neighbouring tribes[a]. And there are other instances, that the government among the antient Germans was sometimes vested in the women[b]. This practice also prevailed among the Sitones or Norwegians[c]. The Cimbri, a Scandinavian tribe, were accompanied at their assemblies by venerable and hoary-headed prophetesses, appareled in long linen vestments of a splendid white[d]. Their matrons and daughters acquired a reverence from their skill in studying simples, and their knowledge of healing wounds, arts reputed mysterious. The wives frequently attended their husbands in the most perilous expeditions, and fought with great intrepidity in the most bloody engagements[e]. These nations dreaded captivity, more on the account of their women, than on their own: and the Romans, availing themselves of this apprehension, often demanded their noblest virgins for hostages[f]. From these circumstances, the women even claimed a sort of precedence, at least an equality subsisted between the sexes, in the Gothic constitutions.

But the deference paid to the fair sex, which produced the spirit of gallantry, is chiefly to be sought for in those strong and exaggerated ideas of female chastity which prevailed among the northern nations. Hence the lover's devotion to his mistress was increased, his attentions to her service multiplied, his affection heightened, and his solicitude aggravated, in proportion as the difficulty of obtaining her was enhanced: and the passion of love acquired a degree of delicacy, when controlled by the principles of honour and purity. The highest excellence of character then known was a superiority in arms; and that rival was most likely to gain his lady's regard, who was the bravest champion. Here we see valour inspired by love. In the mean time,

[y] Dio lib. lxvii p 761

[z] Hist. lib iv. p 953 edit D'Orlean. fol

[a] He says just before, "ea virgo *late imperitabat*" Ibid p. 951. He saw her in the reign of Vespasian De Morib. German. p. 972. where he likewise mentions Aurinia.

[b] See Tacit. Hist lib. v. p. 969. ut supr

[c] De Morib. German p 983. ut supra

[d] Strab. Geograph. lib viii. p. 205. edit. Is. Cas 1587. fol. Compare Keysler, Antiquit Sel Septentrional. p 371. viz Dissertatio de Mulieribus Fatidicis veterum Celtarum gentiumque Septentrionalium. See also Cluverius's Germania Antiqua, lib i cap. xxiv pag. 165 edit. fol Lugd. Bat 1631. It were easy to trace the WEIRD sisters, and our modern witches, to this source

[e] See Sect. vii. infr vol ii. p. 33. Diodorus Siculus says, that among the Scythians the women are trained to war as well as the men, to whom they are not inferior in strength and courage L ii. p 90.

[f] Tacit. de Morib. Germ. pag 972 ut supr

the same heroic spirit which was the surest claim to the favour of the ladies, was often exerted in their protection: a protection much wanted in an age of rapine, of plunder, and piracy; when the weakness of the softer sex was exposed to continual dangers and unexpected attacks[g]. It is easy to suppose the officious emulation and ardour of many a gallant young warrior, pressing forward to be foremost in this honourable service, which flattered the most agreeable of all passions, and which gratified every enthusiasm of the times, especially the fashionable fondness for a wandering and military life. In the mean time, we may conceive the lady thus won, or thus defended, conscious of her own importance, affecting an air of stateliness: it was her pride to have preserved her chastity inviolate, she could perceive no merit but that of invincible bravery, and could only be approached in terms of respect and submission.

Among the Scandinavians, a people so fond of cloathing adventures in verse, these gallantries must naturally become the subject of poetry, with its fictitious embellishments. Accordingly, we find their chivalry displayed in their odes; pieces, which at the same time greatly confirm these observations. The famous ode of Regner Lodbrog affords a striking instance; in which, being imprisoned in a loathsome dungeon, and condemned to be destroyed by venomous serpents, he solaces his desperate situation by recollecting and reciting the glorious exploits of his past life. One of these, and the first which he commemorates, was an achievement of chivalry. It was the delivery of a beautiful Swedish princess from an impregnable fortress, in which she was forcibly detained by one of her father's captains. Her father issued a proclamation, promising that whoever would rescue the lady should have her in marriage. Regner succeeded in the attempt, and married the fair captive. This was about the year 860[h]. There are other strokes in Regner's ode, which, although not belonging to this particular story, deserve to be pointed out here, as illustrative of our argument. Such as, "It was [not*] like being placed near a beautiful virgin on a couch.—It was [not*] like kissing a young widow in the first seat at

[g] See instances of this sort of violence in the ancient HISTORY OF HIALMAR, a Runic romance, p 135, 136 140 Diss Epist ad calc Hickes. Thesaur vol 1 where also is a challenge between two champions for king Hialmar's daughter But the king composes the quarrel by giving to one of them, named Ulfo, among other rich presents, an inestimable horn, on which were inlaid in gold the images of Odin, Thor, and Freya and to the other, named Hramur, the lady herself, and a drum, embossed with golden imagery, which foretold future events This piece, which is in Runic capital characters, was written before the year 1000 Many stories of this kind might be produced from the northern chronicles [This "History of Hialmar" is a modern forgery See the Rev P Muller's preface to Haldorsen's Islandic Dictionary, where other "figments" of a similar kind are catalogued —PRICE.]

[h] See Torf Histor Norw tom. 1 lib 10 Saxo Grammat p. 152 And Ol Worm Lit. Run. p. 221. edit. 46. I suspect that the romantic amour between Regner and Aslauga is the forgery of a much later age See Regnara Lodbrog's Saga, C 5 apud Biorneri Histor Reg. Her et Pugil. Res præclaræ gestæ Stockholm. 1737

* [The original in both passages reads, *Verat sem*—It was not like.—PRICE]

a feast. I made to struggle in the twilight* that golden-haired chief who passed his mornings among the young maidens, and loved to converse with widows.—He who aspires to the love of young virgins, ought always to be foremost in the din of arms[i]." It is worthy of remark, that these sentiments occur to Regner while he is in the midst of his tortures, and at the point of death. Thus many of the heroes in Froissart, in the greatest extremities of danger, recollect their amours, and die thinking of their mistresses. And by the way, in the same strain, Boh, a Danish champion, having lost his chin, and one of his cheeks, by a single stroke from Thurstain Midlang, only reflected how he should be received, when thus maimed and disfigured, by the Danish girls. He instantly exclaimed in a tone of savage gallantry, "The Danish virgins will not now willingly or easily give me kisses, if I should perhaps return home[k]." But there is an ode, in the KNYTLINGA-SAGA, written by Harald the VALIANT, which is professedly a song of chivalry; and which, exclusive of its wild spirit of adventure, and its images of savage life, has the romantic air of a set of stanzas composed by a Provencial troubadour. Harald appears to have been one of the most eminent adventurers of his age. He had killed the king of Drontheim in a bloody engagement. He had traversed all the seas, and visited all the coasts, of the north; and had carried his piratical enterprises even as far as the Mediterranean, and the shores of Africa. He was at length taken prisoner, and detained for some time at Constantinople. He complains in this ode, that the reputation he had acquired by so many hazardous exploits, by his skill in single combat, riding, swimming, gliding along the ice, darting, rowing, and guiding a ship through the rocks, had not been able to make any impression on Elissiff, or Elisabeth, the beautiful daughter of Jarilas, king of Russia[l].

Here, however, chivalry subsisted but in its rudiments. Under the feudal establishments, which were soon afterwards erected in Europe it received new vigour, and was invested with the formalities of a regular institution. The nature and circumstances of that peculiar model of government were highly favourable to this strange spirit of fantastic heroism; which, however unmeaning and ridiculous it may seem, had the most serious and salutary consequences in assisting the general growth of refinement, and the progression of civilisation, in forming the manners of Europe, in inculcating the principles of honour, and in

* [Dr. Percy has it, "in the twilight of death," which adds greatly to the sublimity of the passage. See the second of Five pieces of Runic Poetry, printed in 1763. The "Chief" was Harold Harfax, king of Norway.—PARK]

[Unhappily the Islandic text makes no mention of the "twilight."

Hár-fagr an sá ek hraukva,
Meyar-dreng at morgni,
Oc mál-vin eckio,
I saw retire the fair-haired
Maids-lad at morning,
And sort-speaker of (the) widow.

The person alluded to was Aurn, prince of the Hebrides. Mr. Park probably means Harald Harfager, who was not born at the time.—PRICE.]

[i] St. 13, 14. 19. 23.

[k] Chron Norveg p. 136.

[l] Bartholin. p. 54.

teaching modes of decorum. The genius of the feudal policy was perfectly martial. A numerous nobility, formed into separate principalities, affecting independence, and mutually jealous of their privileges and honours, necessarily lived in a state of hostility. This situation rendered personal strength and courage the most requisite and essential accomplishments. And hence, even in time of peace, they had no conception of any diversions or public ceremonies, but such as were of the military kind. Yet, as the courts of these petty princes were thronged with ladies of the most eminent distinction and quality, the ruling passion for war was tempered with courtesy. The prize of contending champions was adjudged by the ladies; who did not think it inconsistent to be present or to preside at the bloody spectacles of the times, and who, themselves, seem to have contracted an unnatural and unbecoming ferocity, while they softened the manners of those valorous knights who fought for their approbation. The high notions of a noble descent, which arose from the condition of the feudal constitution, and the ambition of forming an alliance with powerful and opulent families, cherished this romantic system. It was hard to obtain the fair feudatory, who was the object of universal adoration. Not only the splendour of birth, but the magnificent castle surrounded with embattelled walls, guarded with massy towers, and crowned with lofty pinnacles, served to inflame the imagination, and to create an attachment to some illustrious heiress, whose point of honour it was to be chaste and inaccessible. And the difficulty of success on these occasions seems in great measure to have given rise to that sentimental love of romance, which acquiesced in a distant respectful admiration, and did not aspire to possession. The want of an uniform administration of justice, the general disorder, and state of universal anarchy, which naturally sprung from the principles of the feudal policy, presented perpetual opportunities of checking the oppressions of arbitrary lords, of delivering captives injuriously detained in the baronial castles, of punishing robbers, of succouring the distressed, and of avenging the impotent and the unarmed, who were every moment exposed to the most licentious insults and injuries. The violence and injustice of the times gave birth to valour and humanity. These acts conferred a lustre and an importance on the character of men professing arms, who made force the substitute of law. In the mean time, the crusades, so pregnant with enterprize, heightened the habits of this warlike fanaticism; and when these foreign expeditions were ended, in which the hermits and pilgrims of Palestine had been defended, nothing remained to employ the activity of adventurers but the protection of innocence at home. Chivalry by degrees was consecrated by religion, whose authority tinctured every passion, and was engrafted into every institution of the superstitious ages; and at length composed that singular picture of manners, in which the love of a god and of the ladies were reconciled,

the saint and the hero were blended, and charity and revenge, zeal and gallantry, devotion and valour, were united.

Those who think that chivalry started late, from the nature of the feudal constitution, confound an improved effect with a simple cause. Not having distinctly considered all the particularities belonging to the genius, manners, and usages of the Gothic tribes, and accustomed to contemplate nations under the general idea of barbarians, they cannot look for the seeds of elegance amongst men distinguished only for their ignorance and their inhumanity. The rude origin of this heroic gallantry was quickly overwhelmed and extinguished by the superior pomp which it necessarily adopted from the gradual diffusion of opulence and civility, and that blaze of splendour with which it was surrounded, amid the magnificence of the feudal solemnities. But above all, it was lost and forgotten in that higher degree of embellishment which at length it began to receive from the representations of romance.

From the foregoing observations taken together, the following general and comprehensive conclusion seems to result:

Amid the gloom of superstition, in an age of the grossest ignorance and credulity, a taste for the wonders of oriental fiction was introduced by the Arabians into Europe, many countries of which were already seasoned to a reception of its extravagancies by means of the poetry of the Gothic scalds, who perhaps originally derived their ideas from the same fruitful region of invention. These fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of troubadours and minstrels, seem to have centred about the eleventh century in the ideal histories of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the supposititious achievements of Charlemagne and king Arthur, where they formed the groundwork of that species of fabulous narrative called romance. And from these beginnings or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched by kindred fancies fetched from the crusades, that singular and capricious mode of imagination arose, which at length composed the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser.

[NOTE.—The whole of this essay is extremely illogical and unsatisfactory. Warton's leading position,—respecting the influence of Arabic literature in Europe,—is unsound, and most of the *proofs* which he alleges are matters which require proving themselves. The two poems of Beowulf and the Nibelungen Lied, are a complete practical refutation of his entire system.—R. G.]

Note B.

By Mr. Price.

ON THE LAIS OF MARIE DE FRANCE.

See Dissertation I. page iii. Note [d].

The opinion advanced in this note [d], that the "Lays of Brittany" were written in French by bards of that province, was withdrawn in a subsequent volume. (See vol. ii. p. 323, note A.) Since then, the poems of Marie have been published under the following title: "Poésies de Marie de France, ou Recueil de Lais, Fables et autres Productions de cette Femme célèbre, par B. de Roquefort: Paris, 1820: 2 vols. 8vo." In addition to the twelve Lays contained in the Harl. MS. (cited above), M. Roquefort has inserted the Lai de Graelent, given in Barbazan (tom. iv. p. 157), and the Lai de l'Epine, analysed by Le Grand (tom. iii. p. 244). We are not informed upon what authority these pieces are assigned to Marie, and it is probable that internal evidence alone has governed the editor in his decision. This is sufficiently striking to arrest the attention of a foreigner little acquainted with the niceties of the dialect in which they are written: but the fact, if such, ought to have been stated. On the authority of a line which does not occur in M. Roquefort's copy, M. de la Rue is disposed to ascribe the Lai de l'Epine to Guillaume-le-Normand. Such an omission would not be extraordinary in different manuscripts of the same work, whether the result of accident or design: but M. Roquefort mentions the circumstance as if he and his learned friend had both consulted the same document. If this be the case, it may be observed in corroboration of the objection raised by the latter to the claim of Guillaume, that the introduction to the Lay shows it to have formed one of a series, and that it was not an occasional or unconnected production.

Les aventures trespassées,
Que diversement ai contées,
Nès' ai pas dites sans garant,
Les estores en trai avant,
Ki encore sont à Carlion,
Ens le monstier Saint Aaron,
Et en Bretaigne sont séues*.

The late Mr. Ritson chose to deny the Armorican origin of these Lays; and to infer, in a long and specious note appended to the romance of Emare, that by the terms "Bretagne and Bretons," so repeatedly mentioned in them, were intended "the country and people of Great Britain." To a part of this proposition Mr. Douce also seems to assent.

The evident design of Mr. Ritson in this singular declaration, was to counteract a belief that there ever existed a mass of popular poetry in Brittany, recording either native traditions, or romantic history connected with the country from whence a portion of its inhabitants had migrated. It was of importance to disprove this fact, as it so powerfully militated against a favourite principle laid down in the "Dissertation on Romance," that Geoffrey of Monmouth was the inventor of the Chronicle bearing his name,—that the labours of this "impostour" became the storehouse of every after fabler on the British story,—and that previous to its appearance the minstrels of France were as unacquainted with the exploits of Arthur and his followers, as their Kalmuck brethren are at the present day. By investing Marie with the character of an original writer, the question of Geoffrey's veracity, as to the means by which he obtained possession of his original, and his fidelity in executing a translation, became materially circumscribed; and the wild assertion of the editor of Pelloutier's Dictionary, that "the Armorican Britons have not cultivated poetry, and the language such as they speak it, does not appear *able to ply to the measure, or to the sweetness and to the harmony of verse*," might then be said to stand unconfronted by opposing testimony. It will be needless to enter here upon either of these positions, which affect a subject to be discussed hereafter; and it will be sufficient to offer a general protest against the collateral evidence adduced by Mr. Ritson, as to the meaning of the word "Breton" in several old French romances. There is but one passage out of many thus unnecessarily pressed into the service, which contains any thing more than a general reference to "Breton lays:"

Bons Lais de harpe vus apris
Lais Bretuns de nostre pais.

This is given from a fragment in Mr. Douce's possession, and is cited in the language of Tristan to Ysolt. But Mr. Ritson has omitted to mention that it was uttered by Tristan in the presence of king Mark, when he had assumed the character of a madman, and was just arrived from a foreign country, of which the name is not specified. In all probability this country was Brittany, as the adventure seems the counterpart to his assumption of the beggar's garb in our English romance.

But admitting there was a slight discrepancy between the language of various romances, as to the position of Bretagne, the question of Marie's claim to the invention of these lays can neither be invalidated nor supported by it. Every one is aware that there is no topic upon which the general language of romance is more unsettled and contradictory, than its geographical details. The same liberties allowed in forming a genealogic line for the hero, were extended to the fictitious scene of his actions; and countries the most remote were as readily transferred to a close and intimate proximity, as their customs and languages were rendered identical. It would be of the essence of hyper-

criticism to censure this practice, which might be justified by the very charter-rolls of romance, as indeed it would be the height of absurdity to bring such details to the test of chorographic truth. The only object for consideration in applying the information thus conveyed, must be the apparent intentions of the communicant, the probable extent of his personal knowledge, or the accuracy of his avowed authorities, and how far, in the exercise of these resources, he is likely to have been swayed by the suggestions of his fancy, or misdirected by his ignorance. It will be worse than useless to heap together, as Mr. Ritson has done, the whole mass of evidence to be gathered from every source, without regard to the varied character of the proofs thus collected, and by drawing a general inference, to assign the same authority to that which is confessedly fabulous, as to that which may have been uttered in good faith. Every writer ought to be weighed in his own scale; and the only hope we can have of eliciting an author's intentions, must be, by resorting to his own declarations in illustration of his own peculiar meaning. Now with respect to Marie, M. de la Rue* has already shown, from the prologue to the poems, that she only aspired to the character of a translator. Her first intention was to have given a version in *Romance*, of some Latin writer; but finding the ground preoccupied, she abandoned this design, and resolved on versifying the Breton tales which she had heard recited or found recorded.

Des Lais pensai k'oi avcie
Ne dutai pas, bien le saveie,
Ke pur remanbrance les firent
Des aventures k'il oirent—

Plusurs en ai oï conter,
Ne voil laisser nes' oblier;
Rimez en ai, è fait ditié
Soventes fiez en ai veillié.

This is frequently referred to in various parts of her poems; some of which were translated from written documents; others versified from recollection, or oral communication; while the majority either acknowledge a Breton original, or contain decided proofs of a connection with that country. Of this the evidence shall now be submitted.

The first poem in M. Roquefort's collection is the Lai de Gugemer, which opens with the following exordium:

Les cuntes ke jo sai verais
Dunt li Bretun unt fait lor Lais,
Vus cunterai assez briefment
El cief de cest coumencement.
Sulunc la lettre è l'escriture
Vus musterai une aventure

* Archæologia, vol. xiii.

Ki en *Bretaigne la menur*,
Avint al tens anciénur*.

The Lai d'Equitan who was "Sire de Nauns," (and of whose achievements "Li Bretun firent un Lai") also commences with a direct testimony to the practice of recording deeds of chivalry and heroic adventure in that country:

Mut unt esté noble Barun,
Cil de Bretaine li Bretun ;
Jadis suleient par pruesce,
Par curteisie, è par noblesce,
Des aventures qu'ils oieent,
Ki à plusur gent aveneient
Fère les Lais pur remenbrance
Qu'en ne les meist en ubliance.
N'ent firent ceo oï cuntur
Ki n'est fet mie à ublier.

The Lai de Bisclaveret is not specifically acknowledged as a Breton lay; but the scene is laid in "Bretaine," and the Breton term from which the story derives its name, is cited in contradistinction to that current in the adjoining duchy of Normandy:

Bisclaveret ad nun en Bretan,
Garwell l'apelent li Norman.

From the Lai de Laustic† we obtain a similar testimony, with the additional declaration of its being a Breton lay:

Une aventure vus dirai
Dunt li Bretun firent un Lai;
Laustic ad nun ceo m'est avis,
Si l'apelent en lur pais,
Céo est Reisun en Franceis,
E Nihtegale en dreit Engleis.

The scene is at St. Maloes. Of the Lai des deux Amans and of the Lai de Graelent it is said, "Un Lai en firent li Bretun;" of the Lai de l'Epine, "Li Breton en firent un Lai;" and of the Lai d'Eliduc,

* v. 21

† MM de la Rue and Roquefort speak of an English version of this lay, and refer to the Cotton MS Cal. A. II. These gentlemen were either misled by a similarity in the title of the poem in question, (Nightingale,) or a manuscript note in the Museum copy of the catalogue of the Cotton MSS The English poem is a mystic rhapsody on holy living, in which the Nightingale and her plaintive song are declared to be typical of the doctrines and sufferings of Jesus Christ

[The English poem is a translation from the Latin one composed by John Hoveden, chaplain to Eleanor, queen of Edward the First, intitled *Meditatio de Nativitate &c Domini vocata Philomelæ Canticum.* See Tanner, *voc. Hovedén* —M.]

De un *mut ancien Lai Bretun*
Le cunte é tute la reisun,
Vus dirai si cum jeo entent
La vérité mun escient.

Of these four, the scene of the first is laid in Normandy, and of the rest in "Bretaine." Of the remaining six, the Lai du Frêne places the action in "Bretaine," without giving a more positive locality to the scene. It was a tale which Marie had heard recounted, but which she does not expressly claim as a "Breton lay." The Lai de Chevrefeuille was translated from a written original:

Plusurs le m'unt cunté è dit,
E jeo l'ai trové en escrit.

It contains no reference to "Bretaine" or the "Bretons:" and, if we could forget Mr. Ritson's arbitrary dogmas relative to the poverty of native genius both before and after the Conquest, might be supposed to owe its existence to some English poem now no more:

Tristam ki bien saveit harper,
En aveit feit un nuvel Lai
Asez brèvement le numerai.
Gotelef l'apelent en Engleis,
Chevrefoil li nument en Franceis;
Dit vus en ai la vérité
Del' Lai que j'ai ici cunté.

There is reason to believe the Lai de Milun is not of Breton origin, as Marie deviates from her usual phraseology in announcing her authority.

De lur amur è de lur bien
Firent un Lai li Auncien;
E jeo qui l'ai mis en escrit
Al recunter mut me délit.

The hero was born in South Wales:

Milun fu de Suht-Wales nez:

a country also called Gales:

Jeo quid k'il est de Gales nez:
E si est Milun apelez.

Mention is likewise made of Northumberland; but the younger Milun's journey from England to Brittany is so circumstantially narrated, that every doubt as to the geographical position of the latter must be removed:

A Suht-hamptune vait passer,
Cum il ainz pot se mist en mer,
A Barbefluet (Barfleur. R.) est arrivez,
Dreit en Brutaine est alez.

With reference to the same journey it is afterward said:

En Normendie est passez,
Puis est desque Bretaine alez.

We also gather from the same lay the names by which the inhabitants of this and several adjoining countries were designated.

Al munt Seint-Michel s'asemblèrent,
Normein, è *Bretun* i alèrent;
E li Flamenc, è li Franceis,
Mès ni ot guère de *Engleis*.

In these specimens there is not the slightest evidence to prove, as asserted by Mr. Ritson, that by "Bretaine and Breton were intended the country and people of Great Brittain." On the contrary whenever Marie enters into detail, we constantly find that by "Bretaine" she understood Brittany, and by "Breton" either the inhabitants or language of that province. No specific mention is made of England as a country; but the people and their dialect are alike called Engleis; and the unequivocal appellation given to Wales precludes all possibility of supposing it was implied under the name of "Bretaine."

We now come to those Lays which Mr. Ritson has selected as containing the strongest confirmation of his opinion: "She must however [by Bretaine] mean Great Britain in the Lay of Lanval, where she mentions Kardoel, and that of Ywenec where she speaks of Carwent (i. e. Venta Silurum, now Chepstow), which she places upon the Duglas instead of the Wye." Unhappily for the accuracy of this conclusion, the name of Bretaine never occurs throughout the Lai de Lanval. Marie certainly cites the Bretons as her authority for the narrative:

Od li s'en vait en Avalon,
Ce nus *racuntent li Breton*—

and calls Lanval a Breton name:

L'aventure d'un autre Lai
Cum il avint vus cunterai;
Feit fu d'un mult riche vassal,
En Bretun l'apelent Lanval.

But we have already seen that these terms can have no reference to Great Britain. The Lai d'Ywenec certainly favours Mr. Ritson's opinion. It speaks of Caerwent (which, though the Roman Venta Silurum, is not Chepstow,) and places it in Bretaigne:

En Bretaigne aveit jadis
Uns riches Huns vielz et ancis;
De Caerwent fut avoez,
Et du païs Sire clamez:
La cité si est sor Duglas—

A similar combination occurs in the Lai de l'Epine:

Les estores en trai avant;
Ki encore sont à *Carlion*,
Ens le monstier Saint-Aaron,
Et en Bretaigne sont séues—

It would seem as if M. Roquefort had suspected that Marie in this passage was not alluding to Caerleon in Wales; for he observes in a note: "Il existoit en France une île Saint-Aaron. Elle a été renfermée dans la ville de Saint-Malo, au moyen d'une chaussée." That there either was a Caerleon in Armorica, or, what is far more probable, that Marie by her own powerful dictum transferred this town from the opposite side of the Channel, is evident from a passage in the Lai de Chaitivel. The events of this poem are stated to have transpired "en Bretaine a Nantes:" but in the course of the narrative, without the slightest indication of a change of scene, we find the following date produced as the period when some of the transactions occurred:

A la feste Saint-Aaron,
K'um célébroit a Carlion.

In this we have the clearest acknowledgement, that in the estimation of the writer, Nantz and Caerleon were towns of the same province; and the previous testimony, with one exception, has declared that province to have been Bretaine in France. If, however, we accept Marie's representation of herself, and consider her as the translator of these poems, even this exception loses its force. For what could be more natural to suppose on her part, than that the scene of those adventures which formed the theme of Armorican song should be laid in Armorica? or that even where her original made mention of Britain (Wales) as the theatre of the events it registered, she should through ignorance or design interpret the expression as referring to Brittany? How much more probable is it, that either of these causes may have operated in producing the seeming contradiction between the Lai d'Ywenec and every other poem in the collection, than that Marie should have stultified herself by confounding two countries under one common name, for both of which on other occasions she had a distinctive appellation!

Of the interpretation given to her language or that of her contemporaries in this country, we have the most satisfactory evidence in Chaucer:

Thise old gentil Bretons in hir dayes,
Of diverse aventures maden layes,
Rimeyed in hir firste Breton tonge;—
And on of hem have I in remembrance,—
In *Armorike*, that called is *Bretaigne*, &c.

This may be contrasted with the conclusion of the Lai d'Eliduc.

Del' Aventure de ces treis,
Li auncien Bretun curteis
Firent le Lai pur remembrer,
Que hum nel' deust pas oblier.

Even Mr. Ritson has admitted, that the author of Sir Orpheo may "perhaps allude to the Armorican Britons," when he says:

In Brytayn this layes arne ywrytt,
Furst y founde and forthe ygete,
Of aventures that fillen by dayes
Wherof Brytons made her layes.

This is but a similar declaration to the language of Marie already cited from the Lai d'Equitan. Of the popularity of "Orpheo's" story in Armorica, we have a sufficient testimony in the Lai d'Epine:

Le Lais escoutent d'Aielis,
Que uns Yrois doucement note
Mout le sonne ens sa rote.
Apriès celi d'autre commenche,
Nus d'iaus ni noise ne ni tenche;
Le Lai lor sone d'Orphéy—

There is one peculiarity in the language of Marie relative to this subject which remains to be noticed. In the Lai de Graelent she speaks of "Bretaigne le menur," an expression which occurs once again in the Lai d'Eliduc. But this refinement is not preserved throughout either of the poems: for in the first we have "En Bretaigne est venue al port;" and in the second, "En Bretaine ot un Chevalier,"—both with reference to the same country. Of a "Bretaine le grand" there is no trace in the whole collection: and if it be allowable to speculate upon a question so perfectly beyond the grasp of certainty, the utmost we can venture to infer will be, that though Marie may have found this distinctive nomenclature in her original text, she evidently neglected to observe it. We know from other sources, that in her time one of these countries was better known by its subdivision into the realms of Engleterre and Gales.

The second volume of M. Roquefort's edition of Marie's Poems contains her Fables. It is not intended to exhaust the reader's patience by entering into a discussion of the source from whence these fables were derived; but as MM. de la Rue and Roquefort have attempted to claim her English original as the production of Henry the First, the subject cannot be wholly passed over in silence. These gentlemen do not seem to have known that a copy of the fables preserved at Oxford unites with the Harleian MS. 78. in attributing the English version to king Alfred:

Le reiz *Alurez* que mut l'ama
Le translata puis en Engleis*.

This, supported as it is by the several disguises of the Pasquier and King's MSS. which read Auvert and Affrus, and the declaration of the Latin version (King's MS. 15. A. vii.), that the same fables "were rendered into English by the orders of king Alfred," is more than sufficient to outweigh the testimony of the Harleian MSS. 4333, which ascribes Marie's original to a king Henry. It also seems to have escaped the same diligent antiquaries, that the English language of Henry the First could not have differed materially from the Anglo-Saxon of Alfred; that any person, whether native or foreigner, who could master the one, would find no difficulty in comprehending the other; and consequently, that the argument raised on the imagined obscurities of the earlier copy is perfectly groundless. As to "the uncouth language of Robert of Gloucester," which is supposed to have cost Marie so much labour in acquiring, we must remember, that however horrific this dialect may appear to modern Frenchmen,—printed as it is with a chevaux-de-frise of Saxon consonants,—its rude orthography only slightly varied from the language of general conversation in the Chronicler's age. There could be no greater difficulty in learning to read or speak it, than is felt by a foreigner in modern English. In addition, there is reason to believe, that in Marie's time, some popular Anglo-Saxon subjects were rendered accessible to the modern reader, by the same process which fitted the early poetry of Italy for general circulation at the present day. We know, from certain testimony, that at a subsequent period the Brut of Layamon was made intelligible by a more recent version, and probability seems to favour the belief, that such was the case with the "Sayings of Alfred," formerly in the Cotton Library. If these "Sayings" were registered by one of Alfred's contemporaries, or in the Anglo-Saxon language, they were doubtlessly written in the same metre as the translation appended to the edition of his Boethius, and would only have received the dress in which they are exhibited by Wanley, about the time of Richard I., or John. Mr. Sharon Turner has produced this collection of apophthegms as the first specimen of English *prose;* but they are evidently written in the same mixed style of rhyme and alliterative metre which we find in Layamon. It is this circumstance which has suggested the possibility of their being recorded at an earlier date than the language in which they are written

* MSS. JAMES viii. p 23 Bibl. Bodl cited below, vol. ii. p. 253.

[Mr. Price was not aware in producing this *additional* authority, that the MS James only contains a recent copy by James himself of the Harleian MS, and consequently adds nothing to the argument In addition to the works referred to for information respecting Marie and the period when she lived, see De la Rue's "Essais sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères," tom iii. pp. 47—100, Robert, "Fables inédits des 12e, 13e, et 14e siècles," tom. i pp cliii—clix. 8vo Par. 1825, Meon's Preface to the "Roman du Renart" 8vo. Par. 1826; and Miss L. S Costello's Specimens of the Early Poetry of France, pp 43–49. 8vo. Lond 1835 —M]

seems to indicate: but of course neither this, nor the claim of Alfred to the English version of Æsop, is insisted upon as demonstrable. The only object of these remarks is to impugn the evidence which MM. de la Rue and Roquefort consider as conclusive in favour of Henry I.

In closing this excursive note it may not be amiss to observe, that the Harl. MS. calls Marie's collection of fables L'Ysopet or the little Æsop, of which a Dutch translation is said to have been made in the 13th century. (See Van Wyn, Historische Avondstonden, p. 263.) This title appears to have been given it by way of distinction from another collection of fables, probably made at an earlier period and derived from a purer source. The latter is mentioned in the prologue to Merlant's Spiegel Historiael.

In *Cyrus* tiden was *Esopus*
De Favelare, wi lessent dus,
Die de favele conde maken
Hoe beesten en vogle spraken.
Hierute es gemaect *Aviaen*
Eñ andere boeken, sonder waen,
Die man *Esopus* heet, bi namen.
Waren oec die si bequamen
Die hevet Calfstaf eũ Nodekyn
Ghedicht, en rime scone eñ fyn.

i e. We read that Esop, the fabler, who made fables how the birds and beasts converse, lived in the time of Cyrus. No doubt Aviaen (Avienus?) drew from it and other books which people call Esopus. Calfstaf and Noydekyn put into fair rhymes those which they took pleasure in.

NOTE C.

BY MR. PRICE.

ON THE SAXON ODE ON THE VICTORY OF ATHELSTAN.

See DISSERTATION I. page xxxii. Note [m].

THE text of this poem has been formed from a collation of the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. vi. B. i. B. iv. In the translation an attempt has been made to preserve the original idiom as nearly as possible without producing obscurity; and in every deviation from this rule, the literal meaning has been inserted within brackets *. The words in parentheses are supplied for the purpose of making the narrative more connected,

* [The words in Italics in the present edition are inserted in conformity with the corrections pointed out in the Notes which have been added and the references to Beowulf are adapted to the text of Mr. Kemble.—R. T.]

and have thus been separated from the context, that one of the leading features in the *style* of Anglo-Saxon poetry might be more apparent to the English reader. For the benefit of the Anglo-Saxon student, a close attention has been paid in rendering the grammatical inflections of the text, a practice almost wholly disused since the days of Hickes; but which cannot be too strongly recommended to every future translator from this language, whether of prose or verse. The extracts from Mr. Turner's and Mr. Ingram's versions cited in the notes, have been taken from the History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii., and the recent edition of the Saxon Chronicle, An. 938. But those variations alone have been noticed which differed in common from the present translation.

Æthelstán cyning,	Æthelstan (the) king,
eorla drihten,	lord of earls, [*men*]
beorna beáh-gyfa,	bracelet-giver of barons, [*chieftains*]
and his bróther eac,	and his brother eke,
Eadmund æthelingˡ,	Eadmund (the) prince,
ealdor langne tírˢ,	very illustrious chieftain, [*life-long glory*]

[1] The reader must be cautioned against receiving this literal interpretation of the text, in the same literal spirit The terms eorl and beorn—man and bairn—are used with great latitude of meaning in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and though generally applied to persons of eminent rank or exalted courage, we have no proof of their appropriation as hereditary titles of distinction at the early period when this ode was composed The word "Æthelıng" —strictly speaking The son of the æthel or noble—appears to have gained an import in England nearly corresponding to our modern prince In the Saxon Chronicle it is almost always, if not exclusively, confined to personages of the blood royal Perhaps there is neither of these terms whose modern representative differs so essentially from its original as "ealdor" At the present day no idea of rank is attached to the word "elder," and none of authority except among some religious sects, and a few incorporated societies In Anglo-Saxon poetry it rarely, if ever, occurs as marking seniority in point of age Even the infant Edward is called an "elder of earls"

> And feng his bearn
> syth-than to cyne-rice,
> cyld unweaxen,
> eorla ealdor,
> tham wæs Eadweard nama
>
> And his bairn took
> after that to the kingdom;
> child unwaxen,
> elder of earls,
> to whom was Edward name

['Beorn,' *masc.*, a warrior, chieftain, baron, &c pl beornas, while 'bearn,' *neut* (Scott bairn) a child, has its sing and pl alike 'Eorl' is frequently used for man in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and "is not a title as with us any more than beorn"—Kemble]

[2] Elder' a lasting glory, T Elder, of ancient race, I But "tir" is not used substantively in the present instance "Ealdor langne-tir," or "Langne-tir ealdor," exhibits the same inverted construction as "flota fami heals," ship foamy-necked, "æthelıng ær-god," noble exceeding-good, &c The present translation of "tir" is founded upon an etymology pointed out in the glossary to Sæmund's Edda, where it is declared to be synonymous with the Danish "zvi," and the German "zier" In the Low German dialects, the z of the upper circles (which is compounded of t, s, like the Greek ζ of d, s) is almost always represented by t, and splendour, brightness, glory, &c. are certainly among the most prevalent ideas attached to "tir" when used as a substantive If this interpretation be correct,—power, dominion, or victory, must be considered as only secondary meanings, and the compound adjectives "tir-meahtig" (exceeding mighty), "tir-fæst" (exceeding fast or firm), "tir-eadig" (exceeding blessed), evidently point to the first of these. There can be little doubt but the following passage of Beowulf (iv) preserves another compound of "tir" Ed Thorkelin, p 24 ed. Kemble, l. 583.

> Swylce ic magu-thegnas,
> mine hate,
> with feonda gehwone,
> flotan eowerne,
> niw tyr-wydne,

geslogon* æt secce,	combated in [at] battle, [*in battle won*]
sweorda ecgum,	with edges of swords,
ymbe Brunanburh.	near Brunanburh.
Bord-weal clufon,	(They) clove the board-wall,
heowon heatho-linda[3],	hewed the high lindens [*war-lindens*],

nacan on sande,
arum healdan

And I will also
order my fellow-thanes,
against every foe,
your vessel
deep (and) exceeding wide,
boat on the sand,
carefully to hold.

"Niwe" is here equivalent to "niwel," as in the expression "niwe be næsse," low by the nose or promontory. "Tyrwydne nacan" is clearly synonymous with "sid-fæthmed scip," the wide-bosomed ship, occurring shortly afterwards The learned editor's version, *pice obductam*, is founded on an expression still preserved in his native Icelandic), and of which Ihre has recorded the following example "Let han leggia eld i *tyrwid* oc gora bala scipino," Jussit ignem tædæ subjiciendum, pyramque in nave struendam. "Arum," which the Latin version renders "remis," is used adverbially, like hwilum, gyddum, &c. The vessel lay upon the beach, and was afterwards moored, there could therefore be no use for her oars. The present version of "arum" is founded on the following passage, where Waltheow says she has no doubt but Hrothulf will prove a kind protector to her children

Thæt he tha geogothe wile,
arum healdan.
That he the youths will
carefully protect (hold) l 2363

"Arum" (lit with cares, attentions,) is in the dative case plural See note 34

["The objections to Mr Turner's and Mr. Ingram's translations are not greater than those to Mr. Price's, but his note is more objectionable still *Tir*, says the note, is an adjective I know none such, nor even were there such an adjective, compounded with another adjective, could the first part of the compound have, when joined with the second, *an accusative case*. In this it differs from the compounds cited in the note, and from all others, for the first word in a compound never has either gender, number or case. The *same* objection does not apply to the new reading cited from Beowulf; yet, were it to be translated as Mr. Price thinks, not niw-tirwydne, *new-pitched*, but niw tir-wydne, *deep and exceedingly wide*, it would remain to be shown why one adjective was, as it ought to be, in the masc. acc. sing., while the first remained altogether without an inflection. of course nacan, *cymbam*, would require niwne as well as tyr-wydne The fact is that tir is a substantive, ealdorlangne the compound adjective [so "ond langne," p lxxiii —R. T] agreeing with it, and the whole passage must be translated thus, 'a *life-long glory*—they won by striking, at the battle' Ealdor, *vita*, is quite as common in A -S poetry as ealdor, *princeps*"—K]

* [geslogon, &c Thus Cædm p 129. l 26.

ác þu most heonon huðe lædan
þe ic þe æt hilde gesloh.
but thou hence may'st lead the spoil,
which I for thee have won in battle

See also Grundtvig's Pref to transl of Beow. p xxvi]

[3] They hewed the noble banners, T. And hewed their banners, I. In this interpretation of "lind" all our vocabularies agree The translation of the text has been founded upon the following authorities When Beowulf resolves to encounter the "fire-drake" who had laid waste his territory, he orders a "wig-bord," war-board (as it is called), of iron to be made, for we are told that,

Wisse he gearwe,
thæt him holt-wudu,
helpan ne meahte,
lind with lige
He knew readily,
that him forest-wood
might not help,
linden against fire l 4673

And when Wiglaf prepares to join his lord in the combat, it is said of him

Hond-rond gefeng,
Geolwe linde,
Hand-round he seized
the yellow linden l 5215

[Rask objects to this translation, Angl Sax Gr. Pref lviii., as erroneously implying a connexion between the adjective *round* and the Iceland. rond, clypeus, and suggests *manuale scutum* as the more proper version.—M.]

In the fragment of Judith, (Thorpe, Anal. p. 137) "lind" and "bord" are used in the same connexion as in the present text.

hamora lafum[4],
eáforan Eadweardes.
Swa him geæthele[5] wæs

with relics of hammers (i. e. swords),
(the) children [*offspring*] of Edward.
Such [so] was to them (their native) no-
[*As was their nature*] [bility,

Stopon heatho-rincas,
beornas to beadowe,
bordum betheahte,
hwealfum lindum.
(The) [loftv] warriors stepped,
bairns [*barons*] to (the) battle,
bedeckt (with) boards,
(with) concave lindens

The following extract from the fragment of Brithnoth shows both terms to have been synonymous

Leofsunu gemælde,
and his lind ahof,
bord to gebeorge. Thorpe, An p 128
Leofsunu spoke,
and hove up his linden,
[his] board for protection

It may, however, be contended, that though "lind" in all these passages evidently means a shield, yet "heatholind," whose qualifying adjective seems rather an inappropriate epithet for a buckler, may have a different import The following examples of a similar combination will remove even this objection

Ne hyrde ic cymlicor
ceol gegyrwan,
hilde-wæpnum,
and heatho-wædum,
billum and byrnum. Beow l 75
Nor heard I of a comelier
keel (ship) prepared,
(with) war weapons,
and high-weeds, (garments) [*battle-*
with bills and burnies *weeds*]
Nemne him heatho-byrne
helpe gefremede
Unless him (his) high-burnie [*war*
with help had assisted. *mail*]

Mr. Grimm found this expression in the Low-Saxon fragment of Hildebrand and Hathubrand, where, misled by the common interpretation of "lind-wiggende," vexilliferi—he has expended much ingenuity and learning in making a very simple narrative unnecessarily obscure.

hewun harmlicco
hurtte scilti,
unti im iro lintun
luttilo wurtun.
(they) hewed harm-like
(their) white shields,
until to them their lindens
became little

Mr Grimm translates "lintun," gebende —bands or girdles.

["Heaðo does not signify *altus*, the incongruity of which epithet when applied to a shield has not escaped Mr Price. It denotes *bellum*, and is merely a prefix. See the *Gloss Beow* vol 1"—K.]

[4] The survivors of the family, T. With the wrecks of their hammers, I The only authority for the former interpretation is a meaning assigned to "hamora" in Lye's vocabulary It will be sufficient to remark, that if there were any thing like probability to justify such a translation, we ought at least to read "*With* the survivors of the family," as "lafum" stands in the ablative case plural A similar expression occurs once in Beowulf, where we know from the context that neither of the versions cited above would suit the sense The sword of Wiglaf has recently severed the dragon's body in two with reference to which it is said,

Ac him irenna,
ecga fornamon,
hearde heatho-scearde,
homera lafe,
thæt se wid-floga,
wundum stille,
hreas on hrusan,
hord-ærne neah
But him iron
edges seized,
the hard high-sherd [*war-sherds*],
(the) relic of hammers,
that the wide-flier,
still (quiet) with wounds,
fell on the earth,
hoard-hall near. l. 5651

In this poem "gomel-laf, eald-laf, yrfelaf," are common expressions for a sword, and there can be little doubt but the language of the text is a metaphorical description of such a weapon. A similar phrase in Icelandic poetry would occasion no difficulty [See Kemble's Gloss Beow vol. i. p. 251 v. laf.]

[5] As to them it was natural from their ancestors, T. So were they taught by kindred zeal, I Ge-æthele is an ἅπαξ λεγομενον. The version of the text is founded on the following declaration of Ælfwine a follower of Brithnoth

Ic wylle mine æthelo
eallum gecythan,

from cneo-mægum	from (their) ancestors,
thæt híe æt campe oft[6],	that they in [at] battle oft,
with lathra gehwæne,	against every foe [loathed one],
land ealgodon,	(the) land preserved [*defended*],
hord and hámas,	hoard and homes,
hettend crungon[7].	(the) enemy crushed. [cringed, *actively*.]

thæt ic wæs on Myicon
miccles cynnes.

I will my nobility
manifest to all,
that I among Mercians was
of a mickle kin. Thorpe, An p 127.

Mr Ingram's translation of cneo-mægum —kindred zeal, is perfectly indefensible.

[Rask, in the Preface to his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, p. lviii, remarks on Price's translation of this word "geæðele haud invenit [scil. in Bjornonis Haldorsonii Lexico], itaque per aþelo, i. e æþelo *nobilitas* exposuit, quum tamen æþelo gen. fem sit, et a geæðele neut gen diversum, scribitur enim hoc (ge, more Isl abjecto) Islandis eðli, et a Bjornone æque recte *natura, indoles, genius* vertitur"—M]

[6] That they in the field often, T. That they at camp often, I. Yet "campstede" is translated battle-place by Mr Turner, and field of battle by Mr. Ingram "Æt campe" would have been equally descriptive of a sea-fight It has no connexion with our modern camp, Fr campus, Lat.

[7] Pursuing they destroyed the Scottish people, T Pursuing fell the Scottish clans, I. In these translations "hettend crungon" is separated from its context, and though it is a common practice of Anglo-Saxon poetry to unite by the alliteration, lines wholly unconnected by the sense, yet in the present instance both are terminated by the same period It may be questioned whether "hettan," *persequi*, has any existence beyond the pages of Lye, where it is inserted as the root of "hettend" There is reason to believe, that it was obsolete at a very early period, and that its participle present alone was retained in a substantive signification to denote an enemy or pursuing one. When the verb was required, it would seem to have been used without the aspirate:

Ehtende wæs
deorc death scua,
duguthe and geogothe.

Pursuing was
(the) dark death shadow,
old (ad lit. *valentes*) and young.
Beowulf, l. 317.

At all events, the examples recorded by Lye only exhibit the substantive hettend, to which the following may be added

Gif ic thæt gefricge,
ofer floda-begang,
thæt thec ymbsittende
egesan thywath,
swa thec hetende
hwilum dydon

If I that hear,
over the floods-gang,
that thee the round-sitting ones
oppress with terror,
so (as) thee enemies
(ere) while did. Beow l. 3648

Syth-than hie gefricgeath
frean userne
ealdor-leasne,
thone the ær geheold,
with hettendum,
hord and rice

After that they hear
our sovereign (to be)
life-less,
he who ere held,
against (our) foes,
hoard and kingdom. Ib. l. 5999.

Mr. Ingram's translation is obviously incorrect The whole context proves the Scots to have been the yielding party, and consequently they were the pursued, not those pursuing, and if, with Mr. Turner, we apply "pursuing" to the victors, Athelstan and Edward, the participle (as it then would be) ought to stand in the nominative case plural—hettende—and not in the accusative singular

["There is a dangerous mixture of ehtian, *persequi*, and hatian, *odisse*, in this note, I should be inclined to think that éhtian comes from óht, *terror* Hettan, according to the custom of the A S. which in certain cases doubles a consonant instead of writing it before *i* or *j*, corresponds to the Gothic hatjan, *odisse*. There is, however, another verb in Gothic, viz hatan, and this the Anglo-Saxon seems to have followed in its verb, while it recorded the existence of the other by forming from it such a participial noun as hettend, *inimicus*, which, like feond, *hostis*, freónd, *amicus*, is really the par-

Scotta leode,	(The) Scottish people,
and scip-flotan,	and the mariners,
fæge feollon[8].	fated fell.
Feld dennade*,	The field———, [*flow'd*]
secga swate[9],	with warriors' blood,

ticiple of a verb used as a noun. There should be a full stop after hámas Hettend is the nom. to crungon *the foes bowed, cringed* So in Beowulf, l 2419, 'he under rande gecranc,' *he cringed under shield*, i e died "—K]

[8] They fell dead, T In numbers fell, I. This expression occurs again below, "fæge to feohte," where Mr. Ingram expounds it, the *hardy* fight. It seems almost superfluous to add, that one of these interpretations must be erroneous, and it will be shown immediately that neither is correct Mr Turner with more consistency translates the second example "for deadly fight," making "fæge" an adjective agreeing with "feohte," and consequently like its substantive governed by the preposition "to" But independently of the impossibility to produce an example, where any Anglo-Saxon preposition exhibits this twofold power,—a retroactive and prospective regimen,—the dative singular and plural of "fæge" would be either "fægum" or "fægan," accordingly as it was used with the definite or indefinite article. In the languages of the North, "fæge," however written, means *fated to die*, or, to use the interpretation of the Glossary to Sæmund's Edda, *morti jam destinatus, brevi moriturus.* [The Scotch *Fey.*] This is the only version equally suited to both examples in the present text, and it might be supported by numerous instances from Cædmon and Beowulf A confirmation of its general import may also be drawn from the use of "unfægne" in the latter poem.

Wyrd oft nereth
unfægne eorl,
thonne his ellen deah.

Fate oft preserveth
a man not fated to die,
when his courage is good for aught
Beowulf, l 1139

[The word occurs in similar passages of Layamon. fæie ther feollen, l. 1742.

feollen the fæie
falewede nebbes. l. 4162.

See, further, the Additional Note in p. lxxxi.—R T]

* The Cotton MS. Tiberius B. iv reads "dennode;" Tiberius A. vi. and B. i. read "dennade," which is supported by the Cambridge MS. For this unusual expression no satisfactory meaning has been found, and it is left to the ingenuity and better fortune of some future translator. Mr Turner and Mr. Ingram, who render this line—the field resounded, mid the din of the field—have followed a reading recorded by Gibson, "dynede,"—and which, notwithstanding the collective authority of four excellent manuscripts in favour of the present text, is possibly correct In this case, however, "dynede" must not be interpreted in a literal sense, but considered as synonymous with the Icelandic "dundi," from "dynia," resonare, *intonare* "Blodid dundi [dynede] og tarin tidt," Creberrima erat stillatio tum sanguinis, tum lacrymarum "Hrídin dynr yfir,"—procella cum strepitu irruit. —[Rask confirms Mr Price's conjecture, and refers to Biorn Haldorsen's Lexic. Island. v *Dyn*—Hen Huntind reads "colles resonuerunt" Layamon has "eorthe dunede," l. 21230.—R T]

[9] The warriors swate, T. The warrior swate, I To justify these translations we ought to read either, "secgas switon" or "secg swat" The latter, which offers least violence to the text, is clearly impossible, since no line of Anglo-Saxon poetry can have less than four syllables. There is however no necessity for changing a single letter of the text, as "swate" is the dat. case sing. of "swát," *blood*, and "secga" the gen. plural of "secg" It may be safely asserted that "swát" in Anglo-Saxon poetry never means "sweat" in its modern acceptation

Thá thæt sweord ongan,
æfter heatho-swate,
hilde gicelum,
wig-bil wanian.

Then that sword began,
after the mighty blood [*war-blood*],
with battle-droppings,
war-bill (to) wane. Beowulf, l 3210.

Swa thæt blod gesprang,
hatost heatho-swáta

So that blood sprang,
hottest mighty gore[*battle-gore*] l.3333.

Wulf Wonreding
wæpne geræhte,
thæt him for swenge,
swát æedrum sprong.

Wolf the son of Wonred
reached (him) with weapon,
that to him for the swinge (blow)
blood from the veins sprang l 5925

sith-than sunne úp,	since the sun up,
on morgen-tíd,	on morrow-tide,
mære tuncgol,	mighty planet,
glád ofer grundas[10],	glided over grounds, [*the deeps*]
Godes candel beorht,	bright candle of God,
éces Drihtnes,	of the eternal Lord;
oth-thæt sio æthele gesceaft,	till the noble creature
sáh tó setle[11].	sank to (her) seat [settle].
Thær læg secg monig,	There lay many a warrior,
gárum ageted,	strewed by darts,
guman northerne,	northern man*, [*men*]
ofer scyld scoten.	shot over (the) shield.
Swylc Scyttisc eac,	So Scottish eke,
werig wiges sæd[12].	weary of war —. [*weary, sated with war.*]
West-Seaxe forth,	The West-Saxons forth,
ondlangne dæg,	the continuous day,

The German "schweiss" (sweat) still means the *blood* of a wild boar

[The above assertion concerning the meaning of *swát* in Anglo-Saxon poetry must be taken with some limitation, for in the three instances of its use referred to in the Index to Cædmon, the first is, p 31 l. 8

sceolde on wite á
mid swáte and mid sorgum,
sídðan líbban,

where it can have no other meaning but *sweat*, and is so rendered by Thorpe.—M]

[10] Glad, T and I But "glád" is the past tense of glidan, to glide, and formed like rád from ridan, bád from bidan, &c in all of which the accentuated a was pronounced like o in rode. It is the glode of "Le Bone Florence of Rome."

Thorow the foreste the lady rode,
All glemed there sche glode,
Till sche came in a felde v 1710

In Sir Launfal, Mr Ritson leaves it unexplained.

Another cours together they ród,
That syr Launfal helm of-glód. v. 574

Unless we admit this interpretation of "glád," the first part of the proposition will be a mere string of predicates without a verb. The antithesis to "glád ofer grundas" is "sah to setle."

[In Beowulf, l. 4140. Mr. Kemble renders "sythðan heofones gim glad ofer grundas," "after the gem of heaven glided over the *deeps*."—R. T.]

[11] Hastened to her setting, T. Sat in the western main, I. Sah is the past tense of sigan, to incline, sink down, and follows the same norm as stah, from stigan; hnah, from hnigan, &c

* ["man" is wrong. The line is an apposition to "secg monig," and is in the nom pl —Thorpe]

[12] Weary with ruddy battle, T The mighty seed of Mars, I In the first of these versions the reading of the Cotton MSS Tiberius B iv has been followed. "werig wiges ræd" This manuscript, however, exhibits great marks of negligence on the part of the transcriber, and, it correct in its orthography on the present occasion, is equally obscure with the language of the other copies "Ræd" cannot be the adjective red, as this would give us a false concord —[Mr Bosworth gives "sæd" in his text, and 'ruddy' in his version. Mr Henshall, in that which he seems to have led Mr. Ellis to believe a literal version, and *therefore* obscure! (Specimens, vol. i. p 15) renders the passage "red with worrying war"!] If "sæd" be the genuine reading, it would be difficult to point out a better authenticated version than Mr Ingram's, provided the word is to be taken substantively. But even this has been rejected, from a feeling that the context requires a verb, and a doubt whether such a metaphor be in unison with the general spirit of Anglo-Saxon poetry [Mr Price adds, in a note in p. (119), edit 1824, of his preface, "If for 'werig wiges sæd' we read 'werig *and* wiges sæd,' *weary and sad of* (on account of, the) *war*, the present difficulty vanishes, and the expression may be justified by the 'hilde sædne' of Beowulf, ed. Thorkelin, p. 202," where it is erroneously printed "fædne." Mr. Kemble's rendering is, however, without doubt the right one, "*satiated* with battle"; see his edition, 1837, and Glossary. So also M. Goth. "sad, sothjan," *satur, saturare*; Isl. "saddr," Germ. "satt," Fris. "saath." —R.T.]

eorod-cystum [13],	in battalions,
on last lægdon	laid on the foot-steps
lathum theodum.	to the loathed race.
Heowon here-flyman,	(They) hewed (the) fugitives
hindan thearle [14],	hindwards exceedingly [*from behind amain,*]
mecum mylen-scearpum [15].	with swords mill-sharp.
Myrce ne wyrndon	The Mercians refused not
heardes hand-plegan,	the hard hand-play,
hæletha nanum,	to none of the men [*to any heroes*],
thára the mid Anlafe,	of those who with Anlaf,
ofer ear-geblond,	over the ocean,
on lides bosme,	in [on] the ship's bosom,
land gesohton,	sought (our) land,
fæge to feohte.	fated to the fight.
Fife lægon,	Five lay,
on thám campstede,	on the battle-stead,
cyningas geonge,	young kings,
sweordum aswefede.	soothed [slumbered, *act.*] with swords.
	[*by swords in slumber laid.*]
Swylc seofen éac,	So seven eke,
eorlas Anlafes,	earls of Anlaf's,
unrím heriges [16],	numberless of the army,

[13] With a chosen band, T With chosen troops, I The Anglo Saxon "cysta," though clearly derived from "ceosan" to choose, appears to have obtained a specific meaning somewhat similar to our regiment or battalion.

Hæfde cista gehwilc,
cuthes werodes,
gar-berendra,
guth-fremmendra,
tyn hund geteled.
Had each cista,
of approved troops,
of spear-bearing,
of war enacting (ones)
ten hundred taled (numbered).
Cædm. 67 25.—Ed Thorpe, 192

["cista" is the gen pl. and cannot have the same form in the *nom*, the genitive of cista would be cistena The nom is *cist*, gen *cista*.—THORPE.]

[14] The behind ones fiercely, T Scattered the rear, I. But "hindan" possesses the same adverbial power as "eastan" occurring below [This power, however, is derived from its termination "*an*," which, like the Greek θεν, denotes motion *from* a place. See Rask, 339.—R T.]

[15] This reading has been retained on the authority of the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A. vi. B i. The reasons for such an epithet are not so clear, however obvious this would be if applied to modern times But with our present limited knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language, and of the arts, customs and modes of thinking of our ancestors, it would be highly absurd to reject an expression, merely because its propriety is not felt. The more intelligible reading "mycel scearpum" wears all the appearance of a gloss [Mill-sharp, from the grindstone with which the weapons were made keen so "scur-heard," hardened by scouring, "*feol scearp*," sharpened with the file, file-sharp.—KEMBLE]

[16] And innumerable of the army of the fleet—and the Scots. There was chased away, the lord of the Northmen, by necessity driven to the voice of the ship. With a small host, with the crew of his ship, the king of the fleet departed on the yellow flood. T And of the ship's crew unnumbered crowds. There was dispersed the little band of hardy Scots, the dread of the Northern hordes urged to the noisy deep by unrelenting fate. The king of the fleet with his slender craft escaped with his life on the felon flood I. The present translation differs occasionally from both these versions Where it agrees with either, no vindication will be necessary, but some of its variations are too important not to require an account

flotan and Sceotta.
Thær geflymed wearth
Northmanna bregu,
nyde gebæded,
to lides stefne,

of sailors and Scots.
There was chased away
the leader of the Northmen, (i. e. Anlaf.)
compelled by need,
to the ship's prow,

of the authorities from whence they are derived —The Anglo-Saxon "flota" (the floater) equally meant a ship and a sailor.

Flota wæs on ythum,
bát under beorge.
Ship was on the waters,
boat under rock Beowulf, l. 419

Of its secondary meaning, a sailor,—an example has already occurred in the compound, "scip-flota," and the fragment of Brithnoth has preserved the simple substantive, as in the present text

Se flod ut-gewat,
thá flotan stodon gearowe,
wicinga fela,
wiges georne.
The flood departed out,
the sailors stood prepared,
of the vikings many,
desirous of battle
Thorpe, Anal p 123

"Stefn" like "flota" had also a twofold meaning Lye has only recorded one of these—the human voice,—and upon this both the interpretations cited above are evidently founded. But it likewise implied the prow of a ship, and this is the only sense which will give connexion or intelligence to the present narrative A similar example occurs in Beowulf.

Flota wæs on ythum,
bát under beorge,
beornas gearwe
on stefn stigon.
Ship was on the waters,
boat under rock,
(the) bairns [*barons*] readily
ascended the prow. l. 419.

[So "from *stem* to stern" and Milton "*stemming* nightly tow'rd the pole."—R. T] In German, "steven" still means the stem of a ship, and in Danish this part of a vessel is called the For-stævn, by way of distinction from the Bag-stævn, or stern. It will also be found in the second part of the Edda:

Brim-runar scaltu rista,
ef thu vilt borgit hafa,
a sundi segl-maurom;
a stafni thær scal rista, [*stem*]
oc a stamar-blatha, [*stern*]
oc leggia eld i ár.
Sea-runes shalt thou carve,
if thou wilt have protected,
sail-horses (ships) in the sea;
in the prow shalt (thou) carve
and in the stern-blade, (rudder)
and lay fire in the oar.

But "stefn" must not be confounded with "stefna," a ship, frequently occurring in Beowulf, and which the Latin translation always (I believe) renders "prora."

Gewát thæ ofer wæg-holm,
winde gefysed,
flota fami-heals,
fugle gelicost.
Oth-thæt ymb án tid,
otheres dogores,
wunden stefna,
gewaden hæfde,
thæt tha lithende
land gesáwon.
Departed then over (the) billowy [main,
hastened by the wind,
the foamy-necked ship,
likest to a fowl.
Till that about six o'clock
of the other (next) day,
the curved bark
had (so) waded,
that the voyagers
saw land l. 432.

For an illustration of "cread" the reader is referred to vol ii p. 71, where this line is translated. And in further support of the version there given, the following extract from the fragment of Brithnoth may be quoted (Thorpe, Anal p 122)

We willath mid tham sceattum,
us to scype gangan,
on-flot feran,
and eow frithes healdan
We will with the scot (treasures)
us to ship gang,
afloat proceed,
and hold peace with you

["It should be remarked that the distinction between stefn, *prora*, and stefn, *vox*, depends upon their genders, the former being masc, the latter fem When *a* is appended to a substantive of this nature, it converts it into a kind of epicene masc, denoting that the person represented is distinguished by the possession of, or partaking in, that which the original substantive signified. thus neb, *a beak*, has hyrned-nebba, *the horned beaked one*, i. e. *the raven*. Here, also, wunden-stefna means *the curved prowed one*, i. e. *the ship*."—K.]

litle werede.	with a little band.
Cread cnear* on-flot,	(The) ship drove [crowded] afloat,
cyning ut-gewat,	(the) king departed out,
on fealone flod,	on the fallow flood,
feorh generede.	preserved (his) life.
Swylc thær éac se froda[17],	So there also the sapient [*venerable*] one
mid fleame cóm,	by flight came
on his cyththe north,	on [*to*] his country north,
Constantinus,	Constantine,
har hylderinc[18].	hoary warrior.
Hreman ne thórfte	He needed not to boast
meca gemanan†.	of the commerce of swords. *men*]
Her wæs his maga sceard[19],	Here was his kindred troop [*band of kins-*

* [Ohg. chnar O. N knorr, navis mercatoria, navigium —Th]

17 The routed one, T the valiant chief, I. By which of these epithets are we to translate the title bestowed upon Sæmund, for his extraordinary learning? —Sæmundr hinn *fróði*. The age of Constantine procured for him this distinction, which in Beowulf is so frequently applied to the veteran Hrothgar.—[Mr Kemble's Glossary to Beowulf has "fród, ætate provectus, prudens"]

18 The hoarse din of Hilda, T. The hoary Hildrinc, I It is quite an assumption of modern writers, that this goddess of war was acknowledged by the Anglo-Saxons, and no ingenuity can reconcile Mr Turner's translation with the Anglo-Saxon text. Mr Ingram most unnecessarily makes "hylderinc" a proper name, which, if correct on the present occasion, would be equally so in the following passage, where Beowulf plunges into the "mere" to seek the residence of Grendel's mother

> Brim-wylm onfeng
> hilderince
> Sea-wave received
> (the) warrior l. 2988.

or in the preamble to Brithnoth's dying address

> Tha gyt that word gecwæth
> hár hilderinc.
> Then yet the word quoth
> (the) hoary warrior.
> Thorpe, Anal. p 126.

With these examples before us, there can be little doubt but that we ought to insert "rinc" in the following extract relating to the funeral obsequies of Beowulf

> That wæs wunden gold,
> on wæn hladen,
> æghwæs unrím,
> æthelinge boren,
> hái hilde [rinc] [deor, K]
> to Hroncs-næsse.
> Then was the twisted gold
> on wain laden,
> numberless of each
> with the atheling borne,
> hoary warrior,
> to Hron's-ness. l 6262.

† Mr. Ingram, who reads "mæcan gemanan," translates it "among his kindred" But "mæca," if it exist at all as a nominative case, can never mean "a relative."

19 He was the fragment of his relations, of his friends felled in the folk-place, T. Here was his remnant of relations and friends slain with the sword in the crowded fight, I. It is difficult to conceive upon what principle the soldiers of Constantine, who fell in the battle, could be called either the fragment or remnant of his followers A similar expression—here-laf—is afterwards applied with evident propriety to the survivors of the conflict. The present translation has been hazarded, from a belief that "sceard" is synonymous with "sceare" (the German schaar, a band or troop), and "maga-sceard," like "mago-driht," descriptive of the personal or household troops of Constantine

> Tha wæs Hiothgare,
> here-sped gyfen,
> wiges weorth-mynd,
> thæt him his wine-magas,
> georne hyrdon—
> oth thæt seo geogoth geweox
> -mago-driht micel.
>
> Then was to Hrothgar
> army-success given,
> honour of war,
> that him his friendly-relatives
> willingly heard (obeyed)—
> till the youth waxed (in years)—
> mickle kindred band. l. 128.

freonda* gefylled,	of friends destroyed (felled), [*deprived of*
on folc-stede,	on the folk-stead, *friends*]
beslægen æt secce;	slain [*bereft*†] in [at] battle;
and his sunu (he) forlet	and his son he left
on wæl-stowe,	on the slaughter-place,
wundum-forgrunden,	mangled with wounds,
geongne æt guthe.	young in [at] the fight.
Gylpan ne thórfte,	He needed not to boast,
beorn blanden-feax[20],	bairn [*warrior*] blended-haired,
bill-geslehtes,	of the bill-clashing,
eald inwitta[21];	old deceiver,
ne Anláf thy má,	nor Anlaf any more,
mid heora here-lafum,	with the relics of their armies,
hlihan ne thorfton,	needed not to laugh,
thæt hí beadu-weorca[22]	that they of warlike works
beteran wurdon,	better (men) were,
on camp-stede,	on the battle-stead,
cumbol-gehnastes,	at [of] the conflict of banners,
gár mittinge[23],	the meeting of spears,
gumena gemotes,	the assembly of men,
wæpen-gewrixles,	the interchange of weapons,

* [That is, deprived through their being felled (befylled)—TH]

† [Bereft through their being slain (beslægen) such in these two instances and elsewhere being the force of the privative *be* —TH]

[20] The lad with flaxen hair, T The fair-haired youth, I Mr Turner appears to refer these expressions to Constantine's son, Mr Ingram certainly does There would be little propriety in declaring a dead man's inability to boast, or the unfitness of such a proceeding even if there were any thing to colour such an interpretation. But blonden-feax is a phrase which in Anglo-Saxon poetry is only applied to those advanced in life, and is used to denote that *mixture* of colour which the hair assumes on approaching or increasing senility. The German "blond," at the present day, marks a colour neither white nor brown, but mingled with tints of each. [In Cædmon, "blonden feax" is applied to Sarah and to Lot. See Mr. Thorpe's edit. and the note, p 141. —R. T.]

[21] The old in wit, T. Nor old Inwood, I The orthography of the present text is supported by the Cotton MSS. Tiberius A vi & B. i. Mr. Ingram reads "inwidda," of which he has made "Inwood," though the learned translator has omitted to inform us who this venerable personage might be. It is rather singular that he should appear again, with no slight ubiquity of person, in the fragment of Judith.

Swa se inwidda,
ofer ealne dæg,
dryht-guman sine
drencte mid wine

So the deceiver,
over the whole day,
his followers
drenched with wine.
Thorpe, Anal. p 132.

[Mr Henshall has made of it "old in wisdom," and of "Beorn blanden feax, bill geslihtes," "His barons bold in fight, slaughtered by the bill," "With Ead wardes eaforan plegodon," "Guarded by an oath *aforen* pledged" His version, indeed, abounds throughout with the most preposterous blunders and absurdities, yet it seems to have been accepted with thankfulness by Mr G Ellis, and was inserted in his Specimens with unsuspecting faith, as being "as literal as possible."—R T.]

[22] That they for works of battle were, T. That they on the field of *stern command* better workmen were, I But "beado-weorca" is the genitive case plural of "beadu-weorc," and to justify these translations ought to have been "beadu-weorcum" (T) or "beadu-wyrhtan" (I).

[23] Mr. Ingram reads "mittingés," which can only owe its existence to the negligence of a transcriber. The genitive case of "mitting" is "mittinge."

thæs the híe on wæl-felda	of that which* they on the slaughter-field
with Eadweardes	with Edward's
eáforan plegodon.	children played.
Gewiton hym tha Northmen,	The Northmen departed,
nægledon cnearrum,	(in their) nailed ships,
dreorig daretha láf[24],	gory relic of the darts,
on dinges[25] mere[26],	on, — — —
ofer deop wæter,	over deep water,
Dyflin secan,	Dublin to seek,
eft Yralanđ[27],	Ireland again,
æwisc-mode.	with a shamed mind.
Swylce† thá gebrother,	So too the brothers,
begen æt samne,	both together,
cyning and æthelíng,	king and prince,
cyththe sohton,	sought (their) country,
West Seaxna land,	land of the West Saxons,
wiges hremige[28].	of [*in*] (the) war exulting.
Læton him behindan,	(They) left behind them,

* [*For that they, &c*] [*From the time that &c*—Th]

[24] Dreary relics of the darts, T Dreary remnant, I This expression seems rather to refer to the *wounded* condition of the fugitives The present version may be justified by the following extracts from Beowulf

Thonne wæs theos medo-heal,
driht-sele dreor-fah,
thonne dæg lixte,
eal benc-thelu,
blode bestymed

Then was this mead-hall,
troop-hall gore stained,
when day lighted (dawned),
all (the) table,
sprinkled with blood. l 962

Thonne blode-fah,
husa selest,
heoro-dreorig stod.

Then stained with blood,
the best of houses,
stood sword-gory. l 1862.

Wæter under wolcnum,
wæl-dreore fah.

Water under clouds,
stained with slaughter-gore l 3261.

[25] This reading has been retained in preference to the "dinnes" of Gibson, on the authority of Tiberius B i. The other Cotton MSS. read "dynges" A. vi. "dynges" B. iv.

[26] On the stormy sea, T On the roaring sea, I. There is every probability that these translations give the sense of this passage, though some doubts may be entertained as to the integrity of the present text If "dynges-mere" be the genuine reading, it must be considered as a parallel phrase with "wiges-heard, hordes-heard," &c where two substantives are united in one word, the former of which stands in the genitive case with an *adjective* power Of this practice the examples are too numerous and too notorious to require further illustration. "Dinges-mere" would then be a "kenningar nafn" given to the ocean from the continual clashing of its waves For it will be remembered that the literal import of "mere" is a mere or *lake*, [qu] and this could not be applied to the Irish channel without some qualifying expression. It is clearly impossible that "dinges," if correct, can stand alone, as "on" never governs a genitive case On "thone mere," on "thæne mere" See Lye in voce

[27] Mr Ingram retains "heora land" in the text, and translates the variation —Yraland All the Cotton MSS unite in reading "eft", and we learn from other sources that this statement is historically correct.

† [Postea frater uterque rediit Westsexe, belli reliquias post se deserentes, carnes virorum in escam paratas Ergo corvus niger, ore cornutus, et buffo livens, aquila cum milvo, canis lupusque mixtus colore, his sunt deliciis diu recreati. Hen. Huntind lib. v.]

[28] The screamers of war, T. In fight triumphant, I. It has already been said of the fugitive Constantine that *he* had no cause to exult—hreman ne thórfte; this is left to the victors. This expression

hrá brittian,	(the) corse to enjoy,
salowig padan*[29],	(the) sallowy ———, [*sallow of coat*]
thone sweartan hræfn,	(the) swarth raven,
hyrned-nebban;	the horned nibbed one; [*with horned nib*]
and thone hasean padan†[30],	and the dusky ———, [*coated?*] [*toad*]

occurs repeatedly in Beowulf, where it is always applied to the successful party

Thanon eft gewát,
huthe hremig,
to ham faran,
mid thære wæl-fylle,
wica neosan.

Thence (Grendel) again departed,
with prey exulting,
to home (to) go,
with the slaughtered-slain,
to approach (his) dwelling l 246.

Guth-linc gold-wlanc,
græs-moldan træd,
since hremig.

Warrior (Beowulf) bright in gold,
grass-mould trode,
with wealth exulting l 3758.

Nu her thára banena,
byre nat hwylces,
frætwum hremig,
on flet gæth,
morthres gylpeth,
and thone mæththum[1] byreth,
thone the thu mid rihte
rædan sceoldest.

Now of those banes (murderers),
(the) son (I) know not of which,
with ornaments exulting,
in (the) hall goeth;
boasteth of the murder,
and the jewel (i e a sword) beareth,
that thou by right
shouldest command (or wield)
l 4101

[29] The dismal kite, T. The sallow kite, I. Whatever idea may have been attached to "padan", it is manifestly not a species but a genus It occurs again immediately as characteristic of the eagle. There is, however, reason to believe that these lines have been transposed, and that we ought to read

Thone sweartan hræfn,
salowig pádan

Cædmon unites with the present text in calling the raven both "swarth and sallow."

Let tha ymb worn daga
sweartne fleogan,
hræfn ofer heah flod.
Noe tealde,
thæt he on neode hine
secan wolde,
ac se feond,
salwig fethera,
secan nolde Ed. Thorpe, p. 86 l 30

Then after some days (he) let
swarth fly,
raven over high flood.
Noah reckoned (told)
that he from need him
seek would,
but the fiend,
sallowy of feathers,
would not seek (him). 33. 5.

It will be remembered that the Anglo-Saxon "blac" was equivalent to our black and yellow [Ger bleich, pale, hence Angl. to bleach]

[In Beowulf, l. 3599 we have "thæt hræfn blaca," which Mr. Kemble renders "the pale raven." In the Glossary to Beowulf, vol 1 p 250, he refers "pada" to the Gothic Páida, tunica, and points out the following epithets as formed with it "salo-pád," and "salwig-pad," in the Exeter Book, fol. 87 b, and "salwig-pada" Judith, p 24, as also in the text above *qui vestem fulvum gerit*.—which then would be dun-coated, tawny-vested. See also the Glossary to Thorpe's Analecta —R. T]

* [salowig padan (sallow of coat) is certainly an epithet of the sweartan hræfn in the next line There is no occasion, in such a composition, to suppose, with Mr. Price, any transposition. See n 29 —Th]

† [pada here may signify toad (paddock) the bufo of Hen. Hunt —Th]

[30] And the hoarse toad, T And the hoarse vulture, I. The latter version is totally without authority The former is justified in part by our vocabularies, though evidently at variance with the context. The Cotton MSS. Tiberius A vi. reads haso (the nom. case), which shows this word to have had a twofold termination haso and haswe—like salo and salwe, fealo and fealwe. The nomenclature of Anglo-Saxon colours must necessarily be very obscure, but as we find the public road called "fealwe stræte" (Beowulf), and the passage made for the Israelites over the Red Sea "haswe stræda" (Cædmon), the version of the present text cannot be materially out.

[1] Maththum must not be confounded with mathmum, the dative case plural of mathm.

earn æftan hwit[31],	eagle white behind [after],
æses brucan,	(of) the corse to enjoy,
grædigne guth-hafoc;	greedy war-hawk;
and thæt græge deor,	and that [*the*] gray beast [deer],
wulf on wealde.	(the) wolf on [*in*] the wold.
Ne wearth wæl máre,	Nor was (there) a greater slaughter,
on thys igland,	on this island,
æfre gyta,	ever yet,
folces gefylled,	of folk felled,
beforan thissum,	before this,
sweordes ecgum,	by (the) sword's edges,
thæs the us secgath béc,	of [*from*] that that say to us (in) books, [*according to what books tell us,*]
ealde uthwitan,	old historians,
sith-than eastan hider	since eastward [*from* the east*] hither
Engle and Seaxe	Angles and Saxons
úp becomon,	up came,
ofer brade brimu[32]	over (the) broad seas
Brytene sohton,	Britain sought,
wlance wig-smithas,	splendid [*proud*] war-smiths,
Wealas[33] ofer-comon,	overcame (the) Welsh, [*the strangers,*]

[31] The eagle afterwards to feast on the white flesh, T And the eagle swift to consume his prey, I The very simplicity of the Anglo-Saxon text appears to have excited distrust in the only translation these words are susceptible of The ornithologist will perceive in it a description of the *Haliaetus albicilla*, or white-tailed sea-eagle. The phrase is not without a parallel in Beowulf, where the bard is describing the ashen lances with their steel-clad points

Garás stodon,
sæmanna searo,
samod æt gædere,
æsc holt ufan græg

The spears stood,
weapons of the seamen,
collected together,
ash-wood gray above. l 654

There is so close a resemblance between the present text and a passage in the fragment of Judith, that it will not be too much to assume that they have been drawn from some common source, or that the one has had its influence in producing the other

Thæs se blanca gefeah
wulf in walde,
and se wanna hrefn,
wæl gifre fugel,
westan begen,
thæt him tha theod-guman
thohton tilian
fylle on fægum
Ac him fleah on laste
earn ætes georn,
urig fetherа,
salowiþ pada,
sang hilde leoth,
hyrned nebba

Of this rejoiced the lank
wolf in the wold,
and the wan raven,
slaughter-desiring fowl,
westward both, [*from the west*]
that to them the people,
thought to prepare
a falling among the fated.
But on their footsteps flew
eagle of food desirous,
dewy (?) of feathers,
sallowy ———, [*coated*]
sang the war song,
horned nibbed one.
Thorpe, Anal p. 137

[From Cædmon may also be added

Sang se wanna fugel
under deoreth-sceaftum
deawig fethera.
Ed. Thorpe, p. 119 l. 22.—R T]

* [Rask, No. 339]

[32] Mr. Ingram reads "brimum brade," which is a false concord. All the Cotton MSS. agree in the reading of the present text.

[33] As this name is foreign to the Celtic dialects, it probably was conferred upon the inhabitants by their Teutonic neigh-

eorlas árhwáte[34],	earls [*men*] exceeding bold [keen],
eard begeaton.	obtained (the) earth.

[*a territory or dwelling* —" *Eard.*" not "eorthe."]

bours. In old German poetry every thing translated from a foreign language was said to be taken from the Walsche (Welsh), and the Pays de Vaud is still called the Walliser-land The following singular passage is taken from Hartmann von Awe's romance of Iwain (and Gawain,) where Welsch indisputably means English.

Er was Hartman genant,
and was ain Awere,
der bracht dise mere
zu Tisch als ich han vernommen,
do er usz Engellandt was commen,
da er vil zit was gewessen,
hat ers an den Welschen buchen
gelesen.

He was named Hartman,
and was an Auwer,
who brought this tale
into German as I have heard,
after he came out of England,
where he had been a long time,
(and where) he had read it in the
Welsh books

[34] The earls excelling in honour, T most valiant earls, I. In Anglo-Saxon "hwate" and "cene" are synonymous, meaning both keen and bold. It is usual to consider "arhwate" and many other similar expressions as compounded of "are," honour, an error which has arisen from not sufficiently attending to the distinction between the substantive and the preposition "ar" In such combinations as "ar-wurthe," "ar-fæst," "ar-hwate," "ær-god," the preposition is prefixed in the sense of excess, as in the comparative degree of adjectives it is subjoined "Ar-wurthe," venerable, is from "ar-wurthian," to esteem greatly and the following passage from Beowulf exhibits one of the combinations above cited, in a sense which cannot be mistaken.

(á) scolde eorl wesan
ær-god swylc Æschere wæs.

Ever should an earl
be exceeding good as Æscher was.
l. 2657

The most simple and perhaps original idea attached to this preposition (of such extensive use in all the dialects of the North) was priority, from whence by an easy transition it came to mean priority in point of magnitude, and thence in point of excellence (honour). The analogous expressions prime good, prime strong, prime ripe, &c, may be heard in every province The compounds "ar-full," propitious, "ar-leas," impious, are formed from the substantive "ár," a word of very extensive signification, and which may be rendered goodness, kindness, benefit, care, favour, &c

Thá spræc guth-cyning,
Sodoma aldor,
secgum gefylled,
to Abrahame,
him wæs ara thearf
Then spoke the war-king,
prince of Sodom,
whose warriors were felled,
to Abraham,
to him was need of kindnesses
Cædmon 46, 2.

It is impossible to translate "secgum gefylled" literally, without causing obscurity. [Mr Thorpe reads "befylled," and renders it "of his warriors bereft," and "ara" he translates wealth. p 128.]

Æla frea beorhte,
folces scyppend,
gemilse thin mod,
me to gode,
sile thyne are,
thyne earminge
O bright Lord,
creator of (the) folk,
soften thy mind,
me to good,
grant thy favour,
thy commiseration. [*to thy poor one*]
Cotton Prayers, Jul A 2

[earming or yrming, from 'earm' *miser* To thy poor wretch]

Fægre aeende —
beornum to frofre,
eallum to are,
ylda bearnum
Fair brought forth—
for barns [*chiefs*] consolation,
for the benefit of all
sons of men. Jul A. 2.

Here too the dative cases plural cannot be translated. This term is of frequent occurrence in old English poetry, where the context having supplied the meaning, the glossographers had only to contend about the etymon.

Lybeaus thurstede sore
And sayde Maugys thyn *ore*.
Lyd. Dis. v. 1337.

The maister fel adoun on kne, and criede mercy and *ore*. R. Glouc. p. 9.

Y aske mercy for Goddys *ore*.
Erl of Tholous. v 583.

The meaning of "ore" when contrast-

ed with the preceding extracts, will be too obvious to require any comment. The substitution of o for á was evidently the work of the Normans. The Anglo-Saxon á was pronounced like the Danish aa, the Swedish å, or our modern o in more, fore, &c. The strong intonation given to the words in which it occurred would strike a Norman ear as indicating the same orthography that marked the long syllables of his native tongue, and he would accordingly write them with an e final It is from this cause that we find hár, sár, hát, bát, wá, án, bán, stán, &c. written hore (hoar), sore, hote (hot), bote (boat), woe, one, bone, stone, some of which have been retained. The same principle of elongation was extended to all the Anglo-Saxon vowels that were accentuated; such as réc, reke (reek), líf, life, gód, gode (good), scúr, shure (shower), and hence the majority of those e's mute upon which Mr. Tyrwhitt has expended so much unfounded speculation.—This subject will be resumed in a supplementary volume, in an examination of that ingenious critic's "Essay upon the Language and Versification of Chaucer"

[The passage in Rask's Postscriptum referred to in some of the added notes (p lxx. &c.) is the following, and is given here as bearing testimony to the talents and learning of Mr Price.—R. T.]

"Ne nuperrimus quidem Editor *Wartoni Hist Poeseos Anglorum* excipiendus videtur, etsi vir doctissimus, subsidiis egregiis ex Scandinavia nostra adjutus, multa sane contulit ad Poemata Anglo-Saxonica melius explicanda v. c. in notis ad Poema de prælio Brunanburgensi (t. i. p. 91.) 'dennade' vel, ut Gibson habet, 'dynode' recte per Isl. 'dundi' explicavit, verbis usus Bjornonis Haldorsonii, in Lexico, ubi sub 1 pers. 'eg dyn' facile invenitur, sed 'geæðele' (ib. p. 90.) haud invenit, itaque per 'aþelo' (i. e. æþelo) *nobilitas* exposuit, quum tamen 'æþelo' gen. fem. sit, et a 'geæðele' neut. gen. diversum, scribitur enim hoc (ge, more Isl. abjecto) Islandis 'eðli,' et a Bjornone æque recte *natura, indoles, genius* Sic 'hond-rond' (Ib. p. 89.) per Angl. *hand round* exposuit, quum *manuale scutum* vertere debuisset, 'rond' scil. nihil est aliud quam Isl. 'rond' (quemadmodum etiam 'hond,' Isl. 'hond' dicitur), quod apud eundem Bjornonem recte vertitur *clypeus militaris*, nec quicquam sane cum *round* Angl. commune habet."—Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, Mr Thorpe's Edition, p. lviii.]

[Fæge p. lxxi. note 8.

Hickes has well explained the word "*Fæge*," Thes. 114, where he instances "slegefæge," yet modern translators have been strangely at a loss with regard to it In the same sense we have also "veich, veige," in the Heldenbuch and Nibelungen Lied, "veegh, veygh," in Kilian, "feigr," *mox moribundus*, in the Edda, "feigd," *mortis vicinitas inopina*, Biorn Haldorson, Gl. Isl., "*vœie*" in Layamon, and "*feeg, feig*" in the Frisic Glossary of Outzen, who says that Wachter is mistaken in supposing the word to be obsolete, as it is still in use in Friesland and Denmark.—R. T.]

[The following descriptions of battles will show how much the characteristics of the earlier Saxon poetry continued to prevail even till the reign of king John It is from the Brut of Layamon, (supposed to be of that date,) the publication of which by the Society of Antiquaries, under the superintendence of Sir F Madden, will be a service of the highest value to English philology.—R T.

To-gadere heo tuhten,
& lathliche fuhten
hardeliche heuwen,
helmes ther gullen
starcliche to-stopen
mid steles egge.
Alle dæi ther ilæste
fæht mid tham mæste,
a thet that thustere niht
to-dælde heore muchele filh.
Læien a ba halue
cnihtes to-heouwen. l. 9794.

Tha ferden heom imetten,
fastliche on-slogen,
snelle heore kenpen,
feollen tha *vœie*,
volden to grunde,
ther wes muchel blod gute;
balu ther wes rive,
brustlede scæftes,
beornes ther veollen. l. 20073.

ON THE

INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING

INTO ENGLAND.

DISSERTATION II.

THE irruption of the northern nations into the western empire, about the beginning of the fourth century, forms one of the most interesting and important periods of modern history. Europe, on this great event, suffered the most memorable revolutions in its government and manners; and, from the most flourishing state of peace and civility, became on a sudden, and for the space of two centuries, the theatre of the most deplorable devastation and disorder. But among the disasters introduced by these irresistible barbarians, the most calamitous seems to have been the destruction of those arts which the Romans still continued so successfully to cultivate in their capital, and which they had universally communicated to their conquered provinces. Towards the close of the fifth century, very few traces of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, sciences, and literature remained. Some faint sparks of knowledge were kept alive in the monasteries; and letters and the liberal arts were happily preserved from a total extinction during the confusions of the Gothic invaders, by that slender degree of culture and protection which they received from the prelates of the church and the religious communities.

But notwithstanding the famous academy of Rome[a] with other lite-

[a] Theodosius the younger, in the year 425, founded an academy at Constantinople, which he furnished with able professors of every science, intending it as a rival institution to that at Rome. Giannon. Hist. Napl. ii. ch. vi. sect. 1. A noble library had been established at Constantinople by Constantius and Valens before the year 380, the custody of which was committed to four Greek and three Latin antiquaries or curators. It contained sixty thousand volumes. Zonaras relates, that among other treasures in this library, there was a roll one hundred feet long, made of a dragon's gut or intestine, on which Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were written in golden letters. See Bibl. Histor. Literar. Select. &c. Ienæ, 1754. p. 164. seq. Literature flourished in the eastern empire, while the western was depopulated by the Goths; and for many centuries afterwards. The Turks destroyed one hundred and twenty thousand volumes, I suppose in the imperial library, when they sacked Constantinople in the year 1454. HOD. De Græc. Illustr. ii. 1. p. 192.

rary seminaries had been destroyed by Alaric in the fourth century, yet Theodoric the second, king of the Ostrogoths, a pious and humane prince, restored in some degree the study of letters in that city, and encouraged the pursuits of those scholars who survived this great and general desolation of learning[b]. He adopted into his service Boethius, the most learned and almost only Latin philosopher of that period. Cassiodorus, another eminent Roman scholar, was Theodoric's grand secretary; who retiring into a monastery in Calabria passed his old age in collecting books, and practising mechanical experiments[c]. He was the author of many valuable pieces which still remain[d]. He wrote with little elegance, but he was the first that ever digested a series of royal charts or instruments; a monument of singular utility to the historian, and which has served to throw the most authentic illustration on the public transactions and legal constitutions of those times. Theodoric's patronage of learning is applauded by Claudian and Sidonius Apollinaris. Many other Gothic kings were equally attached to the works of peace; and are not less conspicuous for their justice, prudence, and temperance, than for their fortitude and magnanimity. Some of them were diligent in collecting the scattered remains of the Roman institutes, and constructing a regular code of jurisprudence[e]. It is highly probable, that those Goths who became masters of Rome sooner acquired ideas of civility, from the opportunity which that city above all others afforded them of seeing the felicities of polished life, of observing the conveniences arising from political economy, of mixing with characters respectable for prudence and learning, and of employing in their counsels men of superior wisdom, whose instruction and advice they found it their interest to follow. But perhaps these northern adventurers, at least their princes and leaders, were not, even at their first migrations into the south, so totally savage and uncivilised as we are commonly apt to suppose. Their enemies have been their historians, who naturally painted these violent disturbers of the general repose in the warmest colours. It is not easy to conceive, that the success of their amazing enterprises was merely the effect of numbers and tumultuary depredation; nor can I be persuaded, that the lasting and flourishing governments which they established in various parts of Europe, could have been framed by brutal force alone, and the blind efforts of unreflecting savages. Superior strength and courage must have contributed in a considerable degree to their rapid and extensive conquests; but at the same time, such mighty achievements could not have been planned and executed without some extraordinary vigour of mind, uniform principles of conduct, and no common talents of political sagacity.

Although these commotions must have been particularly unfavorable

[b] He died A.D. 526. See Cassiodor. Epist. lib. i. 39. See also Func. de inerti et decrep. Latin. Linguæ Senectut. cap. ii. p 81

[c] Func. ut supr. xiii. p. 471. xi. p. 595.

[d] Cave, Sæcul. Eutych. Hist. Lit. p 391.

[e] Gianon. Hist. Nap iii. c. 1.

to the more elegant literature, yet Latin poetry, from a concurrence of causes, had for some time begun to relapse into barbarism. From the growing increase of Christianity, it was deprived of its old fabulous embellishments, and chiefly employed in composing ecclesiastical hymns. Amid these impediments however, and the necessary degeneration of taste and style, a few poets supported the character of the Roman muse with tolerable dignity during the decline of the Roman empire. These were Ausonius, Paulinus, Sidonius, Sedulius, Arator, Juvencus, Prosper, and Fortunatus. With the last, who flourished at the beginning of the sixth century, and was bishop of Poitiers, the Roman poetry is supposed to have expired.

In the sixth century Europe began to recover some degree of tranquillity. Many barbarous countries during this period, particularly the inhabitants of Germany, of Friesland, and other northern nations, were converted to the Christian faith[f]. The religious controversies which at this time divided the Greek and Latin churches, roused the minds of men to literary inquiries. These disputes in some measure called forth abilities which otherwise would have been unknown and unemployed: and together with the subtleties of argumentation, insensibly taught the graces of style, and the habits of composition. Many of the popes were persons of distinguished talents, and promoted useful knowledge no less by example than authority. Political union was by degrees established; and regular systems of government, which alone can ensure personal security, arose in the various provinces of Europe occupied by the Gothic tribes. The Saxons had taken possession of Britain, the Franks became masters of Gaul, the Huns of Pannonia, the Goths of Spain, and the Lombards of Italy. Hence leisure and repose diffused a mildness of manners, and introduced the arts of peace; and, awakening the human mind to a consciousness of its powers, directed its faculties to their proper objects.

In the mean time, no small obstruction to the propagation or rather revival of letters was the paucity of valuable books. The libraries, particularly those of Italy, which abounded in numerous and inestimable treasures of literature, were every where destroyed by the precipitate rage and undistinguishing violence of the northern armies. Towards the close of the seventh century, even in the papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderable, that pope Saint Martin requested Sanctamand bishop of Maestricht, if possible, to supply this defect from the remotest parts of Germany[g]. In the year 855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres in France, sent two of his monks to pope Benedict the third, to beg a copy of CICERO DE ORATORE, and QUINTILIAN'S INSTITUTES[h], and some other books: "for," says the abbot, "although

[f] Cave Sæcul. Monoth. p 440.

[g] Concil. Tom. xv. pag. 285. edit Paris, 641.

[h] There are very early manuscripts of Quintilian's Institutes, as we shall see below, and he appears to have been a favourite author with some writers of the middle ages He is quoted by John of

we have part of these books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of them in all France[i]." Albert abbot of Gemblours, who with incredible labour and immense expense had collected a hundred volumes on theological and fifty on profane subjects, imagined he had formed a splendid library[k]. About the year 790, Charlemagne granted an unlimited right * of hunting to the abbot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books[l]. We may imagine that these religious were more fond of hunting than reading †. It is certain that they were obliged to hunt

Salisbury, a writer of the eleventh century, Polycrat vii. 14. iii. 7. x 1. &c, and by Vincent of Beauvais, a writer of the thirteenth, Specul Hist x. 11 ix 125. His declamations are said to have been abridged by our countryman Adelardus Bathoniensis, and dedicated to the bishop of Bayeux, about the year 1130 See Catal Bibl. Leidens p 381. A D. 1716. Poggius Florentinus, an eminent restorer of classical literature, says, that in the year 1446, he found a much more correct copy of Quintilian's Institutes than had been yet seen in Italy, almost perishing, at the bottom of a dark neglected tower of the monastery of Saint Gall, in France, together with the three first books and half the fourth of Valerius Flaccus's Argonautics, and Asconius Pedianus's comment on eight orations of Tully. See Poggii Opp p. 309 Amst 1720. 8vo. The very copy of Quintilian found by Poggius is said to have been in lord Sunderland's noble library now at Blenheim Poggius, in his dialogue *De Infelicitate Principum*, says of himself, that he travelled all over Germany in search of books. It is certain that by his means Quintilian, Tertullian, Asconius Pedianus, Lucretius, Sallust, Silius Italicus, Columella, Manilius, Tully's Orations, Ammianus Marcellinus, Valerius Flaccus, and some of the Latin grammarians, and other ancient authors, were recovered from oblivion and brought into general notice by being printed in the fifteenth century. Fr. Babarus Venetus, Collaudat ad Pogg. dat. Venet. 1417. 7 Jul. See also *Giornale de Letterati d'Italia*, tom. ix p. 178. x p. 417, and Leonard Aretin. Epist lib iv p. 160. Chaucer mentions the Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus, as I have observed Sect. iii. p 129. infr. Colomesius affirms that Silius Italicus is one of the classics discovered by Poggius in the tower of the monastery of Saint Gall. Ad Gyrald. de Poet. Dial. iv. p 240. But Philippo Rosso, in his *Ritratto di Roma antica*, mentions a very ancient manuscript of this poet brought from Spain into the Vatican, having a picture of Hannibal, *il quale hoggi si ritrova nella predetta libraria*, p. 83

[From the following passage in one of Poggius's letters to Niccolo Niccoli, it appears that he had also travelled into England for the same purpose "Mittas ad me oro Bucolicam Calphurnii et portiunculam Petronii quas misi tibi ex Britanniâ." See Ambr Traversari Lat. Epist. &c i. Præf p. 49 It is probable, that upon this occasion he met with the copy of Quintilian above mentioned.—DOUCE]

[i] Murator Antiq Ital iii. p 835, and Lup Ep ad Baron ad an. 856 n 8, 9, 10.

[k] Fleury, Hist Eccl l. lvii c 52.

* [This permission was not granted until after much entreaty on the part of the monks, and an assurance that the flesh of the deer would be the means of re-establishing the health of their sick brethren, as well as for the other reasons above mentioned. That monks were addicted to the pleasures of the chase, appears from Chaucer's description of the monk in his Canterbury Tales —DOUCE]

[l] Mabillon, De Re Dipl. p 611

† [Hunting appears to have been expressly forbidden the religious of all denominations, as a profane amusement altogether incompatible with their profession. They obtained, however, this indulgence under certain restrictions, particularly set forth in their charters It was a privilege allowed even to nuns See more on this subject in M. le Grand's *Vie privée des Français*, tom i p. 323 By the laws of Eadgar, priests were prohibited from hunting, hawking, and drinking. "Docemus etiam ut sacerdos non sit venator, neque accipitrarius, neque potator. Sed incumbat libris suis sicut ordinem ipsius decet." Wilkins's Leges Anglo-Saxon. p. 86.—DOUCE.]

[The Latin version which is here followed, is as usual inaccurate. The original text forbids a less disgraceful indulgence than "compotation," and contains a ludicrous play of words, hardly admissible in our present legal enactments. "ne tæflere, ac plegge on his bocum swa his hade

before they could read: and at least it is probable, that under these circumstances, and of such materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the Bible, Saint Jerom's Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries[m]. Among the constitutions given to the monks of England by archbishop Lanfranc, in the year 1072, the following injunction occurs. At the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious: a whole year was allowed for the perusal of this book; and at the returning Lent, those monks who had neglected to read the books they had respectively received, are commanded to prostrate themselves before the abbot, and to supplicate his indulgence[n]. This regulation was partly occasioned by the low state of literature which Lanfranc found in the English monasteries; but at the same time it was a matter of necessity, and is in great measure to be referred to the scarcity of copies of useful and suitable authors. In an inventory of the goods of John de Pontissara, bishop of Winchester, contained in his capital palace of Wulvesey, all the books which appear are nothing more than "*Septendecem pecie librorum de diversis Sciencus*[o]." This was in the year 1294. The same prelate, in the year 1299, borrows of his cathedral convent of St. Swithin at Winchester, BIBLIAM BENE GLOSSATAM, that is, the Bible, with marginal Annotations, in two large folio volumes; but gives a bond for due return of the loan, drawn up with great solemnity[p]. This Bible had been bequeathed to the convent the same year by Pontissara's predecessor, bishop Nicholas de Ely: and in consideration of so important a bequest, that is, "*pro bona Biblia dicti episcopi bene glosata,*"

gebirath:" i.e. nor tabler (player at tables), but let him play in his books as becomes his order (hood).—PRICE]

[Price does not exhibit his usual accuracy in his version of Edgar's law. 'Plegge on his bocum' does not mean *play in his books*, but *ply his books*, nor does 'hade' signify *hood*, but *quality, condition, person.*—R. G.]

[m] Fleury, ubi supr. l. liv. c. 54. See other instances in Hist. Lit. Fr. par Rel. Benedict. vii. 3.

[n] "Unusquisque reddat librum qui ad legendum sibi alio anno fuerat commendatus: et qui cognoverat se non legisse librum, quem recepit, prostratus culpam dicat, et indulgentiam petat. Iterum librorum custos unicuique fratrum alium librum tribuat ad legendum." Wilkins. Concil. i. 332. See also the order of the Provincial chapter, *De occupatione monachorum.* Reyner, Append. p. 129.

[o] Registr. Pontissar. f. 126. MS.

[p] "Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentes literas visuris vel inspecturis, Johannes dei gracia Wynton. episcopus, salutem in domino. Noveritis nos ex commodato recepisse a dilectis filiis nostris Priore et conventu ecclesie nostre Wynton. unam Bibliam, in duobus voluminibus bene glosatam, que aliquando fuit bone memorie domini Nicolai Wynton. episcopi, predecessoris nostri, termino perpetuo, seu quamdiu nobis placuerit, inspiciendam, tenendam, et habendam. Ad cujus Restitutionem eisdem fideliter et sine dolo faciendam, obligamus nos per presentes: quam si in vita nostra non restituerimus eisdem, obligamus executores nostros, et omnia bona nostra mobilia et immobilia, ecclesiastica et mundana, cohercioni et districtioni cujuscunque judicis ecclesiastici et secularis quem predictus Prior et conventus duxerit eligendum, quod possint eosdem executores per omnimodam districtionem compellere, quousque dicta Biblia dictis filiis et fratribus sit restituta. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum, &c. Dat. apud Wulveseye, vi. Kal. Maii, anno 1299." Registr. Pontissar. ut supr. f. 193.

and one hundred marks in money, the monks founded a daily mass for the soul of the donor[q]. When a single book was bequeathed to a friend or relation, it was seldom without many restrictions and stipulations[r]. If any person gave a book to a religious house, he believed that so valuable a donation merited eternal salvation, and he offered it on the altar with great ceremony. The most formidable anathemas were peremptorily denounced against those who should dare to alienate a book presented to the cloister or library of a religious house. The prior and convent of Rochester declare, that they will every year pronounce the irrevocable sentence of damnation on him who shall purloin or conceal a Latin translation of Aristotle's PHYSICS, or even obliterate the title[s]. Sometimes a book was given to a monastery on condition that the donor should have the use of it during his life; and sometimes to a private person, with the reservation that he who receives it should pray for the soul of his benefactor*. The gift of a book to Lincoln cathedral, by bishop Repingdon, in the year 1422, occurs in this form and under these curious circumstances. The memorial is written in Latin, with the bishop's own hand, which I will give in English, at the beginning of Peter's BREVIARY OF THE BIBLE. "I Philip of Repyndon, late bishop of Lincoln, give this book called Peter de Aureolis to the new library to be built within the church of Lincoln; reserving the use and possession of it to Richard Fryesby, clerk, canon and prebendary of Miltoun, in fee, and to the term of his life; and afterwards to be given up and restored to the said library, or the keepers of the same, for the time being, faithfully and without delay. Written with my own hand, A.D. 1422[t]." When a book was bought, the affair was of so much importance, that it was customary to assemble persons of consequence and character, and to make a formal record that they were present on this occasion. Among the royal manuscripts, in the book of the SENTENCES of Peter Lombard, an archdeacon of Lincoln has left this entry[u]. "This book of the SENTENCES belongs to master Roger, archdeacon of Lincoln, which he bought of Geoffrey the chaplain, brother of Henry vicar of Northelkington, in the presence of master Robert de Lee, master John of Lirling, Richard

[q] Ibid. f. 19.

[r] As thus. "Do Henrico Morie scolari meo, si contingat eum presbyterari. aliter erit liber domini Johannis Sory, sic quod non vendatur, sed transeat inter cognatos meos, si fuerint aliqui inventi: sin autem, ab uno presbytero ad alium." Written at the end of Latin *Homelies on the Canticles*, MSS. Reg. 5 C. iii. 24. Brit. Mus.

[s] MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii.

* [At the end of a MS. of the Golden Legend in Mr. Douce's possession is the following bequest: "Be hit remembryd that John Burton citizen and mercer of London, past oute of this lyfe the xx day of Novemb' the yere of oure Lorde Mill.' cccclx and the yere of kynge Henry the Sixte after the conquest xxxix. And the said John Burton bequethe to dame Kateryne Burton his dowgter, a boke callyd Legenda scor'. the seyde Kateryne to have hit and to occupye to hir owne use and at hir owne liberte durynge hur lyfe, and after hur decesse to remayne to the prioresse and the cōvent of Halywelle for ev'more, they to pray for the saide John Burton and Johne his wife and alle crystene soyles. And who that lettithe the execucion of this bequest he the lawe standeth"—PARK.]

[t] MSS. Reg. 8 G. fol. iii. Brit. Mus.

[u] It is in Latin.

of Luda, clerk, Richard the almoner, the said Henry the vicar and his clerk, and others: and the said archdeacon gave the said book to God and saint Oswald, and to Peter abbot of Barton, and the convent of Barden*[w]." The disputed property of a book often occasioned the most violent altercations. Many claims appear to have been made to a manuscript of Matthew Paris belonging to the last-mentioned library; in which John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, thus conditionally defends or explains his right of possession. "If this book can be proved to be or to have been the property of the exempt monastery of Saint Alban in the diocese of Lincoln, I declare this to be my mind, that, in that case, I use it at present as a loan under favour of those monks who belong to the said monastery. Otherwise, according to the condition under which this book came into my possession, I will that it shall belong to the college of the blessed Winchester Mary at Oxford, of the foundation of William Wykham. Written with my own hand at Bukdene, 1 Jun. A.D. 1488. Jo. LINCOLN. Whoever shall obliterate or destroy this writing, let him be anathema[x]." About the year 1225, Roger de Insula, dean of York, gave several Latin bibles to the university of Oxford, with a condition that the students who perused them should deposit a cautionary pledge[y]. The library of that university, before the year 1300, consisted only of a few tracts, chained or kept in chests in the choir of St. Mary's church[z]. In the year 1327, the scholars and citizens of Oxford assaulted and entirely pillaged the opulent Benedictine abbey of the neighbouring town of Abingdon. Among the books they found there, were one hundred psalters, as many grayles, and forty missals, which undoubtedly belonged to the choir of the church: but besides these, there were only twenty-two CODICES, which I interpret books on common subjects[a]. And although the invention of paper, at

* [Correct thus: "Peter de Barton abbot, and the convent of Bardeney"—M.]

[w] 9 B ix 1.

[x] Written in Latin Cod MSS Reg 14 C. vii. 2. fol. In this manuscript is written by Matthew Paris in his own hand, *Hunc Librum dedit frater Matthaeus Parisiensis*—Perhaps, *Deo et ecclesiæ S Albani*, since erased

[y] Wood, Hist Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii 48. col 1. It was common to lend money on the deposit of a book. There were public chests in the universities, and perhaps some other places, for receiving the books so deposited; many of which still remain, with an insertion in the blank pages, containing the conditions of the pledge. I will throw together a few instances in this note. In Peter Comestor's Scholastical History, "Cautio Thomæ Wybaurn excepta in Cista de Chichele, A.D. 1468, 20 die mens. Augusti. Et est liber M. Petri, &c. Et jacet pro xxvi *s.* viii *d.*" Mus Brit. MSS. Reg 2 C fol 1 In a Psalter cum glossa, "A.D 1326, Iste Liber impignoratur Mag Jacobo de Ispania canonico S Pauli London, per fratrem Willielmum de Rokesle de ordine et conventu Prædicatorum Londonie, pro xx *s.* quem idem frater Willielmus recepit mutuo de predicto Jacobo ad opus predicti conventus, solvendos in quindena S Michaelis proxime ventura. *Condonatur quia pauper.*" Ibid. 3 E. vii fol. In Bernard's Homelies on the Canticles, "Cautio Thome Myllyng imposita ciste de Rodbury, 10 die Decemb. A.D. 1491. Et jacet pro xx *s.*" Ibid. 6 C. ix These pledges, among other particulars, show the prices of books in the middle ages, a topic which I shall touch upon below

[There are many similar instances recorded in Raine's Catalogue of the MSS. in the Cathedral library at Durham.—M.]

[z] Registr. Univ. Oxon. C. 64 a.

[a] Wood, Hist. ut supr. i. 163. col. 1. Leland mentions this library, but it is just before the dissolution of the monastery

the close of the eleventh century, contributed to multiply manuscripts, and consequently to facilitate knowledge, yet even so late as the reign of our Henry the Sixth, I have discovered the following remarkable instance of the inconveniences and impediments to study which must have been produced by a scarcity of books. It is in the statutes of St. Mary's college at Oxford, founded as a seminary to Oseney abbey in the year 1446. "Let no scholar occupy a book in the library above one hour, or two hours at most; so that others shall be hindered from the use of the same[b]." The famous library established in the university of Oxford by that munificent patron of literature Humphrey duke of Gloucester contained only six hundred volumes[c]. About the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were only four classics in the royal library at Paris. These were one copy of Cicero, Ovid, Lucan, and Boethius. The rest were chiefly books of devotion, which included but few of the fathers; many treatises of astrology, geomancy, chiromancy, and medicine, originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin or French; pandects, chronicles, and romances. This collection was principally made by Charles the Fifth, who began his reign in 1365. This monarch was passionately fond of reading, and it was the fashion to send him presents of books from every part of the kingdom of France. These he ordered to be elegantly transcribed, and richly illuminated; and he placed them in a tower of the Louvre, from thence called *la toure de la libraire*. The whole consisted of nine hundred volumes. They were deposited in three chambers; which, on

"Cum excuterem pulverem et blattas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ" Script Brit p 238. See also J Twyne, Comm de Reb Albionic lib II p 130 edit Lond 1590 I have mentioned the libraries of many monasteries below. See also what is said of the libraries of the Mendicant Friars, Sect IX vol II p 89. That of Grey Friars in London was filled with books at the cost of five hundred and fifty-six pounds in the year 1432 Leland, Coll I 109 In the year 1482, the library of the abbey of Leicester contained eight large stalls which were filled with books. Gul Charyte, Registr Libror et Jocal. omnium in monast S Mar de pratis prope Lecestriam MSS Bibl Bodl. Laud I. 75 fol. membr See f 139 There is an account of the library of Dover priory, [compiled in 1389 —M] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch B. 24. Leland says, that the library of Norwich priory was "bonis refertissima libris" Script Brit. p 247 See also Leland's account of St Austin's library at Canterbury, ibid. p. 299 Concerning which, compare *Liber Thomæ Sprotti de libraria S. Augustini Cantuariæ*, MSS. C. C. C. Oxon 125.; and Bibl. Cotton. Brit. Mus. Jul. C. vi. 4., and Leland, Coll. III. 10. 120. Leland, who was librarian to Henry the Eighth, removed a large quantity of valuable manuscripts from St Austin's Canterbury and from other monasteries at the dissolution, to that king's library at Westminster. See Script Brit ETHELSTANUS, and MSS. Reg 1 A. XVIII. For the sake of connection I will observe, that among our cathedral libraries of secular canons, that of the church of Wells was most magnificent it was built about the year 1420, and contained twenty-five windows on either side. Leland, Coll I p 109, in which state, I believe, it continues at present Nor is it quite foreign to the subject of this note to add, that king Henry the Sixth intended a library at Eton college, fifty-two feet long, and twenty four broad, and another at King's college in Cambridge of the same breadth, but one hundred and two feet in length. Ex Testam dat. XII. Mar. 1447.

[b] "Nullus occupet unum librum, vel occupari faciat, ultra unam horam et duas ad majus sic quod cæteri retrahantur a visu et studio ejusdem" Statut Coll. S. Mariæ pro Oseney. *De Libraria.* f. 21. MSS. Rawlins Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

[c] Wood, ubi supr. II. 49 col II It was not opened till the year 1480. Ibid. p. 50. col. I.

this occasion, were wainscoted with Irish oak, and ceiled with cypress curiously carved. The windows were of painted glass, fenced with iron bars and copper wire. The English became masters of Paris in the year 1425; on which event the duke of Bedford, regent of France, sent his whole library, then consisting of only eight hundred and fifty-three volumes, and valued at two thousand two hundred and twenty-three livres, into England; where perhaps they became the ground-work of duke Humphrey's library just mentioned[d]. Even so late as the year 1471, when Louis the Eleventh of France borrowed the works of the Arabian physician Rhasis, from the faculty of medicine at Paris, he not only deposited by way of pledge a quantity of valuable plate, but was obliged to procure a nobleman to join with him as surety in a deed[e], by which he bound himself to return it under a considerable forfeiture[f]. The excessive prices of books in the middle ages afford numerous and curious proofs. I will mention a few only. In the year 1174, Walter prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, afterwards elected abbot of Westminster, a writer in Latin of the lives of the bishops who were his patrons[g], purchased of the canons of Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Bede's Homilies and Saint Austin's Psalter, for twelve measures of barley, and a pall on which was embroidered in silver the history of Saint Birinus converting a Saxon king[h]. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum there is COMESTOR'S SCHOLASTIC HISTORY in French; which, as it is recorded in a blank page at the beginning, was taken from the king of France at the battle of Poitiers; and being purchased by William Montague earl of Salisbury for one hundred mars, was ordered to be sold by the last will of his countess Elizabeth for forty livres[i]. About the year 1400, a copy of John of Meun's ROMAN DE

[d] See M. Boivin, Mem. Lit. ii. p 747. 4to.; who says, that the regent presented to his brother-in-law Humphrey duke of Gloucester a rich copy of a translation of Livy into French, which had been presented to the king of France

[e] See [Richard of] Bury's *Philobiblon*, mentioned at large below. *De modo communicandi studentibus libros nostros.* cap. XIX.

[f] Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. i. p. 281. edit. 8vo

[g] William Giffard and Henry de Blois, bishops of Winchester.

[h] Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin Winton. ut supr. MS. quatern. . . "Pro duodecim mens. (or mod.) ordei, et una palla brusdata in argento cum historia sancti Birini convertentis ad fidem Kynegylsum regem Gewyseorum; necnon Oswaldi regis Northumbranorum suscipientis de fonte Kynegylsum" Gewyseorum is the West Saxons. This history, with others of Saint Birinus, is represented on the ancient font of Norman workmanship in Winchester cathedral, on the windows of the abbey-church of Dorchester near Oxford, and in the western front and windows of Lincoln cathedral; with all which churches Birinus was connected. He was buried in that of Dorchester, Whart. Angl. Sacr. i. 190 and in Bever's manuscript Chronicle, or his Continuator, cited below, it is said, that a marble cenotaph of marvellous sculpture was constructed over his grave in Dorchester church about the year 1320. I find no mention of this monument in any other writer. Bever. Chron. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. x. f. 66.

[i] MSS. 19 D. ii. *La Bible Hystoriaus, ou Les Histories escolastres.* The transcript is of the fourteenth century. This is the entry: "Cest livre fust pris oue le roy de France a la bataille de Peyters: et le bon counte de Saresbirs William Montagu la achata pur cent mars, et le dona a sa compaigne Elizabeth la bone countesse, que dieux assoile.—Le quele lyvre le dite countesse assigna a ses executours de le rendre pur xl. livres."

LA ROSE was sold before the palace-gate at Paris for forty crowns or thirty-three pounds six and six-pence[j]. But in pursuit of these anecdotes, I am imperceptibly seduced into later periods, or rather am deviating from my subject.

After the calamities which the state of literature sustained in consequence of the incursions of the northern nations, the first restorers of the ancient philosophical sciences in Europe, the study of which, by opening the faculties and extending the views of mankind, gradually led the way to other parts of learning, were the Arabians. In the beginning of the eighth century, this wonderful people, equally famous for their conquests and their love of letters, in ravaging the Asiatic provinces found many Greek books, which they read with infinite avidity: and such was the gratification they received from this fortunate acquisition, and so powerfully their curiosity was excited to make further discoveries in this new field of knowledge, that they requested their caliphs to procure from the emperor at Constantinople the best Greek writers. These they carefully translated into Arabic[k]. But every part of the Grecian literature did not equally gratify their taste. The Greek poetry they rejected, because it inculcated polytheism and idolatry, which were inconsistent with their religion: or perhaps it was too cold and too correct for their extravagant and romantic conceptions[l]. Of the Greek history they made no use, because it recorded

[j] It belonged to the late Mr. Ames, author of the Typographical Antiquities. In a blank leaf was written, "Cest lyvir cost a palas du Parys quarante corones d'or sans mentyr." I have observed in another place, that in the year 1430, Nicholas de Lyra was transcribed at the expense of one hundred marcs. Sect. ix. vol. ii. p 90. I add here the valuation of books bequeathed to Merton college at Oxford, before the year 1300. A Scholastical History, 20*s*. A Concordantia, 10*s*. The four greater Prophets, with glosses, 5*s*. Liber Anselmi cum quæstionibus Thomæ de Malo, 12*s*. Quodlibetæ H. Gandavensis et S. Thomæ Aquinatis, 10*s*. A Psalter with glosses, 10*s*. Saint Austin on Genesis, 10*s*. MS. Hist. of Merton College, by A. Wood. Bibl. Bodl. Cod. Rawlins. I could add a variety of other instances. The curious reader who seeks further information on this small yet not unentertaining branch of literary history, is referred to Gabr. Naud. Addit. à l'Hist. de Louys XI. par Comines. edit. Fresn. tom. iv. 281, &c.

[k] See Abulfarag. per Pocock, Dynast. p. 160. Greek was a familiar language to the Arabians. The accounts of the caliph's treasury were always written in Greek till the year of Christ 715. They were then ordered to be drawn in Arabic. Many proofs of this might be mentioned. Greek was a familiar language in Mahomet's household. Zaid, one of Mahomet's secretaries, to whom he dictated the Koran, was a perfect master of Greek. Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 144, 145. The Arabic gold coins were always inscribed with Greek legends till about the year 700.

[l] Yet it appears from many of their fictions, that some of the Greek poets were not unfamiliar among them, perhaps long before the period assigned in the text. Theophilus Edessenus, a Maronite, by profession an astronomer, translated Homer into Syriac about the year 770. Theophan. Chronogr. p. 376. Abulfarag. ut supr. p. 217. Reinesius, in his very curious account of the *manuscript collection of Greek chemists* in the library of Saxe-Gotha, relates that soon after the year 750, the Arabians translated Homer and Pindar amongst other Greek books. Ernest. Salom. Cyprian. Catal. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Gothan. pp. 71. 87. Apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. p. 753. It is however certain, that the Greek philosophers were their objects. Compare Euseb. Renaudot de Barb. Aristotel. Versionib. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. pp. 252. 258.

events which preceded their prophet Mahomet. Accustomed to a despotic empire, they neglected the political systems of the Greeks, which taught republican freedom. For the same reasons they despised the eloquence of the Athenian orators. The Greek ethics were superseded by their Alcoran, and on this account they did not study the works of Plato[m]. Therefore no other Greek books engaged their attention but those which treated of mathematical, metaphysical, and physical knowledge. Mathematics coincided with their natural turn to astronomy and arithmetic. Metaphysics, or logic, suited their speculative genius, their love of tracing intricate and abstracted truths, and their ambition of being admired for difficult and remote researches. Physics, in which I include medicine, assisted the chemical experiments to which they were so much addicted[n]; and medicine, while it was connected with chemistry and botany, was a practical art of immediate utility[o]. Hence they studied Aristotle, Galen, and Hippocrates with unremitted ardour and assiduity: they translated their writings into the Arabic tongue[p], and by degrees illustrated them with voluminous commentaries[q]. These

[m] Yet Reinesius says, that about the year 750 they translated Plato into Arabic, together with the works of St Austin, Ambrose, Jerom, Leo, and Gregory the Great Ubi supr p. 260 Leo Africanus mentions among the works of Averroes, *Expositiones Reipublicæ Platonis*. But he died so late as the year 1206 De Med. et Philosoph. Arab cap xx

[n] The earliest Arab chemist, whose writings are now extant, was Jeber He is about the seventh century. His book, called by Golius, his Latin translator, *Lapis Philosophorum*, was written first in Greek, and afterwards translated by its author into Arabic for Jeber was originally a Greek and a Christian, and afterwards went into Asia, and embraced Mahometism. See Leo African. lib iii. c 106 The learned Boerhaave asserts, that many of Jeber's experiments are verified by present practice, and that several of them have been revived as modern discoveries. Boerhaave adds, that except the fancies about the philosopher's stone, the exactness of Jeber's operations is surprising. Hist. Chemistr. pp. 14, 15 Lond. 1727.

[o] Their learning, but especially their medical knowledge, flourished most in Salerno, a city of Italy, where it formed the famous *Schola Salernitana*. The little book of medical precepts in leonine heroics, which bears the name of that school, is well known. This system was composed at the desire of Robert duke of Normandy, William the Conqueror's son; who returning from Jerusalem in one of the crusades, and having heard of the fame of those Salernitan physicians, applied to them for the cure of a wound made by a poisoned arrow. It was written not only in verse, but in rhyming verse, that the prince might more easily retain the rules in his memory It was published 1100 The author's name is Giovanni di Milano, a celebrated Salernitan physician The monks of Cassino, hereafter mentioned, much improved this study See Chron Cassin l iii c 35 Medicine was at first practised by the monks or the clergy, who adopted it with the rest of the Arabian learning See P. Diac De Vir illustr cap xiii. et ibid Not. Mar See also Ab. de Nuce ad Chron. Cassin l i c 9. and Leon. Ostiens. Chron. l iii. c 7. See Sect xvii. vol. ii. p. 204 infr.

[p] Compare Renaudot, ubi supr. p. 258.

[q] Their caliph Al-manun was a singular encourager of these translations. He was a great master of the speculative sciences; and for his better information in them, invited learned men from all parts of the world to Bagdad He favoured the learned of every religion; and in return they made him presents of their works, collected from the choicest pieces of Eastern literature, whether of Indians, Jews, Magians, or oriental Christians. He expended immense sums in purchasing valuable books written in Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, that they might be translated into Arabic. Many Greek treatises of medicine were translated into that language by his orders. He hired the most learned persons from all quarters of his vast dominions to make these translations.

Arabic translations of the Greek philosophers produced new treatises of their own, particularly in medicine and metaphysics. They continued to extend their conquests, and their frequent incursions into Europe before and after the ninth century, and their absolute establishment in Spain, imported the rudiments of useful knowledge into nations involved in the grossest ignorance, and unpossessed of the means of instruction. They founded universities in many cities of Spain and Africa[r]. They brought with them their books, which Charlemagne, emperor of France and Germany, commanded to be translated from Arabic into Latin[s], and which, by the care and encouragement of that liberal prince, being quickly disseminated over his extensive dominions, soon became familiar to the western world. Hence it is, that we find our early Latin authors of the dark ages chiefly employed in writing systems of the most abstruse sciences: and from these beginnings the Aristotelic philosophy acquired such establishment and authority, that from long prescription it remains to this day the sacred and uncontroverted doctrine of our schools[t]. From this fountain the infatuations of

Many celebrated astronomers flourished in his reign; and he was himself famed for his skill in astronomy This was about the year of Christ 820 See Leo African de Med et Phil Arab cap 1 Al-Makin, pp 139, 140. Eutych pp 434, 435.

A curious circumstance of the envy with which the Greeks at Constantinople treated this growing philosophy of the Arabians, is mentioned by Cedrenus Al-manun, hearing of one Leo an excellent mathematician at Constantinople, wrote to the emperor, requesting that Leo might be permitted to settle in his dominions, with a most ample salary, as a teacher in that science The emperor, by this means being made acquainted with Leo's merit, established a school, in which he appointed Leo a professor, for the sake of a specious excuse. The caliph sent a second time to the emperor, entreating that Leo might reside with him for a short time only, offering likewise a large sum of money, and terms of lasting peace and alliance, on which the emperor immediately created Leo bishop of Thessalonica Cedren. Hist. Comp. 548. seq. Herbelot also relates, that the same caliph, so universal was his search after Greek books, procured a copy of Apollonius Pergæus the mathematician. But this copy contained only seven books. In the mean time, finding by the Introduction that the whole consisted of eight books, and that the eighth book was the foundation of the rest, and being informed that there was a complete copy in the emperor's library at Constantinople, he applied to him for a transcript. But the Greeks, merely from a principle of jealousy, would not suffer the application to reach the emperor, and it did not take effect. Biblioth. Oriental. p. 978 col. a

[r] See Hotting Hist Eccl. Sæc. ix. sect ii lit. Gg According to the best writers of oriental history, the Arabians had made great advances on the coasts communicating with Spain, I mean in Africa, about the year of Christ 692. and they became actually masters of Spain itself in the year 712 See Mod. Univ Hist vol ii pp 168. 179 edit 1759. It may be observed, that Sicily became part of the dominion of the Saracens within sixty years after Mahomet's death, and in the seventh century, together with almost all Asia and Africa Only part of Greece and the lesser Asia then remained to the Grecian empire at Constantinople. Conring De Script. &c Comment p. 101. edit. Wratisl 1727. See also Univ Hist. ut supr.

[s] Cuspinian. de Cæsarib p 419.

[t] Yet it must not be forgot, that St. Austin had translated part of Aristotle's logic from the original Greek into Latin before the fifth century; and that the peripatetic philosophy must have been partly known to the western scholars from the writings and translations of Boethius, who flourished about the year 520. Alcuine, Charlemagne's master, commends St Austin's book *De Prædicamentis*, which he calls, *Decem Naturæ Verba.* Rog. Bacon, *de Util Scient.* cap. xiv. See also *Op. Maj* An ingenious and learned writer, already quoted, affirms, that in the age of Charlemagne there were many

astrology took possession of the middle ages, and were continued even to modern times. To the peculiar genius of this people it is owing, that chemistry became blended with so many extravagances, obscured with unintelligible jargon, and filled with fantastic notions, mysterious pretensions, and superstitious operations. And it is easy to conceive, that among these visionary philosophers, so fertile in speculation, logic and metaphysics contracted much of that refinement and perplexity which for so many centuries exercised the genius of profound reasoners and captious disputants, and so long obstructed the progress of true knowledge. It may perhaps be regretted in the mean time, that this predilection of the Arabian scholars for philosophic inquiries prevented them from importing into Europe a literature of another kind. But rude and barbarous nations would not have been polished by the history, poetry, and oratory of the Greeks. Although capable of comprehending the solid truths of many parts of science, they are unprepared to be impressed with ideas of elegance, and to relish works of taste. Men must be instructed before they can be refined; and, in the gradations of knowledge, polite literature does not take place till some progress has first been made in philosophy. Yet it is at the same time probable, that the Arabians, among their literary stores, brought into Spain and Italy many Greek authors not of the scientific species [u]; and that the migration of this people into the western world, while it proved the fortunate instrument of introducing into Europe some of the Greek classics at a very early period, was moreover a means of preserving those genuine models of composition, and of transmitting them to the

Greek scholars who made translations of Aristotle, which were in use below the year 1100. I will not believe that any Europeans, properly so called, were competently skilled in Greek for this purpose in the time of Charlemagne, nor, if they were, is it likely that of themselves they should have turned their thoughts to Aristotle's philosophy. Unless by *viri Græce docti* this writer means the learned Arabs of Spain, which does not appear from his context. See Euseb. Renaudot, ut supr. p. 247.

[u] It must not be forgot, that they translated Aristotle's Poetics. There is extant "Averroys Summa in Aristotelis poetriam ex Arabico sermone in Latinum traducta ab Hermano Alemanno. Præmittitur determinatio Ibinrosdin in poetria Aristotelis. Venet. 1515." There is a translation of the Poetics into Arabic by Abou Muschar Metta, entitled *Abotica*. See Herbel. Bibl. Oriental. p. 18. col. a. p. 971 b. p. 40. col. 2. p. 337. col. 2. Farabi, who studied at Bagdad about the year 930, one of the translators of Aristotle's Analytics, wrote sixty books on that philosopher's Rhetoric; declaring that he had read it over two hundred times, and yet was equally desirous of reading it again. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. 265. Herbelot mentions Aristotle's Morals, translated by Honain, Bibl. Oriental p. 963 a. See also p. 971 a. 973. p. 974 b. Compare Mosheim, Hist. ch. i. pp. 217. 288. note C. p. 2. ch. 1. Averroys also paraphrased Aristotle's Rhetoric. There are also translations into Arabic of Aristotle's Analytics and his treatise of Interpretation. The first they called *Analuthica*, and the second, *Bari Armenias*. But Aristotle's logic, metaphysics, and physics pleased them most; particularly the eight books of his physics, which exhibit a general view of that science. Some of our countrymen were translators of these Arabic books into Latin. Athelard, a monk of Bath, translated the Arabic Euclid into Latin, about 1000. Leland. Script. Brit. p. 200. There are some manuscripts of it in the Bodleian library, and elsewhere; but the most beautiful and elegant copy I have seen is on vellum, in Trinity college library at Oxford. Cod. MSS. Num. 10.

present generation[v]. It is certain, that about the close of the ninth century, polite letters, together with the sciences, began in some degree to be studied in Italy, France, and Germany. Charlemagne, whose munificence and activity in propagating the Arabian literature has already been mentioned, founded the universities of Bononia, Pavia, Paris, and Osnaburgh. Charles the Bald seconded the salutary endeavours of Charlemagne. Lothaire, the brother of the latter, erected schools in the eight principal cities of Italy[w]. The number of monasteries and collegiate churches in those countries was daily increasing[x]; in which the youth, as a preparation to the study of the sacred scriptures, were exercised in reading profane authors, together with the ancient doctors of the church, and habituated to a Latin style. The monks of Cassino in Italy were distinguished before the year 1000, not only for their knowledge of the sciences, but their attention to polite learning, and an acquaintance with the classics. Their learned abbot Desiderius collected the best of the Greek and Roman writers. This fraternity not only composed learned treatises in music, logic, astronomy, and the Vitruvian architecture, but likewise employed a portion of their time in transcribing Tacitus[y], Jornandes, Josephus, Ovid's Fasti, Cicero, Seneca, Donatus the grammarian, Virgil, Theocritus, and Homer[z].

[v] See what I have said concerning the destruction of many Greek classics at Constantinople in the Preface to Theocritus, Oxon 1770. tom i. Prefat. p. xiv. xv. To which I will add, that so early as the fourth century, the Christian priests did no small injury to ancient literature, by prohibiting and discouraging the study of the old pagan philosophers Hence the story, that Jerom dreamed he was whipped by the devil for reading Cicero. Compare what is said of Livy below.

[w] A D. 823 See Murator. Scriptor. Rer Italicar i p 151.

[x] Cave mentions, "Cænobia *Italica*, Cassinense, Ferrariense · *Germanica*, Fuldense, Sangellense, Augiense, Lobiense. *Gallica*, Corbiense, Rhemense, Orbacense, Floriacense," &c. Hist. Lit Sæc. Photian. p. 503. edit. 1688. Charlemagne also founded two archbishopricks and nine bishopricks in the most considerable towns of Germany. Aub. Miræi Op. Diplomat. i. p. 16. Charlemagne seems to have founded libraries. See J. David. Koeler, Diss. De Bibliotheca Caroli Mag. Altorg. 1727. and Act. Erudit. et Curios. Francon. P. x. p. 716. seq. 60. and Hist. Lit. Franc. tom. iv 4to. p 223. Compare Laun. c. iv. p. 30. Eginhart mentions his private library. Vit. Car. Mag. p. 41 a. edit. 1565. He even founded a library at Jerusalem for the use of those western pilgrims who visited the holy sepulchre. Hist. Lit. ut supr. p. 373. His successor also, Charles the Bald, erected many libraries. Two of his librarians, Holduin and Ebbo, occur under that title in subscriptions. Bibl. Hist Liter. Struvii et Jugl. cap. ii. sect. xvii. p. 172. This monarch, before his last expedition into Italy, about the year 870, in case of his decease, orders his large library to be divided into three parts, and disposed of accordingly. Hist. Lit. ut supr. tom. v. p. 514. Launoy justly remarks, that many noble public institutions of Charles the Bald were referred by succeeding historians to their more favourite hero Charlemagne. Ubi supr. p. 53. edit. Fabric. Their immediate successors, at least of the German race, were not such conspicuous patrons of literature.

[y] Lipsius says, that Leo the Tenth gave five hundred pieces of gold for the five first books of Tacitus's Annals, to the monks of a convent in Saxony. This Lipsius calls the resurrection of Tacitus to life. Ad Annal. Tacit. lib. ii. c 9. At the end of the edition of Tacitus published under Leo's patronage by Beroaldus in 1515, this edict is printed, "Nomine Leonis X. proposita sunt præmia non mediocria his qui ad eum libros veteres neque hactenus editos adtulerint."

[z] Chron. Cassin. Monast. lib. iii. c. 35.

In the mean time England shared these improvements in knowledge; and literature, chiefly derived from the same sources, was communicated to our Saxon ancestors about the beginning of the eighth century[c]. The Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity about the year 570. In consequence of this event, they soon acquired civility and learning. Hence they necessarily established a communication with Rome, and acquired a familiarity with the Latin language. During this period, it was the prevailing practice among the Saxons, not only of the clergy but of the better sort of laity, to make a voyage to Rome[d]. It is natural to imagine with what ardour the new converts visited the holy see, which at the same time was fortunately the capital of literature. While they gratified their devotion, undesignedly and imperceptibly they became acquainted with useful science.

In return, Rome sent her emissaries into Britain. Theodore, a monk of Rome, originally a Greek priest, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and sent into England by pope Vitalian, in the year 668[e]. He was skilled in the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, church music, and the Greek and Latin languages[f]. The new prelate brought with him a large library, as it was called and esteemed, consisting of numerous Greek and Latin authors; among which were Homer in a large volume, written on paper with most exquisite elegance, the homilies of saint Chrysostom on parchment, the

Poggius Florentinus found a *Stratagemata* of Frontinus, about the year 1420, in this monastery. Mabillon, Mus Ital tom i. p. 133. Manuscripts of the following classics, now in the Harleian collection, appear to have been written between the eighth and tenth centuries inclusively. Two copies of Terence, Brit. Mus MSS. Harl 2670. 2750. Cicero's Paradoxa Stoicorum, the first book De Natura Deorum, Orations against Catiline, De Oratore, De Inventione Rhetorica, Ad Herennium, n. 2622. 2716 2623 and the Epistles, with others of his works, n 2682 A fragment of the Æneid, n 2772 Livy, n 2672 Lucius Florus, n 2620. Ovid's Metamorphoses and Fasti, n 2737 Quintilian, n. 2664. Horace, the Odes excepted, n. 2725 Many of the same and other classic authors occur in the British Museum, written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See n 5443. 2656 2475 2624 2591. 2668 2533. 2770 2492 2709. 2655. 2654. 2664. 2728 5534 2609. 2724. 5412. 2643 5304. 2633. There are four copies of Statius, one of the twelfth century, n. 2720, and three others of the thirteenth, n. 2608. 2636. 2665. Plautus's Comedies are among the royal manuscripts, written in the tenth, 15 C xi. 4 and some parts of Tully in the same, ibid 1. Suetonius, 15 C. iv 1 Horace's Art of Poetry, Epistles, and Satires, with Eutropius, in the same, 15 B vii 1 2 3 xvi 1, &c Willibold, one of the learned Saxons whose literature will be mentioned in its proper place, having visited Rome and Jerusalem, retired for some time to this monastery, about the year 730 Vit. Willibaldi, Canis. Antiq Lect. xv. 695 and Pantal. de Vir. Illustr par ii p 263 And Birinus, who came into England from Rome about the year 630, with a design of converting the Saxons, brought with him one Benedict, a monk of Cassino, whom he placed over the monks or church of Winchester Wharton, Angl Sacr i 190.

[c] Cave, Sæcul. Eutych p. 382.

[d] "His temporibus multi Anglorum gentis nobiles et ignobiles viri et fœminæ, duces et privati, divini numinis instinctu, Romam venire consueverant." &c. Bede, *De Temp* Apud Leland, Script. Brit. CEOLFRIDUS

[e] Birchington, apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr i 2 Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 464 Parker, Antiquitat Brit. p. 53.

[f] Bed. Hist. Ecclesiast Gent. Angl. iv. 2. Bede says of Theodore and of Adrian mentioned below, "Usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis, qui Latinam Græcamque linguam æque ut propriam in qua nati sunt, norunt" See also ibid. c 1.

Psalter, and Josephus's Hypomnesticon, all in Greek[g]. Theodore was accompanied into England by Adrian, a Neapolitan monk, and a native of Africa, who was equally skilled in sacred and profane learning, and at the same time appointed by the pope to the abbacy of Saint Austin's at Canterbury. Bede informs us, that Adrian requested Pope Vitalian to confer the archbishoprick on Theodore, and that the pope consented on condition that Adrian, "who had been *twice in France*, and on that account was *better acquainted* with the nature and difficulties of so long a journey," would conduct Theodore into Britain[h]. They were both escorted to the city of Canterbury by Benedict Biscop, a native of Northumberland, and a monk, who had formerly been acquainted with them in a visit which he made to Rome[i]. Benedict seems at this time to have been one of the most distinguished of the Saxon ecclesiastics: availing himself of the arrival of these two learned strangers, under their direction and assistance he procured workmen from France, and built the monastery of Weremouth in Northumberland. The church he constructed of stone, after the manner of the Roman architecture; and adorned its walls and roof with pictures, which he purchased at Rome, representing among other sacred subjects the Virgin Mary, the twelve apostles, the evangelical history, and the visions of the Apocalypse[k]. The windows were glazed by artists brought from France. But I mention this foundation to introduce an anecdote much to our purpose. Benedict added to his monastery an ample library, which he stored with Greek and Latin volumes, imported by himself from Italy[l]. Bede has thought it a matter worthy to be recorded, that Ceolfrid, his successor in the government of Weremouth abbey, augmented this collection with three volumes of pandects, and a book of cosmography wonderfully enriched with curious workmanship and bought at Rome[m]. The example of the pious Benedict was immediately followed by Acca, bishop of Hexham in the same province: who having finished his cathedral church by the help of architects, masons, and glaziers hired in Italy, adorned it, according to Leland, with a valuable library of Greek and Latin authors[n]. But Bede, Acca's cotemporary, relates, that this

[g] Parker, ut supr p 80 See also Lambarde's Peramb Kent, p 233 A transcript of the Josephus 500 years old was given to the public library at Cambridge by the archbishop See Fabric Bibl Gr x 109

[h] Bed. Hist. Eccl iv 1 "Et ob id majorem notitiam hujus itineris," &c

[i] See Math Westmon sub an. 703 Lel Script Brit p 109

[k] See Bede, Hist. Abbat Wiremuth pp 295 297 edit Cantab In one of his expeditions to Rome, he brought over John, arch-chantor of St Peter's at Rome, who introduced the Roman method of singing mass Bed ibid p 295 He taught the monks of Benedict's abbey and all the singers of the monasteries of that province came from various parts to hear him sing Bed Hist Eccl iv 18 He likewise brought over from Rome two silken palls of exquisite workmanship, with which he afterwards purchased of king Aldfrid, successor of Elfrid, two pieces of land for his monastery Bed. Vit Abb ut supr p. 297 Bale censures Benedict for being the first who introduced into England painters, glaziers, *et id genus alios* AD VOLUPTATEM *artifices* Cent. i 82 This is the language of a Puritan in life, as well as in religion

[l] Lel ubi supr 110

[m] Bede, Hist. Abbat Wiremuth p 299 Op Bed edit Cantab

[n] Lel ibid p 105

library was entirely composed of the histories of those apostles and martyrs to whose relics he had dedicated several altars in his church, and other ecclesiastical treatises which he had collected with infinite labour[o]. Bede however calls it a most copious and noble library[p]. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to add, that Acca invited from Kent into Northumberland, and retained in his service during the space of twelve years, a celebrated chantor named Maban: by the assistance of whose instructions and superintendance he not only regulated the church music of his diocese, but introduced the use of many Latin hymns hitherto unknown in the northern churches of England[q]. It appears that before the arrival of Theodore and Adrian, celebrated schools for educating youth in the sciences had been long established in Kent[r]. Literature, however, seems at this period to have flourished with equal reputation at the other extremity of the island, and even in our most northern provinces. Ecbert bishop of York founded a library in his cathedral, which, like some of those already mentioned, is said to have been replenished with a variety of Latin and Greek books[s]. Alcuine, whom Ecbert appointed his first librarian, hints at this library in a Latin epistle to Charlemagne. "Send me from France some learned treatises, of equal excellence with those which I preserve here in England under my custody, collected by the industry of my master Ecbert: and I will send to you some of my youths, who shall carry with them the flowers of Britain into France. So that there shall not only be an *inclosed garden* at York, but also at Tours some sprouts of Paradise[t]," &c. William of Malmesbury judged this library to be of sufficient importance not only to be mentioned in his History, but to be styled, "Omnium liberalium artium armarium, nobilissimam bibliothecam[u]." This repository remained till the reign of King Stephen, when it was destroyed by fire, with great part of the city of York[v]. Its founder Ecbert died in the year 767[w]. Before the end of the eighth century, the monasteries of Westminster, Saint Alban's, Worcester,

[o] Bed Hist. v. 21. [p] Ibid. v c. 20.

[q] Bed. Hist. Eccl. v. c 21. Maban had been taught to sing in Kent by the successors of the disciples of Saint Gregory. Compare Bed. iv. 2. If we may believe William of Malmesbury, who wrote about the year 1120, they had organs in the Saxon churches before the Conquest. He says that archbishop Dunstan, in king Edgar's reign, gave an organ to the abbey-church of Malmesbury; which he describes to have been like those in use at present. "Organa, ubi per æreas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas follis vomit anxius auras." William, who was a monk of this abbey, adds, that this benediction of Dunstan was inscribed in a Latin distich, which he quotes, on the organ pipes. Vit. Aldhelm. Whart. Ang. Sacr. ii. p. 33. See what is said of Dunstan below. And Osb Vit. S. Dunst Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii 93.

[Mr Turner has quoted a passage from Aldhelm's poem "De Laude Virginum," which confirms this statement of Malmesbury.

Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste,
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cætera capsis. Vol. ii. p 408.—PRICE.]

[r] See Bed. Op. per Smith, p 724. seq. Append.

[s] Lel. p. 114. [The only Greek *classic* was Aristotle —PRICE.]

[t] Bale, ii. 15. [u] De Reg. i. 1.

[v] Pits, p. 154.

[w] Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 486.

Malmesbury, Glastonbury, with some others, were founded and opulently endowed. That of Saint Alban's was filled with one hundred monks by King Offa[x]. Many new bishopricks were also established in England: all which institutions, by multiplying the number of ecclesiastics, turned the attention of many persons to letters.

The best writers among the Saxons flourished about the eighth century. These were, Aldhelm bishop of Shirburn, Ceolfrid, Alcuine, and Bede; with whom I must also join King Alfred. But in an enquiry of this nature, Alfred deserves particular notice, not only as a writer, but as the illustrious rival of Charlemagne in protecting and assisting the restoration of literature. He is said to have founded the university of Oxford; and it is highly probable, that in imitation of Charlemagne's similar institutions, he appointed learned persons to give public and gratuitous instructions in theology, but principally in the fashionable sciences of logic, astronomy, arithmetic, and geometry at that place, which was then a considerable town, and conveniently situated in the neighbourhood of those royal seats at which Alfred chiefly resided. He suffered no priest that was illiterate to be advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity[y]. He invited his nobility to educate their sons in learning, and requested those lords of his court who had no children to send to school such of their younger servants as discovered a promising capacity, and to breed them to the clerical profession[z]. Alfred, while a boy, had himself experienced the inconveniences arising from a want of scholars, and even of common instructors, in his dominions; for he was twelve years of age before he could procure in the western kingdom a master properly qualified to teach him the alphabet. But, while yet unable to read, he could repeat from memory a great variety of Saxon songs[a]. He was fond of cultivating his native tongue: and with

[x] A. D. 793 See Dugd. Monast. i. p. 177.

[y] MS. Bever, MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Codd. xlvii. f. 82.

[z] Bever, ibid.

[a] Flor. Vigorn. sub ann. 871. Brompton, Chron. in Alfr. p. 814. And MS. Bever, ut supr. It is curious to observe the simplicity of this age, in the method by which Alfred computed time. He caused six wax tapers to be made, each twelve inches long, and of as many ounces in weight: on these tapers he ordered the inches to be regularly marked, and having found that one of them burned just four hours, he committed the care of them to the keepers of his chapel, who from time to time gave due notice how the hours went. But as in windy weather the candles were more wasted, to remedy this inconvenience he invented lanthorns, there being then no glass to be met with in his dominions. Asser. Menev. Vit. Alfr. p. 68. edit. Wise. In the mean time, and during this very period, the Persians imported into Europe a machine, which presented the first rudiments of a striking clock. It was brought as a present to Charlemagne, from Abdella king of Persia, by two monks of Jerusalem, in the year 800. Among other presents, says Eginhart, was an horologe of brass, wonderfully constructed by some mechanical artifice, in which the course of the twelve hours *ad clepsydram vertebatur*, with as many little brasen balls, which at the close of each hour dropped down on a sort of bells underneath, and sounded the end of the hour. There were also twelve figures of horsemen, who, when the twelve hours were completed, issued out at twelve windows, which till then stood open, and returning again, shut the windows after them. He adds, that there were many other curiosities in this instrument, which it would be tedious to recount. Eginhart, Car. Magn. p. 108. It is to be remembered, that Eginhart was an eye-witness of what is here described; and that he was an abbot, a skilful architect, and very learned in the sciences.

a view of inviting the people in general to a love of reading, and to a knowledge of books which they could not otherwise have understood, he translated many Latin authors into Saxon. These, among others, were Boethius OF THE CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, a manuscript of which of Alfred's age still remains[b], Orosius's HISTORY OF THE PAGANS, Saint Gregory's PASTORAL CARE, the venerable Bede's ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, and the SOLILOQUIES of Saint Austin. Probably Saint Austin was selected by Alfred because he was the favourite author of Charlemagne[c]. Alfred died in the year 900, and was buried at Hyde abbey, in the suburbs of Winchester, under a sumptuous monument of porphyry[d].

Aldhelm, kinsman of Ina king of the West Saxons, frequently visited France and Italy. While a monk of Malmesbury in Wiltshire, he went from his monastery to Canterbury, in order to learn logic, rhetoric, and the Greek language of archbishop Theodore, and of Albin abbot of Saint Austin's[e], the pupil of Adrian[f]. But he had before acquired some knowledge of Greek and Latin under Maidulf, an Hibernian or Scot, who had erected a small monastery or school at Malmesbury[g]. Camden affirms, that Aldhelm was the first of the Saxons who wrote in Latin, and that he taught his countrymen the art of Latin versification[h]. But a very intelligent antiquarian in this sort of literature mentions an anonymous Latin poet who wrote the life of Charlemagne in verse; and adds, that he was the first of the Saxons that attempted to write Latin verse[i]. It is however certain, that Aldhelm's Latin compositions, whether in verse or prose, as novelties were deemed extraordinary performances, and excited the attention and admiration of scholars in other countries. A learned cotemporary, who lived in a remote province of a Frankish territory, in an epistle to Aldhelm, has this remarkable expression, "VESTRÆ LATINITATIS PANEGYRICUS RUMOR has reached us even at this distance[k]," &c. In reward of these uncommon merits he was made bishop of Shirburn in Dorsetshire in the year 705[l]. His writings are chiefly theological: but he has likewise left in Latin verse a book of ÆNIGMATA, copied from a work of the same title under the name of Symposius[m], a poem De VIRGINITATE hereafter cited, and

[b] MSS. Cott Oth A. 6. 8vo membr.

[c] He was particularly fond of Austin's book *De Civitate Dei*. Eginhart, Vit Car. Magn. p 29.

[d] Asser. Menev. p. 72. ed. Wise.

[e] Bede says, that Theodore and Adrian taught Tobias bishop of Rochester the Greek and Latin tongues so perfectly, that he could speak them as fluently as his native Saxon. Hist. Eccl v. 23.

[f] Lel p 97. Thorn says, that Albin learned Greek of Adrian. Chron Dec. Script p. 1771.

[g] W. Malmesb. ubi infr p. 3.

[h] Wiltsh. p 116. But this, Aldhelm affirms of himself in his treatise on Metre. See W Malmesb. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr ii 4 seq.

[i] Conringius, Script Comment. p. 108. This poem was printed by Reineccius at Helmstadt many years ago, with a large commentary. Compare Voss Hist Lat. iii. 4.

[k] W Malmesb. ut supr p. 4.

[l] Cave, p. 466.

[m] See Fabric. Bibl. Med Lat iv. p 693. And Bibl Lat i p 681. And W. Malm. ubi supr p 7. Among the manuscripts of Exeter cathedral is a book of *Ænigmata* in Saxon, some of which are written in Runic characters, 11. fol. 98. [This book is now in the press for the Society of Antiquaries, under the care of Mr. Thorpe.]

treatises on arithmetic, astrology, rhetoric, and metre. The last treatise is a proof that the ornaments of composition now began to be studied. Leland mentions his CANTIONES SAXONICÆ, one of which continued to be commonly sung in William of Malmesbury's time: and, as it was artfully interspersed with many allusions to passages of Scripture, was often sung by Aldhelm himself to the populace in the streets, with a design of alluring the ignorant and idle, by so specious a mode of instruction, to a sense of duty, and a knowledge of religious subjects[n]. Malmesbury observes, that Aldhelm might be justly deemed "ex acumine Græcum, ex nitore Romanum, et ex pompa Anglum[o]." It is evident, that Malmesbury, while he here characterizes the Greeks by their acuteness, took his idea of them from their scientifical literature, which was then only known. After the revival of the Greek philosophy by the Saracens, Aristotle and Euclid were familiar in Europe long before Homer and Pindar. The character of Aldhelm is thus drawn by an ancient chronicler; "He was an excellent harper, a most eloquent Saxon and Latin poet, a most expert chantor or singer, a DOCTOR EGREGIUS, and admirably versed in the scriptures and the liberal sciences[p]."

[n] Malmesb. ubi supr. p 4.

[o] Ubi supr. p. 4.

[p] Chron Anon Leland Collectan II. 278. To be skilled in singing is often mentioned as an accomplishment of the ancient Saxon ecclesiastics. Bede says, that Edda a monk of Canterbury, and a learned writer, was "primus cantandi magister" Hist. lib. IV cap 2 Wolstan, a learned monk of Winchester, of the same age, was a celebrated singer, and even wrote a treatise *De Tonorum Harmonia*, cited by William of Malmesbury, De Reg lib II. c. 39. Lel. Script Brit p. 165. Their skill in playing on the harp is also frequently mentioned Of Saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 988, it is said, that among his sacred studies, he cultivated the arts of writing, harping, and painting Vit S Dunstan MSS Cott Brit. Mus. Faustin B. 13. Hickes has engraved a figure of our Saviour drawn by Saint Dunstan, with a specimen of his writing, both remaining in the Bodleian library Gram Saxon p 104. cap XXII The writing and many of the pictures and illuminations in our Saxon manuscripts were executed by the priests. A book of the gospel preserved in the Cotton library is a fine specimen of the Saxon calligraphy and decorations. It is written by Eadfrid bishop of Durham in the most exquisite manner Ethelwold his successor did the illuminations, the capital letters, the picture of the cross, and the evangelists, with infinite labour and elegance. and Bilfrid the anachorete covered the book, thus written and adorned, with gold and silver plates and precious stones All this is related by Aldred, the Saxon glossator, at the end of St. John's gospel The work was finished about the year 720 MSS. Cott Brit Mus Nero, D. 4 Cod. membr fol quadrat. Ælfsin, a monk, is the elegant scribe of many Saxon pieces, chiefly historical and scriptural, in the same library, and perhaps the painter of the figures, probably soon after the year 978 Ibid Titus, D 26 Cod. membr 8vo The Saxon copy of the four evangelists which king Athelstan gave to Durham church, remains in the same library. It has the painted images of St Cuthbert, radiated and crowned, blessing king Athelstan, and of the four evangelists [Since engraved in the third volume of Strutt's Manners and Customs of the English and in vol. I of the same work there is an engraving of the figure of our Saviour by St Dunstan mentioned in this note — PARK.] This is undoubtedly the work of the monks, but Wanley believed it to have been done in France Otho, B. 9. Cod membran. fol. At Trinity college in Cambridge is a Psalter in Latin and Saxon, admirably written, and illuminated with letters in gold, silver, miniated, &c. It is full of a variety of historical pictures. At the end is the figure of the writer Eadwin, supposed to be a monk of Canterbury, holding a pen of metal, undoubtedly used in such sort of writing, with an inscription importing his name and excellence in the calligraphic art. It appears to be per-

Alcuine, bishop Ecbert's librarian at York, was a cotemporary pupil with Aldhelm under Theodore and Adrian at Canterbury[q]. During the present period, there seems to have been a close correspondence and intercourse between the French and Anglo-Saxons in matters of literature. Alcuine was invited from England into France, to superintend the studies of Charlemagne, whom he instructed in logic, rhetoric, and astronomy[r]. He was also the master of Rabanus Maurus, who became afterwards the governor and preceptor of the great abbey of Fulda in Germany, one of the most flourishing seminaries in Europe, founded by Charlemagne, and inhabited by two hundred and seventy monks[s]. Alcuine was likewise employed by Charlemagne to regulate the lectures and discipline of the universities[t], which that prudent and magnificent potentate had newly constituted[u]. He is said to have

formed about the reign of King Stephen Cod. membr fol. post Class. d dextr. Ser. Med 5. [among the *Single Codices.*] Eadwin was a famous and frequent writer of books for the library of Christ-church at Canterbury, as appears by a catalogue of their books taken A D 1315. In Bibl Cott. Galb. E 4 The eight historical pictures richly illuminated with gold, of the *Annunciation*, the *Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth*, &c. in a manuscript of the gospel, are also thought to be of the reign of King Stephen, yet perhaps from the same kind of artists. The Saxon clergy were ingenious artificers in many other respects. St. Dunstan above mentioned made two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands Monast Anglic. tom i. p. 104 John of Glastonbury, who wrote about the year 1400, relates, that there remained in the abbey at Glastonbury, in his time, crosses, incense-vessels, and vestments, made by Dunstan while a monk there. cap. 161. He adds, that Dunstan also handled "scalpellum ut sculperet." It is said, that he could model any image in brass, iron, gold, or silver. Osb Vit. S. Dunstan. apud Whart ii 94 Ervene, one of the teachers of Wolstan bishop of Worcester, perhaps a monk of Bury, was famous for calligraphy, and skill in colours. To invite his pupils to read, he made use of a Psalter and Sacramentary, whose capital letters he had richly illuminated with gold. This was about the year 980. Will. Malmesb Vit. Wulst. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. p. 244 William of Malmesbury says, that Elfric, a Saxon abbot of Malmesbury, was a skilful architect, *ædificandi gnarus.* Vit. Aldhelm Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. p 33 Herman, one of the Norman bishops of Salisbury, about 1080, condescended to write, bind, and illuminate books. Monast. Angl. tom. iii. p. 375.

In some of these instances I have wandered below the Saxon times. It is indeed evident from various proofs which I could give, that the religious practised these arts long afterwards. But the object of this note was the existence of them among the Saxon clergy.

[q] Dedicat. Hist. Eccl. Bed. [See note [x] in next page —M.]

[r] Eginhart. Vit Car. Magn. p. 30. ed. 1565. 4to.

[s] Rabanus instructed them not only in the Scriptures, but in profane literature A great number of other scholars frequented these lectures He was the first founder of a library in this monastery. Cave, Hist. Lit p. 540 Sæc Phot His leisure hours being entirely taken up in reading or transcribing, he was accused by some of the idle monks of attending so much to his studies, that he neglected the public duties of his station, and the care of the revenues of the abbey. They therefore removed him, yet afterwards in vain attempted to recall him. Serrar. Rer. Mogunt lib iv p. 625

[t] John Mailros, a Scot, one of Bede's scholars, is said to have been employed by Charlemagne in founding the university of Pavia Dempst xii. 904.

[u] See Op. Alcuin Paris. 1617. fol. Præfat. Andr Quercetan. Mabillon says, that Alcuine pointed the homilies, and St. Austin's epistle, at the instance of Charlemagne. *Carl Magn* R. Diplomat. p 52 a. Charlemagne was most fond of astronomy He learned also arithmetic In his treasury he had three tables of silver, and a fourth of gold, of great weight and size. One of these, which was square, had a picture or representation of Constantinople: another, a round one, a map of Rome a third, which was of the most exquisite workmanship, and greatest weight, consisting of three orbs, contained a map of the world. Eginhart, ubi supr. pp. 29. 31. 41.

joined to the Greek and Latin an acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, which perhaps in some degree was known sooner than we may suspect; for at Trinity college in Cambridge there is an Hebrew Psalter, with a Normanno-Gallic interlinear version of great antiquity[w]. Homilies, lives of saints, commentaries on the Bible, with the usual systems of logic, astronomy, rhetoric, and grammar, compose the formidable catalogue of Alcuine's numerous writings. Yet in his books of the sciences he sometimes ventured to break through the pedantic formalities of a systematical teacher: he has thrown one of his treatises in logic, and, I think, another in grammar, into a dialogue between the author and Charlemagne. He first advised Bede to write his ecclesiastical history of England; and was greatly instrumental in furnishing materials for that early and authentic record of our antiquities[x].

In the mean time we must not form too magnificent ideas of these celebrated masters of science who were thus invited into foreign countries to conduct the education of mighty monarchs, and to plan the rudiments of the most illustrious academies. Their merits are in great measure relative. Their circle of reading was contracted, their systems of philosophy jejune; and their lectures rather served to stop the growth of ignorance, than to produce any positive or important improvements in knowledge. They were unable to make excursions from their circumscribed paths of scientific instruction into the spacious and fruitful regions of liberal and manly study. Those of their hearers who had passed through the course of the sciences with applause, and aspired to higher acquisitions, were exhorted to read Cassiodorus and Boethius, whose writings they placed at the summit of profane literature, and which they believed to be the great boundaries of human erudition.

I have already mentioned Ceolfrid's presents of books to Benedict's library at Weremouth abbey. He wrote an account of his travels into France and Italy. But his principal work, and I believe the only one preserved, is his dissertation concerning the clerical tonsure, and the

[w] MSS. Cod Coll. S. S. Trin Cant. Class. a dextr. Ser. Med. 5 membran 4to. [This description of the MS of Trin. Coll. is very incorrect. It is a Latin psalter, and not a *Hebrew* psalter. The Latin, after two versions, one of which is Jerome's after the Hebrew, is given in separate columns, and over the lines in one column is a regular translation in Anglo-Norman, over the other in Anglo-Saxon, of that period, which is probably about the date (or even earlier) which Warton gives it in a preceding note —W.] Bede says, that he compiled part of his *Chronicon, ex Hebraica veritate*, that is from St. Jerom's Latin translation of the Bible, for he adds, "nos qui per beati interpretis Hieronymi *industriam* puro HEBRAICÆ VERITATIS fonte potamur," &c. And again, "Ex Hebraica veritate, quæ *ad nos per memoratum interpretem* pure pervenisse," &c. He mentions on this occasion the Greek Septuagint translation of the Bible, but not as if he had ever seen or consulted it. Bed Chron. p. 34. edit. Cant Op Bed.

[x] Dedicat Hist. Eccl. Bed. To King Ceolwulphus, pp. 37, 38. edit. Op Cant. [The statement in the text is not correct, but carelessly copied from Bale and Cave. According to the best-informed writers, Alchuine was born about the year 735, and was a mere infant at the period of Bede's death. The *Albinus* referred to by the historian was, as appears from lib. v. c. 21, a disciple of Adrian, abbot of St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury, and his successor in that office. See the Commentary on Alchuine's life by Froben, prefixed to his edition of the former's works: fol. Ratisbon, 1777.—M.]

rites of celebrating Easter[y]. This was written at the desire of Naiton, a Pictish king, who dispatched ambassadors to Ceolfrid for information concerning these important articles; requesting Ceolfrid at the same time to send him some skilful architects, who could build in his country a church of stone, after the fashion of the Romans[a]. Ceolfrid died on a journey to Rome, and was buried in a monastery of Navarre, in the year 706[b].

But Bede, whose name is so nearly and necessarily connected with every part of the literature of this period, and which has therefore been often already mentioned, emphatically styled the Venerable by his cotemporaries, was by far the most learned of the Saxon writers. He was of the northern school, if it may be so called; and was educated in the monastery of Saint Peter at Weremouth, under the care of the abbots Ceolfrid and Biscop[c]. Bale affirms, that Bede learned physics and mathematics from the purest sources, the original Greek and Roman writers on these subjects[d]. But this hasty assertion, in part at least, may justly be doubted. His knowledge, if we consider his age, was extensive and profound: and it is amazing, in so rude a period, and during a life of no considerable length, he should have made so successful a progress, and such rapid improvements, in scientifical and philological studies, and have composed so many elaborate treatises on different subjects[e]. It is diverting to see the French critics censuring Bede for credulity: they might as well have accused him of superstition[f]. There is much perspicuity and facility in his Latin style; but

[y] Bed. Hist. Eccl. v 22 And Concil Gen vi. p 1423.

[a] Bed. Hist Eccl ib c 21 iv 18

[b] Bed. Hist. Abb. p. 300.

[c] Bed. Hist. Eccl v 24.

[d] ii. 94

[e] "Libros septuaginta octo edidit, quos ad finem HISTORIÆ suæ ANGLICANÆ edidit [See Op edit Cant pp 222, 223. lib v c 24] Hic succumbit ingenium, deficit eloquium, sufficienter admirari hominem a scholastico exercitio tam procul amotum, tam sobrio sermone tanta elaborasse volumina" &c Chron Præf Bever MSS. Coll. Trin Oxon ut supr f 65. [Bever was a monk of Westminster circ A.D 1400.] For a full and exact list of Bede's works, the curious reader is referred to Mabillon, Sæc iii. p. i p. 539 Or Cave, Hist. Lit. ii p 242.

[f] It is true, that Bede has introduced many miracles and visions into his history. Yet some of these are pleasing to the imagination they are tinctured with the gloom of the cloister, operating on the extravagances of oriental invention I will give an instance or two. A monk of Northumberland died, and was brought again to life. In this interval of death, a young man in shining apparel came and led him, without speaking, to a valley of infinite depth, length, and breadth one side was formed by a prodigious sheet of fire, and the opposite side filled with hail and ice Both sides were swarming with souls of departed men, who were for ever in search of rest, alternately shifting their situation to these extremes of heat and cold The monk supposing this place to be hell, was told by his guide that he was mistaken The guide then led him, greatly terrified with this spectacle, to a more distant place, where he says, "I saw on a sudden a darkness come on, and every thing was obscured. When I entered this place I could discern no object, on account of the increasing darkness, except the countenance and glittering garments of my conductor As we went forward I beheld vast torrents of flame spouting upwards from the ground, as from a large well, and falling down into it again. As we came near it my guide suddenly vanished, and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrible vision Deformed and uncouth spirits arose from this blazing chasm, and attempted to draw me in with fiery forks" But his guide here returned, and they all retired at his

it is void of elegance, and often of purity; it shows with what grace and propriety he would have written, had his mind been formed on better models. Whoever looks for digestion of materials, disposition of parts, and accuracy of narration in this writer's historical works, expects what could not exist at that time. He has recorded but few civil transactions; but besides that his history professedly considers ecclesiastical affairs, we should remember, that the building of a church, the preferment of an abbot, the canonisation of a martyr, and the importation into England of the shin-bone of an apostle, were necessarily matters of much more importance in Bede's conceptions than victories or revolutions, He is fond of minute description, but particularities are the fault and often the merit of early historians[r]. Bede wrote many pieces of Latin poetry. The following verses from his MEDITATIO DE DIE JUDICII, a translation of which into Saxon verse is now preserved in the library of Bennet college at Cambridge[s], are at least well turned and harmonious.

Inter florigeras fœcundi cespitis herbas,
Flamine ventorum resonantibus undique ramis[t].

Some of Aldhelm's verses are exactly in this cast, written on the Dedication of the abbey-church at Malmesbury to Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Hic celebranda rudis[u] florescit gloria templi,
Limpida quæ sacri celebrat vexilla triumphi:
Hic Petrus et Paulus, tenebrosi lumina mundi,
Præcipui patres populi qui frena gubernant,

appearance Heaven is then described with great strength of fancy I have seen an old ballad, called the Dead Man's Song, on this story, and Milton's hell may perhaps be taken from this idea Bed Hist. Eccl v 13 Our historian in the next chapter relates, that two most beautiful youths came to a person lying sick on his death-bed, and offered him a book to read, richly ornamented, in which his good actions were recorded. Immediately after this, the house was surrounded and filled with an army of spirits of most horrible aspect One of them, who by the gloom of his darksome countenance appeared to be their leader, produced a book, *codicem horrendæ visionis, et magnitudinis enormis et ponderis pæne importabilis*, and ordered some of his attendant demons to bring it to the sick man. In this were contained all his sins, &c. ib. cap. 14.

[r] An ingenious author who writes under the name of M. de Vigneul Marville, observes, that Bede, "when he speaks of the Magi who went to worship our Saviour, is very particular in the account o their names, age, and respective offerings He says, that Melchior was old, and had grey hair, with a long beard, and that it was he who offered gold to Christ, in acknowledgement of his sovereignty, that Gaspar, the second of the magi, was young, and had no beard, and that it was he who offered frankincense in recognition of our Lord's divinity, and that Balthasar, the third, was of a dark complexion, had a large beard, and offered myrrh to our Saviour's humanity" He is likewise very circumstantial in the description of their dresses. Mélanges de l'Hist et de Lit Paris, 1725. 12mo. tom III p 283. &c What was more natural than this in such a writer and on such a subject? In the mean time it may be remarked, that this description of Bede, taken perhaps from constant tradition, is now to be seen in the old pictures and popular representations of the *Wise Men's Offering*.

[s] Cod. MSS lxxix. P. 161.

[t] Malmesb. apud Whart. ut supr. p. 8

[u] recent, newly built.

Carminibus crebris alma celebrantur in aula.
Claviger o cæli, portam qui pandis in æthra,
Candida qui meritis recludis limina cæli,
Exaudi clemens populorum vota tuorum,
Marcida qui riguis humectant fletibus ora[w].

The strict and superabundant attention of these Latin poets to prosodic rules, on which it was become fashionable to write didactic systems, made them accurate to excess in the metrical conformation of their hexameters, and produced a faultless and flowing monotony. Bede died in the monastery of Weremouth, which he never had once quitted, in the year 735[x].

I have already observed, and from good authorities, that many of these Saxon scholars were skilled in Greek. Yet scarce any considerable monuments have descended to modern times, to prove their familiarity with that language. I will, however, mention such as have occurred to me. Archbishop Parker, or rather his learned scribe Jocelin, affirms, that the copy of Homer, and some of the other books imported into England by archbishop Theodore, as I have above related, remained in his time[y]. There is however no allusion to Homer, nor any mention made of his name, in the writings of the Saxons now existing[z]. In the Bodleian library are some extracts from the books of the Prophets in Greek and Latin: the Latin is in Saxon, and the Greek in Latino-greek capital characters. A Latino-greek alphabet is prefixed. In the same manuscript is a chapter of Deuteronomy, Greek and Latin, but both are in Saxon characters[a]. In the curious and very valuable library of Bennet college in Cambridge is a very ancient copy of Aldhelm De Laude Virginitatis. In it is inserted a specimen ōf Saxon poetry full of Latin and Greek words, and at the end of the manuscript some Runic letters occur[b]. I suspect that their Grecian literature was a matter of ostentation rather than use. William of Malmesbury, in his Life of Aldhelm, censures an affectation in the writers of this age; that they were fond of introducing in their Latin compositions a difficult and abstruse word latinised from the Greek[c]. There are many instances of this pedantry in the early charters of Dugdale's Monasticon. But it is no where more visible than in the Life of Saint Wilfrid, archbishop of Canterbury, written by Fridegode a monk of Canterbury, in Latin heroics, about the year 960[d]. Malmesbury observes of this author's style, "Latinitatem perosus, *Græcitatem* amat, *Græcula*

[w] W. Malmesb. ut supr. Apud Whart. p. 8.

[x] Cave, ubi supr p. 473. Sæc. Eiconocl.

[y] Antiquitat. Brit. p. 80.

[z] See Sect. iii. page 128. of this volume, where it is observed, that Homer is cited by Geoffrey of Monmouth. But he is not mentioned in Geoffrey's Armoric original. [Who has seen the original?—Douce.]

[a] NE. D. 19. MSS. membr. 8vo. fol. 24. 19.

[b] Cod. MSS. K 12.

[c] Ubi supr. p. 7.

[d] Printed by Mabillon, Sæc. Benedictin. III. P. i. p. 169.

verba frequentat[e]." Probably to be able to read Greek at this time was esteemed a knowledge of that language. Eginhart relates, that Charlemagne could speak Latin as fluently as his native Frankish; but slightly passes over his accomplishment in Greek by artfully saying, that he understood it better than he could pronounce it[f]. Nor, by the way, was Charlemagne's boasted facility in the Latin so remarkable a prodigy. The Latin language was familiar to the Gauls when they were conquered by the Franks; for they were a province of the Roman empire till the year 485. It was the language of their religious offices, their laws, and public transactions. The Franks, who conquered the Gauls at the period just mentioned, still continued this usage, imagining there was a superior dignity in the language of imperial Rome; although this incorporation of the Franks with the Gauls greatly corrupted the latinity of the latter, and had given it a strong tincture of barbarity before the reign of Charlemagne. But while we are bringing proofs which tend to extenuate the notion that Greek was now much known or cultivated, it must not be dissembled, that John Erigena, a native of Aire in Scotland, and one of King Alfred's first lecturers at Oxford[g], translated into Latin from the Greek original four large treatises of Dionysius the Areopagite, about the year 860[h]. This translation, which is dedicated to Charles the Bald, abounds with Greek phraseology, and is hardly intelligible to a mere Latin reader. He also translated into Latin the Scholia of Saint Maximus on the difficult passages of Gregory Nazianzen[i]. He frequently visited his munificent patron Charles the Bald, and is said to have taken a long journey to Athens, and to have spent many years in studying not only the Greek but the Arabic and Chaldee languages[k].

As to classic authors, it appears that not many of them were known or studied by our Saxon ancestors. Those with which they were most acquainted, either in prose or verse, seem to have been of the lower empire; writers who, in the declension of taste, had superseded the

[e] Gest. Pontific i f 114.

[f] Vit. Car Magn p 30.

[g] Wood, Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. i. 15

[h] This translation, with dedications in verse and prose to Charles the Bald, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, viz. MSS. Mus 148. and Hyper. Bodl. 148 p. 4. seq. See also Laud I. 59. And in Saint John's college Oxford, A. xi. 2 3 William of Malmesbury says, that he wrote a book entitled, *Periphismerismus*, (that is, Περι φυσεως μεριςμου,) and adds, that in this piece "a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit." Vit. Aldhelm. p 28. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. It was printed at Oxford by Gale. Erigena, in one of the dedications above mentioned, says, that he had translated into Latin ten of Dionysius's Epistles. Hoveden and Matthew Paris have literally transcribed the words of Malmesbury just cited, and much more Hov. fol 234, and M Paris, p 253. It is doubtful whether the *Versio Moralium Aristotelis* is from the Greek, it might be from the Arabic or whether our author's See Præfat. Op. nonnull. Oxon. edit per Gale, cum Not 1681. fol.

[i] Printed at Oxford as above. Erigena died at Malmesbury, where he had opened a school in the year 883. Cave, Hist Lit. Sæc. Phot. pp. 548, 549. William of Malmesbury says, that Erigena was one of the wits of Charles the Bald's table, and his constant companion. Ubi supr. p. 27.

[k] Spelm. Vit. Ælfred. Bale xiv. 32. Pits. p. 168.

purer and more ancient Roman models, and had been therefore more recently and frequently transcribed. I have mentioned Alfred's translations of Boethius and Orosius. Prudentius was also perhaps one of their favorites. In the British Museum there is a manuscript copy of that poet's PSYCOMACHIA. It is illustrated with drawings of historical figures, each of which have an explanatory legend in Latin and Saxon letters; the Latin in large red characters, and the Saxon in black, of great antiquity[l]. Prudentius is likewise in Bennet college library at Cambridge, transcribed in the time of Charles the Bald, with several Saxon words written into the text[m]. Sedulius's hymns are in the same repository in Saxon characters, in a volume containing other Saxon manuscripts[n]. Bede says, that Aldhelm wrote his book DE VIRGINITATE, which is both prose and verse, in imitation of the manner of Sedulius[o]. We learn from Gregory of Tours, what is not foreign to our purpose to remark, that King Chilperic, who began to reign in 562, wrote two books of Latin verses in imitation of Sedulius. But it was without any idea of the common quantities[p]. A manuscript of this poet in the British Museum is bound up with Nennius and Felix's MIRACLES OF SAINT GUTHLAC, dedicated to Alfwold king of the East Angles, and written both in Latin and Saxon[q]. But these classics were most of them read as books of religion and morality. Yet Aldhelm, in his tract DE METRORUM GENERIBUS, quotes two verses from the third book of Virgil's Georgics[r]: and in the Bodleian library we find a manuscript of the first book of Ovid's Art of Love, in very ancient Saxon characters, accompanied with a British gloss[s]. And the venerable Bede, having first invoked the Trinity, thus begins a Latin panegyrical hymn on the miraculous virginity of Ethildryde: "Let Virgil sing of wars, I celebrate the gifts of peace. My verses are of chastity, not of the rape of the adulteress Helen. I will chant heavenly blessings, not the battles of miserable Troy[t]." These however are rare instances. It was the most abominable heresy to have any concern with the pagan fictions. The graces of composition were not their objects, and elegance found no place amidst their severer pursuits in philosophy and theology[u].

[l] MSS. Cott. Cleopatr. C. 8. membr. 8vo.

[m] Miscellan. MSS M membran.

[n] MSS. S. 11. Cod. membran.

[o] Eccl. Hist. 19.

[p] Gregor. Turonens. l. vi. c. 46.

[q] MSS Cotton. Vesp. D. xxi. 8vo.

[r] W. Malmesb. Vit Aldhelm. Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 4.

[s] NE. D. 19. membr. 8vo. fol. 37.

[t] Bed. Eccl. Hist. iv. 20.

[u] Medicine was one of their favorite sciences, being a part of the Arabian learning We have now remaining Saxon manuscript translations of Apuleius *De Viribus Herbarum*. They have also left a large system of medicine in Saxon, often cited by Somner in his Lexicon, under the title of *Liber Medicinalis*. It appears by this tract, that they were well acquainted with the Latin physicians and naturalists, Marcellus, Scribonius Largus, Pliny, Cælius Aurelianus, Theodore, Priscus, &c. MSS. Bibl. Reg Brit. Mus Cod. membr....It is probable that this manuscript is of the age of King Alfred. Among Hatton's books in the Bodleian library is a Saxon manuscript which has been entitled by Junius *Medicina ex Quadrupedibus*. It is pretended to be taken from Idpart, a fabulous king of Egypt. It is followed by two epistles in Latin of Evax king of the Ara-

It is certain that literature was at its height among our Saxon ancestors about the eighth century. These happy beginnings were almost entirely owing to the attention of King Alfred, who encouraged learning by his own example, by founding seminaries of instruction, and by rewarding the labours of scholars. But the efforts of this pious monarch were soon blasted by the supineness of his successors, the incursions of the Danes, and the distraction of national affairs. Bede, from the establishment of learned bishops in every diocese, and the universal tranquillity which reigned over all the provinces of England, when he finished his ecclesiastical history, flatters his imagination in anticipating the most advantageous consequences, and triumphantly closes his narrative with this pleasing presentiment. The Picts, at this period, were at peace with the Saxons or English, and converted to Christianity. The Scots lived contented within their own boundary. The Britons or Welsh, from a natural enmity, and a dislike to the catholic institution of keeping Easter, sometimes attempted to disturb the national repose; but they were in some measure subservient to the Saxons. Among the Northumbrians, both the nobility and private persons rather chose their children should receive the monastic tonsure, than be trained to arms[x].

But a long night of confusion and gross ignorance succeeded. The principal productions of the most eminent monasteries for three centuries were incredible legends which discovered no marks of invention, unedifying homilies, and trite expositions of the Scriptures. Many bishops and abbots began to consider learning as pernicious to true piety, and confounded illiberal ignorance with Christian simplicity. Leland frequently laments the loss of libraries destroyed in the Danish

bians to Tiberius Cesar, concerning the names and virtues of oriental precious stones used in medicine. Cod Hatton 100. membr fol It is believed to be a manuscript before the Conquest. These ideas of a king of Egypt, another of Arabia, and of the use of oriental precious stones in the medical art, evidently betray their origin. Apuleius's *Herbarium* occurs in the British Museum in Latin and Saxon, "quod accepit ab *Esculapio* et a *Chirone Centauro Magistro Achillis*," together with the *Medicina ex Quadrupedibus* above mentioned. MSS Cot. Vitel C. iii Cod. membr. fol iii. p 19 iv p 75 It is remarkable that the Arabians attribute the invention of Simia, one of their magical sciences, to Kirun or Carun, that is, Chiron the centaur, the master of Achilles. See Herbelot. Dict. Orient. Artic. SIMIA, p. 1005

The Greeks reputed Chiron the inventor of medicine. His medical books are mentioned by many ancient writers, particularly by Apuleius Celsus, *De Herbis*: and Kircher observes, that Chiron's treatise of *Mulomedicina* was familiar to the Arabians. Oedip. Egypt tom iii p 68. Lambeccius describes a very curious and ancient manuscript of Dioscorides among the beautiful illuminations with which it was enriched, was a square picture with a gold ground, on which were represented the seven ancient physicians, Machaon, CHIRON, Niger, Herculides, Mantias, Xenocrates, and Pamphilus P Lambecc. de Bibl Vindob. lib ii p 525 seq I have mentioned above, *Medicina ex Quadrupedibus* A Greek poem or fragment called *Medicina ex Piscibus* has been attributed to Chiron It was written by Marcellus Sidetas of Pamphylia, a physician under Marcus Antoninus, and is printed by Fabricius, Bibl Gr. i p 16 seq., and see xiii p 317. The *Medicina ex Quadrupedibus* seems to be the treatise entitled, *Medicina ex Animalibus*, under the name of Sextus Platonicus, and printed in Stephens's *Medicæ Artis Principes*, p. 684. This was a favorite medical system of the dark ages. See Fabric. ibid. xiii. 395. xii. 613.

[x] Bede, Eccl. Hist v. 23.

invasions[y]. Some slight attempts were made for restoring literary pursuits, but with little success. In the tenth century, Oswald archbishop of York, finding the monasteries of his province extremely ignorant not only in the common elements of grammar, but even in the canonical rules of their respective orders, was obliged to send into France for competent masters, who might remedy these evils[z]. In the mean time, from perpetual commotions, the manners of the people had degenerated from that mildness which a short interval of peace and letters had introduced, and the national character had contracted an air of rudeness and ferocity.

England at length, in the beginning of the eleventh century, received from the Normans the rudiments of that cultivation which it has preserved to the present times. The Normans were a people who had acquired ideas of splendour and refinement from their residence in France; and the gallantries of their feudal system introduced new magnificence and elegance among our rough unpolished ancestors. The Conqueror's army was composed of the flower of the Norman nobility; who sharing allotments of land in different parts of the new territory, diffused a general knowledge of various improvements entirely unknown in the most flourishing eras of the Saxon government, and gave a more liberal turn to the manners even of the provincial inhabitants. That they brought with them the arts, may yet be seen by the castles and churches which they built on a more extensive and stately plan[a]. Literature, in particular, the chief object of our present research, which had long been reduced to the most abject condition, appeared with new lustre in consequence of this important revolution.

Towards the close of the tenth century, an event took place, which gave a new and very fortunate turn to the state of letters in France and Italy. A little before that time, there were no schools in Europe but those which belonged to the monasteries or episcopal churches; and the monks were almost the only masters employed to educate the youth in the principles of sacred and profane erudition. But at the commencement of the eleventh century, many learned persons of the laity, as well as of the clergy, undertook in the most capital cities of France and Italy this important charge. The Latin versions of the Greek philosophers from the Arabic had now become so frequent and

[y] See Malmesb. apud Lel Coll. i. p. 140. edit. nup.

[z] Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 201. Many evidences of the ignorance which prevailed in other countries during the tenth century have been collected by Muratori, Antiquit Ital. Med. Æv. iii. 831. ii. 141; and Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. i. 288.

[a] This point will be further illustrated in a work now preparing for the press, entitled, Observations Critical and Historical, on Castles, Churches, Monasteries, and other Monuments of Antiquity in various Parts of England. To which will be prefixed, The History of Architecture in England.

[This production, which Mr. Price of the Bodleian library affirms to have been written out fairly for the press, has not been discovered among the papers of Mr. Warton, though the *prima stamina* were found in a crude state.—PARK.]

common as to fall into the hands of the people; and many of these new preceptors having travelled into Spain with a design of studying in the Arabic schools[b], and comprehending in their course of instruction more numerous and useful branches of science than the monastic teachers were acquainted with, communicated their knowledge in a better method, and taught in a much more full, perspicuous, solid, and rational manner. These and other beneficial effects, arising from this practice of admitting others besides ecclesiastics to the profession of letters, and the education of youth, were imported into England by means of the Norman conquest.

The Conqueror himself patronised and loved letters. He filled the bishopricks and abbacies of England with the most learned of his countrymen, who had been educated at the university of Paris, at that time the most flourishing school in Europe. He placed Lanfranc, abbot of the monastery of Saint Stephen at Caen, in the see of Canterbury; an eminent master of logic, the subtleties of which he employed with great dexterity in a famous controversy concerning the real presence. Anselm, an acute metaphysician and theologist, his immediate successor in the same see, was called from the government of the abbey of Bec in Normandy. Herman, a Norman bishop of Salisbury, founded a noble library in the ancient cathedral of that see[c]. Many of the Norman prelates preferred in England by the Conqueror were polite scholars. Godfrey, prior of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, a native of Cambray, was an elegant Latin epigrammatist, and wrote with the smartness and ease of Martial[d]; a circumstance which, by the way,

[b] This fashion continued for a long time. Among many who might here be mentioned was Daniel Merlac, an Englishman, who in the year 1185 went to Toledo to learn mathematics, and brought back with him into England several books of the Arabian philosophy. Wood Antiq. Univ Oxon. 1. p. 56. col 1.

[c] "Nobilem bibliothecam, comparatis in hoc optimis juxta ac antiquissimis illustrium autorum monumentis, Severiæ posuit." Leland. Script. Brit. p. 174. He died 1099. He was so fond of letters, that he did not disdain to bind and illuminate books. Mon. Angl. iii. p 375 Vid. supr. The old church of Salisbury stood within the area of that noble ancient military work called *Old-castle*. Leland says, that he finished the church which his predecessor Herman had begun, and filled its chapter with eminent scholars.

[d] Camden has cited several of his epigrams. Remains, p 421. edit. 1674. I have read all his pieces now remaining. The chief of them are, "*Proverbia, et Epigrammata Satyrica.*"—"*Carmina Historica, de Rege Canuto, Regina Emma,*" &c. Among these last, none of which were ever printed, is an eulogy on Walkelin bishop of Winchester, and a Norman, who built great part of his stately cathedral, as it now stands, and was bishop there during Godfrey's priorate, viz.

Consilium, virtutis amor, facundia comis,
WALCHELINE pater, fixa fuere tibi.
Corrector juvenum, senibus documenta ministrans,
Exemplo vitæ pastor utrosque regis.
Pes fueras claudis, cæcis imitabile lumen,
Portans invalidos, qui cecidere levans.
Divitiis dominus, facilis largitor earum,
Dum reficis multos, deficis ipse tibi, &c.

Among the Epigrams, the following is not cited by Camden.

Pauca Titus pretiosa dabat, sed vilia plura:
Ut meliora habeam, pauca det, oro, Titus.

These pieces are in the Bodleian library, MSS. Digb. 112. The whole collection is certainly worthy of publication, I do not mean merely as a curiosity. Leland mentions his epistles "familiari illo et DULCI stylo editæ." Script. Brit. p. 159. Godfrey died 1107. He was made prior of

shows that the literature of the monks at this period was of a more liberal cast than that which we commonly annex to their character and profession. Geoffrey, a learned Norman, was invited from the university of Paris to superintend the direction of the school of the priory of Dunstable, where he composed a play called the Play of SAINT CATHARINE[e], which was acted by his scholars. This was perhaps the first spectacle of the kind that was ever attempted, and the first trace of theatrical representation which appeared in England. Matthew Paris*, who first records this anecdote, says, that Geoffrey borrowed copes from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of Saint Alban's to dress his characters. He was afterwards elected abbot of that opulent monastery[f].

The king himself gave no small countenance to the clergy, in sending his son Henry Beauclerc to the abbey of Abingdon, where he was initiated in the sciences under the care of the abbot Grimbald, and Faritius a physician of Oxford. Robert d'Oilly, constable of Oxford castle, was ordered to pay for the board of the young prince in the convent, which the king himself frequently visited[g]. Nor was William wanting in giving ample revenues to learning: he founded the magnificent abbeys of Battel and Selby, with other smaller convents. His nobles and their successors co-operated with this liberal spirit in erecting many monasteries. Herbert de Losinga, a monk of Normandy, bishop of Thetford in Norfolk, instituted and endowed with large possessions a Benedictine abbey at Norwich, consisting of sixty monks. To mention no more instances, such great institutions of persons dedicated to religious and literary leisure, while they diffused an air of civility, and softened the manners of the people in their respective circles, must have afforded powerful invitations to studious pursuits, and have consequently added no small degree of stability to the interests of learning.

By these observations, and others which have occurred in the course of our inquiries concerning the utility of monasteries, I certainly do not mean to defend the monastic system. We are apt to pass a general and undistinguishing censure on the monks, and to suppose their foundations to have been the retreats of illiterate indolence at every

Winchester A.D. 1082 Wharton, Angl Sacr. i 324. He was interred in the old chapter-house, whose area now makes part of the dean's garden

[e] See infr. vol ii. Sect vi p 18.

* [Mr Warton has here most strangely misquoted Matthew Paris. This writer says, that Geoffrey was sent for by Richard abbot of St. Alban's, to superintend the school there; but arriving too late, the school was given to another person, that Geoffrey still expecting the office, established himself at Dunstaple, where he composed the miracle play of St Catharine, for the decoration of which he borrowed copes from St. Alban's but that on the following night his house together with the copes and all his books was burned. Nothing is mentioned about the priory of Dunstaple, which was not founded before 1131, long after Abbot Richard's death; immediately upon which Geoffrey was elected abbot of St Alban's —DOUCE.]

[f] Vit Abbat ad calc Hist. p 56. edit. 1639 See also Bul. Hist Acad Paris. ii. 225

[g] Hist Antiq. Univ. Oxon i. 46.

period of time. But it should be remembered, that our universities about the time of the Norman conquest, were in a low condition; while the monasteries contained ample endowments and accommodations, and were the only respectable seminaries of literature. A few centuries afterwards, as our universities began to flourish, in consequence of the distinctions and honours which they conferred on scholars, the establishment of colleges, the introduction of new systems of science, the universal ardour which prevailed of breeding almost all persons to letters, and the abolition of that exclusive right of teaching which the ecclesiastics had so long claimed; the monasteries of course grew inattentive to studies, which were more strongly encouraged, more commodiously pursued, and more successfully cultivated, in other places; they gradually became contemptible and unfashionable as nurseries of learning, and their fraternities degenerated into sloth and ignorance. The most eminent scholars which England produced, both in philosophy and humanity, before and even below the twelfth century, were educated in our religious houses. The encouragement given in the English monasteries for transcribing books, the scarcity of which in the middle ages we have before remarked, was very considerable. In every great abbey there was an apartment called the SCRIPTORIUM; where many writers were constantly busied in transcribing not only the service-books for the choir, but books for the library[h]. The Scriptorium of Saint Alban's abbey was built by abbot Paulin, a Norman, who ordered many volumes to be written there, about the year 1080. Archbishop Lanfranc furnished the copies[i]. Estates were often granted for the support of the Scriptorium. That at Saint Edmondsbury was endowed with two mills[k]. The tythes of a rectory were appropriated to the cathedral convent of Saint Swithin at Winchester, *ad libros transcribendos*, in the year 1171[l]. Many instances of this species of benefaction occur from the tenth century. Nigel, in the year 1160, gave the monks of Ely two churches, *ad libros faciendos*[m]. This employment appears to have been diligently practised at Croyland, for Ingulphus relates, that when the library of that convent was burnt in the year 1091, seven

[h] This was also a practice in the monasteries abroad, in which the boys and novices were chiefly employed. But the missals and bibles were ordered to be written by monks of mature age and discretion. Du Fresne, Gloss. Lat. Med. V. SCRIPTORIUM; and Præfat. f vi edit. prim. See also Monast. Anglic. ii. 726. and references in the windows of the library of Saint Alban's abbey. Ibid. 183. At the foundation of Winchester college, one or more transcribers were hired and employed by the founder to *make books* for the library. They transcribed and took their commons within the college, as appears by computations of expenses on their account now remaining.

[i] Mat. Paris, p. 1003. See Leland, Script. Brit. p. 166.

[k] Registr. Nigr. S. Edmund Abbat. fol. 228.

[l] Registr. Joh. Pontissar. episcop. Wint. f. 164. MS. See Mon. Angl. i. 131. Heming. Chartul. per Hearne, p 265. Compare also Godwin, de Præsul. p. 121. edit. 1616.

[m] Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 619. See also, p. 634, and 278. Hearne has published a grant from R. De Paston to Bromholm abbey in Norfolk, of 12*d.* per annum, a rent-charge on his lands, to keep their books in repair, *ad emendacionem librorum*. Ad. Domerham, Num. iii.

hundred volumes were consumed[n]. Fifty-eight volumes were transcribed at Glastonbury, during the government of one abbot, about the year 1300[o]. And in the library of this monastery, the richest in England, there were upwards of four hundred volumes in the year 1248[p]. More than eighty books were thus transcribed for Saint Alban's abbey, by abbot Wethamstede, who died about 1440[q]. Some of these instances are rather below our period; but they illustrate the subject, and are properly connected with those of more ancient date. I find some of the classics written in the English monasteries very early. Henry, a Benedictine monk of Hyde-abbey, near Winchester, transcribed in the year 1178 Terence, Boethius[r], Suetonius[s], and Claudian. Of these he formed one book, illuminating the initials, and forming the brazen bosses of the covers with his own hands[t]. But this abbot had more devotion than taste; for he exchanged this manuscript a few years afterwards for four missals, the Legend of Saint Christopher, and Saint Gregory's PASTORAL CARE, with the prior of the neighbouring cathedral convent[u]. Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, author of the Latin chronicle of king Henry the Second, amongst a great variety of scholastic and theological treatises, transcribed Seneca's epistles and tragedies[w], Terence, Martial[x], and Claudian, to which I will add GESTA ALEXAN-

[n] Hist. Croyland. Dec. Script. p. 98.

[o] Tanner, Not. Mon. edit. 8vo. Pref.

[p] See Joann. Glaston. ut infr. And Leland, Script. Brit. p. 131.

[q] Weaver, Fun. Mon. p. 566.

[r] It is observable, that Boethius in his metres constantly follows Seneca's tragedies. I believe there is not one form of verse in Boethius but what is taken from Seneca.

[s] Suetonius is frequently cited by the writers of the middle ages, particularly by Vincentius Bellovacensis, Specul. Hist. lib. x. c. 67. and Rabanus Maurus, Art. Gram. Op. tom. i. p. 46. Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, about the year 838, a learned philosophical writer, educated under Rabanus Maurus, desires abbot Marquard to send him Suetonius, *On the Cæsars*, "in duos nec magnos codices divisum." Epistol. Lup. Ferrariens. xcix. apud Andr. Du Chesne, Script. Rer. Franc. tom. ii. p 726. Isidorus Hispalensis, a bishop of the seventh century, gives the origin of poetry from Suetonius, Origin. viii. 7. Chaucer's tale of Nero in the Monke's Tale is taken from Suetonius, "as tellith us Suetonius." v. 491. p. 164. edit. Urr.

[t] "Suis manibus apices literarum artificiose pinxit et illuminavit, necnon æreos umbones in tegminibus appinxit." MS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. Quatern. . . . . In archiv. Wulves. Many of the monks were skilful illuminators. They were also taught to bind books. In the year 1277, these constitutions were given to the Benedictine monasteries of the province of Canterbury: "Abbates monachos suos claustrales, loco operis manualis, secundum suam habilitatem cæteris occupationibus deputent: in studendo, libros scribendo, corrigendo, illuminando, ligando." Capit. Gen. Ord. Benedictin. Provinc. Cant. 1277. apud MSS. Br Twyne, 8vo. p. 272. archiv. Oxon.

[u] Ibid.

[w] Nicholas Antonius says, that Nicholas Franeth, a Dominican, illustrated Seneca's tragedies with a gloss, soon after the year 1300. Bibl. Vet. Hispan. apud Fabric. Bibl. Lat. lib. ii. c. 9. He means Nicholas Trivet, an English Dominican, author of the Annals published by Anthony Hall.

[x] John of Salisbury calls Martial *Cocus*, Policrat vi. 3. as do several writers of the middle ages. Martial is cited by Jerom of Padua, a Latin poet and physician, who flourished about the year 1300. See Christian. Daumii Not. ad Catonis Distich. p. 140. One of the two famous manuscripts of Terence in the Vatican, is said to have been written in the time, perhaps under the encouragement, of Charlemagne; and to have been compared with the more antient copies by Calliopius Scholasticus. Fontanin. Vindic. Antiquit. Diplomat. p. 37. *Scholasticus* means a master in the ecclesiastical schools. Engelbert, abbot of Trevoux, a writer of the tenth century, mentions *Terentius Poeta*, but in such a manner as shews he had but little or no knowledge of him. He con-

DRI[y], about the year 1180[z]. In a catalogue of the books[a] of the library of Glastonbury we find Livy[b], Sallust[c], Seneca, Tully DE SENECTUTE and AMICITIA[d], Virgil, Persius*, and Claudian, in the year 1248. Among the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, is one of the twelve books of Statius's Thebaid, supposed to have been written in the tenth century, which once belonged to the cathedral convent of Rochester[e]; and another of Virgil's Eneid, written in the thirteenth, which came from the library of Saint Austin's at Canterbury[f]. Wallingford, abbot of Saint Alban's, gave or sold from the library of that monastery to Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham, author of the PHILOBIBLION, and a great collector of books, Terence, Virgil, Quintilian, and Jerom against Rufinus, together with thirty-two other volumes valued at fifty-two pounds of silver[g]. The scarcity of parchment un-

founds this poet with Terentius the Roman senator, whom Scipio delivered from prison at Carthage, and brought to Rome Bibl. Patr. tom xxv. edit. Lugd. p 370.

[y] See Sect. iii p. 132. of this volume.

[z] Swaffham, Hist. Cænob Burg ii. p. 97. per Jos. Sparke. "Epistolæ Senecæ cum aliis Senecis in uno volumine, Martialis totus et Terentius in uno volumine," &c. Sub Tit. *De Libris ejus* He died in 1193. In the library of Peterborough abbey, at the Dissolution, there were one thousand and seven hundred books in manuscript. Gunton's Peterb. p. 173.

[a] See Chron. Joh. Glaston. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1726, viz. *Numerus Librorum Glastoniensis ecclesiæ qui fuerunt de* LIBRARIA *anno gratiæ* M.CC.XL.VII. p. 423. Leland, who visited all the monasteries just before their dissolution, seems to have been struck with the venerable air and amplitude of this room. Script. Brit. p. 196. See what is said of the monastery libraries above.

[b] It is pretended, that Gregory the Great, in the year 580, ordered all the manuscripts of Livy to be burnt which could be found, as a writer who enforced the doctrine of prodigies. By the way, Livy himself often insinuates his disbelief of those superstitions. He studies to relate the most ridiculous portents; and he only meant, when it came in his way, to record the credulity of the people, not to propagate a belief of such absurdities. It was the superstition of the people, not of the historian. Antonio Beccatelli is said to have purchased of Poggius a beautiful manuscript of Livy, for which he gave the latter a large field, in the year 1455. Gallus. De Bibliothecis, p. 186. See Liron, Singularités Hist. et Litt. tom. i. p. 166.

[c] Fabricius mentions two manuscripts of Sallust, one written in the year 1178, and the other in the year 900. Bibl. Lat. l i. c. 9. Sallust is cited by a Byzantine writer, Joannes Antiochenus, of an early century. Excerpt Peiresc p. 393. Mr. Hume says, that Sallust's larger history is cited by Fitz-Stephens, in his description of London. Hist. Engl. ii. 440. 4to. edit.

[d] Paulus Jovius says, that Poggius, about the year 1420, first brought Tully's books *De Finibus* and *De Legibus* into Italy, transcribed by himself from other manuscripts. Voss. Hist. Lat. p. 550. About the same time, Brutus, *de Claris Oratoribus*, and some of the rhetorical pieces, with a complete copy of *De Oratore*, were discovered and circulated by Flavius Blondus, and his friends. Flav. Blond. Ital. Illustrat. p. 346. Leland says, that William Selling, a monk of Canterbury, about 1480, brought with him from Italy Cicero's book *De Republica*, but that it was burnt with other manuscripts. Script. Brit. CELLINGUS.

* [A fine MS. of Persius, with a copious Latin gloss, was given to the cathedral church of Exeter, by Bishop Leofric, in 1050. It is now preserved in the Bodleian library.—M.]

[e] 15 C. x. 1. [f] 15 B. vi.

[g] Vit. Abbat. S. Albani. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Claud. E. iv. In the royal manuscripts in John of Salisbury's *Entheticus*, there is written, "Hunc librum fecit dominus Symon abbas S. Albani: quem postea venditum domino Ricardo de Bury, episcopo Dunelmensi, emit Michael abbas S. Albani ab executoribus prædicti episcopi, A.D. 1345." MSS. 13 D. iv. 3. Richard de Bury, otherwise called Richard Aungervylle, is said to have alone possessed more books than all the Bishops of England together. Besides the fixed libraries which he had formed in his several palaces, the floor of his common apartment was so covered with books, that

doubtedly prevented the transcription of many other books in these societies. About the year 1120, one master Hugh, being appointed by the convent of Saint Edmondsbury in Suffolk to write and illuminate a grand copy of the Bible for their library, could procure no parchment for this purpose in England[h].

In consequence of the taste for letters and liberal studies introduced by the Normans, many of the monks became almost as good critics as catholics; and not only in France, but in England, a great variety of Latin writers, who studied the elegances of style, and the arts of classical composition, appeared soon after the Norman conquest. A view

those who entered could not with due reverence approach his presence. Gul. Chambre, Contin. Hist. Dunelm. apud Whart. Angl. Sacr. i 765. He kept binders, illuminators, and writers in his palaces. "Antiquariorum, scriptorum, correctorum, colligatorum, illuminatorum," &c. Philobibl. cap. viii. p. 34. edit. 1599. Petrarch says that he had once a conversation with Aungervylle, concerning the island called by the antients Thule, whom he calls *Virum ad dentis ingenii*. Petrarch, Epist. i. 3. His book entitled PHILOBIBLION, or *De Amore Librorum et Institutione Bibliothecæ*, supposed to be really written by Robert Holcott, a Dominican friar, was finished in his manor of Auckland, A.D. 1343. He founded a library at Oxford: and it is remarkable, that in the book above mentioned, he apologises for admitting the poets into his collection. "*Quare non negleximus* FABULAS POETARUM." Cap. xiii. p. 43. xviii. p. 57. xix. 58. But he is more complaisant to the prejudices of his age, where he says, that the laity are unworthy to be admitted to any commerce with books. "*Laici omnium librorum communione sunt indigni.*." Cap. xvii. p. 55. He prefers books of the liberal arts to treatises in law. Cap. xi p. 41. He laments that good literature had entirely ceased in the university of Paris. Cap. ix. p. 38. He admits *Panfletos exiguos* into his library. Cap. viii. 30. He employed *Stationarios* and *Librarios*, not only in England, but in France, Italy, and Germany. Cap. 6 p. 34. He regrets the total ignorance of the Greek language; but adds, that he has provided for the students of his library both Greek and Hebrew grammars. Ibid. p. 40. He calls Paris the *paradise of the world*, and says, that he purchased there a variety of invaluable volumes in all sciences, which yet were neglected and perishing. Cap. viii. p. 31. While chancellor and treasurer of England, instead of the usual presents and new-year's gifts appendant to his office, he chose to receive those perquisites in books. By the favour of Edward the Third he gained access to the libraries of the most capital monasteries; where he shook off the dust from volumes preserved in chests and presses which had not been opened for many ages Ibid. 29, 30. [An English translation of the Philobiblion by Mr. Inglis was published in 8vo 1832.—M.]

[To this note it may be added from Bp. Godwin, (Cat. of Eng Bishops, 1601. p. 524-5) as has been suggested by Mr. Dibdin, (Bibliom. 1811. p. 248.) that De Bury was the son of Sir Richard Angarvill, knt.; that he said of himself "*extatico quodam librorum amore potenter se abreptum*"—that he was mightily carried away, and even beside himself, with immoderate love of books and desire of reading. He had always in his house many chaplains, all great scholars. His manner was at dinner and supper-time to have some good book read to him, whereof he would discourse with his chaplains a great part of the day following, if business interrupted not his course. He was very bountiful unto the poor: weekly he bestowed for their relief 8 quarters of wheat made into bread, beside the offal and fragments of his tables. Riding between Newcastle and Durham, he would give 8*l.* in alms; and from Durham to Stockton 5*l*, &c. He bequeathed a valuable library of MSS. to Durham, now Trinity college, Oxford; and upon the completion of the room to receive them, they were put into pews or studies, and chained to them. See Gutch's edit. of Wood's Hist. of the Univ. of Oxf. ii. 911.—PARK.]

[h] Monast. Angl. i. p. 200. In the great revenue-roll of one year of John Gerveys, bishop of Winchester, I find expended "in parcheamento empto ad rotulos, *vs.*" This was a considerable sum for such a commodity in the year 1266. But as the quantity or number of the rolls is not specified, no precise conclusion can be drawn. Comp MS. membran. in archiv. Wulves. Winton. Compare Anderson, Comm. i. 153. sub ann. 1313.

of the writers of this class who flourished in England for the two subsequent centuries, till the restless spirit of novelty brought on an attention to other studies, necessarily follows from what has been advanced, and naturally forms the conclusion of our present investigation.

Soon after the accession of the Conqueror, John, commonly called Joannes Grammaticus, having studied polite literature at Paris, which not only from the Norman connection, but from the credit of its professors, became the fashionable university of our countrymen, was employed in educating the sons of the Norman and English nobility[l]. He wrote an explanation of Ovid's Metamorphoses[k], and a treatise on the art of metre or versification[l]. Among the manuscripts of the library of New College in Oxford, I have seen a book of Latin poetry, and many pieces in Greek, attributed to this writer[m]. He flourished about the year 1070. In the reign of Henry the First, Laurence, prior of the church of Durham, wrote nine books of Latin elegies. But Leland, who had read all his works, prefers his compositions in oratory; and adds, that for an improvement in rhetoric and eloquence, he frequently exercised his talents in framing Latin defences on dubious cases which occurred among his friends. He likewise, amongst a variety of other elaborate pieces on saints, confessors, and holy virgins, in which he humoured the times and his profession, composed a critical treatise on the method of writing Epistles, which appears to have been a favourite subject[n]. He died in 1154[o]. About the same time, Robert Dunstable, a monk of Saint Alban's, wrote an elegant Latin poem in elegiac verse, containing two books[p], on the life of Saint Alban[q]. The first book is opened thus:

Albani celebrem cœlo terrisque triumphum
Ruminat inculto carmine Clio rudis.

We are not to expect Leonine rhymes in these writers, which became fashionable some years afterwards[r]. Their verses are of a higher cast,

[l] See Bale, iv. 40.

[k] *Integumenta super Ovidii Metamorphoses.* MSS. Bibl. Bodl. sup A 1. Art. 86. where it is given to Johannes Guallensis, a Franciscan friar of Oxford, and afterwards a student at Paris. It is also MSS. Digb. 104. fol. 323. The same piece is extant under the name of this latter John, entitled, *Expositiones sive Moralitates in Lib.* 1. *Metamorphoseos sive Fabularum, &c.* Printed at Paris 1599. But this Johannes Guallensis seems to have been chiefly a philosopher and theologist. He flourished about A.D. 1250. Alexander Necham wrote *in Metamorphosin Ovidii.* Tann. Bibl. p. 540.

[l] Another title of this piece is, *Poetria magna Johannis Anglici,* &c. Cantabr. MSS. More, 121. It is both in prose and verse. He begins with this panegyric on the university of Paris. "Parisiana jubar diffundit gloria clerus." He likewise wrote *Compendium Grammatices*

[m] MSS. Bibl. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 236, 237. But these are said to belong to Joannes Philoponus. See Phot. Bibl. Cod. lxxv Cave, p. 441. edit. 1.

[n] See what is said of John Hanvill below.

[o] Lel Script. Brit. p. 204, 205.

[p] It is a long poem, containing thirteen hundred and sixty lines.

[q] In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. Jul. D. iii. 2. Claud. E. 4. There are more of his Latin poems on sacred subjects in the British Museum. But most of them are of an inferior composition, and, as I suppose, of another hand.

[r] Leonine verses are said to have been invented and first used by a French monk

and have a classical turn. The following line, which begins the second book, is remarkably flowing and harmonious, and much in the manner of Claudian:

Pieridum studiis claustri laxare rigorem.

Smoothness of versification was an excellence which, like their Saxon predecessors, they studied to a fault. Henry of Huntingdon, commonly known and celebrated as an historian, was likewise a terse and polite Latin poet of this period. He was educated under Alcuine of Anjou, a canon of Lincoln cathedral. His principal patrons were Aldwin and Reginald, both Normans, and abbots of Ramsey. His turn for poetry did not hinder his arriving to the dignity of an archdeacon. Leland mentions eight books of his epigrams, amatorial verses[a], and poems on

of Saint Victor at Marseilles, named Leoninus, or Leonine, about the year 1135. Pasquier, Recherch. de la France, vii. 2. p. 596. 3. p. 600. It is however certain, that rhymed Latin verses were in use much earlier. I have before observed, that the *Schola Salernitana* was published 1100. See Massieu, Hist. Fr. Poes. p. 77. Fauchet, Rec. p. 52. 76. seq. And I have seen a Latin poem of four hundred lines, "Moysis Mutii Bergomatis de rebus Bergomensibus, Justiniani hujus nominis secundi Byzantii Imperatoris jussu conscriptum, anno a salute nostra 707." The author was the emperor's scribe or secretary. It begins thus:

Alme Deus, rector qui mundi regna gubernas,
Nec sinis absque modo sedes fluitare supernas.

It is at the end of "Achillis Mutii theatrum. Bergomi, typis Comini Venturac, 1596." Pelloutier has given a very early specimen of Latin Rhymes, Mém. sur la Lang. Celt. part i. vol. i. ch. xii. p 20. He quotes the writer of the Life of St. Faron, who relates, that Clotarius the Second, having conquered the Saxons in the beginning of the seventh century, commanded a Latin panegyrical song to be composed on that occasion, which was sung all over France. It is somewhat in the measure of their vernacular poetry, at that time made to be sung to the harp, and begins with this stanza:

De Clotario est canere rege Francorum
Qui ivit pugnare cum gente Saxonum,
Quam graviter provenisset missis Saxonum
Si non fuisset inclitus Faro de gente Burgundionum.

Latin rhymes seem to have been first used in the church-hymns. But Leonine verses are properly the Roman hexameters or pentameters rhymed; and it is not improbable that they took their name from the monk above mentioned, who was the most popular and almost only Latin poet of his time in France He wrote many Latin pieces not in rhyme, and in a good style of Latin versification; particularly a Latin heroic poem in twelve books, containing the history of the Bible from the creation of the world to the story of Ruth. also some elegies, which have a tolerable degree of classic purity. Some suppose that pope Leo the Second, about the year 680, a great reformer of the chants and hymns of the church, invented this sort of verse.

It is remarkable that Bede, who lived in the eighth century, in his book *De Arte Metrica*, does not seem to have known that rhyme was a common ornament of the church-hymns of his time, many of which he quotes. See Opp. tom i. 34. cap penult But this chapter, I think, is all taken from Marius Victorinus, a much older writer. The hymns which Bede quotes are extremely barbarous, consisting of a modulated structure, or a certain number of feet without quantity, like the odes of the minstrels or scalds of that age. "Ut sunt," he says, "carmina VULGARIUM POETARUM." In the mean time we must not forget, that the early French troubadours mention a sort of rhyme in their vernacular poetry partly distinguished from the common species, which they call Leonine or Leonime. Thus Gualtier Arbalestrier de Belle-perche, in the beginning of his romance of Judas Maccabeus, written before the year 1280,

Je ne di pas k' aucun biau dit
Ni mette par faire la ryme
Ou *consonante* ou *leonime*.

But enough has been said on a subject of so little importance.

[a] See Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 29.

philosophical subjects[t]. The proem to his book De Herbis, has this elegant invocation:

Vatum magne parens, herbarum Phœbe repertor,
Vosque, quibus resonant Tempe jocosa, deæ!
Si mihi serta prius hedera florente parastis,
Ecce meos flores, serta parate, fero.

But Leland appears to have been most pleased with Henry's poetical epistle to Elfleda, the daughter of Alfred[u]. In the Bodleian library, is a manuscript Latin poem of this writer, on the death of king Stephen, and the arrival of Henry the Second in England, which is by no means contemptible[w]. He occurs as a witness to the charter of the monastery of Sautree in the year 1147[x]. Geoffrey of Monmouth was bishop of Saint Asaph in the year 1152[y]. He was indefatigable in his inquiries after British antiquity; and was patronised and assisted in this pursuit by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a diligent antiquarian, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln[z]. His credulity as an historian has been deservedly censured: but fabulous histories were then the fashion, and he well knew the recommendation his work would receive from comprehending all the popular traditions[a]. His latinity rises far above mediocrity, and his Latin poem on Merlin is much applauded by Leland[b].

We must not judge of the general state of society by the more ingenious and dignified churchmen of this period; who seem to have surpassed by the most disproportionate degrees in point of knowledge, all other members of the community. Thomas of Becket, who belongs to the twelfth century, and his friends, in their epistles, distinguish each other by the appellation of philosophers, in the course of their correspondence[c]. By the present diffusion of literature, even those who are illiterate are yet so intelligent as to stand more on a level with men of professed science and knowledge; but the learned ecclesiastics of those times, as is evident from many passages in their writings, appear, and not without reason, to have considered the rest of the world as totally immersed in ignorance and barbarity. A most distinguished

[t] Lel. Script. Brit. p. 197.

[u] Ut supr.

[w] MSS. Digb. 65. fol. 27. His writings are numerous, and of various kinds. In Trinity college library at Oxford there is a fine copy of his book *De Imagine Mundi*. MSS. Cod. 64. pergamen. This is a very common manuscript.

[x] Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. 872.

[y] Wharton, Eccles. Assav. p. 306.

[z] Leland, Script. Brit. p. 190.

[a] See Sect. iii. page 128 of this volume.

[b] In the British Museum, MSS. Cott. Tit. A. xix. Vespas. E. iv. [It was printed for the Roxburghe Club, in 1830, at the expense of the Hon. and Rev. Neville Grenville, under the care of W. H. Black, who wrote a Preface which was subsequently cancelled, and the analysis of George Ellis, (in his Spec. of Metrical Romances, i. 76. ed. 1811.) substituted in its place. A new edition of this poem, collated with other MSS. is now in the press at Paris, to be edited by Mr. T. Wright and M. Francisque Michel.—M.]

[c] See Quadrilog. Vit. T Becket, Bruxell. 1682. 4to. And Concil. Mag. Brit. et Hib. tom. i. p. 441. Many of these epistles are still in manuscript.

ornament of this age was John of Salisbury[b]. His style has a remarkable elegance and energy. His POLICRATICON is an extremely pleasant miscellany; replete with erudition, and a judgment of men and things, which properly belongs to a more sensible and reflecting period. His familiar acquaintance with the classics appears not only from the happy facility of his language, but from the many citations of the purest Roman authors with which his works are perpetually interspersed. Montfaucon asserts, that some parts of the supplement to Petronius, published as a genuine and valuable discovery a few years ago, but since supposed to be spurious, are quoted in the POLICRATICON[c]. He was an illustrious rival of Peter of Blois, and the friend of many learned foreigners[d]. I have not seen any specimens of his Latin poetry[e]; but an able judge has pronounced, that nothing can be more easy, finished, and flowing than his verses[f]. He was promoted to high stations in the church by Henry the Second, whose court was crowded with scholars, and almost equalled that of his cotemporary William king of Sicily, in the splendour which it derived from encouraging erudition, and assembling the learned of various countries[g]. Eadmer was a monk of Canterbury, and endeared by the brilliancy of his genius, and the variety of his literature, to Anselm, archbishop of that see[h]. He was an elegant writer of history, but exceeded in the artifices of composition, and the choice of matter, by his cotemporary William of Malmesbury. The latter was a monk of Malmesbury, and it reflects no small honour on his fraternity that they elected him their librarian[i]. His merits as an historian have been justly displayed and recommend-

[b] "Studuit in Italia omnium bonarum artium facile post Græciam parente." Leland, Script. Brit. p. 207. But he likewise spent some time at Oxford. Policrat. viii. 22.

[c] Bibl. MSS. There is an allusion to the Policraticon in the *Roman de la Rose*,

Et verras en POLICRATIQUE.—v 7056

[d] Lel. ibid.

[e] Except the Fable of the belly and members in long and short. Fabric. Med. Æv. iv. p. 877.

[f] Lel. ut supr. p. 207.

[g] See Leland, Script Brit. p 210. Henry the Second sent Gualterus, styled Anglicus, his chaplain, into Sicily, to instruct William king of Sicily in literature. William was so pleased with his master, that he made him archbishop of Palermo. Bale, xiii. 73. He died in 1177. Peter of Blois was Gualter's coadjutor; and he tells us, that he taught William the rudiments "*versificatoriæ artis et literatoriæ*," Epist. Petr. Blesens. ad Gualt. Pitts mentions a piece of Gualterus *De linguæ Latinæ rudimentis*, p. 141. There is a William of Blois, cotemporary with Peter and his brother, whom I mention here, as he appears to have written what were called *Comœdiæ et Tragœdiæ*, and to have been preferred to an abbacy in Sicily [See Sect. vi inf. vol. ii p 17.] Peter mentions this William in his Epistles, "Illud nobile ingenium fratris mei magistri Guilielmi, quandoque in scribendis Comœdiis et Tragœdiis quadam occupatione servili degenerans," &c. Epist. lxxvi. And again to the said William, "Nomen vestrum diuturniore memoria quam quatuor abbatiæ commendabile reddent Tragœdia vestra *de Flaura et Marco*, versus *de Pulice et Musca*. Comœdia vestra *de Alda*," &c. Epist. xciii.

[h] Leland, Script. Brit. p 178. There is a poem *De Laudibus Anselmi*, and an epicedion on that prelate, commonly ascribed to Eadmer. See Fabr. Bibl. Med. Lat. ii. p. 210. seq. Leland doubts whether these pieces belong to him or William of Chester, a learned monk, patronised by Anselm. Script. Brit. p. 185.

[i] Lel. p. 195. But see Wharton, Angl. Sacr. ii. Præf. p. xii.

ed by lord Lyttelton[k]. But his abilities were not confined to prose. He wrote many pieces of Latin poetry; and it is remarkable, that almost all the professed writers in prose of this age made experiments in verse. His patron was Robert earl of Glocester; who, amidst the violent civil commotions which disquieted the reign of King Stephen, found leisure and opportunity to protect and promote literary merit[l]. Till Malmesbury's works appeared, Bede had been the chief and principal writer of English history. But a general spirit of writing history, owing to that curiosity which more polished manners introduce to an acquaintance with the ancient historians, and to the improved knowledge of a language in which facts could be recorded with grace and dignity, was now prevailing. Besides those I have mentioned, Simeon of Durham, Roger Hoveden, and Benedict abbot of Peterborough, are historians whose narratives have a liberal cast, and whose details rise far above the dull uninteresting precision of patient annalists and regular chronologers. John Hanvill, a monk of Saint Alban's, about the year 1190, studied rhetoric at Paris, and was distinguished for his taste even among the numerous and polite scholars of that flourishing seminary[m]. His ARCHITRENIUS is a learned, ingenious, and very entertaining performance. It is a long Latin poem in nine books, dedicated to Walter bishop of Rouen. The design of the work may be partly conjectured from its affected Greek title; but it is, on the whole, a mixture of satire and panegyric on public vice and virtue, with some historical digressions. In the exordium is the following nervous and spirited address:

> Tu Cyrrhæ latices nostræ, deus, implue menti;
> Eloquii rorem siccis infunde labellis:
> Distillaque favos, quos nondum pallidus auro
> Scit Tagus, aut sitiens admotis Tantalus undis:
> Dirige quæ timide suscepit dextera, dextram
> Audacem pavidamque juva: Tu mentis habenas
> Fervoremque rege, &c.

In the fifth book the poet has the following allusions to the fables of Corineus, Brutus, king Arthur, and the population of Britain from Troy. He seems to have copied these traditions from Geoffrey of Monmouth[n].

> ——— Tamen Architrenius instat,
> Et genus et gentem quærit studiosius: illi
> Tros genus, et gentem tribuit Lodonesia, nutrix
> Præbuit irriguam morum Cornubia mammam,

[k] In his History of Henry the Second.

[l] See Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 661.

[m] Lel. p. 259. [The name should be spelt Hanvill, and not Hanvill: in Latin it is *de Alta villa*. In a MS. in the British Museum the name is given in English, John of *Higham* —W.]

[n] See Hist. Galfrid. Mon. l. xi. xvi. xvii. &c.

Post odium fati, Phrygiis inventa: Smaraudus
Hanc domitor mundi Tyrinthius, alter Achilles,
Atridæque timor Corinæus, serra gygantum,
Clavaque monstrifera, sociæ delegit alumnam
Omnigenam Trojæ, pluvioque fluviflua lacte
Filius exilio fessæ dedit ubera matri.
A quo dicta prius Corineia, dicitur aucto
Tempore corrupte Cornubia nominis hæres.
Ille gygantæos attritis ossibus artus
Implicuit letho, Tyrrheni littoris hospes,
Indomita virtute gygas; non corpore mole
Ad medium pressa, nec membris densior æquo,
Sarcina terrifica tumuit Titania mente.
Ad Ligeris ripas Aquitanos fudit, et amnes
Francorum patuit lacrymis, et cæde vadoque
Sanguinis ense ruens, satiavit rura, togaque
Punicea vestivit agros populique verendi
Grandiloquos fregit animosa cuspide fastus.
Integra, nec dubio bellorum naufraga fluctu,
Nec vice suspecta titubanti saucia fato,
Indilata dedit subitam victoria laurum.
Inde dato cursu, Bruto comitatus Achate,
Gallorum spolio cumulatus, navibus æquor
Exarat, et superis auraque faventibus utens,
Litora felices intrat Tolonesia portus:
Promissumque soli gremium monstrante Diana,
Incolumi census loculum ferit Albion alno.
Hæc eadem Bruto regnante Britannia nomen
Traxit in hoc tempus: solis Titanibus illa,
Sed paucis, habitata domus; quibus uda ferarum
Terga dabant vestes, cruor haustus pocula, trunci
Antra lares, dumeta toros, cænacula rupes,
Præda cibos, raptus venerem, spectacula cædes,
Imperium vires, animum furor, impetus arma,
Mortem pugna, sepulchra rubus: monstrisque gemebat
Monticolis tellus: sed eorum plurima tractus
Pars erat occidui terror; majorque premebat
Te furor extremum zephyri, Cornubia, limen.
Hos avidum belli Corinæi robur Averno
Præcipites misit; cubitis ter quatuor altum
Gogmagog Herculea suspendit in aere lucta,
Anthæumque suum scopulo demisit in æquor:
Potavitque dato Thetis ebria sanguine fluctus,
Divisumque tulit mare corpus, Cerberus umbram.
Nobilis a Phrygiæ tanto Cornubia gentem
Sanguine derivat, successio cujus Iulus

In generis partem recipit complexa Pelasgam
Anchisæque domum: ramos hinc Pandrasus, inde
Sylvius extendit, socioque a sidere sidus
Plenius effundit triplicatæ lampadis ignes.
Hoc trifido solo Corinæi postera mundum
Præradiat pubes, quartique puerpera Phœbi
Pullulat Arthurum, facie dum falsus adulter
Tintagel irrumpit, nec amoris Pendragon æstu
Vincit, et omnificas Merlini consulit artes,
Mentiturque ducis habitus, et rege latente
Induit absentis præsentia Gorlois ora[o].

There is a false glare of expression, and no great justness of sentiment, in these verses; but they are animated, and flow in a strain of poetry. They are pompous and sonorous; but these faults have been reckoned beauties even in polished ages. In the same book our author thus characterises the different merits of the satires of Horace and Persius:

Persius in Flacci pelago decurrit, et audet
Mendicasse stylum satyræ, serraque cruentus
Rodit, et ignorat polientem pectora limam.[p]

In the third book he describes the happy parsimony of the Cistercian monks:

O sancta, o felix, albis galeata cucullis,
Libera paupertas! Nudo jejunia pastu
Tracta diu solvens, nec corruptura palatum
Mollitie mensæ. Bacchus convivia nullo
Murmure conturbat, nec sacra cubilia mentis
Inquinat adventu. Stomacho languente ministrat
Solennes epulas ventris gravis hospita Thetis,
Et paleis armata Ceres. Si tertia mensæ
Copia succedat, truncantur oluscula, quorum

[o] Milton appears to have been much struck with this part of the ancient British History, and to have designed it for the subject of an epic poem. *Epitaph. Damonis*, v. 162.

Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,
Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos.
Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iogernen,
Mendaces vultus assumptaque Gorlois arma,
Merlini dolus.—

See also Milton's Mansus, v. 80.

[p] Juvenal is also cited by John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois, Vincentius Bellovacensis, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other writers of the middle ages. They often call him Ethicus. See particularly Petr. Bles. Epistola lxxvii. Some lines from Juvenal are cited by Honorius Augustodunus, a priest of Burgundy, who wrote about 1300, in his *De Philosophia Mundi*, Præfat. ad lib. iv. The tenth satire of Juvenal is quoted by Chaucer in Troilus and Cresseide, b. iv. v. 197. pag. 307. edit. Urr. There is an old Italian metaphrase of Juvenal done in 1475, and published soon afterwards, by Georgio Summaripa, of Verona. Giornale de Letterati d'Italia, tom. viii. p. 41. Juvenal was printed at Rome as early as 1474.

Offendit macies oculos, pacemque meretur,
Deterretque famem pallenti sobria cultu.[q]

Among Digby's manuscripts in the Bodleian library, are Hanvill's Latin epigrams, epistles, and smaller poems, many of which have considerable merit[r]. They are followed by a metrical tract, entitled DE EPISTOLARUM COMPOSITIONE. But this piece is written in rhyme, and seems to be posterior to the age, at least inferior to the genius, of Hanvill. He was buried in the abbey church of Saint Alban's, soon after the year 1200[s]. Gyraldus Cambrensis deserves particular regard for the universality of his works, many of which are written with some degree of elegance. He abounds with quotations of the best Latin poets. He was an historian, an antiquarian, a topographer, a divine, a philosopher, and a poet. His love of science was so great, that he refused two bishopricks; and from the midst of public business, with which his political talents gave him a considerable connection in the court of Richard the First, he retired to Lincoln for seven years, with a design of pursuing theological studies[t]. He recited his book on the topography of Ireland in public at Oxford, for three days successively. On the first day of his recital he entertained all the poor of the city; on the second, all the doctors in the several faculties, and scholars of better note; and on the third, the whole body of students, with the citizens and soldiers of the garrison[u]. It is probable that this was a ceremony practised on the like occasion in the university of Paris[w];

[q] There are two manuscripts of this poem, from which I transcribe, in the Bodleian library. MSS. Digb. 64 and 157. One of these has a gloss, but not that of Hugo Legatus, mentioned by Baillet, Jugem. Sav. iv. p. 257. edit. 4to. This poem is said to have been printed at Paris 1517. 4to. Bibl. Thuan tom. ii. p. 286. This edition I have never seen, and believe it to be an extremely scarce book.

[r] Cod. Digb. 64. ut supr.

[s] Bale, iii. 49.

[t] Wharton, Angl. Sacr ii. 374

[u] Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon i. 56.

[w] But Wood insinuates, that this sumptuous entertainment was partly given by Gyraldus, as an inceptor in the arts. Ubi supr. p. 25. col. 1. Which practice I have mentioned, vol. ii. Sect ix. p. 89. note [g]. infr. And I will here add other instances, especially as they are proofs of the estimation in which letters, at least literary honours, were held. In the year 1268, the inceptors in civil law at Oxford were so numerous, and attended by such a number of guests, that the academical houses or hostels were not sufficient for their accommodation; and the company filled not only these, but even the refectory, cloisters, and many apartments of Oseney abbey, near the suburbs of Oxford At which time many Italians studying at Oxford were admitted in that faculty. Wood, ubi supr. p 25 col. 1. It appears that the mayor and citizens of Oxford were constantly invited to these solemnities. In the year 1400, two monks of the priory of Christ Church in Canterbury were severally admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity and civil law at Oxford. The expences were paid by their monastery, and amounted to 118*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* Registr. Priorat. pergamen. MSS. Tanner, Oxon. Num 165. fol 212 a Among other articles there is, "In solutione facta HISTRIONIBUS." fol. 213 a. [See Sect. ii. pages 82 *et seq.* in this volume] At length these scholastic banquets grew to such excess, that it was ordered in the year 1434, that no inceptor in arts should expend more than "3000 grossos Turonenses." Vet. Stat. See Leland, Coll. P. ii. tom. i. p. 296, 297. edit. 1770. But the limitation was a considerable sum. Each is somewhat less than an English groat. Notwithstanding, Neville, afterwards archbishop of York, on his admission to the degree of master of arts in 1452, feasted the academics and many strangers for two successive days, at two entertainments, consisting of nine hundred costly dishes. Wood, ibid. 219. col. 1. 2.

where Giraldus had studied for twenty years, and where he had been elected professor of canon law in the year 1189[x]. His account of Wales was written in consequence of the observations he made on that country, then almost unknown to the English, during his attendance on an archiepiscopal visitation. I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing from this book his picture of the romantic situation of the abbey of Lantony in Monmouthshire. I will give it in English, as my meaning is merely to show how great a master the author was of that selection of circumstances which forms an agreeable description, and which could only flow from a cultivated mind. "In the deep vale of Ewias, which is about a bowshot over, and enclosed on all sides with high mountains, stands the abbey church of Saint John, a structure covered with lead, and not unhandsomely built for so lonesome a situation; on the very spot, where formerly stood a small chapel dedicated to Saint David, which had no other ornaments than green moss and ivy. It is a situation fit for the exercise of religion; and a religious edifice was first founded in this sequestered retreat to the honour of a solitary life, by two hermits, remote from the noise of the world, upon the banks of the river Hondy, which winds through the midst of the valley.—The rains which mountainous countries usually produce, are here very frequent, the winds exceedingly tempestuous, and the winters almost continually dark. Yet the air of the valley is so happily tempered, as scarcely to be the cause of any diseases. The monks sitting in the cloisters of the abbey, when they chuse for a momentary refreshment to cast their eyes abroad, have on every side a pleasing prospect of mountains ascending to an immense height, with numerous herds of wild deer feeding aloft on the highest extremity of this lofty horizon. The body of the sun is not visible above the hills till after the meridian hour, even when the air is most clear." Giraldus adds, that Roger bishop of Salisbury, prime minister to Henry the First, having visited this place, on his return to court told the king, that all the treasure of his majesty's kingdom would not suffice to build such another cloister. The bishop explained himself by saying, that he meant the circular ridge of mountains with which the vale of Ewias was enclosed[y]. Alexander Neckham was the friend, the associate, and the correspondent of Peter of Blois already mentioned. He received

Nor was this reverence to learning, and attention to its institutions, confined to the circle of our universities. Such was the pedantry of the times, that in the year 1503, archbishop Wareham, chancellor of Oxford, at his feast of inthronisation, ordered to be introduced in the first course a curious dish, in which were exhibited the eight towers of the university. In every tower stood a bedell; and under the towers were figures of the king, to whom the chancellor Wareham, encircled with many doctors properly habited, presented four Latin verses, which were answered by his majesty. The eight towers were those of Merton, Magdalene, and New College, and of the monasteries of Oseney, Rewley, the Dominican, Augustine, and Franciscan friars, which five last are now utterly destroyed. Wood, ubi supr. lib. i. p. 239. col. 1. Compare Robertson's Charles V. i. 323. seq.

[x] Wharton, ibid.

[y] Giral. Cambrens. *Itin. Cambr.* Lib. 1. c. 3. p. 89. seq. Lond. 1585. 12mo.

the first part of his education in the abbey of Saint Alban's, which he afterwards completed at Paris[z]. His compositions are various, and crowd the department of manuscripts in our public libraries. He has left numerous treatises of divinity, philosophy, and morality: but he was likewise a poet, a philologist, and a grammarian. He wrote a tract on the mythology of the ancient poets, Esopian fables, and a system of grammar and rhetoric. I have seen his elegiac poem on the monastic life[a], which contains some finished lines. But his capital piece of Latin poetry is On the Praise of DIVINE WISDOM, which consists of seven books. In the introduction he commemorates the innocent and unreturning pleasures of his early days, which he passed among the learned monks of Saint Alban's, in these perspicuous and unaffected elegiacs:

——— Claustrum
Martyris Albani sit tibi tuta quies.
Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies.
Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos,
Felix eximio martyre, gente, situ.
Militat hic Christo, noctuque dieque labori
Indulget sancto religiosa cohors.[b]

Neckham died abbot of Cirencester in the year 1217[c]. He was much attached to the studious repose of the monastic profession, yet he frequently travelled into Italy[d]. Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, has been very happily styled the Anacreon of the eleventh [twelfth] century[e]. He studied at Paris[f]. His vein was chiefly festive and satirical[g]: and as his wit was frequently levelled against the corruptions of the clergy, his poems often appeared under fictitious names, or have been ascribed to others[h]. The celebrated drinking ode[i] of this genial archdeacon has the regular returns of the monkish rhyme: but they are here applied with a characteristical propriety, are so happily in-

[z] Lel. Script. Brit. p. 240. seq.

[a] Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 65. f. 18. [There is a good manuscript of this poem in the Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 8 A., xxi.—W.]

[b] Apud Lel Script. Brit. p. 240.

[c] Willis, Mitr. Abb. i. 61, 62.

[d] Lel. ibid.

[e] Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. Not. B. ii. p. 133. 4to.

[f] See Sect. ii. pp. 59, 60. note [o], in this volume.

[g] Tanner, Bibl. p. 507.

[h] Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 706. Compare Tanner, Bibl. 351. 507. In return, many pieces went under the name of our author; as, for instance, *De Thetide et de Lyæo*, which is a ridiculous piece of scurrility. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 166. f. 104.

[i] See Camden's Remains, page 436. RYTHMI.

[After all that has been said about this celebrated song, it turns out upon examination to be no song at all, but part of a somewhat longer poem, in which the stanzas which have been thus arranged to make a drinking song, do not even stand together. The poem is found in the MS. Harl. 2851, under the title of *Gulhardus de vite sue mutacione*. It is a MS. of the 13th century. It must, however, have been formed into a song at an early period, for among the English songs in the Sloane MS. No. 2593, written apparently very early in the 15th century, is found a Latin parody upon it.—W.]

vented, and so humourously introduced, that they not only suit the genius but heighten the spirit of the piece[k]. He boasts that good wine inspires him to sing verses equal to those of Ovid. In another Latin ode of the same kind, he attacks with great liveliness the new injunction of pope Innocent, concerning the celibacy of the clergy; and hopes that every married priest with his bride, will say a pater noster for the soul of one who had thus hazarded his salvation in their defence.

Ecce jam pro clericis multum allegavi,
Necnon pro presbyteris plura comprobavi:
PATER NOSTER nunc pro me, quoniam peccavi,
Dicat quisque Presbyter, cum sua Suavi.[l]

But a miracle of this age in classical composition was Joseph of Exeter, commonly called Josephus Iscanus. He wrote two epic poems in Latin heroics. The first is on the Trojan war; it is in six books, and dedicated to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury[m]. The second is en-

[k] In Bibl. Bodl. a piece *De Nugis Curialium* is given to Mapes. MSS. Arch. B. 52. It was written A.D. 1182. as appears from *Distinct.* IV. cap. 1. It is in five books. Many Latin poems in this manuscript are given to Mapes; one in particular, written in a flowing style, in short lines, preserving no fixed metrical rule, which seems to have been intended for singing. In another manuscript I find various pieces of Latin poetry, by some attributed to Mapes, Bibl Bodl. NE. F. iii. Some of these are in good taste. Camden has printed his *Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum.* Rem. p. 439. It is written in a sort of Anacreontic verse, and has some humour. It is in MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. ut supr. 166. See also Camd. ibid p. 437.

[It appears from several of the MS. copies of Lancelot du Lac, Le Saint Graal, and other romances, that Walter de Mapes translated them into French prose, at the instance of Henry II. He also composed the Mort Artur at the particular desire of that monarch. Many of his poems remain in MS. (See Index to Harl MSS.) Some of them have been printed in Leyser, Hist. Poetarum medii ævi, in Flacius de corrupto ecclesiæ statu; Basil 1557. and in Wolfii Lectiones memorabiles. There is reason to suppose that a piece entitled variously as follows, was written by him: "Visio lamentabilis cujusdam heremitæ super disceptatione animæ contra corpus. —Disputatio inter corpus et animam alicujus reprobati et damnati: Conflictio inter corpus et animam." See Harl. MSS. 978. 2851. Cotton MSS. Titus, A. xx.—DOUCE.] [There is however reason to believe that Mapes only gave a Latin version of a very popular theme. See the same idea exemplified in a Saxon poem from the Exon MS. given by Mr. Conybeare in the Archæologia, vol. 17.—PRICE.]

[l] Camd. Rem. ut supr.

[m] See lib. i. 32. It was first printed at Basil, but very corruptly, in the year 1541. 8vo. under the name of Cornelius Nepos. The existence and name of this poem seem to have been utterly unknown in England when Leland wrote. He first met with a manuscript copy of it by mere accident in Magdalen college library at Oxford. He never had even heard of it before. He afterwards found two more copies at Paris. but these were all imperfect, and without the name of the author, except a marginal hint. At length he discovered a complete copy of it in the library of Thorney abbey in Cambridgeshire, which seems to have ascertained the author's name, but not his country. Script. Brit. p. 238. The neglect of this poem among our ancestors, I mean in the ages which followed Iscanus, appears from the few manuscripts of it now remaining in England. Leland, who searched all our libraries, could find only two. There is at present one in the church of Westminster, another in Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 157. That in Magdalen college is MSS. Cod. 50. The best edition is at the end of "Dictys Cretensis et Dares Phrygius, in usum Sereniss. Delph. cum Interpret. A. Daceriæ, &c. Amstæl. 1702." 4to. But all the printed copies have omitted passages which I find in the Digby manuscript. Particularly they omit, in the address to Baldwin, four lines after v. 32. lib. i. Thirteen lines, in which the poet alludes to his intended Antiocheis, are omitted before v. 962. lib. vi. Nor have they the verses in which he compliments

titled ANTIOCHEIS, the War of Antioch, or the Crusade; in which his patron the archbishop was an actor[n]. The poem of the Trojan war is founded on Dares Phrygius, a favorite fabulous historian of that time[o]. The diction of this poem is generally pure, the periods round, and the numbers harmonious; and on the whole, the structure of the versification approaches nearly to that of polished Latin poetry. The writer appears to have possessed no common command of poetical phraseology, and wanted nothing but a knowledge of the Virgilian chastity. His style is a mixture of Ovid, Statius, and Claudian, who seem then to have been the popular patterns[p]. But a few specimens will best illustrate this criticism. He thus, in a strain of much spirit and dignity, addresses king Henry the Second, who was going to the holy war[q], the intended subject of his ANTIOCHEIS.

———Tuque, oro, tuo da, maxime, vati
Ire iter inceptum, Trojamque aperire jacentem:
Te sacræ assument acies, divinaque bella,
Tunc dignum majore tuba; tunc pectore toto
Nitar, et immensum mecum spargere per orbem.[r]

The tomb or mausoleum of Teuthras is feigned with a brilliancy of imagination and expression; and our poet's classical ideas seem here to have been tinctured with the description of some magnificent oriental palace, which he had seen in the romances of his age.

Regia conspicuis moles inscripta figuris
Exceptura ducem, senis affulta columnis,
Tollitur: electro vernat basis, arduus auro
Ardet apex, radioque stylus candescit eburno.
—Gemmæ quas littoris Indi
Dives arena tegit, aurum quod parturit Hermus,

Henry the Second, said by Leland to be at the end of the fourth book, Script Brit. p 238. The truth is, these passages would have betrayed their first editor's pretence of this poem being written by Cornelius Nepos. As it is, he was obliged in the address to Baldwin, to change Cantia, Kent, into *Tantia*, for which he substitutes *Pontia* in the margin, as an ingenious conjecture.

[n] Leland, p. 224, 225.

[o] The manuscript at Magdalen college, mentioned by Leland, is entitled *Dares Phrygius de bello Trojano*. Lel. p. 236. as also MSS. Digb. supr. citat. But see Sect. iii. p. 139. of this volume.

[p] Statius is cited in the epistles of Stephen of Tournay, a writer of the twelfth century. "Divinam ejus responsionem, ut *Thebais* Æneida, *longe sequor, et vestigia semper adoro.*" He died in 1200. *Epistolæ*, Paris. 1611. 4to. Epist. v. p. 535. On account of the variety of his matter, and the facility of his manner, none of the ancient poets are more frequently cited in the writers of the dark ages than Ovid. His *Fasti* seems to have been their favorite, a work thus admirably characterised by an ingenious French writer:—"Les Fastes d'Ovide renferment plus d'érudition qu'aucun autre ouvrage de l'antiquité. C'est le chef d'œuvre de ce poete, et une espece de dévotion paienne." Vigneul Marville, Misc. Hist. et Lit. tom. ii. p. 306. A writer of the thirteenth century, *De Mirabilibus Romæ*, published by Montfaucon, calls this work *Martyrologium Ovidii de Fastis*. Montf. Diar. Italic. c. xx. p. 293.

[q] Voltaire has expressed his admiration of the happy choice of subject which Tasso made. We here see a poet of an age much earlier than Tasso celebrating the same sort of expedition.

[r] Lib. i. 47.

In varias vivunt species, ditique decorum
Materie contendit opus: quod nobile ductor
Quod clarum gessit, ars explicat, ardua pandit
Moles, et totum reserat sculptura tyrannum.[s]

He thus describes Penthesilea and Pyrrhus:

Eminet, horrificas rapiens post terga secures,
Virginei regina chori: non provida cultus
Cura trahit, non forma juvat, frons aspera, vestis
Discolor, insertumque armis irascitur aurum.
Si visum, si verba notes, si lumina pendas,
Nil leve, nil fractum: latet omni fœmina facto.
Obvius ultrices accendit in arma cohortes,
Myrmidonasque suos, curru prævectus anhelo,
Pyrrhus, &c.
———Meritosque offensus in hostes
Arma patris, nunc ultor, habet: sed tanta recusant
Pondera crescentes humeri, majoraque cassis
Colla petit, breviorque manus vix colligit hastam.[t]

Afterwards a Grecian leader, whose character is invective, insults Penthesilea, and her troop of heroines, with these reproaches:

Tunc sic increpitans, Pudeat, Mars inclyte, dixit:
En! tua signa gerit, quin nostra effœminat arma
Staminibus vix apta manus. Nunc stabitis hercle
Perjuræ turres; calathos et pensa puellæ
Plena rotant, sparguntque colos. Hoc milite Troja,
His fidit telis. At non patiemur Achivi:
Etsi turpe viris timidas calcare puellas,
Ibo tamen contra. Sic ille: at virgo loquacem
Tarda sequi sexum, velox ad prælia, solo
Respondet jaculo[u], &c.——

I will add one of his comparisons. The poet is speaking of the reluctant advances of the Trojans under their new leader Memnon, after the fall of Hector:

Qualiter Hyblæi mellita pericula reges,
Si signis iniere datis, labente tyranno
Alterutro, viduos dant agmina stridula questus;
Et, subitum vix nacta ducem, metuentia vibrant
Spicula, et imbelli remeant in prælia rostro.[v]

His ANTIOCHEIS was written in the same strain, and had equal merit. All that remains of it is the following fragment[w], in which the poet celebrates the heroes of Britain, and particularly king Arthur:

[s] Lib. iv. 451.
[t] Lib. vi. p. 589.
[u] Lib. vi. 609.
[v] Lib. vi. 19.
[w] Camd. Rem. p. 410. Poems. See also Camd. Brit. Leland having learned

——— Inclyta fulsit
Posteritas ducibus tantis, tot dives alumnis,
Tot fœcunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem
Et fama veteres. Hinc Constantinus adeptus
Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit.
Hinc, Senonum ductor, captiva Brennius[u] urbe
Romuleas domuit flammis victricibus arces.
Hinc et Scæva satus, pars non obscura tumultus
Civilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
Hinc, celebri fato, felici floruit ortu,
Flos regum Arthurus[w], cujus tamen acta stupori
Non micuere minus: totus quod in aure voluptas,
Et populo plaudente favor[x]. Quæcunque[y] priorum
Inspice: Pellæum commendat fama tyrannum,
Pagina Cæsareos loquitur Romana triumphos;
Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstris;
Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem
Æquant. Annales Graios Latiosque revolve,
Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies. Reges supereminet omnes:
Solus præteritis melior, majorque futuris.

Camden asserts, that Joseph accompanied king Richard the First to the holy land[z], and was an eye-witness of that heroic monarch's exploits among the Saracens, which afterwards he celebrated in the ANTIOCHEIS. Leland mentions his love-verses and epigrams, which are long since perished[a]. He[b] flourished in the year 1210[c].

There seems to have been a rival spirit of writing Latin heroic poems about this period. In France, Guillaume le Breton, or William of Bretagne, about the year 1230, wrote a Latin heroic poem on Philip Augustus king of France, in twelve books, entitled PHILIPPIS[d]. Barthius

from the *Bellum Trojanum* that Josephus had likewise written a poem on the Crusade, searched for it in many places, but without success. At length he found a piece of it in the library of Abingdon abbey in Berkshire. "Cum excuterem pulverem et tineas Abbandunensis bibliothecæ." Ut supr. p 238 Here he discovered that Josephus was a native of Exeter, which city was highly celebrated in that fragment.

[u] f. "Captiva Brennus in"

[w] From this circumstance, Pits absurdly recites the title of this poem thus, *Antiocheus in Regem Arthurum*. Jos. Isc.

[x] The text seems to be corrupt in this sentence; or perhaps somewhat is wanting. I have changed *favus*, which is in Camden, into *favor*.

[y] f *quemcunque*.

[z] Rem. ut supr. p 407

[a] Leland, ut supr. p. 239. Our biographers mention *Panegyricum in Henricum*. But the notion of this poem seems to have taken rise from the verses on Henry the Second, quoted by Leland from the *Bellum Trojanum*. He is likewise said to have written in Latin verse *De Institutione Cyri*.

[b] Italy had at that time produced no writer comparable to Iscanus.

[c] Bale, iii. 60. Compare *Dresemius ad Lectorem*, prefixed to the *De Bello Trojano*. Francof. 1620. 4to. Mr. Wise, the late Radcliffe librarian, told me that a manuscript of the Antiocheis was in the library of the duke of Chandos at Canons.

[d] He wrote it at fifty-five years of age. Philipp lib. iii. v. 381. It was first printed

gives a prodigious character of this poem; and affirms that the author, a few gallicisms excepted, has expressed the facility of Ovid with singular happiness[e]. The versification much resembles that of Joseph Iscanus. He appears to have drawn a great part of his materials from Roger Hoveden's annals. But I am of opinion, that the PHILIPPID is greatly exceeded by the ALEXANDREID of Philip Gualtier de Chatillon, who flourished likewise in France, and was provost of the canons of Tournay, about the year 1200[f]. This poem celebrates the actions of Alexander the Great, is founded on Quintus Curtius[g], consists of ten books, and is dedicated to Guillerm archbishop of Rheims. To give the reader an opportunity of comparing Gualtier's style and manner with those of our countryman Josephus, I will transcribe a few specimens from a beautiful and ancient manuscript of the ALEXANDREID in the Bodleian library[h]. This is the exordium:

> Gesta ducis Macedum totum digesta per orbem,
> Quam large dispersit opes, quo milite Porum
> Vicit aut Darium; quo principe Græcia victrix
> Risit, et a Persis rediere tributa Corinthum,
> Musa, refer.[i]

A beautiful rural scene is thus described:

> ——— Patulis ubi frondea ramis
> Laurus odoriferas celabat crinibus herbas:
> Sæpe sub hac memorant carmen sylvestre canentes
> Nympharum vidisse choros, Satyrosque procaces.
> Fons cadit a læva, quem cespite gramen obumbrat
> Purpureo, verisque latens sub veste jocatur.
> Rivulus at lento rigat inferiora meatu
> Garrulus, et strepitu facit obsurdescere montes.
> Hic mater Cybele Zephyrum tibi, Flora, maritans,
> Pullulat, et vallem fœcundat gratia fontis.
> Qualiter Alpinis spumoso vortice saxis
> Descendit Rhodanus, ubi Maximianus Eoos
> Extinxit cuneos, cum sanguinis unda meatum
> Fluminis adjuvit[k].———

in Pithou's "Eleven Historians of France," Francof 1536. fol. Next in Du Chesne, Script. Franc tom. v p 93. Paris. 1694. fol. But the best edition is with Barthius's notes, Cygn 1657. 4to. Brito says in the Philippis, that he wrote a poem called Karlottis, in praise of *Petri Carlotti sui*, then not fifteen years old. Philipp. lib. i. v. 10. This poem was never printed, and is hardly known.

[e] In Not. p 7. See also Adversar. xliii. 7 He prefers it to the Alexandreis mentioned below, in Not p 528. See Mem. Lit. viii. 536. edit. 4to

[f] It was first printed, Argent 1513 8vo. and two or three times since.

[g] See Sect. iii. p. 141. of this volume, and Barth. Advers. lii. 16.

[h] MSS. Digb. 52. 4to.

[i] fol. 1. a.

[k] fol. xiii. a.

He excels in similes. Alexander, when a stripling, is thus compared to a young lion:

> Qualiter Hyrcanis cum forte leunculus arvis
> Cornibus elatos videt ire ad pabula cervos,
> Cui nondum totos descendit robur in artus,
> Nec bene firmus adhuc, nec dentibus asper aduncis,
> Palpitat, et vacuum ferit improba lingua palatum;
> Effunditque prius animis quam dente cruorem.[k]

The ALEXANDREID soon became so popular, that Henry of Gaunt, archdeacon of Tournay, about the year 1330, complains that this poem was commonly taught in the rhetorical schools, instead of Lucan[l] and Virgil[m]. The learned Charpentier cites a passage from the manuscript statutes of the university of Tholouse, dated 1328, in which the professors of grammar are directed to read to their pupils "De Historiis Alexandri[n];" among which I include Gualtier's poem[o]. It is quoted as a familiar classic by Thomas Rodburn, a monkish chronicler, who wrote about the year 1420[p]. An anonymous Latin poet, seemingly of the thirteenth century, who has left a poem on the life and miracles of Saint Oswald, mentions Homer, Gualtier, and Lucan, as the three capital heroic poets. Homer, he says, has celebrated Hercules, Gualtier the son of Philip, and Lucan has sung the praises of Cesar. But, adds he, these heroes much less deserve to be immortalised in verse, than the deeds of the holy confessor Oswald.

> In nova fert animus antiquas vertere prosas
> Carmina, &c.
> Alciden hyperbolice commendat HOMERUS,

[k] fol. xxi. a.

[l] Here, among many other proofs which might be given, and which will occur hereafter, is a proof of the estimation in which Lucan was held during the middle ages. He is quoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth and John of Salisbury, writers of the eleventh century. Hist. Brit. iv. 9. and Policrat. p. 215. edit. 1515. &c. &c. There is an anonymous Italian translation of Lucan, as early as the year 1310. The Italians have also *Lucano in volgare*, by cardinal Montichelli, at Milan 1492. It is in the octave rime, and in ten books. But the translator has so much departed from the original, as to form a sort of romance of his own. He was translated into Spanish prose, *Lucano poeta y historiador antiquo*, by Martin Lasse de Orespe, at Antwerp, 1585. Lucan was first printed in the year 1469. and before the year 1500, there were six other editions of this classic, whose declamatory manner rendered him very popular. He was published at Paris in French in 1500. Labb. Bibl. p. 339.

[m] See Hen. Gandav. Monasticon, c. 20. and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ii. 218. Alanus de Insulis, who died in 1202, in his poem called *Anti-claudianus*, a Latin poem of nine books, much in the manner of Claudian, and written in defence of divine providence against a passage in that poet's Rufinus, thus attacks the rising reputation of the Alexandreid:

> Mævius in cœlis ardens os ponere mutum,
> GESTA DUCIS MACEDUM, tenebrosi carminis umbra,
> Dicere dum tentat.

[n] Suppl. Du Cang. Lat. Gloss. tom. ii. p. 1255. V. METRIFICATURA. By which barbarous word they signified the Art of poetry, or rather the Art of writing Latin verses.

[o] See Sect. iii. p. 132. in this volume.

[p] Hist. Maj. Winton. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 242.

GUALTERUS pingit torvo Philippida vultu,
Cæsareas late laudes LUCANUS adauget:
TRES illi famam meruerunt, tresque poetas
Auctores habuere suos, multo magis autem
Oswaldi regis debent insignia dici.[q]

I do not cite this writer as a proof of the elegant versification which had now become fashionable, but to show the popularity of the ALEXANDREID, at least among scholars. About the year 1206, Gunther a German, and a Cistercian monk of the diocese of Basil, wrote an heroic poem in Latin verse, entitled LIGURINUS, which is scarce inferior to the PHILIPPID of Guillaume le Breton, or the ALEXANDREID of Gualtier; but not so polished and classical as the TROJAN WAR of our Josephus Iscanus. It is in ten books, and the subject is the war of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa against the Milanese in Liguria[r]. He had before written a Latin poem on the expedition of the emperor Conrade against the Saracens, and the recovery of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bulloign, which he called SOLYMARIUM[s]. The subject is much like that of the ANTIOCHEIS; but which of the two pieces was written first it is difficult to ascertain.

[q] I will add some of the exordial lines almost immediately following, as they contain names, and other circumstances, which perhaps may lead to point out the age, if not the name of the author. They were never before printed.

Tu quoque digneris, precor, aspirare labori,
Flos cleri, MARTINE, meo, qui talis es inter
Abbates, qualis est patronus tuus inter
Pontifices. hic est primas, tu primus eorum, &c.
Hic per Aidanum sua munificentia munus
Illi promeruit, &c
Tuque benigne Prior, primas, et prime Priorum,
Qui cleri, ROGERE, rosam geris, annue vati, &c.
Tuque Sacrista, sacris instans, qui jure vocaris
SYMON, id est humilis, quo nemo benignior alter
Abbatis præcepta sui velocius audit,
Tardius obloquitur. qui tot mea carmina servas
Scripta voluminibus, nec plura requirere cessas,
Præteritos laudas, præsentes dilige versus, &c.

The manuscript is Bibl Bodl. A. 1. 2. B. (Langb. 5. p. 6.) This piece begins at f. 57 Other pieces precede, in Latin poetry as *Vitæ Sanctorum T Becket.* f. 3

Qui moritur? Præsul Cur? pro grege, &c.

Prol. pr f. 23.

Detineant alios Parnassi culmina, Cyrrhæ
Plausus, Pieridum vox, Heliconis opes.

De partu Virginis. f. 28 b

Nectareum rorem terris, &c.

S Birinus, f 42

Et pudet, et fateor, &c.

The author of the life of Birinus says, he was commanded to write by Peter, probably Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester Perhaps he is Michael Blaunpayne Alexander Esseby wrote lives of saints in Latin verse. See MSS. Harl. 1819. 531.

[r] First printed August Vindel 1507 fol and frequently since

[s] He mentions it in his *Ligurium*, lib. i. v 13 seq. v 648. seq See also Voss. Poet Lat. c vi. p 73. It was never printed. Gunther wrote a prose history of the sack of Constantinople by Baldwin: the materials were taken from the mouth of abbot Martin, who was present at the siege, in 1204. It was printed by Canisius, Antiq. Lect. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 358. Ingolstad. 1604. 4to. Again, in a new edition of that compilation, Amst. 1725. fol. tom. iv See also Pagi, ad A.D. 1519, n xiv.

While this spirit of classical Latin poetry was universally prevailing, our countryman Geoffrey de Vinesauf, an accomplished scholar, and educated not only in the priory of Saint Frideswide at Oxford, but in the universities of France and Italy, published while at Rome a critical didactic poem entitled DE NOVA POETRIA[s]. This book is dedicated to pope Innocent the Third, and its intention was to recommend and illustrate the new and legitimate mode of versification which had lately begun to flourish in Europe, in opposition to the Leonine or barbarous species. This he compendiously styles, and by way of distinction, *The* NEW *Poetry*. We must not be surprised to find Horace's Art of Poetry entitled HORATII NOVA POETRIA, so late as the year 1389, in a catalogue of the library of a monastery at Dover[t].

Even a knowledge of the Greek language imported from France, but chiefly from Italy, was now beginning to be diffused in England. I am inclined to think, that many Greek manuscripts found their way into Europe from Constantinople in the time of the Crusades: and we might observe, that the Italians, who seem to have been the most polished and intelligent people of Europe during the barbarous ages, carried on communications with the Greek empire as early as the reign of Charlemagne. Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, an universal scholar, and no less conversant in polite letters than the most abstruse sciences, cultivated and patronised the study of the Greek language. This illustrious prelate, who is said to have composed almost two hundred books, read lectures in the school of the Franciscan friars at Oxford about the year 1230[w]. He translated Dionysius the Areopagite and Damascenus into Latin[x]. He greatly facilitated the knowledge of Greek by a translation of Suidas's Lexicon, a book in high repute among the lower Greeks, and at that time almost a recent compilation[y]. He promoted John of Basingstoke to the archdeaconry of Leicester; chiefly because he was a Greek scholar, and possessed many Greek manuscripts, which he is said to have brought from Athens into England[z]. He entertain-

[s] It has been often printed I think it is called in some manuscripts, *De Arte dictandi, versificandi, et transferendi* See Selden, Præfat. *Dec. Scriptor* p xxxix and Selden, Op. ii. 168 He is himself no contemptible Latin poet, and is celebrated by Chaucer. See Urry's edit. p. 468. 560. He seems to have lived about 1200.

[t] Ex Matricula Monach. Monast. Dover. apud MSS. Br. Twyne, notat. 8. p. 758. archiv. Oxon. Yet all Horace's writings were often transcribed, and not unfamiliar, in the dark ages. His odes are quoted by Fitz-Stephens in his Description of London. Rabanus Maurus above mentioned quotes two verses from the Art of Poetry. Op tom. ii. p. 46 edit. Colon. 1627. fol.

[w] Kennet, Paroch Antiq. p. 217.

[x] Leland, Script Brit. p 283.

[y] Boston of Bury says, that he translated the book called *Suda* Catal. Script. Eccles. Robert Lincoln Boston lived in the year 1410 Such was their ignorance at this time even of the name of this lexicographer

[z] Lel. Script. Brit. p. 266. Matthew Paris asserts, that he introduced into England a knowledge of the Greek numeral letters. That historian adds, "De quibus figuris HOC MAXIME ADMIRANDUM, quod unica figura quilibet numerus repræsentatur; quod non est in Latino vel in Algorismo" Hist. edit. Lond. 1684. p. 721. He translated from Greek into Latin a grammar which he called *Donatus Græcorum*. See Pegge's Life of Roger de Weseham, p. 46, 47. 51. and infr. p. 281.

ed, as a domestic in his palace, Nicholas chaplain of the abbot of Saint Alban's, surnamed GRÆCUS, from his uncommon proficiency in Greek; and by his assistance he translated from Greek into Latin the testaments of the twelve patriarchs[a]. Grosthead had almost incurred the censure of excommunication for preferring a complaint to the pope, that most of the opulent benefices in England were occupied by Italians[b]. But this practice, although notoriously founded on the monopolising and arbitrary spirit of papal imposition, and a manifest act of injustice to the English clergy, probably contributed to introduce many learned foreigners into England, and to propagate philological literature.

Bishop Grosthead is also said to have been profoundly skilled in the Hebrew language[c]. William the Conqueror permitted great numbers of Jews to come over from Rouen, and to settle in England about the year 1087[d]. Their multitude soon increased, and they spread themselves in vast bodies throughout most of the cities and capital towns in England, where they built synagogues. There were fifteen hundred at York about the year 1189[e]. At Bury in Suffolk is a very complete remain of a Jewish synagogue of stone in the Norman style, large and magnificent. Hence it was that many of the learned English ecclesi-

He seems to have flourished about the year 1230. Bacon also wrote a Greek grammar, in which is the following curious passage: "Episcopus consecrans ecclesiam, scribat Alphabetum Græcum in pulvere cum cuspide baculi pastoralis sed omnes episcopi QUI GRÆCUM IGNORANT, scribant tres notas numerorum quæ non sunt literæ," &c. Gr. Gram. cap ult. p. iii. MSS. Apud MSS. Bi. Twyne, 8vo. p. 649. archiv. Oxon. See what is said of the new translations of Aristotle, from the original Greek into Latin, about the twelfth century, infr. vol. ii. Sect. ix. p. 90. I believe the translators understood very little Greek. Our countryman Michael Scotus was one of the first of them; who was assisted by Andrew a Jew. Michael was astrologer to Frederick emperor of Germany, and appears to have executed his translations at Toledo in Spain, about the year 1220. These new versions were perhaps little more than corrections from those of the early Arabians, made under the inspection of the learned Spanish Saracens. To the want of a true knowledge of the original language of the ancient Greek philosophers, Roger Bacon attributes the slow and imperfect advances of real science at this period. On this account their improvements were very inconsiderable, notwithstanding the appearance of erudition, and the fervour with which almost every branch of philosophy had been now studied in various countries for near half a century. See Wood, Hist Antiq Univ Oxon i. 120 seq Dempster, xii 940 Baconi Op. Maj. per Jebb, i. 15 ii 8. Tanner, Bibl. p 526 and MSS. Cotton. C. 5. fol 138. Brit Mus.

A learned writer affirms, that Aristotle's books in the original Greek were brought out of the east into Europe about the year 1200. He is also of opinion, that during the crusades many Europeans, from their commerce with the Syrian Palestines, got a knowledge of Arabic, and that importing into Europe Arabic versions of some parts of Aristotle's works, which they found in the east, they turned them into Latin. These were chiefly his Ethics and Politics. And these NEW TRANSLATORS he further supposes were employed at their return into Europe in revising the old translations of other parts of Aristotle, made from Arabic into Latin. Euseb. Renaudot, De Barbar. Aristot. Versionib. apud Fabric Bibl. Gr xii p 248. See also Murator. Antiq. Ital Med. Æv. iii. 936.

[a] See MSS Reg. Brit. Mus. 4 D. vii. 4. Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 82. and M. Paris, sub anno 1242.

[b] Godwin, Episc. p. 348. edit. 1616.

[c] He is mentioned again, Sect. ii. pp, 56. 72. of this volume.

[d] Hollinsh. Chron. sub ann. p. 15 a.

[e] Anders. Comm. i. 93.

astics of these times became acquainted with their books and language. In the reign of William Rufus, at Oxford the Jews were remarkably numerous, and had acquired a considerable property; and some of their rabbis were permitted to open a school in the university, where they instructed not only their own people, but many Christian students, in the Hebrew literature, about the year 1054[f]. Within two hundred years after their admission or establishment by the Conqueror, they were banished the kingdom[g]. This circumstance was highly favourable to the circulation of their learning in England. The suddenness of their dismission obliged them, for present subsistence, and other reasons, to sell their moveable goods of all kinds, among which were large quantities of rabbinical books. The monks in various parts availed themselves of the distribution of these treasures. At Huntingdon and Stamford there was a prodigious sale of their effects, containing immense stores of Hebrew manuscripts, which were immediately purchased by Gregory of Huntingdon, prior of the abbey of Ramsey. Gregory speedily became an adept in the Hebrew, by means of these valuable acquisitions, which he bequeathed to his monastery about the year 1250[h]. Other members of the same convent, in consequence of these advantages, are said to have been equal proficients in the same language, soon after the death of prior Gregory; among which were Robert Dodford, librarian of Ramsey, and Laurence Holbech, who compiled a Hebrew Lexicon[i]. At Oxford, great multitudes of their books fell into the hands of Roger Bacon, or were bought by his brethren the Franciscan friars of that university[k].

But, to return to the leading point of our inquiry, this promising dawn of polite letters and rational knowledge was soon obscured. The temporary gleam of light did not arrive to perfect day. The minds of scholars were diverted from these liberal studies in the rapidity of their career; and the arts of composition and the ornaments of language were neglected, to make way for the barbarous and barren subtleties of scholastic divinity. The first teachers of this art, originally founded on that spirit of intricate and metaphysical inquiry which the Arabians had communicated to philosophy, and which now became almost absolutely necessary for defending the doctrines of Rome, were Peter Lombard archbishop of Paris, and the celebrated Abelard; men whose consummate abilities were rather qualified to reform the church, and to restore useful science, than to corrupt both, by confounding the common sense of mankind with frivolous speculation[l]. These visionary

[f] Angl. Judaic. p. 8.

[g] Hollinshead, ibid. sub ann. 1289. p. 285. a. Matthew of Westminster says that 16511 were banished. Flor. Hist ad an. 1290. Great numbers of Hebrew rolls and charts, relating to their estates in England, and escheated to the king, are now remaining in the Tower among the royal records.

[h] Leland, Script. Brit. p. 321. and MSS. Bibl. Lambeth. Wharton, L. p. 661. "Libri Prioris Gregorii de Ramesey. *Prima pars Bibliothecæ Hebraicæ*," &c.

[i] Bale, iv. 41. ix. 9. Lel. ubi supr. p. 452.

[k] Wood, Hist Antiq. Univ. Oxon i. 77. 132. See also vol. ii Sect. ix. p. 89.

[l] They both flourished about the year 1150.

theologists never explained or illustrated any scriptural topic: on the contrary, they perverted the simplest expressions of the sacred text, and embarrassed the most evident truths of the Gospel by laboured distinctions and unintelligible solutions. From the universities of France, which were then filled with multitudes of English students, this admired species of sophistry was adopted in England, and encouraged by Lanfranc and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury[m]. And so successful was its progress at Oxford, that before the reign of Edward the Second no foreign university could boast so conspicuous a catalogue of subtle and invincible doctors.

Nor was the profession of the civil and canonical laws a small impediment to the propagation of those letters which humanize the mind, and cultivate the manners. I do not mean to deny, that the accidental discovery of the imperial code in the twelfth century contributed in a considerable degree to civilise Europe, by introducing, among other beneficial consequences, more legitimate ideas concerning the nature of government and the administration of justice, by creating a necessity of transferring judicial decrees from an illiterate nobility to the cognisance of scholars, by lessening the attachment to the military profession, and by giving honour and importance to civil employments; but to suggest, that the mode in which this invaluable system of jurisprudence was studied, proved injurious to polite literature. It was no sooner revived, than it was received as a scholastic science, and taught by regular professors, in most of the universities of Europe. To be skilled in the theology of the schools was the chief and general ambition of scholars: but at the same time a knowledge of both the laws was become an indispensable requisite, at least an essential recommendation, for obtaining the most opulent ecclesiastical dignities. Hence it was cultivated with universal avidity. It became so considerable a branch of study in the plan of academical discipline, that twenty scholars out of seventy were destined to the study of the civil and canon laws, in one of the most ample colleges at Oxford, founded in the year 1385. And it is easy to conceive the pedantry with which it was pursued in these seminaries during the middle ages. It was treated with the same spirit of idle speculation which had been carried into philosophy and theology, it was overwhelmed with endless commentaries which disclaimed all elegance of language, and served only to exercise genius, as it afforded materials for framing the flimsy labyrinths of casuistry.

It was not indeed probable, that these attempts in elegant literature which I have mentioned should have any permanent effects. The change, like a sudden revolution in government, was too rapid for duration. It was moreover premature, and on that account not likely to be lasting. The habits of superstition and ignorance were as yet too

[m] "Baccalaureus qui legit textum (sc. S. Scripturæ) succumbit lectori SENTENTIARUM Parisiis," &c. Rog. Bacon, apud A. Wood, Hist Antiq Univ Oxon. i. p. 53. Lombard was the author of the *Sentences*.

powerful for a reformation of this kind to be effected by a few polite scholars. It was necessary that many circumstances and events, yet in the womb of time, should take place, before the minds of men could be so far enlightened as to receive these improvements.

But perhaps inventive poetry lost nothing by this relapse. Had classical taste and judgement been now established, imagination would have suffered, and too early a check would have been given to the beautiful extravagances of romantic fabling. In a word, truth and reason would have chased before their time those spectres of illusive fancy, so pleasing to the imagination, which delight to hover in the gloom of ignorance and superstition, and which form so considerable a part of the poetry of the succeeding centuries.

ON THE

GESTA ROMANORUM.

DISSERTATION III.

TALES are the learning of a rude age. In the progress of letters, speculation and inquiry commence with refinement of manners. Literature becomes sentimental and discursive, in proportion as a people is polished; and men must be instructed by facts, either real or imaginary, before they can apprehend the subtleties of argument, and the force of reflection.

Vincent of Beauvais, a learned Dominican of France, who flourished in the thirteenth century, observes in his MIRROR of HISTORY, that it was a practice of the preachers of his age, to rouse the indifference and relieve the languor of their hearers, by quoting the fables of Esop: yet, at the same time, he recommends a sparing and prudent application of these profane fancies in the discussion of sacred subjects[a]. Among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum we find a very ancient collection of two hundred and fifteen stories, romantic, allegorical, religious, and legendary, which were evidently compiled by a professed preacher, for the use of monastic societies. Some of these appear to have been committed to writing from the recitals of bards and minstrels; others to have been invented and written by troubadours and monks[b]. In the year 1389, a grand system of divinity appeared at Paris, afterwards translated by Caxton under the title of the COURT OF SAPYENCE, which abounds with a multitude of historical examples, parables, and apologues; and which the writer wisely supposes to be much more likely to interest the attention and excite the devotion of the people, than the authority of science, and the parade of theology. In consequence of the expediency of this mode of instruction, the Legends of the Saints were received into the ritual, and rehearsed in the course of public worship. For religious romances were nearly allied to songs of chivalry; and the same gross ignorance of the people, which in the early centuries of Christianity created a necessity of introducing the

[a] Specul. Hist. lib. iv. c. viii. fol. 31 b. edit. Ven 1591.

[b] MSS. Harl. 463. membran. fol.

visible pomp of theatrical ceremonies into the churches, was taught the duties of devotion, by being amused with the achievements of spiritual knight-errantry, and impressed with the examples of pious heroism. In more cultivated periods, the DECAMERON of Boccace, and other books of that kind, ought to be considered as the remnant of a species of writing which was founded on the simplicity of mankind, and was adapted to the exigencies of the infancy of society.

Many obsolete collections of this sort still remain, both printed and manuscript, containing narratives either fictitious or historical,

> —— Of king and heroes old
> Such as the wise Demodocus once told
> In solemn songs at king Alcinous' feast.[c]

But among the ancient story-books of this character, a Latin compilation entitled GESTA ROMANORUM seems to have been the favourite.

This piece has been before incidentally noticed: but as it operated powerfully on the general body of our old poetry, affording a variety of inventions not only to Chuacer, Gower, and Lydgate, but to their distant successors, I have judged it of sufficient importance to be examined at large in a separate dissertation; which has been designedly reserved for this place*, for the purpose both of recapitulation and illustration, and of giving the reader a more commodious opportunity of surveying at leisure, from this intermediate point of view, and under one comprehensive detail, a connected display of the materials and original subjects of many of our past and future poets.

Indeed, in the times with which we are now about to be concerned, it seems to have been growing more into esteem. At the commencement of typography, Wynkyn de Worde published this book in English. This translation was reprinted, by one Robinson, in 1577, and afterwards, of the same translation there were six impressions before the year 1601[d]. There is an edition in black letter so late as the year 1689. About the year 1596, an English version appeared of "Epitomes des cent HISTOIRES TRAGIQUES, partie extraictes des ACTES DES ROMAINS et autres," &c. From the popularity, or rather familiarity, of this work in the reign of queen Elisabeth, the title of GESTA GRAYORUM was affixed to the history of the acts of the Christmas Prince at Gray's-inn, in 1594[e]. In Sir GILES GOOSECAP, an anonymous comedy, presented by the Children of the Chapel in the year 1606, we have, "Then for your lordship's quips and quick jests, why GESTA ROMANORUM were nothing to them[f]." And in George Chapman's MAY-DAY, a comedy, printed at London in 1611, a man of the highest literary

[c] Milton, At a Vacation Exercise, &c.

* [This Dissertation on the Gesta Romanorum was placed by the author at the beginning of his Third Volume, which was published seven years after the First it has now been thought best to let it follow the other Dissertations.—PRICE.]

[d] See vol. ii. Sect. xix p. 238.

[e] Printed, or reprinted, in 1688. 4to.

[f] Lond. Printed for John Windet, 1606. 4to.

taste for the pieces in vogue is characterised, "One that has read Marcus Aurelius, GESTA ROMANORUM, the Mirrour of Magistrates, &c.—to be led by the nose like a blind beare that has read nothing[g]!" The critics and collectors in black-letter, I believe, could produce many other proofs.

The GESTA ROMANORUM were first printed without date, but as it is supposed before or about the year 1473, in folio, with this title, *Incipiunt* HISTORIE NOTABILES *collecte ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM *et quibusdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem*[h]. This edition has one hundred and fifty-two chapters, or GESTS, and one hundred and seventeen leaves[i]. It is in the Gothic letter, and in two columns. The first chapter is of king Pompey, and the last of prince, or king, Cleonicus. The initials are written in red and blue ink. This edition, slightly mutilated, is among bishop Tanner's printed books in the Bodleian library. The reverend and learned doctor Farmer, master of Emanuel college in Cambridge, has the second (?) edition, as it seems, printed at Louvain, in quarto, the same or the subsequent year, by John de Westfalia, under the title, *Ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES *de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis.* And with this colophon, GESTA ROMANORUM *cum quibusdam aliis* HISTORIIS *eisdem annexis* ad MORALITATES *dilucide redacta hic finem habent. Quæ, diligenter correctis aliorum vicis, impressit Joannes de Westfalia in alma Vniversitate Louvaniensi.* It has one hundred and eighty-one chapters[k]. That is, twenty-nine more than are contained in the former edition: the first of the additional chapters being the story of Antiochus, or the substance of the romance of APOLLONIUS of TYRE. The initials are inserted in red ink[l]. Another followed soon afterwards, in quarto, *Ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM *Historie notabiles moralizatæ,* per *Girardum Lieu,* GOUDÆ, 1480. The next edition, with the use of which I have been politely favoured by George Mason, esquire, of Aldenham-lodge, in Hertfordshire, was printed in folio, and in the year 1488*, with this title, GESTA RHOMANORUM *cum Applicationibus moralisatis et misticis.* The colophon is, *Ex* GESTIS ROMANORUM *cum pluribus applicatis Historiis de virtutibus et viciis mystice ad intellectum transsumptis Recollectorii finis. Anno nre salutis* MCCCCLXXX viij *kalendas vero februarii* xvij. A general and alphabetical table are subjoined. The book, which is printed in two columns, and in the Gothic character, abounding with abbreviations,

[g] Act iii. pag. 39.

[h] Much the same title occurs to a manuscript of this work in the Vatican, "Historiæ Notabiles collectæ ex Gestis Romanorum et quibusdam aliis libris cum explicationibus eorundem." Montfauc. Bibl. Manuscr. tom. i. pag. 17. Num. 172.

[i] Without initials, paging, signatures, or catch-words.

[k] The first is of king Pompey, as before. The last is entitled *De Adulterio.*

[l] It has signatures to K k.

* [Mr. Douce enumerates two editions between this and Lieu's, namely, one printed at Hasselt in 1481, and another in 1482 without the name of the place. —PRICE.]

contains ninety-three leaves. The initials are written or flourished in red and blue, and all the capitals in the body of the text are miniated with a pen. There were many other later editions[m]. I must add, that the GESTA ROMANORUM were translated into Dutch, so early as the year 1484. There is an old French version in the British Museum.

This work is compiled from the obsolete Latin chronicles of the later Roman or rather German story, heightened by romantic inventions, from Legends of the Saints, oriental apologues, and many of the shorter fictitious narratives which came into Europe with the Arabian literature, and were familiar in the ages of ignorance and imagination. The classics are sometimes cited for authorities; but these are of the lower order, such as Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Seneca, Pliny, and Boethius. To every tale a MORALISATION is subjoined, reducing it into a christian or moral lesson.

Most of the oriental apologues are taken from the CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA, or a Latin dialogue between an Arabian philosopher and Edric[n] his son, never printed[o], written by Peter Alphonsus, a baptised Jew, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and collected from Arabian fables, apophthegms, and examples[p]. Some are also borrowed from an old Latin translation of the CALILAH U DAMNAH, a celebrated set of eastern fables, to which Alphonsus was indebted.

On the whole, this is the collection in which a curious inquirer might expect to find the original of Chaucer's Cambuscan:

> Or,—if aught else great bards beside
> In sage and solemn tunes have sung,
> Of turneys and of trophies hung,
> Of forests and inchantments drear,
> Where more is meant than meets the ear[q].

Our author frequently cites GESTA ROMANORUM, the title of his

[m] [For which see vol ii. Sect. xix. p. 235. et seq. and Mr. Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 358. "A translation by Mr Swann, has been published in 2 volumes, 1824."]

[n] Edric was the name of Enoch among the Arabians, to whom they attribute many fabulous compositions. Herbelot, in V. Lydgate's Chorle and the Bird, mentioned above, is taken from the *Clericalis Disciplina* of Alphonsus.

[o] MSS. Harl 3861; and in many other libraries. It occurs in old French verse, MSS. Digb. 86. membran. "*Le* Romaunz *de Peres Aunfour coment il aprist et chastia son fils belement.*" [See vol. ii. Sect. xxiv. p. 326.]

[See an analysis of this work by Mr. Douce, inserted in Ellis's Spec. Metr. Rom. i. 133. edit. 1811. There are two French metrical versions, but both imperfect, in MSS. Harl. 527. 4338. The Latin text was printed at the expense of the *Société des Bibliophiles Français*, at Paris, 2 pts. 12mo. 1824., accompanied by a French prose version of the fifteenth century, and one of the old French metrical translations, with a Preface by M. J. Labouderie. Another of the metrical versions had been imperfectly printed by Barbazan, in 1760, and a third, more completely, by Méon, in the edition of 1808.—M.]

[An admirable edition of the *Disciplina Clericalis* was afterwards given at Berlin by F. W. V. Schmidt, in 1827, with a long introduction, and a large body of extensive and valuable notes. Schmidt has, however, erroneously stated that it had never been printed previously to his edition—zum ersten Mal herausgegeben. —W.]

[p] See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 325 seq.

[q] Milton's Il Penseroso.

own work; by which I understand no particular book of that name, but the Roman history in general. Thus in the title of the SAINT ALBANS CHRONICLE, printed by Caxton, *Titus Livyus* de GESTIS ROMANORUM is recited. In the year 1544, Lucius Florus was printed at Paris under the same title[r]. In the British Museum we find "LES FAIS DE ROMAINS jusques à la fin de l'empire Domician, selon Orose, Justin, Lucan, &c." A plain historical deduction[s]. The ROMULEON, an old manuscript history of Rome from the foundation of the city to Constantine the Great, is also called DE GESTIS ROMANORUM. This manuscript occurs both in Latin and French: and a French copy, among the royal manuscripts, has the title, "ROMULEON, ou DES FAIS DE ROMAINS[t]." Among the manuscript books written by Lapus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, who flourished about the year 1350, there is one, *De Origine* URBIS ROMÆ *et de* GESTIS ROMANORUM[u]. Gower, in the CONFESSIO AMANTIS, often introduces Roman stories with the Latin preamble, *Hic secundum* GESTA; where he certainly means the Roman History, which by degrees had acquired simply the appellation of GESTA. Herman Korner, in his CHRONICA NOVELLA, written about the year 1438, refers for his vouchers to Bede, Orosius, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Eusebius, and the *Chronicon* et GESTA ROMANORUM. Most probably, to say no more, by the CHRONICON he means the later writers of the Roman affairs, such as Isidore and the monkish compilers; and by GESTA the ancient Roman history, as related by Livy and the more established Latin historians.

Neither is it possible that this work could have been brought as a proof or authority, by any serious annalist, for the Roman story.

For though it bears the title of GESTA ROMANORUM, yet this title by no means properly corresponds with the contents of the collection; which, as has been already hinted, comprehends a multitude of narratives, either not historical; or, in another respect, such as are either totally unconnected with the Roman people, or perhaps the most preposterous misrepresentations of their history. To cover this deviation from the promised plan, which, by introducing a more ample variety of matter, has contributed to increase the reader's entertainment, our collector has taken care to preface almost every story with the name or reign of a Roman emperor; who, at the same time, is often a monarch that never existed, and who seldom, whether real or supposititious, has any concern with the circumstances of the narrative.

But I hasten to exhibit a compendious analysis of the chapters which form this very singular compilation; intermixing occasional illustrations arising from the subject, and shortening or lengthening my abridgement of the stories, in proportion as I judge they are likely to interest the reader. Where, for that reason, I have been very concise, I have yet

[r] Apud Vascosan. 4to.
[s] MSS Reg. 20. C. 1
[t] MS. 19 E. v.
[u] See vol. II. Sect. XIX. p. 238.

said enough to direct the critical antiquarian to this collection, in case he should find a similar tale occurring in any of our old poets. I have omitted the mention of a very few chapters, which were beneath notice. Sometimes, where common authors are quoted, I have only mentioned the author's name, without specifying the substance of the quotation; for it was necessary that the reader should be made acquainted with our collector's track of reading, and the books which he used. In the mean time, this review will serve as a full notification of the edition of 1488, which is more comprehensive and complete than some others of later publication, and to which all the rest, as to a general criterion, may be now comparatively referred.

CHAP. i. Of a daughter of king Pompey, whose chamber was guarded by five armed knights and a dog. Being permitted to be present at a public show, she is seduced by a duke, who is afterwards killed by the champion of her father's court. She is reconciled to her father, and betrothed to a nobleman; on which occasion, she receives from her father an embroidered robe and a crown of gold, from the champion a gold ring, another from the wise man who pacified the king's anger, another from the king's son, another from her cousin, and from her spouse a seal of gold. All these presents are inscribed with proverbial sentences, suitable to the circumstances of the princess.

The latter part of this story is evidently oriental. The feudal manners, in a book which professes to record the achievements of the Roman people, are remarkable in the introductory circumstances. But of this mixture we shall see many striking instances.

CHAP. ii. Of a youth taken captive by pirates. The king's daughter falls in love with him; and having procured his escape, accompanies him to his own country, where they are married.

CHAP. vi. An emperor is married to a beautiful young princess. In case of death, they mutually agree not to survive one another. To try the truth of his wife, the emperor going into a distant country, orders a report of his death to be circulated. In remembrance of her vow, and in imitation of the wives of India, she prepares to throw herself headlong from a high precipice. She is prevented by her father; who interposes his paternal authority, as predominating over a rash and unlawful promise.

CHAP. vii. Under the reign of Dioclesian, a noble knight had two sons, the youngest of which marries a harlot.

This story, but with a difference of circumstances, ends like the beautiful apologue of the Prodigal Son.

CHAP. viii. The emperor Leo commands three female statues to be made. One has a gold ring on a finger pointing forward, another a beard of gold, and the third a golden cloak and purple tunic. Whoever steals any of these ornaments, is to be punished with an ignominious death.

This story is copied by Gower, in the CONFESSIO AMANTIS; but he has altered some of the circumstances. He supposes a statue of Apollo.

> Of plate of golde a berde he hadde,
> The wiche his brest all ovir spradde
> Of golde also, without fayle,
> His mantell was, of large entayle,
> Besette with perrey all aboute:
> Forth ryght he straught his fynger oute,
> Upon the whiche he had a rynge,
> To seen it was a ryche thynge,
> A fyne carbuncle for the nones
> Moste precious of all stones[w].

In the sequel, Gower follows the substance of our author.

CHAP. X. Vespasian marries a wife in a distant country, who refuses to return home with him, and yet declares she will kill herself if he goes. The emperor ordered two rings to be made, of a wondrous efficacy; one of which, in the stone, has the image of Oblivion, the other the image of Memory: the ring of Oblivion he gave to the empress, and returned home with the ring of Memory.

CHAP. XI. The queen of the south sends her daughter to king Alexander, to be his concubine. She was exceedingly beautiful, but had been nourished with poison from her birth. Alexander's master, Aristotle, whose sagacity nothing could escape, knowing this, entreated, that before she was admitted to the king's bed, a malefactor condemned to death might be sent for, who should give her a kiss, in the presence of the king. The malefactor, on kissing her, instantly dropped down dead. Aristotle, having explained his reasons for what he had done, was loaded with honours by the king, and the princess was dismissed to her mother.

This story is founded on the twenty-eighth chapter of Aristotle's SECRETUM SECRETORUM, in which, a queen of India is said to have treacherously sent to Alexander, among other costly presents, the pretended testimonies of her friendship, a girl of exquisite beauty, who having been fed with serpents from her infancy, partook of their nature[y]. If I recollect right, in Pliny there are accounts of nations whose natural food was poison. Mithridates, king of Pontus, the land of venomous herbs, and the country of the sorceress Medea, was supposed

[w] Lib. v. fol 122 b.

[y] [See Sect III. p. 135 note [x] of this volume.] This I now cite from a Latin translation, without date, but evidently printed before 1500. It is dedicated to Guido Vere de Valencia, bishop of Tripoly, by his most humble Clerk, Philippus; who says, that he found this treatise in Arabic at Antioch, *quo carebant Latini*, and that therefore, and because the Arabic copies were scarce, he translated it into Latin.

This printed copy does not exactly correspond with MS. Bodl 495. membr. 4to. In the last, Alexander's miraculous horn is mentioned at fol. 45 b. In the former, in ch. lxxii. The dedication is the same in both.

to eat poison. Sir John Maundeville's Travels, I believe, will afford other instances.

CHAP. xii. A profligate priest, in the reign of the emperor Otto, or Otho, walking in the fields, and neglecting to say mass, is reformed by a vision of a comely old man.

CHAP. xiii. An empress having lost her husband, becomes so dotingly fond of her only son, then three years of age, as not to bear his absence for a moment. They sleep together every night, and when he was eighteen years of age, she proves with child by him. She murthers the infant, and her left hand is immediately marked with four circles of blood. Her repentance is related, in consequence of a vision of the holy virgin.

This story is in the SPECULUM HISTORIALE of Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about the year 1250[z].

CHAP. xiv. Under the reign of the emperor Dorotheus, a remarkable example of the filial piety of a young man, who redeems his father, a knight, from captivity.

CHAP. xv. Eufemian, a nobleman in the court of the emperor of Rome, is attended by three thousand servants girt with golden belts, and clothed in silken vestments. His house was crowded with pilgrims, orphans, and widows, for whom three tables were kept every day. He has a son, Allexius, who quits his father's palace, and lives unknown seventeen years in a monastery in Syria. He then returns, and lives seventeen years undiscovered as a pilgrim in his father's family, where he suffers many indignities from the servants.

Allexius, or Alexis, was canonised. The story is taken from his Legend[a]. In the metrical Lives of the Saints, his life is told in a sort of measure different from that of the rest, and not very common in the earlier stages of our poetry. It begins thus:

Lesteneth alle and herkeneth me,
Zonge and olde, bonde and fre,
And ich zow telle sone,
How a zought man, gent and fre,
Bygan this worldis wele to fle,
Y-born he was in Rome.

In Rome was a dozty man
That was y-cleped Eufemian,
Man of moche myzte;
Gold and seluer he hadde ynouz,
Hall and boures, oxse and plouz,
And swith wel it dyzte.

When Allexius returns home in disguise, and asks his father about his son, the father's feelings are thus described:

[z] Lib VII. cap. 93 seq. f. 86 b. edit. Ven. [a] See Caxton, Gold. Leg. f. cccLxiii. b.

So sone so he spake of his sone,
The guode man, as was his wone,
Gan to sike[b] sore;
His herte fel[c] so colde so ston,
The teres felle to his ton[d],
On her berd hore.

At his burial, many miracles are wrought on the sick:

With mochel sizt[e], and mochel song,
That holy cors, hem alle among,
Bischoppis to cherche bere.

Amyddes rizt the heze strete[f],
So moche folke hym gone mete
That they resten a stonde,
All the sike[g] that to him come,
I-heled wer swithe sone
Of fet[h] and eke of honde:

The blinde come to hare[i] sizt,
The croked gonne sone rizt[k],
The lame for to go:
That dombe wer fonge[l] speeche,
Thez heredc[m] God the sothe leche[n],
And that halwe[o] also.

The day zede and drouz to nyzt,
No lenger dwelle[p] they ne myzt,
To cherche they moste wende;
The bellen they gonne to rynge,
The clerkes heze[q] to synge,
Everich in his ende[r].

Tho the corse to cherche com
Glad they wer everichon
That there ycure wer,
The pope and the emperour
Byfore an auter of seynt Savour
Ther sette they the bere.

Aboute the bere was moche lizt
With proude palle was bedizt,
I-beten al with golde[s].

[b] sigh. [c] felt. [m] heried, blessed.
[d] feet. [e] sighs [n] the true physician. [o] hallow.
[f] high-street. [p] tarry. [q] high.
[g] they sighed. [All the sick.—RITSON] [r] at his seat in the choir.
[h] feet. [i] their. [s] MSS. Coll. Trin Oxon. Cod. 57. supr. citat.
[k] straight. [l] found [took, received].

The history of saint Allexius is told entirely in the same words in the GESTA ROMANORUM, and in the LEGENDA AUREA of Jacobus de Voragine[t], translated, through a French medium, by Caxton. This work of Jacobus does not consist solely of the legends of the saints, but is interspersed with *multis aliis pulcherrimis et peregrinis historiis*, with many other most beautiful and strange histories[v].

CHAP. xvi. A Roman emperor in digging for the foundation of a new palace, finds a golden sarcophagus, or coffin, inscribed with mysterious words and sentences. Which being explained, prove to be so many moral lessons of instruction for the emperor's future conduct.

CHAP. xvii. A poor man named Guido engages to serve an emperor of Rome in six several capacities or employments. One of these services is, to show the best way to the holy land. Acquitting himself in all with singular address and fidelity, he is made a knight, and loaded with riches.

CHAP. xviii. A knight named Julian is hunting a stag, who turns and says, "You will kill your father and mother." On this he went into a distant country, where he married a rich lady of a castle. Julian's father and mother travelled into various lands to find their son, and at length accidentally came to this castle, in his absence; where telling their story to the lady, who had heard it from her husband, she discovered who they were, and gave them her own bed to sleep in. Early in the morning, while she was at mass in the chapel, her husband Julian unexpectedly returned; and entering his wife's chamber, perceived two persons in the bed, whom he immediately slew with his sword, hastily supposing them to be his wife and her adulterer. At leaving the chamber, he met his wife coming from the chapel; and with great astonishment asked her, who the persons were sleeping in her bed? She answered, "They are your parents, who have been seeking you so long, and whom I have honoured with a place in our own bed." Afterwards they founded a sumptuous hospital for the accommodation of travellers, on the banks of a dangerous river.

This story is told in Caxton's GOLDEN LEGENDE[u], and in the metrical Lives of the Saints[w]. Hence Julian, or Saint Julian, was called *hospitator*, or the *gode herberjour*, and the Pater Noster became famous, which he used to say for the souls of his father and mother whom he had thus unfortunately killed[x]. The peculiar excellences of this prayer are displayed by Boccace[y]. Chaucer, speaking of the hospitable disposition of his FRANKELEIN, says,

Saint Julian he was in his own countre[z].

[t] Hystor. lxxxix f. clviii. edit. 1479. fol. And in Vincent of Beauvais, who quotes *Gesta Alleiii*, *Specul Hist.* lib. xviii. cap. 43 seq f 241 b.

[v] In the Colophon.

[u] Fol. 90. edit. 1493.

[w] MSS Bodl. 1596. f. 4.

[x] Ibid.

[y] Decam D. ii N. 2.

[z] Prol. v 342. See infr. vol. ii. Sect. xvii. p. 202.

This history is, like the last, related by our compiler, in the words of Julian's Legend, as it stands in Jacobus de Voragine[a]. Bollandus has inserted Antoninus's account of this saint, which appears also to be literally the same[b]. It is told, yet not exactly in the same words, by Vincent of Beauvais[c].

I take this opportunity of observing, that the Legends of the Saints, so frequently referred to in the GESTA ROMANORUM, often contain high strokes of fancy, both in the structure and decorations of the story. That they should abound in extravagant conceptions, may be partly accounted for, from the superstitious and visionary cast of the writer: but the truth is, they derive this complexion from the east. Some were originally forged by monks of the Greek church, to whom the oriental fictions and mode of fabling were familiar. The more early of the Latin lives were carried over to Constantinople, where they were translated into Greek with new embellishments of eastern imagination. These being returned into Europe, were translated into Latin, where they naturally superseded the old Latin archetypes. Others of the Latin lives contracted this tincture, from being written after the Arabian literature became common in Europe. The following ideas in the Life of Saint Pelagian evidently betray their original:—"As the bysshop sange masse in the cyte of Usanance, he saw thre dropes ryghte clere all of one gratenesse whiche were upon the aulter, and al thre ranne to gyder in to a precyous gemme: and whan they had set thys gemme in a crosse of golde, al the other precyous stones that were there, fyllen out[d], and thys gemme was clere to them that were clene out of synne, and it was obscure and dark to synners[e]," &c. The peculiar cast of romantic invention was admirably suited to serve the purposes of superstition.

Possevin, a learned Jesuit, who wrote about the close of the sixteenth century, complains, that for the last five hundred years the courts of all the princes in Europe had been infatuated by reading romances; and that, in his time, it was a mark of inelegance, not to be familiarly acquainted with Lancelot du Lake, Perceforest, Tristan, Giron the Courteous, Amadis de Gaul, Primaleon, Boccace's Decameron, and Ariosto. He even goes so far as to say, that the devil instigated Luther to procure a translation of Amadis from Spanish into French, for the purpose of facilitating his grand scheme of overthrowing the catholic religion. The popularity of this book, he adds, warped the minds of the French nation from their ancient notions and studies; introduced a neglect of the Scriptures, and propagated a love for astrology, and other fantastic arts[f]. But with the leave of this zealous catholic I would observe, that this sort of reading was likely to produce, if any,

[a] Hystor. xxxii. f lxii. a.
[b] Act. Sanctor. tom. ii. Januar. p. 974. Antv. 1643.
[c] Specul Hist. lib. ix. c. 115. f. 115. Venet. 1591.
[d] fell out.
[e] Caxton's Gold. Leg. f. ccclxxxxviii.
[f] Biblioth. Select. lib i. cap. 25. p. 113. edit. 1593.

an effect quite contrary. The genius of romance and of popery was the same; and both were strengthened by the reciprocation of a similar spirit of credulity. The dragons and the castles of the one were of a piece with the visions and pretended miracles of the other. The ridiculous theories of false and unsolid science, which, by the way, had been familiarised to the French by other romances, long before the translation of Amadis, were surely more likely to be advanced under the influence of a religion founded on deception, than in consequence of Luther's reformed system, which aimed at purity and truth, and which was to gain its end by the suppression of ancient prejudices.

Many of the absurdities of the catholic worship were perhaps, as I have hinted, in some degree necessary in the early ages of the church, on account of the ignorance of the people; at least, under such circumstances they were natural, and therefore excusable. But when the world became wiser, those mummeries should have been abolished, for the same reason that the preachers left off quoting Esop's fables in their sermons, and the stage ceased to instruct the people in the scripture-history by the representation of the MYSTERIES. The advocates of the papal communion do not consider, that in a cultivated age, abounding with every species of knowledge, they continue to retain those fooleries which were calculated only for Christians in a condition of barbarism, and of which the use now no longer subsists.

CHAP. xix. When Julius Cesar was preparing to pass the Rubicon, a gigantic spectre appeared from the middle of the river, threatening to interrupt his passage, if he came not to establish the peace of Rome*. Our author cites the GESTA ROMANORUM for this story.

It was impossible that the Roman history could pass through the dark ages without being infected with many romantic corruptions. Indeed, the Roman was almost the only ancient history which the readers of those ages knew: and what related even to pagan Rome, the parent of the more modern papal metropolis of Christianity, was regarded with a superstitious veneration, and often magnified with miraculous additions.

CHAP. xx. The birth of the emperor Henry, son of earl Leopold, and his wonderful preservation from the stratagems of the emperor Conrade, till his accession to the imperial throne.

This story is told by Caxton in the GOLDEN LEGENDE, under the life of Pelagian the pope, entitled, *Here foloweth the lyf of Saynt Pelagyen the pope, with many other hystoryes and gestys of the Lombardes,*

* It is singular that Warton did not recollect the well-known passage in Lucan:

"Ut ventum est parvi Rubiconis ad undas,
Ingens visa duci patriæ trepidantis imago,
Clara per obscuram vultu mœstissima noctem,
Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines,
Cæsarie lacera, nudisque adstare lacertis,
Et gemitu permixta loqui —Quo tenditis ultra?
Quo fertis mea signa, viri? Si jure venitis,
Si cives, huc usque licet."—Pharsalia, lib i. 185—192.

This is evidently the prototype of the story in the Gesta.—R.G.

and of Machomete, with other cronycles[g]. The GESTA LONGOBARDORUM are fertile in legendary matter, and furnished Jacobus de Voragine, Caxton's original, with many marvellous histories[h]. Caxton, from the *gestes of the Lombardis*, gives a wonderful account of a pestilence in Italy, under the reign of king Gilbert[i].

There is a LEGENDA SANCTORUM, sive HISTORIA LOMBARDICA, printed in 1483. This very uncommon book is not mentioned by Maittaire. It has this colophon: "Explicium quorundam Sanctorum Legende adjuncte post Lombardicam historiam. Impressa Argentine, M.CCCC.LXXXIII.[k]" That is, the latter part of the book contains a few saints not in the history of the Lombards, which forms the first part. I have neither time nor inclination to examine whether this is Jacobus's LEGENDA; but I believe it to be the same. I think I have seen an older edition of the work, at Cologne 1470[l].

I have observed that Caxton's GOLDEN LEGENDE is taken from Jacobus de Voragine. This perhaps is not precisely true. Caxton informs us in his first preface to the first edition of 1483[m], that he had in his possession a Legend in French, another in Latin, and a third in English, which varied from the other two in many places; and that MANY HISTORIES were contained in the English collection, which did not occur in the French and Latin. Therefore, says he, "I have wryton ONE OUTE of the sayd three bookes: which I have orderyd otherwyse than in the sayd *Englysshe Legende*, which was so to fore made." Caxton's English original might have been the old METRICAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS.

CHAP. XXI. A story from Justin, concerning a conspiracy of the Spartans against their king.

CHAP. XVII. How the Egyptians deified Isis and Osiris. From saint Austin, as is the following chapter.

CHAP. XXIV. Of a magician and his delicious garden, which he shows only to fools and to his enemies.

CHAP. XXV. Of a lady who keeps the staff and scrip of a stranger, who rescued her from the oppressions of a tyrant: but being afterwards courted by three kings, she destroys those memorials of her greatest benefactor.

CHAP. XXVI. An emperor, visiting the holy land, commits his daughter and his favorite dog, who is very fierce, to the custody of five knights, under the superintendence of his seneschal. The seneschal neglects his charge: the knights are obliged to quit their post for want of necessaries; and the dog, being fed with the provisions assigned to the knights, grows fiercer, breaks his three chains, and kills the lady who was permitted to wander at large in her father's hall. When the emperor returns, the seneschal is thrown into a burning furnace.

[g] Fol ccclxxxxvii. b.
[h] See his Legend. Aur. fol. cccxv.
[i] Ubi supr. f. lxxvi.
[k] Fol.
[l] Fol. See also "Legenda Sanctorum quæ et LOMBARDICA dicitur." Lugd. 1509 fol
[m] Fol at Westminster This is one of the finest of Caxton's publications.

CHAP. xxviii. The old woman and her little dog.

CHAP. xxx. The three honours and three dishonours, decreed by a certain king to every conqueror returning from war.

CHAP. xxxi. The speeches of the philosophers on seeing king Alexander's golden sepulchre.

CHAP. xxxiii. A man had three trees in his garden, on which his three wives successively hanged themselves. Another begs an offset from each of the trees, to be planted in the gardens of his married neighbours. From Valerius Maximus, who is cited.

CHAP. xxxiv. Aristotle's seven rules to his pupil Alexander.

This, I think, is from the SECRETA SECRETORUM. Aristotle, for two reasons, was a popular character in the dark ages. He was the father of their philosophy; and had been the preceptor of Alexander the Great, one of the principal heroes of romance. Nor was Aristotle himself without his romantic history; in which he falls in love with a queen of Greece, who quickly confutes his subtlest syllogisms.

CHAP. xxxv. The GESTA ROMANORUM cited, for the custom among the ancient Romans of killing a lamb for pacifying quarrels.

CHAP. xxxvi. Of a king who desires to know the nature of man. Solinus, DE MIRABILIBUS MUNDI, is here quoted.

CHAP. xxxvii. Pliny's account of the stone which the eagle places in her nest, to avoid the poison of a serpent.

CHAP. xxxix. Julius Cesar's mediation between two brothers. From the GESTA ROMANORUM.

We must not forget, that there was the Romance of JULIUS CESAR. And I believe Antony and Cleopatra were more known characters in the dark ages than is commonly supposed. Shakspeare is thought to have formed his play on this story from North's translation of Amyot's unauthentic French Plutarch, published at London in 1579. Montfaucon, among the manuscripts of Monsieur Lancelot, recites an old piece written about the year 1500, "LA VIE ET FAIS DE MARC ANTOINE le triumvir et de sa mie CLEOPATRA, translaté de l'historien Plutarque pour très illustre haute et puissante dame Madame Françoise de Fouez Dame de Châteaubriand[n]." I know not whether this piece was ever printed. At least it shows, that the story was familiar at a more early period than is imagined; and leads us to suspect, that there might have been other materials used by Shakspeare on this subject, than those hitherto pointed out by his commentators.

That Amyot's French version of Plutarch should contain corruptions and innovations, will easily be conceived, when it is remembered that he probably translated from an old Italian version[o]. A new exhibition

[n] Bibl Manuscr. tom. ii pag 1669. col 2

[o] See Bibl Fr. de la Croix, &c. tom i p 388. Amyot was a great translator of Greek books, but I fear, not always from the Greek. It is remarkable, that he was rewarded with an abbacy for translating the Theagenes and Chariclea of Heliodorus, for writing which, the author was deprived of a bishoprick. He died about 1580.

in English of the French caricature of this most valuable biographer by North, must have still more widely extended the deviation from the original.

CHAP. xl. The infidelity of a wife proved by feeling her pulse in conversation. From Macrobius.

CHAP. xlii. Valerius Maximus is cited, concerning a column at Rome inscribed with four letters four times written.

CHAP. xliv. Tiberius orders a maker of ductile glass, which could not be broken, to be beheaded, lest it should become more valuable than silver and gold.

This piece of history, which appears also in Cornelius Agrippa DE VANITATE SCIENTIARUM[p], is taken from Pliny, or rather from his transcriber Isidore[q]. Pliny, in relating this story, says, that the temperature of glass, so as to render it flexible, was discovered under the reign of Tiberius.

In the same chapter Pliny observes, that glass is susceptible of all colours: "Fit et album, et murrhinum, aut hyacinthos sapphirosque imitatum, et omnibus aliis coloribus. Nec est alia nunc materia sequacior, aut etiam PICTURÆ ACCOMMODATIOR. Maximus tamen honor in candido[r]." But the Romans, as the last sentence partly proves, probably never used any coloured glass for windows. The first notice of windows of a church made of coloured glass occurs in chronicles quoted by Muratori. In the year 802, a pope built a church at Rome, and, "fenestras ex vitro diversis coloribus conclusit atque decoravit[s]." And in 856, he produces "fenestras vero vitreis coloribus[t]," &c. This however was a sort of mosaic in glass. To express figures in glass, or what we now call the art of painting in glass, was a very different work; and, I believe, I can show it was brought from Constantinople to Rome before the tenth century, with other ornamental arts. Guicciardini, who wrote about 1560, in his *Descrittione de tutti Paesi Bassi*, ascribes the invention of baking colours in glass for church-windows to the Netherlanders[u]; but he does not mention the period, and I think he must be mistaken. It is certain that this art owed much to the laborious and mechanical genius of the Germans; and, in particular, their deep researches and experiments in chemistry, which they cultivated in the dark ages with the most indefatigable assiduity, must have greatly assisted its operations. I could give very early anecdotes of this art in

[p] Orig lib xvi. cap xv. p 1224. Apud Auct Ling Lat 1602

Isidore's was a favorite REPERTORY of the middle age. He is cited for an account of the nature and qualities of the Falcon, in the Prologue to the second or metrical part of the old *Phebus de deduz de la chasse des Bestes sauvages et des oyseaux de Proye*, printed early at Paris without date, and written, as appears by the rubric of the last section, by *Le Comte de Tankarville*.

[q] Sandford's English Translat. cap. 90. p 159 a. edit Lond 1569. 4to.

[r] Nat Hist. lib xxxvi. cap. xvi. p. 725. edit. Lugd 1615.

[s] *Dissert. Antichit. Ital.* tom. i. c. xxiv. p. 287.

[t] Ibid. p. 281

[u] Antw. Plantin. 1580. fol

England. But, with the careless haste of a lover, I am anticipating what I have to say of it in my HISTORY OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.

CHAP. xlv. A king leaves four sons by his wife, only one of which is lawfully begotten. They have a contest for the throne. The dispute is referred to the deceased king's secretary, who orders the body to be taken from the tomb; and decrees, that the son who can shoot an arrow deepest into it shall be king. The first wounds the king's right hand; the second his mouth; the third his heart. The last wound is supposed to be the successful one. At length the fourth, approaching the body, cried out with a lamentable voice, "Far be it from me to wound my father's body!" In consequence of this speech, he is pronounced by the nobles and people present to be the true heir, and placed on the throne.

CHAP. xlviii. Dionysius is quoted for the story of Perillus's brazen bull.

Gower in the CONFESSIO AMANTIS has this story; which he prefaces by saying that he found it in a *Cronike*[w]. In Caxton's Golden Legende, Macrobius is called a chronicle. "Macrobius sayth in a cronike[x]." Chronicles are naturally the first efforts of the literature of a barbarous age. The writers, if any, of those periods are seldom equal to anything more than a bare narration of facts, and such sort of matter is suitable to the taste and capacity of their cotemporary readers. A further proof of the principles advanced in the beginning of this Dissertation.

CHAP. xlix. The duchess Rosmilla falls in love with Conan, king of Hungary, whom she sees from the walls of the city of Foro-Juli, which he is besieging. She has four sons and two daughters. She betrays the city to Conan, on condition that he will marry her the next day. Conan, a barbarian, executed the contract; but on the third day exposed her to his whole army, saying, "Such a wife deserves such a husband."

Paulus, that is, Paulus Diaconus, the *historian of the Longobards*, is quoted. He was chancellor of Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards; with whom he was taken captive by Charlemagne. The history here referred to is entitled GESTA LONGOBARDORUM[y].

CHAP. l. From Valerius Maximus.

CHAP. li. From Josephus.

CHAP. lii. From Valerius Maximus.

CHAP. liii. From the same.

CHAP. liv. The emperor Frederick's marble portico near Capua.

[w] Lib. vii f. 161 b. col. 1.

[x] Fol. lxii. b.

[y] See lib. iv. cap. xxviii. Apud Muratorii *Scriptor Ital.* i. p. 465. edit. Mediolan. 1723. where she is called Romilda. The king is Cacan, or Cacanus, a king of the Huns. There are some fine circumstances of distress in Paulus's description of this siege.

I wonder there are not more romances extant on the lives of the Roman emperors of Germany; many of whom, to say no more, were famous in the crusades. There is a romance in old German rhyme, called TEUERDANK, on Maximilian the First, written by Melchior Pfinzing his chaplain. Printed at Nuremberg in 1517[z].

CHAP. lv. Of a king who has one son exceedingly beautiful, and four daughters, named Justice, Truth, Mercy, and Peace.

CHAP. lvi. A nobleman invited a merchant to his castle, whom he met accordingly upon the road. At entering the castle, the merchant was astonished at the magnificence of the chambers, which were overlaid with gold. At supper, the nobleman placed the merchant next to his wife, who immediately shewed evident tokens of being much struck with her beauty. The table was covered with the richest dainties; but while all were served in golden dishes, a pittance of meat was placed before the lady in a dish made out of a human skull. The merchant was surprised and terrified at this strange spectacle. At length he was conducted to bed in a fair chamber; where, when left alone, he observed a glimmering lamp in a nook or corner of the room, by which he discovered two dead bodies hung up by the arms. He was now filled with the most horrible apprehensions, and could not sleep all the night. When he rose in the morning, he was asked by the nobleman how he liked his entertainment? He answered, "There is plenty of every thing; but the skull prevented me from eating at supper, and the two dead bodies which I saw in my chamber from sleeping. With your leave therefore I will depart." The nobleman answered, "My friend, you observed the beauty of my wife. The skull which you saw placed before her at supper, was the head of a duke, whom I detected in her embraces, and which I cut off with my own sword. As a memorial of her crime, and to teach her modest behaviour, her adulterer's skull is made to serve for her dish. The bodies of the two young men hanging in the chamber are my two kinsmen, who were murthered by the son of the duke. To keep up my sense of revenge for their blood, I visit their dead bodies every day. Go in peace, and remember to judge nothing without knowing the truth."

Caxton has the history of Albione, a king of the Lombards, who having conquered another king, "lade awaye wyth hym Rosamounde his wyf in captyvyte, but after he took hyr to hys wyf, and he dyde do make a cuppe of the skulle of that kynge and closed in fyne golde and sylver, and dranke out of it[a]." This, by the way, is the story of the

[z] Fol. on vellum It is not printed with moveable types, but every page is graved in wood or brass, with wooden cuts. It is a most beautiful book.

[a] Golden Leg. f. ccclxxxxvii. a. edit. 1493. The compilers of the SANCTILOGE probably took this story from Paulus Diaconus, *Gest. Longobard* ut supr lib ii. cap. xxviii. p. 435. seq. It has been adopted, as a romantic tale, into the *Histoires Tragiques* of Belleforest, p 297. edit 1580 The English reader may find it in Heylin's Cosmographie, B i. col. i. p 57. and in Machiavel's History of Florence, in English, Lond. 1680. B. i. p. 5. seq See also Lydgate's Bochas, B. ix. ch xxvii

old Italian tragedy of Messer Giovanni Rucellai planned on the model of the ancients, and acted in the Rucellai gardens at Florence, before Leo the Tenth and his court, in the year 1516[b]. Davenant has also a tragedy on the same subject, called ALBOVINE *King of the Lombards his Tragedy.*

A most sanguinary scene in Shakspeare's TITUS ANDRONICUS, an incident in Dryden's, or Boccace's TANCRED AND SIGISMONDA, and the catastrophe of the beautiful metrical romance of the LADY OF FAGUEL, are founded on the same horrid ideas of inhuman retaliation and savage revenge: but in the two last pieces, the circumstances are so ingeniously imagined, as to lose a considerable degree of their atrocity, and to be productive of the most pathetic and interesting situations.

CHAP. lvii. The enchanter Virgil places a magical image in the middle of Rome[c], which communicates to the emperor Titus all the secret offences committed every day in the city[d].

This story is in the old black-lettered history of the necromancer Virgil, in Mr. Garrick's collection.

Vincent of Beauvais relates many wonderful things, *mirabiliter actitata*, done by the poet Virgil, whom he represents as a magician. Among others, he says, that Virgil fabricated those brazen statues at Rome, called *Salvacio Romæ*, which were the gods of the provinces conquered by the Romans. Every one of these statues held in its hand a bell framed by magic; and when any province was meditating a revolt, the statue, or idol, of that country struck his bell[e]. This fiction is mentioned by the old anonymous author of the MIRABILIA ROMÆ, written in the thirteenth century, and printed by Montfaucon[f]. It occurs in Lydgate's BOCHAS. He is speaking of the Pantheon,

> Whyche was a temple of old foundacion,
> Ful of ydols, up set on hye stages;
> There throughe the worlde of every nacion
> Were of theyr goddes set up great ymages,
> To every kingdom direct were their visages,
> As poetes and Fulgens[g] by hys live
> In bokes olde plainly doth dyscrive.
>
> Every ymage had in his hande a bell,
> As apperteyneth to every nacion,
> Which, by craft some token should tell
> Whan any kingdom fil in rebellion, &c.[h]

[b] See vol. II. Sect. xxxv. p 547.

[c] For the necromancer Virgil, see vol. II Sect. xxviii. p. 411.

[d] In the *Cento Novelle Antiche.* Nov. vii.

[e] Specul. Histor. lib. iv. cap. 61. f. 66 a.

[f] Diar Ital. cap. xx. p 288. edit. 1702 Many wonders are also related of Rome, in an old metrical romance called The Stacyons of Rome, in which Romulus is said to be born of the *duches of Troye.* MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2. fol. 81.

[g] Fulgentius.

[h] Tragedies of Bochas, B ix. ch. i. st. 4. Compare vol. II. Sect. xxii. p. 284.

This fiction is not in Boccace, Lydgate's original: it is in the above-cited Gothic history of Virgil. Gower's Virgil, I think, belongs to the same romance.

> And eke Virgil of acqueintance
> I sigh, where he the maiden prayd,
> Which was the doughter, as men sayd,
> Of the emperour whilom of Rome.[1]

CHAP. lviii. King Asmodeus pardons every malefactor condemned to death, who can tell three indisputable truths or maxims.

CHAP. lix. The emperor Jovinian's history.

On this there is an ancient French MORALITÉ, entitled *L'Orgueil et présomption de l'Empercur* JOVINIAN[k]. This is also the story of ROBERT king of Sicily, an old English poem or romance, from which I have given copious extracts[l].

CHAP. lx. A king has a daughter named Rosimund, aged ten years; exceedingly beautiful, and so swift of foot, that her father promises her in marriage to any man who can overcome her in running; but those who fail in the attempt are to lose their heads. After many trials, in which she was always victorious, she loses the race with a poor man, who throws in her way a silken girdle, a garland of roses, and a silken purse inclosing a golden ball, inscribed, "Whoso plays with me will never be satiated with play." She marries the poor man, who inherits her father's kingdom.

This is evidently a Gothic innovation of the classical tale of Atalanta. But it is not impossible that an oriental apologue might have given rise to the Grecian fable.

CHAP. lxi. The emperor Claudius marries his daughter to the philosopher Socrates.

CHAP. lxii. Florentina's picture.

CHAP. lxiii. Vespasian's daughter's garden. All her lovers are obliged to enter this garden before they can obtain her love, but none return alive. The garden is haunted by a lion; and has only one entrance, which divides into so many windings, that it never can be found again. At length, she furnishes a knight with a ball or clue of thread, and teaches him how to foil the lion. Having achieved this adventure, he marries the lady.

Here seems to be an allusion to Medea's history.

CHAP. lxiv. A virgin is married to a king, because she makes him a shirt of a piece of cloth three fingers long and broad.

CHAP. lxv. A cross with four inscriptions.

CHAP. lxvi. A knight offers to recover a lady's inheritance, which had been seized by a tyrant, on condition, that if he is slain, she shall

[1] *Confess. Amant.* L. viii. f. clxxxix a. col. 2.

[k] See Sect. v. p. 193 of this volume.

[l] See Sect. v. p. 183 et seqq. of this volume

always keep his bloody armour hanging in her chamber. He regains her property, although he dies in the attempt; and as often as she was afterwards sued for in marriage, before she gave an answer, she returned to her chamber, and contemplating with tears her deliverer's bloody armour, resolutely rejected every solicitation.

CHAP. lxvii. The wise and foolish knight.

CHAP. lxviii. A woman understands the language of birds. The three cocks.

CHAP. lxix. A mother gives to a man who marries her daughter a shirt, which can never be torn, nor will ever need washing, while they continue faithful to each other.

CHAP. lxx. The king's daughter, who requires three impossible things of her lovers.

CHAP. lxxii. The king who resigns his crown to his son.

CHAP. lxxiv. The golden apple.

CHAP. lxxv. A king's three daughters marry three dukes, who all die the same year.

CHAP. lxxvi. The two physicians.

CHAP. lxxix. The fable of the familiar ass.

CHAP. lxxx. A devout hermit lived in a cave, near which a shepherd folded his flock. Many of the sheep being stolen, the shepherd was unjustly killed by his master as being concerned in the theft. The hermit seeing an innocent man put to death, began to suspect the existence of a Divine Providence; and resolved no longer to perplex himself with the useless severities of religion, but to mix in the world. In travelling from his retirement, he was met by an angel in the figure of a man; who said, "I am an angel, and am sent by God to be your companion on the road." They entered a city; and begged for lodging at the house of a knight, who entertained them at a splendid supper. In the night, the angel rose from his bed, and strangled the knight's only child who was asleep in the cradle. The hermit was astonished at this barbarous return for so much hospitality, but was afraid to make any remonstrance to his companion. Next morning they went to another city. Here they were liberally received in the house of an opulent citizen; but in the night the angel rose, and stole a golden cup of inestimable value. The hermit now concluded that his companion was a Bad Angel. In travelling forward the next morning, they passed over a bridge; about the middle of which they met a poor man, of whom the angel asked the way to the next city. Having received the desired information, the angel pushed the poor man into the water, where he was immediately drowned. In the evening they arrived at the house of a rich man; and begging for a lodging, were ordered to sleep in a shed with the cattle. In the morning the angel gave the rich man the cup which he had stolen. The hermit, amazed that the cup which was stolen from their friend and benefactor should be given to one who refused them a lodging, began to be now convinced that

his companion was the Devil; and begged to go on alone. But the angel said, "Hear me, and depart. When you lived in your hermitage a shepherd was killed by his master. He was innocent of the supposed offence; but had he not been then killed, he would have committed crimes in which he would have died impenitent. His master endeavours to atone for the murther, by dedicating the remainder of his days to alms and deeds of charity. I strangled the child of the knight. But know, that the father was so intent on heaping up riches for this child, as to neglect those acts of public munificence for which he was before so distinguished, and to which he has now returned. I stole the golden cup of the hospitable citizen. But know, that from a life of the strictest temperance, he became, in consequence of possessing this cup, a perpetual drunkard; and is now the most abstemious of men. I threw the poor man into the water. He was then honest and religious. But know, had he walked one half of a mile further, he would have murthered a man in a state of mortal sin. I gave the golden cup to the rich man who refused to take us within his roof. He has therefore received his reward in this world; and in the next, will suffer the pains of hell for his inhospitality." The hermit fell prostrate at the angel's feet; and requesting forgiveness, returned to his hermitage, fully convinced of the wisdom and justice of God's government.

This is the fable of Parnell's HERMIT, which that elegant yet original writer has heightened with many masterly touches of poetical colouring, and a happier arrangement of circumstances. Among other proofs which might be mentioned of Parnell's genius and address in treating this subject, by reserving the discovery of the angel to a critical period at the close of the fable, he has found means to introduce a beautiful description, and an interesting surprise*. In this poem, the last instance of the angel's seeming injustice, is that of pushing the guide from the bridge into the river. At this, the hermit is unable to suppress his indignation.

Wild sparkling rage inflames the Father's eyes,
He bursts the bonds of fear, and madly cries,
"Detested wretch!"—But scarce his speech began,
When the strange partner seem'd no longer man:
His youthful face grew more serenely sweet;
His robe turn'd white, and flow'd upon his feet;
Fair rounds of radiant points invest his hair;
Celestial odours fill the purple air;
And wings, whose colours glitter'd on the day,
Wide at his back their gradual plumes display:
The form ethereal bursts upon his sight,
And moves in all the majesty of light.

* [This idea is not original.—M.]

The same apologue occurs, with some slight additions and variations for the worse, in Howell's LETTERS; who professes to have taken it from the *speculative* sir Philip Herbert's CONCEPTIONS to his Son, a book which I have never seen[m]. These Letters were published about the year 1650. It is also found in the DIVINE DIALOGUES of doctor Henry More[n], who has illustrated its important moral with the following fine reflections: "The affairs of this world are like a curious, but intricately contrived Comedy; and we cannot judge of the tendency of what is past, or acting at present, before the entrance of the last Act, which shall bring in Righteousness in triumph; who, though she hath abided many a brunt, and has been very cruelly and despightfully used hitherto in the world, yet at last, according to our desires, we shall see the knight overcome the giant. For what is the reason we are so much pleased with the reading romances and the fictions of the poets, but that here, as Aristotle says, things are set down as they should be; but in the true history hitherto of the world, things are recorded indeed as they are, but it is but a testimony, that they have not been as they should be? Wherefore, in the upshot of all, when we shall see that come to pass, that so mightily pleases us in the reading the most ingenious plays and heroic poems, that long-afflicted vertue at last comes to the crown, the mouth of all unbelievers must be for ever stopped. And for my own part, I doubt not but that it will so come to pass in the close of the world. But impatiently to call for vengeance upon every enormity before that time, is rudely to overturn the stage before the entrance into the fifth act, out of ignorance of the plot of the comedy; and to prevent the solemnity of the general judgement by more paltry and particular executions[o]."

Parnell seems to have chiefly followed the story as it is told by this Platonic theologist, who had not less imagination than learning. Pope used to say, that it was originally written in Spanish. This I do not believe; but from the early connection between the Spaniards and Arabians, this assertion tends to confirm the suspicion, that it was an oriental tale.

CHAP. lxxxi. A king violates his sister. The child is exposed in a chest in the sea; is christened Gregory by an abbot who takes him up, and after various adventures he is promoted to the popedom. In their old age his father and mother go a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to confess to this pope, not knowing he was their son, and he being equally ignorant that they are his parents; when in the course of the confession, a discovery is made on both sides.

CHAP. lxxxix. The three rings.

[m] Vol. iv. Let. iv. p. 7. edit. 1655. 8vo

[n] Part i. p. 321. Dial. ii edit. Lond. 1668 12mo. I must not forget that it occurs, as told in our GESTA, among a collection of Latin Apologues, quoted above, MSS. Harl 463 fol 8 a The rubric is, *De Angelo qui duxit Heremitam ad diversa Hospitia*

[o] Ibid. p. 335.

This story is in the DECAMERON[p], and in the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE[q]: and perhaps in Swift's TALE OF A TUB.

CHAP. xcv. The tyrant Maxentius. From the GESTA ROMANORUM, which are cited.

I think there is the romance of MAXENCE, Constantine's antagonist.

CHAP. xcvi. King Alexander places a burning candle in his hall; and makes proclamation, that he will absolve all those who owe him forfeitures of life and land, if they will appear before the candle is consumed.

CHAP. xcvii. Prodigies before the death of Julius Cesar, who is placed in the twenty-second year of the city. From the CHRONICA, as they are called.

CHAP. xcix. A knight saves a serpent who is fighting in a forest with a toad[r], but is afterwards bit by the toad. The knight languishes many days; and when he is at the point of death, the same serpent, which he remembers, enters his chamber, and sucks the poison from the wound.

CHAP. ci. Of Ganterus, who for his prowess in war being elected a king of a certain country, is on the night of his coronation conducted to a chamber, where at the head of the bed is a fierce lion, at the feet a dragon, and on either side a bear, toads, and serpents. He immediately quitted his new kingdom; and was quickly elected king of another country. Going to rest the first night, he was led into a chamber furnished with a bed richly embroidered, but stuck all over with sharp razors. This kingdom he also relinquishes. At length he meets a hermit, who gives him a staff, with which he is directed to knock at the gate of a magnificent palace seated on a lofty mountain. Here he gains admittance, and finds every sort of happiness unembittered with the least degree of pain.

The king means every man advanced to riches and honour, and who thinks to enjoy these advantages without interruption and alloy. The hermit is religion, the staff penitence, and the palace heaven.

In a more confined sense, the first part of this apologue may be separately interpreted to signify, that a king, when he enters on his important charge, ought not to suppose himself to succeed to the privilege of an exemption from care, and to be put into immediate possession of the highest pleasures, conveniences, and felicities of life; but to be sensible, that from that moment he begins to encounter the greatest dangers and difficulties.

CHAP. cii. Of the lady of a knight who went to the holy land. She commits adultery with a clerk skilled in necromancy. Another magi-

[p] i. 3.

[q] Nov. lxxi.

[r] The stories, perhaps fabulous, of the serpent fighting with his inveterate enemy the weasel, who eats rue before the attack begins, and of the serpent fighting with and being killed by the spider, originate from Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 84. xx. 13.

cian discovers her intrigues to the absent knight by means of a polished mirror, and his image in wax.

In Adam Davie's* GEST or romance of ALEXANDER, Nectabanus, a king and magician, discovers the machinations of his enemies by embattelling them in figures of wax. This is the most extensive necromantic operation of the kind that I remember, and must have formed a puppet-show equal to the most splendid pantomime.

Barounes weore whilom wys and gode,
That this ars[s] wel undurstode:
Ac on ther was Neptanamous
Wis[t] in this ars and malicious:
Whan kyng other eorl[u] cam on him to weorre[w]
Quyk he loked in the steorre[x],
Of wax made him popetts[y],
And made heom fyzhte with battes:
And so he learned, *je vous dy*,
Ay to aquelle[z] hys enemye,
With charms and with conjurisons:
Thus he assaied the regiouns,
That him cam for to asaile,
In puyr[a] manyr of bataile[b],
By cler candel in the nyzt,
He mad uchon[c] with othir to fyzt,
Of alle manere nacyouns,
That comen by schip or dromouns.
At the laste, of mony londe
Kynges therof haden gret onde[d],
Well thritty y-gadred beoth[e],
And by-spekith al his deth[f].
Kyng Philipp[g] of grete thede
Maister was of that fede[h]:
He was a mon of myzty hond,
With hem brouzte, of divers lond,
Nyne and twenty ryche kynges,
To make on hym bataylynges:
Neptanamous hyt understod;
Ychaunged was al his mod;

* [Warton always refers to this Romance as the composition of *Adam Davie*, but he is certainly mistaken, as proved by Ellis, Metr. Rom. See infra, vol. II. Sect. VI. p. 6.—M.]

[s] art, necromancy. [t] wise.
[u] or earl. [w] war. [x] stars
[y] puppets. [z] conquer.
[a] very real

[b] See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Chaucer's Cant. T. ver. 1281.
[c] each one.
[d] had great jealousy or anger.
[e] near thirty were gathered, or confederated.
[f] all resolved to destroy him.
[g] Philip of Macedon.
[h] *felde*, field, army.

He was aferde sore of harme:
Anon he deede[i] caste his charme;
His ymage he madde anon,
And of his barounes everychon,
And afterward of his fone[k];
He dude hem to gedere to gon[l]
In a basyn al by charme:
He sazh on him fel theo harme[m];
He seyz flye[n] of his barounes
Of al his lond distinctiouns,
He lokid, and kneow in the sterre,
Of al this kynges theo grete werre[o], &c.[p]

Afterwards he frames an image of the queen Olympias, or Olympia, while sleeping, whom he violates in the shape of a dragon.

Theo lady lyzt[q] on hire bedde,
Yheoled[r] wel with silken webbe,
In a chaysel[s] smok scheo lay,
And yn a mantell of doway:
Of theo bryztnes of hire face
Al about schone the place[t].—
Herbes he tok in an herber,
And stamped them in a morter,
And wrong[x] hit in a box:
After he tok virgyn wox
And made a popet after the quene,
His ars-table[y] he can unwrene;
The quenes name in the wax he wrot,
Whil hit was sumdel hot:
In a bed he did dyzt
Al aboute with candel lyzt,

[i] he did (caused)
[k] enemies.
[l] he made them fight.
[m] he saw the harm fall on, or against himself.
[n] saw fly.
[o] the great war of all these kings.
[p] MSS. (Bodl. Bibl.) Laud I. 74. f. 54.
[q] laid.
[r] covered.
[s] In the romance of *Atis et Porphilion.* Cod. Reg. Par. 7191.

Un chemis de chaisil
De fil, et d'œvre moult soutil.

[t] Perhaps in Syr Launfal, the same situation is more elegantly touched. MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2. fol. 35 a.

In the pavyloun he fond a bed of prys,
I-heled with purpur bys
That semyle was of syzte;
Ther inne lay that lady gent,
That aftere syr Launfal hedde y-sent,
That lefsom bemede bryzt:
Fore hete here clothes down sche dede,
Almest to here gerdylstede;
Than lay sche uncovert:
Sche was as whyt as lylye yn Maye,
Or snow that sneweth yn wynterys day,
He seyghe nevere non so pert,
The rede rose whan sche ys newe
Azens here rode nes nauzt of hewe,
I dare welle say yn sert
Here here schon as gold wyre, &c.

[x] wrung
[y] This is described above, f. 55.

Of gold he made a table
Al ful of steorron [stars].—

An astrolabe is intended.

And spreynd[a] theron of the herbus:
Thus charmed Neptanabus.
The lady in hir bed lay
Abouzt mydnyzt, ar the day[a],
Whiles he made conjuryng,
Scheo[b] sawe fle[c], in her metyng[d],
Hire thought, a dragoun lyzt,
To hire chaumbre he made his flyzt,
In he cam to her bour
And crept undur hir covertour,
Mony sithes[e] he hire kust[f]
And fast in his armes prust,
And went away, so dragon wyld,
And grete he left hire with child.[g]

Theocritus, Virgil, and Horace, have left instances of incantations conducted by figures in wax. In the beginning of the last century, many witches were executed for attempting the lives of persons, by fabricating representations of them in wax and clay. King James the First, in his DAEMONOLOGIE, speaks of this practice as very common; the efficacy of which he peremptorily ascribes to the power of the devil[h]. His majesty's arguments, intended to prove how the magician's image operated on the person represented, are drawn from the depths of moral, theological, physical, and metaphysical knowledge. The Arabian magic abounded with these infatuations, which were partly founded on the doctrine of sympathy.

But to return to the GESTA ROMANORUM. In this story one of the magicians is styled *Magister peritus*, and sometimes simply *Magister*; that is, a *cunning-man*. The title *Magister* in our universities has its origin from the use of this word in the middle ages. With what propriety it is now continued I will not say. *Mystery*, anciently used for a particular art[i], or skill in general, is a specious and easy corruption

[a] sprinkled.
[b] she.
[c] before day.
[d] dream.
[e] fly.
[f] kissed her
[e] times.

[g] Fol. 57. The text is here given from MSS. BODL. ut supr. Compared with MSS. Hospit. Lincoln. 150. See Gower's *Confess. Amant.* lib. vi. fol. CXXXVIII. a. col. 1 seq.

And through the crafte of artemage,
Of waxe he forged an ymage, &c.

Gower's dragon, in approaching the queen, is *courteis* and *debonaire*.

With al the chere that he maie,
Towarde the bedde ther as she laie,
Till he came to hir the beddes side
And she laie still, and nothyng cride;
For he did all hys thynges faire,
And was curteis and debonaire.

Ibid. col. 2 I could not resist the temptation of transcribing this gallantry of a dragon. Gower's whole description of this interview, as will appear on comparison, seems to be taken from Beauvais, "Nectabanus se transformat in illum draconis seductiorem tractum, triclinumque penetrat reptabundus, specie spectabilis, tum majestate totius corporis, tum etiam sibilorum acumine adeo terribilis, ut parietes etiam ac fundamenta domus quati viderentur," &c. *Hist. Specul.* fol. 41 b. ut supr. See Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* vii. 1.

[h] Edit. 1603. 4to. B ii. ch. iv. p. 44 seq

[i] For instance, "the Art and *Mystery* o Printing."

of *Maistery* or *Mastery*, the English of the Latin MAGISTERIUM, or *Artificium*; in French *Maistrise, Mestier, Mestrie*, and in Italian *Magisterio*, with the same sense[k]. In the French romance of CLEOMEDES, a physician is called simply *Maitre*[l].

Lie sont de chou qu'il n'y a
Peril et que bien garira:
Car il li MAISTRE ainsi dit leur ont.

And the medical art is styled *Mestrie*. "Quant il (the surgeon) aperçut que c'estoit maladie non mie curable par nature et par MESTRIE, et par medicine[m]," &c. *Maistrise* is used for art or workmanship, in the CHRONICON of Saint Denis, "Entre les autres presens, li envoia une horologe de laton, ouvrez par *marveilleuse* MAISTRISE[n]." That the Latin MAGISTERIUM has precisely the same sense appears from an account of the contract for building the conventual church of Casino in Italy, in the year 1349. The architects agree to build the church in the form of the Lateran at Rome. "Et in casu si aliquis [defectus] in eorum MAGISTERIO appareret, promiserunt resarcire[o]." Chaucer, in the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, uses MAISTRISE for artifice and workmanship.

Was made a toure of grete *maistrise*,
A fairer saugh no man with sight,
Large, and wide, and of grete might[p], &c.

And, in the same poem, in describing the shoes of MIRTH,

And shode he was, with grete *maistrie*,
With shone decopid and with lace.[q]

MAYSTRYE occurs in the description of a lady's saddle, in SYR LAUNFAL'S romance,

Here sadelle was semyly sett,
The sambus[r] were grene felvet,
I-paynted with ymagerye;

[k] In a statute of Henry the Eighth, instead of the words in the last note, we have "The *Science* and *Craft* of Printing." Ann. Reg. 25. A.D. 1533. For many reasons, *Mystery*, answering to the Latin *Mysterium*, never could have been originally applied in these cases. [Menage, however, gives *Ministerium* as the origin of *Mestiero*, and *Metier*; so that our word Mystery, in some of the senses in which it is used, is a confusion of *Ministerium*, *Magisterium*, and *Mysterium*. Such is the tendency of similar words to coalesce. See Additional Notes to Tooke's Diversions of Purley, 1840. p. xxii.—R. T.]

[l] MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris, 7539.

[m] Mirac. S. Ludov. edit. reg. p. 438.

[n] Tom. v. Collect. Histor. Franc. pag. 254. Thus expressed in the Latin *Annales Franciæ*, ibid. p. 56. "Horologium ex aurichalco *arte mechanica* mirifice compositum."

[o] *Hist. Casin.* tom. ii. p. 545. col. ii. Chart. ann. 1349.

[p] R. R. v. 4172. [q] Ibid. v. 842.

[r] I know not what ornament or implement of the ancient horse-furniture is here intended, unless it is a saddle-cloth; nor can I find this word in any glossary. But *Sambue* occurs, evidently under the very same signification, in the beautiful manuscript French romance of Garin, written in the twelfth century.

Li palefrois sur coi la dame sist
Estoit plus blanc que nule flor de lis;
Le loreins vaut mils sols parisis,
Et la SANBUE nul plus riche ne vist.

"The palfrey on which the lady sate, was whiter than any flower de lis: the bridle

The bordure was of belles[s]
Of ryche golde and nothyng elles
That any man myȝte aspye:
In the arsouns[t] before and behynde
Were twey stones of Ynde
Gay for the *maystrye.*
The paytrelle[u] of here palfraye
Was worth an erldome, &c.

"In the saddle-bow were two jewels of India, very beautiful to be seen, in consequence of the great *art* with which they were wrought[x]." Chaucer calls his Monke,

—— fayre for the *Maistrie,*
An outrider, that lovid venery.[y]

Fayre for the *Maistrie* means, skilled in the *Maistrie of the game, La Maistrise du Venerie,* or the science of hunting, then so much a favorite, as simply and familiarly to be called the *maistrie.* From many other instances which I could produce, I will only add, that the search of the Philosopher's Stone is called in the Latin Geber, INVESTIGATIO MAGISTERII.

was worth a thousand Parisian sols, and a richer *Sanbue* never was seen." The French word, however, is properly written *Sambue,* and is not uncommon in old French wardrobe-rolls, where it appears to be a *female* saddle-cloth, or housing So in *Le Roman de la Rose,*

Comme royne fust vestue,
Et chevauchast à grand SAMBÚE.

The Latin word, and in the same restrained sense, is sometimes *Sambua,* but most commonly *Sambuca.* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. viii p. 694. edit. Par. 1619. "Mannos et mulas cum SAMBUCIS muliebribus prospexit" Vincent of Beauvais says, that the Tartarian women, when they ride, have CAMBUCAS of painted leather, embroidered with gold, hanging down on either side of the horse. Specul. Hist. x 85 But Vincent's CAMBUCAS was originally written *çambucas,* or *Sambucas.* To such an enormity this article of the trappings of female horsemanship had arisen in the middle ages, that Frederick king of Sicily restrained it by a sumptuary law, which enjoined, that no woman, even of the highest rank, should presume to use a *Sambuca,* or saddle-cloth, in which were gold, silver, or pearls, &c. Constitut. cap. 92. Queen Olympias, in Davie's GEST of Alexander, has a Sambue of silk, fol. 54. [infra, vol. ii. Sect. vi. p. 7.]

A mule also whyte so mylke,
With sadel of golde, *sambue* of sylke, &c.

[s] Of this fashion I have already given many instances. The latest I remember is in the year 1503, at the marriage of the princess Margaret. "In specyall the Erle of Northumberlannd ware on a goodly gowne of tynsill, fourred with hermynes. He was mounted upon a fayre courser, hys harnays of goldsmyth worke, and thorough that sam was sawen small belles, that maid a mellodyous noyse." Leland. Coll. ad calc. tom. iii. p. 276.

In the Nonnes Preestes Prologue, Chaucer, from the circumstance of the Monke's bridle being decorated with bells, takes occasion to put an admirable stroke of humour and satire into the mouth of the Hoste, which at once ridicules that inconsistent piece of affectation, and censures the monk for the dullness of his tale. Ver. 14796.

Swiche talking is not worth a boterflie,
For therin is ther no disport ne game:
Therefore sire monke, dan Piers by your name,
I pray you hertely tell us somwhat elles,
Forsikerly, n'ere *clinking of your belles*
That on your bridel hange on every side,
By heven king that for us alle dide,
I shoulde or this have fallen down for slepe,
Although the slough had been never so depe.

[t] saddle-bow. See Sect. iv. p. 167 of this volume.

[u] breast-plate.

[x] MS. fol. 40 a. [y] Prol. v. 165.

CHAP. ciii. The merchant who sells three wise maxims to the wife of Domitian.

CHAP. civ. A knight in hunting meets a lion, from whose foot he extracts a thorn. Afterwards he becomes an outlaw; and being seized by the king, is condemned to be thrown into a deep pit to be devoured by a hungry lion. The lion fawns on the knight, whom he perceives to be the same that drew the thorn from his paw. Then said the king, "I will learn forbearance from the beasts. As the lion has spared your life, when it was in his power to take it, I therefore grant you a free pardon. Depart, and be admonished hence to live virtuously."

The learned reader must immediately recollect a similar story of one Androclus, who being exposed to fight with wild beasts in the Roman amphitheatre, is recognised and unattacked by a most savage lion, whom he had formerly healed exactly in the same manner. But I believe the whole is nothing more than an oriental apologue on gratitude, written much earlier; and that it here exists in its original state. Androclus's story is related by Aulus Gellius, on the authority of a Greek writer, one Appion, called Plistonices, who flourished under Tiberius. The character of Appion, with which Gellius prefaces this tale, in some measure invalidates his credit; notwithstanding he pretends to have been an eye-witness of this extraordinary fact. "Ejus libri," says Gellius, "non incelebres feruntur, quibus, *omnium* ferme quæ *mirifica* in Ægypto visuntur audiunturque, historia comprehenditur. Sed in his quæ audivisse et legisse sese dicit, fortasse a vitio studioque *ostentationis* fit *loquacior*[z]," &c. Had our compiler of the GESTA taken this story from Gellius, it is probable he would have told it with some of the same circumstances; especially as Gellius is a writer whom he frequently follows, and even quotes, and to whom, on this occasion, he might have been obliged for a few more strokes of the marvellous. But the two writers agree only in the general subject. Our compiler's narrative has much more simplicity than that of Gellius; and contains marks of eastern manners and life. Let me add, that the oriental fabulists are fond of illustrating and enforcing the duty of gratitude, by feigning instances of the gratitude of beasts towards men. And of this the present compilation, which is strongly tinctured with orientalism, affords several other proofs.

CHAP. cv. Theodosius the blind emperor ordained, that the cause of every injured person should be heard on ringing a bell placed in a public part of his palace. A serpent had a nest near the spot where the bell-rope fell. In the absence of the serpent, a toad took possession of her nest. The serpent twisting herself round the rope, rang the bell for justice; and by the emperor's special command the toad was killed. A few days afterwards, as the king was reposing on his couch, the serpent entered the chamber, bearing a precious stone in her mouth.

[z] Noct. Attic. lib. v. cap. xiv. See another fabulous story, of which Appion was an eye-witness, ibid. l. vii. cap. viii. It is of a boy beloved by a dolphin.

The serpent creeping up to the emperor's face, laid the precious stone on his eyes, and glided out of the apartment. Immediately the emperor was restored to his sight.

This circumstance of the Bell of Justice occurs in the real history of some eastern monarch, whose name I have forgot.

In the Arabian philosophy, serpents, either from the brightness of their eyes, or because they inhabit the cavities of the earth, were considered as having a natural or occult connexion with precious stones. In Alphonsus's CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA, a snake is mentioned, whose eyes were real jacinths. In Alexander's romantic history, he is said to have found serpents in the vale of Jordian, with collars of huge emeralds growing on their necks[a]. The toad, under a vulgar indiscriminating idea, is ranked with the reptile race: and Shakspeare has a beautiful comparison on the traditionary notion, that the toad has a rich gem inclosed within its head. Milton gives his serpent eyes of carbuncle[b].

CHAP. cvi. The three fellow-travellers, who have only one loaf of bread.

This apologue is in Alphonsus.

CHAP. cvii. There was an image in the city of Rome, which stretched forth its right hand, on the middle finger of which was written STRIKE HERE. For a long time none could understand the meaning of this mysterious inscription. At length a certain subtle Clerk, who came to see this famous image, observed, as the sun shone against it, the shadow of the inscribed finger on the ground at some distance. He immediately took a spade, and began to dig exactly on that spot. He came at length to a flight of steps which descended far under ground, and led him to a stately palace. Here he entered a hall, where he saw a king and queen sitting at table, with their nobles and a multitude of people, all clothed in rich garments. But no person spake a word. He looked towards one corner, where he saw a polished carbuncle, which illuminated the whole room[c]. In the opposite corner he perceived the figure of a man standing, having a bended bow with an arrow in his hand, as prepared

[a] Vincent Beauvais, Specul. Hist. lib. iv. c. 58. fol. 42. a.

[b] Parad. Lost, ix. 500.

[c] See infra, vol. ii. Sect. xxviii. p. 412. So in the romance, or Lay, of Syr Launfal, MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2. fol. 35. a.

And when they come in the forest an hyȝ,
A pavyloun yteld he syȝ.—
The pavyloun was wrouth forsothe, ywys,
Alle of werk of Sarsynys[1],
The pomelles[2] of crystalle.——
On the top was a beast [an eagle.—M.]
Of bournede golde, ryche and good,
Iflorysched with ryche amalle[3];
Hys eyn were carbonkeles bryȝt,
As the mone[4] they schon anyȝt,
That spreteth out ovyre alle:
Alysaundre the conqueroure,
Ne kyng Artoure yn hys most honour
Ne hadde noon scwyche juelle.
He fond yn the pavyloun,
The kynges douȝtere of Olyroun,
Dame Tryamoure that hyȝte,
Here fadyr was kyng of Fayrye.

And in the alliterative romance, called the Sege of Jerusalem, MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 2. fol. 122. b.

[1] Saracen-work. [2] balls, pinnacles. [3] enamel. [4] moon.

to shoot. On his forehead was written, "I am, who am. Nothing can escape my stroke, not even yonder carbuncle which shines so bright." The Clerk beheld all with amazement; and entering a chamber, saw the most beautiful ladies working at the loom in purple[d]. But all was silence. He then entered a stable full of the most excellent horses and asses: he touched some of them, and they were instantly turned into stone. He next surveyed all the apartments of the palace, which abounded with all that his wishes could desire. He again visited the hall, and now began to reflect how he should return; "but," says he, "my report of all these wonders will not be believed, unless I carry something back with me." He therefore took from the principal table a golden cup and a golden knife, and placed them in his bosom; when the man who stood in the corner with the bow, immediately shot at the carbuncle, which he shattered into a thousand pieces. At that moment the hall became dark as night. In this darkness not being able to find his way, he remained in the subterraneous palace, and soon died a miserable death.

In the MORALISATION of this story, the steps by which the Clerk descends into the earth are supposed to be the Passions. The palace, so richly stored, is the world with all its vanities and temptations. The figure with the bow bent is Death, and the carbuncle is Human Life. He suffers for his avarice in coveting and seizing what was not his own; and no sooner has he taken the golden knife and cup, that is, enriched himself with the goods of this world, than he is delivered up to the gloom and horrors of the grave.

Tytus tarriedde noȝte[5] for that, but to the tempulle ȝode.
That was rayled in the roofe with rubyes ryche,
Withe perles and with perytotes[6] alle the place sette,
That glyȝstered as coles in the fyre, on the golde ryche;
The dores withe dyamoundes dryvene were thykke,
And made also merveylously withe margery[7] perles,
That evur lemede the lyȝte, and as a lampe shewed.
The clerkes hadde none othur lyȝte.——

The lady was clad yn *purpere palle.*

Anciently *Pallium*, as did *Purpura*, signified in general any rich cloth. Thus there were saddles, de *pallio* et ebore; a bed, de *pallio*, a cope, de *pallio*, &c. &c. See Dufresne, Lat. Gloss. V. PALLIUM. And PELLUM, its corruption. In old French, to cover a hall with tapestry was called *paller*. So in Syr Launfal, ut supr fol. 39. b.

Thyn halle agrayde, and hele [cover] the walles
With clodes [clothes], and with ryche *palles*,
Ayens [against] my Lady Tryamoure.

Which also illustrates the former meaning. In A. Davie's Gest of Alexander we have,

Her bed was made forsothe
With *pallis* and with riche clothe,
The chambre was hangid with clothe o gold. fol. 57.

[d] The original is, "*mulieres pulcherrimas* in purpura et pallo operantes *invenit.*" fol. L. a. col. 1. This may mean either the sense in the text, or that the ladies were *cloathed in purpura et pallo*, a phrase which I never saw before in barbarous latinity; but which tallies with the old English expression *purple* and *pall.* This is sometimes written *purple pall.* As in Syr Launfal, ut supr. fol. 40. a.

[5] Nought.

[6] On the finger of Becket, when he was killed, was a jewel called *Peretot.* Monast. Angl. i. 6.

[7] margarites.

Spenser in the FAERIE QUEENE, seems to have distantly remembered this fable, where a fiend expecting sir Guyon will be tempted to snatch some of the treasures of the subterraneous HOUSE OF RICHESSE, which are displayed in his view, is prepared to fasten upon him.

> Thereat the fiend his gnashing teeth did grate,
> And griev'd, so long to lack his greedie pray;
> For well he weened that so glorious bayte
> Would tempt his guest to take thereof assay:
> Had he so doen, he had him snatcht away
> More light than culver in the faucon's fist.[e]

This story was originally invented of pope Gerbert, or Sylvester the Second, who died in the year 1003. He was eminently learned in the mathematical sciences, and on that account was styled a magician. William of Malmesbury is, I believe, the first writer now extant by whom it is recorded; and he produces it partly to show, that Gerbert was not always successful in those attempts which he so frequently practised to discover treasures hid in the earth, by the application of the necromantic arts. I will translate Malmesbury's narration of this fable, as it varies in some of the circumstances, and has some heightenings of the fiction. "At Rome there was a brazen statue, extending the forefinger of the right hand; and on its forehead was written *Strike here.* Being suspected to conceal a treasure, it had received many bruises from the credulous and ignorant, in their endeavours to open it. At length Gerbert unriddled the mystery. At noonday observing the reflection of the forefinger on the ground, he marked the spot. At night he came to the place, with a page carrying a lamp. There by a magical operation he opened a wide passage in the earth, through which they both descended, and came to a vast palace. The walls, the beams, and the whole structure, were of gold: they saw golden images of knights playing at chess, with a king and queen of gold at a banquet, with numerous attendants in gold, and cups of immense size and value. In a recess was a carbuncle, whose lustre illuminated the whole palace; opposite to which stood a figure with a bended bow. As they attempted to touch some of the rich furniture, all the golden images seemed to rush upon them. Gerbert was too wise to attempt this a second time; but the page was bold enough to snatch from the table a golden knife of exquisite workmanship. At that moment, all the golden images rose up with a dreadful noise; the figure with the bow shot at the carbuncle, and a total darkness ensued. The page then replaced the knife, otherwise, they both would have suffered a cruel death." Malmesbury afterwards mentions a brazen bridge, framed by the enchantments of Gerbert, beyond which were golden horses of a gigantic size, with riders of gold richly illuminated by the

[e] B. ii. C. vii. st. 34.

most serene meridian sun. A large company attempt to pass the bridge, with a design of stealing some pieces of the gold. Immediately the bridge rose from its foundations, and stood perpendicular on one end: a brazen man appeared from beneath it, who struck the water with a mace of brass, and the sky was overspread with the most horrible gloom. Gerbert, like some other learned necromancers of the Gothic ages, was supposed to have fabricated a brazen head under the influence of certain planets, which answered questions. But I forbear to suggest any more hints for a future collection of Arabian tales. I shall only add Malmesbury's account of the education of Gerbert, which is a curious illustration of what has been often inculcated in these volumes, concerning the introduction of romantic fiction into Europe[f]. "Gerbert, a native of France, went into Spain for the purpose of learning astrology, and other sciences of that cast, of the Saracens; who, to this day, occupy the upper regions of Spain. They are seated in the metropolis of Seville; where, according to the customary practice of their country, they study the arts of divination and enchantment.——Here Gerbert soon exceeded Ptolemy in the astrolabe, Alchind in astronomy, and Julius Firmicus in fatality. Here he learned the meaning of the flight and language of birds, and was taught how to raise spectres from hell. Here he acquired whatever human curiosity has discovered for the destruction or convenience of mankind. I say nothing of his knowledge in arithmetic, music, and geometry, which he so fully understood as to think them beneath his genius, and which he yet with great industry introduced into France, where they had been long forgotten. He certainly was the first who brought the algorithm from the Saracens, and who illustrated it with such rules as the most studious in that science cannot explain. He lodged with a philosopher of that sect[g]," &c.

I conclude this chapter with a quotation from the old metrical romance of Syr Lybeaus Desconus, where the knight, in his attempt to disenchant the Lady of Sinadone, after entering the hall of the castle of the necromancers, is almost in similar circumstances with our subterraneous adventurers. The passage is rich in Gothic imageries; and the most striking part of the poem, which is mentioned by Chaucer as a popular romance.

Syre Lybeauus, knyȝt corteys[h],
Rod ynto the palys,
And at the halle alyȝte[i]:

[f] See Diss. i. and vol ii Sect. xv. p. 173.

[g] *De Gest Reg. Angl.* lib. ii cap. 10. p 36 a. b. 37. a. b. edit Savil. Lond. 1596. fol. Afterwards Malmesbury mentions his horologe, which was not of the nature of the modern clock, but which yet is recorded as a wonderful invention by his cotemporary Ditmar, Chron. Lib vi. fol. 83. edit. 1580. Vincent of Beauvais has transcribed all that William of Malmesbury has here said about Gerbert, *Specul. Histor* Lib xxiv. c. 98. seq. f 344. a. Compare Platina, *Vit. Pontif.* fol. 122. edit 1485. See also *L'Histoire Littéraire de France*, by the Benedictines, tom. vi. ad calc.

[h] courteous.

[i] alighted.

Trompes, shalmuses[k],
He sey3, befor the heygh deys[l],
Stonde in hys sy3te.
Amydde the halle flore,
A fere, stark and store[m],
Was ly3t, and brende bry3t[n].
Nere the dore he 3ede[o],
And ladde[p] yn hys stede
That wont was helpe hym yn fy3t.
Lybeauus innere[q] gan pace
To se eche a place[r],
The hales[s] yn the halle,
Of mayne more ne lasse
Ne sawe he body ne face[t],
But menstrales yclodeth yn palle, &c.[u]
So much melodye
Was never withinne walle.
Before eche menstrale stod
A torche fayre and good[w],
Brennynge fayre and bry3t.
Innere more he 3ede,
To wyte, with egre mode
Ho scholde[x] with hym fy3t:
He 3ede ynto the corneres,
And lokede on the pylers,
That selcouth were of sy3t,
Of jaspere and of fyn crystalle, &c.
The dores were of bras;
The wyndowes were of glas
Florysseth with imagerye[y]:
The halle ypaynted was[z],
No rychere never ther nas
That he hadde seye with eye[a].
He sette hym an that deys[b],
The menstrales were yn pes[c],
That were so good and trye[d].

[k] instruments of music.
[l] he saw at the high table.
[m] a fire, large and strong.
[n] lighted, and burned bright.
[o] *yede*, went into the door of the hall, with his horse.
[p] led.
[q] farther in.
[r] to see, to view, every place or thing.
[s] perhaps, *holes*, i. e. corners.
[t] he saw no man.
[u] clothed in rich attire.
[w] a torch fair and good.
[x] to know, in angry mood what knight would, &c.
[y] painted glass.
[z] the walls were painted with histories.
[a] had seen.
[b] he sate down in the principal seat.
[c] were suddenly silent.
[d] tried, excellent. Chaucer, Rim. Sir Thop. p. 146. Urr. v. 3361.

With finger that is *trie*.

The torches that brende bryȝt[e]
Quenchede anon ryȝt[f];
The menstrales were aweye[g]:
Dores, and wyndowes alle,
Beten yn the halle
As hyt were voys of thundere, &c.—
As he sat ther dysmayde,
And held hymself betrayde,
Stedes herde he naye, &c.[h]

This castle is called, "A palys queynte of gynne," and, "be nygremauncye ymaketh of fayrye[i]."

CHAP cviii. The mutual fidelity of two thieves.

CHAP. cix. The chest and the three pasties.

A like story is in Boccace's DECAMERON[k], in the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE[l], and in Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS[m].

The story, however, as it stands in Gower, seems to be copied from one which is told by the hermit Barlaam to king Avenamore, in the spiritual romance, written originally in Greek about the year 800, by Joannes Damascenus a Greek monk[n], and translated into Latin before the thirteenth century, entitled BARLAAM and JOSAPHAT[o]. But Gower's immediate author, if not Boccace, was perhaps Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about the year 1290, and who has incorporated Damascenus's history of Barlaam and Josaphat[p], who were canonised, into his SPECULUM HISTORIALE[q]. As Barlaam's fable is probably the remote but original source of Shakspeare's CASKETS in the MERCHANT OF VENICE, I will give the reader a translation of the passage in which it occurs, from the Greek original, never yet printed. "The king commanded four chests to be made; two of which were covered with gold, and secured by golden locks, but filled with the rotten bones of human carcasses. The other two were overlaid with pitch, and bound with rough cords; but replenished with pretious stones and the most exquisite gems, and with ointments of the richest odour. He called his nobles together; and placing these chests before them, asked which they thought the most valuable. They pronounced those with the golden coverings to be the most pretious, supposing they were made to contain the crowns and girdles of the king[r]. The two chests covered with pitch they viewed with contempt. Then said the king, I

[e] burned so bright.

[f] were instantly quenched, or extinguished.

[g] vanished away.

[h] MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2. fol. 52 b. seq.

[i] Ibid. f. 52 b. [k] x. 1.

[l] Nov. lxv. [m] Lib. v. fol. 96 a.

[n] See Joan. Damasceni *Opera* nonnul. *Histor.* ad calc. pag. 12. Basil. 1548. fol. The chests are here called *Arcellæ*.

[o] See infra, vol. ii. Sect. xix. p. 237; Sect. xxxiii. p. 493.

[p] It is extant in Surius, and other collections

[q] *De Rege Auemur*, &c. Lib. xiv. f. 196. Ven. 1591. It contains sixty-four chapters.

[r] In Dr Johnson's abridgement of a tale like this from Boccace, which he supposes to have been Shakspeare's original, the king says, that in one of the caskets was "contained his crown, sceptre, and jewels," &c. See Steevens's Shakspeare, vol. iii. p. 255. edit 1779.

presumed what would be your determination; for ye look with the eyes of sense. But to discern baseness or value, which are hid within, we must look with the eyes of the mind. He then ordered the golden chests to be opened, which exhaled an intolerable stench, and filled the beholders with horror[s]." In the METRICAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS, written about the year 1300, these chests are called *four fates*, that is four *vats* or vessels[t].

I make no apology for giving the reader a translation from the same Greek original, which is now before me, of the story of the Boy told in the DECAMERON. "A king had an only son. As soon as he was born, the physicians declared, that if he was allowed to see the sun, or any fire, before he arrived at the age of twelve years, he would be blind. The king commanded an apartment to be hewed within a rock, into which no light could enter; and here he shut up the boy, totally in the dark, yet with proper attendants, for twelve years; at the end of which time, he brought him abroad from his gloomy chamber, and placed in his view, men, women, gold, pretious stones, rich garments, chariots of exquisite workmanship drawn by horses with golden bridles, heaps of purple tapestry, armed knights on horseback, oxen and sheep. These were all distinctly pointed out to the youth: but being most pleased with the women, he desired to know by what name they were called. An esquire of the king jocosely told him, that they were devils who catch men. Being brought to the king, he was asked which he liked best of all the fine things he had seen. He replied, *the devils who catch men*," &c. I need not enlarge on Boccace's improvements[u].

This romantic legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, which is a history of considerable length, is undoubtedly the composition of one who had an intercourse with the East; and from the strong traces which it contains of the oriental mode of moralising, appears plainly to have been written, if not by the monk whose name it bears, at least by some devout and learned ascetic of the Greek church, and probably before the tenth century.

Leland mentions DAMASCENUS DE GESTIS BARLAAM ET JOSAPHAT, as one of the manuscripts which he saw in Nettley-abbey near Southampton[w].

CHAP. CX. The life of the knight Placidus, or Placidas[x], afterwards called Eustacius.

It occurs in Caxton's GOLDEN LEGENDE[y]. Among the Cotton manuscripts there is a metrical legend or romance on this story[z].

[s] MSS. Laud. C. 72. Bibl. Bodl. Compare Caxton's Golden Legende, fol. cccIxxxxiii. b. And Surius, *Vit. Sanctor. Novembr.* 27. Ann. 383. pag. 560. Colon. Agrippin. 1618.

[t] MSS. Bodl 779. f 292 b.

[u] This fable occurs in an old Collection of Apologues above cited, MSS. Harl. 463. fol. 2 a.

[w] Collectan. tom. iii. p. 149. edit. 1770.

[x] Sir *Placidas* is the name of a knight in the Faerie Queene.

[y] Fol. cccxxiii. b. See infra, vol. ii. Sect. xxvii. p. 381. note [m]; and Metric. Lives S. MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 164 a.

[z] Calig. A. 2. fol. 135 b. This is a translation from the French. MSS. Reg. Paris. Cod. 3031.

CHAP. cxi. The classical story of Argus and Mercury, with some romantic additions. Mercury comes to Argus in the character of a minstrel, and lulls him to sleep by telling him tales and singing, *incepit more histrionico fabulas dicere, et plerumque cantare.*

CHAP. cxii. The son of king Gorgonius is beloved by his step-mother. He is therefore sent to seek his fortune in a foreign country, where he studies physic; and returning, heals his father of a dangerous disease, who recovers at the sight of him. The step-mother, hearing of his return, falls sick, and dies at seeing him.

CHAP. cxiii. The tournaments of the rich king Adonias. A party of knights arrive the first day, who lay their shields aside, in one place. The same number arrives the second day, each of whom chuses his antagonist by touching with his spear the shield of one of the first day's party, not knowing the owner.

The most curious anecdote of chivalry, now on record, occurs in the ecclesiastical history of Spain. Alphonsus the Ninth, about the year 1214, having expelled the Moors from Toledo, endeavoured to establish the Roman missal in the place of saint Isidore's. This alarming innovation was obstinately opposed by the people of Toledo; and the king found that his project would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. The contest at length between the two missals grew so serious, that it was mutually resolved to decide the controversy, not by a theological disputation, but by single combat; in which the champion of the Toletan missal proved victorious[a].

Many entertaining passages relating to trials by single combat may be seen in the old Imperial and Lombard laws. In Caxton's BOKE OF THE FAYTTES OF ARMES AND OF CHIVALRYE, printed at Westminster in the year 1489, and translated from the French of Christine of Pisa, many of the chapters towards the end are compiled from that singular monument of Gothic legislation.

CHAP. cxv. An intractable elephant is lulled asleep in a forest by the songs and blandishments of two naked virgins. One of them cuts off his head, the other carries a bowl of his blood to the king. *Rex vero gavisus est valde, et statim fecit fieri* PURPURAM, *et multa alia, de eodem sanguine.*

In this wild tale, there are circumstances enough of general analogy, if not of peculiar parallelism, to recall to my memory the following beautiful description, in the manuscript romance of SYR LAUNFAL, of two damsels, whom the knight unexpectedly meets in a desolate forest.

As he sat yn sorow and sore,
He sawe come out of holtes hore
Gentylle maydenes two;

[a] See the Mozarabes, or Missal of Saint Isidore, printed at Toledo, by the command of Cardinal Ximenes, A. D. 1500. fol.

Hare kerteles were of Inde sandel[b]
I-lased[c] smalle, jolyf and welle;
Ther myȝt[d] noon gayere go.
Hare manteles were of grene felwet[e]
Ybordured with gold ryȝt welle ysette,
I-pelured[f] with grys and gro[g];
Hare heddys[h] were dyȝt welle withalle,
Everych hadde oon a jolyf coronalle,
With syxty gemmys and mo[i].
Hare faces were whyt as snow on downe,
Hare rode[k] was red, here eyn were browne,
I sawe never non swyche[l].
That oon bare of gold a basyn,
That other a towayle whyt and fyn,
Of selk that was good and ryche.
Hare kercheves were welle schyre[m]
Arayd with ryche gold wyre, &c.[n]

CHAP. cxvi. The queen of Pepin king of France died in childbed, leaving a son. He married a second wife, who bore a son within a year. These children were sent abroad to be nursed. The surviving queen, anxious to see her child, desired that both the boys might be brought home. They were so exceedingly alike, that the one could not be distinguished from the other, except by the king. The mother begged the king to point out her own son. This he refused to do, till they were both grown up, lest she should spoil him by too fond a partiality. Thus they were both properly treated with uniform affection, and without excess of indulgence.

A favorite old romance is founded on the indistinctible likeness of two of Charlemagne's knights, Amys and Amelion; originally celebrated by Turpin, and placed by Vincent of Beauvais under the reign of Pepin[o].

CHAP. cxvii. The law of the emperor Frederick, that whoever rescued a virgin from a rape might claim her for his wife.

CHAP. cxviii. A knight being in Egypt, recovers a thousand talents which he had entrusted to a faithless friend, by the artifice of an old woman.

This tale is in Alphonsus; and in the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE[p].

CHAP. cxix. A king had an oppressive Seneschal, who passing

[b] Indian silk. *Cendal.* Fr. See Dufresne, Lat. Gl. V. CENDALUM.
[c] laced.
[d] there might.
[e] velvet.
[f] furred, *pelura*, pellis.
[g] *gris* is fur, *gris* and *gray* is common in the metrical romances.
[h] their heads.
[i] more.
[k] ruddiness.
[l] such.
[m] cut.
[n] MSS. Cotton. Calig. A. 2. fol. 35 a.
[o] Specul Hist xxiii. c. 162. f. 329 b.
[p] Nov. lxxiv.

through a forest, fell into a deep pit, in which were a lion, an ape, and a serpent. A poor man who gathered sticks in the forest hearing his cries, drew him up, together with the lion, the ape, and the serpent. The Seneschal returned home, promising to reward the poor man with great riches. Soon afterwards the poor man went to the palace to claim the promised reward; but was ordered to be cruelly beaten by the Seneschal. In the mean time, the lion drove ten asses laden with gold to the poor man's cottage; the serpent brought him a precious stone of three colours; and the ape, when he came to the forest on his daily business, laid him heaps of wood. The poor man, in consequence of the virtues of the serpent's precious stone, which he sold, arrived to the dignity of knighthood, and acquired ample possessions. But afterwards he found the precious stone in his chest, which he presented to the king. The king having heard the whole story, ordered the Seneschal to be put to death for his ingratitude, and preferred the poor man to his office.

This story occurs in Symeon Seth's translation of the celebrated Arabian fable-book called CALILAH U DUMNAH[q]. It is recited by Matthew Paris, under the year 1195, as a parable which king Richard the First, after his return from the East, was often accustomed to repeat, by way of reproving those ungrateful princes who refused to engage in the crusade[r]. It is versified by Gower, who omits the lion, as Matthew Paris does the ape, in the fifth book of the CONFESSIO AMANTIS[s]. He thus describes the services of the ape and serpent to the poor man, who gained his livelihood by gathering sticks in a forest.

He gan his ape anone behold,
Which had gadred al aboute,
Of stickes here and there a route,
And leyde hem redy to his honde,
Whereof he made his trusse and bond
From daie to daie.....
Upon a time and as he drough
Towarde the woodde, he sigh beside
The great gastly serpent glide,
Till that she came in his presence,
And in hir kynde a reverence
She hath hym do, and forthwith all
A stone more bright than a christall
Out of hir mouth to fore his waye
She lett down fall.....

[q] P. 444. This work was translated into English under the title of "Domes MORALL PHILOSOPHIE, translated from the Indian tongue, 1570." Black letter with wooden cuts, 4to. But Doni was the Italian translator.

[r] Hist. Maj. p. 179. Edit. Wats.

[s] fol. 110 b.

In Gower also, as often as the poor man sells the precious stone, on returning home, he finds it again among the money in his purse.

The acquisition of riches, and the multiplication of treasure, by invisible agency, is a frequent and favorite fiction of the Arabian romance. Thus, among the presents given to Sir Launfal by the lady Triamore, daughter of the king of Faerie,

I wylle the ȝeve[t] an alner[u],
I-mad of sylk and of gold cler,
With fayre ymages thre:
As oft thou puttest the hond therinne,
A mark of gold thou schalt wynne[w],
In wat place that thou be.[x]

CHAP. cxx. King Darius's legacy to his three sons. To the eldest he bequeathes all his paternal inheritance; to the second, all that he had acquired by conquest; and to the third, a ring and necklace, both of gold, and a rich cloth. All the three last gifts were endued with magical virtues. Whoever wore the ring on his finger, gained the love or favour of all whom he desired to please. Whoever hung the necklace over his breast, obtained all his heart could desire. Whoever sate down on the cloth, could be instantly transported to any part of the world which he chose.

From this beautiful tale, of which the opening only is here given, Occleve, commonly called Chaucer's disciple, framed a poem in the octave stanza, which was printed in the year 1614, by William Browne, in his set of Eclogues called the SHEPHEARDS PIPE. Occleve has literally followed the book before us, and has even translated into English prose the MORALISATION annexed[y]. He has given no sort of embellishment to his original, and by no means deserves the praises which Browne in the following elegant pastoral lyrics has bestowed on his performance, and which more justly belong to the genuine Gothic, or rather Arabian, inventor.

Wel I wot, the man that first
Sung this lay, did quenche his thirst
Deeply as did ever one
In the Muses Helicon.
Many times he hath been seene
With the faeries on the greene,

[t] give thee.

[u] Perhaps *almer*, or *almere*, a cabinet or chest [purse.]

[w] get, find

[x] Syr Launfal. MSS. Cott. Calig A. 2. fol. 35 b.

[y] Viz. MSS. Seld. Sup. 53. Where is a prologue of many stanzas not printed by Browne. See also MSS. Digb. 185. MSS. Laud. K. 78. [See infra, vol. ii. p. 258 et seqq.]

[Mr Warton has not been [strictly] accurate in this statement. Occleve's immediate model was our English *Gesta*; nor is it improbable that he might even be the translator of it The moralization also is entirely different.—DOUCE.]

And to them his pipe did sound
As they danced in a round;
Mickle solace would they make him,
And at midnight often wake him,
And convey him from his roome
To a fielde of yellow broome,
Or into the medowes where
Mints perfume the gentle aire,
And where Flora spreads her treasure
There they would beginn their measure.
If it chanced night's sable shrowds
Muffled Cynthia up in clowds,
Safely home they then would see him,
And from brakes and quagmires free him.
There are few such swaines as he
Now a dayes for harmonie.[z]

The history of Darius, who gave this legacy to his three sons, is incorporated with that of Alexander, which has been decorated with innumerable fictions by the Arabian writers. There is also a separate romance on Darius, and on Philip of Macedon[a].

CHAP. cxxiv. Of the knights who intercede for their friend with a king, by coming to his court, each half on horseback and half on foot.

This is the last novel in the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE.

CHAP. cxxvi. Macrobius is cited for the address and humour of an ingenuous boy named Papirius.

This is one of the most lively stories in Macrobius[b].

CHAP. cxxviii. The forged testament of the wicked knight, under the reign of Maximian.

CHAP. cxxix. A young prince is sent on his travels. His three friends.

CHAP. cxxxii. The four physicians.

CHAP. cxxxiii. The king and his two greyhounds.

CHAP. cxxxiv. A story from Seneca.

CHAP. cxxxv. The story of Lucretia, from saint Austin's CITY OF GOD.

A more classical authority for this story, had it been at hand, would have been slighted for saint Austin's CITY OF GOD, which was the favorite spiritual romance; and which, as the transition from religion to gallantry was anciently very easy, gave rise to the famous old French romance called the CITY OF LADIES.

CHAP. cxxxvii. The Roman emperor who is banished for his impartial distribution of justice. From the CRONICA of Eusebius.

CHAP. cxxxviii. King Medro.

[z] Egl. i.
[a] Bibl. Reg. Paris. MSS. Cod. 3031.
[b] Saturnal. lib. i. c. 6. pag. 147. Londin. 1694.

CHAP. cxxxix. King Alexander, by means of a mirrour, kills a cockatrice, whose look had destroyed the greatest part of his army.

Ælian, in his VARIOUS HISTORY, mentions a serpent, which appearing from the mouth of a cavern, stopped the march of Alexander's army through a spacious desert. The wild beasts, serpents, and birds which Alexander encountered in marching through India, were most extravagantly imagined by the oriental fabulists, and form the chief wonders of that monarch's romance[b].

CHAP. cxl. The emperor Eraclius reconciles two knights.

This story is told by Seneca of Cneius Piso[c]. It occurs in Chaucer's SOMPNOUR'S TALE, as taken from *Senec*, or Seneca[d].

CHAP. cxli. A knight who had dissipated all his substance in frequenting tournaments, under the reign of Fulgentius, is reduced to extreme poverty. A serpent haunted a chamber of his house; who being constantly fed with milk by the knight, in return made his benefactor rich. The knight's ingratitude and imprudence in killing the serpent, who was supposed to guard a treasure concealed in his chamber.

Medea's dragon guarding the golden fleece is founded on the oriental idea of treasure being guarded by serpents. We are told in Vincent of Beauvais, that there are mountains of solid gold in India guarded by dragons and griffins[e].

CHAP. cxliii. A certain king ordained a law, that if any man was suddenly to be put to death, at sun-rising a trumpet should be sounded before his gate. The king made a great feast for all his nobles, at which the most skilful musicians were present[f]. But amidst the general festivity, the king was sad and silent. All the guests were surprised and perplexed at the king's melancholy; but at length his brother ventured to ask him the cause. The king replied, "Go home, and you shall hear my answer to-morrow." The king ordered his trumpeters to sound early the next morning before his brother's gate, and to bring him with them to judgement. The brother, on hearing this unexpected dreadful summons, was seized with horror, and came before the king in a black robe. The king commanded a deep pit to be made,

[b] In Vincent of Beauvais, there is a long fabulous History of Alexander, transcribed partly from Simeon Seth. Spec Hist. lib iv. c. 1. f. 41 a. seq. edit. Ven. 1591. fol

[c] De Ira, lib. 1. c. 8

[d] Ver. 7600. Tyrwh

[e] Specul Hist. lib. 1 c. 64. fol. 9 b.

[f] In the days of chivalry, a concert of a variety of instruments of music constantly made a part of the solemnity of a splendid feast Of this many instances have been given. I will here add another, from the unprinted metrical romance of Emare. MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 2. fol. 71 a.

Syre Kadore lette make a feste,
That was fayr and honeste,
Wyth hys lorde the kynge,
Ther was myche menstralsè,
Trompus, tabors, and sawtre,
Bothe harpe, and fydyllyng·
The lady was gentyll and small,
In kurtull alone served yn hall
Byfore that nobull kyng
The cloth upon her schone so bryghth,
When she was theryn ydyghth,
She semed non erdly thynge, &c.

And in Chaucer, Jan. and May, v. 1234.

Att everie cours came the loud minstralsie.

and a chair composed of the most frail materials, and supported by four slight legs, to be placed inclining over the edge of the pit. In this the brother, being stripped naked, was seated. Over his head a sharp sword was hung by a small thread of silk. Around him four men were stationed with swords exceedingly sharp, who were to wait for the king's word, and then to kill him. In the mean time, a table covered with the most costly dishes was spread before him, accompanied with all sorts of music. Then said the king, "My brother, why are you so sad? Can you be dejected in the midst of this delicious music, and with all these choice dainties?" He answered, "How can I be glad, when I have this morning heard the trumpet of death at my doors, and while I am seated in this tottering chair? If I make the smallest motion, it will break, and I shall fall into the pit, from which I shall never arise again. If I lift my head, the suspended sword will penetrate my brain; while these four tormentors only wait your command to put me to death." The king replied, "Now I will answer your question, why I was sad yesterday. I am exactly in your situation. I am seated, like you, in a frail and perishable chair, ready to tumble to pieces every moment, and to throw me into the infernal pit. Divine judgement, like this sharp sword, hangs over my head, and I am surrounded, like you, with four executioners. That before me is Death, whose coming I cannot tell; that behind me, my Sins, which are prepared to accuse me before the tribunal of God; that on the right, the Devil, who is ever watching for his prey; and that on the left, the Worm, who is now hungering after my flesh. Go in peace, my dearest brother: and never ask me again why I am sad at a feast."

Gower, in the CONFESSIO AMANTIS, may perhaps have copied the circumstance of the morning trumpet from this apologue. His king is a king of Hungary.

It so befell, that on a dawe
There was ordeined by the lawe
A trompe with a sterne breathe,
Which was cleped the trompe of deathe:
And in the court where the kyng was,
A certaine man, this trompe of brasse
Hath in kepyng, and therof serveth,
That when a lorde his deathe deserveth,
He shall this dredfull trompe blowe
To fore his gate, to make it knowe,
How that the jugement is yeve
Of deathe, which shall not be foryeve.
The kyng whan it was night anone,
This man assent, and bad him gone,
To trompen at his brothers gate;
And he, whiche mote done algate,

Goth foorth, and doth the kyng's heste.
This lorde whiche herde of this tempest
That he tofore his gate blewe,
Tho wist he by the lawe, and knewe
That he was schurly deade[g], &c.

But Gower has connected with this circumstance a different story, and of an inferior cast, both in point of moral and imagination. The truth is, Gower seems to have altogether followed this story as it appeared in the SPECULUM HISTORIALE of Vincent of Beauvais[h], who took it from Damascenus's romance of BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT[i]. Part of it is thus told in Caxton's translation of that legend[k]. "And the kynge hadde suche a custome, that whan one sholde be delyvered to deth, the kynge sholde sende hys cryar wyth hys trompe that was ordeyned therto. And on the euen he sente the cryar wyth the trompe tofore hys brother's gate, and made to soune the trompe. And whan the kynges brother herde this, he was in despayr of sauynge of his lyf, and coude not slepe of alle the nyght, and made his testament. And on the morne erly, he cladde hym in blacke: and came with wepyng with hys wyf and chyldren to the kynges paleys. And the kynge made hym to com tofore hym, and sayd to hym, A fooll that thou art, that thou hast herde the messager of thy brother, to whom thou knowest well thou hast not trespaced and doubtest so mooche, howe oughte not I then ne doubte the messageres of our lorde, agaynste whom I haue soo ofte synned, which signefyed unto me more clerely the deth then the trompe?"

CHAP. cxlv. The philosopher Socrates shows the cause of the insalubrity of a passage between two mountains in Armenia, by means of a polished mirrour of steel. Albertus is cited; an abbot of Stade, and the author of a Chronicle from Adam to 1256.

CHAP. cxlvi. Saint Austin's CITY OF GOD is quoted for an answer of Diomedes the pirate to king Alexander.

CHAP. cxlviii. Aulus Gellius is cited.

Aulus Gellius is here quoted, for the story of Arion[l], throwing himself into the sea, and carried on the back of a dolphin to king Periander at Corinth[m]. Gellius relates this story from Herodotus, in whom it is now extant[n].

CHAP. cliii. The history of Apollonius of Tyre.

This story, the longest in the book before us, and the groundwork of a favorite old romance, is known to have existed before the year 1190.*

[g] Lib. i. fol. xix b. col i.
[h] Ubi supr. p. clxxiii
[i] Opp. ut supr. pag. 12
[k] See Caxton's Golden Legende, fol. ccclxxxxiii. b. See also Metrical Lives of the Saints, MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 292 a.
[l] It is printed Amon.
[m] Noct. Attic. lib. xvi. cap. xix.
[n] Lib. viii.
* [A fragment of a Saxon translation of this romance is in Corpus Christi college library, Cambridge, and has been edited, with a literal translation and glossary, by Mr. Thorpe. 8vo. 1834.—M.]

In the Prologue to the English romance on this subject, called KYNGE APOLYNE OF THYRE, and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510, we are told: "My worshypfull mayster Wynkyn de Worde, havynge a lytell boke of an auncyent hystory of a kynge somtyme reygnyne in the countree of Thyre called Appolyn, concernynge his malfortunes and peryllous adventures right espouventables, bryefly compyled and pyteous for to here; the which boke, I Robert Coplande[o] have me applyed for to translate out of the Frensshe language into our maternal Englysshe tongue, at the exhortacyon of my forsayd mayster, accordynge dyrectly to myn auctor: gladly followynge the trace of my mayster Caxton, begynnynge with small storyes and pamfletes and so to other." The English romance, or the French, which is the same thing, exactly corresponds in many passages with the text of the GESTA. I will instance in the following one only, in which the complication of the fable commences. King Appolyn dines in disguise in the hall of king Antiochus.—"Came in the kynges daughter, accompanyed with many ladyes and damoyselles, whose splendente beaute were too long to endyte, for her rosacyate coloure was medled with grete favour. She dranke unto hir fader, and to all the lordes, and to all them that had ben at the play of the Shelde[p]. And as she behelde here and there, she espyed kynge Appolyn, and then she sayd unto her fader, Syr, what is he that sytteth so hye as by you? it semeth by hym that he is angry or sorrowfull. The kynge sayd, I never sawe so nimble and pleasaunt a player at the shelde, and therefore have I made hym to come and soupe with my knyghtes. And yf ye wyll knowe what he is, demaunde hym; for peradventure he wyll tell you sooner than me. Methynke that he is departed from some good place, and I thinke in my mynde that somethynge is befallen hym for which he is sorry. This sayd, the noble dameysell wente unto Appolyn and said, Fayre Syr, graunt me a boone. And he graunted her with goode herte. And she sayd unto hym, Albeyt that your vysage be tryst and hevy, your behavour sheweth noblesse and facundyte, and therefore I pray you to tell me of your affayre and estate. Appolyn answered, Yf ye demaunde of my rychesses, I have lost them in the sea. The damoysell sayd, I pray you that you tell me of your adventures[q]." But in the GESTA, the princess at entering the royal hall kisses all the knights and lords present, except the stranger[r]. Vossius says, that about the year 1520, one Alamanus Rinucinus, a Florentine, translated into Latin this fabulous history; and that the translation was corrected by Beroaldus.

[o] The printer of that name He also translated from the French, at the desire of Edward duke of Buckingham, the romance of the Knyght of the Swanne. See his Prologue.

[p] The tournament. To tourney is often called simply to *play*. As thus in Syr Launfal, MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 2. fol. 37.

Hym thoȝte he brente bryȝte
But he myȝte with Launfal *pleye*
In the felde betwene ham tweye
To justy other to fyȝte.

And in many other places.

[q] Cap. xi.

[r] Fol. lxxii. b. col. 2.

Vossius certainly cannot mean, that he translated it from the Greek original[s].

CHAP. cliv. A story from Gervase of Tilbury, an Englishman, who wrote about the year 1200, concerning a miraculous statue of Christ in the city of Edessa.

CHAP. clv. The adventures of an English knight named Albert in a subterraneous passage, within the bishoprick of Ely.

This story is said to have been told in the winter after supper, in a castle, *cum familia divitis ad focum, ut Potentibus moris est,* RECENSENDIS ANTIQUIS GESTIS *operam daret,* when the family of a rich man, as is the custom with the Great, was sitting round the fire, and telling ANTIENT GESTS. Here is a trait of the private life of our ancestors, who wanted the diversions and engagements of modern times to relieve a tedious evening. Hence we learn, that when a company was assembled, if a juggler or a minstrel were not present, it was their custom to entertain themselves by relating or hearing a series of adventures. Thus the general plan of the CANTERBURY TALES, which at first sight seems to be merely an ingenious invention of the poet to serve a particular occasion, is in great measure founded on a fashion of ancient life; and Chaucer, in supposing each of the pilgrims to tell a tale as they are travelling to Becket's shrine, only makes them adopt a mode of amusement which was common to the conversations of his age. I do not deny, that Chaucer has shown his address in the use and application of this practice.

So habitual was this amusement in the dark ages, that the graver sort thought it unsafe for ecclesiastics, if the subjects admitted any degree of levity. The following curious injunction was deemed necessary, in a code of statutes assigned to a college at Oxford in the year 1292. I give it in English. "CH. XX.—The fellows shall all live honestly, as becomes Clerks.—They shall not rehearse, sing, nor willingly hear, BALLADS or TALES of LOVERS, which tend to lasciviousness and idleness[t]." Yet the libraries of our monasteries, as I have before observed, were filled with romances. In that of Croyland-abbey we find even archbishop Turpin's romance, placed on the same shelf with Robert Tumbeley on the Canticles, Roger Dymock against Wickliffe, and Thomas Waleys on the Psalter. But their apology must be, that they thought this a true history; at least that an archbishop could write nothing but truth. Not to mention that the general subject of those books were the triumphs of christianity over paganism[u].

CHAP. clvi. Ovid, in his TROJAN WAR, is cited for the story of Achilles disguised in female apparel.

Gower has this history more at large in the CONFESSIO AMANTIS:

[s] Hist. Lat. lib. iii. c. 8. pag. 552. edit. 1627. 4to.

[t] *Cantilenas vel fabulas de Amasiis,* &c. MS. Registr. Univ. Oxon. D. b. f. 76. See p. 84 of this volume.

[u] Leland. Coll. iii. p. 30.

but he refers to a *Cronike*, which seems to be the BOKE OF TROIE, mentioned at the end of the chapter[w].

CHAP. clvii. The porter of a gate at Rome, who taxes all deformed persons entering the city. This tale is in Alphonsus. And in the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE[x].

CHAP. clviii. The discovery of the gigantic body of Pallas, son of Evander, at Rome, which exceeded in height the walls of the city, was uncorrupted, and accompanied with a burning lamp, two thousand two hundred and forty years after the destruction of Troy. His wound was fresh, which was four feet and a half in length.

It is curious to observe the romantic exaggerations of the classical story.

CHAP. clix. Josephus, in his book *de Causis rerum naturalium*, is quoted, for Noah's discovery of wine.

I know not any book of Josephus on this subject. The first editor of the Latin Josephus was Ludovicus Cendrata of Verona, who was ignorant that he was publishing a modern translation. In the Dedication he complains, that the manuscript was brought to him from Bononia so ill-written, that it was often impossible even to guess at *Josephus's words*. And in another place he says, Josephus first wrote the ANTIQUITATES in Hebrew, and that he afterwards translated them from Hebrew into Greek, and from Greek into Latin[y].

The substance of this chapter is founded on a Rabbinical tradition, related by Fabricius[z]. When Noah planted the vine, Satan attended, and sacrificed a sheep, a lion, an ape, and a sow. These animals were to symbolise the gradations of ebriety. When a man begins to drink, he is meek and ignorant as the lamb, then becomes bold as the lion, his courage is soon transformed into the foolishness of the ape, and at last he wallows in the mire like the sow. Chaucer hence says in the MANCIPLES PROLOGUE, as the passage is justly corrected by Mr. Tyrwhitt,

> I trowe that ye have dronken *wine of ape*,
> And that is when men plaien at a strawe[a].

In the old KALENDRIER DES BERGERS, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has remarked, *Vin de singe, vin de mouton, vin de lyon*, and *vin de porceau*, are mentioned, in their respective operations on the four temperaments of the human body.

CHAP. clxi. Of a hill in a forest of England, where if a hunter sate after the chace, he was refreshed by a miraculous person of a mild aspect, bearing a capacious horn, adorned with gems and gold[b], and

[w] Lib. v. fol. 99 b. col. 2. See fol. 101 a. col. 1, 2.

[x] Nov. 50.

[y] At Verona. 1480. By Peter Mauffer a Frenchman. It is a most beautiful and costly book, printed on vellum in folio.

[z] *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Testam.* vol. i. p. 275.

[a] Ver. 16993. Tyrwh.

[b] The text says, "Such a one as is used at this day."

filled with the most delicious liquor. This person instantly disappeared after administering the draught; which was of so wonderful a nature, as to dispel the most oppressive lassitude, and to make the body more vigorous than before. At length, a hunter having drunk of this horn, ungratefully refused to return it to the friendly apparition; and his master, the lord of the forest, lest he should appear to countenance so atrocious a theft, gave it to king Henry the elder[c].

This story, which seems imperfect, I suppose, is from Gervase of Tilbury.

CHAP. clxii. The same author is cited for an account of a hill in Castile, on which was a palace of demons.

Whenever our compiler quotes Gervase of Tilbury, the reference is to his OTIA IMPERIALIA: which is addressed to the emperor Otho the Fourth, and contains his *Commentarius de regnis Imperatorum Romanorum*, his *Mundi Descriptio*, and his *Tractatus de Mirabilibus Mundi*. All these four have been improperly supposed to be separate works.

CHAP. clxiii. King Alexander's son Celestinus.

CHAP. clxvii. The archer and the nightingale.

This fable is told in the Greek legend of BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT, written by Johannes Damascenus[d]. And in Caxton's GOLDEN LEGENDE[e]. It is also found in the CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA of Alphonsus.

CHAP. clxviii. Barlaam is cited for the story of a man, who, flying from a unicorn, and falling into a deep and noisome pit, hung on the boughs of a lofty tree which grew from the bottom. On looking downward, he saw a huge dragon twisted round the trunk, and gaping to devour him. He also observed two mice gnawing at the roots of the tree, which began to totter. Four white vipers impregnated the air of the pit with their poisonous breath. Looking about him, he discovered a stream of honey distilling from one of the branches of the tree, which he began eagerly to devour, without regarding his dangerous situation. The tree soon fell: he found himself struggling in a loathsome quagmire, and was instantly swallowed by the dragon.

This is another of Barlaam's apologues in Damascenus's romance of BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT: and which has been adopted into the Lives of the Saints by Surius and others[f]. A MORALISATION is subjoined, exactly agreeing with that in the GESTA[g].

CHAP. clxix. Trogus Pompeius is cited, for the wise legislation of Ligurius, a noble knight.

Our compiler here means Justin's abridgement of Trogus; which, to the irreparable injury of literature, soon destroyed its original. An

[c] That is, Henry the First, king of England.

[d] Opp. ut supr. p. 22. See also Surius, ut supr. Novembr. 27. pag. 565.

[e] Fol. ccclxxxxii. b.

[f] See Caxton's Golden Legend, fol. ccccclxxxxiii. a.

[g] See Damascenus, ut supr. pag. 31. And Metrical Lives of Saints, MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 293 b.

early epitome of Livy would have been attended with the same unhappy consequences.

CHAP. clxx. The dice player and saint Bernard.

This is from saint Bernard's legend[h].

CHAP. clxxi. The two knights of Egypt and Baldach.

This is the story of Boccace's popular novel of TITO AND GISIPPO, and of Lydgate's *Tale of two Marchants of Egypt and of Baldad*, a manuscript poem in the British Museum, and lately in the library of doctor Askew[i]. Peter Alphonsus is quoted for this story; and it makes the second Fable of his CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA.

I take the liberty of introducing a small digression here, which refers to two pieces of the poet last mentioned, never enumerated among his works. In the year 1483, Caxton printed at Westminster, "The PYLGREMAGE OF THE SOWLE *translated oute of Frensshe into Englisshe. Full of devout maters touching the sowle, and many questyons assoyled to cause a man to lyve the better*, &c. *Emprinted at Westminster by William Caxton the first yere of kynge Edward* V. 1483." The French book, which is a vision, and has some degree of imagination, is probably the PELERIN DE L'AME, of Guillaume prior of Chaulis[j]. This translation was made from the French, with additions, in the year 1413. For in the colophon are these words: "Here endeth the dreme of the PYLGREMAGE OF THE SOWLE translated out of Frensche into Englisshe, with somwhat of Addicions, the yere of our lorde M.CCCC. and thyrteen, and endethe in the vigyle of Seint Bartholomew." The translator of this book, at least the author of the *Addicions*, which altogether consist of poetry in seven-lined stanzas, I believe to be Lydgate. Not to insist on the correspondence of time and style, I observe, that the thirty-fourth chapter of Lydgate's metrical LIFE OF THE VIRGIN MARY is literally repeated in the thirty-fourth chapter of this Translation. This chapter is a digression of five or six stanzas in praise of Chaucer, in which the writer feelingly laments the recent death of his *maister Chaucer, poete of Britaine*, who used to *amende and correcte the wronge traces of my rude penne*. No writer besides, in Lydgate's own life-time, can be supposed, with any sort of grace or propriety, to have mentioned those personal assistances of Chaucer, in Lydgate's own words. And if we suppose that the Translation, or its *Addicions*, were written by Lydgate before he wrote his LIFE OF THE VIRGIN, the proof will be the same[k].

Another piece probably written by Lydgate, yet never supposed or acknowledged to be of his composition, is a poem in the octave stanza,

[h] See Caxton's Gold. Leg. f. cxxix. b.

[i] R. Edwards has a play on this story, 1582.

[j] See vol. ii. p. 320.

[k] Stowe mentions Lydgate's "PILGRIMAGE OF THE WORLD by the commaundement of the earle of Salisburie, 1426." But this must be a different work. Ad calc. Opp. Chauc. fol. 376. col. 1.

containing thirty-seven leaves in folio, and entitled LABEROUS AND MARVEYLOUS WORKE OF SAPIENCE. After a long debate between MERCY and TRUTH, and JUSTICE and PEACE, all the products of nature and of human knowledge are described, as they stand arranged in the palace and dominions of WISDOM. It is generally allowed to have been printed by Caxton: it has not the name of the printer, nor any date. Had it been written by Caxton, as I once hastily suspected, or by any of his cotemporaries, the name of Lydgate would have appeared in conjunction with those of Gower and Chaucer, who are highly celebrated in the Prologue as *erthely gods expert in poesie*: for these three writers were constantly joined in panegyric, at least for a century, by their successors, as the distinguished triumvirate of English poetry. In the same Prologue, the author says he was commanded to write this poem by the king. No poet cotemporary with Caxton was of consequence enough to receive such a command: and we know that Lydgate compiled many of his works by the direction, or under the patronage, of King Henry the Fifth. Lydgate was born in Suffolk: and our author, from the circumstance of having lived in a part of England not of a very polished dialect, apologises for the rudeness of his language, so that he cannot *delycately endyte*. It is much in the style and manner of Lydgate; and I believe it to have been one of his early performances[1].

CHAP. clxxii. A king of England has two knights, named Guido and Tirius. Guido having achieved many splendid exploits for the love of a beautiful lady, at length married her. Three days after his marriage he saw a vision, which summoned him to engage in the holy war. At parting she gave him a ring; saying, "as often as you look on this ring, remember me." Soon after his departure she had a son. After various adventures, in which his friend Tirius has a share, at the end of seven years he returned to England in the habit of a pilgrim. Coming to his castle, he saw at the gate his lady sitting, and distributing alms to a crowd of poor people; ordering them all to pray for the return of her lord Guido from the holy land. She was on that day accompanied by her son a little boy, very beautiful and richly apparelled; and who, hearing his mother, as she was distributing her alms, perpetually recommending Guido to their prayers, asked, if that was his father? Among others, she gave alms to her husband Guido, not knowing him in the pilgrim's disguise. Guido, seeing the little boy, took him in his arms, and kissed him; saying, "O my sweet son, may God give you grace to please him!" For this boldness he was reproved by the attendants. But the lady, finding him destitute and a stranger, assigned him a cottage in a neighbouring forest. Soon after-

[1] See vol. ii. p. 385 Note [w]. I know not if this is the poem recited by Stowe, and called "The Courte of Sapience in heaven for redemption of mankind." Ubi supr. col. 1.

wards falling sick, he said to his servant, "Carry this ring to your lady, and tell her, if she desires ever to see me again, to come hither without delay." The servant conveyed the ring; but before she arrived, he was dead. She threw herself on his body, and exclaimed with tears, "Where are now my alms which I daily gave for my lord? I saw you receive those alms, but I knew you not.—You beheld, embraced, and kissed your own son, but did not discover yourself to him nor to me. What have I done, that I shall see you no more?" She then interred him magnificently.

The reader perceives this is the story of Guido, or Guy, earl of Warwick; and probably this is the early outline of the life and death of that renowned champion.

Many romances were at first little more than legends of devotion, containing the pilgrimage of an old warrior. At length, as chivalry came more into vogue, and the stores of invention were increased, the youthful and active part of the pilgrim's life was also written, and a long series of imaginary martial adventures was added, in which his religious was eclipsed by his heroic character, and the penitent was lost in the knight-errant. That which was the principal subject of the short and simple legend, became only the remote catastrophe of the voluminous romance. And hence by degrees it was almost an established rule of every romance, for the knight to end his days in a hermitage. Cervantes has ridiculed this circumstance with great pleasantry, where Don Quixote holds a grave debate with Sancho, whether he shall turn saint or archbishop.

So reciprocal, or rather so convertible, was the pious and the military character, that even some of the apostles had their romance. In the ninth century, the chivalrous and fabling spirit of the Spaniards transformed saint James into a knight. They pretended that he appeared and fought with irresistible fury, completely armed, and mounted on a stately white horse, in most of their engagements with the Moors; and because by his superior prowess in these bloody conflicts, he was supposed to have freed the Spaniards from paying the annual tribute of a hundred christian virgins to their infidel enemies, they represented him as a professed and powerful champion of distressed damsels. This apotheosis of chivalry in the person of their own apostle, must have ever afterwards contributed to exaggerate the characteristical romantic heroism of the Spaniards, by which it was occasioned; and to propagate through succeeding ages, a stronger veneration for that species of military enthusiasm, to which they were naturally devoted. It is certain, that in consequence of these illustrious achievements in the Moorish wars, Saint James was constituted patron of Spain; and became the founder of one of the most magnificent shrines, and of the most opulent order of knighthood, now existing in christendom. The Legend of this invincible apostle is inserted in the Mosarabic liturgy.

Chap. clxxiii. A king goes to a fair, carrying in his train, a master

with one of his scholars, who expose six bundles, containing a system of ethics, to sale[s].

Among the revenues accruing to the crown of England from the Fair of saint Botolph at Boston in Lincolnshire, within the HONOUR of RICHMOND, mention is made of the royal pavilion, or booth, which stood in the fair, about the year 1280. This fair was regularly frequented by merchants from the most capital trading towns of Normandy, Germany, Flanders, and other countries. "Ibidem [in feria] sunt quædam domus quæ dicuntur BOTHÆ REGIÆ, quæ valent per annum xxviii, l. xiii, s. iiii, d. Ibidem sunt quædam domus quas MERCATORES DE YPRE tenent, quæ valent per annum, xx, l. Et quædam domus quas MERCATORES DE CADOMO[t] ET OSTOGANIO[u] tenent, xi, l. Et quædam domus quas MERCATORES DE ANACO[v] tenent xiii, l. vi, s. viii, d. Et quædam domus quas MERCATORES DE COLONIA tenent, xxv, l. x, s."[w] The high rent of these lodges is a proof that they were considerable edifices in point of size and accommodation.

CHAP. clxxiv. The fable of a serpent cherished in a man's bosom[x].

About the year 1470, a collection of Latin fables, in six books, distinguished by the name of Esop, was published in Germany. The first three books consist of the sixty anonymous elegiac fables, printed in Nevelet's collection, under the title of *Anonymi Fabulæ Æsopicæ*, and translated, in 1503, by Wynkyn de Worde, with a few variations: under each is a fable in prose on the same subject from ROMULUS, or the old prose LATIN ESOP, which was probably fabricated in the twelfth century. The fourth book has the remaining fables of Romulus in prose only. The fifth, containing one or two fables only, which were never called Esop's, is taken from Alphonsus, the GESTA ROMANORUM, the CALILA U DAMNAH, and other obscure sources. The sixth and last book has seventeen fables *ex translatione Rinucii*, that is Rinucius, who translated Planudes's life of Esop, and sixty-nine of his fables, from Greek into Latin, in the fifteenth century. This collection soon afterwards was circulated in a French version, which Caxton translated into English.

In an ancient general Chronicle, printed at Lubec in 1475, and entitled RUDIMENTUM NOVITIORUM[y], a short life of Esop is introduced, together with twenty-nine of his fables. The writer says, "Esopus adelphus claruit tempore Cyri regis Persarum.—Vir ingeniosus et prudens, qui confinxit fabulas elegantes. Quas Romulus postmodum de greco transtulit in latinum, et filio suo Tibertino direxit[z]," &c. The

[s] Compare Matth. Paris. edit. Watts. p. 927. 40.—And p. 751. 10.

[t] Caen in Normandy.

[u] Perhaps Ostend.

[v] Perhaps *Le Pais d'Aunis*, between the provinces of Poictou and Santone, where is Rochelle, a famous port and mart.

[w] Registr. *Honoris de Richmond.* Lond. 1722. fol. Num. viii. Append. p. 39.

[x] This fable is in Alphonsus's *Clericalis Disciplina.*

[y] In this work the following question is discussed, originally, I believe, started by saint Austin, and perhaps determined by Thomas Aquinas, *An Angeli possint coire cum Mulieribus, et generare Gigantes?*

[z] Fol. 237 a.

whole of this passage about Esop is transcribed from Vincent of Beauvais[a].

CHAP. clxxvii. The feast of king Ahasuerus and Esther.

I have mentioned a metrical romance on this subject[b]. And I have before observed, that Thomas of Elmham, a chronicler, calls the coronation-feast of king Henry the fifth, a second feast of Ahasuerus[c]. Hence also Chaucer's allusion at the marriage of January and May, while they are at the solemnity of the wedding-dinner, which is very splendid.

Quene Esther loked ner with soch an eye
On Assuere, so meke a loke hath she[d].

Froissart, an historian, who shares the merit with Philip de Comines of describing every thing, gives this idea of the solemnity of a dinner on Christmas-day, at which he was present, in the hall of the castle of Gaston earl of Foiz at Ortez in Bevern, under the year 1388. At the upper or first table, he says, sate four bishops, then the earl, three viscounts, and an English knight belonging to the duke of Lancaster. At another table, five abbots, and two knights of Arragon. At another, many barons and knights of Gascony and Bigorre. At another, a great number of knights of Bevern. Four knights were the chief stewards of the hall, and the two bastard brothers of the earl served at the high table. "The erles two sonnes, sir Yvan of Leschell was sewer, and sir Gracyen bare his cuppe[e]. And there were many mynstrelles, as well

[a] Specul. Hist. l. iii. c ii

[b] Vol. ii. p 372.

[c] Vol. ii. p. 256.

[d] March. Tale, v 1260. Uir

[e] In the old romance, or Lay, of Emare, a beautiful use is made of the Lady Emare's son serving as cup-bearer to the king of Galicia, by which means, the king discovers the boy to be his son, and in consequence finds out his queen Emare, whom he had long lost. The passage also points out the duties of this office. MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 2 f. 74. Emare says to the young prince, her son,

To-morowe thou shalle serve yn halle
In a kurtylle of ryche palle[1],
  Byfore thys nobulle kyng;
Loke, sone[2], so curtays thou be,
That no mon fynde chalange to the
  In no manere thynge[3].
When the kynge is served of spycerye,
Knele thou downe hastylye,
  And take hys hond yn thyn;
And when thou hast so done,
Take the kuppe of golde sone,
  And serve hym of the wyne.
And what that he speketh to the
Cum anone and telle me,
  On goddus blessyng and myne.
The chylde[4] wente ynto the halle
Among the lordes grete and smalle
  That lufsumme were unthur lyne[5].
Then the lordes, that were grete,
Wyshe[6], and wente to here mete,
  Menstrelles brow3t yn the kowrs[7],
The chylde hem served so curteysly,
Alle hym loved that hym sy[8],
  And spake hym gret honowres
Then sayde alle that loked hym upone,
So curteys a chyld sawe they never none,
  In halle, ny yn bowres.
The kynge sayde to hym yn game,
Swete sone, what ys thy name?
  Lord, he sayd, y hy3th[9] Segramowres.
Then that nobulle kyng
Toke up a grete sykynge[10],
  For hys sone[11] hyght so:

[1] a tunic of rich cloth. [2] son. [3] may accuse thee of want of courtesy.
[4] the boy. [5] richly apparelled. [6] washed. [7] course.
[8] saw. [9] I am called. [10] sighing. [11] his son.

of his owne as of straungers, and eche of them dyde their devoyre in their faculties. The same day the erle of Foiz gave to harauldes and mynstrelles, the somme of fyve hundred frankes: and gave to the duke of Touraynes mynstrelles, gownes of clothe of golde furred with ermyns, valued at two hundred frankes. This dinner endured four houres[n]." Froissart, who was entertained in this castle for twelve weeks, thus describes the earl's ordinary mode of supping. "In this estate the erle of Foiz lyved. And at mydnyght whan he came out of his chambre into the halle to supper, he had ever before hym twelve torches brennyng[o], borne by twelve varlettes [valets] standyng before his table all supper: they gave a grete light, and the hall ever full of knightes and squyers; and many other tables dressed to suppe who wolde. Ther was none shulde speke to hym at his table, but if he were called. His meate was lightlye wylde foule.—He had great plesure in armony of instrumentes, he could do it right well hymselfe: he wolde have songes songe before hym. He wolde gladlye se conseytes [conceits] and fantasies at his table. And when he had sene it, then he wolde send it to the other tables.—There was sene in his hall, chambre, and court, knyghtes and squyers of honour goyng up and downe, and talkyng of armes and of amours[p]," &c. After supper, Froissart was admitted to an audience with this magnificent earl; and used to read to him a book of sonnets, rondeaus, and virelays, written by a *gentyll* duke of Luxemburgh[q].

In this age of curiosity, distinguished for its love of historical anecdotes and the investigation of ancient manners, it is extraordinary that a new translation should not be made of Froissart from a collated and corrected original of the French*. Froissart is commonly ranked with

Certys, withowten lesynge,
The teres out of hys yen[1] gan wryng,
In herte he was fulle woo.
Neverethelese, he lette be,
And loked on the chylde so fre[2],
And mykelle[3] he levede hym thoo[4].—
Then the lordes that were grete
Whesshen a3eyn[5], aftyr mete,
And then com spycerye[6].
The chyld, that was of chere swete,
On hys kne downe he sete[7],
And served hym curteyslye
The kynge called the burgeys hym tylle,
And sayde, Syr, yf hyt be thy wylle,
3yf me this lytylle body[8],
I shalle hym make lorde of town and towre,
Of hye halles, and of bowre,
I love hym specyally, &c.

[n] Chron. vol. II. fol. xxxvi. a. Transl. Bern. 1523.

[o] It appears that candles were borne by domestics, and not placed on the table, at a very early period in France. Gregory of Tours mentions a piece of savage merriment practised by a feudal lord at supper, on one of his *valets de chandelle*, in consequence of this custom. Greg Turon. Hist lib v. c III. fol 34 b. edit. 1522 It is probable that our proverbial scoff, *You are not fit to hold a candle to him*, took its rise from this fashion. See Ray's Prov. C. p. 4 edit. 1670; and Shaksp. Romeo and Juliet, I. 4.

I'll be a *Candle-holder*, and look on.

[p] Ibid. fol. xxx. a. col. 2.

[q] Ibid. col. 1.

* [This has since been done by Col. Thomas Johnes, and was published at the Hafod press, 4 vols 4to. 1803–5.—M.]

[1] eyen, eyes. [2] the boy so beautiful. [3] greatly. [4] then. [5] washed again. [6] spicery, spiced wine. [7] bowed his knee. [8] give me this boy.

romances: but it ought to be remembered, that he is the historian of a romantic age, when those manners which form the fantastic books of chivalry were actually practised. As he received his multifarious intelligence from such a variety of vouchers, and of different nations, and almost always collected his knowledge of events from report, rather than from written or recorded evidence, his notices of persons and places are frequently confused and unexact. Many of these petty incorrectnesses are not, however, to be imputed to Froissart: and it may seem surprising, that there are not more inaccuracies of this kind in a voluminous chronicle, treating of the affairs of England, and abounding in English appellations, composed by a Frenchman, and printed in France. Whoever will take the pains to compare this author with the coeval records in Rymer, will find numerous instances of his truth and integrity, in relating the more public and important transactions of his own times. Why he should not have been honoured with a modern edition at the Louvre, it is easy to conceive: the French have a national prejudice against a writer, who has been so much more complaisant to England than to their own country*. Upon the whole, if Froissart should be neglected by the historical reader for his want of precision and authenticity, he will at least be valued by the philosopher for his striking pictures of life, drawn without reserve or affectation from real nature with a faithful and free pencil, and by one who had the best opportunities of observation, who was welcome alike to the feudal castle or the royal palace, and who mingled in the bustle and business of the world, at that very curious period of society, when manners are very far refined, and yet retain a considerable tincture of barbarism. But I cannot better express my sentiments on this subject, than in the words of Montaigne. "J'ayme les Historiens ou fort simples ou excellens. Les simples qui n'ont point de quoy y mesler quelque chose du leur, et qui n'y apportent que le soin et la diligence de ramasser tout ce qui vient à leur notice, et d'enregistrer à la bonne foy toutes choses sans chois et sans triage, nous laissent le jugement entier pour la conoissance de la vérité. Tel est entre autres pour example le bon Froissard, qui a marché en son enterprise d'une si franche naïfueté, qu'ayant fait une faute il ne craint aucunement de la reconnoistre et corriger en l'endroit, ou il en a esté adverty: et qui nous represente la diversité mesme des bruits qui couroient, et les différens rapports qu'on luy faisot. C'est la matière de l'Histoire nuï et informe; chacun en peut faire son proffit autant qu'il a d'entendement[r]."

CHAP. clxxviii. A king is desirous to know how to rule himself and

* [An edition of Froissart is included in the "Collection des Chroniques nationales Françaises," with notes and illustrations by J. A. Buchon, 8vo, Paris, 1824; but unfortunately the orthography is modernised, which detracts greatly from the value of the edition.—M]

[r] *Essais*, lib. ii. ch. x. p. 409. edit. 1598, 8vo.

his kingdom. One of his wise men presents an allegorical picture on the wall; from which, after much study, he acquires the desired instruction.

In the original eastern apologue, perhaps this was a piece of tapestry. From the cultivation of the textorial arts among the orientals, came Darius's wonderful cloth above-mentioned[e]; and the idea of the robe richly embroidered and embossed with stories of romance and other imageries, in the unprinted romance of EMARE, which forms one of the finest descriptions of the kind that I have seen in Gothic poetry, and which I shall therefore not scruple to give at large.

Sone aftur yn a whyle,
The ryche kynge of Cesyle[f]
To the Emperour gane wende[g];
A ryche present wyth hym he browght,
A clothe that was wordylye[h] wroght,
He wellecomed hym as the hende[i].
Syr Tergaunte, that nobylle knyȝt hyȝte,
He presented the emperour ryght,
And sette hym on hys kne[k],
Wyth that cloth rychyly dyght;
Fulle of stones ther hyt was pyght,
As thykke as hyt myght be:
Off topaze and rubyes,
And othur stones of myche prys,
That semely wer to se;
Of crapowtes and nakette,
As thykke ar they sette,
For sothe as y say the[l].
The cloth was dysplayed sone:
The emperour lokede therupone
And myght hyt not se[m];
For glysteryng of the ryche ston,
Redy syght had he none,
And sayde, how may thys be?
The emperour sayde on hyghe,
Sertes[n], thys ys a fayry[o],
Or ellys a vanyte.
The kyng of Cysyle answered than,
So ryche a jwelle[p] ys ther non
In alle Crystyante.

[e] Chap. xx.
[f] Sicily.
[g] went to.
[h] worthily.
[i] courteously, but, I believe there is a slight corruption.
[k] he presented it kneeling.
[l] I tell thee.
[m] could not see it.
[n] certainly.
[o] an illusion, a piece of enchantment.
[p] Jewel was anciently any precious thing.

The amerayle dow3ter of hethennes[q]
Made this cloth, withoutene lees[r],
And wrow3te hyt alle with pride;
And purtreyed hyt wyth gret honour,
Wyth ryche golde and asowr[s],
And stones on ylke[t] a syde.
And as the story telles in honde,
The stones that yn this cloth stonde
Sow3te[u] they wer fulle wyde:
Seven wynter hyt was yn makynge,
Or hyt was browght to endynge,
In hert ys not to hyde.
In that on korner made was
YDOYNE and AMADAS[w].
Wyth love that was so trewe;
For they loveden hem[x] wyth honour,
Portrayed they wer wyth trewe-love flour
Of stones bryght of hewe.
Wyth carbunkulle, and safere[y],
Kassydonys, and onyx so clere,
Sette in golde newe;
Deamondes and rubyes,
And othur stones of mychylle pryse,
And menstrellys wyth her gle[z].
In that othur corner was dyght
TRYSTRAM and ISOWDE so bry3t[a],
That semely wer to se;
And for they loved hem ryght,
As fulle of stones ar they dyght,
As thykke as they may be.—

[q] The daughter of the Amerayle of the Saracens. *Amiral* in the eastern languages was the governor, or prince, of a province, from the Arabic *Emir*, Lord. In this sense, *Amrayl* is used by Robert of Gloucester. Hence, by corruption the word *Admiral*, and in a restricted sense, for the commander of a fleet; which Milton, who knew the original, in that sense writes *Ammiral*. Parad. L. i. 294. Dufresne thinks, that our *naval* Amiral, i. e. Admiral, came from the crusades, where the Christians heard it used by the Saracens (in consequence of its general signification) for the title of the leader of their fleets, and that from the Mediterranean states it was propagated over Europe.

[It seems more probable that the word *Amiral* was obtained in the wars with the Saracens of Spain, which had a much greater influence on middle-age literature than the crusades. The earliest use of the word in that literature occurs in the romances which describe invasions of Saracens by sea. These descents were made by the Arabs of Spain, where there was an *Emir* specially charged with the direction of the fleet, and he was called *Emir-alma*, or emir of the water. Emir-alma becomes easily *emiral* and *amiral*. See Reinaud, *Invasions des Sarrazins en France*, 1836, p. 69.—W.]

[r] lying. [s] azure.
[t] every. [u] sought.
[w] On one corner, or side, was embroidered the history of Idonia and Amadas. For their Romance, see vol. ii. p. 242.
[x] loved each other. [y] sapphire.
[z] figures of minstrels, with their music, or musical instruments.
[a] Sir Tristram and Bel Isolde, famous in king Arthur's Romance.

In the thrydde[b] korner wyth gret honour
Was FLORYS and dam BLAWNCHEFLOUR[c]
As love was hem betwene,
For they loved wyth honour,
Purtrayed they were with trewe-love-flour,
Wyth stones bryght and shene.—
In the fowrthe korner was oon
Of Babylone the sowdan sonne,
The amerayles dowȝtyr hym by:
For hys sake the cloth was wrowght,
She loved hym in hert and thowght,
As testymoyeth thys storye.
The fayr mayden here byforn,
Was portrayed an unykorn,
Wyth hys horn so hye;
Flowres and bryddes on ylke a syde,
Wyth stones that wer sowght wyde,
Stuffed wyth ymagerye.
When the cloth to ende was wrowght,
To the Sowdan sone[d] hyt was browȝt,
That semely was of syȝte;
My fadyr was a nobylle man,
Of the Sowdan he hyt wan
Wyth maystrye and wyth myȝthe[e].

Chaucer says in the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, that RICHESSE wore a robe of purple, which

. . . . Ful wele
With orfraies laid was everie dele,
And purtraied in the ribaninges
Of DUKIS STORIES and of KINGES.[f]

And, in the original,

Portraictes y furent d'orfroys
Hystoryes d'empereurs et roys.[g]

[b] third.

[c] See what I have said of their romance, vol. ii. p. 135. A manuscript copy of it in French metre was destroyed in the fire which happened in the Cotton Library. Boccace has the adventures of Florio and Biancoflore, in his Philocopo. Floris and Blancaflor are mentioned as illustrious lovers by *Matfres Eymegau de Bezers*, a bard of Languedoc, in his *Breviari d'Amor*, dated in the year 1288. MSS. Reg. 19 C. i. fol. 199. See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 169.

[There are preserved three copies of the English version of the romance of Floris and Blauncheflour, all imperfect at the beginning, and, what is very curious, the imperfection ending in each at nearly the same line. The earliest copy is in a manuscript of the Public Library of the University of Cambridge, G g. 4, 27. Another is preserved in the Auchinleck MS. at Edinburgh, and has been most incorrectly printed by Hartshorne. A third is in a MS. in the library of Lord Leveson Gower.—W.]

[d] Soldan's son. [It was soon brought to the Soldan.—RITSON.]

[e] MSS. Cott (ut supr.) Calig. A. 2. fol. 69. ver. 80. seq.

[f] Ver. 1076.

[g] Ver. 1068.

CHAP. clxxix. Cesarius, saint Basil, the Gospel, Boethius, and Ovid are quoted to show the detestable guilt of gluttony and ebriety.

Cesarius, I suppose, is a Cistercian monk of the thirteenth century; who, beside voluminous Lives, Chronicles, and Homilies, wrote twelve Books on the Miracles, Visions, and Examples, of his own age. But there is another and an older monkish writer of the same name. In the British Museum, there is a narrative taken from Cesarius, in old northern English, of a lady deceived by the fiends, or the devil, through the pride of rich clothing[h].

CHAP. clxxx. Paul, the historian of the Longobards, is cited, for the fidelity of the knight Onulphus.

CHAP. clxxxi. The sagacity of a lion.

This is the last chapter in the edition of 1488.

Manuscript copies of the GESTA ROMANORUM are very numerous[i]; a proof of the popularity of the work. There are two in the British Museum; which, I think, contain, each one hundred and two chapters[k]. But although the printed copies have one hundred and eighty-one stories or chapters, there are many in the manuscripts which do not appear in the editions. The story of the CASKETTS, one of the principal incidents in Shakspeare's MERCHANT OF VENICE, is in one of the manuscripts of the Museum[l]. This story, however, is in an old English translation printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date; from which, or more probably from another edition printed in 1577, and entitled A RECORD OF ANCIENT HYSTORYES *in Latin* GESTA ROMANORUM, *corrected and bettered*, Shakspeare borrowed it. The story of the BOND in the same play, which Shakspeare perhaps took from a translation of the PECORONE of Ser Florentino Giovanni[m], makes the forty-eighth chapter of the last-mentioned manuscript[n]. Giovanni flourished about the year 1378[o]. The tale of Gower's FLORENT[p], which resembles Chaucer's WIFE OF BATH, occurs in some of the manuscripts of this work. The same may be said of a tale by Occleve,

[h] MSS. Harl 1022. 4.

[i] See vol ii. p. 238.

[k] MSS. Harl. 2270. And 5259.

[l] Viz. Chap. xcix. fol. 78 b. MSS. Harl. 2270. In the *Clericalis Disciplina* of Alphonsus, there is a narrative of a king who kept a FABULATOR, or story-teller, to lull him to sleep every night. The king on some occasion being seized with an unusual disquietude of mind, ordered his FABULATOR to tell him longer stories, for that otherwise he could not fall asleep. The FABULATOR begins a longer story, but in the midst falls asleep himself, &c. I think I have seen this tale in some manuscript of the *Gesta Romanorum*

[m] Giorn. iv. Nov. 5. In Vincent of Beauvais, there is a story of a bond between a Christian and a Jew; in which the former uses a deception which occasions the conversion of the latter. Hist. Specul. fol 181 a. edit. ut supr. Jews, yet under heavy restrictions, were originally tolerated in the Christian kingdoms of the dark ages, for the purpose of borrowing money, with which they supplied the exigencies of the state, and of merchants, or others, on the most lucrative usurious contracts.

[n] Fol. 43 a. In this story MAGISTER VIRGILIUS, or Virgil the *cunning man*, is consulted

[o] See Johnson's and Steevens's Shakspeare, iii. p. 247. edit. ult. And Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, iv. p 332. 334.

[p] *Confess. Amant.* lib. i. f. xv. b. See vol. ii. p. 247.

never printed; concerning the chaste consort of the emperor Gerelaus, who is abused by his steward, in his absence. This is the first stanza. A larger specimen shall appear in its place.

> In Roman Actis writen is thus,
> Somtime an emperour in the citee
> Of Rome regned, clept Gerelaus,
> Wich his noble astate and his dignite
> Governed wisely, and weddid had he
> The douztir of the kyng of Vngrye,
> A faire lady to every mannes ye.

At the end is the MORALISATION in prose.[q]

I could point out other stories, beside those I have mentioned, for which Gower, Lydgate, Occleve, and the author of the DECAMERON, and of the CENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE, have been indebted to this admired repository[r]. Chaucer, as I have before remarked, has taken one of his Canterbury Tales from this collection; and it has been supposed that he alludes to it in the following couplet,

> And ROMAIN GESTIS makin remembrance
> Of many a veray trewe wife also[s].

The plot also of the knight against Constance, who having killed Hermegild, puts the bloody knife into the hand of Constance while asleep, and her adventure with the steward, in the MAN OF LAWES TALE, are also taken from that manuscript chapter of this work, which I have just mentioned to have been versified by Occleve. The former of these incidents is thus treated by Occleve:—

> She with this zonge childe in the chambre lay
> Every nizt where lay the earle and the countesse[t],
> Bitween whose beddis brente a lampe alway.

[q] MSS. Seld. Sup. 53. Bibl. Bodl. *De quadam bona et nobili Imperatrice.* It is introduced with "A Tale the which I in the *Roman dedis*," &c. Viz. MSS Laud ibid. K. 78. See also MSS Digb. 185. where, in the first line of the poem, we have, "In the *Roman jestys* written is this." It is in other manuscripts of Occleve. This story is in the *Gesta Romanorum*, MSS. Harl. 2270. chap. 101. fol. 80 a. where *Gerelaus* is Menelaus.

[r] Bonifacio Vannozzi, in *Delle Lettere Miscellanee alle Academia Veneta*, says, that Boccace borrowed [Nov. i. D. iii] the Novel of *Maseto da Lamporecchio*, with many other parts of the Decameron, from an older Collection of Novels. "In uno libro de Novelle, et di Parlare Gentile, *Anteriore* al Boccacio," &c. In Venetia, 1606. 4to. p. 580. seq. I believe, however, that many of the tales are of Boccace's own invention. He tells us himself, in the *Genealogia Deorum*, that when he was a little boy, he was fond of making FICTIUNCULÆ. Lib. xv. cap. x. p. 579. edit. Basil. 1532. fol.

[s] Marchant's Tale, ver. 10158. edit. Tyrw. This may still be doubted, as from what has been said above, the *Roman Gests* were the Roman history in general.

[t] Here we see the ancient practice, even in great families, of one and the same bedchamber serving for many persons. Much of the humour in Chaucer's Trompington Miller arises from this circumstance. See the Romance of Syr Tryamore. And Gower, *Conf. Am.* ii. f. 39 a.

* * * * * * * *

And he espied, by the lampes lizt,
The bedde where that lay this emprice
With erlis douztur[t], and as blyve rizt,
This feendly man his purpose and malice
Thouzte[u] for to fulfille and accomplice;
And so he dide, a longe knife out he drouze[w],
And ther with alle the maiden childe he slouze[x].

Hir throte with the knyfe on two he kutte
And as this emprice lay sleeping;
Into her honde this bloody knyfe he putte,
For men shoulde have noon othir deemyng[y]
But she had gilty ben of this murdring:
And whanne that he had wrouzte this cursidnesse,
Anoone oute of the chambre he gan hem dresse[z].

The countess after hir slepe awakid
And to the emperesse bedde gan caste hir look
And sy[a] the bloody knyfe in hir hande nakid,
And, for the feare she tremblid and quook.—

* * * * * * * *

She awakens the earl, who awakens the empress.

And hir awook, and thus to hir he cried,
"Woman, what is that, that in thin hand I see?
What hast thou doon, woman, for him that diede,
What wickid spirit hath travaylid the?"
And as sone as that adawed was she,
The knyfe fel oute of hir hand in the bedde,
And she bihilde the cloothis al forbledde,

And the childe dead, "Allas, she cried, allas,
How may this be, god woot alle I note howe,
I am not privy to hir hevy caas,
The gilte is not myne, I the childe not slowe[b]."
To which spake the countesse, "What saist thou?
Excuse the not, thou maist not saie nay,
The knyfe all bloody in thin hand I say[c]."[d]

This story, but with some variation of circumstances, is told in the HISTORICAL MIRROUR of Vincent of Beauvais[e].

But I hasten to point out the writer of the GESTA ROMANORUM, who has hitherto remained unknown to the most diligent inquirers in

[t] earl's daughter.
[u] thought.
[w] drew.
[x] slew.
[y] opinion.
[z] he hastened, &c.
[a] saw.
[b] slew.
[c] saw.
[d] Ut supr. viz. MS. Seld. sup. 45. Qu. IIII.
[e] *Specul. Histor.* lib. vii. c. 90. fol. 86 a.

Gothic literature. He is Petrus Berchorius, or Pierre Bercheur, a native of Poitou, and who died Prior of the Benedictine convent of Saint Eloi at Paris, in the year 1362.

For the knowledge of this very curious circumstance, I am obliged to Salomon Glassius, a celebrated theologist of Saxe-Gotha, in his PHILOLOGIA SACRA[f], written about the year 1623[g]. In his chapter DE ALLEGORIIS FABULARUM, he censures those writers who affect to interpret allegorically, not only texts of scripture, but also poetical fables and profane histories, which they arbitrarily apply to the explication or confirmation of the mysteries of christianity. He adds, "Hoc in studio excelluit quidam *Petrus Berchorius*, Pictaviensis, ordinis divi Benedicti; qui, *peculiari* libro, GESTA ROMANORUM, necnon Legendas Patrum, aliasque aniles fabulas, allegorice ac mystice exposuit[h]." That is, "In this art excelled one Peter Berchorius, a Benedictine; who, in a certain *peculiar* book has expounded, mystically and allegorically, the Roman GESTS, legends of saints, and other idle tales[i]." He then quotes for an example, the whole one hundred and seventieth chapter of the GESTA ROMANORUM, containing the story of Saint Bernard and the Dice-player, together with its moralisation.

Berchorius was one of the most learned divines of his country, and a voluminous writer. His three grand printed works are, I. REDUCTORIUM MORALE *super totam Bibliam*, in twenty-four books. II. REPERTORIUM [or Reductorium] MORALE, in fourteen books[k]. III. DICTIONARIUM MORALE. Whoever shall have the patience or the curiosity to turn over a few pages of this immense treasure of multifarious erudition, will soon see this assertion of Glassius abundantly verified; and will be convinced beyond a doubt, from a general coincidence of plan, manner, method, and execution, that the author of these volumes, and of the GESTA ROMANORUM, must be one and the same. The REDUCTORIUM SUPER BIBLIAM[l] contains all the stories

[f] *Philologiæ Sacræ*, qua totius sacrosanctæ veteris et novi testamenti scripturæ tum stylus et literatura, tum sensus et genuinæ interpretationis ratio expenditur. Libri quinque, &c. edit. tert Francof. et Hamb 1653.

[This opinion has been controverted by Mr. Douce in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol ii. The most forcible argument there adduced is founded upon a very just inference, that the original author was a *German*. See below, p. ccii. Note [k].—PRICE.]

[g] From the date of the Dedication. For his other works, which are very numerous, see the *Diarium Biographicum* of H. Witte, sub ann. 1665. Gedani, 1688, 4to.

[h] Lib. ii. Part. i. Tractat. ii. Sect iii. Artic. viii. pag. 312.

[i] Salmeron, a profound school-divine, who flourished about 1560, censures the unwarrantable liberty of the *Gesta Romanorum*, in accommodating histories and fables to Christ and the church. *Comm in Evangel Hist.* i. p 356. Prol. xix. Can xxi.—Colon. Agrippin 1602 fol.

[k] I use a folio edition of all these three works, in three volumes, printed at Venice in 1583 These pieces were all printed very early.

[l] This was first printed, Argentorat. 1473. fol. There was a very curious book in lord Oxford's library, I am not sure whether the same, entitled *Moralizationes Bibliæ*, Ulmæ 1474 fol with this colophon in the last page —*Infinita dei clementia. Finitus est liber* Moralizationum Bibliarum *in ejusdem laudem et gloriam compilatus. Ac per industrium* Joannem

and incidents in the Bible, reduced into allegories[m]. The REPERTORIUM MORALE is a dictionary of things, persons, and places; all which are supposed to be mystical, and which are therefore explained in their moral or practical sense. The DICTIONARIUM MORALE is in two parts, and seems principally designed to be a moral repertory for students in theology.

The moralisation, or moral explanation, which is added to every article, is commonly prefaced, as in the GESTA, with the introductory address of CARISSIMI. In the colophon, the GESTA is called *Ex gestis Romanorum* RECOLLECTORIUM: a word much of a piece with his other titles of REPERTORIUM and REDUCTORIUM. Four of the stories occurring in the GESTA, *The Discovery of the gigantic body of Pallas*[n], *The subterraneous golden palace*[o], *The adventures of the English knight in the bishoprick of Ely*[p], and *The miraculous horn*[q], are related in the fourteenth book of the REPERTORIUM MORALE. For the two last of these he quotes Gervase of Tilbury, as in his GESTA[r]. As a further proof of his allegorising genius I must add, that he moralised all the stories in Ovid's Metamorphoses, in a work entitled, *Commentarius* MORALIS, *sive* ALLEGORIÆ *in Libros quindecim Ovidii Metamorphoseon*[s], and now remaining in manuscript in the library of the monastery of Saint Germains[t]. He seems to have been strongly impressed with whatever related to the Roman affairs, and to have thought their history more interesting than that of any other people. This appears from the following passage, which I translate from the article ROMA, in his DICTIONARIUM MORALE, and which will also contribute to throw some other lights on this subject. "How many remarkable facts might be here collected concerning the virtues and vices of the Romans, did my design permit me to drop Moralities, and to enter upon an historical detail! For that most excellent historian Livy, unequalled for the dignity, brevity, and *difficulty* of his style, (whose eloquence is so highly extolled by Saint Jerome, and

Zeiner de Reutlingen Artis impressoriæ magistrium *non penna sed scagneis characteribus in oppido* Ulmensi *artificialiter effigiatus. Anno Incarnationis Domini millesimo quadringentessimo septuagessimo quarto Aprilis nono.* This book is not mentioned by Maittaire.

[m] To this work Alanus de Lynne, a Carmelite of Lynne in Norfolk, wrote an *Index* or *Tabula*, about the year 1240. It is in MSS Reg 3 D 3. 1 in Brit Mus

[n] Cap. xlix. f 643. He quotes *Chronica*, and says, that this happened in the reign of the emperor Henry the Second [See *Gest. Rom* c. clviii]

[o] Cap. lxxii. f. 689 col. 1. 2. He quotes for this story [*Gest. Rom.* c cvii] William of Malmesbury, but tells it in the words of Beauvais, ut supr.

[p] Fol 610 col. 2 [*Gest. Rom.* c. clv] Here also his author is Gervase of Tilbury, from whom, I think in the same chapter, he quotes part of king Arthur's Romance. See *Otia Imperial* Dec. ii. c 12.

[q] Fol 610. ut supr. [*Gest Rom.* c lxi.]

[r] A MORALISATION is joined to these stories, with the introduction of *Carissimi*

[s] See what he says of the *Fabulæ Poetarum*, Repertor. Moral. lib. xiv. cap. i. f. 601. col. 2. ad calc.

[t] Oudin *Comment. Scriptor. Eccles.* iii. p 1064 Lips 1723 fol. I doubt whether this work was not translated into French by Guillaume Nangis, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. See *Mem. Lit.* xx. 751. 4to.

whom I, however unworthy, have translated from Latin into French with great labour[v], at the request of John the most famous king of France,) records so many wonderful things of the prudence, fortitude, fidelity, and friendship, of the Roman people; as also of their quarrels, envy, pride, avarice, and other vices, which are indeed allied to virtues, and are such, to say the truth, as I never remember to have heard of in any nation besides. But because I do not mean to treat of historical affairs in the present work, the matter of which is entirely moral, I refer the historical reader to Livy himself, to Trogus Pompeius, Justin, Florus, and Orosius, who have all written histories of Rome; as also to Innocent, who in his book on the *Miseries of human nature*[u], speaks largely of the vices of the Romans[w]." In the mean time we must remember, that at this particular period the Roman history had become the grand object of the public taste in France. The king himself, as we have just seen, recommended a translation of Livy. French translations also of Sallust, Cesar, and Lucan, were now circulated. A Latin historical compilation called ROMULEON was now just published by a gentleman of France, which was soon afterwards translated into French. A collection of the GESTA ROMANORUM was therefore a popular subject, at least it produced a popular title, and was dictated by the fashion of the times.

I have here mentioned all Berchorius's works, except his Comment on a Prosody called *Doctrinale metricum*, which was used as a schoolbook in France, till Despauterius's manual on that subject appeared[x]. Some biographers mention his TROPOLOGIA, his COSMOGRAPHIA, and his BREVIARIUM. But the TROPOLOGIA[y] is nothing more than his REDUCTORIUM on the Bible; and probably the BREVIARIUM is the same[z]. The COSMOGRAPHIA seems to be the fourteenth book of his REPERTORIUM MORALE; which treats of the wonders of various countries; and is chiefly taken from Solinus and Gervase of Tilbury[a]. He is said by the biographers to have written other smaller pieces, which they have not named or described. Among these perhaps is comprehended the GESTA; which we may conceive to have been thus undistinguished, either as having been neglected or proscribed by graver writers, or rather as having been probably disclaimed by its author, who saw it at length in the light of a juvenile performance,

[v] I have mentioned this work below, vol. ii. p. 315. It is remarkable, that a copy of this manuscript in the British Museum is entitled, "*Titus Livius* Des *Fais des Romains* translate par Pierre Bertheure." MSS. Reg. 15 D. vi.

[u] Pope Innocent the Third, about the year 1200, wrote three Books *De Contemptu Mundi, sive De Miseria Humanæ Conditionis*, printed Colon. 1496.

[w] *Diction. Moral.* P. iii. vol. ii. f. 274. col. 2. edit. 1583.—See infra, vol. ii. p. 315.

[x] Oudin, ubi supr.

[y] I have seen a very old black-letter edition with the title, "Tropologiarum mysticarumque enarrationum," &c. without date.

[z] But see Bibl. Sangerm. Cod. MS. 687. and G. Serpilii *Vit. Scriptor. Biblic.* tom. vii. par. 2. pag. 44. Also Possevin. *Apparat. Sacr.* ii. p. 241. Colon. 1608.

[a] This is in some measure hinted by Oudin, ubi supr. "Egressus autem a *Profanis* et grammaticis Berchorius, animum *Solidioribus* applicuit," &c.

abounding in fantastic and unedifying narrations, which he judged unsuitable to his character, studies, and station[b]. Basilius Johannes Heroldus, however, mentions Berchorius as the author of a CHRONICON, a word which may imply, though not with exact propriety, his GESTA ROMANORUM. It is in the Epistle dedicatory of his edition of the Chronicles of Marianus Scotus, and Martinus Polonus, addressed to our queen Elizabeth; in which he promises to publish many Latin CHRONICA, that is, those of Godfrey of Viterbo, Hugo Floriacensis, Conrade Engelhus, Hermannus Edituus, Lanfranc, Ivo, Robert of Saint Victor, PETER BERCHORIUS, and of many others, *qui de* TEMPORIBUS *scripserunt*, who have written of times[c]. Paulus Langius, who wrote about the year 1400, in his enumeration of Berchorius's writings, says nothing of this compilation[d].

Had other authentic evidences been wanting, we are sure of the age in which Berchorius flourished, from the circumstance of his being employed to translate Livy by John king of France, who acceded to the throne in the year 1350, and died in the year 1364. That Berchorius died, and probably an old man, in the year 1362, we learn from his epitaph in the monastery of saint Eloy at Paris, which is recited by Sweertius, and on other accounts deserves a place here.

HIC JACET VENERABILIS MAGNÆ PROFUNDÆQUE SCIENTIÆ,
ADMIRABILIS ET SUBTILIS ELOQUENTIÆ,
F. PETRUS BERCOTH[e],
PRIOR HUJUS PRIORATUS.
QUI FUIT ORIUNDUS DE VILLA S. PETRI
DE ITINERE[f]
IN EPISCOPATU MAILLIZANCENSI[g] IN
PICTAVIA.
QUI TEMPORE SUO FECIT OPERA SUA
SOLEMNIA, SCILICET
DICTIONARIUM, REDUCTORIUM,
BREVIATORIUM, DESCRIPTIONEM
MUNDI[h], TRANSLATIONEM CUJUSDAM
LIBRI VETUSTISSIMI[i] DE LATINO IN
GALLICUM, AD PRÆCEPTUM EXCELLENTISS.
JOANNIS REGIS FRANCORUM.
QUI OBIIT ANNO M.CCC.LXII.[k]

[b] Gesner adds, reciting his works, that he wrote "alia multa." *Epitom. Bibl.* f. 147 b. Tig 1555. fol And Trithemius, "parvos sed multos tractatus." *De Illustr. Bened.* lib. II. c. 131.

[c] Dat. 1559. Edit. Basil. Oporin. No date, fol.

[d] *Chron. Crtiz.* f. 841. Apud Pistorii *Illustr. Vit. Scriptor.* &c. Francof. 1583. fol. Compare the Chron. of Philippus Bergom. ad ann. 1355.

[e] Read *Bercheur.*

[f] That is, of the village of *saint Pierre du Chemin*, three leagues from Poictiers.

[g] Of Maillezais.

[h] The *Cosmographia* above-mentioned.

[i] Of Livy.

[k] *Sweertii Epitaphia Joco-seria.* edit.

Berchorius was constituted grammatical preceptor to the novices of the Benedictine Congregation, or monastery, at Clugni, in the year 1340[l]; at which time he drew up his Notes on the Prosody, and his Commentary on Ovid, for the use of his scholars. About the same time, and with a view of rendering their exercises in Latinity more agreeable and easy by an entertaining Latin story-book, yet resoluble into lessons of religion, he probably compiled the GESTA; perpetually addressing the application of every tale to his young audience, by the paternal and affectionate appellation of CARISSIMI[m]. There was therefore time enough for the GESTA to become a fashionable book of tales, before Boccace published his DECAMERON. The action of the DECAMERON being supposed in 1348, the year of the great pestilence, we may safely conjecture, that Boccace did not begin his work till after that period. An exact and ingenious critic has proved, that it was not finished till the year 1358[n].

I have just observed that Berchorius probably compiled this work for the use of his grammatical pupils. Were there not many good reasons for that supposition, I should be induced to think, that it might have been intended as a book of stories for the purpose of preachers. I have already given instances, that it was anciently fashionable for preachers to enforce the several moral duties by applying fables, or exemplary narratives: and, in the present case, the perpetual recurrence of the address of CARISSIMI might be brought in favour of this hypothesis. But I will here suggest an additional reason. Soon after the age of Berchorius, a similar collection of stories, of the same cast, was compiled, though not exactly in the same form, professedly designed for sermon-writers, and by one who was himself an eminent preacher; for, rather before the year 1480, a Latin volume was printed in Germany, written by John Herolt a Dominican friar of Basil, better known by the adopted and humble appellation of DISCIPULUS, and who flourished about the year 1418. It consists of three parts. The first is intitled "Incipiunt Sermones pernotabiles DISCIPULI de Sanctis per anni circulum." That is, A set of sermons on the saints of the whole year. The second part, and with which I am now chiefly concerned, is a PROMPTUARY, or ample repository, of examples for composing ser-

Colon. 1645. p. 158. It must not be dissembled, that in the MORALISATION of the hundred and forty-fifth chapter, a proverb is explained, *vulgariter*, in the German language. Fol. 69 a. col. 2. and in the hundred and forty-third chapter, a hunter has eight dogs who have German names. Fol. 67 a. col. 1. seq. I suspect, nor is it improbable, that those German words were introduced by a German editor or printer. Mr. Tyrwhitt supposes that we may reasonably conjecture one of our countrymen to have been the compiler, because three couplets of English verses and some English names appear in many of the manuscripts. But these are not be found in any of the editions, and there is no answering for the licentious innovations of transcribers. Cant. T. vol. IV 331.

[Mr. Tyrwhitt referred to a copy of the English Gesta, a distinct work from that which has been the subject of this Dissertation. Of this production Mr. Douce has given an elaborate account in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. II. p. 335.—PRICE.]

[l] Oudin, ubi supr. p. 1063.

[m] This, by habit, and otherwise with no impropriety, he seems to have retained in his later and larger works.

[n] See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, IV. 115. seq

mons; and in the Prologue to this part the author says, that saint Dominic always *abundabat exemplis* in his discourses, and that he constantly practised this popular mode of edification. This part contains a variety of little histories. Among others, are the following. Chaucer's Friar's tale. Aristotle falling in love with a queen, who compels him to permit her to ride upon his back[o]. The boy who was kept in a dark cave till he was twelve years of age; and who being carried abroad, and presented with many striking objects, preferred a woman to all he had seen[p]. A boy educated in a desert is brought into a city, where he sees a woman, whom he is taught to call a fine bird, under the name of a goose; and on his return into the desert, desires his spiritual father to kill him a goose for his dinner[q]. These two last stories Boccace has worked into one. The old woman and her little dog[r]. This, as we have seen, is in the GESTA ROMANORUM[s]. The son who will not shoot at his father's dead body[t]. I give these as specimens of the collection. The third part contains stories for sermon-writers, consisting only of select miracles of the Virgin Mary. The first of these is the tale of the chaste Roman empress, occurring in the Harleian manuscripts of the GESTA, and versified by Occleve; yet with some variation[v]. This third part is closed with these words, which also end the volume: "Explicit tabula Exemplorum in tractatulo de Exemplis gloriose Virginis Marie contentorum." I quote from the first edition, which is a clumsy folio in a rude Gothic letter, in two volumes; and without pagings, signatures, or initials. The place and year are also wanting; but it was certainly printed before 1480[u], and probably at Nuremburg. The same author also wrote a set of sermons called *Sermones de tempore*[w]. In these I find[x] Alphonsus's story, which in the GESTA ROMANORUM is the tale of the two knights of Egypt and Baldach[y]: and, in Boccace's DECAMERON, the history of TITO and GESIPPO: Parnell's HERMIT[z]: and the apologue of the king's brother who had heard the trumpet of Death[a]: both which last are also in the GESTA[b]. Such are the revolutions of taste, and so capricious the modes of composition, that a Latin homily-book of a German monk in

[o] Exempl. lxvii. sub litera M. "De regina quæ equitavit Aristotelem." He cites Jacobus de Vitriaco. [See supr. p. clii]

[p] Exempl. xxiv. sub Litera L.

[q] Ibid. Exempl. xxiii. [See supr. p. clxxiv

[r] Exempl. xii sub lit V.

[s] Ch. xxviii

[t] This is also in the *Gesta*, ch. xlv.—Exempl. viii. Lit. B.

[v] See supr. p. cxcviii.

[u] For the second edition is at Nuremburg, 1482. fol. Others followed, before 1500.

[w] The only edition I have seen, with the addition of the *Sermones de Sanctis*, and the *Promptuarium Exemplorum* abovementioned, was printed by M. Flaccius, Argentin. 1499. fol. But there is an earlier edition. At the close of the last Sermon, he tells us why he chose to be styled Discipulus;—because, "non subtilia per modum *Magistri*, sed simplicia per modum *Discipuli*, conscripsi et collegi." I have seen also early impressions of his *Sermones Quadragesimales*, and of other pieces of the same sort. All his works were published together in three volumes, Mogunt. 1612. 4to. The Examples appeared separately, Daventr. 1481. Colon. 1485. Argentorat. 1489. 1490. Hagen. 1512. 1519. fol.

[x] Serm. cxxi. col. ii. Signat. C. 5.

[y] Ch. clxxi. [z] Serm. liii.

[a] Serm. cix. [b] Ch. lxxx. cxliii.

the fifteenth century, should exhibit outlines of the tales of Boccace, Chaucer, and Parnell!

It may not be thought impertinent to close this discourse with a remark on the MORALISATIONS subjoined to the stories of the GESTA ROMANORUM. This was an age of vision and mystery: and every work was believed to contain a double, or secondary meaning. Nothing escaped this eccentric spirit of refinement and abstraction: and, together with the Bible, as we have seen, not only the general history of ancient times was explained allegorically, but even the poetical fictions of the classics were made to signify the great truths of religion, with a degree of boldness, and a want of discrimination, which in another age would have acquired the character of the most profane levity, if not of absolute impiety, and can only be defended from the simplicity of the state of knowledge which then prevailed.

Thus, God creating man of clay, animated with the vital principle of respiration, was the story of Prometheus, who formed a man of similar materials, to which he communicated life by fire stolen from heaven. Christ twice born, of his father God and of his mother Mary, was prefigured by Bacchus, who was first born of Semele, and afterwards of Jupiter; and as Minerva sprung from the brain of Jupiter, so Christ proceeded from God without a mother. Christ born of the Virgin Mary was expressed in the fable of Danae shut within a tower, through the covering of which Jupiter descended in a shower of gold, and begot Perseus. Acteon, killed by his own hounds, was a type of the persecution and death of our Saviour. The poet Lycophron relates, that Hercules in returning from the adventure of the Golden Fleece was shipwrecked; and that being devoured by a monstrous fish, he was disgorged alive on the shore after three days. Here was an obvious symbol of Christ's resurrection. John Waleys, an English Franciscan of the thirteenth century, in his moral exposition of Ovid's Metamorphoses[c], affords many other instances equally ridiculous; and who forgot that he was describing a more heterogeneous chaos than that which makes so conspicuous a figure in his author's exordium, and which combines, amid the monstrous and indigested aggregate of its unnatural associations,

..... sine pondere habentia pondus[d].

At length, compositions professedly allegorical, with which that age abounded, were resolved into allegories for which they were never intended. In the famous ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, written about the year 1310, the poet couches the difficulties of an ardent lover in attaining the object of his passion, under the allegory of a Rose, which is gathered in a delicious but almost inaccessible garden. The theologists proved this rose to be the white rose of Jericho, the new Jerusalem, a

[c] I have before mentioned Berchorius's Ovid Moralised.

[d] Metam. l. i. 20.

state of grace, divine wisdom, the holy Virgin, or eternal beatitude, at none of which obstinate heretics can ever arrive. The chemists pretended, that it was the philosopher's stone; the civilians, that it was the most consummate point of equitable decision; and the physicians, that it was an infallible panacea. In a word, other professions, in the most elaborate commentaries, explained away the lover's rose into the mysteries of their own respective science. In conformity to this practice, Tasso allegorized his own poem; and a flimsy structure of morality was raised on the chimerical conceptions of Ariosto's ORLANDO. In the year 1577, a translation of a part of Amadis de Gaule appeared in France; with a learned preface, developing the valuable stores of profound instruction, concealed under the naked letter of the old romances, which were discernible only to the intelligent, and totally unperceived by common readers; who, instead of plucking the fruit, were obliged to rest contented with *le simple* FLEUR *de la Lecture litterale.* Even Spenser, at a later period, could not indulge his native impulse to descriptions of chivalry, without framing such a story, as conveyed, under the *dark conceit* of ideal champions, a set of historic transactions, and an exemplification of the nature of the twelve moral virtues. He presents his fantastic queen with a rich romantic mirrour, which showed the wondrous achievements of her magnificent ancestry.

> And thou, O fairest princess under sky,
> In this fayre mirrour maist behold thy face,
> And thine own realmes in Lond of Faery,
> And in this antique image thy great ancestry[e].

It was not, however, solely from an unmeaning and a wanton spirit of refinement, that the fashion of resolving every thing into allegory so universally prevailed. The same apology may be offered for the cabalistical interpreters, both of the classics and of the old romances. The former, not willing that those books should be quite exploded which contained the ancient mythology, laboured to reconcile the apparent absurdities of the pagan system to the christian mysteries, by demonstrating a figurative resemblance. The latter, as true learning began to dawn, with a view of supporting for a while the expiring credit of giants and magicians, were compelled to palliate those monstrous incredibilities, by a bold attempt to unravel the mystic web which had been wove by fairy hands, and by showing that truth was hid under the gorgeous veil of Gothic invention.

[e] B. ii. Introd. St. vi.

THE HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH POETRY.

SECTION I.

State of Language. Prevalence of the French Language before and after the Norman Conquest. Specimens of Norman Saxon Poems. Legends in Verse. Earliest Love-songs. Alexandrine Verses. Satirical Pieces. First English Metrical Romance.

THE Saxon language spoken in England, is distinguished by three several epochs, and may therefore be divided into three dialects. The first of these is that which the Saxons used, from their entrance into this island till the irruption of the Danes, for the space of three hundred and thirty years[a]. This has been called the British Saxon: and no monument of it remains, except a small metrical fragment of the genuine Cædmon, inserted in Alfred's version of the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History[b]. The second is the Danish Saxon, which pre-

[a] The Saxons came into England A.D. 450.

[b] Lib iv. cap 24 [See on the subject of this Hymn of Cædmon, Conybeare's "Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," pp 3—8, and Thorpe's Preface to his edition of Cædmon, 8vo, 1832 —M]

Some have improperly referred to this dialect the HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS, in the Cotton library, the style of which approaches in purity and antiquity to that of the CODEX ARGENTEUS It is Frankish See Brit. Mus MSS Cotton CALIG A 7 membran. 8vo This book is supposed to have belonged to king Canute. Eight richly illuminated historical pictures are bound up with it, evidently taken from another manuscript, but probably of the age of king Stephen

[The recent discovery of another copy of this "Harmony," at Bamberg, has gained for it the attention of several German antiquaries; and of these, Mr. Reinwald, an able and intelligent philologer, has very clearly shown, that its language is not Francic, but a Low German dialect. Mr. Reinwald conceives the author to have been a native of the district afterwards called Westphalia (Münster, Paderborn, Berg), and that he lived in the early part of the ninth century

[The Bamberg Codex is now preserved in the Royal Library at Munich, and a transcript from it, collated with the Cotton MS, has for several years occupied the leisure of Mr. Scherer, with a view to publication. Independently of the value of this production as a rich repository of philological lore, from the extreme antiquity and purity of its language, it possesses a strong and peculiar interest for the student in English archæology, from the light it throws upon the laws and structure of Anglo-Saxon metre —The arbitrary classification of the Anglo-Saxon language anterior to the Conquest, given in the text, has been adopted from Hickes, an examination of whose opinions on the subject will

vailed from the Danish to the Norman invasion[c]; and of which many considerable specimens, both in verse[d] and prose, are still preserved; particularly two literal versions of the Four Gospels[e], and the spurious Cædmon's beautiful poetical paraphrase of the Book of Genesis[f], and the Prophet Daniel. The third may be properly styled the Norman Saxon; which began about the time of the Norman accession, and continued beyond the reign of Henry the Second[g].

The last of these three dialects, with which these annals of English Poetry commence, formed a language extremely barbarous, irregular, and intractable; and consequently promises no very striking specimens in any species of composition. Its substance was the Danish Saxon,

be found in the Preface to this edition.—PRICE.]

[The "Harmony" has since appeared under the editorship of J. Andr. Schmeller, keeper of the Royal Library at Munich, and is entitled · "HELIAND, poema Saxonicum seculi noni, accurate expressum ad exemplar Monacense, insertis e Cottoniano Londinensi supplementis, necnon adjecta lectionum varietate" 4to. Monach. 1830. This volume contains only the text, but it is understood that a second part will follow and contain the editor's notes and philological illustrations —M]

[c] A.D. 1066

[d] See Hickes Thes. Ling Vett Sept. P. I. cap. XXI. p 177 and Præfat. fol XIV. The curious reader is also referred to a Danish Saxon poem, celebrating the wars which Beowulf, a noble Dane descended from the royal stem of Scyldinge, waged against the kings of Swedeland. MSS. Cotton. ut supr. VITELL. A 15. Cod membran IX fol. 130 Compare, written in the style of Cædmon, a fragment of an ode in praise of the exploits of Brithnoth, Offa's ealdorman, or general, in a battle fought against the Danes. Ibid. OTH A 12. Cod. membran 4to. in. Brithnoth the hero of this piece, a Northumbrian, died in the year 991.

[The poem of Beowulf has since been published by the chevalier Thorkelin, under the title of "De Danorum rebus gestis secul. iii. et IV. Poema Danicum dialecto Anglo-Saxonica. edidit versione Lat. et indicibus auxit Grim Johnson Thorkelin Eques Ord. Danebrogici auratus &c. Havniæ, 1815." An analysis of its contents will be found in the last volume of Mr. Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," with occasional extracts from the work itself, and an English translation of the specimens.—PRICE.]

[A more accurate edition of the text of Beowulf, an analysis of which had been given in Mr. Conybeare's Illustrations, appeared in 1833, 12mo, under the care of John M. Kemble, Esq., which has since been followed by an English translation, with a copious glossary, by the same able scholar. A Danish paraphrase also of the poem was previously published at Copenhagen under the title of "Bjowulfs Drape, et Gothisk Helte-Digt fra forrige Aar-Tusinde af Angel-Saxisk paa Danske rim ved N F. S Grundtvig" 8vo, 1820.—M.]

[The fragment of Brithnoth has been published by Hearne, but without a translation —PRICE]

[A translation of the poem on the death of Byrhtnoth has been subsequently supplied by the Rev. W. Conybeare, in the "Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry," p. xc, and the text has also been critically reprinted, under the title of The Battle of Maldon, with careful attention to metrical arrangement, in Thorpe's "Analecta Anglo-Saxonica," 8vo, 1834 p. 121.—M.]

[e] MSS. Bibl. Bodl Oxon. Cod. membran. in pyxid. 4to grand quadrat., and MSS. Cotton NERO. D 4 Both these manuscripts were written and ornamented in the Saxon times, and are of the highest curiosity and antiquity.

[f] Printed by Junius, Amst. 1655. The greatest part of the Bodleian manuscript of this book is believed to have been written about A.D. 1000.—Cod. Jun. XI. membran. fol.

[A new edition of Cædmon has within these few years been given, accompanied by a translation and verbal index, edited by Benj. Thorpe, Esq. the translator of Raske's Anglo-Saxon Grammar. In his Preface, Mr. Thorpe combats the notion of Hickes and others, that this poem is the composition of a pseudo-Cædmon; and contends truly, that there is not a vestige of the pretended Dano-Saxon dialect throughout, but that it represents the genuine work of the Monk of Whitby, due allowance being made for the corruptions of the original, occasioned by ignorant transcribers —M.]

[g] He died 1189.

adulterated with French. The Saxon indeed, a language subsisting on uniform principles, and polished by poets and theologists, however corrupted by the Danes, had much perspicuity, strength, and harmony: but the French imported by the Conqueror and his people was a confused jargon of Teutonic, Gaulish, and vitiated Latin. In this fluctuating state of our national speech, the French predominated*. Even before the Conquest the Saxon language began to fall into contempt, and the French, or Frankish, to be substituted in its stead: a circumstance which at once facilitated and foretold the Norman accession. In the year 652, it was the common practice of the Anglo-Saxons to send their youth to the monasteries of France for education[h]: and not only the language but the manners of the French were esteemed the most polite accomplishments[i]. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the resort of Normans to the English court was so frequent, that the affectation of imitating the Frankish customs became almost universal; and the nobility were ambitious of catching the Frankish idiom. It was no difficult task for the Norman lords to banish that language, of which the natives began to be absurdly ashamed. The new invaders commanded the laws to be administered in French[k]. Many charters of monasteries were forged in Latin by the Saxon monks, for the present security of their possessions, in consequence of that aversion which the Normans professed to the Saxon tongue[l]. Even children at school were forbidden to read in their native language, and instructed in a knowledge of the Norman only[m]. In the mean time we should have some regard to the general and political state of the nation. The natives were so universally reduced to the lowest condition of neglect and indigence, that the English name became a term of reproach: and several generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree

* [This has been controverted by Mr. Luders in his Tracts, Bath, 1810, where the subject is ably discussed The description of the French language given above in the text conveys but an imperfect idea of its composition, the Teutonic and Gaulish bearing a very small proportion to the body of the language, which is decidedly of Romance or Latin origin. The Francic, or Frankish as Warton calls it, and which he ought not to have confounded with the French, existed in France as a perfectly distinct language among the descendants of the Franks from their first settlement in Gaul till the eleventh century, and was wholly Teutonic see Gley, "Langue et Literature des anciens Francs," Paris, 1814, and the Preface to this edition.—PRICE.]

[h] Dugd. Mon. i. 89.

[i] Ingulph. Hist. p. 62. sub ann. 1043.

[k] But there is a precept in Saxon from William the First, to the sheriff of Somersetshire Hickes Thes. i. Par. i. p. 106. See also Præfat. ibid. p. xv. [The statement in the text is controverted by Mr. Luders.—R. T.]

[l] The Normans, who practised every specious expedient to plunder the monks, demanded a sight of the written evidences of their lands. The monks well knew that it would have been useless or impolitic to have produced these evidences, or charters, in the original Saxon; as the Normans not only did not understand, but would have received with contempt, instruments written in that language. Therefore the monks were compelled to the pious fraud of forging them in Latin. and great numbers of these forged Latin charters, till lately supposed original, are still extant. See Spelman, in Not ad Concil. Anglic. p. 125. Stillingfl. Orig Eccles. Britann. p. 14. Marsham, Præfat. ad Dugd. Monast. and Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. Præfat. pp. ii. iii. iv. See also Ingulph. p. 512. Launoy and Mabillon have treated this subject with great learning and penetration.

[m] Ingulph. p. 71. sub ann. 1066.

was raised to any distinguished honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baronage[n]. Among other instances of that absolute and voluntary submission with which our Saxon ancestors received a foreign yoke, it appears that they suffered their hand-writing to fall into discredit and disuse[o]; which by degrees became so difficult and obsolete, that few beside the oldest men could understand the characters[p]. In the year 1095, Wolstan bishop of Worcester was deposed by the arbitrary Normans: it was objected against him, that he was "a superannuated English idiot, who could not speak French[q]." It is true, that in some of the monasteries, particularly at Croyland and Tavistocke, founded by Saxon princes, there were regular preceptors in the Saxon language: but this institution was suffered to remain after the Conquest as a matter only of interest and necessity. The religious could not otherwise have understood their original charters. William's successor, Henry the First, gave an instrument of confirmation to William archbishop of Canterbury, which was written in the Saxon language and letters[r]. Yet this is almost a single example*. That monarch's motive was perhaps political: and he seems to have practised this expedient with a view of obliging his queen, who was of Saxon lineage; or with a design of flattering his English subjects, and of securing his title already strengthened by a Saxon match, in consequence of so specious and popular an artifice. It was a common and indeed a very natural practice, for the transcribers of Saxon books to change the Saxon orthography for the Norman, and to substitute in the place of the original Saxon, Norman words and phrases. A remarkable instance of this liberty, which sometimes perplexes and misleads the critics in Anglo-Saxon literature, appears in a voluminous collection of Saxon homilies, preserved in the Bodleian library, and written about the time of Henry the Second[s]. It was with the Saxon characters, as with the signature of the cross in public deeds; which were changed into the Norman mode of seals and subscriptions[t]. The Saxon was probably† spoken in the country, yet not without various

[n] See Brompt. Chron p 1026. Abb. Rieval p 339.

[o] Ingulph. p. 85.

[p] Ibid p. 98. sub ann. 1091.

[q] Matth. Paris. sub ann

[r] H. Wharton, Auctar Histor. Dogmat. p. 388. The learned Mabillon is mistaken in asserting that the Saxon way of writing was entirely abolished in England at the time of the Norman conquest. See Mabillon, De Re Diplomat. p 52. The French antiquaries are fond of this notion. There are Saxon characters in Herbert Losinga's charter for founding the church of Norwich, temp. Will. Ruf. A.D. 1110. See Lambarde's Diction. v. NORWICH. See also Hickes. Thesaur. i. Par. i. p. 149. See also Præfat. p. xvi. An intermixture of the Saxon character is common in English and Latin manuscripts before the reign of Edward the Third: but of a few types only

[When Warton speaks of the *Saxon character* he means the letters þ and ȝ, which continued in common use till the end of the fifteenth century, a fact he ought not to have been ignorant of.—M.]

[Herbert observes that the Saxon þ [th] is used to this day in the letter y. as, y^t *that*, y^e *the*. Manuscript note in Mr. Dallaway's copy —PARK.]

* [Not so; there are many other instances from the time of the Conqueror to the reign of Henry the Third.—M.]

[s] MSS. Bodl. NE. F 4. 12. Cod. membran fol.

[t] Yet some Norman charters have the cross.

† [What other language *could* have been spoken by the mass of the people? The

adulterations from the French: the courtly language was French, yet perhaps with some vestiges of the vernacular Saxon. But the nobles in the reign of Henry the Second constantly sent their children into France, lest they should contract habits of barbarism in their speech, which could not have been avoided in an English education[u]. Robert Holcot, a learned Dominican friar, confesses, that in the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third there was no institution of children in the old English: he complains that they first learned the French, and from the French the Latin language. This he observes to have been a practice introduced by the Conqueror, and to have remained ever since[w]. There is a curious passage relating to this subject in Trevisa's translation of Hygden's Polychronicon[x]. "Children in scole, agenst the usage and manir of all other nations, beeth compelled for to leve hire owne langage, and for to construe hir lessons and hire thynges in Frenche; and so they haveth sethe Normans came first into Engelond. Also gentilmen children beeth taught to speke Frensche from the tyme that they bith rokked in here cradell, and kunneth speke and play with a childes broche: and uplondissche[y] men will likne himself to gentylmen, and fondeth[z] with greet besynesse for to speke Frensche to be told of. This maner was moche used to for [the] first deth[a], and is sith some dele changed. For John Cornewaile a maister of grammer changed the lore in grammer scole, and construction of Frensche into Englische: and Richard Pencriche lernede the manere techynge of him as other men of Pencriche. So that now, the yere of oure Lorde *a thousand thre hundred and four score and five*, and of the seconde Kyng Richard after the conquest nyne, and [in] alle the grammere scoles of Engelond children lereth Frensche and construeth, and lerneth an Englische, &c." About the same time, or rather before, the students of our universities were ordered to converse in French or Latin[b]. The latter was

French tongue never became so prevalent as to banish the English, except in the immediate vicinity perhaps of the court, and we have a series of compositions in English from the time of the Saxons downwards, as appears even from Warton's own statements. The assertions of Ingulph quoted in the text must be received with considerable caution.—M.]

[u] Gervas. Tilbur. de Otiis Imperial. MSS. Bibl Bodl. lib. iii. See Du Chesne, iii. p. 363.

[w] Lect. in Libr. Sapient. Lect. ii Paris, 1518. 4to.

[x] Lib. i. cap 59. MSS Coll. S. Johan. Cantabr. But I think it is printed by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. [Printed by Caxton in 1482, and by W. de Worde in 1485. See Dibdin's edition of Ames, vol. i. p. 138. vol. ii. p. 49.—M.] Robert of Gloucester, who wrote about 1280 [1300—M.], says much the same, edit. Hearne, p. 364.

[y] country. [z] delights, tries.

[a] time. [The Harleian MS. 1900. (as cited by Mr. Tyrwhitt,) reads, "to foie the first moreyn," *before the first plague*, and upon this authority the article added in the text has been inserted. The passage as it thus stands is free from obscurity — PRICE.]

[b] In the statutes of Oriel College in Oxford it is ordered, that the scholars, or fellows, "siqua inter se proferant, colloquio Latino, vel saltem Gallico, perfruantur." See Hearne's Trokelowe, pag. 298 These statutes were given 23 Mart, A D. 1328. I find much the same injunction in the statutes of Exeter College, Oxford, given about 1330, where they are ordered to use "Romano aut Gallico saltem sermone." Hearne's MSS. Collect. num. 132. pag. 73. Bibl. Bodl. But in Merton College statutes, mention is made of the Latin only. In cap. x. They were given 1271. This was also common in the greater monasteries. In the register of Wykeham bishop

much affected by the Normans. All the Norman accompts were in Latin. The plan of the great royal revenue-rolls, now called the pipe-rolls, was of their construction, and in that language. [Among the Records of the Tower, a great revenue-roll, on many sheets of vellum, or MAGNUS ROTULUS, of the Duchy of Normandy, for the year 1083, is still preserved; indorsed, in a coæval hand, ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DNI M° LXXX° III° APUD CADOMUM [Caen] WILLIELMO FILIO RADULFI SENESCALLO NORMANNIE. This most exactly and minutely resembles the pipe-rolls of our exchequer belonging to the same age, in form, method, and character*.]—But from the declension of the barons, and prevalence of the commons, most of whom were of English ancestry, the native language of England gradually gained ground: till at length the interest of the commons so far succeeded with Edward the Third, that an act of parliament was passed, appointing all pleas and proceedings of law to be carried on in English[c]: although the same statute decrees, in the true Norman spirit, that all such pleas and proceedings should be enrolled in Latin[d]. Yet this change did not restore either the Saxon alphabet or language. It abolished a token of subjection and disgrace; and in some degree contributed to prevent further French innovations in the language then used, which yet remained in a compound state, and retained a considerable mixture of foreign phraseology. In the mean time, it must be remembered that this corruption of the Saxon was not only owing to the admission of new words, occasioned by the new alliance, but to changes of its own forms and terminations, arising from reasons which we cannot investigate or explain[e].

Among the manuscripts of Digby in the Bodleian library at Oxford, we find a religious or moral Ode, consisting of one hundred and ninety-one stanzas, which the learned Hickes places just after the Conquest[f]: but as it contains few Norman terms, I am inclined to think it of rather higher

of Winchester, the domicellus of the prior of S. Swythin's at Winchester is ordered to address the bishop, on a certain occasion, in French. A.D. 1398. Registr. Par. iii fol 177

* [Ayloffe's Calendar of Ant. Chart Pref. p. xxiv edit Lond. 1774 4to.

ADDITIONS.]

[This roll has been printed and privately circulated among his friends by Hen. Petrie, Esq. Keeper of the Records in the Tower, 4to 1830. Since that period two more early Norman Exchequer rolls have been discovered, and are preparing for publication under the care of Mr. Stapleton, F S.A.—M.]

[c] But the French formularies and terms of law, and particularly the French feudal phraseology, had taken too deep root to be thus hastily abolished. Hence, long after the reign of Edward the Third, many of our lawyers composed their tracts in French. And reports and some statutes were made in that language See Fortescut. de Laud. Leg. Angl. c xlviii

[d] Pulton's Statut 36 Edw. III This was A D 1363. The first English instrument in Rymer is dated 1368 Fœd vii. p. 526.

[e] This subject will be further illustrated in the next Section.

[f] Ling Vett Thes Part i p. 222. There is another copy, not mentioned by Hickes, in Jesus College library at Oxford, MSS. 85 infr citat This is entitled *Tractatus quidam in Anglico.* The Digby manuscript has no title.

[It may be proper to observe here, that the dates assigned to the several compositions quoted in this Section are extremely arbitrary and uncertain. Judging from internal evidence—a far more satisfactory criterion than Warton's computed age of his MSS —there is not one which may not safely be referred to the thirteenth century, and by far the greater number to the close of that period.—PRICE.]

antiquity*. In deference, however, to so great an authority, I am obliged to mention it here; and especially as it exhibits a regular lyric strophe of four lines, the second and fourth of which rhyme together: although these four lines may be perhaps resolved into two Alexandrines; a measure concerning which more will be said hereafter, and of which it will be sufficient to remark at present, that it appears to have been used very early. For I cannot recollect any strophes of this sort in the elder Runic or Saxon poetry; nor in any of the old Frankish poems, particularly of Otfrid, a monk of Weissenburg, who turned the evangelical history into Frankish verse about the ninth century, and has left several hymns in that language[g]; of Stricker, who celebrated the achievements of Charlemagne[h]; and of the anonymous author of the metrical life of Anno archbishop of Cologn. The following stanza is a specimen[i]:

[k] Sende sum god biuoren him
Men þ wile to heuene,
For betere is on elmesse biuore
Thanne ben efter seuene[l].

* [A proof how little Warton knew critically of our early literature! The poem in question in all probability belongs to the reign of Henry the Third, with which the MSS containing it are coæval. Besides the Digby MS and the Jesus College MS. (formerly marked 85 but now 29) the poem is also found in a MS in Trin Coll. Cambridge, B 14 52, in the Lambeth MS. 487 f 39 b, and twice in a MS recently purchased for the British Museum —M.]

[g] See Petr. Lambec Commentar de Bibl Cæsar Vindebon p. 418. 457.

[Warton here uses the term Frankish to designate the language of the Franks, a Teutonic dialect, totally distinct from the French, with which he has confounded it in page 3 —R. T.]

[h] See Petr Lambec ubi supr. lib ii cap 5. There is a circumstance belonging to the antient Frankish versification, which, as it greatly illustrates the subject of alliteration, deserves notice here. Otfrid's dedication of his evangelical history to Lewis the First, king of the oriental France, consists of four-lined stanzas in rhyming couplets but the first and last line of every stanza begin and end with the same letter, and the letters of the title and the dedication respectively, and the word of the last line of every tetrastich. M. Flacius Illyricus published this work of Otfrid at Basil, 1571. But I think it has been since more correctly printed by Johannes Schilterus. It was written about the year 880. Otfrid was the disciple of Rhabanus Maurus

[Schilter's book was published under this title. "SCHILTERI Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum, exhibens monumenta veterum Francorum, Alamannorum vernacula et Latina, cum additamentis et notis Joan. Georg. Schertzii. Ulmæ 1727–8. 3 vol. in fol" The Thesaurus of Schilter is a real mine of Francic literature. The text is founded on a careful collation of all the MSS. to which he could obtain access, and these, with one exception perhaps—the life of Saint Anno,—are highly valuable for their antiquity and correctness In the subsequent editions of this happiest effort of the Francic Muse, by Hegewisch, Goldman, and Besseldt, Schilter's oversight has been abundantly remedied. Stricker's poem, or rather "the Stricker's" (a name which some have interpreted *the writer*), is written in the Swabian dialect, and was composed towards the close of the thirteenth century It is a feeble amplification of an earlier romance, which Warton probably intended to cite, when he used the Stricker's name Both poems will be found in Schilter, but the latter, though usually styled a Francic production, exhibits a language rapidly merging into the Swabian, if it be not in fact an early specimen of that dialect in a rude uncultivated state.—PRICE.]

[i] St. xiv

[k] Sende god biforen him man,
þe hwile he mai to heuene,
For betere is on elmesse biforen
Danne ben after seuene.

This is perhaps the true reading, from the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge, written about the reign of Henry II. or Richard I. Cod membran. 8vo. Tractat. I. See Abr. Wheloc. Eccl. Hist. Bed. p. 25. 114.

[The MS. of Trinity College is, I think, of the middle of the thirteenth century. I believe its class mark is B. 14. 52.—W.]

[l] MSS. Digb. A 4. membran.

That is, "Let a man send his good works before him to heaven while he can: for one almsgiving before death is of more value than seven afterwards." The verses perhaps might have been thus written, as two Alexandrines:

Sende god biforen him man, the while he mai, to heuene,
For betere is on elmesse biforen, thanne ben after seuene[m].

Yet alternate rhyming, applied without regularity, and as rhymes accidentally presented themselves, was not uncommon in our early poetry, as will appear from other examples.

Hickes has printed a satire on the monastic profession; which clearly exemplifies the Saxon adulterated by the Norman, and was evidently written soon after the Conquest, at least before the reign of Henry the Second*. The poet begins with describing the land of indolence or luxury.

Fur in see, bi west Spayngne,
Is a lond ihote Cokaygne:
Ther nis lond under heuen-riche[a]
Of wel of godnis hit iliche.
Thoȝ paradis be miri[b] & briȝt
Cokaygn is of fairir siȝt.
What is ther in paradis
Bot grasse, and flure, and grene ris?
Thoȝ ther be ioi, and gret dute[c],
Ther nis met, bote frute.
Ther nis halle, bure[d], no benche,
Bot watir man is thurs[e] to quenche, &c.

In the following lines there is a vein of satirical imagination and some talent at description. The luxury of the monks is represented under the idea of a monastery constructed of various kinds of delicious and costly viands.

Ther is a wel fair abbei,
Of white monkes and of grei,
Ther beth bowris and halles:
Al of pastens beth the walles,
Of fleis, of fisse, and rich met,
The likfullist that man mai et.
Fluren cakes beth the schingles[f] alle,
Of cherche, cloister, boure, and halle.

[m] As I recollect, the whole poem is thus exhibited in the Trinity MS [So also in all the copies, except the Digby MS.—M.]

* [A very few years previous to 1300 will be the earliest date it can be assigned to, as is evident, not only from the language, but from the period of the composition of the French fabliau in Barbazan, which no doubt is the original.—M.]

[The identical MS. from which Hickes transcribed this poem, is in the Harleian Collection, No. 913. I have traced its history satisfactorily. It was written early in the fourteenth century, and this poem is a composition of at the most five or six years earlier.—W]

[a] heaven. Sax.

[b] merry, cheerful "Although Paradise is chearful and bright, *Cokayne* is a much more beautiful place."

[c] pleasure.

[d] buttery, [a chamber] [e] [thirst]

[f] *Shingles* "The tiles, or covering of the house, are of rich cakes."

The pinnes[g] beth fat podinges
Rich met to princez and kinges.—
Ther is a cloister fair and liȝt,
Brod and lang of sembli siȝt.
The pilers of that cloister alle
Beth iturned of cristale,
With harlas and capitale
Of grene jaspe and rede corale.
In the praer is a tre
Swithe likful for to se,
The rote is gingeuir and galingal
The siouns beth al sedwale.
Trie maces beth the flure,
The rind canel of swet odur:
The frute gilofre of gode smakk(
Of cucubes ther nis no lakke.—
There beth iiii willis[h] in the abbei
Of triacle and halwei,
Of baum and ek piement[i],
Euer ernend[k] to riȝt rent[l],
Of thai stremis al the molde,
Stonis preciuse[m] and golde,
Ther is saphir, and vniune,
Carbuncle and astiune,
Smaragde, lugre, and prassiune,
Beril, onix, topasiune,
Ametiste and crisolite,
Calcedun and epetite[n].
Ther beth briddes mani and fale
Throstil, thruisse, and niȝtingale,
Chalandre, and wodwale,
And othir briddes without tale,
That stinteth neuer bi har miȝt
Miri to sing dai and niȝt.*
Ȝite I do ȝow mo to witte,
The gees irostid on the spitte
Fleeȝ to that abbai, God hit wot,
& gredith[o], gees al hote al hot. &c.

[g] the pinnacles.
[h] fountains
[i] This word will be explained at large hereafter.
[k] running. Sax.
[l] course. Sax.
[m] The Arabian philosophy imported into Europe was full of the doctrine of precious stones
[n] Our old poets are never so happy as when they can get into a catalogue of things or names. See Observat. on the Fairy Queen, i. p 140.
* [Warton after this line wrote "*non-nulla desunt*," on the authority of a note, in a modern hand, inserted in the MS. But there is no reason whatever to suspect any hiatus.—M.]
[o] crieth. Gallo-Franc. [Anglo-Sax]

Our author then makes a pertinent transition to a convent of nuns*; which he supposes to be very commodiously situated at no great distance, and in the same fortunate region of indolence, ease, and affluence.

An other abbei is ther bi,
For soth a gret fair nunnerie;
Vp a riuer of swet milke,
Whar is gret plente of silk.

* Hickes. Thes i. Par i p. 231 seq.

[Hickes says that the MS. containing this poem was lent to him by Tanner. (Hickes's work was published in 1705.) Now it is very certain, from an original memorandum book of Tanner, MS. Add 6262 f 30 b. Brit. Mus, that in 1698 this MS belonged to Bishop More, and in the Catalog. MSS Angl. printed in 1697, it is entered among that prelate's MSS. No. 784 But from the same memoranda of Tanner it is equally certain, that this identical volume is now in the Harleian collection, No. 913 How it came there I leave others to guess.—M]

[A French fabliau, bearing a near resemblance to this poem, and possibly the production upon which the English minstrel founded his song, has been published in the new edit. of Barbazan's *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris 1808, vol iv p. 175 —PRICE.]

[The French poem bears by no means a close resemblance to the English one. But there is preserved a fragment of an old Dutch poem on the same subject which, as far as it goes, bears a strikingly close resemblance to the latter, even to the circumstance of the giving "Spain" and "Cocaign" as rimes

" sah ie man beter lant,
dan dat lant van *Cockaenghen*?
die helft is beter dan al *Spaenghen*," &c.

The following lines will be enough to show the similarity of description in the two pieces

" die balken die daer in den huse legghen,
sijn ghemaect van botterwegghen,
haspelen, spinrocken ende alsulke dinghen
sijn ghebacken van crakelinghen,
daer sijn die banken ende stoelen
ghebacken al van roffioelen,
daer sijn die solre, planken ooc
ghebacken van claren peperrooc.
die latten sijn palinghen ghebraden."

A part of this fragment was printed by Hoffman in the first part of his *Horæ Belgicæ*, p 95, he has since printed the whole, with some other poems on the same subject, in the *Altdeutsche Blatter*, a periodical now printing at Leipsic —W.]

[The secular indulgences, particularly the luxury, of a female convent, are intended to be represented in the following passage of an antient poem, called *A Disputation bytwene a Crystene Mon and a Jew*, written before the year 1300. [In the fourteenth century.—M] MS.Vernon, fol 302

Til a nonnerie thei came,
But I knowe not the name,
Ther was mony a derworthe[1] dame,
In dyapre dere[2]
Squiȝeres[3] in vch a syde,
In the wones[4] so wyde
Heer schul we lenge[5] and abyde,
Auntres[6] to heere.
Thenne swithe[7] speketh he,
Til a ladi so fre,
And biddeth that he welcome be,
"Sire Water my feere[8]"
Ther was bordes[9] iclothed clene
With schire[10] clothes and schene,
Seththe[11] a wasschen[12], I wene,
And wente to the sete.
Riche metes was forth brouht,
To alle men that good thouht.
The cristen mon wold nouht
Drynke nor ete.
Ther was wyn ful clere
In mony a feir maseere[13],
And other drynkes that weore dere,
In coupes[14] ful gret
Siththe was schewed him bi
Murththe and munstralsy[15],
And preyed him do gladly,
With ryal rehet[16].
Bi the bordes vp thei stode, &c.

ADDIT.]

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[1] dear-worthy. [2] diaper fine. [3] squires, attendants. [4] rooms, apartments. [5] shall we long [tarry.—M.]. [6] adventures. [7] swiftly, immediately. [8] my companion. He is called afterwards "Sire [Sir] Walter of Berwick" [9] tables. [10] sheer, clean. [11] Or *sithe*, i. e. often. [afterwards: but perhaps we should read *seththe thei*, "afterwards they."—PRICE.] [12] washed. [13] mazer, great cup. [14] cups. [15] afterwards there was sport and minstrelsy. [16] i. e. recept, reception. But see Chaucer's ROM. R. v. 6509: "Him, woulde I comfort and *rechete*" [cheer, from the Fr. *rehaitier*.—M.]. And TR. CRESS. iii. 350.

When the someris dai is hote,
The ȝung nunnes takith a bote,
And doth ham forth in that riuer,
Bothe with oris and with stere.
Whan hi beth fur fram the abbei,
Hi makith ham nakid for to plei,
And lepith dune in to the brimme,
And doth ham sleilich for to swimme.
The ȝung monkeþ (*sic*) that hi seeth,
Hi doth ham vp and forth hi fleeth,
And commith to the nunnes anon,
And euch monke him taketh on,
And snelliche[p] berrith forth har prei
To the mochil grei abbei[q],
And techith the nunnes an oreisun,
With iambleue[r] vp and dun.

This poem was designed to be sung at public festivals[t]: a practice, of which many instances occur in this work; and concerning which it may be sufficient to remark at present, that a JOCULATOR, or Bard, was an officer belonging to the court of William the Conqueror[u].

Another Norman Saxon poem, cited by the same industrious antiquary, is entitled THE LIFE OF SAINT MARGARET. The structure of its versification considerably differs from that in the last-mentioned piece, and is like the French Alexandrines. But I am of opinion that a pause, or division, was intended in the middle of every verse: and in this respect its versification resembles also that of ALBION'S ENGLAND, or Drayton's POLYOLBION, which was a species very common about the reign of queen Elisabeth[w]. The rhymes are also continued to every fourth line. It appears to have been written about the time of the Crusades*.

[p] quick, quickly. Gallo-Franc [Anglo-Saxon]

[q] "to the great abbey of Grey Monks."

[r] lasciuious motions, gambols Fr. *gambiller*

[t] as appears from this line

Lordinges gode and hende, &c.

It is in MSS. More, Cantabrig. 784. f. 1.

[This reference is erroneous, and has arisen from the supposition that all bishop More's books, as catalogued in the old folio CatalogueMSS. Ang et Hibern. had passed to the public library of the University of Cambridge. This for one never reached Cambridge; it was the same MS. which is now in the Harleian Library.—W.]

[u] His lands are cited in Doomsday Book. "GLOUCESTERSCIRE. Berdic, Joculator Regis, habet iii. villas et ibi v. car. nil redd." See Anstis, Ord. Gart. ii. 304.

[w] It is worthy of remark, that we find in the collection of ancient Northern monuments, published by M. Biorner, a poem of some length, said by that author to have been composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. This poem is professedly in rhyme, and the measure like that of the heroic Alexandrine of the French poetry. See Mallet's Introd. Dannem &c. ch. xiii.

* [Here Warton is in error, since the earliest period we can allow to this legend is the reign of Henry the Third In the Bodleian MS. No. 34. f 37. and MS. Reg. 17. A. xxvii. f. 37 is a Life in prose of St. Margaret, probably composed as early as the reign of John, or at all events, in the early part of the thirteenth century, which begins thus (I quote from the Royal MS.). "Efter ure lauerdes pine. ant his passiun. & his deð on rode ant his ariste of deað. ant efter his up a-stihunge as he steh to heouene, peren monie martirs peopmen ba ant pummen to deaðes misliche idon for þe nome of drihtin." etc This Life was written apparently by the same author as the Life of St. Juliane, which follows in either

It begins thus:

Olde ant[x] yonge I preit[y] ou, oure folies for to lete,
Thenchet on god that yef ou wit, oure sunnes to bete.
Here I mai tellen ou, wid wordes feire ant swete,
The vie[z] of one meidan was hoten[a] Maregrete.
Hire fader was a patriac, as ic ou tellen may,
In Auntioge wif eches[b] i the false lay,
Deue godes[c] ant doumbe, he serued nitt ant day,
So deden mony othere that singet weilaway.
Theodosius was is nome, on Crist ne leuede he noutt,
He leuede on the false godes, that weren wid honden wroutt.
Tho that child sculde cristine ben it com well in thoutt,
E bed[d] wen it were ibore, to dethe it were ibroutt, &c.

In the sequel, Olibrius, lord of Antioch, who is called a Saracen, falls in love with Margaret: but she, being a Christian and a candidate for canonization, rejects his solicitations and is thrown into prison.

Meidan Maregret one nitt in prisun lai
Ho com biforn Olibrius on that other dai.
Meidan Maregrete, lef up on my lay,
Ant Ihesu that tou leuest on, thou do him al awey.
Lef on me ant be my wife, ful wel the mai spede.
Auntioge ant Asie scaltou han to mede:
Ciclatoun[e] ant purpel pal scaltou haue to wede:
Wid alle the metes of my lond ful wel I scal the fede,[f]

copy; and both exhibit the language in a very different state from the metrical legend quoted in Warton's text.—M.]

[x] and. Fr

[y] I direct. Fr. "I advise you, your, &c." [The writer of this Life in the Bodleian MS., who is quite as likely to have understood the author's meaning, reads "I preye you" words bearing no doubt the same signification then as they do at present.—PRICE.]

[z] life. Fr. [a] called Saxon.

[b] chose a wife. Sax. "He was married in Antioch"

[c] "deaf gods, &c."

[d] in bed. [he prayed.—M.]

[e] Checklaton. See Obs. Fair. Q. i. 194.

[f] Hickes i. 225. [The original MS. (Trin. Coll. B. 14. 39.) is of the thirteenth century, and I think of the earlier half of that century. Hickes has printed the legend of St. Margaret very incorrectly, and he has invariably substituted *tt* for *st*. —W.] The legend of *Seinte Juliane* in the Bodleian library is rather older, but of much the same versification. MSS Bibl. Bodl. NE. A. 3. xi. membran. 8vo. fol. 36 b [now Bodl. 34.—M.] This manuscript I believe to be of the age of Henry the Third or king John the composition much earlier. It was translated from the Latin. These are the five last lines

Hwen drihtin o domes dei windweþ his hweate,
And weorp ȳ dusti chef to hellene heate,
He mote beon a corn i godes guldene edene,
The turde this of Latin to Englische ledene
Ant he ȳ her least onwrat swa as he cuþe. AMEN.

That is, "When the judge at doomsday winnows his wheat, and drives the dusty chaff into the heat of hell, may there be a corner in God's golden Eden for him [Rather "may he be a corn in God's golden Eden"—PRICE.] who turned this book into [from] Latin," &c.

[In an inedited Life of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, [1186-1200.] written by his private chaplain, and preserved in the Bodleian MS. Digby 165. it is said of him, f. 114.: "Ceterum, ille summus paterfamilias, qui manum solverat ut eum succideret, falcem non retraxit à culmi successione, quem ad messem album jam viderat, *donec granum celestis apothece simibus recondendum, ab ejus paleis funditus excussum, ad horreum*

This piece was printed by Hickes from a manuscript in Trinity College library at Cambridge. It seems to belong to the manuscript metrical LIVES OF THE SAINTS[g], which form a very considerable volume, and were probably translated or paraphrased from Latin or French prose into English rhyme before the year 1200[h]. We are sure that they were written after the year 1169, as they contain the LIFE of Saint Thomas Becket[i]. In the Bodleian library are three manuscript copies of these LIVES OF THE SAINTS[k], in which the LIFE of Saint

ab area transfertur," which is manifestly the original of the lines here quoted, and confirms Price's correction of Warton's translation. It must further be observed, that Warton with his usual carelessness has confounded the legend of *Sainte Juliane* with the few rhythmical lines added by the compiler at the end. The legend itself is in prose, and these lines do not appear in the MS. Reg. 17. A xxvii —M]

[g] The same that are mentioned by Hearne, from a manuscript of Ralph Sheldon. See Hearne's Peti Langt p 542. 607 608 609. 611 628 670. Saint Winifred's Life is printed from the same collection by bishop Fleetwood, in his *Life and Miracles of S. Winifred*, p. 125. ed. 1713

[h] [Shortly before or about the year 1300, as indeed Warton himself has written in the account of Barlaam and Josaphat, in Dissertation III See the proof of this infr p. 18 note [x].—M.]

It is in fact a metrical history of the festivals of the whole year. The life of the respective saint is described under every saint's day, and the institutions of some sundays, and feasts not taking their rise from saints, are explained, on the plan of the *Legenda Aurea*, written by Jacobus de Voragine archbishop of Genoa about the year 1290, from which Caxton, through the medium of a French version entitled *Legend Dorée*, translated his *Golden Legend.* The *Festival* or *Festiall*, printed by Wynkin de Worde, is a book of the same sort, yet with homilies intermixed See MSS. Harl 2247. fol and 2371. 4to. and 2391 4to. and 2402. 4to. and 2800, seq Manuscript Lives of Saints, detached, and not belonging to this collection, are frequent in libraries. The *Vitæ Patrum* were originally drawn from S. Jerome and Johannes Cassianus. In Gresham College library are metrical lives of ten saints chiefly from the *Golden Legend*, by Osberne Bokenham, an Augustine canon in the abbey of Stoke-clare in Suffolk, transcribed by Thomas Burgh at Cambridge 1477. [The Lives were not transcribed by Burgh himself, but caused by him to be copied at an expense of 30*s.* for the purpose of presenting the volume to the nunnery at Cambridge, as we learn from a note at the end. The work was begun in 1443. The MS. is now in the Brit. Mus. MS Arund 327. and was printed for the members of the Roxburghe Club by their president Lord Clive, 4to, 1835 —M] The Life of S. Katharine [Marye Maudelyne—M] appears to have been composed in 1445. MSS. Coll Gresh 315. The French translation of the *Legenda Aurea* was made by Jehan de Vignay, a monk, soon after 1300.

[Caxton had printed the *Liber Festivalis* in English before W de Worde — HERBERT]

[i] Ashmole cites this Life, Instit. Ord. Gart p. 21. And he cites S. Brandan's Life, p. 507. Ashmole's MS. was in the hands of Silas Taylor. It is now in his Museum at Oxford MSS. Ashm 50. [7001]

[k] MSS. Bodl 779 , Laud. L 70. And they make a considerable part of a prodigious folio volume, beautifully written on vellum, and elegantly illuminated, where they have the following title, which also comprehends other antient English religious poems "Here begynnen the tytles of the book that is cald in Latyn tonge SALUS ANIME, and in Englysh tonge SOWLEHELE " It was given to the Bodleian library by Edward Vernon, esq. soon after the civil war I shall cite it under the title of MS Vernon. Although pieces not absolutely religious are sometimes introduced, the scheme of the compiler or transcriber seems to have been, to form a complete body of legendary and scriptural history in verse, or rather to collect into one view all the religious poetry he could find Accordingly the *Lives of the Saints*, a distinct and large work of itself, properly constituted a part of his plan There is another copy of the *Lives of the Saints* in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. 2277.; and in Ashmole's Museum, MSS. Ashm. ut supr. I think this manuscript is also in Bennet College library. [The same collection of legends is found also in the Laudian MS. No. 108. (olim K. 60), in another of Ashmole's MSS. N° 43. [6924.], in the Cotton MS. JUL. D ix ; and in MS. Add. 10 301. purchased for the Museum at the sale of Heber's library. Of these MSS. the best and earliest copies are the Laudian, Ashmolean, Harleian, Trin. Coll.

Margaret constantly occurs; but it is not always exactly the same with this printed by Hickes. And on the whole, the Bodleian Lives seem

Oxf. and Corp Coll Camb The Cotton MS. is late of the 14th centuiy, and the Bodl. 779. late of the 15th. The order of these Lives varies considerably, but the text agrees in general pretty well, except in the Life of St. Margaret, which, as Warton notices, is different in Bodl. 779. from the other copies, and is a *refacimento* of the Life printed by Hickes. These Lives are far more worthy to be printed than those composed by Bokenham, and it were greatly to be wished some Society in England, stimulated by the same zeal as the Bannatyne Club in Scotland, would undertake the publication —M] The Lives seem to be placed according to their respective festivals in the course of the year. The Bodleian copy (marked 779.) is a thick folio, containing 306 leaves. The variations in these manuscripts seem chiefly owing to the transcribers The *Life* of Saint Margaret in MSS. Bodl 779. begins much like that of Trinity library at Cambridge,

Old ant yonge I preye you your folyis for to lete, &c

I must add here, that in the Harleian library, a few Lives, from the same collection of *Lives of the Saints*, occur, MSS. 2250. 23 f. 72 b, seq. chart. fol. See also ib. 19. f. 48. These Lives are in French rhymes, ib. 2253. f. 1. [The French "rhymes" here referred to are a totally different thing, being a metrical translation of the *Vitas Patrum*.—M]

[The LIVES OF THE SAINTS in verse, in Bennet library, contain the martyrdom and translation of Becket, Num. cxlv. This manuscript is supposed to be of the fourteenth century. Archbishop Parker, in a remark prefixed, has assigned the composition to the reign of Henry the Second. But in that case, Becket's translation, which did not happen till the reign of king John, must have been added See a specimen in Mr Nasmith's accurate and learned CATALOGUE of the Bennet manuscripts, pag 217 Cantab 1777 4to. There is a manuscript of these LIVES in Trinity College library at Oxford, but it has not the Life of Becket. MSS Num lvii. pergamen. fol. The writing is about the fourteenth century. I will transcribe a few lines from the LIFE OF SAINT CUTHBERT, f. 2 b.

Seint Cuthberd was ybore here in Engelonde,
God dude for him meraccle, as ȝe scholleth vnderstonde.
And wel ȝong child he was[1], in his eiȝtethe ȝere,
Wit children he pleyde atte balle, that his felawes were
Ther com go a lite childe, it thoȝt thre ȝer old,
A swete creature and a fayr, yt was myld and bold
To the ȝong Cuthberd he ȝede, leue brother he sede,
Ne þench not such ydell game for it ne oȝte noȝt be thy dede
Seint Cuthberd ne tok no ȝeme to the childis rede
And pleyde forth with his felawes, al so they him bede.
Tho this ȝonge child yseȝ that he his red forsok,
Adoun he fel to grounde, and gret del to him to tok,
It bygan to wepe sore, and his honden wrynge,
This children hadde alle del of him, and byleued hare pleyinge
As that they couthe hy gladede him, sore he gan to siche,
Ac euer this ȝonge child made del yliche
A welaway, quod seint Cuthbert, why wepes thou so sore?
ȝif we the haueth oȝt mysdo, we ne scholleth na more.
Thanne spake this ȝonge child, sore hy wepe beye,
Cuthberd, it falleth noȝt to the with ȝonge children to pleye,
For no suche idell games it ne cometh the to worche,
Whanne god hath y proveyd the an heved of holy cherche.
With this word, me nyste whidder, this ȝong child wente,
An angel it was of heuen that our lord thuder sent.

Saxon letters are used in this manuscript [as they are in every other English manuscript of the same period —M.]. I will exhibit the next twelve lines as they appear in that mode of writing together with the punctuation.

þo bỳ gan seint Cuthberd. for to wepe sore
[And by-leuede al þis ydel game. nolde he pleye no more,][2]

[1] [The wile he was a ȝong childe. MS. Add. 10,301.—M.]

[2] [MS. Add. *u s.*—M.]

inferior in point of antiquity. I will here give some extracts never yet printed:

From the LIFE of Saint Swithin.

[1]Seint Swythan the confessour was her of Engelonde,
Bisyde Wynchestre he was ibore, as ich undirstonde:
Bi the kynges dai Egbert this goode man was ibore,
That tho was kyng of Engelonde, and somedele[1] eke bifore;
The eihtethe he was that com aftur Kinewolfe[2] the kynge,
That seynt Berin dude to Cristendome in Engelonde furst brynge:
Seynt Austen hedde bifore to Cristendom ibrouht
Athelbriht the goode kynge, ac al the londe nouht.
Ac setthe[m] hyt was that seint Berin her bi west wende,
And tornede the kynge Kinewolfe[2] as vr lord grace sende[3]:
So that Egbert was kyng tho that seint Swyththan was bore[4]
The eighth was Kinewolfe[2] that so long was bifore, &c.
Seynt Swythan his bushopricke to al goodnesse drough
The towne also of Wynchestre he amended inough,
For he lette the stronge bruge withoute the toune[5] arere
And fond therto lym and ston and the workmen that ther were.[n]

He made his fader and frendis. sette him to lore
So þat he seruede boþe ny3t and day to plese god þe more
And in his 3onghede ny3t and day ofseruede godis ore
Þo he in grettere elde was as þe bok us haþ ysed
It byfel þat seint Aydan. þe bisschop was ded
Cuthberd was a felde with schep. angeles of heuen he se3
Þe bisschopis soule seint Aydan. to heuen bere on he3
Allas[1] sede seint Cuthberd fole ech am to longe,
I nell þis schep no longer kepe afonge hem who so afonge*.
He wente to þe abbeye of Geruaus a grey monk he þer bycom
Gret joye made alle þe couent þo he that abbyt nom, &c.

The reader will observe the constant return of the hemistichal point, which I have been careful to preserve, and to represent with exactness, as I suspect that it shows how these poems were sung to the harp by the minstrels. Every line was perhaps uniformly recited to the same monotonous modulation, with a pause in the midst just as we chant the psalms in our choral service In the psalms of our liturgy, this pause is expressed by a colon and often, in those of the Roman missal, by an asterisc. The same mark occurs in every line of this manuscript; which is a folio volume of considerable size, with upwards of fifty verses in every page.—ADDITIONS.]

* ["take them who will"—PRICE.]

[1] Thus in MS. Harl. 2277. fol. 78.
Seint Swiththin the confessour was her of Engelonde
Biside Wynchestre he was ibore as ic vnderstonde.
[The Harleian MS. is imperfect at the beginning; but such of the Lives as it contained in common with the Vernon MS. have been collated with Warton's text, and the few material variations will be found printed within brackets in the notes below —PRICE.]

[m] since.

[n] MS. Vernon f. 93

[1] [somewhat. MS. Harl.] [2] [Kenewold.] [3] [as our lorde him grace sende.]
[4] [Seint Egbert that was kyng tho Seint Swithin was ibore,
The eiȝeteothe he was after Kenewold that so longe was bifore.]
[5] [the est ȝate.]

From the LIFE of Saint Wolstan.

Seint Wolston bysschop of Wircestre was her of Ingelonde,
Swithe holiman all his lyf as ich understonde:
The while he was a yonge childe good lyf he ladde ynow,
Whan othur childre ronne[1] to pleye touward chirche he drouh.
Seint Edward was tho vr kyng, that now in heuene is,
And the bisschop of Wircestre Brihtege hette iwis, &c.
Bisscop hym made the holi man seynt Edward vre kynge
And undirfonge[2] his dignite, and tok hym cros and ringe.
His bushopreke he wust[3] wel, and eke his priorie,
And forcede[4] him to serue wel God and Seinte Marie.
Four ȝer he hedde bisscop ibeo and not folliche fyue
Tho seynt Edward the holi kyng went out of this lyue.
To gret reuthe to al Engelonde, so welaway the stounde,
For strong men that come sithen and broughte Engelonde to grounde.
Harald was sithen kynge with tresun, allas!
The crowne he bare of England which while hit was.
Ac[5] William Bastard that was tho duyk of Normaundye
Thouhte to winne Engelonde thoruh strength and felonye:
He lette hym greith[6] folke inouh and gret power with him nom,
With gret strengthe in the see he him dude and to Engelonde com:
He lette ordayne his ost wel and his baner up arerede,
And destruyed all that he fond and that londe sore aferde.
Harald herde herof tell, kynge of Engelonde
He let ȝarke[6] fast his oste agen hym for to stonde:
The barenye of Engelonde redi was wel sone
The kyng to helpe and eke himself as riht[7] was to done.
The warre was then in Engelonde dolefull and stronge inouh
And heore either of othures men al to grounde slouh:
The Normans and this Englisch men day of batayle nom
There as the abbeye is of the batayle a day togedre com,
To grounde thei smiit and slowe also, as God ȝaf the cas,
William Bastard was aboue and Harald bineothe was[o].

From the LIFE of Saint Christopher.

[p]Seynt Cristofre was a Sarazin in the londe of Canaan,
In no stude bi his daye me fond non so strong a man:
Four and twenti feete he was longe, and thikk and brod inouh,
Such a mon but he weore stronge methinketh hit weore wouh:

[o] MS. Vernon. fol. 76 b.
[p] MSS. Harl. ut supr. fol. 101 b.
Seint Cristofre was Sarazin in the lond of Canaan
In no stede bi his daye ne fond me so strong a man
Four and tuenti fet he was long and thicke and brod y-nouȝ, &c.

[1] [ȝede, MS. Add. 10. 301.]
[2] [aueng him in.]
[3] [kep.]
[4] [aforced.]
[5] [And.]
[6] [ordeyny.]
[7] [wone]

Al a cuntre where he were for him wolde fleo,
Therfore hym ythoughte that no man aȝeynst him sculde beo.
He seide he nolde with no man beo but with on that were
Hext lord of all men and undir hym non othir nere.

Afterwards he is taken into the service of a king.

——————— Cristofre hym serued longe;
The kynge loved melodye much of fithele[1] [q] and of songe;
So that his jogeler on a dai biforen him gon to pleye faste[2],
And in a tyme he nemped in his song the devil atte laste:
Anon so the kynge that I herde he blesed him anon, &c.[r]

From the LIFE of Saint Patrick.

Seyn Pateryk com thoru Godes grace to preche in Irelonde
To teche men her ryȝte beleue Jħu Cryste to understonde:
So ful of wormes that londe he fonde that no man ne myghte gon,
In som stede for wormes that he nas iwenemyd[3] anon;
Seynt Pateryk bade our lorde Cryst that the londe delyuered were,
Of thilke foul wormis that none ne com there[s].

From the LIFE of Saint Thomas Becket.

There was Tomas fadir that trewe man was and gode
He loved God and holi cherche setthe he witte ondirstode
The croyse to the holi londe in his ȝouthe he nom,
He myd[4] on Rychard that was his mon to Jerusalem com,
Ther hy dede here pylgrimage in holi stedes faste
So that among Sarazyns hy wer nom atte laste, &c.[u]

This legend of Saint Thomas Becket* is exactly in the style of all the others; and as Becket was martyred in the latter part of the reign of Henry the Second from historical evidence, and as, from various internal marks, the language of these legends cannot be older than the twelfth century, I think we may fairly pronounce the LIVES OF

[q] fiddle. [r] MS. Vernon. fol. 119.
[s] Bodl. MSS. 779 fol. 41 b.
[t] MS. Harl. fol. 195 b

Gilbert was Thomas fader name that true was and gód
And louede God and holi churche siththe he wit vndérstod.

This Harleian manuscript is imperfect in many parts.

[u] MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 41 b.

* [Guernes, an ecclesiastic of Pont St. Maxence in Picardy, wrote a metrical life of Thomas a Becket, and, from his anxiety to procure the most authentic information on the subject, came over to Canterbury in 1172, and finally perfected his work in 1177. It is written in stanzas of five Alexandrines, all ending with the same rhymes; a mode of composition supposed to have been adopted for the purpose of being easily chanted. A copy is preserved in MS. Harl. 270. and another in MS. Cotton. DOMIT. A xi. See Archæologia, vol. xiii. and Ellis's Hist. Sketch, &c p. 57.—PARK.]

[1] [of harpe.]
[2] [. . . on a dai to fore him pleide faste
And anemnede in his rym the deuel atte laste
Tho the kyng ihurde that he blescede him anon.]
[3] [ywemmed MS. Add.] [4] [And mid.]

THE SAINTS to have been written about the reign of Richard the First[x].

These metrical narratives of Christian faith and perseverance seem to have been chiefly composed for the pious amusement, and perhaps edification, of the monks in their cloisters. The sumptuous volume of religious poems which I have mentioned above[y], was undoubtedly chained in the cloister, or church, of some capital monastery. It is not improbable that the novices were exercised in reciting portions from these pieces. In the British Museum there is a

[x] Who died 1199. [Warton's knowledge of the progress of the English language was so slight, as to render his opinion relative to the age of a poem of little or no value; and it is of some importance at the present day, when the subject begins to be better understood, to prevent his authority from being used (as it often has been) to countenance error. The style and language of these Lives of Saints would lead us at once, from their similarity to the Chronicle ascribed to Robert of Gloucester, to attribute them to the close of the thirteenth century, and perhaps to the same writer. (See Black's Catalogue of the Arundel MSS. in the College of Arms, 8vo. 1829. p. 14.) Had Warton looked into these Lives a little more attentively, he would have found the Legend of St. Dominic, who died in 1221, and that of St. Edmund of Pounteney, who was canonized in 1248. But in the latter legend we have decisive proof that these Lives were written in the reign of Edward the First; for it is there said of St. Edmund,

"& truliche huld vp holi churche, & schulde hire from wouȝ,
Therfore hadde the deuel of helle enuie grete ynouȝ;
He bigan to rere contek bituene him anon
& *kyng Henri that was tho, the kynges sone Johan*,
The kyng & mochedel of the lond aȝen holi churche was
As the kyng er, his grandsire, was aȝe seint Thomas."

MS. Harl. 2277. *f.* 161 b. *and MS. Laud.* 108. *f.* 184.

In all probability the plan of these legends was borrowed from the work of Jacobus de Voragine, who had, as appears from Warton himself, compiled a similar and popular collection about the year 1290 —M.] In the Cotton library I find the Lives of Saint Josaphas and the Seven Sleepers: where the Norman seems to predominate, although Saxon letters are used. [These poems are composed in the common French language of the thirteenth century, and written in the usual hand of the period. There is not a single *Saxon* letter used.—M.] Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. CALIG. A ix. Cod. membr. 4to.

Ici comence la vie de seint Iosaphaz.
Ki vout a nul bien ætendre
Par essample poet mult aprendre.—fol. 192.

Ici comence la vie de Set Dormanz.
La vertu deu ke tut iurz dure
E tut iurz est certeine e pure —fol. 213 b.

[The Lives of St. Josaphat and of the Seven Sleepers are attributed by the Abbé de la Rue to *Chardry*, an Anglo-Norman poet, who also wrote *Le petit Plet*, a dispute between an old and a young man on human life. [See De la Rue's "Essais sur les Bardes," &c tom. iii. 127 who assigns the thirteenth century as the period of Chardry's compositions. All the three pieces are in the Cotton MS De la Rue quotes several passages from them after Warton's manner, i. e very incorrectly. There are also copies in MS. 29. of Jesus Coll., Oxford, which is almost a duplicate of the latter part of the Cotton MS.—M.] Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1207 wrote a canticle on the passion of Jesus Christ in 123 stanzas, with a theological drama, in the duke of Norfolk's library [now MS. Arund. 292. Brit. Mus —M], and Denis Pyramus, who lived in the reign of Henry III., wrote in verse the life and martyrdom of King St. Edmund, in 3286 lines, with the miracles of the same saint in 600 lines: a manuscript in the Cott. Library, DOM. A xi. See Archæologia, vol xiii.—PARK. See a note on Langton's drama, vol. ii. near the end of Sect. VI. (Robin and Marian.)—PRICE.] See also De la Rue's remarks in his "Essais sur les Bardes," &c. tom. iii. p 5.—M.]

Many legends and religious pieces in Norman rhyme were written about this time. See MSS. Harl. 2253. f 1. membr. fol. p 15. [Warton is speaking of the reign of Richard I., but the French poems he refers to in the Harl. MS. were not composed till the reign of Edward the First. —M.]

[y] viz. MS. Vernon.

set of legendary tales in rhyme[z], which appear to have been solemnly pronounced by the priest to the people on sundays and holidays. This sort of poetry[a] was also sung to the harp by the minstrels on sundays instead of the romantic subjects usual at public entertainments[b].

In that part of Vernon's manuscript entitled SOULEHELE, we have a translation of the Old and New Testament into verse; which I believe to have been made before the year 1200*. The reader will observe

[z] MSS. Harl. 2391. 70. The dialect is perfectly Northern.

[a] That legends of saints were sung to the harp at feasts, appears from *The Life of Saint Marine*, MSS. Harl. 2253. fol. membr. f. 64 b.

Herketh hideward and beoth stille,
Y preie ou ȝef hit be or wille,
And ȝe shule here of one virgine
That wes ycleped Seinte Maryne.

And from various other instances. [It is perhaps too much to assume with Warton from the instances referred to, that these legends were *sung to the harp*, for from the frequency of such passages I should be inclined to consider them as meant simply to arouse the attention of the audience, when the poems were recited —M]

Some of these religious poems contain the usual address of the minstrel to the company. As in a poem of our Saviour's descent into hell, and his discourse there with Sathanas the porter, Adam, Eve, Abraham, &c. MSS. ibid. f. 55 b..

Alle herkeneth to me nou,
A strif wolle y tellen ou.
Of Jhesu ant of Sathan,
Tho Jhesu wes to helle y-gan, &c

[This poem, which probably presents to us the earliest form of the Miracle-play extant, was printed at the private expense of J. Payne Collier, Esq., in 1835, and a duplicate copy of later date, supplying some defects of the former, was subsequently printed from the Auchinleck MS. by David Laing, Esq.—M.]

Other proofs will occur occasionally.

[b] As I collect from the following poem, MS. Vernon, fol. 230.:

The Visions *of Seynt Poul wan he was rapt into Paradys.*

Lusteneth lordynges leof and dere,
ȝe that wolen of the Sonday here;
The Sonday a day hit is
That angels and archangels joyen iwis,
More in that ilke day
Then any odur, &c.

[It was enjoined by the ritual of the Gallican church, that the Lives of the Saints should be read during mass, on the days consecrated to their memory. On the introduction of the Roman liturgy, which forbade the admixture of any extraneous matter with the service of the mass, this practice appears to have been suspended, and the Lives of the Saints were read only at evening prayer. But even in this, the inveteracy of custom seems speedily to have re-established its rights; and there is reason to believe, that the Lives of such as are mentioned in the New Testament, were regularly delivered from the chancel. Of this, a curious example, the "Planch de Sant Esteve," has been published by M Raynouard in his "Choix des Poésies des Troubadours," vol. ii p. 146 and cxlvi, Paris 1817, where the passages from the Acts of the Apostles referring to Saint Stephen, are introduced between the metrical translations of them. From France, it is probable, this rite found its way into England, and the following extract from the piece alluded to above will show the uniformity of style adopted in the exordiums to such productions on both sides of the Channel

Sezets, senhors, e aiats pas;
So que direm ben escoutas,
Car la lisson es de vertat,
Non hy a mot de falsetat.

"Be seated, lordings, and hold your peace (*et ayez paix*), listen attentively to what we shall say, for it is a lesson of truth without a word of falsehood."—It has been recently maintained, that the term "lording," of such frequent occurrence in the preludes to our old romances and legends, is a manifest proof of their being "composed for the gratification of knights and nobles." There are many valid objections to such a conclusion; but one perhaps more cogent than the rest. The term is a diminutive, and could never have been applied to the nobility as an order, however general its use as an expression of courtesy. By way of illustration, let it also be remembered, that the "Disours" of the present day, who ply upon the Mole at Naples, address every ragged auditor by the title of "Eccellenza."—PRICE.]

* [1300.—M]

the fondness of our ancestors for the Alexandrine: at least, I find the lines arranged in that measure.

Oure ladi and hire sustur stoden under the roode,
And seint John and Marie Magdaleyn with wel sori moode:
Vr ladi biheold hire swete son ibrouht in gret pyne,
For monnes gultes nouthen her and nothing for myne.
Marie weop wel sore and bitter teres leet,
The teres fullen uppon the ston doun at hire feet.
" Allas, my sone," for serwe wel ofte seide heo,
" Nabbe iche bote the one that hongust on the treo;
So ful icham of serwe, as any wommon may beo,
That ischal my deore child in all this pyne iseo:
How schal I sone deone, how hast I thouȝt liuen withouten the,
Nusti neuere of serwe nouȝt sone, what seyst ȝou me?"
Thenne spak Jhesu wordus gode tho to his modur dere,
Ther he heng uppon the roode " Here I the take a fere,
That trewliche schal serue ȝe, thin own cosin Jon,
The while that ȝou alyue beo among all thi fon:
Ich the hote, Jon," he seide, " ȝou wite hire both day and niht
That the Gywes hire fon ne don hire non unriht."
Seint John in the stude vr ladi in to the temple nom
God to seruen he hire dude sone so he thider come,
Hole and seeke heo duden good that heo founden thore,
Heo hire serueden to hond and foot, the lasse and eke the more.
The pore folke feire heo fedde there, heo seȝe that hit was neode,
And the seke heo brouȝte to bedde and met and drinke gon heom beode.
Wyth al heore mihte yonge and olde hire loueden, bothe syke and fere,
As hit was riht for alle and summe to hire seruise hedden mester.
Jon hire was a trew feer, and nolde nouȝt from hire go,
He lokid hire as his ladi deore and what heo wolde hit was ido.
Now blowith this newe fruyt that lat bi gon to springe,
That to his kuynd heritage monkunne schal bringe,
This new fruyt of whom I speke is vre Cristendome,
That late was on erthe isow and latir furth hit com,
So hard and luthur was the lond of whom hit scholde springe
That wel unnethe eny rote men mouȝte theron bring,
Good him was the gardener,[c] &c.

In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, among otner Norman Saxon homilies in prose, there is a homily or exhortation on the Lord's prayer in verse: which, as it was evidently transcribed rather before the reign of Richard the First, we may place with some degree of certainty before the year 1185.*

[c] MS. Vernon, fol. 8.

* [More probably in the reign of Henry the Third. In Todd's Catalogue of the Lambeth MSS. fol. 1812. it occurs in No. 487. f. 21 b., and the compiler notes, "Ex hac Expositone specimen depromit, *non autem*

Vre feder that in heuene is
That is al sothfull iwis.
Weo moten to theos weordes iseon
That to liue and to saule gode beon.
That weo beon swa his sunes iborene
That he beo feder and we him icorene
That we don alle his ibeden
And his wille for to reden, &c.
Lauerde God we biddeth thus
Mid edmode heorte gif hit us.
That vre soule beo to the icore
Noht for the flesce forlore.
Thole us to biwepen vre sunne
That we ne steruen noht therinne;
And gif us, lauerd, that ilke gifte
Thet we hes[?] ibeten thurh halie scrifte. AMEN.[d]

In the valuable library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, is a sort of poetical biblical history, extracted from the books of Genesis and Exodus. It was probably composed about the reign of Henry the Second or Richard the First*. But I am chiefly induced to cite this piece as it proves the excessive attachment of our earliest poets to rhyme: they were fond of multiplying the same final sound to the most tedious monotony; and without producing any effect of elegance, strength, or harmony. It begins thus:

Man og to luuen that rimes ren.
The wissed wel the logede men.
Hu man may hem wel loken
Thog he ne be lered on no boken.
Luuen God and seruen him ay,
For he it hem wel gelden may.
And to al Cristenei men
Boren pais and luue bytwen.
Than sal hem almighti luuen
Here bynethen and thund abuuen,
And giuen hem blisse and soules reste.
That hem sal eauermor lesten.
Ut of Latin this song is dragen
On Engleis speche on sothe sagen,
Cristene men ogen ben so fagen,
So fueles arn quan he it sen dagen.
Than man hem telled soche tale
Wid londes speche and wordes smale
Of blisses dune, of sorwes dale,

satis accuratè, Wartonus in *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, vol. i. Warton copies his quotation from Wanley, p. 267. ap. Hickes.—M.]

[d] Quart. minor. 185. Cod. membran. vi. f. 21 b.

* [Henry the Third.—M.]

Quhu Lucifer that deuel dwale
And held hem swered in helles male,
Til God hem frid in manliched
Dede mankinde bote and red.
And unswered al the fendes sped
And halp thor he sag mikel ned
Biddi hie singen non other led.
Thog mad hie folgen idelhed.
Fader gode of al thinge,
Almightin louerd, hegest kinge,
Thu give me seli timinge
To thau men this werdes bigininge.
The lauerd God to wurthinge
Quether so hic rede or singe[e].

We find this accumulation of identical rhymes in the Runic odes; particularly in the ode of Egill cited above, entitled EGILL'S RANSOM. In the Cotton library a poem is preserved of the same age, on the subjects of death, judgment, and hell torments, where the rhymes are singular, and deserve our attention.

Non mai longe liues wene
Ac ofte him lieth the wrench.
Feir wether turneth ofte into reine
An wunderliche hit maketh his blench,
Tharuore mon thu the bithench
Al schal falewi thi grene.
Weilawei! nis kin ne quene
That ne schal drinche of deathes drench,
Mon er thu falle of thi bench
Thine sunne thu aquench[f].

To the same period of our poetry I refer a version of Saint Jerom's French psalter, which occurs in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. The hundredth psalm is thus translated:

Mirthhes to lauerd al erthe that es
Serues to lauerd in fainenes.
Ingas of him in the sight,
In gladeschip bi dai and night.
Wite ẏe that lauerd he God is thus
And he vs made and oure self noght vs,
His folk and schepe of his fode:
Ingas his ẏhates that ere gode:

[e] MSS. R 11. Cod. membr. 8vo. [No. 444. ... Nasmith's Catalogue.—M.] It seems to be in the Northern dialect. [Printed by Wanley, p. 151. ap. Hickes.—M.]

[f] Bibl. Cotton. MSS. CALIG. A ix. f. 243. [There is another copy of this poem in MS. Jes. Coll. Ox. 29. f. 252 b., and it may safely be ascribed to the reign of Henry the Third, or beginning of the reign of Edward the First. See infra, p. 25. n.—M.]

In schrift his porches that be,
In ympnes to him schriue ẏhe.
Heryes of him name swa fre,
For that lauerd soft es he;
In euermore his merci esse,
And in strende and strende his sothnesse.[g]

In the Bodleian library there is a translation of the Psalms*, which much resembles in style and measure this just mentioned. If not the same, it is of equal antiquity. The hand-writing is of the age of Edward the Second; certainly not later than his successor†. It also contains the Nicene Creed[h], and some church hymns versified; but it is mutilated and imperfect. The nineteenth psalm runs thus:

Heuens telles Goddis blisse,
The walken schewes handeswerkes hisse,
Dai to dai worde riftes right,
And wisedome schewes night to night,
Noght ere speches ne saghes euen
Of whilk noght es herd thair steuen.
In al land outẏhode thair rorde
And in endes of werld of tham the worde.
In sun he set his telde to stand
And he als bridegrome of his boure comand.
He gladed als yhoten to renne his wai
Fra heghest heuen his outcome ai,
And his ogaine raas til hegh sete,
Nes whilk that hides him fra his hete.
Lagh of lauerd vnwemmed esse,
Tornand saules in to blisse:
Witnes of lauerd es ai trewe
Wisedome lenand to littel newe:
Rightwisenesses of lauerd right hertes fainand,
Gode of lauerd light eghen lightand,
Drede of lauerd hali es it
In werld of werld and ful of wit

[g] O. 6. [No. 278.] Cod. membr. 4to. [The text has been taken from the Cotton MS. Vesp. D vii. f. 70.*—M.]

* [The earliest known version of the Psalms in Anglo-Saxon is that edited by Mr. Thorpe from a manuscript in the royal library at Paris, and published at the expense of the university of Oxford. "Libri Psalmorum versio antiqua Latina, cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica, partim soluta oratione, partim, metrice composita; nunc primum descripsit et edidit B. Thorpe. Oxon. 1835."—R. T.]

† [The Bodleian MS. 921. (olim Arch. B. 38.) is a folio on vellum, written in the fifteenth century, and contains a copy of the same version of the Psalms which is in the Cambridge and Cotton MSS. A fourth copy, written in the reign of Edward the Second, has been recently purchased for the British Museum. This version may be ascribed to the period of his predecessor.—M.]

[h] Hickes has printed a metrical version of the Creed of St. Athanasius · to whom, to avoid prolix and obsolete specimens already printed, I refer the reader. Thesaur. Par. i. p. 233. I believe it to be of the age of Henry the Second.

Domes of lauerd soth er ai
And rightwished in thar self er thai,
Yornandlike ouer the golde
And stane derworthi mikel holde:
And wele swetter to mannes wambe
Ouer honi and the kambe[1].

This is the beginning of the eighteenth psalm:

I sal loue the lauerd in stalworthhede,
Lauerd mi festnesse ai in nede
And mi toflight that es swa
And mi leser out of wa.

I will add another religious fragment on the crucifixion, in the shorter measure, evidently coæval, and intended to be sung to the harp.

Vyen i o the rode se
Fast nailed to the tre,
Jesu mi lefman,
Ibunden, bloc ant blodi,
An hys moder stant him bi,
Wepande, ant Johan:
Hys bac wid scuurge iswungen,
Hys side depe istungen,
For sinne an lowe* of man,
Weil aut i† sinne lete
An neb‡ wit teres wete
Thif i of loue can[k].

In the library of Jesus College at Oxford I have seen a Norman Saxon

[1] [The Cotton MS. of this version of the Psalms was found to contain a better text than Warton's, and consequently has been adopted. See VESP. D VII. ff. 70. and 9.—PRICE.]

* [love —M.]

† [ought I.—M.]

‡ [face.—M.]

[k] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. B 3. 18. f 102 b. (Langb. v. 209.) [Warton quotes from Langbaine's transcript, which is very faulty. The text is now printed from the original MS. (at present marked Bodl. 57. f. 102 b.) of the thirteenth century, to the middle of which the poem may be ascribed. As to its being intended to be sung to the harp, this is merely a flight of Warton's fancy. In the Bodleian MS. No. 42. 4to. sec. 13., containing various theological tracts, is inserted, f. 250., an English metrical version of a passage in the Meditations of St. Augustine, c. 6., which is annexed here, from its being contemporaneous with, and very similar to, the fragment quoted by Warton.,

"Wit was his naked brest, and red of blod his side,
Blod was his faire neb, his wnden depe an uide;
Starke waren his armes, hi-spred op the rode,
In fif steden an his bodi, stremes hurne of blode."

"Sic debemus cogitare de Christo passo, et dicere, O bone Jhesu! Wit was, &c. sicut dicit Augustinus:

Candet nudatum pectus,
Rubet cruentum latus,
Tensa arent viscera,
Decora languent lumina,
Regia pallent ora.
Procera rigent brachia,
Crura pendent marmorea
Rigat terebratos pedes
Beati sanguinis unda."

In a MS. in the cathedral library of Durham, A iii. 12. 8. the same lines with some slight variation, occur, and the date of the composition is pretty nearly to be

poem of another cast, yet without much invention or poetry[m]. It is a contest between an owl and a nightingale about superiority in voice and singing; the decision of which is left to the judgment of one John de Guldevord[n]. It is not later than Richard the First. The rhymes are multiplied, and remarkably interchanged.

Ich wes in one sumere dale
In one swithe dyele hale,

ascertained by the fact, that the whole of the volume was written in the time of Prior Middleton [1244–1258.], who presented it to the library. See Rudd's *Codd. MSS. Eccl. Cath. Dun. Cat. fol. Dun.* 1825. p 34. The Bodleian MS. has a second poem of the same description annexed, as follows:

"Respice in faciem Christi, et videbis dorso flagellato, latere sauciato, capite puncto, vepribus manibus perforatis, pedibus confossis; volve et revolve Dominicum corpus, a latere usque ad latus, a summo usque deorsum, et circumquaque invenies dolorem et cruorem, et hoc potest Anglice sic exponi.

Loke man to Jesu crist. hi-neiled on þo rode.
And hi-picz his nakede bodi red hi-maked mid blode.
His reg mid scurge i-suunge.
His heued þornes prikede. þo nailes in him stikede.
þuend and trend þi lordes bodi. þurch wam þu art i-boruhe.
þer þu mit hi-uinde blode an sorue."—M.]

[m] It is also in Bibl. Cotton. MS. CALIG. A ix. fol. 230.

[n] So it is said in Catal. MSS. Angl. p. 69. But by mistake. Our John de Guldevorde is indeed the author of the poem which immediately precedes in the manuscript, as appears by the following entry at the end of it, in the hand-writing of the very learned Edward Lhuyd. "On part of a broaken leafe of this MS. I find these verses written, whearby the author may be guest at.

Mayster Johan eu greteth of Guldeuorde tho,
And sendeth eu to seggen that synge nul he no,
On thisse wise he wille endy his song,
God louerd of heuene, beo vs alle among."

The piece is entitled and begins thus:

Ici cumence la Passyun Ihesu Christ en engleys.

Ihereth nu one lutele tale that ich eu wille telle
As we vyndeth hit iwrite in the godspelle,
Nis hit nouht of Karlemeyne ne of the Duzepere
Ac of Cristes thruwynge, &c.

It seems to be of equal antiquity with that mentioned in the text. The whole manuscript, consisting of many detached pieces both in verse and prose, was perhaps written in the reign of Henry the Sixth.

[In the Cotton MS. "one Nichole of Guldeforde is twice named; not indeed as the poet, but as a sage person, an accomplished singer, and a fit judge of their controversy. He is mentioned to reside at Porteshom in Dorsetshire. Probably Nicholas was brother of John de Guldevord." Ritson, *Bibl. Poet.*]

[There are some errors here which require correction. The Jesus College MS. now marked Arch. 1. 29. (formerly 85. and 76.) consists of two distinct portions, which have been by chance bound up together. The first portion is written on parchment and paper, and contains a chronicle of English history, from the reign of Edward the Elder, A.D. 900, to the reign of Henry the Sixth, A.D. 1445. Hence arose the careless assertion of Warton, that the entire volume was written in the latter reign, which Ritson very justly calls in doubt. The second portion of the MS. is on vellum, of the thirteenth century, and consists almost wholly of English and French poetry, composed in the reigns of Henry the Third and Edward the First. The first poem on the passion of Christ thus concludes:

"And he that haueth this rym iwryten,
beo hwat he beo,
God in thisse lyue hyne let wel itheo;
And alle his iveren, bothe yonge and olde,
God heom lete heore *ordre* trewliche hiiholde."

From which we may conclude he was a member of the monastic profession. The note relative to *Johan de Guldevorde* which occurs at the end is not in the hand-writing of Lhuyd, but of Tho. Wilkins, LL.B. rector of St. Mary "super Montem," in Glamorganshire, who gave this MS. to the College, and by the "broaken leafe," he undoubtedly refers to a fly-leaf which was injudiciously taken away when the volume was bound. It is therefore mere conjecture what portion of the volume was written by him, and the first poem has no greater claim than those which follow. Ritson very inadvertently (and for which

I-herde ich holde grete tale,
An vle[o] and one nyhtegale.
That playd wes stif & starc & strong,
Sum hwile softe & lud among.
And eyther ayeyn other swal,
And let that vuele mod vt al.
And eyther seyde of othres custe,
That alre wrste that hi ywuste,
& hure & hure of othres songe
Hi holde playding swithe stronge[p].

The earliest love-song which I can discover in our language, is among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. I would place it before or about the year 1200*. It is full of alliteration, and has a burthen or chorus.

Blow northerne wynd,
Sent thou me my suetyng;
Blow northerne wynd,
Blou, blou, blou.
Ichot a burde in boure bryht
That fully semly is on syht,
Menskful maiden of myht,
Feir ant fre to fonde.
In al this wurhliche won,
A burde of blod & of bon,
Neuer ȝete y nuste[q] non
Lussomore in londe. *Blow, &c.*

he deserves more severe censure than Warton) declares that in the Cotton MS. one "Nichole de Guldeforde" is named as a sage person, and "an accomplished singer." Now the fact is, that in *both* MSS. one "Nichole" is referred to, but without the addition of any surname; nor is he said to be "a singer," nor is there the least reason to believe him to have been the brother of John de Guldevorde. In all probability he was the vicar of Porteshom (near Abbotsbury), and the chartulary of Abbotsbury, in the possession of the earl of Ilchester, might perhaps determine the point, and fix the age of the poem, which I believe to belong to the beginning of the reign of Edward the First, since the writer prays in it for the soul of "Kyng Henri." In another poem, f. 254 b. "*Hwou holy chireche is vnder vote,*" St. Edmund of Pounteney is mentioned, who was canonized in 1248; and in a third poem, of which the rubric runs thus, "*Incipit quidam cantus quem composuit frater Thomas de Heles, de ordine Fratrum Minorum.*" f. 260. "Henri kyng of Engelonde" is spoken of as then reigning. The Thomas de Hales here mentioned must not be confounded with one of the same name in Tanner, of the 14th century, unless indeed (which is not improbable,) his period is fixed too late. Before I conclude this note, I must be permitted to quote a stanza from a curious poem in the same MS. containing reflections on the mutability of human affairs, which recalls the memory of several heroes of romance, and will remind the Saxon scholar of a somewhat similar passage inserted by King Alfred in his translation of Orosius:

"Hwer is *Paris* & *Heleyne*, ȳ weren so hyht & feyre on bleo?
Amadas & Dideyne, Tristram, Yseude, and alle theo?
Ector with his scharpe meyne, & Cesar riche of wordes feo?
Heo beoth iglyden vt of the reyne, so the schef is of the cleo!"—M]

[o] owl.
[p] MS. Coll. Jes. Oxon. 86. membr.
* [1300.—M.]
[q] knew not.

With lokkes leſſiche[r] & longe,
With frount & face feir to fonde;
With murthes monie mote heo monge
That brid so breme in boure;
With lossum eye grete ant gode,
With browen blysfol vnder hode,
He that reste him on the rode
That leflich lyf honoure. *Blou, &c.*
Hire lure lumes liht,
Ase a launterne a nyht,
Hire bleo[s] blykyeth so bryht.
So feyr heo is ant fyn,
A suetly suyre heo hath to holde,
With armes, shuldre ase mon wolde,
Ant fyngres feyre forte folde:
God wolde hue were myn.
Middel heo hath menskful smal,
Hire loueliche chere as cristal;
Theȝes, legges, fet, ant al,
Ywraht wes of the beste;
A lussum ledy lasteles,
That sweting is & euer wes;
A betere burde neuer nes
Yheryed with the heste,
Heo is dereworthe in day,
Graciouse, stout, ant gaye,
Gentil, jolyf, so the jay,
Worhliche when heo waketh,
Maiden murgest[t] of mouth
Bi est, bi west, by north, & south,
Ther nis sicle ne crouth,
That such murthes maketh.
Heo is coral of godnesse,
Heo is rubie of ryhtfulnesse,
Heo is cristal of clannesse,
Ant baner of bealte,
Heo is lilie of largesse,
Heo is paruenke of prouesse,
Heo is solsecle of suetnesse,
Ant ledy of lealte,
To loue that leflich is in londe
Y tolde him as ych vnderstonde, &c.[x]

From the same collection I have extracted a part of another ama-

[r] lively [lovely].
[s] *blee*, complexion.
[t] merriest.
[x] MS. Harl. 2253. fol. membr. f. 72 b. [The whole is printed in Ritson's "Ancient Songs," p. 26.—M.]

torial ditty, of equal antiquity; which exhibits a stanza of no inelegant or unpleasing structure, and approaching to the octave rhyme. It is, like the last, formed on alliteration.

In a fryht as y con fare framede
Y founde a wel feyr fenge to fere,
Heo glystnede ase gold when hit glemede,
Nes ner gome so gladly on gere,
Y wolde wyte in world who hire kenede,
This burde bryht, ȝef hire wil were,
Heo me bed go my gates, lest hire gremede,
Ne kepte heo non henyng here[y].

In the following lines a lover compliments his mistress named Alysoun:

Bytuene Mershe & Aueril
When spray biginneth to springe,
The lutel foul hath hire wyl
On hyre lud to synge,
Ich libbe in louelonginge
For semlokest of alle thynge.
He may me blysse bringe
Icham in hire baundoun,
An hendy hap ichabbe yhent
Ichot from heuene it is me sent.
From all wymmen mi loue is lent
& lyht on Alysoun,
On heu hire her is fayre ynoh,
Hire browe broune, hire eȝe blake,
With lossum chere he on me loh,
With middel smal & wel ymake,
Bote he me wolle to hire take, &c.[z]

[y] MS. ibid. f. 66. The pieces which I have cited from this manuscript appear to be of the hand-writing of the reign of Edward the First.

[As this manuscript contains an elegy upon the death of Edward the First, Mr. Ritson very properly infers, that it could not have been written in the "life-time" of that monarch. He assigns it to "the reign of his son and successor."—PRICE.] [With regard to the age of this MS. it is requisite to say a few words, in order that the authority of two names well known in old English literature, may not lead the uninformed astray. Mr. J. P. Collier in the Remarks prefixed to "The Harrowing of Hell," (a few copies of which were printed at his expense, and most liberally distributed to his friends,) has called it "certainly as old as the reign of Edward III., if not older." Mr. Laing, who subsequently printed the same Miracle-Play from the Auchinleck MS, infers thence that the latter MS. is the "more ancient" of the two. Now it is very certain, from internal evidence, that the Auchinleck MS. could not have been written before 1330, and, in all probability, not till ten years afterwards; whereas the Harleian MS. is distinguished by a character which is peculiar to the early part of the reign of Edward the Second, and the latest date of any of the poems in it is 1307, shortly after which period it was unquestionably written. Consequently there results a priority of date of at least thirty years, to the Harleian MS. over the Auchinleck MS.—M.]

[z] MS. Harl. f. 63 b. [The entire poem is printed by Ritson, "Ancient Songs," p. 24.—M.]

The following song, containing a description of the spring, displays glimmerings of imagination, and exhibits some faint ideas of poetical expression. It is, like the three preceding, of the Norman Saxon school, and extracted from the same inexhaustible repository. I have transcribed the whole*.

Lenten ys come with loue to toune,
With blosmen & with briddes roune,
That al this blisse bryngeth;
Dayes eȝes in this dales,
Notes suete of nyhtegales,
Vch foul song singeth.

The threstelcoc[a] him threteth oo,
Away is huere wynter wo,
When woderoue springeth;
This foules singeth ferly fele,
Ant wlyteth on huere wynter wele,
That al the wode ryngeth.

The rose rayleth hire rode,
The leues on the lyhte wode
Waxen al with wille:
The mone mandeth hire bleo
The lilie is lossum to seo;
The fenyl & the fille.

Wowes this wilde drakes,
Miles murgeth huere makes.
Ase streme that striketh stille
Mody meneth so doh mo,
Ichot ycham on of tho
For loue that likes ille.

The mone mandeth hire lyht,
So doth the semly sonne bryht,
When briddes singeth breme,
Deawes donketh the dounes
Deores with huere derne rounes,
Domes forte deme.

* [The following stanza formed the opening of this song as printed by Warton. It appears to have been inadvertently copied from a poem in the parallel column of the manuscript:

In May hit murgeth when hit dawes [1],
In dounes with this dueres plawes [2],
And lef is lyht on lynde;
Blosmes bredeth on the bowes,
Al this wylde wyhtes wowes,
So wel ych under-fynde.

The proper stanza, given above, was also cited and introduced by the following passage. "The following hexastic on a similar subject is the product of the same rude period, although the context is rather more intelligible: but it otherwise deserves a recital, as it presents an early sketch of a favourite and fashionable stanza." vol. i. p. 30.—PRICE.]

[a] throstle, thrush.

[1] "it is mery at dawn."

[2] plays.

Wormes woweth vnder cloude,
Wymmen waxeth wounder proude,
So wel hit wol hem seme:
Ȝef me shal wonte wille of on
This wunne weole y wole forgon
Ant wyht in wode be fleme[d].

This specimen will not be improperly succeeded by the following elegant lines, which a cotemporary poet appears to have made in a morning walk from Peterborough, on the blessed Virgin; but whose genius seems better adapted to descriptive than religious subjects.

Now skruketh rose & lylie flour,
That whilen ber that suete savour
In somer, that suete tyde;
Ne is no quene so stark ne stour,
Ne no leuedy so bryht in bour
That ded ne shal by glyde:

[d] MS. ibid. ut supr. f. 71 b [Also printed in Ritson, *ubi supr.* p. 31.—M.] [In the same style, as it is manifestly of the same antiquity, the following little descriptive song, on the approach of summer, deserves notice. MSS. Harl. 978. f. 5.

Sumer is i-cumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu:
Groweth sed, and bloweth med,
And springth the wde nu.
Sing cuccu, cuccu.

Awe bleteth after lomb,
Lhouth after calue cu;
Bulluc sterteth, bucke verteth:
Murie sing cuccu,
Cuccu, cuccu:
Wel singes thu cuccu;
Ne swik thu nauer nu.
Sing cuccu nu,
Sing cuccu.

That is, "Summer is coming: loud sing, Cuckow! Groweth seed, and bloweth mead, and springeth the wood now. Ewe bleateth after lamb, loweth cow after calf; bullock starteth, buck *verteth*[1]; merry sing, Cuckow! Well singest thou, Cuckow, nor cease to sing now." This is the most antient English song that appears in our manuscripts with the musical notes annexed. The music is of that species of composition which is called *Canon in the Unison*, and is supposed to be of the fifteenth century.—ADDITIONS.]

[This poem has since been printed in Sir John Hawkins's Hist. of Music, vol. ii. p. 93, with the musical notes reduced to the scale of modern notation, and by Ritson, in his "Ancient Songs," 8vo, 1790, p 3, who justly exclaims against the ignorance of those who refer the song to the fifteenth century, when the MS. itself is certainly of the middle of the thirteenth. —M.] [Mr. Edgar Taylor in his *Lays of the Minnesingers*, p. 137, speaking of this song, remarks that it so resembles, in many of its features, the kindred songs of the German minnesingers, that we could almost fancy one of those minstrels singing in nearly the same words and measure." The following song is one of those which have suggested the comparison.

Walt mit grüner varwe stat;
Nachtegal
Süssen schal
Singet, der vil sanfte tüt:
Meien blut,
Hohen mut
Git den vogellin überal.
Heide breit
Wol bekleit
Mit vil schonen blümen lit;
Summer zit,
Vröide git,
Davon suln wir sin gemeit . . .
Uf der heide und in dem walde
Singent kleinú vogelein . . .
Nu singen,
Nu singen!
Dannoch harte erspringen
Den reigen,
Den reigen
Pfaffen und leigen, &c.

Minnesingers, p. 134.—R. T.]

[1] goes to harbour among the fern.

Whoso wol fleyshe-lust for-gon & heuene-blis abyde
On Jhesu be is thoht anon, that therled was ys side[f].

To which we may add a song, probably written by the same author, on the five joys of the blessed Virgin.

Ase y me rod this ender day,
By grene wode, to seche play;
Mid herte y thohte al on a may,
Suetest of alle thinge:
Lythe, & ich ou tell may
Al of that suete thinge[g].

In the same pastoral vein, a lover, perhaps of the reign of King John *, thus addresses his mistress, whom he supposes to be the most beautiful girl "bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeseye, Northampton and Lounde[h]:"

When the nyhtegale singes the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, & gras, & blosme, springes in Aueryl y wene.
Ant love is to myn herte gon with one spere so kene
Nyht & day my blod hit drynkes myn herte deth me tene.

Ich haue loued al this ȝer that y may loue na more,
Ich haue siked moni syk, lemmon, for thin ore,
Me nis loue neuer the ner, & that me reweth sore;
Suete lemmon, thench on me, ich haue loued the ȝore,

Suete lemmon, y preye the, of loue one speche,
Whil y lyue in world so wyde other nulle y seche.
With thy loue, my suete leof, mi blis thou mihtes eche
A suete cos of thy mouth mihte be my leche[i].

Nor are these verses unpleasing, in somewhat the same measure:

My deth y loue, my lyf ich hate for a leuedy shene,
Heo is brith so daies liht, that is on me wel sene.
Al y falewe so doth the lef in somer when hit is grene,
ȝef mi thoht helpeth me noht, to wham shal y me mene[k]?

Another, in the following little poem, enigmatically compares his mistress, whose name seems to be Joan, to various gems and flowers. The writer is happy in his alliteration, and his verses are tolerably harmonious:

Ichot a burde in a bour, ase beryl so bryht,
Ase saphyr in seluer semly on syht,
Ase jaspe[l] the gentil that lemeth[m] with lyht,
Ase gernet[n] in golde & ruby wel ryht,

[f] MS. ibid. f. 80.
[g] Ibid. f. 81 b.
[*] [Edward the First —M.]
[h] London.
[i] MS. ibid. f. 80 b. [The same confusion adverted to above, prevailed in the disposition of this song. The present copy follows the manuscript.—PRICE.] [The whole is printed in Ritson, *ubi supr.* p. 30. —M.]
[k] MS. ibid. f. 80 b.
[l] jasper.
[m] streams, shines.
[n] garnet.

Ase onycle[o] he ys on, yholden on hyht;
Ase diamaund the dere, in day when he is dyht:
He is coral ycud* with cayser ant knyht,
Ase emeraude a morewen this may haueth myht.
The myht of the margarite haueth this mai mere,
For charbocle ich hire ches bi chyne & by chere
Hire rode is ase rose that red is on rys[p],
With lilye white leues lossum he is,
The primerose he passeth, the peruenke of pris,
With alisaundre thareto, ache, & anys;
Coynte[q] ase columbine, such hire cunde[r] ys,
Glad vnder gore in gro & in grys,
He is blosme opon bleo brihtest vnder bis,
With celydoyne ant sauge as thou thi self sys, &c.
From Weye he is wisist in to Wyrhale,
Hire nome is in a note of the nyhtegale;
In an note is hire nome, nempneth hit non,
Whose ryht redeth ronne to Johon[s].

The curious Harleian volume, to which we are so largely indebted, has preserved a moral tale, a Comparison between age and youth, where the stanza is remarkably constructed. The various sorts of versification which we have already seen, evidently prove that much poetry had been written, and that the art had been greatly cultivated, before this period.

Herkne to my ron,
As ich ou telle con,
Of elde al hou yt ges.
Of a mody mon,
Hihte Maximion,
Soth withoute les.
Clerc he was ful god,
So moni mon vnderstod.
Nou herkne hou it wes[t].

For the same reason, a sort of elegy on our Saviour's crucifixion should not be omitted. It begins thus:

I syke when y singe for sorewe that y se
When y with wypinge biholde vpon the tre
Ant se Jhesu the suete
Is herte-blod for-lete,
For the loue of me;

[o] onyx. * [known, famous.—M.] [r] white complexion. [kind, nature.—M.]
[p] branch. [s] MS. ibid. f. 63.
[q] quaint. [t] MS. ibid. f. 82.

Ys woundes waxen wete,
Thei wepen, stille & mete,
Marie reweth the.[u]

Nor an alliterative ode on heaven, death, judgement, &c.

Middelerd for mon was mad,
Vn-mihti aren is meste mede,
This hedy hath on honde yhad,
That heuene hem is hest to hede.
Icherde a blisse budel vs bade,
The dreri domes-dai to drede,
Of sunful sauhting sone be sad,
That derne doth this derne dede, } Thah he ben derne done.
This wrakeful werkes vnder wede,
In soule soteleth sone.[w]

Many of these measures were adopted from the French chansons[x]. I will add one or two more specimens.

On our Saviour's passion and death.

Jesu for thi muchele miht
Thou ȝef vs of thi grace,
That we mowe dai & nyht
Thenken o thi face.
In myn herte hit doth me god,
When y thenke on Jesu blod,
That ran doun bi ys syde,
From is herte doune to is fot,
For ous he spradde is herte blod
His wondes were so wyde.[y]

On the same subject.

Lutel wot hit any mon
Hou loue hym haueth ybounde,
That for vs o the rode ron,
Ant bohte vs with is wounde;
The loue of him vs haueth ymaked sounde,
Ant ycast the grimly gost to grounde:
Euer & oo, nyht & day, he haueth vs in is thohte,
He nul nout leose that he so deore bohte.[z]

The following are on love and gallantry. The poet, named Richard, professes himself to have been a great writer of love-songs.

Weping haueth myn wonges* wet,
For wikked werk ant wone of wyt,
Vnblithe y be til y ha bet,
Bruches broken ase bok byt:

[u] Ibid. f. 80.
[w] Ibid. f. 62 b.
[x] See MS Harl. ut supr. f. 49. 76.
[y] Ibid. f. 79b Probably this song has been somewhat modernized by transcribers.
[z] Ibid. f. 128. These lines afterwards occur, burlesqued and parodied, by a writer of the same age.
* [cheeks, A.S. pang, Ital. guancia.]

Of leuedis loue that y ha let,
That lemeth al with luefly lyt,
Ofte in song y haue hem set,
That is vnsemly ther hit syt.
Hit syt & semeth noht,
Ther hit ys seid in song
That y haue of hem wroht,
Ywis hit is al wrong.[a]

It was customary with the early scribes, when stanzas consisted of short lines, to throw them together like prose*. As thus:

"A wayle whyt ase whalles bon | a grein in golde that godly shon | a tortle that min herte is on | in tounes trewe | Hire gladshipe nes neuer gon | whil y may glewe".[b]

Sometimes they wrote three or four verses together as one line.

With longyng y am lad | on molde y waxe mad | a maide marreth me,
Y grede y grone vn-glad | for selden y am sad | that semly forte se.
Levedi thou rewe me | to routhe thou hauest me rad | be bote of that y bad | my lyf is long on the.[c]

Again,

Most i ryden by Rybbesdale | wilde wymmen forte wale | ant welde wuch ich wolde:
Founde were the feyrest on | that euer was mad of blod ant bon | in boure best with bolde.[d]

This mode of writing is not uncommon in antient manuscripts of French poetry. And some critics may be inclined to suspect, that the verses which we call Alexandrine, accidentally assumed their form merely from the practice of absurd transcribers, who frugally chose to fill their pages to the extremity, and violated the metrical structure for the sake of saving their vellum. It is certain, that the common stanza of four short lines may be reduced into two Alexandrines, and on the contrary. I have before observed, that the Saxon poem cited by Hickes, consisting of one hundred and ninety-one stanzas, is written in stanzas in the Bodleian, and in Alexandrines in the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge. How it came originally from the poet I will not pretend to determine.

Our early poetry often appears in satirical pieces on the established and eminent professions. And the writers, as we have already seen, succeeded not amiss when they cloathed their satire in allegory. But nothing can be conceived more scurrilous and illiberal than their satires when they descend to mere invective. In the British Museum, among

[a] MS. ibid. f. 66

* [See Hoffmann's Fundgruben, Breslau, 1830, vol. i. p. 331, &c.; Danske Kiæmpe Viser, Copenhagen, passim, 1787; and Raynouard, Poésies des Troubadours, vol. ii. Poeme sur Boece, p. 6. Hence several A. Saxon and Teutonic poems were at first edited as prose, and have but recently been discovered to be metrical. —R. T.]

[b] MS. Ibid. f. 67. [c] Ibid. 63 b.

[d] Ibid. f. 66 b.

other examples which I could mention, we have a satirical ballad on the lawyers[e], and another on the clergy, or rather some particular bishop. The latter begins thus:

Hyrdmen hatieth ant vch mones hyne,
For eueruch a parosshe heo polketh in pyne
Ant clastreth wyth heore colle:
Nou wol vch fol clerc that is fayly
Wende to the bysshop ant bugge bayly,
Nys no wyt in is nolle.[f]

The elder French poetry abounds in allegorical satire: and I doubt not that the author of the satire on the monastic profession, cited above, copied some French satire on the subject. Satire was one species of the poetry of the Provencial troubadours. Anselm Faydit*, a troubadour of the eleventh century, who will again be mentioned, wrote a sort of satirical drama called the HERESY OF THE FATHERS, HEREGIA DEL PREYRES, a ridicule on the council which condemned the Albigenses. The papal legates often fell under the lash of these poets; whose favour they were obliged to court, but in vain, by the promise of ample gratuities[g]. Hugues de Bercy, a French monk, wrote in the twelfth century a very lively and severe satire; in which no person, not even himself, was spared, and which he called the BIBLE, as containing nothing but truth[h].

In the Harleian manuscripts I find an antient French poem, yet respecting England, which is a humorous panegyric on a new religious order called LE ORDRE DE BEL EYSE. This is the exordium:

Qui vodra a moi entendre
Oyr purra e aprendre
L'estoyre de un ORDRE NOVEL
Qe mout est delitous e bel.

The poet ingeniously feigns, that his new monastic order consists of the most eminent nobility and gentry of both sexes, who inhabit the monasteries assigned to it promiscuously; and that no person is excluded from this establishment who can support the rank of a gentleman. They are bound by their statutes to live in perpetual idleness and luxury: and the satirist refers them for a pattern or rule of practice in these important articles, to the monasteries of Sempringham in Lincolnshire,

[e] MS ut supr. f. 70 b

[f] Ibid. f. 71.

[This stanza forms a part of the satire on the lawyers. Warton was led into the mistake by the transcriber having deviated in the present instance from his usual order of transcript on —PRICE.]

* [Gaucelm Faidit. See Raynouard, "Choix des Poesies des Troubadours," tom. v. p. 158, who, however, does not mention the piece referred to by Warton. —M.]

[g] Fontenelle, Hist. Theatr. Fr. p. 18. edit. 1742

[h] See Fauchet, Rec. p 151.

[The piece here alluded to was not written by De Bercy. It will be found in the second volume of Barbazan's Fabliaux, p. 307, and is called "Bible Guiot de Provins." "La Bibleau Seignor de Berze" is a more courtly composition, and forms a part of the same collection, p. 194. The earlier French antiquaries have frequently confounded these two productions.—PRICE.]

Beverley in Yorkshire, the Knights Hospitalers, and many other religious orders then flourishing in England[1].

When we consider the feudal manners, and the magnificence of our Norman ancestors, their love of military glory, the enthusiasm with which they engaged in the Crusades, and the wonders to which they must have been familiarized from those eastern enterprises, we naturally suppose, what will hereafter be more particularly proved, that their retinues abounded with minstrels and harpers, and that their chief entertainment was to listen to the recital of romantic and martial adventures. But I have been much disappointed in my searches after the metrical tales which must have prevailed in their times. Most of those old heroic songs are perished, together with the stately castles in whose halls they were sung. Yet they are not so totally lost as we may be apt to imagine. Many of them still partly exist in the old English metrical romances, which will be mentioned in their proper places; yet divested of their original form, polished in their style, adorned with new incidents, successively modernized by repeated transcription and recitation, and retaining little more than the outlines of the original composition. This has not been the case of the legendary and other religious poems written soon after the Conquest, manuscripts of which abound in our libraries. From the nature of their subject they were less popular and common; and being less frequently recited, became less liable to perpetual innovation or alteration.

The most antient English metrical romance which I can discover, is entitled the GESTE OF KING HORN. It was evidently written after the Crusades had begun, is mentioned by Chaucer[k], and probably still remains in its original state. I will first give the substance of the story, and afterwards add some specimens of the composition. But I must premise, that this story occurs in very old French metre in the manuscripts of the British Museum[l], so that probably it is a translation: a circumstance which will throw light on an argument pursued hereafter, proving that most of our metrical romances are translated from the French.

Mury, king of the Saracens, lands in the kingdom of Suddene, where he kills the king named Allof*. The queen, Godylt, escapes; but Mury seizes on her son Horn, a beautiful youth aged fifteen years, and puts him into a galley, with two of his playfellows, Athulph and Fykenyld: the vessel being driven on the coast of the kingdom of

[1] MS ibid f 121.

[k] Rim. Thop 3402 Urr

[l] MS. Harl 527 b f 59 Cod membr.

* [Warton has been led into the mistake of calling the Saracen king by the name of Mury by a curious error of the scribe who wrote the manuscript in the Harleian Collection, and who seems to have been equally well read in the French and English poetry of the day. Mury was the name of the father of Horn in the older copy of the English romance, and is so preserved in the Cambridge and Oxford manuscripts Allof is his name in the French, and the writer of the MS Harl. has changed Mury for Allof throughout the poem, with the exception of one place, which he has overlooked, and Warton, meeting in this passage with the name of Mury, supposed it to be that of the invader of Horn's patrimony —W.]

Westnesse, the young prince is found by Aylmer, king of that country, brought to court, and delivered to Athelbrus his steward, to be educated in hawking, harping, tilting, and other courtly accomplishments. Here the princess Rymenild falls in love with him, declares her passion, and is betrothed. Horne, in consequence of this engagement, leaves the princess for seven years; to demonstrate, according to the ritual of chivalry, that by seeking and accomplishing dangerous enterprises he deserved her affection. He proves a most valorous and invincible knight: and at the end of seven years, having killed king Mury, recovered his father's kingdom, and atchieved many signal exploits, recovers the princess Rymenild from the hands of his treacherous knight and companion Fykenyld, carries her in triumph to his own country, and there reigns with her in great splendor and prosperity. The poem itself begins and proceeds thus:

Alle heo ben blythe,
That to my songe ylythe[m]:
A song ychulle ou singe
Of Allof the gode kynge,
Kyng he wes by weste
The whiles hit yleste;
Ant Godylt his gode quene,
No feyrore myhte bene,
Ant huere sone hihte Horn,
Feyrore childe ne myhte be born:
For reyn ne myhte byryne
Ne sonne myhte shyne
Feyrore child then he was,
Bryht so euer eny glas,
So whit so eny lylye flour,
So rose red wes his colour,
He wes feyr & eke bold,
Ant of fyftene wynter old,
Nis non his yliche
In none kinges ryche.
Tueye* feren[n] he hadde,
That he with him ladde,
Alle richemenne sones,
And alle suythe feyre gomes,
Wyth him forté pleye
Mest he louede tueye,
That on wes hoten Athulf chyld,
And that other Fykenyld,
Athulf wes the beste,
And Fykenyld the werste.

[m] listen. * [tuelfe MS. Laud. 108. rightly.—M.] [n] companions.

Hyt was vpon a someres day
Also ich ou telle may,
Allof the gode kyng
Rode vpon his pleȝyng,
Bi the see side,
Ther he was woned to ride;
With him ne ryde bote tuo,
Al to fewe hue were tho:
He fond by the stronde,
Aryued on is londe,
Shipes systene
Of Sarazynes kene:
He askede whet hue sohten
Other on is lond brohten.

But I hasten to that part of the story where prince Horne appears at the court of the king of Westnesse.

The kyng com in to halle,
Among his knyhtes alle,
Forth he clepeth Athelbrus,
His stiward, & him seide thus:
"Stiward tac thou here
My fundling forto lere,
Of thine mestere
Of wode and of ryuere[p],
Ant toggen o the harpe
With is nayles sharpe[q],
Ant tech him alle the listes
That thou euer wystest,
Byfore me to keruen,
And of my coupe to seruen[r],

[p] So Robert de Brunne of king Marian. Hearne's Rob. Gloc. p. 622.

—Marian faire in chere
He couthe of wod and ryuere
In alle maner of venrie, &c.

[The expression is borrowed from the French writers. Thus in Benoit Ste More's Roman du Rou, MS. Harl. 1717. f. 79.

"Tant seit apris qu'il lise un bref,
Kar ceo ne li ert pas trop gref,
D'eschas, de *rivere*, et de *chace*
Voil que del tot aprenge e sace."—M.]

[q] In another part of the poem he is introduced playing on his harp.

Horn sette him abenche,
Is harpe he gan clenche,
He made Rymenild a lay
Ant hue seide weylaway, &c.

In the chamber of a bishop of Winchester at Merdon Castle, now ruined, we find mention made of benches only. Comp. MS. J Gerveys, Episcop Winton 1266. "Idem red. comp. de ii. mensis in aula ad magnum descum. Et de iii. mensis, ex una parte, et ii. mensis ex altera parte cum tressellis in aula. Et de i. mensa cum tressellis in camera dom. episcopi. Et v. *formis* in eadem camera." *Descus*, in old English *dees*, is properly a canopy over the high table. See a curious account of the goods in the palace of the bishop of Nivernois in France, in the year 1287, in Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 984. col 2.

[r] According to the rules of chivalry, every knight before his creation passed through two offices. He was first a page: and at fourteen years of age he was formally admitted an esquire. The esquires were divided into several departments;

Ant his feren deuyse
With ous other seruise;
Horn child, thou vnderstond,
Tech him of harpe & of song."
Athelbrus gon leren
Horn & hyse feren;
Horn mid herte lahte
Al that mon him tahte,
With inne court & withoute,
& overal aboute,
Louede men Horn child,
& most him louede Rymenyld
The kinges oune dohter,
For he wes in hire thohte,
Hue louede him in hire mod,
For he wes feir & eke god,
& thah hue ne dorste at borde
Mid him speke ner a word,
Ne in the halle,
Among the knyhtes alle,
Hyre sorewe ant hire pyne
Nolde neuer fyne,
Bi daye ne bi nyhte,
For hue speke ne myhte
With Horn that wes so feir & fre
Tho hue ne myhte with him be,
In herte hue had care & wo,
& thus hue bithohte hire tho:
Hue sende hyre sonde
Athelbrus to honde,
That he come hire to,
& also shulde Horn do,
In to hire boure,
For hue bigon to loure;
And the sonde[s] sayde,
That seek wes the mayde,
& bed hym come suythe
For hue nis nout blythe.
The stiward wes in huerte wo,
For he nuste whet he shulde do,
What Rymenyld bysohte
Gret wonder him thohte;

that of the body, of the chamber, of the stable, and the carving esquire. The latter stood in the hall at dinner, where he carved the different dishes with proper skill and address, and directed the distribution of them among the guests. The inferior offices had also their respective esquires. Mem. Anc. Cheval. i. 16. seq.

[s] messenger.

About Horn the ȝinge
To boure forté bringe,
He thohte on is mode
Hit nes for none gode;
He tok with him an other,
Athulf Hornes brother[t],
"Athulf," quoth he, "ryht anon
Thou shalt with me to boure gon,
To speke with Rymenild stille,
To wyte hyre wille,
Thou art Hornes yliche,
Thou shalt hire by-suyke,
Sore me adrede
That hue wole Horn mys-rede."
Athelbrus & Athulf bo
To hire boure beth ygo,
Vpon Athulf childe
Rymenild con waxe wilde,
Hue wende Horn it were,
That hue hade there;
Hue seten adoun stille,
Ant seyden hure wille,
In hire armes tueye
Athulf he con leye.
"Horn," quoth heo, "wellonge
Y haue loued thee stronge,
Thou shalt thy treuth plyhte
In myn hond with ryhte,
Me to spouse welde
& ich the louerd to helde."
So stille so hit were,
Athulf seyde in hire eere,
"Ne tel thou no more speche
May, y the byseche;
Thi tale gyn thou lynne,
For Horn nis nout her ynne," &c.

At length the princess finds she has been deceived, the steward is severely reprimanded, and prince Horne is brought to her chamber; when, says the poet,

Of is fayre syhte
Al that boure gan lyhte[u].

[t] companion, friend.

[u] MS. ibid. f. 83. Where the title is written, "Þe ȝeste of kynge Horne." There is a copy, much altered and modernzed, in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, W. 4. 1. Numb. xxxiv. [printed in Ritson's Romances, vol 3.] The title *Hornchilde and Maiden Rimnild.* The beginning,

Mi leve frende dere,
Herken and ye shall here.

[Since Warton's time, two other MSS.

It is the force of the story in these pieces that chiefly engages our attention. The minstrels had no idea of conducting and describing a delicate situation. The general manners were gross, and the arts of

of the early English romance of Horn, identical with that of the MS. Harl, have been found. The best and oldest, being, I have no doubt, of the latter part of the thirteenth century at latest, was found by Mr. Kemble, in some stray leaves of an early MS. bound up in the middle of a fine MS. of Chaucer, Bibl Pub Cant. Gg. 4. 27. The other, in a MS. written about the year 1300, was found by Sir Frederick Madden in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Laud 108 The Harleian MS. is of the reign of Edw II —W]

[The text of this romance has been taken from Mr. Ritson's edition; whose accuracy, by the way, though unimpeachable in the specimens quoted above, is not equally conspicuous throughout the poem In fact, he seems neither to have been master of the language nor the subject. His glossary will afford sufficient evidence of the former assertion—to which much might be added from his omissions and misprints—and his notes will amply bear out the latter. The bishop of Dromore considered this production "of genuine English growth," and though his lordship may have been mistaken in ascribing it, in its present form, to so early an æra as "within a century after the Conquest," yet the editor has no hesitation in expressing his belief, that it owes its origin to a period long anterior to that event The reasons for such an opinion cannot be entered upon here They are too detailed to fall within the compass of a note; and though some of them will be introduced elsewhere, yet many perhaps are the result of convictions more easily felt than expressed, and whose shades of evidence are too slight to be generally received, except in the rear of more obvious authority. However, to those who with Mr. Ritson [and Mr Warton, see p. 36 —M] persist in believing the French fragment of this romance to be an earlier composition than "The Geste of Kyng Horn," the following passage is submitted, for the purpose of contrasting its highly wrought imagery with the simple narrative and natural allusion observed throughout the English poem.

Lors print la harpe a sei, si commence a temprer,
Deu ki dunc lesgardast, cum il la sot manier!
Cum les cordes tuchot, cum les feseit trembler,
A quantes faire les chanz, a cuantes organer,
Del ai monie del ciel he pureit remembrer
Sur tuz ceus ke i sunt fait cist à merveiller
Kuant celes notes ot fait prent sen amunter
E par tut autre tuns fait les cordes soner

It remains to observe, that "The noble Hystory of Kynge Ponthus of Galyce" printed by De Worde, and quoted by Mr. Ritson, is but a more enlarged version of the same story, with some slight change of circumstance, and an almost total change of names, countries, &c —PRICE.]

[There are now known three MSS. of the 'French Horne,' all unfortunately incomplete; the Harleian MS. mentioned by Warton, a MS. in the library of the late Mr. Douce, now at Oxford, and a beautiful MS. which I found in the Public Library at Cambridge, Ff 6. 17, which is by far the best and oldest, and also the least defective. M Francisque Michel is printing the French poem from the three MSS, and I have prepared the English romance to follow it I have no doubt myself that the English, though not perhaps in its present form, was the original of the Romance of Horn, and I will only mention one circumstance which I think convincing The following is a sample of the names which occur in the French poem, and *not* in the English we have Herselot, Godfrei, Bertin, Blanchard, Moroan, Marmorin, Turlin, Gibelin, and Malbruart. These are all names of constant occurrence in the French romances, in which the Saracens are those of Spain and Africa No such names occur in the English Horn, where the Saracens are Danes, and where all the names are good Saxon and Danish If the French were a translation from the English, with the embellishments and additions of the French writer, we at once see how he introduced those kinds of embellishments and those kinds of names to which he was accustomed; and it must be owned that the embellishments as well as the names are not such as are found in Saxon or pure English poetry. If on the contrary the English were the translation, it would be very difficult to conceive how the translator came to use so much discrimination, for he would have been just as likely to keep in some of the above names as any of the others. The French poem constantly quotes the *parchement* as its authority—"com dit le parchemin."—W.]

[To these remarks, in the truth of which I concur, may be added, that the author of

writing unknown. Yet this simplicity sometimes pleases more than the most artificial touches. In the mean time, the pictures of antient manners presented by these early writers, strongly interest the imagination: especially as having the same uncommon merit with the pictures of manners in Homer, that of being founded in truth and reality, and actually painted from the life. To talk of the grossness and absurdity of such manners is little to the purpose; the poet is only concerned in the justness and faithfulness of the representation.

SECTION II.

Satirical Ballad in the Thirteenth Century. The King's Poet. Robert of Gloucester. Antient Political Ballads. Robert of Brunne. The Brut of England. Le Roman de Rou. Gests and Jestours. Erceldoune and Kendale. Bishop Grosthead. Monks write for the Minstrels. Monastic Libraries full of Romances. Minstrels admitted into the Monasteries. Regnorum Chronica and Mirabilia Mundi. Early European Travellers into the East. Elegy on Edward the First.

HITHERTO we have been engaged in examining the state of our poetry from the Conquest to the year 1200*, or rather afterwards. It will appear to have made no very rapid improvement from that period. Yet as we proceed, we shall find the language losing much of its antient barbarism and obscurity, and approaching more nearly to the dialect of modern times.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry the Third, a poem occurs, the date of which may be determined with some degree of certainty. It is a satirical song, or ballad, written by one of the adherents of Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, a powerful baron, soon after the battle of Lewes, which was fought in the year 1264, and proved very fatal to the interests of the king. In this decisive action, Richard king of the Romans, his brother Henry the Third, and prince Edward, with many others of the royal party, were taken prisoners.

I.

Sitteth alle stille, & herkneth to me:
The kyn of Alemaigne[a], bi mi leaute[b],
Thritti thousent pound askede he

the French romance of king Atla (formerly in Mr. Heber's library, and now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart.) expressly states in his Prologue, that the stories of *Aelof* (Allof), Tristan, and others had been translated into French from the English.—M.]

* [1300—M.]

[a] The king of the Romans.

[b] loyalty.

Forte make the pees[c] in the countre[d],
Ant so he dude more.
Richard, thah[e] thou be euer trichard[f],
Tricthen shal thou neuermore.

II.

Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he wes kyng,
He spende al is tresour opon swyuyng,
Haueth he nout of Walingford oferlyng[g],
Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng[h],
Maugre Wyndesore[i].
Richard, thah thou, &c.

III.

The kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel[k],
He saisede the mulne for a castel[l],
With hare[m] sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,
He wende that the sayles were mangonel[n]
To helpe Wyndesore.
Richard, &c.

IV.

The kyng of Alemaigne gederede[o] ys host,
Makede him a castel of a mulne-post[p],
Wende with is prude[q], ant is muchele bost,
Brohte from Almayne mony sori gost[r]
To store Wyndesore.
Richard, &c.

V.

By God that is abouen ous he dude muche synne,
That lette passen ouer see the erl of Warynne[s]:

[c] peace

[d] The barons made this offer of thirty thousand pounds to Richard.

[e] though. [f] treacherous.

[g] *Overlyng*, i. e. superior. But perhaps the word is osterlyng, for *esterlyng*, a French piece of money. Wallingford was one of the honours conferred on Richard, at his marriage with Sanchia daughter of the count of Provence.

[Perhaps *o ferlyng*, "one furlong"]

[h] "Let him have, as he brews, poison [misery] to drink"

[i] Windsor-castle was one of the king's chief fortresses.

[k] "Thought to do full well"

[l] Some old chronicles relate, that at the battle of Lewes Richard was taken in a windmill. Hearne MSS. Coll. vol. 106. p. 82. Robert of Gloucester mentions the same circumstance, edit. Hearne, p. 547.

The kyng of Alemaigne was in a windmulle inome.

Richard and prince Edward took shelter in the Grey-friars at Lewes, but were afterwards imprisoned in the castle of Wallingford. See Hearne's Langtoft, Gloss. p 616, and Rob. Glouc p 548. Robert de Brunne, a poet of whom I shall speak at large in his proper place, translates the onset of this battle with some spirit, edit. Hearne, p 217.

Symon com to the felde, and put up his banere,
The king schewed forth his schelde, his dragon ful austere.
The kyng saide on hie, *Simon ieo vous defie*, &c

[m] their.

[n] battering-rams. [Vid. infra, p. 63. note [n].]

[o] gathered. [p] mill-post. [q] pride.

[r] He brought with him many foreigners, when he returned to England, from taking possession of his dignity of king of the Romans. This gave great offence to the barons. It is here insinuated, that he intended to garrison Windsor-castle with these foreigners. The barons obliged him to dismiss most of them soon after he landed in England.

[s] The earl of Warren and Surrey, and Hugh le Bigot the king's justiciary, men-

He hath robbed Engelond, the mores, ant th[e] fenne,
The gold, ant the seluer, and yboren henne,
For loue of Wyndesore.
Richard, &c.

VI.

Sire Simond de Mountfort hath suore bi ys chyn,
Heuede[t] he nou here the erle of Waryn,
Shulde he neuer more come to is yn[u],
Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with other gyn[w],
To help of Wyndesore:
Richard, &c.

VII.

Syre Simond de Montfort hath suore bi ys top,
Heuede he nou here Sire Hue de Bigot,
Al he shulde quite here tuelfmoneth scot[x]
Shulde he neuer more with his fot pot,
To helpe Wyndesore.
Richard, &c.

VIII.

[Be the luef, be the loht Sire Edward,
Thou shalt ride sporeles o thy lyard,
Al the ryhte way to Douere-ward,
Shalt thou neuermore breke foreward,
Ant that reweth sore;
Edward, thou dudest ase a shreward,
Forsoke thyn emes* lore.
Richard, &c.]

These popular rhymes had probably no small influence in encouraging Leicester's partisans, and diffusing his faction. There is some humour in imagining that Richard supposed the windmill to which he retreated, to be a fortification; and that he believed the sails of it to be military engines. In the manuscript from which this specimen is transcribed, immediately follows a song in French, seemingly written by the same poet, on the battle of Evesham fought the following year; in which Leicester† was killed, and his rebellious‡ barons de-

tioned in the seventh stanza, had fled into France.

[t] had.

[u] habitation, home. [w] engine, weapon.

[x] year's tax. I had transcribed this ballad from the British Museum, and written these few cursory explanations, before I knew that it was printed in the second edition of Doctor Percy's Ballads, ii. 1. See MS. Harl. ut supr. f. 58 b.

[Unfortunately, as Ritson remarks, it is also in the *first* edition, vol. ii. p. 3, and exhibiting the same mistakes.—M.]

* [uncle's.]

† ["Of this erle spekyth Ranulph, monke of Chester, in his boke of Policronicon, and calleth him Simon the rightwyse, sayinge that God wrought for him miracles after his deth." Fabyan, an. 1264. "Earl Simon, that great man, who spent, not only his, but himself, in behalf of the oppressed, in asserting a just cause, and maintaining the rights of the realm." S. Johnson's Vind. of Magna Charta, p. 366.]

‡ [in support of Magna Charta, agreeably to its provision "la commune de tote Engleterre nos destreindront & greveront en totes li maneres que il porront...jusquil seit amende...sauve nostre personne."]

feated[y]. Our poet looks upon his hero as a martyr; and particularly laments the loss of Henry his son, and Hugh le Despenser justiciary of England. He concludes with an English stanza, much in the style and spirit of those just quoted.

A learned and ingenious writer, in a work which places the study of the law in a new light, and proves it to be an entertaining history of manners, has observed, that this ballad on Richard of Alemaigne probably occasioned a statute against libels in the year 1275, under the title, "Against slanderous reports, or tales to cause discord betwixt king and people[z]." That this spirit was growing to an extravagance which deserved to be checked, we shall have occasion to bring further proofs.

I must not pass over the reign of Henry the Third, who died in the year 1272, without observing, that this monarch entertained in his court a poet with a certain salary, whose name was Henry de Avranches[a]. And although this poet was a Frenchman, and most probably wrote in French, yet this first instance of an officer who was afterwards, yet with sufficient impropriety, denominated a *poet laureate* in the English court, deservedly claims particular notice in the course of these annals. He is called *Master Henry the Versifier*[b]: which appellation perhaps implies a different character from the royal *Minstrel* or *Joculator*. The king's treasurers are ordered to pay this *Master Henry* one hundred shillings, which I suppose to have been a year's

[y] f 59. It begins,

Chaunter mestoit | mon cuer le voit | en
un dure langage,
Tut en ploraunt | fust fet le chaunt | de
notre duz Baronage, &c.

[This poem was privately printed (together with three others from the same MS.) by Sir Francis Palgrave (then Fr. Cohen, Esq.), 4to. 1818.—M.]

[A version of this song was made by Sir Walter Scott, at the request of Ritson, and has been printed in the late republication of his English Songs, vol. ii. Mr. Geo. Ellis made another metrical translation, which perished with many of Ritson's manuscript treasures.—PARK.]

[This Norman ballad has since been printed in the new edition of Ritson's Ancient Songs. Political songs seem to have been common about this period both English, Norman, and Latin, the three languages then used in England, seem to have been enlisted into the cause of Simon de Montfort. I have somewhere seen a Latin poem in his praise; and, in the following passage from a MS containing his miracles, (for Simon, like Harold, and Waltheof, and most of the popular heroes of those days, was looked upon as a saint,) and written apparently no very long time after his death, we have apparently the fragment of a hymn addressed to him when canonized by the popular voice. MS Cotton. Vesp. A VI. fol. 189. "Anno Domini m° cc^mo lx° v^to octavo Symonis Montis Fortis sociorumque ejus pridie nonas Augusti

Salve Symon Montis Fortis,
tocius flos militie,
Duras penas passus mortis,
protector (?) gentis Anglie.
Sunt de sanctis inaudita,
Cunctis passis in hac vita
quemquam passum talia. (*sic.*)
Manus, pedes amputari;
Caput, corpus vulnerari;
abscidi virilia
Sis pro nobis intercessor
Apud Deum, qui defensor
in terris exterritas. (*sic.*)

Ora pro nobis, beate Symon, ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi." There are found many political songs in Latin, which shows that the monks took much interest in politics.—W.]

[z] [Barrington's] Observations upon the Statutes, chiefly the more ancient, &c. edit. 1766. p. 71.

[a] See Carew's Surv. Cornw. p. 58. edit. 1602.

[b] Henry of Huntingdon says, that Walo *Versificatur* wrote a panegyric on Henry

stipend, in the year 1251[c]. And again the same precept occurs under the year 1249[d]. Our Master Henry, it seems, had in some of his verses reflected on the rusticity of the Cornish men. This insult was resented in a Latin satire now remaining, written by Michael Blaunpayne, a native of Cornwall, and recited by the author in the presence of Hugh abbot of Westminster, Hugh de Mortimer official of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop elect of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester[e]. While we are speaking of the *Versifier* of Henry the Third, it will not be foreign to add, that in the thirty-sixth year of the same king, forty shillings and one pipe of wine were given to Richard the king's harper, and one pipe of wine to Beatrice his wife[f]. But why this gratuity of a pipe of wine should also be made to the wife, as well as to the husband, who from his profession was a genial character, appears problematical according to our present ideas*.

the First; and that the same Walo *Versificator* wrote a poem on the park which that king made at Woodstock. Apud Leland's Collectan vol. II. 303 i 197. edit. 1770. Perhaps he was in the department of Henry mentioned in the text. One Gualo, a Latin poet, who flourished about this time, is mentioned by Bale, III. 5 and Pitts, p. 233. He is commended in the POLICRATICON. A copy of his Latin hexametrical satire on the monks is printed by Mathias Flacius, among miscellaneous Latin poems *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu*, p. 489. Basil. 1557. oct.

[c] "Magistro Henrico Versificatori." See Madox, Hist. Excheq. p. 268.

[d] Ibid. p 674. In MSS Digb. Bibl. Bodl. I find, in John of Hoveden's *Salutationes quinquaginta Mariæ*, "Mag. Henricus, VERSIFICATOR MAGNUS, de B. Virgine," &c.

[e] MSS. Bibl. Bodl Arch Bodl. 29 in pergam. 4to. viz. "Versus magistri Michaelis Cornubiensis contra Mag Henricum Abricensem coram dom. Hugone abbate Westmon. et aliis." fol 81 b *Princ.* "ARCHIPOETA vide quod non sit cura tibi de." See also fol. 83 b. Again, fol. 85.

Pendo poeta prius te diximus ARCHIPOETAM,
Quam pro postico nunc dicimus esse poetam,
Imo poeticulum, &c.

Archipoeta means here the *king's chief poet.*

In another place our Cornish satirist thus attacks master Henry's person:

Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris, et latus apri;
Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens et gena muli:
Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, et color undique mauri.

In a blank page of the Bodleian manuscript, from which these extracts are made, is written, "Iste liber constat Fratri Johanni de Wallis monacho Rameseye." The name is elegantly enriched with a device. This manuscript contains, among other things, Planctus de Excidio Trojæ, by Hugo Prior de Montacuto, in rhyming hexameters and pentameters, viz. fol 89. Camden cites other Latin verses of Michael Blaunpain, whom he calls "Merry Michael the Cornish poet" Rem. p 10. See also p. 489 edit 1674 He wrote many other Latin pieces, both in prose and verse.

[Compare Tanner in JOANNES CORNUBIENSIS, who recites his other pieces. BIBL. p 432. Notes [f g].—ADDITIONS.]

[There are more than one copy of this poem in the British Museum. In MS. Reg 14 C. XIII. fol. 269, it is said to have been recited at Cambridge, in presence of the University and Masters "Versus magistri Machielis [*for* Michaelis] Cornubiensis contra magistrum Henricum Abrincensem coram domino abbate Westmonasterii et domino decano Sancti Pauli Londoniarum primis judicibus, et postea coram Elyensi episcopo et cancellario Cantebrugie una cum universitate magistrorum." The Latin poems of Michael Cornubiensis on various subjects occur in MS. Cotton. VESP. D. V. fol 149.—W.]

[f] Rot. Pip. an. 36 Henr III. "Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato magistro Ricardo Citharistæ regis, xl. sol. per Br. Reg. Et in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejusdem Ricardi."

* [Beatrice may possibly have been a *jugleress*, whose pantomimic exhibitions were accompanied by her husband's harp, or who filled up the intervals between his performances. This union of professional talents in husband and wife was not uncommon. In a copy of the ordonnances for regulating the minstrels, &c. residing at

The first poet whose name occurs in the reign of Edward the First, and indeed in these annals, is Robert of Gloucester, a monk of the abbey of Gloucester. He has left a poem of considerable length, which is a history of England in verse, from Brutus to the reign of Edward the First. It was evidently written after the year 1278, as the poet mentions king Arthur's sumptuous tomb, erected in that year before the high altar of Glastenbury church[f]: and he declares himself a living witness of the remarkably dismal weather which distinguished the day on which the battle of Evesham above mentioned was fought, in the year 1265[g]. From these and other circumstances this piece appears to have been composed about the year 1280*. It is exhibited in the manuscripts, is cited by many antiquaries, and printed by Hearne, in the Alexandrine measure; but with equal probability might have been written in four-lined stanzas. This rhyming chronicle is totally destitute of art or imagination. The author has cloathed the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth in rhyme, which have often a more poetical air in Geoffrey's prose. The language is not much more easy or intelligible than that of many of the Norman Saxon poems quoted in the preceding section: it is full of Saxonisms, which indeed abound, more or less, in every writer before Gower and Chaucer. But this obscurity is perhaps owing to the western dialect, in which our monk of Gloucester was educated. Provincial barbarisms are naturally the growth of extreme counties, and of such as are situated at a distance from the metropolis; and it is probable that the Saxon heptarchy, which consisted of a cluster of seven independent states, contributed to produce as many different provincial dialects. In the mean time it is to be considered, that writers of all ages and languages have their affectations and singularities, which occasion in each a peculiar phraseology.

Robert of Gloucester thus describes the sports and solemnities which followed king Arthur's coronation:

Thulke gode Lowis is nou Seint, & ileid in ssrine.—*p.* 531, *ed. Hearne.*

Paris, a document drawn up by themselves in the year 1321, and signed by thirty-seven persons on behalf of all the *menestreux jougleurs et jougleresses* of that city, we find among others the names of Iehanot Langlois et Adeline, fame de Langlois Jaucons, fils le moine et Marguerite, la fame au moine. See Roquefort de la Poesie Françoise dans les xii et xiii Siècles, p 288.—PRICE.]

[f] Pag 224 edit. Hearne Oxon 1724.

[g] Pag 560

* [It is surprising that Hearne, Warton, Ritson, Boucher, and a host of ignorant copiers, should have overlooked the mention of the canonization of St. Louis, which did not take place till 1297.

The Chronicle, consequently, could not have been completed till after this period, a fact of some moment, since hitherto the author has been referred to as the fountain-head of our early poetry. See my Introduction to the *Ancient Romance of Havelok the Dane*, 4to 1828. p lii. It must, in addition, be remarked, that the greater part of this Chronicle was unfortunately printed from the Harleian MS. 201, an inferior copy of the 15th century (erroneously assigned by Hearne to Edward the Third's reign), and only the remaining portion, viz pp 465—571, from the Cotton MS. CALIG A xi, which is contemporary, or nearly so, with the author. In the event of another and critical edition (which is very desirable), the Cotton MS. should serve as the text, and various readings might be annexed from the Harleian, Heralds College, Sloane, Oxford and Cambridge MSS. In the Bodleian library is a printed copy of the work, filled with collations in the handwriting of the Rev. Daniel Waterland, D.D.—M.]

The kyng was to ys paleys, tho the servyse was ydo[g],
Ylad wyth hys menye, and the quene to hyre also.
Vor hii hulde the olde vsages, that men wyth men were
By hem sulue, and wymmen by hem sulue also there[h].
Tho hii were echone yset, as yt to her stat bycom,
Kay, king of Aungeo, a thousand kyngtes nome
Of noble men, yclothed in ermyne echone
Of on sywete, and seruede at thys noble fest anon.
Bedwer the botyler, kyng of Normandye,
Nom also in ys half a uayr companye
Of one sywyte[i] vorto servy of the botelerye.
Byuore the quene yt was also of al suche cortesye,
Vorto telle al the noblye that ther was ydo,
They my tonge were of stel, me ssolde nogt dure therto.
Wymmen ne kepte of no kyngt as in druery[k],
Bote he were in armys wel yprowed, & atte leste thrye[l].
That made, lo, the wymmen the chastore lyf lede,
And the kyngtes the stalwordore[m], and the betere in her dede.
Sone after thys noble mete[n], as rygt was of such tyde,
The kyngts atyled hem aboute in eche syde,
In feldes and in medys to preue her bachelerye[o].
Somme wyth lance, some wyth suerd, wyth oute vylenye,
Wyth pleyynge at tables, other atte chekere[p],
Wyth castynge, other wyth ssetynge[q], other in some ogyrt manere.
And wuch so of eny game adde the maystrye,
The kyng hem of ys gyfteth dyde large corteysye.
Vpe the alurs of the castles the laydes thanne stode[r],
And byhulde thys noble game, and wyche kyngts were god.
All the thre hexte dawes[s] ylaste thys nobleye
In halles and in veldes, of mete and eke of pleye.

[g] "when the service in the church was finished."

[h] "They kept the antient custom at festivals, of placing the men and women separate. Kay, king of Anjou, brought a thousand noble knights cloathed in ermine of one suit, or *secta*."

[i] "brought also, on his part, a fair company cloathed uniformly."

[k] modesty, decorum [gallantry].

[l] thrice. [m] more brave.

[n] "Soon after this noble feast, which was proper at such an occasion, the knights accoutred themselves."

[o] chivalry, courage, or youth.

[p] chess. It is remarkable, that among the nine exercises, or accomplishments, mentioned by Kolson, an ancient northern chief, one is playing at chess. Bartholin. II. c. 8 p. 420. This game was familiarized to the Europeans after the Crusades. The romances which followed those expeditions are full of it. Kolson, above mentioned, had made a pilgrimage into the Holy Land. But from the principles advanced in the first INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION, this game might have been known in the North before. In the mean time, it is probable that the Saracens introduced it into Spain before the Crusades It is mentioned by G. of Monmouth, and in the Alexiad of Anna Comnena. See Mem. Acad. Lit. v. 232.

[See the Dissertation on the Introduction of Chess into Europe, inserted in the *Archæologia*, vol. XXIV —M.]

[q] Different ways of playing at chess.

[It is certain that neither of these terms relates to chess.—DOUCE.]

[*Castynge* refers to the game of throwing or putting the stone; and *ssetynge* is shooting with the bow or spear.—M]

[r] "The ladies stood on the walks made within the battlements of the castle."

[s] "All the three high or chief days. In halls and fields, of feasting, and turneying," &c.

Thys men come the verthe [t] day byuore the kynge there,
And he ȝef hem large ȝyftys, euere as hii werthe were.
Bissopryches and cherches clerkes he ȝef somme,
And castles and tounes kynȝtes that were ycome.[u]

Many of these lines are literally translated from Geoffry of Monmouth. In king Arthur's battle with the giant at Barbesfleet, there are no marks of Gothic painting. But there is an effort at poetry in the description of the giant's fall.

Tho grislych ȝal the ssrewe tho, that grislych was ys bere,
He vel douns as a gret ok, that bynethe ycorue were,
That yt thoȝte that al hul myd the vallynge ssok.[v]

That is, "This cruel giant yelled so horribly, and so vehement was his fall, that he fell down like an oak cut through at the bottom, and all the hill shook while he fell*." But this stroke is copied from Geoffry of Monmouth; who tells the same miraculous story, and in all the pomp with which it was perhaps dressed up by his favourite fablers. "Exclamavit vero invisus ille; et velut quercus ventorum viribus eradicata, cum maximo sonitu corruit." It is difficult to determine which is most blameable, the poetical historian, or the prosaic poet.

It was a tradition invented by the old fablers, that giants brought the stones of Stonehenge from the most sequestered deserts of Africa, and placed them in Ireland; that every stone was washed with juices of herbs, and contained a medical power; and that Merlin the magician, at the request of king Arthur, transported them from Ireland, and erected them in circles on the plain of Amesbury, as a sepulchral monument for the Britons treacherously slain by Hengist. This fable is thus delivered, without decoration, by Robert of Glocester:

"Sire kyng," quoth Merlyn tho, "suche thynges ywys
Ne beth for to schewe noȝt, but wen gret node ys,
For ȝef ich seid in bismare, other bute yt ned were,
Sone from me he wolde wende the gost, that doth me lere [w]:"
The kyng, tho non other nas, bod hym som quoyntyse
Bithenke about thilke cors that so noble were and wyse [x].
"Sire kyng," quoth Merlyn tho, "ȝef thou wolt here caste
In the honour of hem, a werk that euer schal ylaste [y],
To the hul of Kylar [z] send in to Yrlond,
Aftur the noble stones that ther habbet [a] lenge ystonde;

[t] fourth [u] Pag. 191. 192. [v] Pag. 208.

*[Warton makes the description of the giant's fall more extravagant than it actually is, by his inaccurate version. Rob. Glouc. merely says "it *seemed* [yt thoȝte] that the whole hill shook with the fall."—R. G.]

[w] If I should say anything out of wantonness or vanity, the spirit, or demon, which teaches me, would immediately leave me. "Nam si ea in derisionem, siue vanitatem, proferiem, taceret Spiritus qui me docet, et, cum opus superueniret, recederet." Galfrid. Mon. viii. 10.

[x] "bade him use his cunning, for the sake of the bodies of those noble and wise Britons."

[y] "if you would build, to their honour, a lasting monument."

[z] "To the hill of Kildare." [a] have.

That was the treche of geandes [b], for a quoynte werk ther ys
Of stones al wyth art ymad, in the world such non ys.
Ne ther nys nothing that me scholde myd strengthe adoun caste.
Stode heo here, as heo doth there euer a wolde last [c]."
The kyng somdel to-lyȝhe [d], tho he herde this tale,
"How myȝte," he seyde, "suche stones so grete & so fale [e]
Be ybroȝt of so fer lond? And ȝet mest of were,
Me wolde wene, that in this lond no ston to worche nere."
"Syre kyng," quoth Merlyn, "ne make noȝht an ydel such lyȝhyng.
For yt nys an ydel noȝht that ich telle this tything [f].
For in the farreste stude of Affric geandes while fette [g]
Thike stones for medycine & in Yrlond hem sette,
While heo woneden in Yrlond to make here bathes there,
Ther vnder forto bathi wen thei syk were.
For heo wolde the stones wasch & ther enne bathe ywis.
For ys no ston ther among that of gret vertu nys [h]."
The kyng and ys conseil radde [i] tho stones forto fette,
And with gret power of batail ȝef any mon hem lette;
Uter the kynges brother, that Ambrose hette also,
In another maner name ychose was therto,
And fiftene thousant men, this dede for to do,
And Merlyn, for his quoyntise, thider wente also. [k]

If anything engages our attention in this passage, it is the wildness of the fiction; in which however the poet had no share.

[b] "the dance of giants." The name of this wonderful assembly of immense stones.

[c] "Grandes sunt lapides, nec est aliquis cujus virtuti cedant. Quod si eo modo, quo ibi positi sunt, circa plateam locabuntur, stabunt in æternum." Galfrid. Mon. viii x 11.

[d] somewhat laughed.

[e] so great and so many.

[f] tyding.

[g] "Giants once brought them from the farthest part of Africa," &c.

[h] "Lavabant namque lapides et infra balnea diffundebant, unde ægroti curabantur. Miscebant etiam cum herbarum confectionibus, unde vulnerati sanabantur. Non est ibi lapis qui medicamento careat." Galfrid. Mon ibid.

[i] rode [advised or counselled].

[k] Pag. 145. 146. 147. That Stonehenge is a British monument, erected in memory of Hengist's massacre, rests, I believe, on the sole evidence of Geoffry of Monmouth, who had it from the British bards. But why should not the testimony of the British bards be allowed on this occasion? For they did not invent facts, so much as sables. In the present case, Hengist's massacre is an allowed event. Remove all the apparent fiction, and the bards only say, that an immense pile of stones was raised on the plain of Ambresbury in memory of that event. They lived too near the time to forge this origin of Stonehenge. The whole story was recent, and, from the immensity of the work itself, must have been still more notorious. Therefore their forgery would have been too glaring. It may be objected, that they were fond of referring everything stupendous to their favourite hero Arthur. This I grant: but not when known authenticated facts stood in their way, and while the real cause was remembered. Even to this day, the massacre of Hengist, as I have partly hinted, is an undisputed piece of history. Why should not the other part of the story be equally true? Besides the silence of Nennius, I am aware that this hypothesis is still attended with many difficulties and improbabilities. And so are all the systems and conjectures ever yet framed about this amazing monument. It appears to me to be the work of a rude people who had some ideas of art: such as we may suppose the Romans left behind them among the Britons. In the mean time I do not remember, that in the very controverted etymo-

I will here add Uther's intrigue with Ygerne.

At the fest of Estre tho kyng sende ys sonde,
That heo comen alle to London the hey men of this londe,
And the leuedys al so god, to ys noble fest wyde,
For he schulde crowne bere, for the hye tyde.
Alle the noble men of this lond to the noble fest come,
And heore wyues & heore doȝtren with hem mony nome.
This fest was noble ynow, and nobliche ydo;
For mony was the faire ledy that ycome was therto.
Ygerne, Gorloys wyf, was fairest of echon,
That was contasse of Cornewail, for so fair nas ther non.
The kyng byhuld hire faste ynow, & ys herte on hire caste,
And thoȝte, thay heo were wyf, to do folye atte last.
He made hire semblant fair ynow, to non other so gret.
The erl nas not ther with ypayed, tho he yt vnderȝet.
Aftur mete he nom ys wyfe myd stordy mod ynow,
And, with oute leue of the kyng, to ys contrei drow.
The kyng sende to hym tho, to byleue al nyȝt,
For he moste of gret consel habbe som insyȝt.
That was for noȝt; wolde he noȝt; the kyng sende ȝet
That he byleuede at ys parlemente, for nede of the lon
The kyng was, tho he nolde noȝt, anguyssous & wroth.
For despyte he wolde awreke be, he swor ys oth,
Bute he come to amendement; ys power atte laste
He ȝarkede, and wende forth to Cornewail faste.
Gorloys ys casteles astore al aboute.
In a strong castel he dude ys wyf, for of hire was al ys doute.
In another hym self he was, for he nolde noȝt,
ȝef cas come, that heo were bothe to dethe ybroȝt.
The castel, that the erl inne was, the kyng bysegede faste,
For he myȝte ys gynnes for schame to the other caste.
Tho he was ther sene nyȝt, and he spedde noȝt,
Igerne the contesse so muche was in ys thoȝt,
That he nuste non other wyt, ne he ne myȝte for schame
Telle yt bute a pryue knyȝt, Ulfyn was ys name,
That he truste mest to. And tho the knyȝt herde this,
"Syre," he seide, "y ne can wyte, wat red here of ys,
For the castel ys so strong, that the lady ys inne,
For ich wene al the lond ne schulde yt myd strengthe wynne.
For the se geth al aboute, bute entre on ther nys,
And that ys vp on harde roches, & so narw wei it ys,

logy of the word *Stonehenge* the name of HENGIST has been properly or sufficiently considered.

[The etymology referred to by Mr. Ritson is evidently the most plausible that has been suggested Stan-henge—hanging stone: *Observations*, &c. In addition to this it is supported by an authority of high antiquity.

Stanheng out non en Anglois,
Pierres pendues en François.
Wace's *Brut.*—PRICE]

That ther may go bote on & on, that thre men with inne
My3te sle al the lond, er heo com ther inne.
And no3t for than, 3ef Merlyn at thi conseil were,
3ef any my3te, he couthe the best red the lere."
Merlyn was sone of-send, yseid yt was hym sone,
That he schulde the beste red segge, wat were to done.
Merlyn was sory ynow for the kynges folye,
And natheles, "Sire kyng," he seide, "here mot to maistrie,
The erl hath twey men hym next, Bry3thoel & Jordan.
Ich wol make thi self, 3ef thou wolt, thoru art that y can,
Habbe al tho fourme of the erl, as thou were ry3t he,
And Olfyn as Jordan, and as Brithoel me."
This art was al clene ydo, that al changet he were,
Heo thre in the otheres forme, the selue as yt were.
A3eyn euen he wende forth, nuste nomon that cas,
To the castel heo come ry3t as yt euene was.
The porter yse ys lord come, & ys meste priuey twei,
With god herte he lette ys lord yn, & ys men beye.
The contas was glad ynow, tho hire lord to hire com,
And eyther other in here armes myd gret joye nom.
Tho heo to bedde com, that so longe a two were,
With hem was so gret delyt, that bitwene hem there
Bigete was the beste body that euer was in this londe,
Kyng Arthure the noble mon, that euer worthe vnderstonde.
Tho the kynges men nuste amorwe wer he was bicome,
Heo ferde as wodemen, and wende he were ynome.
Heo asaileden the castel, as yt schulde adoun anon,
Heo that with inne were, 3arkede hem echon,
And smyte out in a fole wille, & fo3te myd here fon:
So that the erl was yslawe, & of ys men mony on,
And the castel was ynome, & the folk to-sprad there,
3et, tho thei hadde al ydo, heo ne fonde not the kyng there.
The tything to the contas sone was ycome,
That hire lord was yslawe, and the castel ynome.
Ac tho the messinger hym sey the erl, as hym tho3te,
That he hadde so foule ylow, ful sore hym of-tho3te,
The contasse made somedel deol, for no sothnesse heo nuste.
The kyng, for to glade here, biclupte hire and cust.
"Dame," he seide, "no sixt thou wel, that les yt ys al this?
Ne wost thou wel ich am olyue? Ich wole the segge how it ys.
Out of the castel stilleliche ych wende al in priuete,
That none of myne men yt nuste, for to speke with the.
And tho heo myste me to day, and nuste wer ich was,
Heo ferden ri3t as gydie men, myd wam no red nas,
And fo3te with the folk with oute, & habbeth in this manere
Ylore the castel and hem selue, ac wel thou wost y am here.

Ac for my castel, that is ylore, sory ich am ynow,
And for myn men, that the kyng and ys power slo3.
Ac my power is now to lute, ther fore y drede sore
Leste the kyng vs nyme here, & sorwe that we were more.
Ther fore ich wole, how so yt be, wende a3en the kynge,
And make my pays with hym, ar he vs to schame brynge."
Forth he wende, & het ys men that 3ef the kyng come,
That thei schulde hym the castel 3elde, ar he with strengthe it nome.
Tho he come toward ys men, ys own forme he nom,
And leuede the erles fourme, and the kyng Uter bycom.
Sore hym of-tho3te the erles deth, ac in other half he fonde
Joye in hys herte, for the contasse of spoushed was vnbonde,
Tho he hadde that he wolde, and paysed with ys fon,
To the contasse he wende a3en, me let hym in anon.
Wat halt it to talle longe? bute heo were seththe at on,
In gret loue longe ynow, wan yt nolde other gon;
And hadde togedere this noble sone, that in tho world ys pere nas,
The kyng Arture, and a do3ter, Anne hire name was.[l]

In the latter end of the reign of Edward the First, many officers of the French king, having extorted large sums of money from the citizens of Bruges in Flanders, were murthered: and, an engagement succeeding, the French army, commanded by the count du Saint Pol, was defeated; upon which the king of France, who was Philip the Fair, sent a strong body of troops, under the conduct of the count of Artois, against the Flemings: he was killed, and the French were almost all cut to pieces. On this occasion the following ballad was made in the year 1301[m]:

Lustneth, lordinges, bothe 3onge ant olde,
Of the Freynsshe men that were so proude ant bolde,
Hou the Flemmyshe men bohten hem ant solde,
Vpon a Wednesday.
Betere hem were at home in huere londe,
Then forte seche Flemysshe by the see stronde
Whare rourh * moni Frenshe wyf wryngeth hire honde,
Ant singeth weylaway.
The kyng of Fraunce made statuz newe,
In the lond of Flaundres among false ant trewe,
That the commun of Bruges ful sore can arewe,
And seiden amonges hem,
Gedere we vs togedere hardilyche at ene,
Take we the bailifs by tuenty ant by tene,
Clappe we of the heuedes an ouen o the grene,
Ant cast we y the fen.

[l] Chron. p. 156.
[m] The last battle was fought that year, July 7.
* [where-through.—M.

The webbes ant the fullaris assembleden hem alle,
Ant makeden huere consail in huere commune halle,
Token Peter Conyng huere kynge to calle
Ant beo huere cheuenteyne, &c.[n]

These verses show the familiarity with which the affairs of France were known in England, and display the disposition of the English towards the French, at this period. It appears from this and previous instances, that political ballads, I mean such as were the vehicles of political satire, prevailed much among our early ancestors. About the present era, we meet with a ballad complaining of the exorbitant fees extorted, and the numerous taxes levied, by the king's officers [o]. There is a libel remaining, written indeed in French Alexandrines, on the commission of trayl-baston [p], or the justices so denominated by Edward the First, during his absence in the French and Scotch wars, about the year 1306. The author names some of the justices or commissioners, now not easily discoverable: and says, that he served the king both in peace and war in Flanders, Gascony, and Scotland [q]. There is likewise a ballad against the Scots, traitors to Edward the First, and taken prisoners at the battles of Dunbar and Kykenclef, in 1305 and 1306 [r]. The licentiousness of their rude manners was perpetually breaking out in these popular pasquins, although this species of petulance usually belongs to more polished times.

Nor were they less dexterous than daring in publishing their satires to advantage, although they did not enjoy the many conveniences which modern improvements have afforded for the circulation of public abuse. In the reign of Henry the Sixth, to pursue the topic a little lower, we find a ballad of this species stuck on the gates of the royal palace, severely reflecting on the king and his counsellors then sitting in parliament. This piece is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, with the following Latin title prefixed: "*Copia scedulæ valvis domini regis existentis in parliamento suo tento apud Westmonasterium mense marcii anno regni Henrici sexti vicesimo octavo* *." But the antient ballad was often applied to better purposes: and it appears from a valuable collection of these little pieces, lately published by my ingenious friend and fellow-labourer Doctor Percy, in how much more ingenuous a strain they have transmitted to posterity the praises of

[n] MS. Harl. 2253. f. 73 b.

[o] Ibid. f. 64. There is a song half Latin and half French, much on the same subject, Ibid. f. 137. b.

[p] See Spelman and Dufresne in v. and Rob. Brunne's Chron. ed. Hearne, p. 328. [This ballad is printed in the new edition of Ritson's Ancient Songs.—W.]

[q] MS. Harl. ibid. f. 113 b. [Printed in Sir F. Palgrave's volume before referred to, 4to, 1818.—M.]

[r] Ibid. f. 59. [This and the ballad against the French will be found in Ritson's Ancient Songs, pp. 5, 18.—PRICE.]

* [This piece is not a ballad. See Hearne's Heming Chartularium. RITSON.] [We not unfrequently meet with comparatively early provincial libels in verse. See one on the corporation of Cambridge, printed (incorrectly enough) in Hartshorne's Ancient Metrical Tales, which was posted up against the mayor's door. See also T. Sharpe's "Pageant of the Company of Showmen."—W.]

knightly heroism, the marvels of romantic fiction, and the complaints of love.

At the close of the reign of Edward the First, and in the year 1303, a poet occurs named Robert Mannyng, but more commonly called Robert de Brunne. He was a Gilbertine canon in the monastery of Brunne, or Bourne, near Depyng in Lincolnshire: but he had been before professed in the priory of Sixhille, a house of the same order, and in the same county *. He was merely a translator. He translated into English metre, or rather paraphrased, a French book, written by Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, entitled MANUEL PECHÉ, or MANUEL DES PECHÉS, that is, the MANUAL OF SINS. This translation was never printed [s]. It is a long work, and treats of the decalogue, and

* [De Brunne's account rather varies from this statement.

In the third Edwardes time was I,
Whenne I wrote all this story,
In the house of Sixille I was a throwe;
Dan Robert of Malton that ye know,
Did it wryte for felawes sake
[*Prol. to Chronicle.*]

"By this passage he seems to mean that he was born at a place called Malton; that he had resided some time in a house in the neighbourhood called Sixhill, and that *there* he, Robert de Brunne, had composed at least a part of his poem during the *reign of Edward III.*"—ELLIS.]

[The mistakes made by the biographers of Mannyng were first pointed out by me, in my Preface to the *Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane*, 4to. 1828. p. xiii. It appears from a comparison of the Prologues to the Manuel des Pechés and the Chronicle, that Robert Mannyng was born at Brunne, but was never professed in any religious house of that place. He was a canon of the Gilbertine order, and resided in the priory of Sempringham ten years in the time of prior John of Camelton, and five years with John of Clyntone. He began his *Manuel* in the year 1303, when Philip was prior there. He afterwards removed to the priory of Sixhille, in the same county, the prior of which, Dan Robert of Malton, or Dan Robert, prior of Malton (for the lines may be interpreted either way), caused the *Chronicle* to be written, which was finally completed on the ides of May, 1338. In the list of priors of Sempringham, given by Willis, *Mitred Abbeys*, ii. 121. and *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 948., we find that John de *Hamerton* (evidently the same as *Camelton*) held that office from May 1276 to about March 1282, and was succeeded by Roger de Bolingbrok, who died in 1298. His successor was Philip de Burton or *Barton* (Mannyng's "Dane Felyp"), who was admitted 2 cal. Aug. 1298, and died in 1332. The next on the list is John de Glyndone, confirmed 9 cal. Aug. 1332, who died or resigned in 1341. From the similarity of the sound, one would suspect him to be Mannyng's "Dane Jone of Clyntone," but this would throw some difficulties in the way of dates, not entirely to be cleared up, until perfect lists of the priors of Sempringham, Sixhill, and Malton, should be procured —M]

[s] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. N. 415. membr fol. Pr "Fadyr and sone and holy goste" And MS Harl 1701.

[The Harleian manuscript has been collated for the present text. Like the Bodleian, if Warton followed the Bodleian manuscript, it professes to be a translation from the French of Grosteste But this may be a mere dictum of the transcriber All we gather from the work itself is an acknowledgement of a French original called "Manuel Peche," whose author was clearly unknown to De Brunne. Had it been written by a man of Grosteste's eminence, it would hardly have been published anonymously, nor can we suppose this circumstance, if really true, would have been passed over in silence by his translator Be this as it may, the French production upon which De Brunne unquestionably founded his poem, is claimed by a writer calling himself William of Wadigton, and that in language too peculiar and self-condemning to leave a doubt as to the justice of his title

De le françeis vile ne del rimer,
Ne me deit nuls hom blamer,
Kar en Engletere fu né,
E norri, e ordiné, e alevé.
De une vile sui nomé,
Ou ne est burg ne cité, &c.
De Deu seit beneit chescun hom,
Ke prie por Wilhelm de Wadigton.
Manuel des Pechés, Harl. MS. 4657.

De Brunne, however, is not a mere translator. He generally amplifies the moral precepts of his original; introduces occa-

the seven deadly sins, which are illustrated with many legendary stories. This is the title of the translator: "Here bygynneth the boke that men clepyn in Frenshe MANUEL PECHE, the which boke made yn Frenshe Robert Groosteste byshop of Lyncoln." From the Prologue, among other circumstances, it appears that Robert de Brunne designed this performance to be sung to the harp at public entertainments, and that it was written or begun in the year 1303 [t].

For lewde [u] men y vndyrtoke
On Englysshe tunge to make thys boke:
For many ben of swyche manere
That talys and rymys wyl blethly [w] here,
Yn gamys & festys, & at the ale [x]
Loue men to lestene troteuale [y]: &c.
To alle Crystyn men vndir sunne,
And to gode men of Brunne;
And speciali alle be name
The felaushepe of Symprynghame [z],
Roberde of Brunne greteth 3ow,
In al godenesse that may to prow [a].
Of Brymwake yn Kesteuene [b]
Syxe myle besyde Symprynghame euene,

sional illustrations of his own, (as in the case of Groseteste cited in the text,) and sometimes avails himself of Wadigton's Latin authorities, where these are more copious or circumstantial than their French copyist. Wadigton's work, according to M de la Rue, (Archæologia, vol. XIV.) is a free translation of a Latin poem called *Floretus*, by some ascribed to St. Bernard, and by others to Pope Clement. This I have not been able to meet with; but the following lines which De Brunne extracted from the "Latin Boke," may either confirm this opinion or lead to a knowledge of the true source.

Equitabat Bevo per silvam frondosam,
Ducebat secum Merswyndam formosam,
Quid stamus? cur non imus?

By the leved wode rode Bevolyne,
Wyth hym he ledde feyre Merswyne,
Why stond we? why go we noght?

[The Latin lines quoted by Brunne, together with the entire story, were borrowed by him from the Latin Legend of St. Edith, composed by Goscelin, an unique copy of which occurs among Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian library, No. 1027. The story only forms one of the numerous episodes in Mannyng's work, which are not found in the original French text.—M.]

[The Harleian MS. No. 273 of the "Manuel de Pechés," calls the author William de Windingdon; but this part of the manuscript is written by a comparatively recent and careless hand —No. 4657. reads Wadigton, but perhaps we should read Wadington —PRICE.]

[We should certainly read Wadington, as confirmed by the reading of many excellent MSS. I have seen. See the Abbé de la Rue's enlarged article on this Anglo-Norman poet, in the third volume of his work "Sur les Bardes, Jougleurs, et Trouvères," pp 225–233.—M.]

[t] fol. 1 a. [u] laymen, illiterate.

[w] gladly.

[x] So in the *Vision* of P. Plowman, fol. xxvi. b edit. 1550.

I am occupied every day, holy day and other,
With idle tales *at the Ale*, &c.

Again, fol. 1 b.

...Foughten *at the Ale*
In glotony, godwote, &c.

Chaucer mentions an *Alestake*, Prol. v. 669. Perhaps, a May-pole. And in the *Plowman's Tale*, p. 185. Urr. edit. v. 2110.

And the chief chantours at the *nale*.

[y] truth and all. [Nonsense, trifles, *titwillitia*.—M.]

[z] the name of his order. [a] profit.

[b] A part of Lincolnshire Chron. Br. p. 311.

At Lincoln the parlement was in
Lyndesay and Kestevene.

Lyndesay is Lincolnshire, ibid. p. 248. See

Y dwelled yn the pryorye
Fyftene ȝere yn cumpanye,
In the tyme of gode Dane Jone
Of Camelton that now ys gone;
In hys tyme was y there ten ȝeres
And knewe and herde of hys maneres;
Sythyn with Dane Jone of Clyntone,
Fyue wyntyr wyth hym gan y wone;
Dane Felyp was maystyr that tyme
That y began thys Englysshe ryme;
The ȝeres of grace fyl[c] than to be
A thousynd & thre hundred & thre.
In that tyme turnede y thys
On Englysshe tunge out of Frankys. *

From the work itself I am chiefly induced to give the following specimen, as it contains an anecdote relating to bishop Grosthead his author, who will again be mentioned, and on that account

Y shal ȝow telle as y haue herde
Of the bysshope seynt Roberde,
Hys toname[d] ys Grostest
Of Lynkolne, so seyth the gest.
He louede moche to here the harpe,
For mannys wytte hyt makyth sharpe.
Next hys chaumber, besyde hys stody,
Hys harpers chaumbre was fast therby.
Many tymes, be nyȝtys and dayys,
He hade solace of notes and layys.
One askede hym onys resun why
He hadde delyte in mynstralsy?
He answered hym on thys manere
Why he helde the harper so dere.
" The vertu of the harpe, thurghe skylle & ryȝt,
Wyl destroye the fendes[e] myȝt;
And to the croys by gode skylle
Ys the harpe lykened weyle.—
Tharefor, gode men, ȝe shul lere,
Whan ȝe any glemen[f] here,
To wurschep Gode at ȝoure powere,
As Dauyde seyth yn the sautere[g].

a story of three monks of Lyndesay, ibid. p. 80.

[The county of Lincoln is divided into the hundreds of Lindsey and Kesteven. — PARK.]

[c] fell. * MS. Harl. fol. 1.

[d] surname. See Rob. Br. Chron. p. 168. " Thei cald hi this toname," &c. Fr. "Est surnomez," &c.

[e] fiend's; the *Devil's*.

[f] harpers; minstrels.

[g] psalter.

Yn harpe, yn thabour, and symphan gle[h]
Wurschepe Gode in troumpes and sautre;
Yn cordys, an organes, and bellys ryngyng,
Yn al these wurschepe ȝe heuene kyng," &c.[i]

But Robert de Brunne's largest work is a metrical chronicle of England[k]. The former part, from Æneas to the death of Cadwallader, is translated from an old French poet called MAISTER WACE or GASSE, who manifestly copied Geoffry of Monmouth[l], in a poem commonly

[h] Chaucer R. Sir Thop. v. 3321. Urr. edit. p 135.

Here wonnith the queene of Fairie,
With harpe, and pipe, and *Simphonie*.

[i] fol. 30 b. [MS. Harl. fol 32.] There is an old Latin song in "Burton's Melancholy," which I find in this manuscript poem. Burton's Mel. Part III. § 2. memb. III. pag. 423.

[k] The second part was printed by Hearne at Oxford, which he calls PETER LANGTOFT'S CHRONICLE, 1725. Of the first part Hearne has given us the Prologue, Pref. p. 96. An extract, ibid. p. 188. And a few other passages in his Glossary to Robert of Gloucester But the first part was never printed entire. Hearne says this Chronicle was not finished till the year 1338 Rob Gloucest. Pref p. 59. It appears that our author was educated and graduated at Cambridge, from Chron p. 337.

[Only one perfect MS of this Chronicle is known to exist, which is preserved in the Inner Temple library, but there is a modernized and abridged copy of the fifteenth century among the Lambeth MSS. No 131.—M.]

[l] [This erroneous account of Wace and his writings, has been copied from the statements of Fauchet and others, who have multiplied his person, and confounded his writings with the most unparalleled absurdity Whether written Eustace, Eustache, Wistace, Huistace, Vace, Gasse, or Gace, the name through all its disguises is intended for one and the same person, Wace of Jersey. Mr. Tyrwhitt was the first to rescue this ingenious writer from the errors which had gathered round his name, and M de la Rue has fully established his rights, by supplying us with an authentic catalogue of his works, and exhibiting their importance both to the historian and antiquary. De Brunne was induced to follow the *Brut d'Angleterre*, in the first part of his Chronicle, from the copiousness of its details upon British history. But the continuation noticed in the text was the production of Geoffri Gaimar, a poet rather anterior to Wace; and is supposed to have formed a part of a larger work on English and Norman history. *Le Roman de Rou*, or the history of Rollo first duke of Normandy, is another of Wace's works: and *Les Vies des Ducs de Normandie*, which is brought down to the sixth year of Henry I., a third. But the reader who is desirous of further information on this subject, is referred to the 12th, 13th, and 14th volumes of the "Archæologia," where he will find a brief but able outline of the history of Anglo-Norman poetry, by M. de la Rue. By omitting the passages inclosed within brackets, and substituting the name of Geoffri Gaimar for Robert Wace, and the year 1146 for 1160, Warton's text will be made to cancel its errors.—PRICE]

[See "Notice sur les Ecrits et la Vie de Robert Wace, par F Pluquet, 1824." Part of Geoffri Gaimar, of the continuation of the Brut d'Angleterre, of the chronicle of Benoit de Sainte More, and of other chronicles, have been lately (1836) published at Rouen, in the first volume of "Chroniques Anglo-Normands." Lajamon's translation of Wace is in progress of publication by the Society of Antiquaries of London. The whole of Benoit de Sainte More and of the Brut d'Angleterre are in similar progress at Paris and Rouen Wace's Roman de Rou was published with notes at Rouen in 1827, and a translation of that part of it which relates to William the Conqueror and the conquest of England, with copious notes, has been published in London by Mr Edgar Taylor, under the title of "Master Wace, his Chronicle of the Norman Conquest," 1837."—R T.]

In the British Museum there is a fragment of a poem in very old French verse, a romantic history of England, drawn from Geoffry of Monmouth, perhaps before the year 1200. MSS. Harl. 1605. 1. f. 1. Cod. membran. 4to. In the manuscript library of Doctor N. Johnston of Pontefract, now perhaps dispersed, there was a manuscript on vellum, containing a history in old English verse from Brute to the eighteenth year of Edward the Second. [Probably the same as that printed by Ritson in his *Metrical Romances*, vol. ii. p. 270,

entitled ROMAN DES ROIS D'ANGLETERRE. It is esteemed one of the oldest of the French romances; and [begun to be] written [by Eustace, sometimes called Eustache, Wistace, or Huistace, who finished his part] under the title of BRUT D'ANGLETERRE, in the year 1155. Hence Robert de Brunne [somewhat inaccurately] calls it simply the BRUT[m]. This romance was soon afterwards continued to William Rufus, by Geoffri Gaimar, [Robert Wace or Vace, Gasse or Gace, a native of Jersey, educated at Caen, canon of Bayeux, and chaplain to Henry the Second, under the title of LE ROMAN DE ROU ET LES VJES DES DUCS DE NORMANDIE, yet sometimes preserving its original one,] in the year 1146 [1160[n]]. Thus both parts were blended, and became one work. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum it is thus entitled: "LE BRUT, *ke maistre Wace translata de Latin en Franceis de tutt les Reis de Brittaigne*[o]." That is, from the Latin

of which there are several other copies in existence —M] And in that of Basil lord Denbigh, a metrical history in English, from the same period to Henry the Third. Wanley supposed it to have been of the handwriting of the time of Edward the Fourth.

[m] The BRUT OF ENGLAND, a prose Chronicle of England, sometimes continued as low as Henry the Sixth, is a common manuscript. It was at first translated from a French Chronicle [MSS. Harl. 200 4to], written in the beginning of the reign of Edward the Third I think it is printed by Caxton under the title of *Fructus Temporum.* (The Chronicles of England) [The first edition by Caxton, 1480, is entitled *The Cronycles of Englond*, reprinted by Machlinia, *s a.* and G. de Leew, 1493. In 1483 appeared the *Fructus Temporum*, printed at St. Alban's, which consists of a reprint (or very nearly so) of Caxton's text, with the addition of a general history prefixed, and additional chapters of popes and emperors. This latter was reprinted by W. de Worde, Jul. Notary, and Pynson, with slight alterations. —M.] [Herbert says he had found the *Fructus Temporum* printed at St. Alban's, also by Julian Notary and W. de Worde, but not by Caxton —MS. note.] The French have a famous antient prose romance called BRUT, which includes the history of the Sangreal. I know not whether it is exactly the same In an old metrical romance, The story of ROLLO, there is this passage. MS. Vernon, Bibl. Bodl. f. 124.

Lordus 3if 3e wol lusten to me,
Of Croteye the nobile citee,—
As writen i fynde in his storye
Of BRUIT the cronicle, &c.

In the British Museum we have *Le petit Bruit*, compiled by Meistre Raufe de Boun, and ending with the death of Edward the First. MSS. Harl. 902. f. 1. Cod chart. fol. It is an abridgement of the grand BRUT. [This Chronicle was compiled by Boun for the Earl of Lincoln in 1310, and is a collection of historical notices chiefly derived from apocryphal sources, having but little or no connexion with the *Brut.* See Preface to *Havelok*, p. xx.—M] In the same library I find *Liber de* BRUTO *et de gestis Anglorum metrificatus*, (that is, turned into rude Latin hexameters). It is continued to the death of Richard the Second. Many prose annotations are intermixed MSS. ibid 1808. 24. f 31. Cod membran. 4to. In another copy of this piece, one Peckward is said to be the versifier. MSS. ib. 2386 23. f. 35. [This is not correct. At the end of the MS is "q'd Pecward," which only means that he was the transcriber.—M] In another manuscript the grand BRUT is said to be translated from the French by "John Maundeuile parson of Brunham Thorpe." MSS ibid. 2279 3. [By the *grand Brut* Warton means the old English prose chronicle, which, from being printed and continued by Caxton, is often falsely called by his name See its history more at large in my Preface to *Havelok*, pp. xxv—xxviii —M.]

[n] See Lenglet, Biblioth. des Romans, ii p. 226. 227. And Lacombe, Diction. de vieux Lang. Fr. pref. p. xviii. Paris. 1767. 8vo. And compare Montfauc. Catal. Manuscr. ii. p. 1669. See also M. Galland, Mem. Lit. iii. p. 426 8vo.

[o] 3 A xxi. 3. [Only a portion of this is Wace's Brut.—M.] It occurs again, 4. C xi. "Histoire d'Angleterre en vers, par Maistre Wace." I cannot help correcting a mistake into which both Wanley and bishop Nicholson have fallen, with regard to this Wace. In the Cotton library, a Saxo-Norman manuscript occurs

prose history of Geoffry of Monmouth. And that master Wace aimed only at the merit of a translator, appears from his exordial verses.

Maistre Gasse l'a translatè
Que en conte le veritè.

Otherwise we might have suspected that the authors drew their materials from the old fabulous Armoric manuscript, which is said to have been Geoffry's original.

[Although this romance, in its antient and early manuscripts, has constantly passed under the name of its finisher, Wace; yet the accurate Fauchet cites it by the name of its first author, Eustace[p]. And at the same time it is extraordinary, that Robert de Brunne, in his Prologue, should not once mention the name of Eustace, as having any concern in it: so soon was the name of the beginner superseded by that of the continuator.] An ingenious French antiquary very justly supposes, that Wace took many of his descriptions from that invaluable and singular monument the *Tapestry of the Norman conquest*, preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Bayeux[q], and lately engraved and explained in the learned Doctor Ducarel's Anglo-Norman ANTI-

twice, which seems to be a translation of Geoffry's History, or very like it. CALIG. A ix. and OTHO. C. 13. 4to. In vellum. The translator is one Lazamon, a priest, born at Ernly on Severn. He says, that he had his original from the book of a French clergyman, named *Wate*; which book *Wate* the author had presented to Eleanor, queen of Henry the Second. So Lazamon in the preface. "Boc he nom the thridde, leide ther amidden tha makede a frenchis clerc: Wate (Wace) wes ihoten, &c." Now because Geoffry of Monmouth in one of his prefaces, cap. i b 1. says that he received his original from the hands of Walter Mapes [Calenius.—M.] archdeacon of Oxford, both Wanley and Nicholson suppose that the *Wate* mentioned by Lazamon is *Walter* Mapes. Whereas Lazamon undoubtedly means Wace, perhaps written or called Wate, author of LE ROMAN DE ROU above mentioned. Nor is the Saxon t (ꞇ) perfectly distinguishable from c. See Wanley's Catal. Hickes's Thesaur. ii. p. 228. and Nicholson, Hist. Libr. i 3. And compare Leland's Coll. vol i. P. ii. p. 509. edit. 1770. [The MS. reads *Wace* very distinctly, and not *Wate*.—M.]

[It is not said by Geoffrey of Monmouth that he received his original from Walter Mapes (who probably was not born at the time), but from Walter archdeacon of Oxford, i. e. Walter Calenius, who has more than once been confounded with Mapes, who was also archdeacon of Oxford. Mr Warton has fallen into another mistake, which he confers on Nicolson, who only supposes Wate to be Walter, and not Walter Mapes.—DOUCE.]

[p] Rec. p. 82. edit 1581.

[q] Mons. Lancelot, Mem. Lit. viii. 602. 4to. And see Hist. Acad. Inscript. xiii 41. 4to.

[M. de la Rue has advanced some very satisfactory reasons for supposing this tapestry to have been made by, or wrought under the direction of, the empress Matilda, who died in the year 1167. (See Archæologia, vol. xviii.) It was evidently sent to Bayeux at a period subsequent to the death of its projector; at whose demise it was left in an unfinished state. Wace probably never saw it. At all events could it be proved that he did, he disdained to use it in his "History of the Irruption of the Normans into England," his only work where it could have assisted him, since his narrative is at variance with the representations this monument contains.—PRICE.]

[The tapestry, which is now in the hotel de ville of Bayeux, has since been *correctly* copied by Mr. Stothard, (aided by the munificent liberality of Mr. Hudson Gurney,) and engraved and published by the Society of Antiquaries, and the greater part of it is used for the illustrations of Mr. Edgar Taylor's "Chronicle of the Norman Conquest." See further as to the history and age of the tapestry and the fallacies of M. de la Rue, several subsequent Papers in the Archæologia, Mr. Sharon Turner's History, Mr. Dawson Turner's Letters from Normandy, Dr. Dibdin's Tour, the French Translation of Ducarel, and The Chronicle of the Norman Conquest. The discrepancies between Wace and the tapestry

QUITIES. Lord Lyttelton has quoted this romance, and shewn that important facts and curious illustrations of history may be drawn from such obsolete but authentic resources[r].

The measure used by Robert de Brunne, in his translation of the former part of our French chronicle or romance, is exactly like that of his original. Thus the Prologue:

Lordynges that be now here,
If ȝe wille listene and lere,
All the story of Inglande,
Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand,
And on Inglysch has it schewed,
Not for the lerid bot for the lewed;
For tho that in this land wonn
That the Latyn no Frankys conn,
For to haf solace and gameñ
In felawschip wheñ thai sitt samen;
And it is wisdom forto wytten
The state of the land, an haf it wryten,
What manere of folk first it wan,
And of what kynde it first began.
And gude it is for many thynges
For to here the dedis of kynges,
Whilk were foles, and whilk were wyse,
And whilk of tham couth mast quantyse;
And whylk did wrong, and whilk ryght,
And whilk mayntend pes and fyght.
Of thare dedes salle be my sawe,
In what tyme, and of what law,
I sall ȝow schewe fro gre to gre,
Sen the tyme of Sir Noe:
Fro Noe unto Eneas,
And what betwixt tham was,

are not so obvious as Mr. Price seems to have assumed in the preceding note, nor does there seem to be any proof of the disdain which he supposes. Sir James Mackintosh, in his History of England, vol. i p. 174, appears not duly to value Wace as an historian. Though his work is styled a romance, it is evident, that with regard to his own times and the period immediately preceding, he professed to aim at a scrupulously exact narration of events.

N'en voil por verité la menchonge afermer.
Roman de Rou, vol. i. p. 107.

A jugléors oi en m'effance chanter
Ke Willame jadis fist Osmont essorber, &c.

Ne sai noient de ço, n'en poir noient trover;
Quant jo n'en ai garant, n'en voil noient conter. p. 107.

E jo en escript ai trové,
Ne sai dire s'est vérite
Ke il i ont treis mille nés.
Rom de Rou, vol. ii. p 145.

Maiz jo oï dire *à mon pere*,
Bien m'en sovint, maiz *varlet* ere. 145.

It appears from such passages that he not only mentions his sources of information, but states when he considers them doubtful.—R.T.] [See also an Essay lately printed for private circulation by Bolton Corney, Esq., intitled "Researches and Conjectures on the Bayeux Tapestry," in which it is argued that the tapestry was not given by the empress Matilda, but executed for the Chapter of Bayeux at their own expense.—M.]

[r] Hist. Hen. II. vol. iii. p. 180.

And fro Eneas tille Brutus tyme,
That kynde he telles in this ryme.
Fro Brutus to Cadwaladres,
The last Bryton that this lande lees.
Alle that kynde and alle the frute
That come of Brutus that is the Brute;
And the ryght Brute is told nomore
Than the Brytons tyme wore.
After the Bretons the Inglis camen,
The lordschip of this lande thai namen;
South, and north, west, and est,
That calle meñ now the Inglis gest.
When thai first amang the Bretons,
That now ere Inglis than were Saxons,
Saxons Inglis hight alle oliche.
Thai aryued up at Sandwyche,
In the kynges tyme Vortogerne
That the lande walde tham not werne, &c.
One mayster WACE the Frankes telles
The Brute alle that the Latyn spelles,
Fro Eneas tille Cadwaladre, &c.
And ryght as mayster Wace says,
I telle myne Inglis the same ways, &c.[s]

The second part of Robert de Brunne's CHRONICLE, beginning from Cadwallader, and ending with Edward the First, is translated, in great measure, from the second part of a French metrical chronicle, written in five books, by Peter Langtoft, an Augustine canon of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote not many years before his translator. This is mentioned in the Prologue preceding the second part:

Frankis spech is cald romance[t],
So sais clerkes and men of France.
Pers of Langtoft, a chanon
Of the hous of Bridlyngtoñ
Oñ Frankis stile this storie wrote
Of Inglis kynges, &c.[u]

As Langtoft had written his French poem in Alexandrines[w], the

[s] Hearne's edit. Pref. p 98.

[t] The Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France about the ninth century, and was succeeded by what was called the ROMANCE tongue, a mixture of Frankish and bad Latin. Hence the first poems in that language are called ROMANS or ROMANTS. Essay on POPE, p. 281. In the following passages of this Chronicle, where Robert de Brunne mentions ROMANCE, he sometimes means Langtoft's French book, from which he translated: viz. Chron. p. 205.

This that I have said it is Pers sawe
Als he in *Romance* laid thereafter gan I drawe.

See Chauc. Rom. R. v. 2170. Also *Balades*, p. 554. v. 508. Urr. And Crescimb. Istor. della Volg. Poes. vol. i. L. v. p. 316. seq. [On Warton's error in regard to the Romance tongue, see Mr. Price's note in p. 3.—R. T.]

[u] Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 106.

[w] Some are printed by Hollinsh. Hist. iii. 469. Others by Hearne, Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 58. and in the margin of the

translator, Robert de Brunne, has followed him, the Prologue excepted, in using the double distich for one line, after the manner of Robert of Gloucester. As in the first part he copied the metre of his author Wace. But I will exhibit a specimen from both parts. In the first, he gives us this dialogue between Merlin's mother and king Vortigern, from Master Wace:

"Dame, said the kyng, welcom be thou:
Nedeli at the I mot witte how[x]
Who than gate[y] thi sone Merlyn
And on what maner was he thin?"
His moder stode a throwe[z] and thouht
Are scho[a] to the kyng ansuerd ouht:
When scho had standen a litelle wight[b],
Scho said, "bi Jhesu in Mari light,
That I ne sauh hym neuer ne knewe
That this knaue[c] on me sewe[d].
Ne I wist, ne I ne herd,
What maner schap with me so ferd[e].
But this thing am I wele ograunt[f],
That I was of elde auenaunt[g];
One come to my bed I wist,
With force he me halsed[h] and kist·
Als[i] a man I him felte,
& als a man he me welte[k];
Als a man he spak to me.
Bot what he was, myght I not se."[l]

The following, extracted from the same part, is the speech of the Romans to the Britons, after the former had built a wall against the Picts, and were leaving Britain:

We haf closed ther most nede was;
And yf ȝe defend wele that pas
With archers[m] and with magnels[n],
& kepe wele the kirnels;

pages of the Chronicle. [A large fragment, including the history from William the Conqueror to Henry the First, has been printed by M Francisque Michel, in the first volume of his Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, Rouen, 1836.—W.]

[x] "I must by all means know of you." [y] begot. [z] awhile.
[a] ere she. [b] *whit*, while.
[c] child. [d] begot.
[e] lay [fared. Ritson] [f] assured.
[g] "I was then young and beautiful." [of a fit age. Ritson.]
[h] embraced. [i] as. [k] *wielded*, moved.
[l] Apud Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glouc. p. 721.
[m] Not *Bowmen*, but apertures in the wall for shooting arrows. Viz. In the repairs of Taunton castle, 1266. Comp. J Gerneys, Episc. Wint. "TANTONIA. *Expense domorum* In mercede Cementarii pro muro erigendo juxta turrim ex parte orientali cum Kernellis et Archeriis faciendis, xvi. s. vi d." In Archiv. Wolves. apud Wint. *Kernells* mentioned here and in the next verse were much the same thing or perhaps Battlements. In repairs of the great hall at Wolveseypalace, I find, "In kyrnillis emptis ad idem, xii. d." Ibid. There is a patent granted to the monks of Abingdon, in Berkshire, in the reign of Edward the Third, "Pro kernellatione monasterii." Pat. an. 4. par. 1.
[n] Cotgrave has interpreted this word,

Ther may ȝe bothe schote and cast;
Waxes bold, and fend you fast.
Thinkes ȝour faders wan franchise,
Be ȝe no more in other seruise:
Bot frely lyf to ȝour lyues end:
We wille fro ȝow for euer wende.[o]

Vortigern, king of the Britons, is thus described meeting the beautiful princess Rouwen, daughter of Hengist, the Rosamond of the Saxon ages, at a feast of wassaile. It is a curious picture of the gallantry of the times:

Hengest that day did his might,
That alle were glad, king & knight,

an old-fashioned sling. V. MANGONEAU. Viz. Rot. Pip. An. 4 Hen. III. [A.D. 1219.] "NORDHANT. Et in expensis regis in obsidione castri de Rockingham, 100*l.* per Br. Reg. Et custodibus ingeniorum [engines] regis ad ea carianda usque Bisham, ad castrum illud obsidendum, 13*s.* 10*d.* per id. Br. Reg. Et pro duobus coriis, emptis apud Northampton ad fundas petrariarum et mangonellorum regis faciendas, 5*s* 6*d* per id. Br. Reg"—Rot. Pip. 9 Hen. III (A.D. 1225.) "SURR. *Comp. de Cnarebur c.* Et pro vii. cablis emptis ad petrarias et mangonellos in eodem castro, 7*s.* 11*d*"—Rot. Pip. 5 Hen III. (A D. 1220) "DEVONS. Et in custo posito in l. petraria et 11 mangonellis cariatis a Nottingham usque Bisham, et in eisdem reductis a Bisham usque Notingham, 7*l* 4*s*"

[See infr p. 67. MANGONEL also signified what was thrown from the machine so called. Thus Froissart. "Et avoient les Brabançons de tres grans engins devant la ville, qui *gettoient* pierres de faix et *mangoneaux* jusques en la ville." LIV. III. c. 118. And in the old French OVIDE cited by Borel, TRESOR. in v.

Onques pour une tor abatre,
Ne oit on *Mangoniaux descendre*
Plus briement ne du ciel destendre
Foudre pour abatre un clocher.
ADDITIONS.]

Chaucer mentions both *Mangonels* and *Kyrnils*, in a castle in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 4195. 6279. Also *archers*, i e. *archeriæ*, v. 4191. So in the French *Roman de la Rose*, v. 3945.

Vous puissiez bien les *Mangonneaulx*,
Veoir la par-dessus les *Creneaulx*.
Et aux *archieres* de la Tour
Sont arbalestres tout entour.

Archieres occur often in this poem. Chaucer, in translating the above passage, has introduced guns, which were not known when the original was written, v. 4191. [Vide supra, p. 43.]

[The use of artillery, however, is proved by a curious passage in Petrarch to be older than the period to which it has been commonly referred. The passage is in Petrarch's book De REMEDIIS UTRIUSQUE FORTUNÆ, undoubtedly written before the year 1334. "G Habeo machinas et balistas. R. Mirum, nisi et glandes æneas, quæ flammis injectis horrisono sonitu jaciuntur.—Erat hæc pestis *nuper rara*, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur *nunc*, ut rerum pessimarum dociles sunt animi, *ita communis* est, ut *quodlibet* genus armorum" Lib I DIAL. 99 See Muratori, ANTIQUITAT. Med. Æv. tom II. col. 514. Cannons are supposed to have been first used by the English at the battle of Cressy, in the year 1346. It is extraordinary that Froissart, who minutely describes that battle, and is fond of decorating his narrative with wonders, should have wholly omitted this circumstance. Musquets are recited as a weapon of the infantry so early as the year 1475. "Quilibet peditum habeat balistam vel *bombardam*" LIT. Casimiri III. an. 1475. LEG. POLON tom. i. p 228 These are generally assigned to the year 1520.—ADDITIONS.]

I am of opinion, that some of the great military battering engines, so frequently mentioned in the histories and other writings of the dark ages, were fetched from the Crusades. See a species of the catapult, used by the Syrian army in the siege of Mecca, about the year 680. Mod Univ. Hist. b. i. c. 2. tom. ii. p. 117. These expeditions into the East undoubtedly much improved the European art of war. Tasso's warlike machines, which seem to be the poet's invention, are formed on descriptions of such wonderful machines which he had read in the Crusade historians, particularly Wilhelmus Tyrensis. [See Weber's note on l. 3268. of the Romance of *Kyng Alisaunder*, vol. iii p. 306.—M.]

[o] Gloss. Rob. Glouc. p. 664.

And as thei were best in glading,
And wele cop-schotin[p] knight & king,
Of chambir Rouewen so gent
Before the king in halle scho went.
A coupe with wyne sche had in hand,
And hir hatir[q] was wele farand[r].
Before the king on kne sett,
And on hir langage scho him grett.
" Lauerid[s] king, Wassaille," seid sche.
The king askid, what suld be.
On that langage the king ne couthe[t].
A knight ther[u] langage lerid[w] in ȝouthe.
Breȝ hiht[x] that knight, born Bretoun,
That lerid the langage of Sessoun[y].
This Breȝ was the latimer[z],
What scho said told Vortager.
" Sir, Breȝ seid, Rowen ȝow gretis,
& king callis & lord ȝow letis[a].
This es ther custom & ther gest,
Whan thei are at the ale or fest.
Ilk man that louis qware him think,
Salle say Wosseille, and to him drink.
He that bidis salle say, Wassaille,
The tother salle say again, Drinkhaille.
That sais Wosseille drinkis of the cop,
Kissand[b] his felaw he giues it vp.

[p] "Sending about the cups apace. Carousing briskly" [q] attire.
[r] very rich [very becoming.—ELLIS]
[s] lord. [t] was not skilled [u] their
[w] learned. [x] was called. [y] Saxons.
[z] For *Latȝner*, or *Latimer*, an *Interpreter*. Thus, in the Romance of KING RICHARD, hereafter cited at large, Saladin's *Latimer* at the siege of Babylon proclaims a truce to the Christian army from the walls of the city. Signat. M. i.

The LATEMERE tho tourned his eye
To that other syde of the toune,
And cryed trues with gret soune.

In which sense the French word occurs in the Roman de GARIN MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris. num. 7542.

LATIMER fu, si sot parler Roman,
Englois, Gallois, et Breton, et Norman.

And again,

Un LATINIER vieil,-ferant et henu
Molt sot de plet, et molt entresme fu.

And in the manuscript Roman de ROU, which will again be mentioned.

L'archevesque Franches a Jumeges ala,
A Rou, et a sa gent par LATINIER parla.

We find it in Froissart, tom. iv. c. 87. And in other antient French writers. In the old Norman poem on the subject of king Dermod's expulsion from his kingdom of Ireland, in the Lambeth library, it seems more properly to signify, in a limited sense, the *king's domestic* SECRETARY.

Par son *demeine* LATINIER
Que moi conta de luy l'histoire, &c

See lord Lyttelton's Hist Hen II vol iv. App. p. 270 We might here render it literally his *Latinist*, an officer retained by the king to draw up the public instruments in Latin. As in DOMLSDAI-BOOK. " Godwinus accipitrarius, Hugo LATINARIUS, Milo portarius." MS. Excerpt. penes me. But in both the last instances the word may bear its more general and extensive signification. Camden explains LATIMER by *interpreter*. Rem. p. 158. See also p 151 edit. 1674.

[*Latimer* must be a corrupt mode of spelling, and would seem to owe its origin to erroneous copies where the scribe had taken *ni* for *m* —W]

[a] esteems. [b] kissing.

Drinheille, he sais, and drinks ther of,
Kissand him in bourd & skof[c]."
The king said, as the knight gan ken[d],
Drinkheille, smiland on Roueweñ.
Rouwen drank as hire list,
& gaue the king, sine[e] him kist.
There was the first wassaille in dede,
& that first of fame ȝede[f].
Of that wassaille men told grete tale,
& wassaille whan thei were at ale.
& drinkheille to tham that drank,
Thus was wassaille tane[g] to thank.
Fele sithes[h] that maidin ȝing[i],
Wassailed & kist the king.
Of bodi sche was right auenant[k],
Of fair colour, with swete semblaunt[l].
Hir hatire[m] fulle wele it semid,
Meruelik[n] the king sche quemid[o].
Oute of messure was he glad,
For of that maidin he wex alle mad.
Drunkenes the feend wroght,
Of that paen[p] was al his thoght.
A meschaunche that time him led.
He asked that paen for to wed.
Hengist wild not draw a lite[q],
Bot graunted him alle so tite.
& Hors his brother consentid sone.
Hir frendis said, it were to done.
Thei asked the king to gife hir Kent,
In douary to take of rent.
Opon that maidin his hert so cast,
That thei askid the king made fast.
I wene the king toke hir that day,
& wedded hire on paiens lay[r].
Of prest was ther no benison[s],
No mes songen, no orison.
In seisine he had her that night.
Of Kent he gaue Hengist the right.
The erelle that time, that Kent alle held,
Sir Goragon, that had the scheld,

[c] sport, joke. [d] to signify [shew].
[e] since, afterwards.
[f] went. [g] taken.
[h] many times. [i] young.
[k] handsome, gracefully shaped, &c.
[l] countenance [appearance—ELLIS].
[m] attire.
[n] marvellously.
[o] pleased
[p] pagan, heathen.
[q] "would not fly off a bit."
[r] "in pagan law; according to the heathenish custom."
[s] benedictlon, blessing.

Of that gift no thing ne wist[t]
To[u] he was cast oute with[v] Hengist.[w]

In the second part, copied from Peter Langtoft, the attack of Richard the First, on a castle held by the Saracens, is thus described:

The dikes were fulle wide that closed the castelle about,
And depe oñ ilk a side, with bankis hie without.
Was ther non entre that to the castelle gan ligge[x],
Bot a streiht kauce[y]; at the end a drauht-brigge,
With grete duble cheynes drauhen ouer the gate,
And fifti armed sueynes[z] porters at that ȝate.
With slenges & magneles[a] thei kast[b] to kyng Rychard,
Our cristen by parcelles kasted ageynward.
Ten sergeaunz of the best his targe gan him bere[c],
That egre wer & prest to couere hym & to were[d].
Himself as a geaunt the cheynes in tuo hew,
The targe was his warant[e], that non tılle him threw.
Right vnto the ȝate with the targe thei ȝede,
Fightand on a gate, vndir hım the slouh hıs stede:
Therfor ne wild he sesse[f]; alone ınto the castele
Thorgh tham all wild presse; oñ fote fauht he fulle wele,
& whan he was withinne, & fauht as a wılde leon,
He fondred the Sarazıns otuynne[g], & fauht as a dragon.
Without the Cristen gan crie, Allas! Richard is taken,
Tho Normans were sorıe, of contenance gan blaken.
To slo doun & to stroye neuer wild thei stınt,
Thei left for dede no noye[h], ne for no wound no dynt,
That in went alle ther pres, maugre the Sarazins alle,
& fond Richard on des fightand, & wonne the halle.[i]

From these passages it appears that Robert of Brunne has scarcely more poetry than Robert of Glocester. He has however taken care to acquaint his readers that he avoided high description, and that sort of phraseology which was then used by the minstrels and harpers; that he rather aimed to give information than pleasure, and that he was more studious of truth than ornament. As he intended his chronicle to be sung, at least by parts, at public festivals, he found it expedient to apologize for these deficiencies in the prologue; as he had partly done before in his prologue to the MANUAL OF SINS.

[t] knew not. [u] tıll. [v] by.
[w] Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glo p. 695.
[x] lying. [y] causey.
[z] *swains*, young men, soldiers.
[a] *mangonels*. Vid supr. p. 63. [b] cast
[c] In Langtoft's French,
"Dis seriauntz des plus feres e de melz vanez,
Devaunt le cors le reis sa targe ount portez."
[d] *ward*, defend.
[e] guard, defence.
[f] "he would not cease"
[g] "he formed the Saracens into two parties" ['Fondered' (explained *forced* in Hearne's Glossary) is perhaps a mistake of the transcriber for *sondered*, i. e. sundered, separated.—ELLIS.]
[h] annoyance.
[i] Chron p. 182. 183.

I mad noght for no disours[k],
Ne for no seggers, no harpours,
Bot for the luf of symple meñ,
That strange Inglis cañ not keñ[l]:
For many it ere[m] that strange Inglis
In ryme wate[n] neuer what it is.
—I made it not for to be praysed,
Bot at the lewed meñ were aysed[o].

He next mentions several sorts of verse, or prosody; which were then fashionable among the minstrels, and have been long since unknown.

If it were made in ryme *couwée*,
Or in *strangere* or *enterlacé*, &c. *

He adds, that the old stories of chivalry had been so disguised by foreign terms, by additions and alterations, that they were now become

[k] tale-tellers, *Narratores*, Lat *Conteours*, Fr. *Seggers* in the next line perhaps means the same thing, i e *Sayers*,—the writers either of metrical or of prose romances. See Antholog. Fran p. 17 1765 8vo. Or *Disours* may signify *Discourse*, i e. adventures in prose We have the "Devil's disours," in P. Plowman, fol. xxxi. b. edit 1550. *Disour* precisely signifies *a tale-teller at a feast* in Gower Conf. Amant. lib. vii. fol. 155 a. edit. Berthel 1554. He is speaking of the coronation festival of a Roman emperor.

When he was gladest at his mete,
And every minstrell had plaide
And every DISSOUR had saide
Which most was pleasaunt to his ere.

Du Cange says, that *Diseurs* were judges of the turney. Diss Joinv. p. 179.

[l] know. [m] *it ere*, there are.
[n] knew. [o] eased.

* [The rhymes here called, by Robert de Brunne, *Couwée*, and *Enterlacée*, were undoubtedly derived from the Latin rhymers of that age, who used versus *caudati* et *interlaqueati*. Brunne here professes to avoid these elegancies of composition, yet he has intermixed many passages in *Rime Couwée*. See his CHRONICLE, p. 266. 273, &c. &c. And almost all the latter part of his work from the Conquest is written in *Rime Enterlacée*, each couplet rhyming in the middle as well as the end. As thus, MSS. HARL. 1002.

Plausus Græcorum | lux cæcis et via claudis |
Incola cælorum | virgo dignissima laudis.

The rhyme *Baston* had its appellation from Robert Baston, a celebrated Latin rhymer about the year 1315. The rhyme *Strangere* means *uncommon*. See CANTERBURY TALES, vol iv p 72 seq ut infr The reader curious on this subject may receive further information from a manuscript in the Bodleian library, in which are specimens of METRA *Leonina, cristata, cornuta, reciproca*, &c. MSS LAUD K 3 4to. In the same library there is a very antient manuscript copy of Aldhelm's Latin poem *De Virginitate et Laude Sanctorum*, written about the year 700, and given by Thomas Allen, with Saxon glosses, and the text almost in semi-saxon characters These are the two first verses

Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti,
Et laudem capiat quadrato carmine Virgo.

Langbaine, in reciting this manuscript, thus explains the *quadratum* carmen. "Scil. prima cujusque versus litera, per Acrostichidem, conficit versum illum *Metrica tyrones*. Ultima cujusque versus litera, ab ultimo carmine ordine retrogrado numerando, hunc versum facit.

"Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti."

(Langb. MSS. v. p. 126.) MSS. DIGB. 146. There is a very antient tract, by one Mico, I believe called also LEVITA, on Prosody, *De Quantitate Syllabarum*, with examples from the Latin Poets, perhaps the first work of the kind. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. A 7. 9. See J. L. Hocker's CATAL. MSS. Bibl. Heidelb. p. 24. who recites a part of Mico's Preface, in which he appears to have been a grammatical teacher of youth. See also Dacheri SPICILEG. tom. ii. p. 300 b. edit. ult.—ADDITIONS.]

[The "ryme *couwée*" (versus caudati)

unintelligible to a common audience: and particularly, that the tale of SIR TRISTREM *, the noblest of all, was much changed from the original composition of its first author THOMAS.

I see in song in sedgeying tale [p]
Of Erceldoune, & of Kendale,
Non tham says as thai tham wroght [q],
& in ther sayng [r] it semes noght;
That may thou here in Sir Tristrem [s],
Ouer gestes [t] it has the steem [u],
Ouer alle that is or was,
If meñ yt sayd as made Thomas.—
Thai sayd in so quante Inglis,
That manyone [w] wate not what it is.—
And forsoth I couth noght
So strange Inglis as thai wroght.

was mere common final rhyme. In an early tract on metres (12th cent) printed in the Altdeutsche Blätter by Drs. Haupt and Hoffmann, we have separate examples of this rhyme both in heroic and elegiac verse:—"*Caudati* dicuntur si duorum pariter vel trium aut omnium finis recta consonancia concordat, hoc modo —

Cum rubei pandis concepti luminis iram
Traiciam [i. e. Threiciam] digitis fac resonare liram.

Instrumenta solent alios mulcere canora
Mens irata nimis frangitur absque mora."

And again:—"*Caudati* sunt quorum terminationes binis vel trinis vel certe omnibus concorditer statuuntur, hoc modo:—

Grata camena veni, cordis mei concipe verba.
Nam parili voto viridi residemus in herba.
Laudibus eximis Didmari facta notemus,
Et studio celebri bona nos ad metra paremus."—W]

* [See Note at the end of this Section, p 95].

[p] "among the romances that are sung, &c"

[q] "none recite them as they were first written."

[r] "as *they* tell them."

[s] "this you may see, &c."

[t] Hearne says that *Gests* were opposed to *Romance*. Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 37. But this is a mistake. Thus we have the *Geste of kyng Horne*, a very old metrical Romance. MSS. Harl. 2253. p. 70. Also in the *Prologue* of *Rychard Cuer de Lyon*.

King Richard is the best
That is found in any *jeste*.

And the passage in the text is a proof against his assertion. Chaucer, in the following passage, by JESTOURS, does not mean *Jesters* in modern signification, but writers of adventures. *House of Fame*, v. 108.

And JESTOURS that tellen tales
Both of wepyng and of game.

In the *House of Fame* he also places those who wrote "olde *Gestes*." v. 425. It is however obvious to observe from whence the present term *Jest* arose. See Fauchet, Rec. p. 73 In P. Plowman, we have *Job's Jestes*. fol. xlv. b. [passus 10]

Job the gentyl in his *jestes*, greatly wytnesseth,

That is, "Job in the account of his Life." In the same page we have,

And japers and judgelers, and jangelers of *jestes*.

That is, Minstrels, Reciters of tales. Other illustrations of this word will occur in the course of the work. *Chansons de geste* were common in France in the thirteenth century among the troubadours. See Mem. concernant les principaux monumens de l'Histoire de France, Mem. Lit xv. p. 582; by the very learned and ingenious M de la Curne de Sainte Palaye. [Not among the *troubadours*, but among the *trouvères*. The *Chansons de geste* were the poems upon the feats of the earlier Frankish monarchs, and therefore their title makes nothing for Warton's argument.—W.] I add the two first lines of a manuscript entitled, *Art de Kalender par Rauf*, who lived 1256. Bibl. Bodl. J. b. 2. Th. (Langb. MSS. 5. 439.)

De *geste* ne voil pas chanter,
Ne *vielles estoires* el canter.

There is even *Gesta Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi*, in many manuscript libraries

[u] esteem. [w] many a one.

On this account, he says, he was persuaded by his friends to write his Chronicle in a more popular and easy style, that would be better understood.

And meñ besoght me many a time
To turne it bot in light ryme.
Thai sayd if I in strange it turne,
To here it manyon suld skurne [x],
For it ere names fulle selcouthe [y],
That ere not vsed now in mouth.—
In the hous of Sixille I was a throwe [z];
Danz Robert of Maltone [a], that ȝe know,
Did it wryte for felawes sake,
Wheñ thai wild solace make. [b]

Erceldoune and Kendale are mentioned, in some of these lines of Brunne, as [writers of] old romances or popular tales. Of the latter I can discover no traces in our antient literature *. As to the former, Thomas Erceldoun, or Ashelington, is said to have written *Prophecies*, like those of Merlin. Leland, from the *Scalæ Chronicon* [c], says that "William Banastre [d], and Thomas Erceldoune, spoke words yn

[x] scorn.
[y] strange. [z] a while.
[a] "Sir Robert of Malton." It appears from hence that he was born at Malton in Lincolnshire. [No, it means that Robert of Malton *caused* the work to be written. See note, p. 66. and Pref. to Havelok.—M]
[b] Pref Rob. Glouc p 57. 58
* [I am enabled to throw a faint ray of light on Kendale, and to supply his christian name, from a passage in the inedited portion of Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, which escaped the eyes of Hearne.

Long after thᵉ [this] writen I fond,
How a Breton chalanged thᵉ lond,
Engle the story sais he hight,
He brouht a champion to fight
Skardyng hight thᵉ champion, &c.
Thᵉ Skardyng was ferly strong,
Als a giant grete & long, &c
Whan Engle had the lond thorgh,
He gaf Skardyng Skarburgh,
Toward the north, bi the se side,
A hauen it is, schippes in to ride.
Flayn was his brother, *so sais a tale,*
Thᵗ Thomas mad of Kendale.
fol. 85 c 2.—M]

[c] An antient French history or Chronicle of England never printed, which Leland says was translated out of French rhyme into French prose Coll. vol. i. P ii. pag. 59. edit. 1770. It was probably written or reduced by Thomas Gray into prose. Londinens Antiquitat. Cant. lib. i p. 38. Others affirm it to have been the work of John Gray, an eminent churchman, about the year 1212. It begins, in the usual form, with the creation of the world, passes on to Brutus, and closes with Edward the Third.

[This chronicle has been printed by the Bannatyne Club, from the period of the Conquest to the termination in 1362, under the editorial care of Joseph Stevenson, Esq, 4to. Edinb 1836. In the Preface may be found collected together everything known respecting the author, who was Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Knight. —M]

[d] One Gilbert Banestre was a poet and musician The *Prophesies of Banister of England* are not uncommon among manuscripts. In the *Scotch Prophesies*, printed at Edinburgh, 1680, *Banaster* is mentioned as the author of some of them "As Berlington's books and *Banester* tell us." p. 2. Again, "Beid hath brieved in his book and *Banester* also" p. 18. He seems to be confounded with William Banister, a writer of the reign of Edward the Third. Berlington is probably John Bridlington, an Augustine canon of Bridlington, who wrote three books of *Carmina Vaticinalia*, in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should happen to England MSS. Digb. Bibl Bodl. 89. and 186 There are also *Versûs Vaticinales* under his name, MSS. Bodl. NE. E ii. 17. f 21. He died, aged sixty, in 1379. He was canonized. There are many other *Prophetiæ*, which seem to have been fashionable at this time, bound up with Bridlington in MSS. Digb. 186.

figure as were the prophecies of Merlin [e]." In the library of Lincoln cathedral, there is a metrical romance entitled, TOMAS OF ERSSELDOUNE *, which begins with the usual address,

Lystyns, lordynges bothe grete and smale.

In the Bodleian library, among the theological works of John Lawern, monk of Worcester, and student† in theology at Oxford about the year 1448, written with his own hand, a fragment of an English poem occurs, which begins thus:

Joly chepert [shepherd] of Askeldowne [f].

In the British Museum a manuscript English poem occurs, with this French title prefixed, " La Countesse de Dunbar, demanda a Thomas Essedoune quant la guere d'Escoce prendret fyn [g]." This was probably our prophesier Thomas of Erceldoun. One of his predictions is mentioned in an antient Scots poem entitled A NEW YEAR'S GIFT, written in the year 1562, by Alexander Scott [h]. One Thomas Leirmouth, or Rymer, was also a prophetic bard, and lived at Erslingtoun, sometimes perhaps pronounced Erseldoun. This is therefore probably the same person. One who personates him, says,

In ERSLINGTOUN I dwell at hame,
THOMAS RYMER men call me.

He has left vaticinal rhymes, in which he predicted the union of Scotland with England, about the year 1279 [i]. Fordun mentions several of his prophecies concerning the future state of Scotland [k].

Our author, Robert de Brunne, also translated into English rhymes

[e] Ubi supr. p 510.

* [Another copy is preserved at Cambridge, a transcript from which has been published by Mr. Jamieson in his Popular Ballads and Songs. The various readings of the Lincoln MS are there given — PRICE] [The Cambridge MS.(Bibl Publ. Ff 5 48) is apparently of the reign of Edward II, and contains by far the best, as well as the most antient text of this poem; but it has been transcribed and printed by Jamieson in a wretchedly incorrect manner, so as actually in one instance to introduce the word *fairy*, where the original has a word totally different. —W.] [A portion of this poem had been previously printed by Sir Walter Scott, in his *Border Minstrelsy*, vol. II. p 275 ed. 1803 from a fragment in the Cotton Collection, VITELL. E. x. and since the publication of Jamieson's work, Mr. Laing has printed it entire from the Lincoln MS. in his "*Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*," 4to 1822.—M]

† [Doctor —M.]

[f] MSS Bodl. 692. fol.

[Mr. Ritson has said of this poem that " it was found impracticable [by him] to make out more than the first two lines.—

Joly chepte of Aschell downe
Can more on love than al the town."
PRICE]

[Ritson could make out no more for the best possible reason, because there are no more to make out, the leaf having been here torn off See a communication by me to the *Gent's Mag.* in June, 1825 It remains to be added, that this ballad has not the most remote reference to the *Rhymer of Erceldoune*.—M]

[g] MSS Harl. 2253. f. 127. It begins thus:

When man as mad a kynge of a capped man
When mon is leuere other mones thyng then is owen.

[Printed in Pinkerton's *Ancient Scottish Poems*, p lxxviii 8vo. Lond. 1786 and more accurately, in Laing, *Anc Pop Poetr. Append* —M.]

[h] Ancient Scots Poems, Edinb 1770 12mo. p. 194. See the ingenious editor's notes, p 312.

[i] See *Scotch Prophesies*, ut supr. p. 19 11 13. 18. 36. viz. *The Prophesy of Thomas Rymer*. Pr. " Stille on my waye as I went."

[k] Lib. x. cap. 43. 44. I think he is als

the treatise of cardinal Bonaventura, his cotemporary [l], *De Cœna et Passione Domini et Pœnis S. Mariæ Virginis*, with the following title: "Medytacyuns of the Soper of our Lorde Jhesu, and also of hys Passyun, and eke of the Peynes of hys swete Modyr mayden Marye, the whyche made yn Latyn Bonaventure Cardynalle [m]." But I forbear to give further extracts from this writer, who appears to have possessed much more industry than genius *, and cannot at present be read with much pleasure. Yet it should be remembered, that even such a writer as Robert de Brunne, uncouth and unpleasing as he naturally seems, and chiefly employed in turning the theology of his age into rhyme, contributed to form a style, to teach expression, and to polish his native tongue. In the infancy of language and composition, nothing is wanted but writers: at that period even the most artless have their use.

Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincoln [n], who died in 1253, is said in some verses of Robert de Brunne, quoted above, to have been fond of the metre and music of the minstrels. He was most attached to the French minstrels, in whose language he has left a poem, never printed, of some length. This was probably translated into English rhyme about the reign of Edward the First †. Nor is it quite improbable, if the translation was made at this period, that the translator was Robert de Brunne; especially as he translated another of Grosthead's pieces. It is called by Leland *Chateau d'Amour* [o]. But in one of the Bodleian manuscripts of this book we have the following title, *Romance par Mestre Robert Grosseteste* [p]. In another it is

mentioned by Spotswood. See Dempst xi 810.

[See the Preface to Scott's *Sir Tristrem* for fuller information concerning Thomas the Rhymer —M.]

[l] He died 1272 Many of Bonaventure's tracts were at this time translated into English In the Harleian manuscripts we have, "The Treatis that is kallid *Prickynge of Love*, made bi a Frere menour Bonaventure, that was Cardinall of the courte of Rome." 2254. 1 f. 1. This book belonged to Dame Alys Braintwat "the worchypfull prioras of Dartforde." This is not an uncommon manuscript.

[m] MSS. Harl. 1701. f 84 The first line is,

Alle myȝty god yn trynyte

It was never printed.

* [Warton does not treat Mannyng with sufficient justice As a smooth and easy versifier, with an extraordinary power of imitating the metre of his originals, there is no poet previous to Chaucer his equal; and when compared with Hampole and Massyngton, his followers, he rises immeasurably superior.—M.]

[n] See Diss ii —The author and translator are often thus confounded in manuscripts To an old English religious poem on the Holy Virgin, we find the following title *Incipit quidam cantus quem composuit frater Thomas de Hales de ordine fratrum minorum*, &c MSS Coll. Jes Oxon. 85. [now 29 —M.] supr citat. But this is the title of our friar's original, a Latin hymn de B. Maria Virgine, improperly adopted in the translation Thomas de Hales was a Franciscan friar, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and flourished about the year 1340 [See my note, p 27 —M] We shall see other proofs of this.

† [Second or Third —M]

[o] Script. Brit p 285

[p] MSS Bodl. NE D 69

[It has been shown in a former note, that Grosseteste's claim to the authorship of the French "Manuel de Pechés"—at least to the work at present known by that name—is extremely doubtful. The following extract from the "Chateau d'Amour," ascribed to him by Leland and others, will render his title to the composition of any poem in French still more problematical:

Ici comence un escrit,
Ke Seint Robert de Nichole fist.
Romanze de romanze est apelé,
Tel num a dreit li est assigné;

called, *Ce est la vie de D. Jh'u de sa humanité, fet e ordiné de Saint Robert Grosseteste, ke fut eveque de Nichole* [q]: And in this copy, a very curious apology to the clergy is prefixed to the poem, for the language in which it is written [r]. "Et quamvis lingua romana [romance] coram CLERICIS SAPOREM SUAVITATIS non habeat, tamen pro laicis, qui minus intelligunt opusculum, illud aptum est [s]." This piece professes to treat of the creation, the redemption, the day of judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell: but the whole is a religious allegory, and under the ideas of chivalry the fundamental articles of Christian belief are represented. It has the air of a system of divinity written by a troubadour. The poet, in describing the advent of Christ, supposes that he entered into a magnificent castle, which is the body of the immaculate virgin. The structure of this castle is conceived with some imagination, and drawn with the pencil of romance. The poem begins with these lines:

Ki pense ben, ben peut dire:
Sanz penser ne poet suffire
De nul bon ovre commencer:
Deu nos dont de li penser,
De ki, par ki, en ki, sont
Tos les biens ki font en el mond.

But I hasten to the translation, which is more immediately connected with our present subject, and has this title: "Her byginnet a tretys that ys yclept CASTEL OF LOUE that biscop Grosteyst made

Kar de ceo livre la materie,
Est estret de haut cleregie,
E pur ceo ke il passe (surpasse) altre romanz
Apelé est romanz de romanz
Les chapitres ben conuz serunt
Par les titres ke siveiunt
Les titles ne voil pas rimer
Kar leur matiere ne volt suffrer
Primis sera le prologe mis
E puz les titles tuz assis
MSS. Reg. 20 B. xiv.

The probability is, that both the present poem, and the "Manuel de Pechés" are founded on similar works of Grosseteste written in the Latin language, and that the transcribers, either from ignorance, or a desire of giving a fictitious value to their own labours, have inscribed his name upon the copies. His "Templum Domini," a copious system of mystical divinity, abounding in pious raptures and scholastic subtleties, may have afforded the materials for the former poem; and his treatise "De sept. vitiis et remediis" —if we except the *Contes devots* which Wadington may have gleaned from another source—possibly supplied the doctrines of the latter. The title adopted by Leland and the English translator, has been taken from the following passage of the French work

En un chastel bel e grant,
Bien fourme et avenant,
Ceo est le chastel d'amour,
E de solaz e de socour.
Harl. MS. no. 1121.

With regard to Warton's conjecture, that Robert de Brunne was the author of the English version, it can only be said that the internal evidence is most decidedly against such an opinion.—PRICE.] [See De la Rue, Essais sur les Bardes, &c iii. 108 —M.] [Price rightly observes that internal evidence is against Brunne's authorship of this translation. It is, in fact, in a dialect approximating to the western. R.G.]

[q] f 16. Laud fol. membran. The word *Nicole* is perfectly French, for *Lincoln*. See likewise MSS. Bodl. E 4 14.

[r] In the hand-writing of the poem itself, which is very antient.

[s] f. 1. So also in MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 232. In MSS. Harl. 1121. 5. "[Ici demoustre] Roberd Grosseteste evesque de Nichole un tretis en Franceis, del commencement du monde, &c." f. 156. Cod. membran.

ywis for lewede mennes byhoue [t]." Then follows the prologue or introduction:

That good thinketh good may do,
And God wol helpe him ther to:
For nas never good work wrouȝt
With oute biginninge of good thouȝt.
Ne never was wrouȝt non vuel [u] thyng
That vuel thouȝt nas the biginnyng.
God fader and sone and holigoste
That alle thing on eorthe sixt [w] and wost,
That one God art and thrıllihod [x]
And threo persones in one hod [y],
Withouten end and biginninge,
To whom we ouȝten over alle thinge
Worschepe hım with trewe love,
That kıneworthe king art us above,
In whom, of whom, thorw whom beoth
Alle the goodschipes that we hire iseoth,
He leve us thenche and worchen so
That he us schylde from vre fo;
All we habbeth to help neode
That we ne beth all of one theode,
Ne iboren in one londe,
Ne one speche undirstonde,
Ne mowe we al Latin wite [z],
Ne Ebreu ne Gru [a] that beth iwrıte,
Ne French, ne this other spechen,
That me mihte in worlde sechen
To herie God our derworthi drihte [b],
As vch mon ouȝte with all hıs mihte,
Loft song syngen to God ȝerne [c],
With such speche as he con lerne:
Ne monnes mouth ne be ıdut
Ne hıs ledene [d] ihud,
To serven his God that him wrouȝte,
And maade al the worlde of nouȝte.
On Englisch I chul mi resun schowen
For him that con not iknowen

[t] Bibl. Bodl. MS. Vernon, f 292. This translation was never printed. and is, I believe, a rare manuscript

[u] well, good. [evidently uvel, i. e evil. —R. G.]

[w] F. *hext.* highest [seest].

[x] trinity. [y] unity.

[z] understand.

[a] Greek. In John Trevisas's dialogue concerning the translation of the Polychronicon, MSS. Harl. 1900 b f. 42 "Aristotile's bokes, &c. were translated out of *grue* into Latin. Also with prayıng of kyng Charles [the Bald], Johan Scott translated Denys bookes out of *gru* into Latyn."

[b] "to bless [praise] God our beloved lord."

[c] earnestly.

[d] language.

Nouther French no Latyn,
On Englisch I chulle tellen him
Wherefor the world was iwroht,
Ther after how he was bi tauht,
Adam vre fader to ben his,
With al the merthe of paradys,
To wonen and welden to such ende,
Til that he scholde to hevene wende,
And hou sone he hit for-les,
And seththen hou for-bouht wes,
Thurw the heȝe kynges sone,
That here in eorthe wolde come,
For his sustren that were to-boren,
And for a prison that was for-loren,
And hou he made, as ȝe schal heren,
That heo icust and sauht weren
And to wuche a castel he alihte, &c.

But the following are the most poetical passages of this poem:

God nolde alihte in none manere
But in feir stude[e] and in clere,
In feir and clene siker hit wes
Ther God almihti his in ches[f].
In a CASTEL well comeliche,
Muche[g] and feire, and loveliche,
That is the castell of alle floure,
Of solas and of socour;
In the mere he stont bitwene two,
Ne hath he forlak for no fo:
For the tour[h] is so wel with outen,
So depe idiched al abouten,
That non kunnes asayling
Ne may him derven for no thing.
He stont on heiȝ rocke and sound,
And is yplaned to the ground,
That ther may won non vuel[i] thing,
Ne derve no gynnes castyng;
And thauȝ he be so loveliche,
He is so dredful and hateliche,
To all thulke that ben his fon,
That heo flen him everichon;
For smal toures that beth abouten,
To witen the heiȝe toure withouten.

[e] place.
[f] "chose his habitation."
[g] great.
[h] La tur est si bien enclos. *Fr. Orig.*
[i] vile. [evil, M.]

Sethe[k] beoth thre bayles withalle[l],
So feir idiht with strunge walle,
As heo beth here after iwrite,
Ne may no man the feirschipe[m] iwite,
Ne [may] no tongue ne may hit telle,
Ne thouȝt thincke, ne mouthe spelle:
On trusti rocke heo stondeth fast,
And with depe diches bethe bicast,
And the carnels[n] so stondeth upright,
Wel iplaned, and feir idight:
Seven barbicanes ther beth iwrouht
With gret ginne al bithouht[o],
And everichon hath ȝat and toure,
Ther never fayleth no socoure.
Never schal fo him stonde with
That thider wold flen to sechen grith[p].
This castel is siker fair abouten,
And is al depeynted withouten,
With threo heowes that wel beth sene[q],
So is the foundement al grene,
That to the rock fast lith.
Wel is that ther murthe isith,
For the greneschip lasteth evere,
And his heuh ne leoseth nevere.
Sethen abouten that other heuȝ
So is ynde so ys blu[r],
That the midel heuȝ we clepeth ariht,
And schyneth so faire and so briht.
The thridde heuȝ an ovemast
Over wriȝeth al, and so ys icast
That withinnen and withouten,
The castel lihteth al abouten,
And is raddore than eny rose schal
That shunneth as hit barnd[s] were[t].
Withinne the castel is whit schinynge
So[u] the snowe that is snewynge,
And casteth that liht so wyde,
Afterlong the tour and be syde,
That never cometh ther wo ne wouȝ,
As swetnesse ther is ever inouȝ.

[k] Tres bailes en tour. *Fr. Orig.*
[l] "moreover there are three," &c
[m] beauty.
[n] kernels.—Kerneaus bien poli. *Fr. Orig.*
[o] Pur bon engin fait. *Fr. Orig.*
[p] counsel [grace].
[q] La chastel est a bel bon
De hors depeint a envirun
De treis culurs diversement.
Fr. Orig.
[r] Si est ynde si est blu. *Fr. Orig.*
[s] burned, on fire.
[t] Plus est vermail ke nest rose
E piert un ardant chose. *Fr. Orig.*
[u] as.

Amydde[w] the heiȝe toure is springynge
A well that ever is eorninge[x]
With four stremes that striketh wel,
And erneth upon the gravel,
And fulleth the diches about the wal,
Much blisse ther is over al;
Ne dar he seeke non other leche
That mai riht of this water eleche.
In[y] thulke derworthi faire toure
Ther stont a trone with much honour,
Of whit yvori and feirore of liht
Than the someres day when he is briht,
With cumpas ithrowen and with gin al ido
Seven steppes ther beoth therto, &c.
The foure smale toures abouten,
That with the heiȝe tour withouten,
Four had thewes that about hire iseoth,
Foure vertus cardinals beoth, &c.
And[z] which beoth threo bayles gret,
That with the carnels ben so wel iset,
And icast with cumpas and walled abouten
That waleth the heihe tour with outen:
Bote the inmost bayle i wote
Bitokeneth hire holi maydenhode, &c.
The middle bayle, that wite ȝe,
Bitokeneth hire holi chastite,
And sethen the overmast bayle
Bitokeneth hire holi sposaile, &c.
The seven kernels abouten,
That with greot gin beon ywrouȝt withouten,
And witeth this castel so well,
With arwe and with quarrel[a],
That beoth the seven vertues with wunne
To overcum the seven deadly sunne, &c.[b]

It was undoubtedly a great impediment to the cultivation and progressive improvement of the English language at these early periods, that the best authors chose to write in French. Many of Robert

[w] In mi la tur plus hauteine
Est surdant une funtayne
Dunt issent quater ruissell.
Ki bruinet par le gravel, &c. *Fr. Orig.*

[x] running.

[y] En cele bel tur e bone
A de yvoire un trone
Ke plusa eissi blanchor
Ci en mi este la beau jur
Par engin est compassez, &c. *Fr. Orig.*

[z] Les treis bailles du chastel
Ki sunt overt au kernel
Qui a compas sunt envirun
E defendent le dungun. *Fr. Orig.*

[a] Les barbicanes seet
Kis hors de bailles sunt fait,
Ki bien gardent le chastel,
E de seete e de quarrel. *Fr. Orig.*

[b] Afterwards the fountain is explained to be God's grace. Charity is constable of the castle, &c. &c.

Grosthead's pieces are indeed in Latin; yet where the subject was popular, and not immediately addressed to learned readers, he adopted the Romance or French language, in preference to his native English. Of this, as we have already seen, his MANUEL PECHÉ, and his CHATEAU D'AMOUR, are sufficient proofs, both in prose and verse: and his example and authority must have had considerable influence in encouraging this practice. Peter Langtoft, our Augustine canon of Bridlington, not only compiled the large chronicle of England, above recited, in French; but even translated Herbert of Bosham's Latin Life of Thomas Becket into French rhymes[c]. John Hoveden, a native of London, doctor of divinity, and chaplain to queen Eleanor mother of Edward the First, wrote in French rhymes a book entitled, *Rosarium de Nativitate, Passione, et Ascensione, Jhesu Christi*[d]. Various other proofs have before occurred. Lord Lyttelton quotes from the Lambeth library a manuscript poem in French or Norman verse on the subject of king Dermod's expulsion from Ireland, and the recovery of his kingdom[e]. I could mention many others. Anonymous French pieces both in prose and verse, and written about this time, are innumerable in our manuscript repositories[f]. Yet this fashion proceeded rather from ne-

[c] Pits p. 890 Append who with great probability supposes him to have been an Englishman

[d] MSS Bibl C C C Cant G 16 where it is also called the *Nightingale*. Pr "Alme fesse lit de peresse."

[In this manuscript the whole title is this "Le ROSSIGNOL, ou la pensée Jehan de Hovedene clerc la roine d'Engleterre mere le roi Edward, de la naissance et de la mort et du relievement et de la ascension Jesu Crist, et de lassumpcion notre dame" This manuscript was written in the fourteenth century.—ADDITIONS] [See supra, Note on the Lais of Marie de France —M]

Our author, John Hoveden, was also skilled in sacred music, and a great writer of Latin hymns. He died, and was buried, at Hoveden, 1275 Pits p 356. Bale, v. 79.

There is an old French Metrical life of Tobias, which the author, most probably an Englishman, says he undertook at the request of William, Prior of Kenilworth in Warwickshire. MSS. Jes. Coll Oxon. 85. supr. citat. f 268 b.

Li prior Gwilleyme me prie
De la eglyse seynte Marie
De Kenylleworth an Arderne,
Ki porte la plus haute peyne
De charité, ke nul eglyse
Del reaume a devyse,
Ke jeo liz en romaunz le vie
De celuy ki out nun Tobie, &c.

[e] Hist. Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 270. Notes. It was translated into prose by Sir George Carew in Q Elizabeth's time this translation was printed by Harris in his HIBERNIA. It was probably written about 1190 See Ware, p. 56. And compare Walpole's Anecd Paint. i. 28 Notes The Lambeth manuscript seems to be but a fragment. viz. MSS Bibl. Lamb Hib A. See supr p 65. Note[z] [This poem has been lately edited in London by M. Francisque Michel —W]

[f] [Among the learned Englishmen who now wrote in French, the Editor of the CANTERBURY TALES mentions Helis de Guincestre, or WINCHESTER, a translator of CATO into French. (See vol ii. sect. XXVII) And Hue de Roteland, author of the Romance, in French verse, called Ipomedon, MSS Cott VESP. A vii. The latter is also supposed to have written a French Dialogue in metre, MSS. Bodl 3904. [MS Fairfax, 24.] *Ceo est la pleinte par entre mis Sire Henry de Lacy Counte de Nychole* [Lincoln] *et Sire Wauter de Bybelesworth, pur la croiserie en la terre seinte.* [There is more reason to believe this poem to have been written by Walter de Biblesworth than by Hue de Roteland. See also De la Rue, vol. ii. p. 285.—M.] And a French romantic poem on a knight called CAPANÉE, perhaps Statius's Capaneus. MSS. Cott. VESP. A vii. ut supr. It begins,

Qui bons countes viel entendre.

[See "The CANTERBURY TALES of CHAUCER. To which are added An ESSAY upon his LANGUAGE and VERSIFI-

cessity and a principle of convenience, than from affectation. The vernacular English, as I have before remarked, was rough and unpolished: and although these writers possessed but few ideas of taste and elegance, they embraced a foreign tongue, almost equally familiar, and in which they could convey their sentiments with greater ease, grace, and propriety. It should also be considered, that our most eminent scholars received a part of their education at the University of Paris. Another, and a very material circumstance, concurred to countenance this fashionable practice of composing in French. It procured them readers of rank and distinction. The English court, for more than two hundred years after the Conquest, was totally French: and our kings, either from birth, kindred, or marriage, and from a perpetual intercourse, seem to have been more closely connected with France than with England*. It was however fortunate that these French pieces were written, as some of them met with their translators: who perhaps unable to aspire to the praise of original writers, at least by this means contributed to adorn their native tongue: and who very probably would not have written at all, had not original writers, I mean their cotemporaries who wrote in French, furnished them with models and materials.

Hearne, to whose diligence even the poetical antiquarian is much obliged, but whose conjectures are generally wrong, imagines that the old English metrical romance, called RYCHARDE CUER DE LYON, was written by Robert de Brunne. It is at least probable, that the leisure

CATION, an INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE, and NOTES Lond. 1775 4 vol 8vo." This masterly performance, in which the author has displayed great taste, judgement, sagacity, and the most familiar knowledge of those books which peculiarly belong to the province of a commentator on Chaucer, did not appear till more than half of my second volume was printed —ADDITIONS.]

I have before hinted that it was sometimes customary to intermix Latin with French. As thus. MSS Harl 2253. f 137 b.

Dieu roy de Mageste,
Ob personas trinas,
Nostre roy e sa meyne
Ne perire sinas, &c.

Again, ibid f 76. Where a lover, an Englishman, addresses his mistress who was of Paris.

Dum ludis floribus velud lacinia,
Le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel *angustia,* &c.

Sometimes their poetry was half French and half English. As in a song to the holy Virgin on our Saviour's passion. Ibid. f. 83.

Mayden moder milde, oiez cel oreysoun,
From shome thou me shilde, e de ly mal feloun:
For loue of thine childe me menez de tresoun,
Ich wes wod & wilde, ore su en prisoun, &c.

In the same manuscript I find a French poem probably written by an Englishman, in the year 1300, containing the adventures of Gilote and Johanne, two ladies of gallantry, in various parts of England and Ireland, particularly at Winchester and Pontefract f 66 b The curious reader is also referred to a French poem, in which the poet supposes that a minstrel, *jugleour*, travelling from London, clothed in a rich tabard, met the king and his retinue. The king asks him many questions, particularly his lord's name, and the price of his horse. The minstrel evades all the king's questions by impertinent answers, and at last presumes to give his majesty advice. Ibid. f. 107 b. [This last poem was privately printed by Sir F. Palgrave, 4to. 1818. and since by the Abbe de la Rue, in his *Essais sur les Bardes,* &c.—M.]

* [It is very certain that many French poems were written during this period by Englishmen; but it is probable that several were also composed by Normans.—DOUCE.] [See on this subject the Preface to *Havelok,* p. xlvi.—M.]

of monastic life produced many rhymers. From proofs here given we may fairly conclude, that the monks often wrote for the minstrels: and although our Gilbertine brother of Brunne chose to relate true stories in plain language, yet it is reasonable to suppose, that many of our antient tales in verse containing fictitious adventures, were written, although not invented, in the religious houses. The romantic history of *Guy earl of Warwick*, is expressly said, on good authority, to have been written by Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan friar of Carocus in Cornwall, about the year 1292[g]. The libraries of the monasteries were full of romances. *Bevis of Southampton*, in French, was in the library of the abbey of Leicester[h]. In that of the abbey of Glastonbury, we find *Liber de Excidio Trojæ*, *Gesta Ricardi Regis*, and *Gesta Alexandri Regis*, in the year 1247[i]. These were some of the most favourite subjects of romance, as I shall show hereafter. In a catalogue of the library of the abbey of Peterborough are recited, *Amys and Amelion*[k], *Sir Tristram*, *Guy de Burgoyne*, and *Gesta Otuelis*[l], all in French: together with *Merlin's Prophecies*, *Turpin's*

[g] Carew's Surv Cornw. p. 59. edit ut supr. I suppose Carew means the metrical Romance of GUY. But Bale says that Walter wrote *Vitam Guidonis*, which seems to imply a prose history. x. 78. Giraldus Cambrensis [Girardus Cornubiensis.—M.] also wrote Guy's history. Hearne has printed an *Historia Guidonis de Warwik*, Append. ad Annal de Dunstaple, num. xi. It was extracted from Girald Cambrens Hist. Reg West-Sax capit. xi. by Girardus Cornubiensis [Warton makes a strange blunder here, arising from Tanner having written by inadvertency *Giraldi* for *Girardi*. The Latin prose fragment printed by Hearne is extracted "ex scriptis Girardi Cornubiensis in libro de gestis regum Westsaxonum, cap. xi." and the name of Giraldus Cambrensis should have been omitted See a communication of mine on the subject of the Romance of Guy, in the *Gent.'s Mag.* for Dec. 1828.—M.] Lydgate's *Life of Guy*, never printed, is translated from this Girardus; as Lydgate himself informs us at the end. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. D 31. f. 64. Tit. *Here gynneth the liff of Guy of Warwyk*

Out of the Latyn made by the Chronycler
Called of old GIRARD CORNUBYENCE
Which wrote the dedis, with grete diligence,
Of them that were in Westsex crowned kynges, &c.

See Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 89. Some have thought that Girardus Cornubiensis and Giraldus Cambrensis were the same persons. This passage of Lydgate may perhaps shew the contrary. We have also in the same Bodleian manuscript, a poem on Guy and Colbrand, viz. MSS Laud. D 31. f. 87. More will be said on this subject

[h] See *Registrum Librorum in monasterio S. Mariæ de Pratis prope Leycestriam*, fol. 132 b. In MSS Bibl. Bodl Laud I 75 This catalogue was written by Will Charite, one of the monks, A.D. 1517 fol 139.

[It was written the 8th year of king Henry VII, and the whole is printed in Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. i. pt 2 Append pp. 101—108.—M.]

[i] Hearne's Joann Glaston Catal Bibl. Glaston p. 435. One of the books on Troy is called *bonus et magnus* There is also "Liber de Captione Antiochiæ, Gallice. *legibilis*" ibid.

[k] The same Romance is in MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. 2386 42

[The Harl MS is a bad copy of about one half of the poem. This Romance was translated into German verse by Conrad of Würzburg, who flourished about the year 1300. He chose to name the heroes Engelhard and Engeldrud.—WEBER]

See Du Cang. Gloss. Lat. i. Ind Auctor. p. 193. There is an old manuscript French MORALITY on this subject, *Comment Amille tue ses deux enfans pour guerir Amis son compagnon*, &c. Beauchamps, Rech. Theatr. Fr. p. 109. There is a French metrical romance *Histoire d'Amys et Amilion*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12. C xii. 9.

[And at Bennet college, Num. L. i. It begins,

Ki veut oir chaunçoun d'amur.

ADDITIONS.]

[l] There is a Romance called OTUEL, MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4. 1. xxviii. I

Charlemagne, and the *Destruction of Troy*[m]. Among the books given to Winchester college by the founder William of Wykeham, a prelate of high rank, about the year 1387, we have *Chronicon Trojæ*[n]. In the library of Windsor college, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, were discovered in the midst of missals, psalters, and homilies, *Duo libri Gallici de Romances, de quibus unus liber de* ROSE, *et alius difficilis materiæ*[o]. This is the language of the king's commissioners, who searched the archives of the college: the first of these two French romances is perhaps John de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*. A friar [parson], in Pierce Plowman's Visions, is said to be much better acquainted with the "*rimes of Robinhode* and of *Randal* [erle] *of Chester*" than with his Pater-noster[p]. The monks, who very naturally sought all opportunities of amusement in their retired and confined situations, were fond of admitting the minstrels to their festivals; and were hence familiarized to romantic stories. Seventy shillings were expended on minstrels, who accompanied their songs with the harp, at the feast of the installation of Ralph abbot of Saint Augustin's at Canterbury, in the year 1309. At this magnificent solemnity, six thousand guests were present in and about the hall of the abbey[q]. It was not deemed an occurrence unworthy to be recorded, that when Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, visited his cathedral priory of Saint Swithin in that city, a minstrel named Herbert was introduced, who sung the *Song of Colbrond* a Danish giant, and the tale of *Queen Emma delivered from the plough-shares*, in the hall of the prior Alexander de Herriard, in the year 1338. I will give this very curious article, as it appears in an antient register of the priory. "*Et cantabat Joculator quidam nomine Herebertus* CANTICUM Colbrondi, *necnon* Gestum Emme regine a judicio ignis liberate, *in aula prioris*[r]." In an annual accompt-roll of

think he is mentioned in Charlemagne's story. He is converted to Christianity and marries Charlemagne's daughter. [Analysed by Mr Ellis vol. ii p. 324.]

[The "Roman de Otinel," in Montfaucon Bibl Bibliothec p. 32, is probably the same —DOUCE.]

[m] Gunton's Peterb. p. 108. seq —I will give some of the titles as they stand in the catalogue. *Dares Phrygius de Excidio Trojæ*, bis, p. 180. *Prophetiæ Merlini versifice* p 182. *Gesta Caroli secundum Turpinum.* p. 187. *Gesta Æneæ post destructionem Trojæ.* p. 198. *Bellum contra Runcivallum.* p. 202. There are also the two following articles, viz. "Certamen inter regem Johannem et Barones, versifice; per H. de Davench." p. 188 This I have never seen, nor know anything of the author. "Versus de ludo scaccorum." p. 195.

[n] Ex archivis Coll. Wint.

[o] Dugd. Monast. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p 80. [For a very curious list of Romances, &c., given by Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, to the abbey of Bordesley, see the original deed printed from a manuscript in the library of Lambeth by Todd, Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer, p 160, and given more correctly and completely by M Michel, Tristan, tom. i. p cxx. Lond 1835.—W.]

[p] Fol xxvi. b. edit. 1550.

[q] Dec. Script. p. 2011.

[r] Registr Priorat S Swithini Winton. MSS pergamen in Archiv de Wolvesey Wint These were local stories. Guy fought and conquered Colbrond a Danish champion, just without the northern walls of the city of Winchester, in a meadow to this day called Danemarch. and Colbrond's battle-axe was kept in the treasury of St. Swithin's priory till the Dissolution. Th. Rudb. apud Wharton, Angl Sacr. i. 211. This history remained in rude painting against the walls of the north transept of the cathedral till within my memory. Queen Emma was a patroness of this church, in which she underwent the trial of walking blindfold

the Augustine priory of Bicester in Oxfordshire, for the year 1431, th following entries relating to this subject occur, which I choose to e hibit in the words of the original. "DONA PRIORIS. *Et in dat cuidam citharizatori in die sancti Jeronimi*, viii d.—*Et in datis alte citharizatori in festo Apostolorum Simonis et Jude cognomine Hend* xii d.—*Et in datis cuidam minstrallo domini le Talbot infra nata domini*, xii d.—*Et in datis ministrallis domini le Straunge in d Epiphanie*, xx d.—*Et in datis duobus ministrallis domini Lovell i crastino S. Marci evangeliste*, xvi d.—*Et in datis ministrallis duc Glocestrie in festo nativitatis beate Marie*, iii s. iv d." I must add, as likewise paints the manners of the monks, "*Et in datis cuidam Ursari* iiii d."[s] In the prior's accounts of the Augustine canons of Maxtok in Warwickshire, of various years in the reign of Henry the Sixth, on of the styles, or general heads, is DE JOCULATORIBUS ET MIMIS. will, without apology, produce some of the particular articles; not d stinguishing between *Mimi*, *Joculatores*, *Jocatores*, *Lusores*, and *Citha ristæ*; who all seem alternately, and at different times, to have exercise the same arts of popular entertainment. "*Joculatori in septiman S. Michaelis*, iv d.—*Cithariste tempore natalis domini et aliis jocator bus*, iv d.—*Mimis de Solihull*, vi d.—*Mimis de Coventry*, xx d.— *Mimo domini Ferrers*, vi d.—*Lusoribus de Eton*, viii d.—*Lusoribu de Coventry*, viii d.—*Lusoribus de Daventry*, xii d.—*Mimis de Co ventry*, xii d.—*Mimis domini de Asteley*, xii d.—*Item* iiii. *mimis domin de Warewyck*, x d.—*Mimo ceco*, ii d.—*Sex mimis domini de Clynton.*— *Duobus Mimis de Rugeby*, x d.—*Cuidam citharistæ*, vi d.—*Mimis do mini de Asteley*, xx d.—*Cuidam citharistæ*, vi d.—*Citharistæ de Coventry* vi d.—*Duobus citharistis de Coventry*, viii d.—*Mimis de Rugeby*, viii d —*Mimis domini de Buckeridge*, xx d.—*Mimis domini de Stafford*, ii s.— *Lusoribus de Coleshille*, viii d."[t] Here we may observe, that the min strels of the nobility, in whose families they were constantly retained travelled about the country to the neighbouring monasteries; and tha they generally received better gratuities for these occasional perform ances than the others. Solihull, Rugby, Coleshill, Eton, or Nun-Eton and Coventry, are all towns situated at no great distance from th priory[u]. Nor must I omit that two minstrels from Coventry mad

over nine red hot ploughshares. Colbrond is mentioned in the old romance of the *Squyr of Lowe Degree*. Signat. a. iii.

Or els so doughty of my honde
As was the gyaunte syr Colbronde.

[s] See what is said above of Guy earl of Warwick, who will again be mentioned.

[s] Ex orig. in Rotul. pergamen. Tit. "Compotus dni Ricardi Parentyn prioris, et fratris Ric. Albon canonici, bursarii ibidem, de omnibus bonis per eosdem receptis et liberatis a crastino Michaelis anno Henrici Sexti post Conquestum octavo usque in idem crastinum anno R Henrici prædicti nono." In Thesaurar Coll. SS. Trin Oxon. Bishop Kennet ha printed a Computus of the same mona stery under the same reign, in whicl three or four entries of the same sor occur. Paroch. Antiq p. 578.

[t] Ex orig. penes me.

[u] In the antient annual rolls of accomp of Winchester college, there are many articles of this sort. The few following extracted from a great number, may serv as a specimen. They are chiefly in the reign of Edward IV. viz. *In the year* 1481

part of the festivity at the consecration of John, prior of this convent, in the year 1432, viz. "*Dat. duobus mimis de Coventry in die consecrationis prioris*, xii d."[w] Nor is it improbable, that some of our greater monasteries kept minstrels of their own in regular pay. So early as the year 1180, in the reign of Henry the Second, *Jeffrey the harper* received a corrody, or annuity, from the Benedictine abbey of Hide near Winchester[x]; undoubtedly on condition that he should serve the monks in the profession of a harper on public occasions. The abbeys of Conway and Stratflur in Wales respectively maintained a bard[y]: and the Welsh monasteries in general were the grand repositories of the poetry of the British bards[z].

"Et in sol ministrallis dom. Regis venientibus ad collegium xv. die aprilis, cum 12 *d.* solut. ministrallis dom. Episcopi Wynton venientibus ad collegium primo die junii, iiii *s.* iiii *d.*—Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Arundell ven. ad coll. cum viii *d.* dat. ministrallis dom de Lawarr, ii *s.* iiii *d.*"——*In the year* 1483. "Sol. ministrallis dom. Regis ven ad coll iii *s.* iiii *d*"——*In the year* 1472 "Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Regis cum viii *d.* dat. duobus Berewardis ducis Clarentie, xx *d.* —Et in dat. Johanni *Stulto* quondam dom. de Warewyco, cum iiii *d.* dat. Thome Nevyle taborario.—Et in datis duobus ministrallis ducis Glocestrie, cum iiii *d.* dat. uni ministrallo ducis de Northumberlond, viii *d.*—Et in datis duobus citharatoribus ad vices venientibus ad collegium viii *d.*" ——*In the year* 1479. "Et in datis satrapis Wynton venientibus ad coll. festo Epiphanie, cum xii *d* dat. ministrallis dom episcopi venient. ad coll. infra octavas Epiphanie, iii *s.*"——*In the year* 1477. "Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Principis venient ad coll. festo Ascensionis Domini, cum xx *d.* dat. ministrallis dom. Regis, v *s* " ——*In the year* 1464. "Et in dat. ministrallis comitis Kancie venient. ad coll. in mense julii, iii *s.* iiii *d.*"——*In the year* 1467. "Et in datis quatuor mimis dom. de Arundell venient. ad coll. xiii die ffebr. ex curialitate dom. Custodis, ii *s* " ——*In the year* 1466. "Et in dat. satrapis, [*ut supr.*] cum ii *s.* dat. iiii. interludentibus et J. Meke citharistæ eodem ffesto, iii *s.*"——*In the year* 1484. "Et in dat. uni ministrallo dom. principis, et in aliis ministrallis ducis Glocestrie v. die julii, xx *d*"—The minstrels of the bishop, of lord Arundel, and the duke of Gloucester, occur very frequently. In domo muniment. coll. prædict. in cista ex orientali latere.

In rolls of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the countess of Westmoreland, sister of cardinal Beaufort, is mentioned as being entertained in the college; and in her retinue were the minstrels of her household, who received gratuities Ex Rot. Comp. orig.

In these rolls there is an entry, which seems to prove that the *Lusores* were a sort of actors in dumb show or masquerade. *Rot. ann.* 1467. "Dat. lusoribus de civitate Winton, venientibus ad collegium in *apparatu* suo mens. julii, v *s.* viii *d.*" This is a large reward. I will add from the same rolls, *ann* 1479. "In dat. Joh. Pontisbery et socio ludentibus in aula in die circumcisionis, ii *s.*"

[w] Ibid. It appears that the Coventrymen were in high repute for their performances of this sort. In the entertainment presented to queen Elizabeth at Killingworth castle, in the year 1575, the Coventry-men exhibited "their old storiall sheaw." Laneham's *Narrative*, &c. p. 32. Minstrels were hired from Coventry to perform at Holy Crosse feast at Abingdon, Berks, 1422. Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. ii. p. 598. See an account of their play on Corpus Christi day, in Stevens's Monasticon, i p. 138. and Hearne's Foidun, p. 1450. sub an. 1492.

[x] Madox, Hist. Exchequer, p. 251. where he is styled, "Galfridus citharœdus."

[y] Powel's CAMBRIA. *To the Reader.* pag. 1. edit. 1581.

[z] Evans's Diss. de Bardis. Specimens of Welsh Poetry. p. 92. Wood relates a story of two itinerant priests coming, towards night, to a cell of Benedictines near Oxford, where, on a supposition of their being mimes or minstrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, sacrist, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained with their *gesticulatorius ludicrisque artibus*, and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent ecclesiastics who could only administer spiritual consolation, and being consequently disappointed of their mirth, beat them and turned them out of the monastery. Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. i. 67. Under the year 1224.

In the statutes of New-college at Oxford, given about the year 1380, the founder bishop William of Wykeham orders his scholars, for their recreation on festival days in the hall after dinner and supper, to entertain themselves with songs, and other diversions consistent with decency: and to recite poems, chronicles of kingdoms, the wonders of the world, together with the like compositions, not misbecoming the clerical character. I will transcribe his words. "Quando ob dei reverentiam aut sue matris, vel alterius sancti cujuscunque, tempore yemali, ignis in aula sociis ministratur; tunc scolaribus et sociis, post tempus prandii aut cene, liceat gracia recreationis, in aula, in Cantilenis et aliis solaciis honestis, moram facere condecentem; et Poemata, regnorum Chronicas, et mundi hujus Mirabilia, ac cetera que statum clericalem condecorant, seriosius pertractare."[a] The latter part of this injunction seems to be an explication of the former: and on the whole it appears, that the *Cantilenæ* which the scholars should sing on these occasions, were a sort of *Poemata*, or poetical Chronicles, containing general histories of kingdoms[b]. It is natural to conclude, that they preferred pieces of English history: and among Hearne's manuscripts I have discovered some Fragments on vellum[c], containing metrical chronicles of our kings; which, from the nature of the composition, seem to have been used for this purpose, and answer our idea of these general *Chronica regnorum*. Hearne supposed them to have been written about the time of Richard the First[d]: but I rather assign them to the reign of Edward the First*, who died in the year 1307. But the reader shall judge. The following fragment begins abruptly with some rich presents which king Athelstan received from Charles the Third, king of France: a nail which pierced our Saviour's feet on the cross, a spear with which Charlemagne fought against the Saracens, and which some supposed to be the spear which pierced our Saviour's side, a part of the holy cross inclosed in crystal, three of the thorns from the crown on our Saviour's head, and a crown formed entirely of precious stones, which were endued with a mystical power of reconciling enemies.

[a] Rubric. xviii The same thing is enjoined in the statutes of Winchester college, Rubr. xv. I do not remember any such passage in the statutes of preceding colleges in either university. But this injunction is afterwards adopted in the statutes of Magdalene college, and from thence, if I recollect right, was copied into those of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

[b] Hearne thus understood the passage. "The wise founder of New college permitted them [metrical chronicles] to be sung by the fellows and scholars upon extraordinary days." Heming. Cartul. II. APPEND. Numb. ix. § vi. p. 662.

[c] Given to him by Mr. Murray. See Heming. Chartul. II. p. 654. And Rob. Glouc II p. 731. Nunc MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. RAWLINS. Cod. 4to. (E. Pr. 87.)

[d] ubi supr.

* [The truth is, that these Fragments are merely a portion of a copy, somewhat amplified, of the metrical Chronicle of England, printed by Ritson, Metr. Rom. vol. II and already referred to by Warton, p. 59. They are of course to be ascribed to the reign of Edward the Second. A portion, containing the description of Bladud's baths, was printed by Selden, in his notes to Drayton's Polyolbion, and it is rather singular that the same fragment should be inserted in the Cottonian copy of Robert of Gloucester, CAL. A XI. f. 11 These fragments are also described by Dr. Bliss, in the British Bibliographer, vol. IV. p. 76–79.—M.]

Ther in was closyd a nayle grete
That went thorw oure lordis fete.
ȝyt[e] he presentyd hym the spere
That Charles was wont to bere
Aȝens the Sarasyns in batayle;
Many swore and sayde saunfayle[f]
That with that spere smerte[g]
Our lorde was stungen to the herte.
And a party[h] of the holi crosse
In crystal done in a cloos.
And three of the thornes kene
That was in Cristes hede sene,
And a ryche crowne of golde
Non rycher kyng wer yscholde,
Ymade within and withowt
With pretius stonys alle abowte,
Of eche manir vertu thry[i]
The stonys hadde the maystry,
To make frendes that euere were fone,
Such a crowne was neuer none,
To none erthelyche mon ywroȝth
Syth God made the world of noȝth.
Kyng Athelstune was glad and blythe,
And thankud the kynge of Fraunce swythe,
Of gyftes nobul and ryche
In Crystiante was non hem lyche.
In his tyme, I understonde,
Was Guy of Warwyk yn Inglonde,
And for Englond dede batayle
With a myȝti gyande, without fayle;
His name was hote Colbrond,
Gwy hym slough with his hond.
Seuen yere kyng Athelston
Held this his kyngdome;
In Inglond that ys so mury
He dyedde, and lythe at Malmesbury[k].
After hym regned his brother Edmond,
And was kyng of Ingelond,

[e] yet, moreover. [f] without doubt. *Fr*
[g] sharp, strong. So in the *Lives of the Saints*, MSS. supr. citat. In the Life of St. Edmund.

For Saint Edmund had a *smerte* ȝerde, &c.

i. e. "He had a strong rod in his hand," &c.
[h] part, piece. [i] three.
[k] To which monastery he gave the fragment of the holy cross given him by the king of France. Rob. Gloue. p. 276.

King Athelston lovede much Malmesbury y wis,
He ȝef of the holy cross som, that there ȝut ys.

It is extraordinary that Peter Langtoft should not know where Athelstan was buried, and as strange that his translator Rob. de Brunne should supply this defect by mentioning a report that his body was lately found at Hexham in Northumberland. Chron. p. 32.

And he ne regned here
But unneth nine yere;
Sith hyt befalle at a feste
At Caunterbury[l], a cas unwrest[m],
As the kyng at the mete sat,
He behelde, and under3at
Of a theef that was desgyse
Amonge hys knyghtes god and wise.
The kyng was hesty and sterte uppe,
And hent the thefe by the toppe[n],
And cast hym doune on a ston:
The theefe brayde out a knyfe anon,
And the kyng to the hert threste,
Or any of his knightes weste[o].
The baronys sterte up anone,
And slough the theefe swythe sone,
But arst[p] he wounded many one,
Thrugh the flesh and thrugh the bone.
To Glastenbury they bare the kynge,
And ther made his buryinge[q].
After that Edmund was ded,
Reyned his brother Edred;
Edred reyned here
But unnethe thre yere, &c.*
After hym reyned seynt Edgare,
A wyse kynge and a warre;
Thilke nyghte that he was bore,
Seynt Dunstan was glad ther fore;
For he herde that swete steuene
Of the angels of heuene:
In the songe[r] thei songe bi ryme,
" Yblessed be that ylke tyme
That Edgare ybore ywas,
For in hys tyme schal be pas,
Euer more in hys kyngdome

[l] Rob. of Gloucester says that this happened at Pucklechurch near Bristol. p. 277. But Rob de Brunne at Canterbury, whither the kıng went to hold the feast of St. Austin. p. 33.

[m] a wicked mischance.

[n] head. [o] perceived. [p] *erst*, first

[q] At Gloucester, says Rob. de Brunne, p. 33. But Rob. of Gloucester says his body was brought from Pucklechurch, and interred at Glastonbury; and that hence the town of Pucklechurch became part of the possessions of Glastonbury abbey. p 278.

* [Mr. Philip Bliss, of St. John's college, Oxon, (to whose kindness I am indebted for the collation of this extract with the Bodley MS.) observes, that a leaf appears to be wantıng at this place, which contained probably the life of Edwyn, six lines of which only remain, and are here appended:

His wife, for here faire hedde,
Of God he hadde lytell drede;
Thoght (?) he was here owne cosyne,
Ther fore he sewed (?) the more pyne.
He reyned xii yere:
To Wynchester men hym bere.—M]

[r] This songis in Rob. Gl. Chron. p. 281.

The while he liueth and seynt Dunston."
Ther was so meche grete foyson[s],
Of all good in every tonne,
All wyle that last his lyue,
Ne loued he neuer fyght ne stryue.
* * *
The knyghtes of Wales, all and some,
Him to swery and othes holde,
And trewe to be as y told,
To bring to hym trewage[t] there,
CCC. wolves eche ȝere;
And so they dyde trewliche
Three yere pleynerelyche,
The ferthe yere myght they fynde non,
So clene thay wer all agon,
* * *
And the kyng hyt hem forgeue
For he nolde hem greue.
Edgare was an holi man
That oure lorde, &c.

Although we have taken our leave of Robert de Brunne, yet as the subject is remarkable, and affords a striking portraiture of antient manners, I am tempted to transcribe that chronicler's description of the presents received by king Athelstane from the king of France; especially as it contains some new circumstances, and supplies the defects of our Fragment. It is from his version of Peter Langtoft's chronicle above mentioned.

At the feste of oure lady the Assumpcion,
Went the king fro London to Abindon.
Thider out of France, fro Charles kyng of fame,
Com the [erle] of Boloyn, Adulphus was his name,
And the duke of Burgoyn, Edmonde sonne, Reynere,
The brouht kynge Althelston present withouten pere:
Fro Charles kyng sanz faile thei brouht a gonfaynoun[u],
That saynt Morice [bar] in batayle before the legioun;
& [the] scharp lance that thrilled Jhesu side;
& a suerd of golde, in the hilte did men hide
Tuo of tho nayles that war thorh Jhesu fete,
Tached[w] oñ the croys, the blode thei out lete;
& som of the thornes that don were on his heued,
& a fair pece that of the croys leued[x],
That saynt Heleyn sonne at the bataile wan
Of the soudan of Askalone, his name was Madan.

[s] provision. [t] ready. [u] banner. [w] tacked, fastened. [x] remained.

Than blewe the trumpes fulle loud & fulle schille,
The kyng com in to the halle, that hardy was of wille.
Than spak Reyner, Edmundle sonne, for he was messengere,
" Athelstan, my lord the gretes, Charles that has no pere;
He sends the this present, & sais, he wille hym bynde
To the thorh[y] Ilde thi sistere, & tille alle thi kynde."
Befor the messengers was the maiden brouht,
Of body so gentille was non in erth wrouht;
No non so faire of face, of spech so lufly,
Scho granted befor tham all to Charles hir body:
And so did the kyng, & alle the baronage,
Mykelle was the richesse thei purueied hir passage.[z]

Another of these Fragments, evidently of the same composition, seems to have been an introduction to the whole. It begins with the martyrdom of saint Alban, and passes on to the introduction of Wassail, and to the names and division of England.

And now he ys alle so hole yfonde
As whan he was yleyde on grounde.
And ȝyf ȝe wille not trow[a] me,
Goth to Westmynstere, and ȝe mow se.
In that tyme Seynt Albon
For Goddys loue tholed[b] martirdome,
And xl. ȝere with schame and schonde[c]
Was drowen[d] oute of Englond.
In that tyme, weteth[e] welle,
Cam ferst Wassayle & Drynkehayl
In to this lond, with owte wene[f],
Thurghe a mayde brygh[g] and schene[h];
Sche was cleput[i] mayde Ynge;
For hur many dothe rede and synge,
Lordyngys gent[k] and free.
This lond hath yhadde namys thre:
Ferst hit was cleput Albyon,
And syth[l] for Brut Bretayne anon,
And now Ynglonde cleput hit ys
Aftir mayde Ynge ywysse.
Thilke Ynge fro Saxone was come,
And with here many a moder sonne.

[y] "thee through."

[z] Chron. p 29. 30. Afterwards follows the combat of Guy with "a hogge (huge) geant, hight Colibrant." As in our Fragment. p. 31. See Will. Malms. Gest. Angl. ii. 6. The lance of Charlemagne is to this day shewn among the relics of St. Dennis's in France. Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du Cange, tom ii. p. 994. edit. 1766.

[a] believe. [b] suffered.
[c] confusion. [d] driven, drawn.
[e] know ye. [f] doubt.
[g] bright. [h] fair.
[i] called. [k] gentle.
[l] from, because of [afterwards.]

For gret hungure y understonde
Ynge went oute of hure londe.
And thorow leue of oure kyng
In this land sche hadde restyng.
As meche lande of the kyng sche bade[m]
As with a bole hyde me myȝth[n] sprede.
The kyng graunt he[re] bonne[o]:
A strong castel sche made sone,
And whan the castel was al made,
The kyng to the mete sche bade[p].
The kyng graunted here anone.
He wyst not what thay wold done.

* * *

And sayde to ham[q] in this manere,
"The kyng to morow schal ete here,
He and alle hys men;
Euer[r] one of us and one of them
To geder schal sitte at the mete.
And when thay haue almost yete,
I wole say Wassayle to the kyng,
And sle hym with oute any lesyng[s].
And loke that ȝe in this manere
Eche of ȝow sle his fere[t]."
And so sche dede thenne,
Slowe the kyng and alle hys men.
And thus, thorowgh here queyntyse[u],
This londe was wonne in this wyse.
Syth[w] anon sone an swythe[x]
Was Englond deled[y] on fyue,
To fyue kynggys trewelyche,
That were nobyl and swythe ryche.
That one hadde alle the londe of Kente,
That ys free and swythe gente.
And in hys lond bysshopus tweye.
Worthy men where[z] theye.
The archebysshop of Caunturbery,
And of Rochestere that ys mery.
The kyng of Essex of renon[a]
He hadde to his porcion
Westschire, Barkschire,
Soussex, Southamptshire.

[m] requested, desired.
[n] men might.
[o] granted her request.
[p] bid.
[q] them.
[r] every. [umformly one and one.]
[s] lie.
[t] companion.
[u] stratagem.
[w] after.
[x] very. [quickly].
[y] divided.
[z] were.
[a] renown.

And ther to Dorsetshyre,
All Cornewalle and Deuenshire;
All thys were of hys anpyre[b].
The king hadde on his hond
Fyue bysshopes starke and strong,
Of Salusbury was that on....*

As to the *Mirabilia Mundi*, mentioned in the statutes of New College at Oxford, in conjunction with these *Poemata* and *Regnorum Chronica*, the immigrations of the Arabians into Europe and the Crusades produced numberless accounts, partly true and partly fabulous, of the wonders seen in the eastern countries; which falling into the hands of the monks, grew into various treatises, under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*. There were also some professed travellers into the East in the dark ages, who surprised the western world with their marvellous narratives, which could they have been contradicted would have been believed[c]. At the court of the grand Khan, persons of all nations and religions, if they discovered any distinguished degree of abilities, were kindly entertained and often preferred.

In the Bodleian library we have a superb vellum manuscript, decorated with antient descriptive paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Histoire de Graunt Kaan et des* MERVEILLES DU MONDE[d]. The same work is among the royal manuscripts[e]. A Latin epistle, said to be translated from the Greek by Cornelius Nepos, is an extremely common manuscript, entitled, *De Situ et Mirabilibus Indiæ*[f]. It is from

[b] empire.

* [It is this last portion which is printed in Hearne's Rob. Glouc. Gloss. p. 731 — M.]

[c] The first European traveller who went far Eastward, is Benjamin a Jew of Tudela in Navarre. He penetrated from Constantinople through Alexandria in Ægypt and Persia to the frontiers of Tzin, now China. His travels end in 1173. He mentions the immense wealth of Constantinople; and says that its port swarmed with ships from all countries He exaggerates in speaking of the prodigious number of Jews in that city He is full of marvellous and romantic stories. William de Rubruquis, a monk, was sent into Persic Tartary, and by the command of St. Louis king of France, about the year 1245. as was also Carpini, by Pope Innocent the Fourth Their books abound with improbabilities. [Warton here passes an undeserved and inconsiderate censure. Rubruquis is a very candid writer, and tells no improbabilities. I am not aware of any great sins of this kind committed by Johannes de Plano Carpini.—W.] Marco Polo a Venetian nobleman travelled eastward into Syria and Persia to the country constantly called in the dark ages Cathay, which proves to be the northern part of China. This was about the year 1260. His book is entitled *De Regionibus Orientis*. He mentions the immense and opulent city of Cambalu, undoubtedly Pekin. Hakluyt cites a friar, named Oderick, who travelled to Cambalu in Cathay, and whose description of that city corresponds exactly with Pekin Friar Bacon about 1280, from these travels formed his geography of this part of the globe, as may be collected from what he relates of the Tartars. See Purchas Pilgr iii 52. And Bac Op. Maj. 228 235.

[d] MSS. Bodl F. 10. [264.] fol. prægrand. The hand-writing is about the reign of Edward the Third. I am not sure whether it is not Mandeville's book.

[e] Brit. Mus. MSS. Bibl Reg. 19 D i. 3. [The royal manuscript is a magnificent copy of the French translation of Marco Polo's travels, which it affirms to have been made in the year 1298.—PRICE.]

[f] It was first printed *a Jacobo Catalanensi* without date or place. Afterwards at Venice 1499. The epistle is inscribed. *Alexander Magnus Aristoteli præceptori suo salutem dicit.*. It was never extant in Greek. [There is a Saxon translation of this fabulous epistle in MS. Cott. VITELL. A xv.—M.]

Alexander the Great to his preceptor Aristotle: and the Greek original was most probably drawn from some of the fabulous authors of Alexander's story.

There is a manuscript, containing *La Chartre que Prestre Jehan maunda a Fredewik l'Empereur* DE MERVAILLES DE SA TERRE[g]. This was Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, or his successor; both of whom were celebrated for their many successful enterprises in the Holy Land, before the year 1230. Prester John, a Christian, was emperor of India. I find another tract, DE MIRABILIBUS *Terræ Sanctæ*[h]. A book of Sir John Mandeville, a famous traveller into the East about the year 1340, is under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*[i]. His Itinerary might indeed have the same title[k]. An English title in the Cotton library is, "The Voiage and Travailes of Sir John Maundevile knight, which treateth of the way to Hierusaleme and of the MARVEYLES of Inde with other ilands and countryes." In the Cotton library there is a piece with the title, *Sanctorum Loca*, MIRABILIA MUNDI, &c.[l] Afterwards the wonders of other countries were added: and when this sort of reading began to grow fashionable, Gyraldus Cambrensis composed his book *De* MIRABILIBUS *Hiberniæ*[m]. There is also another *De* MIRABILIBUS *Angliæ*[n]. At length the superstitious curiosity of the times was gratified with compilations under the comprehensive title of MIRABILIA *Hiberniæ, Angliæ, et Orientalis*[o]. But enough has been said of

[g] Ibid MSS Reg. 20 A. xii 3. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. E. 4. 3. "Literæ Joannis Presbiteri ad Fredericum Imperatorem," &c.

[h] MSS. Reg 14 C. xiii. 3.

[i] MSS C C C Cant A. iv. 69 We find *De Mirabilibus Mundi Liber*, MSS. Reg. ut supr. 13 E. ix. 5 And again, *De Mirabilibus Mundi et Viris illustribus Tractatus*, 14 C vi. 3

[k] His book is supposed to have been interpolated by the monks Leland observes, that Asia and Africa were parts of the world at this time "Anglis de sola fere nominis umbra cognitas." Script. Br p 366. He wrote his Itinerary in French, English, and Latin. It extends to Cathay, or China, before mentioned Leland says, that he gave to Becket's shrine in Canterbury cathedral a glass globe inclosing an apple, which he probably brought from the East. Leland saw this curiosity, in which the apple remained fresh and undecayed. Ubi supr Maundeville, on returning from his travels, gave to the high altar of St. Alban's abbey church a sort of Patera brought from Ægypt, now in the hands of an ingenious antiquary in London. He was a native of the town of St. Alban's, and a physician. He says that he left many MERVAYLES unwritten; and refers the curious reader to his MAPPA MUNDI, chap. cviii. cix. A history of the Tartars became popular in Europe about the year 1310, written or dictated by Aiton a king of Armenia, who having traversed the most remarkable countries of the East, turned monk at Cyprus, and published his travels; which, on account of the rank of the author, and his amazing adventures, gained great esteem.

[The "Mappa Mundi" was not by Mandevile, as here suggested, nor was Aiton or Haiton king of Armenia, but only related to that sovereign He was lord of Curchi See his travels in "Bergeron, Voyages faits principalement en Asie," &c. Mr. Warton was probably misled by Chardin the famous traveller —DOUCE]

[l] GALB. A xxi. 3.

[m] It is printed among the *Scriptores Hist Angl* Francof 1602 fol 692 Written about the year 1200 It was so favourite a title that we have even DE MIRABILIBUS *Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. MSS. Coll Æn Nas Oxon. Cod 12 f 190 a.

[n] Bibl. Bodl MSS C 6

[The Latin tract, with some variations, is extremely common in manuscripts, and frequently accompanies some of the chronicles. A copy was printed by Hearne in the Appendix to his edition of Robert of Gloucester.—W.]

[o] As in MSS. Reg. 13 D. i. 11. I must not forget that the *Polyhistor* of Julius Solinus appears in many manuscripts under the title of *Solinus de Mirabilibus Mundi*.

these infatuations. Yet the history of human credulity is a necessary speculation to those who trace the gradations of human knowledge. Let me add, that a spirit of rational inquiry into the topographical state of foreign countries, the parent of commerce and of a thousand improvements, took its rise from these visions.

I close this section with an elegy on the death of king Edward the First, who died in the year 1307:

I.

Alle that beoth of huerte trewe[p]
A stounde[q] herkneth to my song,
Of duel that Deth hath diht vs newe.
That maketh me syke ant sorewe among:
Of a knyht that wes so strong
Of wham God hath don ys wille;
Me thuncheth[r] that Deth has don vs wrong,
That he[s] so sone shal ligge stille.

II.

Al Englond ahte forte[t] knowe,
Of wham that song is that y synge,
Of Edward kyng that lith so lowe,
ȝent[u] al this world is nome con springe:
Trewest mon of alle thinge,
Ant in werre war ant wys;
For him we ahte oure honden[w] wrynge,
Of Cristendome he ber the pris.

III.

Byfore that oure kyng wes ded
He speke ase mon that wes in care:
"Clerkes, knyhtes, barouns," he sayde,
"Y charge ou[x] by oure sware[y]
That ȝe to Engelonde be trewe,
Y deȝe[z], y ne may lyuen na more;
Helpeth mi sone, & crouneth him newe,
For he is nest to buen ycore[a].

IV.

Ich biquethe myn herte aryht,
That hit be write at mi deuys,
Ouer the see that hue[b] be diht,
With fourscore knyhtes al of pris,

This was so favourite a book, as to be translated into hexameters by some monk in the twelfth century, according to Voss. Hist Latin. III. p. 721.

[p] "be of true heart."
[q] a while.
[r] methinks.
[s] the king.
[t] ought *for* to.
[u] through. Sax. ȝenð [over.—M.]
[w] hands.
[x] you.
[y] your oath.
[z] die.
[a] "next, to be chosen."
[b] one of his officers. [it]

In werre that buen war & wys,
  Aȝein the hethene forte fyhte,
To wynne the croiz that lowe lys,
  Myself y cholde ȝef that y myhte."

V.

Kyng of Fraunce! thou heuedest sunne[c],
  That thou the counsail woldest fonde,
To latte[d] the wille of kyng Edward,
  To wende to the holy londe:
That oure kyng hede take on honde,
  Al Engelond to ȝeme[e] & wysse[f],
To wenden in to the holy londe
  To wynnen vs heueriche[g] blisse.

VI.

The messager to the pope com
  & seyde that oure kyng wes ded[h],
Ys[i] oune hond the lettre he nom[k],
  Ywis is herte wes ful gret:
The pope himself the lettre redde,
  Ant spec a word of gret honour.
"Alas!" he seide, "is Edward ded?
  Of Cristendome he ber the flour!"

VII.

The pope to is chaumbre wende,
  For del ne mihte he speke na more;
Ant after cardinals he sende
  That muche couthen of Cristes lore.
Bothe the lasse[l] ant eke the more,
  Bed hem both rede & synge:
Gret deol me[m] myhte se thore[n],
  Many mon is honde wrynge.

VIII.

The pope of Peyters stod at is masse
  With ful gret solempnete,

[c] *sin.*
[d] *let,* hinder.
[e] protect.
[f] govern [instruct, teach].
[g] every [heaven's.—M.].
[h] He died in Scotland, July 7, 1307 The chroniclers pretend, that the Pope knew of his death the next day by a vision or some miraculous information. So Robert of Brunne, who recommends this tragical event to those who "Singe and say in romance and ryme." Chron. p. 340. edit. ut supr.

The Pape the tother day wist it in the
  courte of Rome.
The Pape on the morn bifor the clergie cam
And teld tham biforn, the floure of Cris-
  tendam
Was dede & lay on bere, Edward of In-
  glond.
He said with heuy chere, in spirit he it
  fond.

He adds, that the Pope granted five years of pardon to those who would pray for his soul.

[i] in *his.* [k] took. [l] *less.* [m] men. [n] there.

Ther me con[o] the soule blesse:
"Kyng Edward, honoured thou be:
God leue thi sone come after the,
Bringe to ende that thou hast bygonne,
The holy crois ymad of tre
So fain thou woldest hit han ywonne.

IX.

"Jerusalem, thou hast ilore
The flour of al chiualerie,
Nou kyng Edward liueth na more,
Alas, that he ȝet shulde deye!
He wolde ha rered vp ful heyȝe
Our baners that bueth broht to grounde:
Wel longe we mowe clepe[p] & crie,
Er we a such kyng han yfounde!"

X.

Nou is Edward of Carnaruan[q]
King of Engelond al aplyht[r];
God lete him ner be worse man
Then is fader, ne lasse of myht,
To holden is pore men to ryht
Ant vnderstonde good consail,
Al Engelond forte wisse ant diht,
Of gode knyhtes darh[s] him nout fail.

XI.

Thah mi tonge were mad of stel
Ant min herte yȝote of bras
The godnesse myht y neuer telle
That with kyng Edward was.
Kyng as thou art cleped conquerour
In vch bataille thou hadest pris,
God bringe thi soule to the honour
That euer wes & euer ys,
That lesteth ay withouten ende;
Bidde we God ant oure ledy
To thilke blisse Jesus vs sende. Amen.[t]

[o] began. [p] call.

[q] Edward the Second, born in Carnarvon castle.

[r] completely. [s] there. [need.—M.]

[t] MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 73. In a Miscellany called the *Muses Library*, compiled, as I have been informed, by an ingenious lady of the name of Cooper, there is an elegy on the death of Henry the First, "wrote immediately after his death, the author unknown" p. 4. Lond. Pr for T. Davies, 1738. octavo. But this piece, which has great merit, could not have been written till some centuries afterwards. From the classical allusions and general colour of the phraseology, to say nothing more, it with greater probability belongs to Henry the Eighth. It escaped me till just before this work went to press, that Dr. Percy had printed this elegy, Ball. ii. 9.

That the pope should here pronounce the funeral panegyric of Edward the First, is by no means surprising, if we consider the predominant ideas of the age. And in the true spirit of these ideas, the poet makes this illustrious monarch's achievements in the Holy Land his principal and leading topic. But there is a particular circumstance alluded to in these stanzas, relating to the crusading character of Edward *, together with its consequences, which needs explanation. Edward, in the decline of life, had vowed a second expedition to Jerusalem; but finding his end approach, in his last moments he devoted the prodigious sum of thirty thousand pounds to provide one hundred and forty knights [a], who should carry his heart into Palestine. But this appointment of the dying king was never executed. Our elegist, and the chroniclers, impute the crime of withholding so pious a legacy to the advice of the king of France, whose daughter Isabel was married to the succeeding king. But it is more probable to suppose that Edward the Second and his profligate minion Piers Gaveston dissipated the money in their luxurious and expensive pleasures.

NOTE ON THE ROMANCE OF SIR TRISTREM,

BY MR. PRICE.

THE romance of Sir Tristrem, De Brunne's eulogium on which Warton has here cited (p. 69.), is usually supposed to be still extant. A poem purporting to be such was published some years ago by Sir Walter Scott, from a manuscript contained in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh; and accompanied by a large body of notes in illustration of the singularly beautiful story, with a prefatory dissertation on the age and character of the presumed author. In the latter, the distinguished editor has exercised the united powers of his ingenuity and erudition, to prove that the poem which he has thus ushered into the world is the same which is alluded to by De Brunne; and that it was composed by the Scottish poet noticed by Warton, Thomas of Erceldoune, called the Rymer.

The premises upon which these opinions are founded have ever appeared to the writer of this Note to be both fanciful and unsatisfactory; and in entering into an examination of their validity, he is fortunate in

[It has been remarked by Ritson, that the elegy printed by Mrs. Cooper was the composition of Fabyan the chronicler, who died in 1511: but then it is a translation from the original Latin, preserved by Knighton, of the twelfth century — PARK.]

* [It appears that king Edward the First, about the year 1271, took his HARPER with him to the Holy Land. This officer was a close and constant attendant of his master: for when Edward was wounded with a poisoned knife at Ptolemais, the harper, *cithareda suus*, hearing the struggle, rushed into the royal apartment, and killed the assassin. CHRON. Walt Hemingford, cap. xxxv. p. 591. Apud V. HISTOR. ANGLIC. SCRIPTOR. vol. ii. Oxon. 1687. fol.—ADDITIONS]

[After the king himself had slain the assassin, [his harper] had the singular courage to brain a dead man with a trivet or *tripod*, for which act of heroism he was justly reprimanded by Edward.—RITSON.]

[a] The poet says eighty.

having the example and arguments of Mr. Campbell to favour his attempt. The chain of evidence by which Sir Walter Scott has endeavoured to substantiate his theory, may be thus briefly stated. The æra of Thomas the Rymer (as originally fixed) lies between the years 1219–1296. At a subsequent period the earlier date was withdrawn, and his birth was referred to the close of the twelfth century. With this Thomas the Rymer it is urged we ought to identify the Thomas mentioned by De Brunne; and to accept the poem preserved in the Auchinleck MS. either as the original romance of that writer, or as one whose "general texture and form closely resemble it." In defence of the Rymer's claim to an "original property" in this story, a fragment of a French romance is cited, containing a reference to one "Thomas" as the most authentic writer on the subject; and a passage from Godfrey of Strasburg, the author of a German version, is also adduced to show that he likewise followed the narrative of one Thomas of Brittanie. The date of the former document is fixed by *conjecture* at 1257; the age of Godfrey, with more probability, in the early half of the 13th century. With regard to the Rymer's death, it is a fact of such uncertain date, that all we positively know is,—it may have occurred between the years 1286–1299. The testimony of Blind Harry, upon which the date of 1296 reposes, is more than suspicious. The same political spirit which produced the numerous vaticinal rymes in favour of the successful Edward's invasion of Scotland, would naturally be combated by similar weapons in the sister kingdom. With these the Rymer may or may not have been connected; but when we recollect the general practice of introducing the seer's agency into every national epos, such a circumstance, however contrary to fact, will rather appear essential than surprising, in the composition of a genuine descendant of the ancient minstrel, bard, or rhapsodist. Unsupported by other authority, it would be useless to assume such a declaration as the basis of an historical argument; and as the rejection of it rather assists than impugns the theory here opposed, it may be dismissed without further comment. The date of the Rymer's birth is purely hypothetical; it may be limited by probability; but in the present state of the evidence, anything like certainty is perfectly hopeless.

The testimony of De Brunne to the existence of poetry by "Erceldoune and Kendale," and the singular style in which it was written, is unequivocal. But it may be questioned, whether any one, unassisted by the Auchinleck MS., "*the faint vestiges of whose text, as well as probability, dictated Erceldoune*" in the following passage, would have known to which of these writers "Sir Tristrem" ought to be assigned.

I was at [Erceldoune],
With Tomas spake I there.*

* [There can be no doubt, from the fac-simile given with the new edition of Scott's Sir Tristrem, that the first line was "I was at Ertheldoune."—W.]

The language of De Brunne is so loose and confused, that it might be attributed to either.

I see in song in sedgeyng tale,
Of Erceldoun and of Kendale;
Non tham says as thai tham wroght,
And in ther saying it semes noght.
That may thou here in Sir Tristrem.
Over gestes it has the steem,
Over alle that is or was,
If men it sayd as made Thomas;
Bot I here it no man so say,
That of som copple som is away;
So thare fayre saying here beforne,
Is thare travayle nere forlorne:
Thai sayd it for pride and nobleye,
That non were suylk as thei [1].

But, waving these considerations, the most important point for examination arises from the internal evidence to be found in the alleged romance of Sir Tristrem; and upon which De Brunne has been so explicitly circumstantial.

Thai sayd in so quante Inglis,
That manyone wate not what it is.
Therfore heuyed wele the more
In strange ryme to travayle sore.
And my witte was oure thynne
So strange speche to travayle in;
And forsoth I couth noght
So strange Inglis as thai wroght;
And men besoght me many a tyme
To turne it bot in light ryme.

It is true, the ingenious editor of "Sir Tristrem" considers all thes peculiarities to exist in the Auchinleck poem. He conceives the "quaint Inglis" to consist in a peculiar structure of style, which he designates "the Gibbonism of romance;" the "strange ryme" to be manifested by the intricate arrangement of the stanza, with its repetition of the same assonances; and that even the inaccuracies of the "seggers," mentioned in the preceding extract, are still to be traced in the omission of several couplets in various parts of the poem. But if there be meaning in language, or connexion in the narrative of De Brunne, his "quaint Inglis," his "strange Inglis," and his "strange speche," all resolve themselves

[1] In the Preface to Sir Tristrem this line is thus given: "That *were not* suylk as thei." This error has engendered a wrong interpretation of the passage: "they wrote for pride (fame), and for *nobles, not such as there my ignorant hearers*"

into the employment of an unusual phraseology dependent upon his "strange ryme," and not into any peculiarity of style;—into the use of terms above the comprehension of the vulgar, which time had rendered obsolete, or fashion had adopted from exotic sources. For he proceeds to observe:

Thai sayd if I in *strange it turne,*
To here it manyon suld skurne;
For [*in*] *it ere names fulle selcouthe,*
That ere not used now in mouthe.
And therfore for the comonalté,
That blythely wild listen to me,
On *light lange* I it began,
For luf of the lewed man.

Of these "selcouthe names" what traces do we find in the romance of Sir Tristrem, which are not to be met with in equal abundance in the poems of De Brunne? If the former be a specimen of that "quaint Inglis," which could justify De Brunne in saying it contained "names not used now in mouthe," upon what principle can we allow this cloistered versifier to have avoided the same peculiarity in his own composition? His own poems are equally quaint and equally prolific of that same obsolete phraseology, which limited the popularity of his admired predecessors; for whoever will be at the trouble of analysing the language of both writers, will find their archaisms nearly corresponding in amount, though frequently differing in verbal import. With this knowledge, we are either reduced to the necessity of concluding, that there is a strange contradiction between the intention and practice of De Brunne, or that the romance of Sir Tristrem still extant is not the production to which he has alluded. There is, however, a passage in this early chronicler, which will relieve him of this apparent charge of inconsistency, if we accept the only interpretation of which his language seems capable. He has stated of the seggours, who recited this romance:

Bot I here it no man so say
That of some copple som is away.

The editor of Sir Tristrem renders this: "he never heard it repeated, but what of some copple (i. e. stanza) part was omitted." It does not appear upon what authority this explanation of "copple" is founded; and it would be difficult to point out any period in our language, when that expression implied more than the simple connexion of two distinct bodies. It is clearly equivalent to our modern "couplet;" and the examples brought from Sir Tristrem (which is written in *stanzas*) to illustrate the censure of De Brunne, exhibit the suppression of whole copples, and not the omission of a part. In Anglo-Saxon verse, and its genuine descendant, the alliterative metre of early English poetry, the "copple" was as indispensable in the structure of a poem, as we now

consider it to be in regular Iambic rymes; and it is among the commonest faults of every early transcriber, to commit the error noticed by De Brunne, and to give us a text, of which it may be truly said, "that of some copple som is away." This negligence is frequent in Beowulf and other Anglo-Saxon poems, to the great confusion of the narrative; and would indeed be a source of infinite perplexity, if the defective alliteration it occasions did not as clearly mark the hiatus as would be the case with an unconsorted ryme. Of this practice the following example out of many may suffice.

Thæm *f*eower bearn,	To him four bairns,
*f*orth gerimed,	numbered (rimed) forth,
in *w*orold *w*ocun,	in world awoke,
*w*eoroda ræswa,	(leader of armies),
*H*eorogar and *H*rothgar,	Heorogar and Hrothgar,
and *H*alga til.	and Halga good.
Hyrde ic thæt *E*lan cwen,[2]	I heard that Elan queen (or woman)
. . . . .	. . . . .
*h*eatho Scylfinga,	illustrious Scylfing,
*h*eals-gebedda.	bedded consort.

Here the seventh line stands without the second member of the copple, an omission involving the history of Elan in some obscurity. Whether this inadvertency be equally chargeable against the transcribers of early English poetry in the same national metre, must be left to the decision of some more experienced antiquary. But that all who sought distinction in the composition of vernacular poetry, or were stimulated in their effusions by "pride and nobleye," adopted this species of metre, is abundantly proved by the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis. After speak-

[2] Ed. Thorkelin, p 7. From some subsequent details it appears that Elan was married to Ongenthiow, chief of the Scylfings, and we might perhaps restore the text by reading:

Hyrde ic thæt *E*lan cwen
[Ongenthiowes wæs]
*h*eatho Scylfinga
*h*eals-gebedda

Heard I that Elan queen (woman)
was Ongenthiow's
(illustrious Scylfing)
bedded consort (heals, *collum*, gebedda, *consors lecti*).

[Mr Kemble supplies the passage thus—

Hy'rde ic þæt Elan cwén
[ofer sæ' sóhte]
Heaðo-Scilfingas, &c.

The argument of Mr. Price which follows, seems to me extremely confused and inconsequent. He first quotes an instance of the omission of the second line of an alliterative couplet in a pure Saxon MS. of the 10th century, and argues from it the possibility of such errors in early English. He then asserts that all the poets in early English who sought distinction, wrote in this alliterative metre, and in proof of his assertion quotes the authority of Giraldus, who wrote in the twelfth century, which must be included in the Anglo-Saxon and not early English period. The whole argument is easily thrown to the ground. The manuscripts of Saxon poetry are written as prose, and very incorrectly, and therefore such instances as the one quoted above easily occur. We have every reason to suppose, from a comparison of all the early poetry which remains, that at the period of the composition of the poem to which Brunne alludes, it would *not* be written in alliterative metre. Alliteration seems to have become a vulgarism until its revival in the fourteenth century, when the *couplet* was in the MSS. always written in *one line* and the omission of a part not only never occurs, but must have been impossible —W.]

ing of Welsh poetry in general, the topographer of the principality proceeds to observe: "Præ cunctis autem rhetoricis exornationibus annominatione magis utuntur, eaque precipue specie quæ primas dictionum literas vel syllabas convenientia jungit. Adeo igitur hoc verborum ornatu, duæ nationes Anglı scil. et Cambri in omni sermone exquisito [faire saying] utuntur, ut nihil ab his eleganter dictum, nullum nisi rude et agreste [lewed] censeatur eloquium, si non schematis hujus lima plene fuerit expolitum, sicut Brittanice, in hunc modum:

Digawn duw da y unic
Wrth bob crybwylh parawd

Anglice vero:

God is together
Gammen and wisdome.[s]

In this it may be assumed that we have the key to the "strange ryme" of De Brunne: and if the reader should feel disposed to accept the preceding illustration of the dismembered copple, he will probably not refuse his assent to the belief, that the following extract from an old romance more nearly resembles the other peculiarities noticed by our ancient writer, than the stanza of Sir Tristrem.

Ande quen this *B*retayn wat*ȝ* *b*igged,
bi this *b*urn rych,
*b*olde *b*redden therinne,
*b*aret* that lofden;
in mony *t*urned *t*yme,
*t*ene that wro*ȝ*ten.
Mo *f*erlyes† on this *f*olde
han *f*allen here oft,
then in *a*ny *o*ther that I wot
syn that *l*k tyme.
*B*ot of alle that here *b*ult,
of *B*retaygne kynges,
ay wat*ȝ* Arthur the *h*endest ‡,
as I haf *h*erde telle.
Forthi an *a*unter in *e*rde,
I *a*ttle to schawe,
that a *s*elly in *si*ȝt
*s*umme men hit holden,
& an *o*uttrage *a*wenture
of *A*rthure*ȝ* wondere*ȝ*.
If *ȝ*e wyl *l*ysten this *l*aye
bot on *l*ittel quile,
I schal *t*elle hit as *t*it

[s] Girald. Cambria Descript. pp. 889—90. ap. Camd. Anglica, Hibernica, &c. Francf. 1601.

* strife.
† marvels.
‡ most courteous

as I in *t*oun herde,
w^t^ *t*onge;
as hit is *st*ad & *st*oken,
in *st*ori *st*if & *st*ronge,
w^t^ *l*el *l*etteres *l*oken,
in *l*onde so hat; ben *l*onge.[4]

On analysing the language of this production, it will be found to form a striking contrast to the simple narrative of De Brunne, or the abrupt and costive style of Sir Tristrem. It abounds in those "selcouth names" which in the fourteenth century were rapidly growing into disuse, and which were only retained by the writers in alliterative metre. Every relic of this species of versification displays the same exuberance of obsolete terms, the same attention to set phraseology and antique idioms manifested in the specimen given above; and the practice cannot be better illustrated, than by referring to the "quaint Hellenisms" which distinguish the Alexandrine school of heroic poetry. By De Brunne, who only felt such learned foppery to be a drawback upon the writer's popularity, it is merely condemned as an error in policy; by Chaucer, who saw the necessary sacrifice it involved of matter to manner, of sense to sound, it is ridiculed for its childish absurdity:

But trusteth wel I am a sotherne man,
I cannot *geste, rem, ram, ruf* by my letter,
And God wote, rime hold I but litel better.

Of the Rymer's claim to an "original property" in this story, as inferred from the language of the French fragments, Mr. Campbell has already remarked: "The whole force of this argument evidently depends upon the supposition of Mr. Douce's fragments being the work of one and the same author,—whereas they are not to all appearance by the same author. A single perusal will enable us to observe how remarkably they differ in style. They have no appearance of being parts of the same story, one of them placing the court of king Mark at Tintagail, the other at London*. Only one of the fragments refers to the authority of a Thomas, and the style of that one bears very strong marks of being French of the twelfth century, a date which places it

[4] This stanza has been arranged according to the practice of Anglo-Saxon poetry The reasons for this departure from the usual disposition of the lines it is the Editor's intention to give in a future publication, which will also contain the whole romance from whence the specimen given above has been taken. [Mr. Price did not execute the promise here held out, but the Romance is now in the press, and will be edited for the Bannatyne Club by Sir F. Madden. The MS. from which it is taken is MS. Cott. NERO, A. x. and is of the fourteenth century; to the latter half of which the poem itself may be assigned, which rather militates against Mr. Price's argument, drawn from the style in which it is written.—M.]

* [There can be no doubt of the accuracy of this observation. Both these fragments have since been published at London, by M. Francisque Michel, to whom early French and Anglo-Norman romance owes so much, with fragments of two other French romances of Tristrem, the Lai of Mary, and the Modern Greek Fragment published by Von der Hagen; they are accompanied by an introduction full of valuable information on the history of the romance.—W.]

beyond the possibility of its referring to Thomas of Erceldoune." In addition it may be observed, that the language of this fragment, so far from vesting Thomas with the character of an original writer, affirms directly the reverse:

[5] Seignurs cest cunte est mult divers—
Oï en ai de plusur gent;
Asez sai que chescun en dit,
Et co que il unt mis en ecrit.
Mé selun ce que j'ai oy,
Nél dient pas sulum Breri,
Ki solt le gestes et le cuntes
De tuz le reis, de tuz le cuntes,
Ki orent ésté en Bretagne,
En sur que tut de cest ouraigne:
Plusurs de noz granter ne volent
Ce que del naim dire ci solent,
Ke femme Kaherdin dut amer, &c.
Par cest plaie e par cest mal,
Enveiad Tristran Guvernal
En Engleterre pur Ysolt.
Thomas ico granter ne volt;
Et si volt par raisun mustrer,
Que ico ne put pas esteer.
Cist fust par tut la part coneuz,
E par tut le regne siuz, &c.
Que hume issi coneuz,
N'i fud mult tost aperceuz,
Ne sai coment il se gardast, &c.

It is clear from this document, that in the writer's opinion the earliest and most authentic narrative of Tristrem's story was to be found in the work of Breri. From his relation later minstrels had chosen to deviate; but Thomas, who had also composed a romance upon the subject, not only accorded with Breri in the order of his events, but entered into a justification of himself and his predecessor, by proving the inconsistency and absurdity of these new-fangled variations. If therefore the romance of Thomas be in existence, it must contain this vindication; the

[5] "Lordings, this tale is very differently told, I have heard it from many. I know well enough how each tells it, and what they have put in writing. But according to what I have heard, they do not tell it as Breri does, who knew the gestes and the tales of all the kings, and all the earls, who had been in Brittany, and about the whole of this story. Many of us (minstrels) will not allow what others tell of (Tristrem) the dwarf, who is said to have been in love with the wife of Kaherdin, &c. On account of the wound and this disease, Tristrem sent Gouvernail into England for Ysolt. Thomas however will not admit this; and undertakes to prove, by argument, that this could not be. He (Gouvernail) was known all over those parts, and throughout the kingdom, &c. That a man so known there, should not have been immediately perceived, I do not know how he could have prevented." —SCOTT.

poem in the Auchinleck MS. is entirely silent on the subject. It is not a little remarkable, that another fragment of French poetry should also mention a Thomas, the author of a *translated* romance on the subject of king Horn.

> Seignurs oï avez *le vers del parchemin,*
> Cum le Bers Aalúf est venuz à la fin;
> Mestre Thomas[6] ne volt qu'il seit mis à declin,
> K'il ne die de Horn le vaillant orphelin[7].

And, as if the writer had not sufficiently declared himself in this passage, we find the following repetition of his name at the conclusion:

> Tomas n'en dirrat plus: *tu autem* chanterat,
> *Tu autem, domine, miserere nostri.*

That this Thomas was only a translator or copyist of some earlier authority, is clear from his language in the first of these extracts; and is confirmed by two passages of similar import in a subsequent part of the poem.

> E Horn si a torné *cum dit le parchemin.*
> De Sutdene sui nez, *si ma geste ne ment.*

Sir Walter Scott is disposed to interpret this mention of a Thomas, —"though the opinion be only stated hypothetically,"—as another reference to the authority of Thomas of Erceldoune; and anticipates any objection that might arise from the apparent antiquity of the language, by instancing the disparity between that of Douglas and Chaucer; the former of which he asserts "we should certainly esteem" [the elder], when in fact it is nearly two centuries later. We may safely leave the discussion of this point, till it be proved that the case at issue is any way analogous to the example brought to refute it; till it be shown that the French romance of king Horn was written in some remote province of France, where the vernacular dialect had either been entirely neglected, or contained elements essentially differing from

[6] From this prudish mode of announcing an author's name, it is impossible not to suspect, that the Tomas of Mr Douce's fragment is in fact the author of that poem. Alexandre de Bernay declares himself in a similar manner

Alexandre *nous dit* qui de Bernay fu nez.

Pliny (lib. i. p. 5) records a parallel piece of affectation observed by the Grecian artists, who used the imperfect tense in their inscriptions instead of the first aorist.

[All doubt as to the Thomas here alluded to being the author of the Anglo-Norman poem in which the name occurs, is taken away by the discovery of other fragments, proved to be of the same poem by the circumstance of a good part being the same as that of MS. Douce. These fragments, which are in private possession, contain fortunately the conclusion of the poem, wherein Thomas comes forward and dedicates it to all lovers—

> "Tumas fine ci sun escrit,
> A tuz amanz saluz i dit," &c.—

And goes on to say that he compiled the history in order to give them comfort and consolation.—W.]

[7] "Lordings, you have heard the poem as it stands in the parchment, how Baron Aaluf came to his end. (But) Master Thomas is unwilling the story should be closed, till he has spoken of the bold orphan Horn."

the language of the capital. In fact, the whole argument with regard to antiquity of language may be said to be perfectly beyond the grasp of contending parties on this side of the channel; such a subject can only be decided with any chance of accuracy by native authority. But the ingenious advocate of the Rymer's fame has wholly forgotten to observe, that Mr. Ritson prudently abstained from touching on this point, and only spoke to the antiquity of the document in which the romance was found. This he affirmed "is to all appearance of the twelfth century;" and here the opinion of an English antiquary may be admitted as efficient testimony *. On a review of these facts we may therefore assert, that if any conclusion is to be drawn from this collateral mention of a Thomas, it must be, that both fragments in all probability refer to the same personage. This man indisputably wrote in French; and so far from having an original property in the fictions which he versified, we find him in both instances the follower of earlier authorities. The testimony of Godfrey of Strasburg will be found in close accordance with this opinion. Like the writer of the fragment i Mr. Douce's possession, Godfrey records the difficulty he had found in procuring an authentic narrative of Tristrem's story, on account of the various modes in which it was related. At length having discovered, from his perusal of several *foreign* and Latin works, that Thomas of Brittany[8], who was well read in British books, had "told the tale aright," he resolved upon adhering to so competent a guide.

Als der von Tristande seit
Di rihte und di warheit,
Begonde ich sere suchen
In beider hande buchen,
Welschin und Latinen,
Und begonde mich des pinen,
Das ich in siner rihte,
Rihte dise tihte.
Sus treib ich manige suche,
Unz ich an einem buche
Alle sine iehe gelas,
Wie dirre aventure was[9].

Of the language in which this "foreign book" was written, and

* [This opinion was given without sufficient knowledge of the subject The MS. is most certainly of the thirteenth century —M]

[8] Before this name was interpreted "Thomas of Brittain," (i. e. Great Britain) it ought to have been shown that the German romancers ever understood this country by the term "Brittanie" Godfrey's contemporary, Hartman von Auwe, who collected materials for his romance of Iwain in England, calls it "Engellandt" The writer of Mr Douce's fragment also makes a distinction between Bretagne and Engleterre—Brittany and England.

[9] "What he (Thomas of Brittany) has related of Tristram being the right and the truth, I diligently began to seek both in French [foreign] and Latin books; and began to take great pains to order this poem according to his [its] true relation. In this manner I sought for a long time, until I read in a book all his relation, how these adventures happened." —WEBER

which Godfrey believed to be the *original text* of Thomas, Mr. Weber has supplied us with the following conclusive evidence: "At v. 220 (of Godfrey's version) we are told that Rivalin has been said to have been king of Lochnoys; 'but *Thomas*, who read it in adventure (romance), *says* that he was of Parmenie, and that he had a separate land from a Briton, to whom the Schotte (i. e. Scots) were subject, and who was named *li duc Morgan*.' A great number of words, sometimes whole lines, occur throughout the poem in French, which are carefully translated into German. *This renders it indisputable that the poet had a French original before him.*" It is impossible for testimony to be more explicit than the declaration of this early German poet. With the romance of Thomas lying before him, he cites the very expressions of his original, and these are found to be Norman-French!—The age of Godfrey can only be gleaned from the history of his contemporaries. Mr. Weber has remarked, "This poet appears from various circumstances to have lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. In a digression respecting the troubadours of his age, he deplores the death of Henry von Veldec (who composed a very romantic poem on the basis of Virgil's Æneid, in the year 1180, according to his own account); and among his contemporaries he mentions Hartman von Auwe, author of Ywaine and other poems, which he composed towards the end of the twelfth century; and Walther von der Vogelweide *, who wrote a great number of amorous lays between the years 1190 and 1230." A copy of Godfrey's Tristrem, including as much of the story as he lived to write, occurs in the royal library at Munich. Mr. Douce refers his MS. to the middle of the thirteenth century, and we are told that Ulrich von Turheim, who wrote one conclusion to Godfrey's unfinished poem, flourished not later than from 1240 to 1250. There is reason to believe this latter writer has been placed too low in the thirteenth century; for Wolfram von Eschenbach, who wrote a second part to Ulrich's William of Orange, was in the zenith of his glory in the year 1207. Wolfram would hardly have taken up the narrative during the life of Ulrich.

Sir Walter Scott has cited two early references to the story, one of which was written previous to the birth of the bard of Erceldoune, and the other about the year 1226. To show the early popularity of the subject, and the general currency it had obtained in various parts of Europe, a few authorities are here collected, all of which were published before the period fixed upon for the composition of the Rymer's poem. The first is taken from Rambaud d'Orange, a troubadour whose death is placed about the year 1173.

Car jeu begui de l' amor,
Que ja us deia amar celada,

[* See a Memoir of this poet, with specimens of his poetry, in Mr. E. Taylor's Lays of the Minnesingers. For information, also, as to Godfrey, Wolfram, Veldec, and others, the reader is referred to the same work.—R. T.]

Ab Tristan, quan la il det Yseus gen—
Sobre totz aurai gran valor,
S' aital camisa m' es dada
Cum Yseus det a l' amador
Que mais non era portata;
Tristan mout presetz gent presen—
Qu' Yseutz estet en gran paor,
Puois fon breumens conseillada,
Qu' ilh fetz a son marit crezen
C'anc hom que nasques de maire
Non toques en lieis mantenen.[10]

This passage will be best understood by referring to the language of Brengwain in the English romance:

Greteth wele mi levedy
That ai trewe hath bene,
Smockes had sche and Y,
And hir was solwy to sene,
By Marke tho hye schuld lye
Y lent hir min al clene,
As thare:
Oyain hir, wele Y wene,
No dede Y never mare.

Deudes de Prades, another troubadour, who is conjectured to have written about the year 1213, thus alludes to the "drink of force," the fatal cause of Tristrem's criminal passion:

Beure m fai ab l' enaps Tristan
Amors, et eisses los pimens[11].

The same circumstance is also referred to by Henry von Veldeck, a German Minne-singer, who died before the close of the 12th century:

Tristan muste ohne seinen Dank
Treue sein der Koniginne,
Weil ihn dazu ein Getrank zwang,
Mehr noch als die Kraft der Minne[12].

In the Provençal romance of Jaufre, probably written before the year 1196, and certainly not later than 1213, we find a singular allusion to the feigned madness of Tristrem, of which a detailed account is given in the second of Mr. Douce's fragments:

[10] Raynouard, II. 312.

[11] "Love makes me drink from the goblet and very spiceries of Tristran."

[12] "Tristran was faithful to the queen by no merit of his own; for a philter rather than the force of love compelled him to it." The German given above is not from Veldeck's original text, but that modernized by Tieck. [See this song translated in Mr. Edgar Taylor's Lays of the Minnesingers.]

Que far m' o fai forsa d' amor—
E que fes fol semblar Tristan
Per Yseult cui amava tan,
E de son oncle lo parti,
E ella per s' amor mori[13].

In the year 1226 the whole story was translated into Norse (Norwegian or Islandic), under the title of "Saga af Tristrand og Isaldis." The Arnæ-Magnæan MS. preserved at Copenhagen contains the following notice at the commencement: "Var tha lided fra Hingadburdc Christi 1226 Aar, er thesse Saga var a Norrænu skrifad, eptir Befalningu Virdulegs Herra Hakonar kongs[14]."

If the writer of this Note "has been successful in his statement, three points have been established:" 1st, That the peculiarities of style and language in the romance of Sir Tristrem are of such a character as to render it extremely doubtful that they are the same which are spoken of by De Brunne. 2ndly, That the Thomas of the French fragment, and the Thomas of Brittany mentioned by Godfrey of Strasburg, wrote his poem in Norman French. 3rdly, That Tristrem's story was universally known in Europe previous to the Rymer's age; and consequently that, so far from being an authority to others, he followed in all probability some foreign predecessor. There are several minor arguments advanced in the preface to Sir Tristrem, bearing relatively or incidentally upon the general theory, which have been passed over in silence. Several of these are purely hypothetical; such as the assumption that Mr. Douce's fragments were written by Raoul de Beauvais; that Thomas's authority was acknowledged by the Norman *rimeurs* from his supposed acquaintance with British traditions; that the names of Gouvernail, Blaunchefleur, Triamour, and Florentine, were bestowed upon the inferior personages, because the originals being unknown to Thomas he used those peculiar to the Norman-English dialect in which he composed—a circumstance, by the way, savouring strongly of a French original. These, with several others of a similar nature, can only need examination when the previous arguments shall have been established. Above all, the strange appropriation of the Auchinleck poem as a Scottish production, when no single trace of the Scottish dialect is to be found throughout the whole romance which may not with equal truth be claimed as current in the North of England, while every marked peculiarity of the former is entirely wanting, can hardly require serious investigation. From this opinion the ingenious editor himself must long ago have been reclaimed. The singular doctrines relative to the rise and progress of

[13] "Since the force of love makes me —that (passion) which caused Tristan to feign madness on account of Ysolt, whom he loved so much, which caused him to be at variance with his uncle and made her (Ysolt) die for his (Tristan's) love."

[14] "1226 years were passed from the birth of Christ, when this Saga was written in Norse, by the command of (our) honoured lord, king Hacon."

the English language in North and South Britain may also be dismissed as not immediately relevant. But when it is seriously affirmed, that the English language was once spoken with greater purity in the Lowlands of Scotland than in this country, we "Sothrons" receive the communication with the same smile of incredulity, that we bestow upon the *poetic* dogma of the honest Frieslander:

> Buwter, breat en greene tzies
> Is guth Inglisch en guth Fries[15].

This Note had been printed, when the writer received the first volume of Professor Müller's Saga-Bibliothek; (Kiöbenhavn 1817,) and Lohengrin, an old German romance edited by Mr. Görres (Heidelberg 1813). He is happy in being able to add from these interesting works a further confirmation of some of the positions assumed in the preceding pages.—The former contains the following passage: "The artifice here resorted to by the mistress of Dromund (one of the heroes in Grettur's-Saga), and which enables her to swear thus equivocally, is indisputably taken from the romance of Tristrem so generally known in the middle ages. In the romance of Tristrem by Thomas of Erceldoune, queen Ysoude avails herself of a similar manœuvre. See Fytte the Second, Stanzas 104, 105. This circumstance is also recorded in the old French version, and forms the 58th chapter of the Islandic translation executed in the year 1226, at the command of king Hacon. The Icelandic Saga *closely follows the order of the English poem.*" (page 261.) We are not informed whether the Northern version was made from the French or German, or, what is more probable, from a German translation of some French romance*. But as it exhibits the story in the same form as the English poem, the Rymer's claim to "an original property in the fable" inevitably falls to the ground. The preface to Lohengrin contains a general account of Wolfram von Eschenbach's Titurel and Parcifal. In the former, Wolfram cites the authorities he had consulted in the compilation of his work; and after mentioning the British history (which Mr. Görres with evident probability interprets the Brut of G. of Monmouth) declares himself to have been further assisted in his researches by "Thomas of Brittany's Chronicle of Cornwall." This is clearly the same Thomas so repeatedly referred to in the preceding page, and whose celebrity may now be accounted for on better grounds than the belief that he was the author of a *romance* on Tristrem's story. The Chronicler of Cornwall was a much more important personage than a mere minstrel composer of chivalric poems; and though the critics of the present day might refuse to acknowledge the distinction between

[15] Butter, bread, and green cheese,
Is good English and good Friese.

* [It was translated from the French, and being entire, would, if published, decide the question as to the priority of the French and English Romances. See Michel's Tristan, vol. i Introd. p. xcii., and an article in the *Gent.'s Mag.*, Oct. 1833, p 307.—M]

Thomas and his ryming cotemporaries, the characteristics of romantic and authentic history were not so rigidly defined at the period we are concerned with*.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON SIR TRISTREM.

[IT WILL not be necessary, after Mr. Price's able investigation of the subject, to dwell much on Sir Walter Scott's singular hypothesis respecting the origin of this romance. He has expended a profusion of labour and ingenuity in maintaining an opinion, paradoxical in itself and totally unsupported by external evidence; overlooking a solution of the question, more natural and probable in every respect. When we recollect the origin of the Bretons, nothing seems more likely than that they should have among them romantic traditions relating to Arthur and his contemporaries. When we learn, moreover, that the dukes of Normandy gave great encouragement to Breton settlers in their territories, the familiarity of the Norman minstrels and *trouveurs* with those Celtic traditions is at once accounted for. The occurrence of names like Blanche Flour, Gouvernail, Triamour, &c., makes it almost certain that the English Sir Tristrem was, like the great majority of our metrical romances, derived from a Norman original; and the corrupt Celtic names—e. gr., *Canados* for Caradoc, are not very favourable to the assumption that the author had access to native British sources of information.

The supposition that the English Sir Tristrem is, in substance, the work of Thomas of Erceldoune, cannot be proved, nor perhaps absolutely disproved, with such imperfect data as we now possess. The

* [The editor of the new edition of Sir Walter Scott's poetical works has, in a preface to Sir Tristrem, made some observations upon the foregoing note of Mr Price, which seem to me to partake too much of the nature of quibbles to need any answer. It required the full extent of Scottish nationality to fight for the rights of any Thomas of Erceldoune to the poem of Sir Tristrem, either in English or French. There can, however, be no doubt that Price has fallen into one or two inaccuracies. Two things are ascertained: 1, That an Anglo-Norman romance of Tristan was written by a person named Thomas, and, 2, that the name of Thomas of Erceldoune was in the English romance, from which it seems to me no less certain, that the latter was the poem alluded to by Robert de Brunne, and, after all that Price has said, I think that no one who has compared it with the other poetry of the time, can deny that it answers to his description. The Thomas of Erceldoune of poetry is a legendary character, and I will as soon believe the poem to be written by him, as I would that it was written by the king of the fairies. At the time of the Anglo-Scottish wars it seems to have been found more convenient or more natural to publish the prophecies, which were then spread about, in his name than in that of Merlin, and it had thus become so popular, that the person who made the English poem from the French, and who, I should think, might even have been a Londoner for anything the language says to the contrary, not knowing who the Thomas of his original was, may perhaps have taken him for the Thomas whose name was then most famous, namely, Thomas of Erceldoune, and have thus put his name to his English edition. Sir Walter Scott's editor speaks of the importance of what he calls the Greek romance of Tristrem, but he seems not to be aware that the modern Greek poem, of which a fragment was published by Von der Hagen, was not a romance of Tristrem, but a romance in which that hero happens to be introduced, and in which, moreover, there is not the slightest allusion to *his* romance, or any of its incidents.—W.]

language of De Brunne, strictly interpreted, would imply that the work alluded to by him was a *joint production* of Erceldoune and Kendale; at least, though he mentions *two authors*, he only seems to speak of *one poem*. His description of the poem, as far as we can understand it, does not correspond very closely to the one now extant. Nor is it necessary to suppose that the romance composed wholly or partly by Erceldoune, was the only one on the subject. The popularity of the story is shown by the numerous early French and German versions of it; and it is extremely probable that it existed in several different forms in this country before the middle of the fourteenth century.

The decision of the question, from internal evidence, is rendered more difficult by the hybrid form of the only copy which we now possess. It is easy to perceive, that the Auchinleck transcript was made in a southern English county, and that the transcriber, or some still earlier one, has, in innumerable instances, accommodated the language of the poem to his own dialect. Every page exhibits words, which, in their present form, could not possibly proceed from the pen of a Northumbrian or Scottish poet of the thirteenth century. Many of them are the ordinary English of the fifteenth century; but the greater part approximate to the dialect of Peirs Plouhman. This correspondence appears not only in individual words, such as *blinne* (to cease), *swiche*, *tho* (those), *her* (their), *chirche*, &c., &c., but also in grammatical forms, e. gr., the infinitives and plurals of verbs in *en*, *foren*, to go; *wexen*, they grow; both well-known peculiarities of the Midland or Mercian dialect. Frequently these Mercian forms vitiate the rhyme; for instance, we may be assured that in Fytte 3, s. 30, l. 3, the original author did not write "sothe to *sain*," but "sothe to *say*," to agree with *away*, *ay*, *day*, in the corresponding lines of the stanza.

Another class of words in the poem belongs more properly to the Western dialect. Among these may be specified, *icham*, *ichave*, *ichil*, (I will); *sigge*, (to say); and more particularly, the infinitives in *i*—*aski*, *mendi*, *chaci*, *desiri*, *harpi*, still used in Somersetshire. We have no means of knowing whether this mixture of forms is to be attributed to several successive transcribers, or to a single one. It is possible that some such dialect might be current near the boundary of the Mercian and Western districts; for example, in the tract between the Avon and the Isis.

Notwithstanding the changes which the poem has undergone, there is still sufficient proof that it was originally written in the Northumbrian dialect. The words *tine* (lose); *linn*, (stop); *bayn*, *graythed*; the forms *stan*, *are*, *sare* (for stone, oar, sore); and particularly the infinitive construction *at ete*, (to eat); *at weld*, (to possess or enjoy), were either unknown in the southern part of the island, or discontinued at a very early period. In most cases these northern forms have been preserved for the sake of the rhyme and metre; and when the present

rhymes are defective, they may be easily rectified by restoring the original dialect,—for example, the substitution of the Northumbrian form *alswa*, for the present reading *also*, in Fytte 1, st. 31, l. 7, immediately restores the consonance with *ga*, *ta*, *ma*. There are probably a hundred similar instances in the course of the poem.

But though the language of the romance was originally northern, there is no evidence that it was ever *Scottish*. Many of the terms employed in it are undoubtedly current in Scotland, but not one is *exclusively* so,—a pretty strong negative argument against its supposed Berwickshire origin. All the purely northern words are or have been familiar in the district between the Tweed and the Humber; in fact most of them may be found in 'Britayn's Skill-kay of Knawing,' a manuscript known to be written at Fountain's Abbey about the fifteenth century. Words also occur in the poem not now used in Scotland, or found in compositions indisputably Scottish.*

The age of the existing copy must be determined by inspecting the Auchinleck MS., which has been assigned from internal evidence to the middle of the fourteenth century, or rather earlier; but it would be easy to point out many MSS. written about A. D. 1350, in which the general cast of the orthography is more ancient. However, enough has escaped from this modernizing process to show that the original poem must have been considerably older. Many of the still surviving archaisms are of a strongly marked cast, and might, with some probability, be referred to the middle of the thirteenth century, or a period not much later. Such are the diversified constructions with genitive personal pronouns, some of which are of rare occurrence after the semi-Saxon period of the language, *our on*, (one of us); *whether our*, (whether of us); *her aither*, (either of them); *her bother*, (of them both); *her non*, (none of them); and several others of parallel form and import. To these may be added *other*, (or); the accusative article *then* ('*then* ende'); *les*, (Ang. Sax. *leas*, false or falsehood); *for thi*, (for or because); and the pure Saxon idiom, *fiftende som*, (about fifteen). In Fytte 3, st. 7, l. 6, *an*, (gives or grants), might be supposed to be a license for the sake of the rhyme. It is, however, pure Anglo-Saxon and Norse, and was doubtless, perfectly grammatical at the time when the poem was written.

Upon the whole, then, it appears:—1. That the present Sir Tristrem is a modernized copy of an old Northumbrian romance, which was probably written between A.D. 1260—1300: 2. That it is not, in the proper sense of the word, an original composition, but derived more or less directly from a Norman or Anglo-Norman source: 3. That there is no direct testimony in favour of Thomas of Erceldoune's claim to the authorship of it, while the internal evidence is, as far as it goes,

* For example, *greves*, (groves); *ore*, (grace or favour); *tharf*, (to need); *the*, (to thrive); *unride*, (huge); *cum multis aliis*.

greatly adverse to that supposition. It is, however, by no means improbable that the author availed himself of the previous labours of Erceldoune on the same theme. The minstrels of those days were great plagiarists, and seldom gave themselves the trouble of *inventing* subjects and incidents when they found them ready prepared to their hands. On this point, however, and several others relating to the literary history of the poem, we have nothing but conjectures to offer, until the production of further evidence help to remove our uncertainty.

R. G.]

SECTION III.

Effects of the Increase of Tales of Chivalry. Rise of Chivalry. Crusades. Rise and Improvements of Romance. View of the Rise of Metrical Romances. Their Currency about the End of the Thirteenth Century. French Minstrels in England. Provencial Poets. Popular Romances. Dares Phrygius. Guido de Colonna. Fabulous Histories of Alexander. Pilpay's Fables. Roman d'Alexandre. Alexandrines. Communications between the French and English Minstrels. Use of the Provencial Writers. Two sorts of Troubadours.

We have seen, in the preceding Section, that the character of our poetical composition began to be changed about the reign of the first Edward; that either fictitious adventures were substituted by the minstrels in the place of historical and traditionary facts, or reality disguised by the misrepresentations of invention; and that a taste for ornamental and even exotic expression gradually prevailed over the rude simplicity of the native English phraseology. This change, which with our language affected our poetry, had been growing for some time; and among other causes was occasioned by the introduction and increase of the tales of chivalry.

The ideas of chivalry, in an imperfect degree, had been of old established among the Gothic tribes. The fashion of challenging to single combat, the pride of seeking dangerous adventures, and the spirit of avenging and protecting the fair sex, seem to have been peculiar to the Northern nations in the most uncultivated state of Europe. All these customs were afterwards encouraged and confirmed by corresponding circumstances in the feudal constitution. At length the Crusades excited a new spirit of enterprise, and introduced into the courts and ceremonies of European princes a higher degree of splendor and parade, caught from the riches and magnificence of eastern cities [a]. These oriental expeditions established a taste for hyperbolical

[a] I cannot help transcribing here a curious passage from old Fauchet. He is speaking of Louis the young, king of France about the year 1150. "Le quel fut le premier roy de sa maison, qui monstra dehors ses richesses allant en Jerusa-

description, and propagated an infinity of marvellous tales, which men returning from distant countries easily imposed on credulous and ignorant minds. The unparalleled emulation with which the nations of Christendom universally embraced this holy cause, the pride with which emperors, kings, barons, earls, bishops, and knights strove to excel each other on this interesting occasion, not only in prowess and heroism, but in sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognisances, splendid pavilions, and other expensive articles of a similar nature, diffused a love of war, and a fondness for military pomp. Hence their very diversions became warlike, and the martial enthusiasm of the times appeared in tilts and tournaments. These practices and opinions co-operated with the kindred superstitions of dragons [b], dwarfs, fairies, giants and enchanters, which the traditions of the Gothic scalders had already planted; and produced that extraordinary species of composition which has been called ROMANCE.

Before these expeditions into the East became fashionable, the principal and leading subjects of the old fablers were the achievements of king Arthur with his knights of the round table, and of Charlemagne with his twelve peers. But in the romances written after the holy war, a new set of champions, of conquests and of countries, were introduced. Trebizonde took place of Rouncevalles, and Godfrey of Bulloigne, Solyman, Nouraddin, the caliphs, the souldans, and the cities of Ægypt and Syria, became the favourite topics *. The troubadours of

lem. Aussi la France commença de son temps a s'embellir de bastimens plus magnifiques prendre plaisir a pierreries, et autres delicatesses goustus en Levant par luy, ou les seigneurs qui avoient ja fait ce voyage. De sorte qu'on peut dire qu'il a este le premier tenant Cour de grand Roy. estant si magnifique, que sa femme dedaignant la simplicité de ces predecesseurs, luy fit elever une sepulture d'argent, au lieu de pierre" Recueil de la Lang et Poes. Fr ch. viii p 76. edit. 1581. He adds, that a great number of French romances were composed about this period.

[b] See Kircher's Mund. Subterran. viii. § 4. He mentions a knight of Rhodes made grand master of the order for killing a dragon, 1345.

* [Though this passage has been the subject of severe animadversion, and characterized as containing nothing but "random assertion, falsehood and imposition," there are few of its positions which a more temperate spirit of criticism might not reconcile with the truth. The popularity of Arthur's story anterior to the first Crusade, is abundantly manifested by the language of William of Malmesbury and Alanus de Insulis; who refer to it as a fable of common notoriety and general belief among the people. Had it arisen within their own days, we may be certain that Malmesbury, who rejected it as beneath the dignity of history, would not have suffered an objection so well founded, as the novelty of its appearance, to have escaped his censure, nor can the narrative of Alanus be reconciled with the general progress of traditionary faith —a plant of tardy growth—if we limit its first publicity to the period thus prescribed (1096–1142). With regard to Charlemagne and his peers, as their deeds were chaunted by Taillefer at the battle of Hastings (1066), it would be needless to offer further demonstrations of their early popularity; nor in fact does the accuracy of this part of Warton's statement appear to be called in question by the writer alluded to. It would be more difficult to define the degree in which these romances were superseded by similar poems on the achievements of the Crusaders; or, to use the more cautious language of the text, to state how far "Trebizonde took place of Roncevalles." But it will be recollected that in consequence of the Crusades, the action of several romances was transferred to the Holy Land, such as Sir Bevis, Sir Guy, Sir Isumbras, the King of Tars, &c.: and that most of these were "favourite topics" in high esteem, is clear from the declaration of Chaucer, who catalogued them among the "romances of Pris." In short, if we omit the names of the caliphs, and

Provence, an idle and unsettled race of men, took up arms, and followed their barons in prodigious multitudes to the conquest of Jerusalem. They made a considerable part of the household of the nobility of France. Louis the Seventh, king of France, not only entertained them at his court very liberally, but commanded a considerable company of them into his retinue, when he took ship for Palestine, that they might solace him with their songs during the dangers and inconveniences of so long a voyage[c]. The antient chronicles of France mention *Legions de poetes* as embarking in this wonderful enterprise[d]. Here a new and more copious source of fabling was opened: in these expeditions they picked up numberless extravagant stories, and at their return enriched romance with an infinite variety of Oriental scenes and fictions. Thus these later wonders, in some measure, supplanted the former: they had the recommendation of novelty, and gained still more attention, as they came from a greater distance[e].

In the mean time we should recollect, that the Saracens or Arabians, the same people which were the object of the Crusades, had acquired an establishment in Spain about the ninth century; and that by means of this earlier intercourse, many of their fictions and fables, together with their literature, must have been known in Europe before the Christian armies invaded Asia. It is for this reason the elder Spanish romances have professedly more Arabian allusions than any other. Cervantes makes the imagined writer of Don Quixote's history an Arabian. Yet exclusive of their domestic and more immediate con-

confine ourselves to the *Soldans*—a generic name used by our early writers for every successive ruler of the East—and the cities of Ægypt and Syria, this rhapsody, as it has been termed, will contain nothing which is not strictly demonstrable by historical evidence, or the language of the old romancers.—The Life of Godfrey of Boulogne was written in French verse by Gregory Bechada, about the year 1130. It is usually supposed to have perished, unless, indeed, it exist in a poem upon the same subject by Wolfram von Eschenbach, who generally founded his romances upon a French or Provençal original.—PRICE.]

[c] Velley, Hist. Fr. sub an. 1178.

[d] Massieu, Hist. Poes. Fr. p. 105. Many of the troubadours, whose works now exist, and whose names are recorded, accompanied their lords to the holy war. Some of the French nobility of the first rank were troubadours about the eleventh century: and the French critics with much triumph observe, that it is the GLORY of the French poetry to number *counts* and *dukes*, that is *sovereigns*, among its professors, from its commencement. What a glory! The worshipful company of Merchant-taylors in London, if I recollect right, boast the names of many dukes, earls, and princes, enrolled in their community. [Herbert's History of the 12 Livery Companies, vol. ii. p. 384.] This is indeed an honour to that otherwise respectable society. But poets can derive no lustre from counts, and dukes, or even princes, who have been enrolled in their lists, only in proportion as they have adorned the art by the excellence of their compositions.

[e] The old French historian Mezeray goes so far as to derive the origin of the French poetry and romances from the Crusades. Hist. p. 416, 417.

[Geoffrey of Vinesauf says, that when king Richard the First arrived at the Christian camp before Ptolemais, he was received with *populares Cantsones*, which recited *Antiquorum Præclara Gesta*. It. Hierosol. cap. ii. p. 332. ibid.—ADDITIONS.] [For an example of the materials which were gathered in the East by the western adventurers, see an extraordinary and most romantic story concerning the head which by its position caused the storms in the Gulf of Sataliah, told by John Bromton, in Twisden, fol. 1216; where is also another story, wherein a waterspout is turned into a dragon, who came every month to drink the waters of the aforesaid gulf.—W.]

nexion with this eastern people, the Spaniards from temper and constitution were extravagantly fond of chivalrous exercises. Some critics have supposed, that Spain having learned the art or fashion of romance-writing, from their naturalised guests the Arabians, communicated it, at an early period, to the rest of Europe[f].

It has been imagined that the first romances were composed in metre, and sung to the harp by the poets of Provence at festival solemnities: but an ingenious Frenchman, who has made deep researches into this sort of literature, attempts to prove, that this mode of reciting romantic adventures was in high reputation among the natives of Normandy, above a century before the troubadours of Provence, who are generally supposed to have led the way to the poets of Italy, Spain, and France, and that it commenced about the year 1162.[g] If the critic means to insinuate, that the French troubadours acquired their art of versifying from these Norman bards, this reasoning will favour the system of those, who contend that metrical romances lineally took their rise from the historical odes of the Scandinavian scalds: for the Normans were a branch of the Scandinavian stock. But Fauchet, at the same time that he allows the Normans to have been fond of chanting the praises of their heroes in verse, expressly pronounces that they borrowed this practice from the Franks or French[h].

[f] Huet in some measure adopts this opinion. But that learned man was a very incompetent judge of these matters. Under the common term *Romance*, he confounds romances of chivalry, romances of gallantry, and all the fables of the Provencial poets. What can we think of a writer, who having touched upon the gothic romances, at whose fictions and barbarisms he is much shocked, talks of the *consummate degree of art and elegance to which the French are at present arrived in romances?* He adds, that the superior refinement and politesse of the French gallantry has happily given them an advantage of shining in this species of composition. Hist. Rom. p. 138. But the sophistry and ignorance of Huet's Treatise has been already detected and exposed by a critic of another cast in the Supplement to Jarvis's Preface, prefixed to the *Translation of Don Quixote*.

[g] Mons. L'Evèque de la Ravalière, in his *Révolutions de Langue Françoise, à la suite des Poesies du Roi de Navarre.* [2 tom. 12° Par. 1743.]

[h] "Ce que les Normans avoyent pris des François." Rec. liv. 1. p. 70. edit. 1581.

[There is nothing, perhaps, more ridiculous than the seeking of the origin of Romance amongst any one people, or of supposing that any one people took its romance from another. It is certain that at a certain period amongst the literature of every people, we may find romances which are taken from those of other peoples, although there are few nations which do not possess a body of popular romance belonging to themselves. I have very little doubt that a large mass of the stories which in the thirteenth century made their appearance in *fabliaux*, had existed at a much earlier period among the Teutonic tribes. In a curious MS. at Cambridge (Bibl. Publ Gg. 5, 35.), written by an Anglo-Saxon in Germany near the middle of the eleventh century, among many political Latin songs, we have three which may be correctly described as *Fabliaux*. the scene of one is laid at Mayence, during the time of Heriger, who was archbishop there in 913, and the other has its scene in Hamburg—

Est unus locus
Homburh dictus.

A similar collection of apparently metrical Latin fabliaux is found in a MS. at Wolfenbuttel, written in Germany in the tenth century, in which, curiously enough, the heroes of the stories are commonly *Suevi*. Many of these stories appeared again in Latin in the twelfth century. Thus, among the *modi*, as they are called, of the Wolfenbuttel MS., we find the story of the merchant, whose wife was unfaithful during his absence and brought forth a child, which she said was ingendered miraculously by a flake of snow which she had

It is not my business, nor is it of much consequence, to discuss this obscure point, which properly belongs to the French antiquaries. I therefore proceed to observe, that our Richard the First, who began his reign in the year 1189, a distinguished hero of the Crusades, a most magnificent patron of chivalry, and a Provencial poet[1], invited to his

swallowed · the merchant, in revenge, carried away the child, sold him, and on his return told his wife that he had been dissolved by the rays of the sun. The merchant is "Constantiæ civis Suevulus." The following is selected from amongst several Anglo-Latin epigrams of the twelfth century, wherein this same story is given:—

Rebus in augendis longe remorante marito,
Uxor mœcha parit puerum; post multa reverso,
De nive conceptum fingit: fraus mutua, caute
Sustulit, asportat, vendit, matrique reportans
Ridiculum simile, liquefactum sole refingit.

The story is revived in a French fabliau of the thirteenth century, printed in Barbazan. I have sometimes found in Anglo-Latin MSS of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, stories very similar to the aforesaid *modi*, particularly in MS. Bibl. Trin. Coll. Cant. O. 2. 45. —W.]

[1] See Observations on Spenser, i § 1. p. 28. 29. And Mr. Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, i. 5. See also Rymer's *Short View of Tragedy*, ch. vii. p 73. edit. 1693. Savarie de Mauleon, an English gentleman who lived in the service of Saint Louis king of France, and one of the Provencial poets, said of Richard,

Coblas a teira faire adroitement
Pou voz oillez enten dompna gentiltz.

"He could make stanzas on the eyes of gentle ladies." Rymer, ibid. p 74.

[Upon reference to Rymer, it will be seen that Warton has here fallen into a trifling error, and that it is not Savarie de Mauleon who records Richard's skill in poetry, but another troubadour, Guilhem Briton, who mentions the poetical talents of both Savarie and Richard. The following is the passage:—

"Savary de Mauleon mentioned in our English histories is reckoned another of those Provençal poets; of him an old bard amongst them (Guilhem Briton MSS. with Signor Redi) gives this testimony:

Doussament fait mots et sos
Ab amor que' me' a vencut,

Sweetly could he say and sing
Of Love that me hath vanquished.

And the same author says of king Richard:

Coblas a teira faire adroitement
Pou vos oillez enten dompna gentilz.

Stanzas he trimly could invent
Upon the eyes of ladies gent."

—W. J. T.]

There is a curious story recorded by the French chroniclers, concerning Richard's skill in the minstrel art, which I will here relate.—Richard, in his return from the Crusade, was taken prisoner about the year 1193. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was imprisoned. Blondell de Nesle, Richard's favourite minstrel, resolved to find out his lord, and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained in custody. Here he found that the castle belonged to the Duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before a window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson, which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song, he knew it was Blondell who sung it; and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it On this, Blondell returned home to England, and acquainted Richard's barons with the place of his imprisonment, from which he was soon afterwards released. See also Fauchet, Rec. p. 93. Richard lived long in Provence, where he acquired a taste for their poetry. The only relic of his sonnets is a small fragment in old French accurately cited by Mr. Walpole, and written during his captivity; in which he remonstrates to his men and barons of England, Normandy, Poictiers, and Gascony, that they suffered him to remain so long a prisoner. Catal. Roy. and Nob. Auth. i. 5. Nostradamus's account of Richard is full of false facts and anachronisms Poet. Provenc. artic. RICHARD.

[There is too much reason to believe this story of Blondell and his illustrious patron to be purely apocryphal. The poem published by Walpole is written in the Provençal language, and a Norman version of it is given by M. Sismondi, in his Literature du Midi, vol. i. p. 149. In

court many minstrels or troubadours from France, whom he loaded with honours and rewards[1]. These poets imported into England a great mul-

which of these languages it was originally composed remains a matter of dispute among the French antiquaries.—PRICE.]

[Two metrical reliques by Richard I. were first printed in La Tour Tenébreuse, &c. 1705. The first of these, in mixed Romance and Provençal, professes to be the *véritable chanson* of Blondel, the other is a love-song in Norman French. The sonnet cited by Mr. Walpole was exhibited with an English version in Dr. Burney's History of Music, but has since received a more graceful illustration from the pen of Mr. George Ellis, in the last edition of Royal and Noble Authors. It can hardly be called "a fragment," though the last stanza looks imperfect.—PARK.] [Mr. Park has probably mistaken the Envoy, consisting of three lines, for a part of the poem

Suer Contessa vostre pretz sobeirain,
Sal dieus e gard la bella qu'ieu am tan,
Ni per cui soi ja pres.

The whole has been published by M. Raynouard, in the fourth volume of his "Choix des Poesies originales des Troubadours," a volume which had not reached me when the note, to which this is a supplement, was sent to the press. Another poem by Richard I will be found in the "Parnasse Occitanien," Toulouse 1819, a publication from which the following remark has been thought worth extracting. "Crescimbeni avait dit qu'il existait des poesies du roi Richard dans le manuscrit 3204, et ladessus Horace Walpole le taxe d'inexactitude. Cependant le sirvente se trouve au fol. 170, Ro et 171 Ro. C'est donc l'Anglois qui se trompe en disant: there is no work of King Richard."—PRICE.]

[In the preface to La Tour Ténébreuse, it is said, and there really seems to have been some foundation for the assertion, that the groundwork of the work was a MS. communicated to the authoress by the then possessor, and which MS. was entitled *Chronique et Fablaux de la composition de Richard Roy d'Angleterre recueillis tot a nouvel et conjoints ensemblement par le labour de Jehan de Sorels l'an* 1308.

The tales which it contains are two in number, and are represented as having been composed by Richard during his imprisonment in *la Tour Ténébreuse*, and afterwards recited by him to Blondel.

The following is said to have been the song sung by Richard and Blondel:—

Domna vostra beutas
Elas bellas faissos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cor ben taillatz
Don sien empresenats
De vostra amor que mi lia
Si bel trop affansia
Ja de vos non portrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Que fautra des beisan
Tot can de vos volzia.—W. J. T.]

[1] "De regno Francorum cantores et joculatores muneribus allexerat." Rog. Hoved. Ric. I. p. 340. These gratuities were chiefly arms, clothes, horses, and sometimes money.

[On a review of this passage in Hoveden, it appears to have been William bishop of Ely, chancellor to king Richard the First, who thus invited minstrels from France, whom he loaded with favours and presents to sing his praises in the streets. But it does not much alter the doctrine of the text, whether he or the king was instrumental in importing the French minstrels into England. This passage is in a letter of Hugh bishop of Coventry, which see also in Hearne's Benedictus Abbas, vol. II. p. 704. sub ann 1191. It appears from this letter, that he was totally ignorant of the English language. ibid. p. 708. By his cotemporary Gyraldus Cambrensis, he is represented as a monster of injustice, impiety, intemperance, and lust. Gyraldus has left these anecdotes of his character, which show the scandalous grossness of the times.—"Sed taceo quod ruminare solet, nunc clamitat Anglia tota, qualiter puella, matris industria tam coma quam cultu puerum professa, simulansque virum verbis et vultu, ad cubiculum belluæ istius est perducta. Sed statim ut exosi illius sexus est inventa, quanquam in se pulcherrima, thalamique thorique delicius valde idonea, repudiata tamen est et abjecta. Unde et in crastino, matri filia, tam flagitiosi facinoris conscia, cum petitionis effectu, terrisque non modicis eandem jure hæreditario contingentibus, virgo, ut venerat, est restituta. Tantæ nimirum intemperantiæ, et petulantiæ fuerat tam immoderatæ, quod quotidie in prandio circa finem, pretiosis tam potionibus quam cibariis ventre distento, virga aliquantulum longa in capite aculeum præferente pueros nobiles ad mensam ministrantes, eique propter multimodam qua fungebatur potestatem in omnibus ad nutum obsequentes, pungere vicissim consueverit; ut eo indicio, quasi signo quodam secretiore, quem fortius, inter alios, atque frequentius sic quasi ludicro pungebat, &c. &c." De Vit. Galfrid. Archiepiscop.

titude of their tales and songs; which before or about the reign of Edward the Second became familiar and popular among our ancestors, who were sufficiently acquainted with the French language. The most early notice of a professed book of chivalry in England, as it should seem, appears under the reign of Henry the Third; and is a curious and evident proof of the reputation and esteem in which this sort of composition was held at that period. In the revenue roll of the twenty-first year of that king, there is an entry of the expense of silver clasps and studs for the king's great book of romances. This was in the year 1237. But I will give the article in its original dress. "Et in firmaculis hapsis et clavis argenteis ad magnum librum ROMANCIS regis[k]." That this

Ebor. apud Whart. Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 406. But Wharton endeavours to prove, that the character of this great prelate and statesman in many particulars had been misrepresented through prejudice and envy. Ibid. vol. i. p. 632.

It seems the French minstrels, with whom the Song of ROLAND originated, were famous about this period. Muratori cites an old history of Bologna, under the year 1288, by which it appears that they swarmed in the streets of Italy. "Ut CANTATORES FRANCIGENARUM in plateis comunis ad cantandum morari non possent." On which words he observes, "Colle quali parole sembra verosimile, che sieno disegnati i cantatore del *favole romanze*, che *spezialmente* della *Franzia* erano portate in Italia." Dissert. Antichit. Ital. tom. ii. c. xxix. p. 16. In Napoli, 1752. He adds, that the minstrels were so numerous in France, as to become a pest to the community; and that an edict was issued about the year 1200, to suppress them in that kingdom. Muratori, in further proof of this point, quotes the above passage from Hoveden; which, as I had done, he misapplies to our king Richard the First. But, in either sense, it equally suits his argument. In the year 1334, at a feast on Easter Sunday, celebrated at Rimini, on occasion of some noble Italians receiving the honour of knighthood, more than one thousand five hundred HISTRIONES are said to have attended. "Triumphus quidem maximus fuit ibidem, &c.—Fuit etiam multitudo HISTRIONUM circa mille quingentos et ultra." Annal. Cæsenat. tom. xiv. Rer. Italic. Scriptor. col. 1141. But their countries are not specified. In the year 1227, at a feast in the palace of the archbishop of Genoa, a sumptuous banquet and vestments without number were given to the minstrels, or *Joculatores*, then present, who came from Lombardy, Provence, Tuscany, and other countries. Caffari Annal. Genuens. lib. vi. p. 449 D. apud tom. vi. ut supr. In the year 774, when Charlemagne entered Italy and found his passage impeded, he was met by a minstrel of Lombardy, whose song promised him success and victory. "Contigit JOCULATOREM ex *Longobardorum gente* ad Carolum venire, et CANTIUNCULAM A SE COMPOSITAM, rotando in conspectu suorum, cantare." Tom. ii. P. 2. ut supr. Chron. Monast. Noval. lib. iii. cap. x. p. 717 D.

To recur to the origin of this Note. Rymer, in his Short View of Tragedy, on the notion that Hoveden is here speaking of king Richard, has founded a theory, which is consequently false, and is otherwise but imaginary. See p. 66. 67. 69. 74. He supposes, that Richard, in consequence of his connexion with Raimond count of Tholouse, encouraged the heresy of the Albigenses; and that therefore the historian Hoveden, as an ecclesiastic, was interested in abusing Richard, and in insinuating, that his reputation for poetry rested only on the venal praises of the French minstrels. The words quoted are, indeed, written by a churchman, although not by Hoveden. But whatever invidious turn they bear, they belong, as we have seen, to quite another person; to a bishop who justly deserved such an indirect stroke of satire, for his criminal enormities, not for any vain pretensions to the character of a Provencial songster.—ADDITIONS.]

[k] Rot. Pip. an. 21 Hen. III.

[Although Warton has himself stated frequently enough that the word *Romance* in early writers need mean nothing but *French*, yet he is continually arguing on the supposition that it must mean *romance* in our present acceptation of the term. The above-mentioned book was not necessarily a book of romances. However, the following entry in the Close Roll of the 34th of the same reign (March 17) may refer to the same book, in which case it would seem to countenance Warton's supposition:—"De quodam libro liberato ad opus regine. Mandatum est

superb volume was in French, may be partly collected from the title which they gave it: and it is highly probable*, that it contained the Romance of Richard the First, on which I shall enlarge below. At least, the victorious achievements of that monarch were so famous in the reign of Henry the Third, as to be made the subject of a picture in the royal palace of Clarendon near Salisbury. A circumstance which likewise appears from the same ancient record, under the year 1246. "Et in camera regis subtus capellam regis apud Clarendon lambruscanda, et muro ex transverso illius cameræ amovendo et hystoria Antiochiæ in eadem depingenda cum DUELLO REGIS RICARDI[l]." To these anecdotes we may add, that in the Royal library at Paris there is, "*Lancelot du Lac mis en Francois par Robert de Borron, du commandement d'Henri roi de Angleterre avec figures*[m]." And the same manuscript occurs twice again in that library in three volumes, and in four volumes of the largest folio[n]. Which of our Henrys it was who thus commanded the romance of LANCELOT DU LAC to be translated into French, is indeed uncertain: but most probably it was Henry the Third just mentioned, as the translator Robert Borron† is placed soon after the year 1200°‡.

fratri R. de Sanforde, magistro milicie Templi in Anglia, quod faciat habere Henrico de Warderoba, latori presencium, ad opus Regine, quendam *librum magnum*, qui est in domo sua Londoniis, *Gallico ydiomate* scriptum, in quo continentur *Gesta Antiochie et regum et etiam aliorum*." Teste ut supra See the following note —W.]

* [Not at all probable. The MS. more likely contained some of the prose romances of the Round Table, or the *Brut*. An earlier instance may be pointed out in the Claus. Rolls of king John, in 1205, where Reginald de Cornhille is ordered to send to the king "*Romancium de Historia Anglie*." Rot. Claus. 6 Joh. m. 2.—M.]

[It by no means follows that the contents of this book were romances of chivalry. Any collection of French pieces, especially in verse, would at this time be called Romances; and this from the language, not the subject.—DOUCE.]

[l] Rot. Pip. an. 36 Hen. III. Richard the First performed great feats at the siege of Antioch in the Crusade. The *Duellum* was another of his exploits among the Saracens. Compare Walpole's Anecd. Paint. i. 10. who mentions a certain *great book* borrowed for the queen, written in French, containing GESTA ANTIOCHIÆ *et regum aliorum, &c.* This was in the year 1249. He adds, that there was a chamber in the old palace of Westminster painted with this history, in the reign of Henry the Third, and therefore called the ANTIOCH CHAMBER: and another in the Tower.

[In all probability the *great book* here noticed was a translation of the Latin poem of Joseph of Exeter. See p. clxii. and Rot. Claus. 34 Hen. III., 17th May, and 35 Hen III. 5th June.—M.]

[m] Cod. 6783. fol. max. See Montfauc. Cat. MSS. p. 785 a.

[n] See Montf. ibid. [Mr. Warton has been apparently misled by Montfaucon. Lancelot du Lac is ascribed in the work itself to Walter de Mapes. Robert de Borron appears to have composed the romance of the Saint Graal, which being in part introduced into that of Lancelot, may have occasioned the above mistake.—DOUCE.] [But see pp 136, 137 note *e*.—PRICE.]

† [See Note A. at the end of the section —PRICE.]

[o] Among the infinite number of old manuscript French romances on this subject in the same noble repository, the learned Montfaucon recites, "Le Roman de Tristan et Iseult traduit de Latin en François par Lucas chevalier sieur du chastel du Gast pres de Salisberi, Anglois, avec figures." Cod. 6776. fol. max. And again, "Livres de Tristan mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat." Cod. 6956. seq. fol. max. In another article, this translator, the chevalier Lucas, of whom I can give no account, is called Huc or Hue. [Luc?] Cod. 6976. seq. Nor do I know of any castle, or place, of this name near Salisbury. See also Cod. 7174.

[According to the Abbé de la Rue, this *Chastel de Gast* was a seigneurie in the canton of St. Severe, in the department of Calvados. See *Essais sur les Bardes*, &c. tom. ii. p. 231.—M.]

‡ [With regard to the period when the

But not only the pieces of the French minstrels, written in French, were circulated in England about this time; but translations of these pieces were made into English, which containing much of the French idiom, together with a sort of poetical phraseology before unknown, produced various innovations in our style. These translations, it is probable, were enlarged with additions, or improved with alterations of the story. Hence it was that Robert de Brunne, as we have already seen, complained of *strange* and *quaint* English, of the changes made in the story of SIR TRISTREM, and of the liberties assumed by his cotemporary minstrels in altering facts and coining new phrases. Yet these circumstances enriched our tongue, and extended the circle of our poetry. And for what reason these fables were so much admired and encouraged, in preference to the languid poetical chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne, it is obvious to conjecture. The gallantries of chivalry were exhibited with new splendour, and the times were growing more refined. The Norman fashions were adopted even in Wales. In the year 1176, a splendid carousal, after the manner of the Normans, was given by a Welsh prince. This was Rhees ap Gryffyth king of South Wales, who at Christmas made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan, then called Aberteivi, which he ordered to be proclaimed throughout all Britain; and to "which came many strangers, who were honourably received and worthily entertained, so that no man departed discontented. And among deeds of arms and other shewes, Rhees caused all the poets of Wales[p] to come thither: and provided chairs for them to

prose Romances of the Round Table were compiled, and whether by order of king Henry the Second or Third, has long been a subject of discussion; but the writers on it have generally been too little acquainted with the subject to attempt to draw any certain or reasonable conclusions. A recent writer, however, M. Paulin Paris, in his account of the French MSS. preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi, 8vo, Par. 1836, more critically considered the history of these remarkable compositions, and has produced a passage from the Chronicle of Helinsand, (who brings down his work to the year 1204, and died in 1227,) which proves satisfactorily that the prose romance of the *Saint Graal* was composed in the twelfth century, a fact confirmed by the lines quoted by Warton from Fauchet, p. 138. Now as Robert de Borron, who composed the Saint Graal, wrote also the romance of Merlin, and the first part of Lancelot, we must necessarily refer the period of their composition to the reign of Henry the Second. See additional note to A. at the end of the section.—M.]

[p] In illustration of the argument pursued in the text we may observe, that about this time the English minstrels flourished with new honours and rewards. At the magnificent marriage of the countess of Holland, daughter of Edward the First, every king minstrel received xl. shillings. See Anstis Ord. Gart. ii. p. 303. And Dugd. Mon. i. 355. In the same reign a multitude of minstrels attended the ceremony of knighting prince Edward on the feast of Pentecost. They entered the hall, while the king was sitting at dinner surrounded with the new knights. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 342. edit. Oxon. The whole number knighted was two hundred and sixty-seven. Dugd. Bar. i. 80 b. Robert de Brunne says, this was the greatest royal feast since king Arthur's at Carleon: concerning which he adds, "therof yit men *rime*." p. 332. In the wardrobe-roll of the same prince, under the year 1306, we have this entry.—"Will. Fox et Cradoco socio suo CANTATORIBUS cantantibus coram Principe et aliis magnatibus in comitiva sua existente apud London, &c. xx*s*." Again, "Willo Fox et Cradoco socio suo cantantibus in præsentia principis et al. Magnatum apud London de dono ejusdem dñi per manus Johis de Ringwode, &c. 8. die jan. xx*s*." Afterwards, in the same roll, four shillings are given, "Ministrallo comitissæ Ma-

be set in his hall, where they should dispute together to try their cunning and gift in their several faculties, where great rewards and rich giftes were appointed for the overcomers[q]." Tilts and tournaments, after a long disuse, were revived with superior lustre in the reign of Edward the First. Roger earl of Mortimer, a magnificent baron of that reign, erected in his stately castle of Kenelworth a Round Table, at which he restored the rites of king Arthur. He entertained in this castle the constant retinue of one hundred knights, and as many ladies; and invited thither adventurers in chivalry from every part of Christendom[r]. These fables were therefore an image of the manners, customs, mode of life, and favourite amusements, which now prevailed, not only in France but in England, accompanied with all the decorations which fancy could invent, and recommended by the graces of romantic fiction. They complimented the ruling passion of the times, and cherished in a high degree the fashionable sentiments of ideal honour, and fantastic fortitude.

Among Richard's French minstrels, the names only of three are recorded. I have already mentioned Blondel de Nesle*. Fouquet of

reschal. facienti menestralciam suam coram principe, &c. in comitiva sua existent apud Penreth." Comp. Gaiderob. Edw Princip Wall. ann. 35. Edw. I. This I chiefly cite to show the greatness of the gratuity. Minstrels were part of the establishment of the household of our nobility before the year 1307. Thomas earl of Lancaster allows at Christmas, cloth, or *vestis liberata*, to his household minstrels at a great expense, in the year 1314. Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 134. edit. 1618. See supr. p. 82. Soon afterwards the minstrels claimed such privileges that it was thought necessary to reform them by an edict, in 1315. See Hearne's Append. Leland. Collectan. vi 36. Yet, as I have formerly remarked in Observations on Spenser's Faerie Queene, we find a person in the character of a minstrel entering Westminster-hall on horseback while Edward the Second was solemnizing the feast of Pentecost as above, and presenting a letter to the king. See Walsing. Hist. Angl. Franc. p. 109.

[q] Powell's Wales, 237. edit. 1584. Who adds, that the bards of "North-wales won the prize, and amonge the musicians Rees's owne household men were counted best." Rhees was one of the Welsh princes who, the preceding year, attended the parliament at Oxford, and were magnificently entertained in the castle of that city by Henry the Second. Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. edit. iii. p. 302. It may not be foreign to our present purpose to mention here, that Henry the Second, in the year 1179, was entertained by Welsh bards at Pembroke castle in Wales in his passage into Ireland Powell, ut supr. p. 238. The subject of their songs was the history of king Arthur. See Selden on Polyolb. s. iii. p. 53.

[r] Drayton's Heroic. Epist. Mort. Isabel v. 53. And Notes ibid. from Walsingham.

* [The Abbé de la Rue, in his "Essais sur les Bardes Jongleurs," &c. tom. ii. p. 325–9, denies that Blondel de Nesle was the minstrel follower of Cœur de Lion. Nor is it probable that he who was a member of an ancient and illustrious house would spend a twelvemonth in wandering over Germany, that he might effect the deliverance of a monarch to whom he was neither subject nor vassal. The Abbé asserts, on the other hand, that Richard's Jongleur was an Anglo-Norman, Guillaume Blondel, that Richard gave him lands at Northampton and Bustalrig (?); that these lands were alienated during the disturbed reign of King John, and that in 1218, Hen. III. caused them to be restored to Blondel's heir. All which he states is proved by the letters addressed by that prince to "Foulques de Breauté vicomte de Cambridge & de Huntingdon," in which he commands him to restore to Robert, brother of Guillaume Blondel, those lands which the latter possessed by a grant from Richard Cœur de Lion, let whosoever might be in possession of them. The Abbé quotes as his authority "*Rot. Claus. Litt. an.* 1. *Henrici iii. membr.* 12. *in Turri Londin.*": but there must be some

Marseilles*, and Anselme Faydit, many of whose compositions still remain, were also among the poets patronised and entertained in England by Richard. They are both celebrated and sometimes imitated by Dante and Petrarch. Faydit, a native of Avignon, united the professions of music and verse; and the Provencials used to call his poetry *de bon mots e de bon son.* Petrarch is supposed to have copied, in his TRIONFO DI AMORE, many strokes of high imagination, from a poem written by Faydit on a similar subject; particularly in his description of the Palace of Love. But Petrarch has not left Faydit without his due panegyric: he says that Faydit's tongue was shield, helmet, sword, and spear*. He is likewise in Dante's Paradise. Faydit was extremely profuse and voluptuous. On the death of king Richard, he travelled on foot for near twenty years, seeking his fortune; and during this long pilgrimage he married a nun of Aix in Provence, who was young and lively, and could accompany her husband's tales and sonnets with her voice. Fouquet de Marseilles had a beautiful person, a ready wit, and a talent for singing: these popular accomplishments recommended him to the courts of king Richard, Raymond count of Tholouse, and Beral de Baulx; where, as the French would say, *il fit les delices de cour.* He fell in love with Adelaisa the wife of Beral, whom he celebrated in his songs. One of his poems is entitled, *Las complanchas de Beral.* On

mistake in his reference, as upon examination no mention of Blondel is to be found in the Roll in question.—W. J. T.]

* [A very interesting sketch of the life and writings of Foulquet de Marseille is given by Diez in his *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, s. 234—251. He appears to have followed the calling of his father, who was a merchant, until the opportunity of mixing with the great and noble of his day which his political talents afforded him, induced him to renounce it. His love songs, of which twenty-five have been handed down to us, (see tomes iii. and iv. of Raynouard's invaluable work,) are chiefly devoted to the praise of Adalazia, the wife of Barral count of Marseilles, whom he selected, agreeably to the practice of the times, as the lady of his love, and celebrated under the allegorical name of "*Magnet*," but with so much delicacy and judgement, that the lady's character remained, as it deserved, unimpeached. After many strange changes of fortune, and witnessing the death of Barral, whom he celebrates in a lament of great beauty and pathos,—of his beloved Adalazia,—and shortly afterwards of his constant patrons Raymond V. count of Toulouse and Alphonso the Second, and finally of Richard of England, he devoted himself to a religious life, and compelled his wife and his two sons to follow his example. He was, in the course of a few years, named abbot of Touronet in the diocese of Toulon, and in 1205 consecrated bishop of Toulouse. From this time his name became one of political importance, for Foulquet bishop of Toulouse, the fearful persecutor of the Albigenses, is no other than Foulquet of Marseilles, the votary of Love and Song. He died in 1231, and was buried in the Cistercian Abbey of Grandselve in his diocese, and reverenced as a zealous defender of holy church.—W. J. T.]

* Trionf. Am. c. iv.

[Diez, in the work already alluded to, (s. 364—368) presents us with an outline of the history of Faidit, whose name was Gaucelme, and not Anselme, as Warton has it. His wife does not appear to have been a nun, married by him after the death of Richard, but a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, though of bad character, whom he had married in early life. Maria de Ventadour, the daughter of Boso II. and the wife of Ebles IV., viscomte de Ventadour, a lady of refined taste in poetry, and celebrated by the troubadours and their historians as the noblest of her sex, was the fair object to whom his songs are chiefly addressed, many of which exhibit great tenderness and beauty. Upwards of sixty of his compositions of various kinds have been preserved. See Raynouard, tomes ii. iii. and iv.—W. J. T.]

the death of all his lords, he received absolution for his sin of poetry, turned monk, and at length was made archbishop of Tholouse[t]. But among the many French minstrels invited into England by Richard, it is natural to suppose, that some of them made their magnificent and heroic patron a principal subject of their compositions[u]. And this subject, by means of the constant communication between both nations, probably became no less fashionable in France: especially if we take into the account the general popularity of Richard's character, his love of chivalry, his gallantry in the Crusades, and the favours which he so liberally conferred on the minstrels of that country. We have a romance now remaining in English rhyme, which celebrates the achievements of this illustrious monarch. It is entitled RICHARD CUER DU LYON, and was probably translated from the French about the period above mentioned*. That it was, at least, translated from the French, appears from the Prologue.

In Fraunce these rymes were wroht,
Every Englyshe ne knew it not.

From which also we may gather the popularity of his story, in these lines.

[t] See Beauchamps, Recherch. Theatr. Fr. Paris, 1735. p. 7. 9. It was Jeffrey, Richard's brother, who patronised Jeffrey Rudell, a famous troubadour of Provence, who is also celebrated by Petrarch. This poet had heard, from the adventurers in the Crusades, the beauty of a countess of Tripoly highly extolled. He became enamoured from imagination, embarked for Tripoly, fell sick in the voyage through the fever of expectation, and was brought on shore at Tripoly half expiring. The countess, having received the news of the arrival of this gallant stranger, hastened to the shore and took him by the hand. He opened his eyes; and at once overpowered by his disease and her kindness, had just time to say inarticulately, that *having seen her he died satisfied.* The countess made him a most splendid funeral, and erected to his memory a tomb of porphyry, inscribed with an epitaph in Arabian verse. She commanded his sonnets to be richly copied and illuminated with letters of gold; was seized with a profound melancholy, and turned nun. I will endeavour to translate one of the sonnets which he made on his voyage. *Yrat et dolent m'en partray*, &c. It has some pathos and sentiment, "I should depart pensive, but for this love of mine *so far away*; for I know not what difficulties I have to encounter, my native land being *so far away*. Thou who hast made all things, and who formed this love of mine *so far away*, give me strength of body, and then I may hope to see this love of mine *so far away*. Surely my love must be founded on true merit, as I love one *so far away*! If I am easy for a moment, yet I feel a thousand pains for her who is *so far away*. No other love ever touched my heart than this for her *so far away*. A fairer than she never touched any heart, either near, or *far away*." Every fourth line ends with *du luench*. See Nostradamus, &c.

[The original poem, of which the above is only a fragment, will be found in the third volume of M. Raynouard's "Choix des Poesies Originales des Troubadours." The seeming inaccuracies of Warton's translation may have arisen from the varied readings of his original text. The fragment published by M. Sismondi, differs essentially from the larger poem given by M. Raynouard.—PRICE.]

[u] Fayditt is said to have written a *Chant funèbre* on his death. Beauchamps, ib. p. 10.

[For specimens of the poetry of Folquet de Marseille and Gaucelm Faidit, the reader is referred to the third volume of M. Raynouard's excellent work already noticed. The second volume contains a prose translation of Faidit's *Plank* on the death of Richard I.—PRICE.]

* [Two pages afterwards, Warton refers the translation to the reign of Edw. I. or Hen. III., or earlier. Had he said Edw. I. alone, he would have been nearer the truth.—M.]

King Richard is the beste[v]
That is found in any geste[w].

That this romance, either in French or English, existed before the year 1300, is evident from its being cited by Robert of Gloucester, in his relation of Richard's reign.

In *Romance* of him imade me it may finde iwrite[x].

This tale is also mentioned as a romance of some antiquity among other famous romances, in the prologue of a voluminous metrical translation of Guido de Colonna, attributed to Lidgate[y]. It is likewise frequently

[v] This agrees with what Hoveden says, ubi supr. "Dicebatur ubique quod non erat talis in orbe." [p. 117, note l.]

[Warton's own correction of his former note, here referred to, destroys this. It is difficult to say how the passage should have been so entirely misunderstood, that what is said of the bishop of Ely should ever have been applied to the king.—W.]

[w] Impr for W. C. 4to. It contains Sign. A 1.—Q iii There is another edition impr. W. de Worde, 4to. 1528. There is a manuscript copy of it in Caius College at Cambridge, A 9.

[Among Crynes's books in the Bodleian library is a copy of king Richard's romance, printed by W. de Worde in 1509. Cr. 734. 8vo. This edition was in the Harleian library.—ADDITIONS.]

[x] Chron. p. 487.

[y] Many speken of men that romaunces rede, &c.
Off *Bevis*, *Gy*, and of *Gawayn*,
Off KYNG *Richard*, and of *Owayn*,
Off *Tristram*, and of *Percyvale*,
Off *Rouland Ris*, and *Aglavale*,
Off *Archeroun*, and of *Octavian*,
Off *Charles*, and of *Cassibaldan*,
Off *Havelok*, *Horne*, and of *Wade*,
In romaunces that of hem ben made
That gestoures often dos of hem gestes
At mangeres and at grete festes,
Here dedis ben in remembraunce,
In many fair romaunce.——
But of the worthiest wyght in wede,
That ever bystrod any stede
Spekes no man, ne in romaunce redes,
Off his battayle ne of his dedes,
Off that battayle spekes no man,
There all prowes of knyghtes began,
Thet was forsothe of the batayle
Thet at TROYE was saunfayle,
Of swythe a fyght as ther was one, &c.
For ther were in thet on side,
Sixti kynges and dukes of pride.—
And there was the best bodi in dede
That ever 3it wered wede,
Sithen the world was made so ferre,
That was ECTOR in eche werre, &c.
Laud. K 76. [595.] f. 1. fol. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Cod. membr. Whether this poem was written by Lidgate, I shall not inquire at present. I shall only say here, that it is totally different from either of Lidgate's two poems on the Theban and Trojan Wars; and that the manuscript, which is beautifully written, appears to be of the age of Henry the Sixth.

[The only authority for attributing this romance to Lydgate is a note written by a recent hand at the beginning of the MS. and not worthy of credit.—M.]

[By the way, it appears from this quotation, that there was an old romance called WADE. Wade's *Bote* is mentioned in Chaucer's Marchaunts Tale, v. 940. p. 68. Urr.

And eke these olde wivis, god it wote,
They connin so much crafte in *Wadisbote*.

Again, Troil. Cress. iii. 615.

He songe, she plaide, he tolde a tale of *Wade*.

Where, says the glossarist, "A romantick story, famous at that time, of one WADE, who performed many strange exploits, and met with many wonderful adventures in his Boat *Guigelot*." Speght says, that Wade's history was *long* and *fabulous*.—ADDITIONS.]

[The story of Wade is also alluded to in the following passage taken from the Romance of Sir Bevis.

Swiche batalle ded neuer non
Cristene man of flesch and bon—
Of a dragoun thar beside,
That Beues slough ther in that tide,
Saue Sire Launcelot de Lake,
He faught with a fur-drake,
And Wade dede also,
And neuer knightes boute thai to.

The connexion between Wade and a hero bearing a similar name in the Wilkina Saga will be noticed elsewhere.—PRICE.]

[Wade is also mentioned in the inedited alliterative romance of *Morte Arthur*, preserved in the Lincoln MS. A. i. 17.—M.]

[See a very curious essay on Wade by M. Francisque Michel, who has most diligently collected everything relating to this hero of early northern romance.—W.]

quoted by Robert de Brunne, who wrote much about the same time with Robert of Gloucester.

Whan Philip tille Acres cam, litelle was his dede,
The ROMANCE sais gret skam, who so that pas[z] wille rede.
The ROMANCER it sais Richard did mak a pele[a].—
The ROMANCE of Richard sais he wan the toun[b].—
He tellis in the ROMANCE sen Acres wonnen was
How God gaf him fair chance at the bataile of Cayfas[c].—
Sithen at Japhet was slayn fanuelle * his stede,
The ROMANS tellis gret pas ther of his douhty dede[d].—
Soudan so curteys neuer drank no wyne,
The same the ROMANS sais that is of Richardyn[e].
In prisoun was he bonden, as the ROMANCE sais,
In cheynes & lede wonden that heuy was of peis[f].—

I am not indeed quite certain, whether or no in some of these instances Robert de Brunne may not mean his French original Peter Langtoft. But in the following lines he manifestly refers to our romance of RICHARD, between which and Langtoft's chronicle he expressly makes a distinction. And in the conclusion of the reign,

I knowe no more to ryme of dedes of kyng Richard:
Who so wille his dedes all the soth se,
The *romance* that men redes ther is the propirte.
This that I haf said it is Pers sawe[g].
Als he in romance[h] laid, ther after gan I drawe[i].

It is not improbable that both these rhyming chroniclers cite from the English translation†: if so, we may fairly suppose that this romance was translated in the reign of Edward the First, or his predecessor Henry the Third. Perhaps earlier. This circumstance throws the French original to a still higher period.

In the royal library at Paris, there is "Histoire de Richard Roi d'Angleterre et de Maquemore d'Irlande en rime[k]." Richard is the

[z] PASSUS. Compare Percy's Ball. ii. 1. 66. 398. edit. 1767.

[a] Rob. Br. Chron. p. 157.

[b] Ibid. [c] Ibid. p. 175.

* [Read *fauuelle*. The blunder, in this instance, is Hearne's, and has produced a long note from Warton, p. 164. —M.]

[d] Rob. Br. Chron. p. 175.

[e] Ibid. p. 188. [f] Ibid. p. 198.

[g] "The words of my original *Peter Langtoft*."

[h] In French.

[i] p. 205. Du Cange recites an old French manuscript prose romance, entitled *Histoire de la Mort de Richard Roy d'Angleterre*. Gloss. Lat. IND. AUCT. i. p. cxci. There was one, perhaps the same, among the manuscripts of the late Mr. Martin of Palgrave in Suffolk. [This *romance* in the library at Paris is a copy of a metrical Chronicle of the deposition of king Richard the *Second*. See Archæologia, vol. xx. p. 3.—M.]

† [Warton's conjecture is perfectly correct in most of these instances. They contain allusions to circumstances which are unnoticed by Langtoft.—PRICE.]

[k] Num. 7532.

[An account of this romance will be found in Mr. Strutt's Regal Antiquities. It relates entirely to the Irish wars of Richard II. and the latter part of the reign of that unfortunate monarch. Mr. Ritson has confounded Maquemore with Dermond Mac Morough, king of Leinster, in the reign of Henry II., though he adds with great candour, "but why king Ri-

last of our monarchs whose achievements were adorned with fiction and fable. If not a superstitious belief of the times, it was an hyperbolical invention started by the minstrels, which soon grew into a tradition, and is gravely recorded by the chroniclers, that Richard carried with him to the Crusades king Arthur's celebrated sword CALIBURN, and that he presented it as a gift, or relic, of inestimable value to Tancred king of Sicily, in the year 1191 [l]. Robert of Brunne calls this sword a *jewel* [m].

And Richard at that time gaf him a faire juelle,
The gude swerd CALIBURNE which Arthur luffed so well [n].

Indeed the Arabian writer of the life of the sultan Saladin mentions some exploits of Richard almost incredible. But, as Lord Lyttelton justly observes, this historian is highly valuable on account of the knowledge he had of the facts which he relates. It is from this writer we learn, in the most authentic manner, the actions and negotiations of Richard in the course of the enterprise for the recovery of the Holy Land, and all the particulars of that memorable war [o].

But before I produce a specimen of Richard's English romance, I stand still to give some more extracts from its Prologues, which contain matter much to our present purpose; as they have very fortunately preserved the subjects of many romances, perhaps metrical, then fashionable both in France and England. And on these therefore, and their origin, I shall take this opportunity of offering some remarks.

Fele romaunses men make newe
Of good knyghtes strong and trewe:
Off hey dedys men rede romance,
Bothe in Engleland and in Fraunce;
Off *Rowelond* and of *Olyver*,
And of everie *Doseper* [p],
Of *Alysander* and *Charlemain*,
Off kyng *Arthor* and off *Gawayn*;
How they wer knyghtes good and curteys,
Off *Turpyn* and of *Ocier* Daneys.
Off *Troye* men rede in ryme,
What werre ther was in olde tyme;
Off *Ector* and of *Achylles*,
What folk they slewe in that pres, &c. [q]

chard [cœur de lion] is introduced does not appear."—PRICE.]

[This romance, or rather historical poem, for there is nothing romantic about it, has been printed in the Archæologia. —W.]

[l] In return for several vessels of gold and silver, horses, bales of silk, four great ships, and fifteen gallies, given by Tancred. Benedict. Abb. p. 642. edit. Hearne.

[m] *Jocale.* In the general and true sense of the word. Robert de Brunne, in another place, calls a rich pavilion a *jowelle.* p. 152.

[n] Chron. p. 153.

[On the subject of *Caliburne*, see Michel's edition of Tristan, Notes to Introd. p. lxxxv.—M.]

[o] See Hist. of Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 361. App.

[p] Charlemagne's Twelve peers: *Douze Pairs*, Fr.

[q] [The text has been corrected by Mr. Weber's edition of this romance, in his

And again in a second Prologue, after a pause has been made by the minstrel in the course of singing the poem.

Now herkenes to my tale sothe
Though I swere yow an othe
I wole reden romaunces non
Off *Paris*[r], ne off *Ypomydone*,
Off *Alisaundre*, ne *Charlemagne*,
Off *Arthour*, ne off Sere *Gawain*,
Nor off Sere *Launcelot the Lake*,
Off *Beffs*, ne *Guy* ne Sere *Sydrake*,
Ne off *Ury*, ne off *Octavian*,
Ne off *Hector* the strong man,
Ne off *Jason*, neither off *Hercules*,
Ne off *Eneas*, neither *Achilles*[t].

"Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries." 3 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1810.—PRICE]

[r] [The old printed copy reads Pertonape,] perhaps Parthenope, or Parthenopeus.

[t] Line 6657. To some of these romances the author of the manuscript Lives of the Saints, written about the year 1200, [1300.—M] and cited above at large, alludes in a sort of prologue. See SECT. I. p. 13. supr.

Wel auht we loue Christendom that is so dere yboug̃t,
With oure lordes herte blode that the spere hath ysoug̃t.
Men wilnethe more yhere of batayle of kyngis,
And of knyg̃tis hardy, that mochel is lesyngis.
Of *Roulond* and of *Olyvere*, and *Gy of Warwyk*,
Of *Wawayen* and *Tristram*, that ne founde here ylike.
Who so loueth to here tales of suche thinge,
Here he may yhere thyng that nys no lesynge,
Of postoles and marteres that hardi knyg̃ttes were,
And stedfast were in bataile and fledde nog̃t for no fere, &c.

The anonymous author of an antient manuscript poem, called "*The boke of Stories called* CURSOR MUNDI," translated from the French, seems to have been of the same opinion. His work consists of religious legends: but in the prologue he takes occasion to mention many tales of another kind, which were more agreeable to the generality of readers. MSS. Laud, K 53. [416.] f. 117. Bibl. Bodl.

Men lykyn Jestis for to here,
And romans rede in diuers manere
Of *Alexandre* the conqueroure,
Of *Julius Cesar* the emperoure,
Of *Greece* and *Troy* the strong stryf,
There many a man lost his lyf:
Of *Brute* that baron bold of hond
The first conqueroure of Englond,
Of kyng *Artoure* that was so riche,
Was none in his tyme so lyche:
Of wonders that among his knyghtes felle,
And auntirs dedyne as men here telle,
As *Gaweyne Kay* and othir full abylle
Which that kept the round tabylle.
How kyng *Charlis* and *Rowlond* fawght
With Sarzyns, nold they be cawght,
Of *Trystrem* and of *Ysoude* the swete,
How they with loue first gan mete.
Of kyng *Johne* and of *Isombras*
Of *Ydoyne* and of *Amadas*.
Stories of diverce thyngges
Of pryncis, prelates, and of kyngges,
Many songges of diver ryme
As Englishe, French, and Latyne, &c.
This ylk boke is translate
Into Englishe tong to rede
For the loue of Englishe lede,
For comyn folk of Englond, &c.
Syldyn it is for eny chaunce
Englishe tong prechid in Fraunce, &c.

[This work is not a collection of *religious legends*, but a history of the Old and New Testament. There are other copies of the poem in MS. Fairfax, 14. Bodl. Libr. MS. Cott. Vesp. A. iii. MS. Coll. Arun. 57. in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, and in the University library at Gottingen.—M.]

See Montf. Par. MSS. 7540. and p. 124. supr.

[The *Cursor Mundi* is by no means an uncommon MS. The best copy I know is preserved in the library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. It is found also in the British Museum.—W.]

Here, among others, some of the most capital and favourite stories of romance are mentioned, Arthur, Charlemagne, the Siege of Troy with its appendages, and Alexander the Great: and there are four authors of high esteem in the dark ages, Geoffry of Monmouth, Turpin, Guido of Colonna, and Callisthenes, whose books were the grand repositories of these subjects, and contained most of the traditionary fictions, whether of Arabian or classical origin, which constantly supplied materials to the writers of romance. I shall speak of these authors, with their subjects, distinctly.

But I do not mean to repeat here what has been already observed [u] concerning the writings of Geoffry of Monmouth and Turpin. It will be sufficient to say at present, that these two fabulous historians recorded the achievements of Charlemagne and of Arthur; and that Turpin's history was artfully forged under the name of that archbishop about the year 1110, with a design of giving countenance to the Crusades from the example of so high an authority as Charlemagne, whose pretended visit to the holy sepulchre is described in the twentieth chapter.

As to the Siege of Troy, it appears that both Homer's poems were unknown, at least not understood in Europe, from the abolition of literature by the Goths in the fourth century, to the fourteenth. Geoffry of Monmouth indeed, who wrote about the year 1160 *, a man of learning for that age, produces Homer in attestation of a fact asserted in his history; but in such a manner as shows that he knew little more than Homer's name, and was but imperfectly acquainted with Homer's subject. Geoffry says, that Brutus having ravaged the province of Acquitain with fire and sword, came to a place where the city of Tours now stands, *as Homer testifies* [x]. But the Trojan story was still kept alive in two Latin pieces, which passed under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. Dares's history of the destruction of Troy, as it was called, pretended to have been translated from the Greek of Dares Phrygius into Latin prose by Cornelius Nepos, is a wretched performance, and forged under those specious names in the decline of Latin literature [y]. Dictys Cretensis is a prose Latin history of the Trojan war in six books, paraphrased about the reign of Dioclesian or Constantine by one Septimius, from some Grecian history on the same

[u] See Diss. I.

* [He finished his Chronicle about the year 1128. See p. x. Diss. I.—M.]

[x] L. i. ch. 14.

[y] In the Epistle prefixed, the pretended translator Nepos says, that he found this work at Athens, in the hand-writing of Dares. He adds, speaking of the controverted authenticity of Homer, *De ea re Athenis* JUDICIUM *fuit, cum pro insano Homerus haberetur quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse descripsit.* In which words he does not refer to any public decree of the Athenian judges, but to Plato's opinion in his Republic. Dares, with Dictys Cretensis next mentioned in the text, was first printed at Milan in 1477. Mabillon says, that a manuscript of the Pseudo-Dares occurs in the Laurentian library at Florence, upwards of eight hundred years old. Mus. Ital. i. p. 169 This work was abridged by Vincentius Bellovacensis, a friar of Burgundy, about the year 1244. See his Specul. Histor. lib. iii. 63.

subject, said to be discovered under a sepulchre by means of an earthquake in the city of Cnossus about the time of Nero, and to have been composed by Dictys, a Cretan, and a soldier in the Trojan war. The fraud of discovering copies of books in this extraordinary manner, in order to infer from thence their high and indubitable antiquity, so frequently practised, betrays itself. But that the present Latin Dictys had a Greek original, now lost, appears from the numerous grecisms with which it abounds; and from the literal correspondence of many passages with the Greek fragments of one Dictys cited by ancient authors. The Greek original was very probably forged under the name of Dictys, a traditionary writer on the subject, in the reign of Nero, who is said to have been fond of the Trojan story [f]. On the whole, the work appears to have been an arbitrary metaphrase of Homer, with many fabulous interpolations. At length Guido de Colonna, a native of Messina in Sicily, a learned civilian, and no contemptible Italian poet, about the year 1260, engrafting on Dares and Dictys many new romantic inventions, which the taste of his age dictated, and which the connection between Grecian and Gothic fiction easily admitted; at the same time comprehending in his plan the Theban and Argonautic stories from Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus [a], compiled a grand prose romance in Latin, containing fifteen books, and entitled in most manuscripts *Historia de Bello Trojano* [b]. It was written at the request of Mattheo de Porta, archbishop of Salerno. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis seem to have been in some measure superseded by this improved and comprehensive history of the Grecian heroes: and from this period Achilles, Jason, and Hercules, were adopted into romance, and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Rowland, Gawain, Oliver, and other Christian champions, whom they so nearly resembled in the extravagance of their adventures [c]. This work abounds with Oriental imagery,

[f] See Perizon. Dissertat. de Dict. Cretens. sect. XXIX. Constantinus Lascaris, a learned monk of Constantinople, one of the restorers of Grecian literature in Europe near four hundred years ago, says that Dictys Cretensis in Greek was lost. This writer is not once mentioned by Eustathius, who lived about the year 1170, in his elaborate and extensive commentary on Homer.

[a] The Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus are cited in Chaucer's *Hypsipile and Medea*. "Let him reade the boke Argonauticon." v. 90 But Guido is afterwards cited as a writer on that subject, ibid. 97. Valerius Flaccus is a common manuscript. See pag. 140. infr [Warton is quite mistaken in calling Valerius Flaccus a *common* MS. and must have been thinking of Valerius Maximus. The only two MSS. of the former I am acquainted with, are in Queen's College library, Oxford, and at Holkham —M.]

[b] It was first printed Argentorat. 1486. and ibid. 1489. fol. The work was finished, as appears by a note at the end, in 1287. It was translated into Italian by Philip or Christopher Ceffio, a Florentine, and this translation was first printed at Venice in 1481, 4to It has also been translated into German. See Lambec II 948 The purity of our author's Italian style has been much commended. For his Italian poetry, see Mongitor, ubi supr. p 167. Compare also, Diar. Eruditor. Ital XIII. 258 Montfaucon mentions, in the royal library at Paris, *Le* ROMAN *de Thebes qui fut racine de Troye la grande*. Catal. MSS. II. p 923—198.

This Roman de Thebes is in reality one of those works on the story of the siege of Troy, engrafted either on that of Columna, or on his materials —DOUCE.

[c] Bale says, that Edward the First, having met with our author in Sicily, in returning from Asia, invited him into

of which the subject was extremely susceptible. It has also some traits of Arabian literature. The Trojan horse is a horse of brass: and Hercules is taught astronomy, and the seven liberal sciences. But I forbear to enter at present into a more particular examination of this history, as it must often occasionally be cited hereafter. I shall here only further observe in general, that this work is the chief source from which Chaucer derived his ideas about the Trojan story; that it was professedly paraphrased by Lydgate, in the year 1420, into a prolix

England, xiii. 36. This prince was interested in the Trojan story, as we shall see below. Our historians relate, that he wintered in Sicily in the year 1270. Chron. Rob. Brun. p. 227. A writer quoted by Hearne, supposed to be John Stowe the chronicler, says, that "Guido de Columpna arriving in England *at the commaundement of king Edward the Firste*, made scholes and annotations upon Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrigius. Besides these, he writ at large the Battayle of Troye." Heming Cartul. ii. 649 Among his works is recited *Historia de Regibus Rebusque Anglicæ*. It is quoted by many writers under the title of *Chronicum Britannorum*. He is said also to have written *Chronicum Magnum libris* xxxvi. See Mongitor. Bibl. Sic i. 265.

[Mr. Eichhorn has stated these "Scholies" of Guido to have been published in the year 1216, a manifest mistake,—since it leaves 71 years between this date, and the period at which he assigns the first appearance of the *Historia Trojana*. But whatever may have been Guido's merit in thus affording a common textbook for subsequent writers, his work could have contained little of novelty, either in matter or manner, for his contemporaries, and it may be reasonably doubted, whether his labours extended beyond the humble task of reducing into prose the metrical compilations of his predecessors. It is true, this circumstance will not admit of absolute proof, till the several poems upon the Trojan story extant in our own and various continental libraries shall be given to the world; but the following notices of some of these productions, though scanty and imperfect, will perhaps justify the opinion which has been expressed. The history of the Anglo-Saxon kings by Geoffri Gaimar, a poet antecedent to Wace (1155), is but a fragment of a larger work, which the author assures us commenced with an account of Jason and the Argonautic expedition. This was doubtlessly continued through the whole cycle of Grecian fabulous history, till the siege of Troy connected Brutus, the founder of the British dynasty, with the heroes of the antient world. The voluminous work of Benoit de Saint More (noticed by Warton below), is confessedly taken from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis; and is adorned with all those fictions of romance and chivalric costume, which these writers are supposed to have received from the interpolations of Guido. Among the romances enumerated by Mellis Stoke, as the productions of earlier writers in Holland, and still (1300) held in general esteem, we find "The Conflict ot Troy" (*De Stryd van Troyen*); and we know upon the authority of Jakob van Maerlant (1270), the translator of Vincent de Beauvais' Speculum Historiale, that this was a version of Benoit's poem. It is not so certain whence Conrad of Wurzburg, a contemporary of Guido, derived his German Ilias, but he professes to have taken it from a *French* original, and his poem, like Gaimar's, commences with Jason and the Argonautic expedition. Upon the same principle that Conrad conceived it necessary to preface his Ilias with the story of the Golden Fleece, his countryman Henry von Veldeck embraced the whole of the Trojan war, its origin and consequences, in his version of the Æneis. This, however, is usually believed to be a translation from the "Enide" of Chretien de Troyes; and, if the date (ante 1186) assumed for its appearance by Mr. von der Hagen be correct, would place the French original in an earlier period than is given it by the French antiquaries. In the year 1210, Albrecht von Halberstadt published a metrical version of Ovid's Metamorphoses. See von der Hagen's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie*, Berlin 1812; and Henrik van Wyn's *Historische Avondstonden*, Amsterdam 1800.—PRICE.]

[See also Hoffmann's *Horæ Belgicæ*, p. 30, 8vo. Vratisl. 1830.—M.]

[In the Arundel Collection (Brit. Mus.) MS. No. 375, which is said to be of the 11th century, is a history of the siege of Troy in Latin prose. This MS. was written in France.—W.]

English poem, called the *Boke of Troye* [d], at the command of king Henry the Fifth; that it became the ground-work of a new compilation in French, on the same subject, written by Raoul le Feure chaplain to the duke of Burgundy, in the year 1464, and partly translated into English prose in the year 1471, by Caxton, under the title of the *Recuyel of the histories of Troy*, at the request of Margaret duchess of Burgundy; and that from Caxton's book afterwards modernized, Shakspeare borrowed his drama of *Troilus and Cressida* [e].

[d] Who mentions it in a French as well as Latin romance. edit. 1555. Signat. B. 1 pag 2.

As in the latyn and the frenshe yt is.

It occurs in French, MSS Bibl Reg Brit. Mus. 16 F. ix. This manuscript was probably written not long after the year 1300.

[In Lincoln's-inn library there is a poem entitled BELLUM TROJANUM, Num. 150. Pr.

Si then god hade this woilde wioght.

ADDITIONS]

[e] The western nations, in early times, have been fond of deducing their origin from Troy. This tradition seems to be couched under Odin's original emigration from that part of Asia which is connected with Phrygia. Asgard, or *Asa's fortress*, was the city from which Odin led his colony, and by some it is called Troy To this place also they supposed Odin to return after his death, where he was to receive those who died in battle, in a hall roofed with glittering shields. See Bartholin. L. ii. cap. 8. p. 402, 403. seq. This hall, says the Edda, is in the city of Asgard, which is called the *Field of Ida*. Bartholin. ibid. In the very sublime ode on the Dissolution of the World, cited by Bartholine, it is said, that after the twilight of the gods should be ended, and the new world appear, *the Asæ shall meet in the field of Ida, and tell of the destroyed habitations*. Barthol. L. ii. cap. 14. p. 597. Compare Arngrim. Jon. Crymog. l i. c. 4. p 45, 46. See also Edda, fab. 5 In the proem to Resenius's Edda, it is said, "Odin appointed twelve judges or princes, at Sigtune in Scandinavia, as at Troy; and established there all the laws of Troy, and the customs of the Trojans." See Hickes. Thesaur. i Dissertat. Epist. p. 39. See also Mallett's Hist. Dannem. ii. p. 34. Bartholinus thinks that the compiler of the Eddic mythology, who lived A.D. 1070, finding that the Britons and Francs drew their descent from Troy, was ambitious of assigning the same boasted origin to Odin But this tradition appears to have been older than the Edda: and it is more probable, that the Britons and Francs borrowed it from the Scandinavian Goths, and adapted it to themselves, unless we suppose that these nations, I mean the former, were branches of the Gothic stem, which gave them a sort of inherent right to the claim. This reasoning may perhaps account for the early existence and extraordinary popularity of the Trojan story among nations ignorant and illiterate, who could only have received it by tradition. Geoffry of Monmouth took this descent of the Britons from Troy, from the Welsh or Armoric bards, and they perhaps had it in common with the Scandinavian scalders. There is not a syllable of it in the authentic historians of England, who wrote before him, particularly those antient ones, Bede, Gildas, and the uninterpolated Nennius. Henry of Huntingdon began his history from *Cæsar*, and it was only on further information that he added *Brute*. But this information was from a manuscript found by him in his way to Rome, in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, probably Geoffry's original. [No, only a copy of Geoffrey's Latin Chronicle —M] *H Hunt Epistol ad. Warin.* MSS Cantabr. Bibl publ. cod 251 I have mentioned in another place, that Witlaf, a king of the West Saxons, grants in his charter, dated A D 833, among other things, to Croyland-abbey, his robe of tissue, on which was embroidered *The destruction of Troy*. Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. sect. v. p. 176. This proves the story to have been in high veneration even long before that period: and it should at the same time be remembered that the Saxons came from Scandinavia.

This fable of the descent of the Britons from the Trojans was solemnly alleged as an authentic and undeniable proof in a controversy of great national importance, by Edward the First and his nobility, without the least objection from the opposite party. It was in the famous dispute concerning the subjection of the crown of England to that of Scotland, about the year 1301. The allegations are in a letter to pope Boniface, signed and sealed by the king and his lords. Ypo

Proofs have been given, in the two prologues just cited, of the general popularity of Alexander's story, another branch of Grecian history famous in the dark ages. To these we may add the evidence of Chaucer.

> Alisaundres storie is so commune,
> That everie wight that hath discrecioune
> Hath herde somewhat or al of his fortune[f].

And in the *House of Fame*, Alexander is placed with Hercules[g]. I have already remarked that he was celebrated in a Latin poem by Gualtier de Chatillon, in the year 1212[h]. Other proofs will occur in their proper places[i]. The truth is, Alexander was the most eminent knight errant of Grecian antiquity. He could not therefore be long without his romance. Callisthenes, an Olynthian, educated under Aristotle with Alexander, wrote an authentic life of Alexander[k]. This history, which is frequently referred to by antient writers, has been long since lost. But a Greek life of this hero, under the adopted name of Callisthenes, at present exists, and is no uncommon manuscript in good libraries[l]. It is entitled, Βιος Αλεξανδρου του Μακεδονος και Πραξεις. That is, *The Life and Actions of Alexander the Macedonian*[m]. This piece was written in Greek, being a translation from the Persic, by Simeon Seth, styled *Magister*, and protovestiary or wardrobe keeper of the palace of Antiochus at Constantinople[n], about the

digm. Neustr apud Camd. Angl. Norman. p. 492. Here is a curious instance of the implicit faith with which this tradition continued to be believed, even in a more enlightened age; and an evidence that it was equally credited in Scotland

[f] V 656 p 165. Urr ed. [g] V 323.

[h] See Second Dissertation

[i] In the reign of Henry the First, the sheriff of Nottinghamshire is ordered to procure the queen's chamber at Nottingham to be painted with the HISTORY of ALEXANDER. Madox, Hist Exch. p 249—259. "Depingi facias HISTORIAM ALEXANDRI undiquaque." In the Romance of Richard, the minstrel says of an army assembled at a siege in the Holy Land, Sign. Q. iii.

> Covered is both mount and playne,
> Kyng ALYSAUNDER and Charlemayne
> He never had halfe the route
> As is the city now aboute.

By the way, this is much like a passage in Milton, Par. Reg. iii. 337.

Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican, &c.

[k] See Recherch. sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Callisthene Par M. l'Abbé Sevin. Mem de Lit. viii. p 126. 4to. But many very antient Greek writers had corrupted Alexander's history with fabulous narratives, such as Orthagoras, Onesicritus, &c.

[Julian Africanus, who lived in the third century, records the fable of Nectanabus, king of Egypt, the presumptive father of Alexander, who figures so conspicuously in the later romances. It is also presumed, that similar fictions were introduced into the poems of Arrian, Hadrian, and Soterichus. See Görres Volksbucher, p 58. a translation of whose observations upon this subject will be found in the Retrospective Review, No. vi. For an account of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian versions of this story, see Herbelot, i. 144. and Weber's Metrical Romances, vol. i. xx.—PRICE]

[l] Particularly Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MSS. Barocc. Cod. xvii. and Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 2064. See Montfauc Catal. MSS. p. 733. See passages cited from this manuscript, in Steph. Byzant. Abr. Berckel. V. Βουκεφαλεια. Cæsar Bulenger de Circo, c. xiii. 30, &c. and Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiv. 148, 149, 150. It is adduced by Du Cange, Glossar. Gr. ubi vid. Tom. ii. Catal. Scriptor. p. 24.

[m] Undoubtedly many smaller histories now in our libraries were formed from this greater work.

[n] Πρωτοβεστιαριος, *Protovestiarius*. See Du Cange, Constantinop. Christ. lib. ii. § 16. n. 5. Et ad Zonar p. 46.

year 1070, under the emperor Michael Ducas[o]. It was most probably very soon afterwards translated from the Greek into Latin, and at

[o] Allat. de Simeonibus. p. 181. and Labb. Bibl. nov. MSS. p. 115. Simeon Seth translated many Persic and Arabic books into Greek. Allat ubi supr p. 182. seq. Among them he translated from Arabic into Greek, about the year 1100, for the use or at the request of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, the celebrated Indian Fables now commonly called the *Fables of Pilpay* This work he entitled, Στεφανιτης και Ιχνηλατης, and divided it into fifteen books. It was printed at Berlin, by Seb. Godfr. Starchius, A.D 1697, 8vo. under the title, Συμεων Μαγιστρου και φιλοσοφου του Σηθ Κυλιλε και Διμνε. These are the names of two African or Asiatic animals, called in Latin *Thoes*, a sort of fox, [jackall,] the principal interlocutors in the fables. Sect i. ii This curious monument of a species of instruction peculiar to the Orientals, is upwards of two thousand years old It has passed under a great variety of names. Khosru a king of Persia, in whose reign Mahomet was born, sent his physician named Burzvisch into India, on purpose to obtain this book, which was carefully preserved among the treasures of the kings of India; and commanded it to be translated out of the Indian language into the antient Persic. Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. p. 456. It was soon afterwards turned into Syriac, under the title *Calaileg* and *Damnag*. Fabric Bibl. Gr. vi. p 461. About the year of Christ 750, one of the caliphs ordered it to be translated from the antient Persic into Arabic, under the name *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel ubi supr. In the year 920, the Sultan Ahmed, of the dynasty of the Samanides, procured a translation into more modern Persic, which was soon afterwards put into verse by a celebrated Persian poet named Roudeki. Herbel. ibid. Fabric ibid p 462 About the year 1130, the Sultan Bahram, not satisfied with this Persian version, ordered another to be executed by Nasrallah, the most eloquent man of his age, from the Arabic text of Mocanna, and this Persian version is what is now extant under the title *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. ibid. See also Herbel. p 118. But as even this last-mentioned version had too many Arabic idioms and obsolete phrases, in the reign of Sultan Hosein Mirza, it was thrown into a more modern and intelligible style, under the name of *Anuar Soheli*. Fraser's Hist. Nad. Shaw Catal MSS. p. 19, 20. Nor must it be forgotten, that about the year 1100, the Emir Sohail, general of the armies of Hussain, Sultan of Khorassan of the posterity of Timer, caused a new translation to be made by the doctor Hussien Vaez, which exceeded all others in elegance and perspicuity. It was named *Anwair Sohaili*, SPLENDOR *Canopi*, from the Emir who was called after the name of that star. Herbel. p. 118 245. It would be tedious to mention every new title and improvement which it has passed through among the eastern people. It has been translated into the Turkish language both in prose and verse; particularly for the use of Bajazet the second and Solyman the second Herbel p 118. It has been also translated into Hebrew, by Rabbi Joel; and into Latin, under the title *Directorium Vitæ humanæ*, by Johannes of Capua [fol sine ann.] From thence it got into Spanish, or Castilian; and from the Spanish was made an Italian version, printed at Ferrara, A.D 1583 oct viz. *Lelo Damno* [for *Calilah u Damnah*] *del Governo de regni, sotto morali*, &c A second edition appeared at Ferrara in 1610 oct viz *Philosophia morale del doni*, &c. But I have a notion there was an Italian edition at Venice, under the last-mentioned title, with old rude cuts, 1552 4to. From the Latin version it was translated into German, by the command of Eberhard first duke of Wirtenberg. and this translation was printed at Ulm, 1583. fol. At Strasburgh, 1525. fol. Without name of place, 1548. 4to. At Francfourt on the Mayne, 1565. oct. A French translation by Gilb Gaulmin from the Persic of Nasrallah above mentioned appeared at Paris, 1698. But this is rather a paraphrase, and was reprinted in Holland. See Starchius, ubi supr. præf § 19 20. 22. Fabric. ubi supr. p. 463. seq. Another translation was printed at Paris, viz. "Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et De Lokman traduits d'Ali Tchelchi-Bengalek auteur Turc, par M Galland, 1714" ii vol. Again, Paris, 1724 ii vol. Fabricius says, that Mons Galland had procured a Turkish copy of this book four times larger than the printed copies, being a version from the original Persic, and entitled *Humagoun Nameh*, that is, *The royal* or *imperial book*, so called by the Orientals, who are of opinion that it contains the whole art of government. See Fabric. ubi supr p. 465. Herbel. p. 456. A Translation into English from the French of the four first books was printed at London in 1747, under the title of PILPAY'S FABLES.—As to the name of the author of this book, Herbelot says that Bidpai was an Indian philosopher, and

length from thence into French, Italian, and German[p]. The Latin translation was printed Colon. Argentorat. A.D. 1489[q]. Perhaps before: for among Hearne's books in the Bodleian library, there is an edition in quarto, without date*, supposed to have been printed at Oxford by Frederick Corsellis, about the year 1468. It is said to have been made by one Æsopus, or by Julius Valerius[r]: suppositious

that his name signifies the *merciful physician*. See Herbelot, p. 206. 456. and Bibl. Lugdun. Catal. p. 301. [Sir Wm. Jones, who derives this name from a Sanscrit word, interprets it, the *beloved or favourite physician*.—PRICE.] Others relate, that it was composed by the Bramins of India, under the title *Kurtuk Dumnik* Fraser, ubi supr p. 19. It is also said to have been written by Isame fifth king of the Indians, and translated into Arabic from the Indian tongue three hundred years before Alexander the Macedonian. Abraham Ecchelens. Not ad Catal. Ebed Jesu, p 87.—The Indians reckon this book among the three things in which they surpass all other nations, viz "Liber CULILA et DIMNA, ludus Shatangri, et novem figuræ numerariæ." Saphad. Comment. ad Carm. Tograi apud Hyde, prolegom ad lib de lud Oriental d. 3 Hyde intended an edition of the Arabic version. Præfat ad lib. de lud. Oriental vol. II 1767. edit. ad calc. I cannot forsake this subject without remarking, that the Persians have another book, which they esteem older than any writings of Zoroaster, entitled *Javidan Chrad*, that is, *Æterna Sapientia*. Hyde Præfat Relig Vet. Persarum. This has been also one of the titles of Pilpay's Fables.

[See Wolfii Bibl Hebr. I 468. II. 931. III. 350 IV. 934 —ADDITIONS.]

[The Indian origin of these fables is now placed beyond the possibility of dispute. Mr. Colebrooke has published a Sanscrit version of them, under the title of Hitopades, and they have been translated, from the same language, by Sir Wm. Jones and Dr. Wilkins —PRICE.]

[p] Casaub. Epist ad Jos. Scaliger. 402. 413. Scalig. Epist. ad Casaubon. 113 115; who mentions also a translation of this work from the Latin into Hebrew, [entitled ספר תולדות אלכסנדרוס, and edited by Breithaupt.—M.] by one who adopted the name of Jos Gorionides, called Pseudo-Gorionides. This Latin history was translated into German by John Hartlieb Moller, a German physician, at the command of Albert duke of Bavaria, and published August. Vindel. A.D. 1478. fol. [This edition was preceded by two others from the press of Bamler, dated 1472 and 1473. These and the Strasburg edition of 1488 call the translator Dr. John Hartlieb of Munich —PRICE.] See Lambecc. lib. II. de Bibl. Vindobon. p. 949. Labbe mentions a fabulous history of Alexander, written, as he says, in 1217, and transcribed in 1455 Undoubtedly this in the text. Londinensis quotes "pervetustum quendam librum manuscriptum de actibus Alexandri." Hearne's T. Caius ut infr. p. 82. See also p. 86. 258.

[q] Lenglet mentions "Historia fabulosa incerti authoris de Alexandri Magni præliis." fol. [Argent.] 1494. He adds, that it is printed in the last edition of Cæsar's Commentaries by Grævius in octavo. Bibl. des Romans, II p 228. 229 edit. Amst. Compare Vogt's *Catalogus librorum rariorum*. pag 24 edit. 1753. Montfaucon says this history of Callisthenes occurs often in the royal library at Paris, both in Greek and Latin, but that he never saw either of them printed. Cat. MSS. II pag. 733.—2543. I think a life of Alexander is subjoined to an edition of Quintus Curtius in 1584, by Joannes Monachus ["Q. Curtii de Rebus gestis Alexandri Magni, Regis Macedonum, libri X. Ad hæc, Alex. M. Vitam ab Joanne Monacho præposuimus. [Latinè vers. ab Aug Cospo.] 8vo. Antv. in ædib P. Billeri, 1586."—M.]

* [Either from the ardour of composition, or through the multiplicity of books referred to by Mr. Warton, some mistake has arisen at this place The late Mr. Librarian Price pointed out to me the 4to volume which once belonged to Hearne, and is now marked B N Rawl. 99. It consists of seven articles, the third of which is "*Gesta Alexandri Magni metrice composita*." This being very neatly written, in a hand much resembling the type of our early printed classics, seems to have been confounded (as Ritson shrewdly surmised) with "Expositio Sancti Jeronimi," MCCCCLXVIII. a rare specimen of typography by F. Corsellis, in the library of C. C. C. Oxon.—PARK.]

[r] Du Cange Glossar. Gr. v. Ἐβελλῖνος Jurat. ad Symmach. IV. 33. Barth. Adversar II 10. v. 14.

[The work of Julius Valerius, who is said to have translated it from the Greek of Æsopus, about the time of Claudian of Alexandria, differs wholly from the common Latin prose Life of Alexander printed

names, which seem to have been forged by the artifice, or introduced through the ignorance, of scribes and librarians. This Latin translation, however, is of high antiquity in the middle age of learning; for it is quoted by Giraldus Cambrensis, who flourished about the year 1190[s]. About the year 1236, the substance of it was thrown into a long Latin poem, written in elegiac verse[t], by Aretinus Quilichinus[u]. This fabulous narrative of Alexander's life and achievements is full of prodigies and extravagancies[w]. But we should remember its origin. The Arabian books abound with the most incredible fictions and traditions concerning Alexander the Great, which they probably borrowed and improved from the Persians. They call him Escander. If I recollect right, one of the miracles of this romance is our hero's horn. It is said, that Alexander gave the signal to his whole army by a wonderful horn of immense magnitude, which might be heard at the distance of sixty miles, and that it was blown or sounded by sixty men at once[x]. This is the horn which Orlando won from the giant Jatmund, and which, as Turpin and the Islandic bards report, was endued with magical power, and might be heard at the distance of twenty miles. Cervantes says, that it was bigger than a massy beam[y]. Boyardo, Berni, and Ariosto have all such a horn: and the fiction is here traced to its

at Strasburg in 1489. It has been printed by the Abbate Mai, together with another piece entitled *Itinerarium Alexandri*, from a MS in the Ambrosian library of the ix. [xii ?] century. 8vo. Franc. s. M. 1818. The Abbate has added learned prefaces, with notices of the presumed authors.—M.]

[s] Hearne, T. Call Vindic. Antiquitat. Acad. Oxon. tom. ii. NOT. p. 802. who thinks it a work of the monks "Nec dubium quin monachus quispiam Latine, ut potuit, scripserit. Eo modo, quo et alios id genus fœtus parturiebant scriptores aliquot monastici, e fabulis quas vulgo admodum placere sciebant." ibid.

[t] A Greek poem on this subject will be mentioned below, written in politic verses, entitled Αλεξανδρευς ὁ Μακεδων.

[u] Labb. Bibl. Nov. MSS p. 68 Ol Borrich. Dissertat. de Poet. p 69.

[w] The writer relates, that Alexander, inclosed in a vessel of glass, dived to the bottom of the ocean for the sake of getting a knowledge of fishes and sea monsters. He is also represented as soaring in the air by the help of gryphons. At the end, the opinions of different philosophers are recited concerning the sepulchre of Alexander. Nectabanos, a magician and astrologer, king of Ægypt, is a very significant character in this romance. He transforms himself into a dragon, &c. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 319. b. seq. In some of the manuscripts of this piece which I have seen, there is an account of Alexander's visit to the trees of the sun and moon, but I do not recollect this in the printed copies. Undoubtedly the original has had both interpolations and omissions. Pseudo-Gorionides above mentioned seems to hint at the groundwork of this history of Alexander in the following passage. "Cæteras autem res ab Alexandro gestas, et egregia ejus facinora ac quæcunque demum perpetravit, ea in libris Medorum et Persarum, atque apud Nicolaum, Titum, et Strabonem; et in libris nativitatis Alexandri, rerumque ab ipso gestarum, quos Magi ac Ægyptii eo anno quo Alexander decessit, composuerunt, scripta reperies." Lib ii. c 12.—22. [Lat. Vers.] p. 152. edit. Jo Frid Breithaupt.

[x] It is also in a manuscript entitled *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*, Lib. 5. MSS. Bodl. D. l. 5. This treatise, ascribed to Aristotle, was antiently in high repute. It is pretended to have been translated out of Greek into Arabic or Chaldee by one John a Spaniard; from thence into Latin by Philip a Frenchman; at length into English verse by Lidgate, under whom more will be said of it. I think the Latin is dedicated to Theophina, a queen of Spain. [See Diss. iii. p. clxxxvi. where this work is stated more correctly to be dedicated to Guido Vere de Valencia, Bishop of Tripoli.—M.]

[y] See Observat. Fair. Qu. i. § v. p. 202.

original source. But in speaking of the books which furnished the story of Alexander, I must not forget that Quintus Curtius was an admired historian of the romantic ages. He is quoted in the POLICRATICON of John of Salisbury, who died in the year 1181[z]. Eneas Sylvius relates, that Alphonsus the Ninth, king of Spain, in the thirteenth century, a great astronomer, endeavoured to relieve himself from a tedious malady by reading the Bible over fourteen times, with all the glosses; but not meeting with the expected success, he was cured by the consolation he received from once reading Quintus Curtius[a]. Peter Blesensis, archdeacon of London, a student at Paris about the year 1150, mentioning the books most common in the schools, declares that he *profited much by frequently looking into this author*[b]. Vincentius Bellovacensis, cited above, a writer of the thirteenth century, often quotes Curtius in his *Speculum Historiale*[c]. He was also early translated into French. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a fine copy of a French translation of this classic, adorned with elegant old paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Quinte Curse Ruf, des faiz d'Alexandre*, ix *liv. translate par Vasque de Lucene Portugalois. Escript par la main de Jehan du Chesne, à Lille*[d]. It was made in 1468. But I believe the Latin translations of Simeon Seth's romance on this subject were best known and most esteemed for some centuries.

The French, to resume the main tenour of our argument, had written metrical romances on most of these subjects, before or about the year 1200. Some of these seem to have been formed from prose histories, enlarged and improved with new adventures and embellishments from earlier and more simple tales in verse on the same subject. Chrestien of Troys wrote *Le Romans du Graal*, or the adventures of the Sangrale, which included the deeds of King Arthur, Sir Tristram, Lancelot du Lake, and the rest of the knights of the round table, before 1191. There is a passage in a coeval romance, relating to Chrestien, which proves what I have just advanced, that some of these histories previously existed in prose.

Christians qui entent et paine
A rimoyer le meillor conte,
Par le commandement le Conte,
Qu'il soit contez en cort royal
Ce est li contes del Graal
Dont li quens li bailla le livre.[e]

[z] VIII. 18.

[a] Op. p 476

[b] Epist. 101. *Frequenter inspicere historias Q. Curtii*, &c.

[c] IV 61, &c. Montfaucon, I think, mentions a manuscript of Q Curtius in the Colbertine library at Paris eight hundred years old See Barth. ad Claudian p. 1165 Alexander Benedictus, in his history of Venice, transcribes whole pages from this historian I could give other proofs

[d] 17 F 1 Brit. Mus. And again, 20 C III and 15 D. iv.

[See "Les Manuscrits François de la Bibl du Roi Par P Paris, Nos. 6727—6729 8vo 1836."—M.]

[e] Apud Fauchet, Rec. p 99 who adds,

Chrestien also wrote the romance of *Sir Perceval*, which belongs to the same history[f]. Godfrey de Leigni, a cotemporary, finished a romance begun by Chrestien *, entitled *La Charette*, containing the adventures of Lancelot. Fauchet affirms, that Chrestien abounds with beautiful inventions[g]. But no story is so common among the earliest French poets as Charlemagne and his twelve peers. In the British Museum we have an old French manuscript containing the history of Charlemagne, translated into prose from Turpin's Latin. The writer declares, that he preferred a sober prose translation of this authentic historian, as histories in rhyme, undoubtedly very numerous on this subject, looked so much like lies[h]. His title is extremely curious.

"Je croy bien que Romans que nous avons ajourdhuy imprimez, tels que Lancelot du Lac, Tristan, et autres, sont refondus sus les vielles proses et rymes et puis refraichis de language." Rec liv II. x.

[The "Roman du Saint Graal" is ascribed to an anonymous "Trouvere" by M Roquefort, who denies that it was written by Chretien de Troyes. On the authority of the Cat. de la Valliere, he also attributes the first part of the prose version of this romance to Luces du Gast, and the continuation only to Robert Borron. Of Borron's work entitled "Ensierrement de Merlin ou Roman de St. Graal," there is a metrical version MS no 1987 fonds de l'abbaye St Germain See Poesie Française dans les XII et XIII siecles.—PRICE. See *infra*, Note A. p. 149]

The oldest manuscripts of romances on these subjects which I have seen are the following. They are in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum. *Le Romanz de Tristran*, 20 D II. This was probably transcribed not long after the year 1200.—*Histoire du Lancelot ou S. Graal*, ibid III Perhaps older than the year 1200 —Again, *Histoire du S Graal, ou Lancelot*, 20 C. VI. 1. Transcribed soon after 1200. This is imperfect at the beginning. The subject of Joseph of Arimathea bringing a vessel of the Sanguis realis, or Sangral, that is, our Saviour's blood, into England, is of high antiquity. It is thus mentioned in *Morte Arthur* "And then the old man had an harpe, and he sung *an olde songe* how Joseph of Arimathy came into this lande." B. III. c. 5.

[f] Fauchet, p. 103 This story was also written in very old rhyme by one Manessier, not mentioned in Fauchet, from whence it was reduced into prose 1530. fol Paris. PERCEVAL LE GALLOYS, *le quel acheva les aventures du Sainct Graal, avec aulcuns faicts du chevalier Gauvain, translatée de ryme en prose de l'ancien auteur* [*Chrestien de Troyes, ou*] MANESSIER, &c

[This is not a distinct work from the romance upon the same subject by Chretien de Troyes This writer at his death left the story unfinished. It was resumed by Gautier de Denet, and concluded by Manessier. See Roquefort ut sup. p. 194. —PRICE.]

In the royal library at Paris is LE ROMAN DE PERSEVAL *le Galois, par* CRESTIEN DE TROYES. In verse. fol. Mons Galland thinks there is another romance under this title, Mem. de Lit. III. p. 427. seq 433. 8vo. the author of which he supposes may be Raoul de Biavais, mentioned by Fauchet, p. 142. Compare Lenglet, Bibl Rom. p 250. The author of this last-mentioned Perceval, in the exordium, says that he wrote, among others, the romances of Eneas, Roy Marc, and Uselt le Blonde, and that he translated into French, Ovid's Art of Love.

[There is a copy of the French metrical romance of Perceval in the College of Arms, No 14 An English translation in verse of the 15th century is also preserved in a MS in the library of Lincoln Cathedral. On the subject of this and the other romances written by Chrestien de Troyes, see the *Hist. Litt de la France*, tom. XV. pp. 193–264 —M]

* [La Charette, or Du Chevalier à la Charette perhaps the same, says Ritson, with *Les romans de Chevalier à l'épée*, ou *L'Histoire de Lancelot du Lac* To the same romance-writer are attributed, *Du Chevalier à Lion, du prince Alexandre, d'Erec*, with others, that are now lost.—PARK M. Roquefort's catalogue of Chretien's works still extant, contains Perceval, le Chevalier au Lion, Lancelot du Lac, Cliget, Guillaume d'Angleterre, and Erec et Enide. The latter probably gave rise to the opinion, that Chretien translated the Æneid, and which has been adopted from Mr. von der Hagen, at pp. 129, 130. note *c* —PRICE]

[g] P 105 ibid.

[h] There is a curious passage to this

" Ci comence l'Estoire que Turpin le Ercevesque de Reins fit del bon roy Charlemayne, coment il conquist Espaigne, e delivera des Paens. Et pur ceo qe *Estoire rimee semble mensunge*, est ceste mis in prose, solun le Latin qe Turpin mesmes fist, tut ensi cume il le vist et vist."[i]

Oddegir the Dane makes a part of Charlemagne's history; and, I believe, is mentioned by archbishop Turpin. But his exploits have been recorded in verse by Adenez, an old French poet, not mentioned by Fauchet, author of the two metrical romances of *Berlin* [Berthe] and *Cleomades*, under the name of *Ogier le Danois*, in the year 1270. This author was master of the musicians, or, as others say, herald at arms, to the duke of Brabant. Among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, we have a poem, *Le Livre de Ogeir de Dannemarche*[k]. The French have likewise illustrated this champion in Leonine rhyme. And I cannot help mentioning that they have in verse *Visions of Oddegir the Dane in the kingdom of Fairy*, " Visions d'Ogeir le Danois au Royaume de Faerie en vers François," printed at Paris in 1548[l].

On the Trojan story, the French have an antient poem, at least not

purpose in an old French prose romance of Charlemagne, written before the year 1200. "Baudouin Comte de Hainau trouva a Sens en Bourgongne, le VIE de Charlemagne: et mourant la donna a sa sour Yolond Comtesse de S. Paul qui m'a prie que je la mette en *Roman sans ryme*. Parce que tel se delitera el Roman qui del Latin n'ent cure, et par le Roman sera mielx gardee. Maintes gens en ont ouy conter et chanter, mais n'est ce *mensonge* non ce qu'ils en disent et chantent cil conteour ne cil jugleor. NUZ CONTES RYMEZ N'EN EST VRAIS TOT MENSONGE CE QU'ILS DIENT." Liv. quatr.

[This romance is the same prose translation of Turpin mentioned in Warton's text See the description of No 6795 Bibl. du Roi, by M. Paris, pp. 211–220. Joland, eldest sister of Baldwin, count of Hainault, was married to her second husband, Hugh, count of St. Pol, about the year 1178. Her brother died in 1195, and the count of St. Pol in 1205, so that the period of this translation must be limited between these dates. It was the same lady who caused the metrical romance of *Guillaume de Palerme* to be translated from the Latin, an English version of which of the 14th century, intitled *William and the Werwolf*, was edited by Sir F. Madden for the Roxburghe Club, 4to. 1832. See the Editor's Introduction, p. IX. —M.]

[i] MSS. Harl. 273. 23. Cod. membr. f. 86. There is a very old metrical romance on this subject, ibid. MSS. Harl. 527. 1. f. 1. Cod. membr. 4to.

[Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, 16 E. VIII. 7., is a much earlier metrical romance (probably of the beginning of the 12th century), relating the expedition of Charlemagne to Jerusalem It has recently been published, with a Glossary, by the indefatigable M. Michel, 12mo Lond. 1836. In his Preface he gives an analysis of a second metrical romance, MS Reg. 15 E VI., describing the adventures of Charlemagne in the East, pp LXII.–CVIII., and also notices from Sinner's Catalogue, a third, preserved in the library at Berne. See in the same writer, a collection of the various notices concerning this fabulous expedition of Charlemagne to the Holy Land.—M.]

[*Ogier le Dannois duc de Dannemarche* was printed at Troyes in 1610, and at the same place, in 1608, were printed, *Histoire de Morgant le geant*, and *Histoire des nobles Provesses et Vaillances de Galeon restaure.*—PARK]

[k] 15 E. VI. 4.

[The title of Adenez' poem is *Les Enfances d'Ogier-le-Danois*, a copy of which is preserved among the Harl. MSS. No. 4404. His other poem noticed in the text, is called *Le Roman de Pepin et de Berthe*. See Cat. La Vallière, No. 2734. The life of Ogier contained in the royal manuscript, embraces the whole career of this illustrious hero, and is evidently a distinct work from that of Adenez. Whether it be the same version alluded to in the French romance of Alexander, where the author is distinguished from the "conteurs batards" of his day, is left to more competent judges. —PRICE.]

[l] 8vo. There is also *L'Histoire du preux Meurvin fils* D'OGIER le DANOIS. Paris. 1359. 4to. and 1540. 8vo.

posterior to the thirteenth [twelfth] century, entitled *Roman de Troye*, written by Benoit de Sainct More. As this author appears not to have been known to the accurate Fauchet, nor la Croix du Maine; I will cite the exordium, especially as it records his name; and implies that the piece [was] translated from the Latin, and that the subject was not then common in French.

Cette estoire n'est pas usée,
N'en gaires livres n'est trouvée:
La retraite ne fut encore
Mais Beneoit de Sainte More,
L'a translatè, et fait et dit,
Et a sa main les mots ecrit.

He mentions his own name again in the body of the work, and at the end.

Je n'en fait plus ne plus en dit;
Beneoit qui cest Roman fit.[m]

Du Cange enumerates a metrical manuscript romance on this subject by Jaques Millet, entitled *De la Destruction de Troie*[n]. Montfaucon, whose extensive inquiries nothing could escape, mentions Dares Phrygius translated into French verse, at Milan, about the twelfth century[o]. We find also, among the royal manuscripts at Paris, Dictys Cretensis translated into French verse[p]. To this subject, although almost equally belonging to that of Charlemagne, we may also refer a French romance in verse, written by Philipes Mousqes, canon and chancellor of the church of Tournay. It is, in fact, a chronicle of France: but the author, who does not chuse to begin quite so high as Adam and Eve, nor yet later than the Trojan war, opens his history with the rape of Helen, passes on to an ample description of the siege of Troy; and, through an exact detail of all the great events which succeeded, conducts his reader to the year 1240. This work comprehends all the fictions of Turpin's Charlemagne, with a variety of other extravagant stories dispersed in many professed romances. But it preserves numberless curious particulars, which throw considerable light on historical facts. Du Cange has collected from it all that concerns the French emperors of Constantinople, which he has printed at the end of his entertaining history of that city.

It was indeed the fashion for the historians of these times, to form such a general plan as would admit all the absurdities of popular tradition. Connection of parts, and uniformity of subject, were as little studied as truth. Ages of ignorance and superstition are more affected by the marvellous than by plain facts; and believe what they find

[m] See M. Galland, ut supr. p. 425. [For an account of Benoit de Saint More's poem, the reader is referred to the 12th volume of the Archæologia.—PRICE.]

[n] Gloss. Lat. IND. AUT. p. cxciii.

[o] Monum. Fr. i. 374.

[p] See Montf. Catal. MSS. ii. p. 1669.

written, without discernment or examination. No man before the sixteenth century presumed to doubt that the Francs derived their origin from Francus, a son of Hector; that the Spaniards were descended from Japhet, the Britons from Brutus, and the Scotch from Fergus. Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis the Ninth of France, and who, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king's sons, very gravely classes archbishop Turpin's Charlemagne among the real histories, and places it on a level with Suetonius and Cæsar. He was himself an historian, and has left a large history of the world, fraught with a variety of reading, and of high repute in the middle ages; but edifying and entertaining as this work might have been to his cotemporaries, at present it serves only to record their prejudices, and to characterise their credulity[q].

Hercules and Jason, as I have before hinted, were involved in the Trojan story by Guido de Colonna, and hence became familiar to the romance writers[r]. The Hercules, the Theseus, and the Amazons of Boccacio, hereafter more particularly mentioned, came from this source. I do not at present recollect any old French metrical romances on these subjects, but presume that there are many. Jason seems to have vied with Arthur and Charlemagne, and so popular was his expedition to Colchos, or rather so firmly believed, that in honour of so respectable an adventure, a duke of Burgundy instituted the order of the *Golden Fleece*, in the year 1468. At the same time his chaplain Raoul le Feure illustrated the story which gave rise to this magnificent institution, in a prolix and elaborate history, afterwards translated by Caxton[s]. But I must not forget, that among the royal manuscripts in the Museum, the French romance of *Hercules* occurs in two books, enriched with numerous antient paintings[t]. *Pertonape* and *Ypomedon*, in our Prologue, seem to be Parthenopeus and Hippomedon, belonging to the Theban story, and mentioned, I think, in Statius. An English romance in verse, called *Childe Ippomedone*, will be cited hereafter, most probably translated from the French.

[q] He flourished about 1260.

[r] The TROJOMANNA SAGA, a Scandic manuscript at Stockholm, seems to be posterior to Guido's publication. It begins with Jason and Hercules, and their voyage to Colchos, proceeds to the rape of Helen, and ends with the siege and destruction of Troy. It celebrates all the Grecian and Asiatic heroes concerned in that war. Wanl. Antiquit. Septentr. p. 315. col 1.

[s] See Observat. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i § v. p. 176. seq. Montfaucon mentions *Medeæ et Jasonis Historia a Guidone de Columna*. Catal. MSS. Bibl. Coislin. n. p. 1109.—818.

[t] 17 E. ii.

[This romance of Hercules commences with an account of Uranus or Cælus, and terminates with the death of Ulysses by his son Telegonus. The mythological fables with which the first part abounds, are taken from Boccace's Genealogia Deorum; and the third part, embracing the destruction of Troy by the Greeks under Agamemnon, professes to be a translation from "Dictys of Greece and Dares of Troy." The Pertonape of the text is evidently Partonepex de Blois, (see Le Grand Fabliaux, tom iv. p 261. and Notices des Manuscrits, tom ix) and Ypomedon the hero whom Warton dignifies with the epithet of Childe Ippomedone. —PRICE.]

The conquests of Alexander the Great were celebrated by one Simon, in old Pictavian or Limosin, about the twelfth century. This piece thus begins:

Chanson voil dis per ryme et per leoin
Del fil Filippe lo roy de Macedoin[u].

An Italian poem on Alexander, called *Trionfo Magno*, was presented to Leo the Tenth, by Dominicho Falugi Anciseno, in the year 1521. Crescimbeni says it was copied from a Provencial romance[w]. But one of the most valuable pieces of the old French poetry is on the subject of this victorious monarch, entitled *Roman d'Alexandre*. It has been called the second poem now remaining in the French language, and was written about the year 1200. It was confessedly translated from the Latin; but it bears a nearer resemblance to Simeon Seth's romance, than to Quintus Curtius. It was the confederated performance of four writers, who, as Fauchet expresses himself, were *associez en leur* JONGLERIE[x]. Lambert li Cors, a learned civilian, began the poem; and it was continued and completed by Alexander de Paris, John le Nivelois [Venelais], and Peter [Perot] de Saint Clost [Cloot][y]. The poem is closed with Alexander's will. This is no imagination of any of our three poets, although one of them was a civil lawyer. Alexander's will, in which he nominates successors to his provinces and kingdom, was a tradition commonly received, and is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Marcellinus[z]. I know not whether this work was ever

[u] Fauch. p. 77.

[This specimen is clearly against Fauchet's opinion. The Pictavian or Limosin was a dialect of Provençal, and the couplet in the text is old French or Romance.—PRICE]

[w] Istor. Volg. Poes. i iv p. 332 In the royal manuscripts there is a French poem entitled *La Vengeaunce du graunt Alexandre* 19 D. i 2. Brit Mus I am not sure whether or no it is not a portion of the French *Alexander*, mentioned below, written by Jehan li Nivelois [Venelais].

[x] Fauchet, Rec p. 83.

[The order in which Fauchet has classed Lambert li Cors and Alexander of Paris, and which has also been adopted by M. le Grand, is founded on the following passage of the original poem

La verité d l'istoire si com li roys la fist
Un clers de Chastiaudun Lambers li Cors
li mist
Qui du Latin la trait et en roman la fist.....
Alexandre nous dit qui de Bernay fu nez
Et de Paris refu se surnoms appelles
Qui or a les siens vers o les Lambert melles.

MM. de la Ravallière and Roquefort have considered Alexander as the elder writer, apparently referring (*Alexandre nous dit*) to Lambert li Cors. But the last line in this extract clearly confirms M. le Grand's arrangement. The date assigned by M. Roquefort for its publication is 1184. Jehan li Venelais wrote Le Testament d'Alexandre, and Perot de Saint Cloot, La Vengeaunce d'Alexandre Mr. Douce has enumerated eleven French poets, who have written on the subject of Alexander or his family, and Mr. Weber observes, that several others might be added to the list. See Weber's Metrical Romances (who notices various European versions), Notices des Manuscrits du Roi, t. v. Catalogue de la Vallière, t. ii.—PRICE.] [See also the Abbé de la Rue's Essais, &c. tom. ii pp. 341–356. The name of *Thomas of Kent*, an Anglo-Norman, should not have been omitted in Mr Price's note as one of the chief continuators of the romance of Alexander —M.]

[y] Fauchet, ibid. Mons Galland mentions a French romance in verse, unknown to Fauchet, and entitled *Roman d'Athys et de Prophylias*, written by one Alexander, whom he supposes to be this Alexander of Paris. Mem. Lit iii p. 429. edit. Amst. [This conjecture is confirmed by M. Roquefort, ubi supr. p 118.—PRICE.] It is often cited by Carpentier, Suppl. Cang.

[z] See Fabric. Bibl. Gr. c. iii. l. viii. p. 205

printed*. It is voluminous; and in the Bodleian library at Oxford is a vast folio manuscript of it on vellum, which is of great antiquity, richly decorated, and in high preservation[a]. The margins and initials exhibit not only fantastic ornaments and illuminations exquisitely finished, but also pictures executed with singular elegance, expressing the incidents of the story, and displaying the fashion of buildings, armour, dress, musical instruments[b], and other particulars appropriated to the times. At the end we read this hexameter, which points out the name of the scribe†.

Nomen scriptoris est THOMAS PLENUS AMORIS.

Then follows the date of the year in which the transcript was completed, viz. 1338. Afterwards there is the name and date of the illuminator, in the following colophon, written in golden letters: "Che livre fu perfais de le enluminure au xviii^{e}. jour davryl par Jehan de grise, l'an de grace m.ccc.xliiii."[c] Hence it may be concluded, that the illuminations and paintings of this superb manuscript, which were most probably begun as soon as the scribe had finished his part, took up six years; no long time, if we consider the attention of an artist to ornaments so numerous, so various, so minute, and so laboriously touched. It has been supposed that before the appearance of this poem, the *Romans*, or those pieces which celebrated GESTS, were constantly composed in short verses of six or eight syllables; and that in this *Roman d'Alexandre* verses of twelve syllables were first used. It has therefore been imagined, that the verses called ALEXANDRINES, the present French heroic measure, took their rise from this poem; Alexander being the hero, and Alexander the chief of the four poets concerned in the work. That the name, some centuries afterwards, might take place in honour of this celebrated and early effort of French poetry, I think is very probable; but that verses of twelve syllables made their first appearance in this poem, is a doctrine which, to say no more, from examples already produced and examined, is at least ambiguous[d]. In this poem Gadifer, hereafter mentioned, of Arabian lineage, is a very conspicuous champion.

Gadifer fu moult preus, d'un Arrabi lignage.

A rubric or title of one of the chapters is, "Comment Alexander fuit mys en un vesal de vooire pour veoir le merveiles," &c. This is a passage already quoted from Simeon Seth's romance, relating Alexander's expedition to the bottom of the ocean, in a vessel of glass, for the

* [It is still inedited.—M.]

[a] MSS. Bodl. 264. fol.

[b] The most frequent of these are organs, bagpipes, lutes, and trumpets.

† [Not the scribe of the whole volume, but only the scribe of a portion of a Scottish romance of Alexander in verse, which has been added in the 15th century. Another portion of the same romance may be found among Ashmole's MSS. No. 44. —M.]

[c] The bishop of Gloucester has a most beautiful French manuscript on vellum of *Mort d'Arthur*, ornamented in the same manner. It was a present from Vertue the engraver.

[d] See Pref. *Le Roman de la Rose*, par Mons. L'Abbè Lenglet, 1. p. xxxvi.

purpose of inspecting fishes and sea monsters. In another place, from the same romance, he turns astronomer, and soars to the moon by the help of four gryphons. The caliph is frequently mentioned in this piece; and Alexander, like Charlemagne, has his twelve peers.

These were the four reigning stories of romance on which perhaps English pieces, translated from the French, existed before or about the year 1300. But there are some other English romances mentioned in the prologue of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, which we likewise probably received from the French in that period, and on which I shall here also enlarge.

BEUVES *de Hanton*, or *Sir Beavis of Southampton*, is a French romance of considerable antiquity, although the hero is not older than the Norman conquest. It is alluded to in our English romance on this story, which will again be cited, and at large.

Forth thei yode *so saith the boke*[e].

And again more expressly,

Under the bridge wer sixty belles,
Right as the *Romans* telles[f].

The *Romans* is the French original. It is called the Romance of *Beuves de Hanton*, by Pere Labbé[g]. The very ingenious Monsieur de la Curne de Sainte Palaye mentions an antient French romance in prose, entitled *Beufres de Hanton*[h]. Chaucer mentions BEVIS, with other famous romances, but whether in French or English is uncertain[i]. *Beuves of Hantonne** was printed at Paris in 1502[k]. Ascapart was one of his giants, a character[l] in very old French romances. Bevis was a Saxon chieftain, who seems to have extended his dominion along the southern coasts of England, which he is said to have defended against the Norman invaders. He lived at Downton in Wiltshire. Near Southampton is an artificial hill called *Bevis Mount*, on which was probably a fortress[m]. It is pretended that he was earl of Southampton. His sword is shown in Arundel castle†. This piece was evidently written after

[e] Signat P. ii. [f] Signat. E. iv.
[g] Nov. Bibl p. 334. edit. 1652.
[h] Mem Lit. xv. 582. 4to.
[i] Rim. Thop.
[A good MS. of the English romance of Bevis is preserved in Caius College lib. Cambridge.—W.]

* [The earliest printed copy of this romance that I have met with, is in Italian, and printed at Venice, 1489. 4to Other editions in the same language are, Venice 1562. 1580. 12mo. Milan 1584 4to. Piacenza 1599. 12mo. French editions, Paris folio, no date, by Verard. Ibid. 4to. no date, by Bonfors. English editions are by Copland, 4to. no date, by Pinson, by East, by G. W. for W. Lee, all without dates. I have been informed from respectable authority, that this romance is to be found in Provençal poetry, among the MSS. of Christina queen of Sweden, now in the Vatican library, and that it appears to have been written in 1380. See likewise Bibl. de Du Verdier, tom. iii. p. 266.—DOUCE.]

[k] 4to. Percy's Ball. iii. 217.
[l] Selden's Drayton, Polyolb. s. iii. p. 37.
[m] It is now inclosed in the beautiful gardens of General Sir John Mordaunt, and gives name to his seat.

† [There is a tradition, that Sir Bevis, whilst standing one day on the walls of Arundel castle, with this sword in his hand, took it into his head to try how far he could throw it; and the weapon (which is about six feet in length) flew through

the Crusades; as Bevis * is knighted by the king of Armenia, and is one of the generals at the siege of Damascus.

GUY EARL OF WARWICK is recited as a French romance by Labbé[n]. In the British Museum a metrical history in very old French appears, in which Felicia, or Felice, is called the daughter of an earl of Warwick, and Guido, or Guy of Warwick, is the son of Seguart the earl's steward. The manuscript is at present imperfect[o]. Montfaucon mentions among the royal manuscripts at Paris, *Roman de Guy et Bueves de Hanton.* The latter is the romance last mentioned. Again, *Le Livre de Guy de Warwick et de Harold d'Ardenne*[p]. This Harold d'Arden is a distinguished warrior of Guy's history, and therefore his achievements sometimes form a separate romance; as in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum, where we find *Le Romant de Herolt Dardenne*[q]. In the English romance of Guy, mentioned at large in its proper place, this champion is called *Syr Heraude of Arderne*[r]. At length this favourite subject formed a large prose romance, entitled *Guy de Warwick Chevalier d'Angleterre et de la belle fille Felix samie,* and printed at Paris in 1525[s]. Chaucer mentions Guy's story among the *Romaunces of Pris*[t]; and it is alluded to in the Spanish romance of *Tirante el Blanco,* or *Tirante the White,* supposed to have been written not long after the year 1430[u]. This romance was composed, or perhaps enlarged, after the Crusades; as we find that Guy's redoubted encounters with Colbrond the Danish giant, with the monster of Dunsmore-heath, and the dragon of Northumberland, are by no means equal to some of his achievements in the Holy Land, and the trophies

the air, and alighted about a mile from the castle, at the bottom of a valley called Pugh Dean, at present inclosed within the park. Here Sir Bevis determined to be buried, and a tumulus about seven feet wide by thirty in length heaped up on the spot is traditionally called "Bevis's Grave." In the autumn of the year 1833, this tumulus was opened in the presence of a few antiquarians, of whom the writer of the present note was one, but nothing was discovered, which renders it probable that it had been disturbed at some anterior period.—M.]

* ["Bevis" seems long to have retained its popularity, since Wither thus complained of the sale it had about the year 1627. "The stationers have so pestered their printing houses and shopps with fruitlesse volumes, that the auncient and renowned authors are almost buried among them as forgotten, and at last you shall see nothing to be sould amongst us, but Currantos, Beavis of Hampton, or such trumpery." Scholler's Purgatory, no date.—PARK.]

[n] Ubi supr.

[o] MSS. Harl. 3775. 2.

[There are also copies in Corp. Coll. Cambr., No. 50. and in the Coll. of Arms. —M.]

[p] Catal MSS p 792.

[Among the Bennet manuscripts there is ROMANZ DE GUI DE WARWYK Num L. It begins,

Puis cel tems ke deus fu nez.

This book belonged to Saint Augustin's abbey at Canterbury. With regard to the preceding romance of BEVIS, the Italians had *Buovo d'Antona,* undoubtedly from the French, before 1348 And Luhyd recites in Welsh, *Ystori Boun o Hamtun.* Archæol. p. 264 —ADDIT.]

[q] 15 E vi. 8. fol.

[This romance might be called with more propriety an episode in the life of Raynbrun, Guy's son. It recounts the manner in which he released Herolt d'Ardenne from prison, and the return of both to their native country. It has the merit of being exceedingly short, and states, among other matter, that Herolt was born at Walmforth in England.—PRICE.]

[r] Sign. L. ii. vers.

[s] Fol. And again, ib. 1526 4to

[t] Rim Thop. [u] Percy's Ball iii. 100.

which he won from the Soldan under the command of the emperor Frederick.

The romance of SIDRAC, often entitled *Le Livere Sydrac le philosophe le quel hom appele le livere de le funtane de totes Sciences*, appears to have been very popular, from the present frequency of its manuscripts. But it is rather a romance of Arabian philosophy than of chivalry. It is a system of natural knowledge, and particularly treats of the virtues of plants. Sidrac, the philosopher of this system, was astronomer to an eastern king. He lived eight hundred and forty-seven years after Noah, of whose book of astronomy he was possessed. He converts Bocchus, an idolatrous king of India, to the Christian faith, by whom he is invited to build a mighty tower against the invasions of a rival king of India. But the history, no less than the subject of this piece, displays the state, nature, and migrations of literature in the dark ages. After the death of Bocchus, Sidrac's book fell into the hands of a Chaldean renowned for piety. It then successively becomes the property of king Madian, Naaman the Assyrian, and Grypho archbishop of Samaria. The latter had a priest named Demetrius, who brought it into Spain, and here it was translated from the Greek into Latin. This translation is said to be made at Toledo, by Roger de Palermo, a minorite friar, in the thirteenth century. A king of Spain then commanded it to be translated from Latin into Arabic, and sent it as a most valuable present to Emir Elmomenim, lord of Tunis. It was next given to Frederick the Second, emperor of Germany, famous in the Crusades. This work, which is of considerable length, was translated into English verse, and will be mentioned on that account again. Sidrac is recited as an eminent philosopher, with Seneca and king Solomon, in the *Marchaunt's Second Tale*, ascribed to Chaucer[w].

It is natural to conclude, that most of these French romances were current in England, either in the French originals, which were well understood at least by the more polite readers, or else by translation or imitation, as I have before hinted, when the romance of *Richard Cuer de Lyon*, in whose prologue they are recited, was translated into English. That the latter was the case as to some of them, at least, we shall soon produce actual proofs. A writer, who has considered these matters with much penetration and judgment, observes, that probably from the reign of our Richard the First, we are to date that remarkable intercommunication and mutual exchange of compositions which we discover to have taken place at some early period between the French and English minstrels; the same set of phrases, the same species of characters, incidents, and adventures, and often the identical stories, being found in the metrical romances of both nations[x]. From close connexion and constant intercourse, the traditions and the cham-

[w] Urr. p. 616 v 1932. There is an old translation of SIDRAC into Dutch, MSS. Marshall, Bibl. Bodl. 31. fol.

[x] Percy's Ess. on Anc. Eng. Minstr. p 12

pions of one kingdom were equally known in the other; and although Bevis and Guy were English heroes, yet on these principles this circumstance by no means destroys the supposition, that their achievements, although perhaps already celebrated in rude English songs, might be first wrought into romance by the French[y]. And it seems probable, that we continued for some time this practice of borrowing from our neighbours. Even the titles of our oldest romances, such as *Sir Blandamoure**, *Sir Triamoure*, *Sir Eglamoure of Artoys*[z], *La Mort d'Arthur*, with many more, betray their French extraction. It is likewise a presumptive argument in favour of this assertion, that we find no prose romances in our language, before Caxton translated from the French the History of Troy, the Life of Charlemagne, the Histories of Jason, Paris, and Vyenne[a], the Death of King Arthur, and other prose pieces

[y] Dugdale relates, that in the reign of Henry the Fourth, about the year 1410, a lord Beauchamp, travelling into the East, was hospitably received at Jerusalem by the Soldan's lieutenant "Who hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, *whose story they had in books of their own language*, invited him to his palace; and royally feasting him, presented him with three precious stones of great value, besides divers cloaths of silk and gold given to his servants." Baron. 1. p. 243. col. 1. This story is delivered on the credit of John Rouse, the traveller's cotemporary. Yet it is not so very improbable that Guy's history should be a book among the Saracens, if we consider, that Constantinople was not only a central and connecting point between the eastern and western world, but that the French in the thirteenth century had acquired an establishment there under Baldwin earl of Flanders; that the French language must have been known in Sicily, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Antioch, in consequence of the conquests of Robert Guiscard, Hugo le Grand, and Godfrey of Bulloigne, and that pilgrimages into the Holy Land were excessively frequent It is hence easy to suppose, that the French imported many of their stories or books of this sort into the East; which being thus understood there, and suiting the genius of the Orientals, were at length translated into their language. It is remarkable, that the Greeks at Constantinople, in the twelfth century, and since, called all the Europeans by the name of Franks; as the Turks do to this day. See Seld. Polyolb. § viii. p. 130.

[Busbec, in the third letter of his Embassy into Turkey, mentions that the Georgians in their songs make frequent mention of Roland, whose name he supposes to have passed over with Godfrey of Bulloigne.—DOUCE.]

* [There is no such Romance extant. See Price's addition to note [d] near the end of Sect v.—M]

[z] In our English Syr Eglamour of Artoys, there is this reference to the French from which it was translated. Sign. E. i.

His own mother there he wedde,
In ROMAUNCE as we rede.

Again, fol. ult.

In ROMAUNCE this cronycle ys.

The authors of these pieces often refer to their original, just as Ariosto mentions Turpin for his voucher.

[a] But I must not omit here that Du Cange recites a metrical French romance in manuscript, Le Roman de Girard de Vienne, written by Bertrand le Clerc. Gloss Lat i. IND AUCT p cxciii. Madox has printed the names of several French romances found in the reign of Edward the Third, among which one on this subject occurs Formul Anglic. p. 12. Compare Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen, vol. ii. § viii. p. 43 Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is in verse Histoire de Gyrart de Vianne et de ses freres. 20 D xi. 2. This manuscript was perhaps written before the year 1300.

[Mr. Dibdin imparts, that the original of the Romance of Paris and the Fair Vienne is of Provençal growth, and was translated into French by Pierre de la Sipparde, whose name, however, is not found in the Bibliothèque Françoise of La Croix du Maine and Verdier. Caxton, in his version 1485, is silent as to the name of the French translator. See Dibdin's edit. of Herbert, vol. i p 261.—PARK. [But this can only be the name of the translator into French *prose*. Its early and extensive popularity is manifested by the prologue to the Swedish version, made by order of Queen Euphemia, in the second month of the year 1308. This refers to a German

of chivalry: by which, as the profession of minstrelsy decayed and gradually gave way to a change of manners and customs, romances in metre were at length imperceptibly superseded, or at least grew less in use as a mode of entertainment at public festivities.

Various causes concurred, in the mean time, to multiply books of chivalry among the French, and to give them a superiority over the English, not only in the number but in the excellence of those compositions. Their barons lived in greater magnificence. Their feudal system flourished on a more sumptuous, extensive, and lasting establishment. Schools were instituted in their castles for initiating the young nobility in the rules and practice of chivalry. Their tilts and tournaments were celebrated with a higher degree of pomp; and their ideas of honour and gallantry were more exaggerated and refined.

We may add, what indeed has been before incidentally remarked, that their troubadours were the first writers of metrical romances. But by what has been here advanced, I do not mean to insinuate without any restrictions, that the French entirely led the way in these compositions. Undoubtedly the Provencial bards contributed much to the progress of Italian literature. Raimond the fourth of Arragon, count of Provence, about the year 1220, a lover and a judge of letters, invited to his court the most celebrated of the songsters who professed to polish and adorn the Provencial language by various sorts of poetry [b]. Charles the First, his son-in-law, and the inheritor of his virtues and dignities, conquered Naples, and carried into Italy a taste for the Provencial literature. At Florence especially this taste prevailed, where he reigned many years with great splendour, and where his successors resided. Soon afterwards the Roman court was removed to Provence [c]. Hitherto the Latin language had only been in use. The Provencial writers established a common dialect: and their examples convinced other nations, that the modern languages were no less adapted to composition than those of antiquity [d]. They introduced a love of reading, and diffused a general and popular taste for poetry, by writing in a lan-

original, executed at the command of the Emperor Otho (1197–1208); but this again was taken from a foreign (Walsche) source —PRICE]

[b] Giovan. Villani, Istor. l. vi. c. 92.

[c] Villani acquaints us, that Brunetto Latini, Dante's master, was the first who attempted to polish the Florentines by improving their taste and style, which he did by writing his grand work, the Tesoro, in Provencial He died in 1294. See Villan. ibid. l ix. c. 135.

[That Brunetto did not write his Tesoro in Provençal we have his own authority, and the evidence of the work itself.—"Et se aucuns demandoit pourquoi chis livre est escrit en roumans selon la raison de France, pour chou que nous sommes Ytalien je diroie que ch'est pour chou que nous sommes en France, l'autre pour chou que la parleure en est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens." Notices des Manuscrits, t. v. p. 270 —PRICE.]

[d] Dante designed at first that his Inferno should appear in Latin, but finding that he could not so effectually in that language impress his satirical strokes and political maxims on the laity, or illiterate, he altered his mind, and published that piece in Italian. Had Petrarch written his Africa, his Eclogues, and his prose compositions in Italian, the literature of his country would much sooner have arrived at perfection. [See Rossetti on the writings of Dante, Petrarch, &c. in his Spirito Antipapale, 1832.—R.T.]

guage intelligible to the ladies and the people. Their verses being conveyed in a familar tongue, became the chief amusement of princes and feudal lords, whose courts had now begun to assume an air of greater brilliancy: a circumstance which necessarily gave great encouragement to their profession, and by rendering these arts of ingenious entertainment universally fashionable, imperceptibly laid the foundation of polite literature. From these beginnings it were easy to trace the progress of poetry to its perfection, through John de Meun in France, Dante in Italy, and Chaucer in England.

This praise must undoubtedly be granted to the Provencial poets. But in the mean time, to recur to our original argument, we should be cautious of asserting in general and indiscriminating terms, that the Provencial poets were the first writers of metrical romance: at least we should ascertain, with rather more precision than has been commonly used on this subject, how far they may claim this merit. I am of opinion that there were two sorts of French troubadours, who have not hitherto been sufficiently distinguished. If we diligently examine their history, we shall find that the poetry of the first troubadours consisted in satires, moral fables, allegories, and sentimental sonnets. So early as the year 1180, a tribunal called the *Court of Love*, was instituted both in Provence and Picardy, at which questions in gallantry were decided. This institution furnished eternal matter for the poets, who threw the claims and arguments of the different parties into verse, in a style that afterwards led the way to the spiritual conversations of Cyrus and Clelia[e]. Fontenelle does not scruple to acknowledge, that gallantry was the parent of French poetry[f]. But to sing romantic and chivalrous adventures was a very different task, and required very different talents. The troubadours therefore who composed metrical romances form a different species, and ought always to be considered separately. And this latter class seems to have commenced at a later period, not till after the Crusades had effected a great change in the manners and ideas of the western world. In the mean time, I hazard a conjecture. Cinthio Giraldi supposes, that the art of the troubadours, commonly called the *Gay Science*, was first communicated from France to the Italians, and afterwards to the Spaniards[g]. This perhaps may be true: but at the same time it is highly probable, as the Spaniards had their JUGLARES or convivial bards very early, as from long connexion they were immediately and intimately acquainted with the fictions of the Arabians, and as they were naturally fond of chivalry, that the troubadours of Provence in great measure caught this turn of fabling from Spain. The communication, to mention no other obvious means of intercourse in an affair of this nature, was easy through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, by which the two nations carried on from early

[e] This part of their character will be insisted upon more at large when we come to speak of Chaucer.

[f] Theatr. Fr p. 13.

[g] Apud Huet, Orig. Rom. p. 108.

times a constant commerce. Even the French critics themselves universally allow, that the Spaniards, having learned rhyme from the Arabians, through this very channel conveyed it to Provence. Tasso preferred *Amadis de Gaul*, a romance originally written in Spain [Portugal], by Vasco Lobeyra, before the year 1300[h], to the most celebrated pieces of the Provencial poets[i]. But this is a subject which will perhaps receive illustration from a writer of great taste, talents, and industry, Monsieur de la Curne de Saint Palaye, who will soon oblige the world with an ample history of Provencial poetry; and whose researches into a kindred subject, already published, have opened a new and extensive field of information concerning the manners, institutions and literature of the feudal ages[k].

NOTE A. (*from the Emendations and Additions.**)

IN Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an English poem on the SANGREAL, and its appendages, containing forty thousand verses. MSS. LXXX. chart. The manuscript is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end. The title at the head of the first page is ACTA ARTHURI REGIS, written probably by Joceline, chaplain and secretary to archbishop Parker. The narrative, which appears to be on one continued subject, is divided into books, or sections, of unequal length. It is a translation made from Robert Borron's French romance called LANCELOT†, above mentioned, which includes the adventure of the SANGREAL, by Henry Lonelich, Skynner, a name which I never remember to have seen among those of the English poets. The diction is of the age of king Henry the Sixth. Borel, in his TRESOR *de Re-*

[h] Nic. Antonius, Bibl. Hispan. Vet. tom. II. l. VIII. c. 7. num. 291.

[In an ancient Provençal poem, of which M. de St. Palaye has given some account in his Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, tom. II. p. 160, a master gives the following instructions to his pupil "Ouvrez à votre cheval par des coupes redoublés, la route qu'il doit tenir, et que son portrail soit garni de beaux grelots ou sonnettes bien rangées; car ces sonnettes réveillent merveilleusement le courage de celui qui le monte, et répandent devant lui la terreur."—DOUCE.]

[i] Disc. del Poem. Eroic. l. II p. 45, 46

[k] See Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, &c. Paris, 1759. tom. II. 12mo.

[It was found impracticable to condense within the limits of a note, the matter necessary for the refutation of the singular doctrines hazarded in the text. Few of them are Warton's own; but the reader who is desirous of forming more correct opinions upon the subject, is referred to M. Raynouard's Poesies des Troubadours, a work which has done more towards forming a just understanding of the merits of Provençal poetry, and the extent and value of Provençal literature, than any publication which has hitherto appeared. The mass of evidence there adduced in favour of the early efforts of the Provençal muse, must effectually silence every theory attempting to confine song and romantic fiction to any particular age or country — PRICE]

[See also *The Lays of the Minnesingers*, the *Parnasse Occitanien*, (another collection of Troubadours' poetry,) and the Abbé De la Rue's History of Northern French Poetry just published at Caen in 3 vols.—R. T.]

* This note is referred to in p 119, and is placed at the end of this Section on account of its length.

† [No, it is a translation of the Romances of the *Saint Graal* and *Merlin*, which are quite distinct from the Lancelot. But it is not improbable that the Romance of Lancelot may follow at the end.—M.]

cherches et Antiquitez Gauloises et Francoises, says, "Il y'a un Roman ancien intitule LE CONQUESTE DE SANGREALL, &c." Edit. 1655. 4to. V. GRAAL. It is difficult to determine with any precision which is Robert Borron's French Romance now under consideration, as so many have been written on the subject. [See p. 136.] The diligence and accuracy of Mr. Nasmith have furnished me with the following transcript from Lonelich Skynner's translation in Bennet college library.

Thanne passeth forth this storye with al,
That is cleped of som men SEYNT GRAAL,
Also the SANK RYAL iclepid it is,
Of mochel peple with owten mys.
* * * * * *
Now of al this storie have I mad an ende,
That is schwede of Celidoygne, and now forthere to wende,
And of anothir brawnche most we begynne,
Of the storye that we clepen prophet Merlynne,
Wiche that Maister ROBERT OF BORROWN
Owt of Latyn it transletted, hol and soun,
Onlich into the langage of Frawnce
This storie he drowgh, be adventure and chaunce,
And doth Merlynne iusten with SANK RYAL,
For the ton storie the tothir medlyth withal,
After the satting of the forseid ROBERT,
That somtym it transletted in middilerd.
And I as an unkonneng man trewely,
Into Englisch have drawen this storye,
And thowgh that to ȝow not plesyng it be,
ȝit that ful excused ȝe wolde haven me,
Of my neclegence and unkonnenge,
On me to taken swich a thinge,
Into owre modris tonge for to endite,
The swettere to sowne to more and lyte,
And more cler to ȝoure undirstondyng,
Thanne owthir Frensh other Latyn, to my supposing.
And therfore atte the ende of this storye,
A pater noster ȝe wolden for me preye,
For me that HERRY LONELICH hyhte,
And greteth owre lady ful of myhte,
Hartelich with an ave that ȝe hir bede
This processe the bettere I myhte procede,
And bringen this book to a good ende,
Now thereto Jesu Crist grace me sende,
And than an ende there offen myhte be
Now good Lord graunt me for charite.
* * * * * *

Thanne Merlyn to Blasye cam anon,
And there to hym he seide thus son,
Blasye, thou schalt suffren gret peyne,
This storye to an ende to bringen certeyne.
And ȝit schall I suffren mochel more,
How so Merlyn, quod Blasye there.
I schall be sowht, quod Merlyne tho,
Owt from the west with messengeris mo,
And they that scholen comen to seken me,
They han maad sewrawnce, I telle the,
Me forto slen for any thing,
This sewrawnce han they mad to her kyng
But whanne they me sen and with me speke,
No power they schol han on me to ben awreke,
For with hem hens moste I gon,
And thou into othir partyes schalt wel son,
To hem that han the holy vessel
Which that is icleped the SEYNT GRAAL.
And wete thow wel and ek forsothe,
That thow and ek this storye bothe,
Ful wel beherd now schall it be,
And also beloved in many contre.
And who that will knowen in sertaygne,
What kynges that weren in grete Bretaygne,
Sithan that Cristendom thedyr was browht,
They scholen hem fynde, who so that it sawht,
In the storye of BRWTTES book,
There scholen ȝe it fynde, and ȝe wolen look,
Which that MARTYN DE BEWRE translated here
From Latyn into Romaunce in his manere;
But leve me now of BRWTES book,
And aftyr this storye now lete us look.

After this latter extract, which is to be found nearly in the middle of the manuscript, the scene and personages of the poem are changed; and king Evalach, king Mordrens, Sir Nesciens, Joseph of Arimathea, and the other heroes of the former part, give place to king Arthur, king Brangors, king Loth, and the monarchs and champions of the British line. In a paragraph, very similar to the second of these extracts, the following note is written in the hand of the text, *Henry Lonelich Skynner, that translated this boke out of Frenshe into Englyshe, at the instaunce of Harry Barton.*

The QUEST OF THE SANGREAL, as it is called, in which devotion and necromancy are equally concerned, makes a considerable part of king Arthur's romantic history, and was one grand object of the knights of the Round Table. He who achieved this hazardous adven-

ture was to be placed there in the *siege perillous*, or *seat* of *danger*. "When Merlyn had ordayned the rounde table, he said, by them that be fellowes of the rounde table the truthe of the SANGREALL shall be well knowne, &c.—They which heard Merlyn say soe, said thus to Merlyn, Sithence there shall be such a knight, thou shouldest ordayne by thy craft a siege that no man should sitte therein, but he onlie which shall passe all other knights.—Then Merlyn made the siege perillous," &c. Caxton's MORT D'ARTHUR, B. xiv. cap. ii. Sir Lancelot, *who is come but of the eighth degree from our lord Jesus Christ*, is represented as the chief adventurer in this honourable expedition. Ibid. B. iii. c. 35. At a celebration of the feast of Pentecost at Camelot by king Arthur, the Sangreal suddenly enters the hall, "but there was no man might see it nor who bare it," and the knights, as by some invisible power, are instantly supplied with a feast of the choicest dishes. Ibid. c. 35. Originally LE BRUT, LANCELOT, TRISTAN, and the SAINT GREAL were separate histories; but they were so connected and confounded before the year 1200, that the same title became applicable to all*. The book of the SANGREAL, a separate work, is referred to in MORTE ARTHUR. "Now after that the quest of the SANCGREALL was fulfylled, and that all the knyghtes that were lefte alive were come agayne to the Rounde Table, as the BOOKE OF THE SANCGREALL makethe mencion, than was there grete joye in the courte. And especiallie king Arthur and quene Guenever made grete joye of the remnaunt that were come home. And passynge glad was the kinge and quene of syr Launcelot and syr Bors, for they had been passynge longe awaye in the quest of the SANCGREALL. Then, as the Frenshe booke sayeth, syr Lancelot," &c. B. xviii. cap. 1. And again, in the same romance: "Whan syr Bors had tolde him [Arthur] of the adventures of the SANCGREALL, such as as had befallen hym and his felawes,—all this was made in grete bookes, and put in almeryes at Salisbury." B. xvii. cap. xxiii.[s] The former part of this passage is almost literally translated from one in the French romance of TRISTAN, Bibl. Reg. MSS. 20 D. ii. fol. antep. "Quant Boort ot conté l'aventure del Saint Graal teles com eles estoient avenues, eles furent mises en escrit, gardées en l'amere del Salibieres, *dont Mestre* GALTIER MAP *l'estrest a faist son livre du Saint Graal por lamor du roy Herri son sengor, qui fist lestoire tralater del Latin en romanz*[t]." Whether *Salisbury*, or *Salibieres* is, in the two passages, the right reading, I cannot ascertain. [But see supra, Note [o]. p. 119.] But in the royal library at Paris there is "Le Roman de TRISTAN ET ISEULT, traduit de Latin en François, par Lucas chevalier du Gast pres de Sarisberi, Anglois, avec figures." Montfauc. CATAL. MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris. Cod. 6776. fol. max. And again

* [This is a mere assertion without proof, although it must be admitted that the transcribers of MSS. occasioned some confusion by falsely mixing the titles.—M.]

[s] The romance says, that king Arthur "made grete clerkes com before him that they should cronicle the adventures of these goode knygtes." [See infra Section XI.]

[t] See infra Sect. XXVIII. note on the Pastime of Pleasure.

Cod. 6956. fol. max. "Liveres de TRISTAN mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat[u]." [See supr. p. 119. Notes.] *Almeryes* in the English, and *l'Amere*, properly *aumoire* in the French, mean, I believe, *Presses*, *Chests*, or *Archives*. *Ambry*, in this sense, is not an uncommon old English word. From the second part of the first French quotation which I have distinguished by Italics, it appears, that Walter Mapes*, a learned archdeacon in England, under the reign of king Henry the Second, wrote a French SANGREAL, which he translated from Latin, by the command of that monarch. Under the idea, that Walter Mayes was a writer on this subject, and in the fabulous way, some critics may be induced to think, that the WALTER, archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth professes to have received the materials of his history, was this Walter Mapes, and not Walter Calenius, who was also an eminent scholar, and an archdeacon of Oxford. [See supr. pp. 59, 60.] Geoffrey says in his Dedication to Robert earl of Gloucester, "Finding nothing said in Bede or Gildas of king Arthur and his successours, although their actions highly deserved to be recorded in writing, and are orally celebrated by the British bards, I was much surprised at so strange an omission. At length Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence, and learned in foreign histories, offered me an ancient book in the British or Armorican tongue; which, in one unbroken story, and an elegant diction, related the deeds of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader. At his request, although unused to rhetorical flourishes, and contented with the simplicity of my own plain language, I undertook the translation of that book into Latin." B. i. ch. i. See also B. xii. ch. xx. Some writers suppose, that Geoffrey pretended to have received his materials from archdeacon Walter, by way of authenticating his romantic history. These notices seem to disprove that suspicion. In the year 1488, a French romance was published, in two magnificent folio volumes, entitled, HISTOIRE *de* ROY ARTUS *et des* CHEVALIERS *de la* TABLE RONDE. The first volume was printed at *Rouen*, the second at *Paris*. It contains in four detached parts, the Birth and Achievements of King Arthur, the Life of Sir Lancelot, the Adventure of the Sangreal, and the Death of Arthur, and his Knights. In the body of the work, this romance more than once is said to be written by Walter Map or Mapes, and by the command of his master king Henry. For instance, tom. ii. at the end of PARTIE DU SAINT GRAAL, Signat. d d i. "Cy fine Maistre GUALTIER MAP son traittie du Saint Graal." Again, tom. ii. LA DERNIERE PARTIE, ch. i. Signat.

[u] There is printed, "Le Roman du noble et vaillant Chevalier Tristan fils du noble roy Meliadus de Leonnys, par Luce, chevalier, seigneur du chasteau de Gast. Rouen, 1489. fol."

* [From a passage in the French romance of Lancelot du Lac, M. Roquefort is of opinion that there were two persons of this name. In that he is styled "*messire Gautier Map qui fut chevalier le roi.*" But so much confusion prevails upon this subject, that it is almost impossible to name the author of any prose romance.—PRICE]

d d ii. " Apres ce que Maistre GUALTIER MAP eut tractie des avantures du Saint Graal, assez soufisamment, sicomme il luy sembloit, il fut adviz au ROY HENRY SON SEIGNEUR, que ce quil avoit fait ne debuit soufrire sil ne racontoys la fin de ceulx dont il fait mention.—Et commence Maistre Gualtıer en telle manier ceste derniere partie." This *derniere partie* treats of the death of king Arthur and his knights. At the end of the second tome there is this colophon: " Cy fine le dernier volume de La Table Ronde, faisant mencion des fais et proesses de monseigneur Launcelot du Lac et dautres plusieurs nobles et vaillans hommes ses compagnons. Compile et extraict precisement et au juste des vrayes histoires faisantes de ce mencion par tresnotable et tresexpert historıen Maistre GUALTIER MAP, et imprime a Paris par Jehan du Pre. Et lan du grace, mil. cccc. iiiixx. et viii. le xvi jour du Septembre." The passage quoted above from the royal manuscript in the British Museum, where king Arthur orders the adventures of the Sangreal to be chronicled, is thus represented in this romance: " Et quant Boort eut compte depuıs le commencement jusques a la fin les avantures du Saint Graal telles comme ils les avoit veues, &c. Si fist le roy Artus rediger et mettre par escript aus dictz clers tout ci que Boort avoit compte," &c. Ibıd. tom. ii. La Partıe du SAINT GRAAL, ch. ult.[w] At the end of the royal manuscript at Paris, [Cod. 6783.] entitled LANCELOT DU LAC *mis en Françoıs par Robert de Borron par le commandement de Henri roı d' Angleterre*, it is said, that Messire Robert de Borron translated into French, not only LANCELOT, but also the story of the SAINT GRAAL *li tout du Latın du* GAUTIER MAPPE. But the French antiquaries in this sort of literature are of opinion, that the word *Latin* here signifies *Italian*; and that by this LATIN of Gualtier Mapes, we are to understand *English* versions of those romances made from the *Italian* language. The French History of the SANGREAL, printed at Paris in folio by Gallyot du Prè in 1516, is said, in the title, to be translated from Latin into French rhymes, and from thence into French prose by Robert Borron. This romance was reprinted in 1523.

Caxton's MORTE ARTHUR, finished in the year 1469, professes to treat of various separate histories. But the matter of the whole is so much of the same sort, and the heroes and adventures of one story are so mutually and perpetually blended with those of another, that no real unity or distinction is preserved. It consists of twenty-one books. The first seven books treat of king Arthur. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, of sir Trystram. The eleventh and twelfth, of sir Lancelot[x]. The thirteenth of the SAINGRAL, which is also called sir Lancelot's Book. The fourteenth of sir Percival. The fifteenth, again, of sir Lancelot.

[w] Just before it is said, " Le roy Artus fist venir les CLERCS qui les aventures aux chevalliers mettoient en escript." As in Mort d'Arthur.

[x] But at the end, this twelfth book is called *the second booke of* SYR TRYSTRAM. And it is added, " But here is no rehersall of the thyrd booke [*of* SIR TRISTRAM "]

The sixteenth of sir Gawaine. The seventeenth, of sir Galahad. [But all the four last-mentioned books are also called the *historye of the holy Sancgreall.*] The eighteenth and nineteenth, of miscellaneous adventures. The two last, of king Arthur and all the knights. Lwhyd mentions a Welsh SANGREALL, which, he says, contains various fables of king Arthur and his knights, &c. ARCHÆOLOG. BRIT. Tit. vii. p. 265. col. 2. MORTE ARTHUR is often literally translated * from various and very antient detached histories of the heroes of the round table, which I have examined; and on the whole, it nearly resembles Walter Map's romance above mentioned, printed at Rouen and Paris, both in matter and disposition.

I take this opportunity of observing, that a very valuable vellum fragment of LE BRUT, of which the writing is uncommonly beautiful and of high antiquity, containing part of the story of Merlin and king Vortigern, covers a manuscript of Chaucer's ASTROLABE, lately presented, together with several Oriental manuscripts, to the Bodleian library, by Thomas Hedges, esquire, of Alderton in Wiltshire; a gentleman possessed of many curious manuscripts, and Greek and Roman coins, and most liberal in his communications.

SECTION IV.

Examination and Specimens of the Metrical Romance of Richard the First. Greek Fire. Military Machines used in the Crusades. Musical Instruments of the Saracen Armies. Ignorance of Geography in the dark ages.

VARIOUS matters suggested by the Prologue of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, cited in the last section, have betrayed us into a long digression, and interrupted the regularity of our annals. But I could not neglect so fair an opportunity of preparing the reader for those metrical tales, which, having acquired a new cast of fiction from the Crusades and a magnificence of manners from the increase of chivalry, now began to be greatly multiplied, and as it were professedly to form a separate species of poetry. I now therefore resume the series, and proceed to give some specimens of the English metrical romances which appeared before or about the reign of Edward the Second: and although most of these pieces continued to be sung by the minstrels in the halls of our magnificent ancestors for some centuries afterwards, yet as their first appearance may most probably be dated at this period, they pro-

* [For an account of various Flemish versions of these romances, see Hoffmann's Horæ Belgicæ, Vratislaviæ, 1830, part 1 p. 47. *sqq.*—R. T.]

perly coincide in this place with the tenour of our history. In the mean time, it is natural to suppose, that by frequent repetition and successive changes of language during many generations, their original simplicity must have been in some degree corrupted. Yet some of the specimens are extracted from manuscripts written in the reign of Edward the Third. Others indeed from printed copies, where the editors took great liberties in accommodating the language to the times. However, in such as may be supposed to have suffered most from depravations of this sort, the substance of the ancient style still remains, and at least the structure of the story. On the whole, we mean to give the reader an idea of those popular heroic tales in verse professedly written for the harp, which began to be multiplied among us about the beginning of the fourteenth century. We will begin with the romance of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, already mentioned.

The poem opens with the marriage of Richard's father, Henry the Second, with the daughter of Carbarryne, a king of Antioch. But this is only a lady of romance. Henry married Eleanor the divorced queen of Louis of France. The minstrels could not conceive any thing less than an Eastern princess to be the mother of this magnanimous hero.

——— His barons hym sedde[1]
That he graunted a wyff to wedde.
Hastely he sente hys sondes
Into many dyuerse londes,
The feyreste wyman that wore on liff
Men wolde[2] bringe hym to wyff.*

The messengers or ambassadors, in their voyage, meet a ship adorned like Cleopatra's galley.

Swylk on ne seygh they never non;
All it was whyt of huel-bon,
And every nayl with gold begrave:
Off pure gold was the stave[3];

* [The present text has been taken from the edition of this romance by Mr. Weber, who followed a manuscript of no very early date in Caius College library, Cambridge. The variations between this and the early printed editions, consist principally in the use of a more antiquated phraseology, with some trifling changes of the sense. The most important of these are given in the notes below. Mr Ellis, who has analysed this romance (vol II. p. 186), conceives the fable in its present form to have originated with the reign of Edward I.; and that the extravagant fictions it contains were grafted by some Norman minstrel upon an earlier narrative, more in unison with Richard's real history. Of the story in its uncorrupted state, he considers a fragment occurring in the Auchinlech MS. to be an English translation, and as this document was "transcribed in the minority of Edward III." the following declaration of Mr. Weber may not exceed the truth —"There is no doubt that our romance existed before the year 1300, as it is referred to in the Chronicles of Richard [Robert] of Gloucester and Robert de Brunne, and as these rhymesters wrote for mere English readers, it is not to be supposed that they would refer them to a French original." —PRICE.]

[1] [redde, *advised.*] [2] [sholde] [3] [sklave, *rudder, clavus.*]

Her mast was [of] yvory;
Off samyte the sayl wytterly.
Her ropes wer off tuely sylk,
Al so whyt as ony mylk.
That noble schyp was al withoute,
With clothys of golde sprede aboute;
And her loof[4] and her wyndas[5],
Off asure forsothe it was.
In that schyp ther wes i-dyght,
Knyghts and ladyys of mekyll myght;
And a lady therinne was,
Bryght as the sunne thorugh the glas.
Her men aborde gunne to stonde,
And sesyd that other with her honde,
And prayde hem for to dwelle
And her counsayl for to telle:
And they graunted with all skylle
For to telle al at her wylle:
" Swo wyde landes we have went[6]
For kyng Henry us has sent,
For to seke hym a qwene
The fayreste that myghte fonde bene."
Upros a kyng off a chayer
With that word they spoke ther.
The chayer was [of] charboncle ston,
Swylk on ne sawgh they never non:
And tuo dukes hym besyde,
Noble men and mekyl off pryde,
And welcomed the messangers ylkone.
Into that schyp they gunne gone....
They sette tresteles and layde a borde;
Cloth of sylk theron was sprad,
And the kyng hymselve bad,
That his doughter were forth fette,
And in a chayer before hym sette.
Trumpes begonne for to blowe;
Sche was sette forth in a throwe[b]
With twenty knyghtes her aboute
And moo off ladyes that wer stoute....
Whenne they had nygh i-eete,
Adventures to speke they nought forgeete.

[b] immediately.

[4] [loft.] [See on this word Michel's Glossary to Tristan, voc. *Lof*, and notes to Madden's edition of Laȝamon, l. 7859.—M.]
[5] [wyndlace]
[6] ["To dyverse londes do we wende."]

The kyng ham tolde, in hys resoun
It com hym thorugh a vysyoun,
In his land that he cam froo,
Into Yngelond for to goo;
And his doughtyr that was so dere
For to wende bothe in fere[c],
" In this manere we have us dyght
Into that lande to wende ryght."
Thenne aunsweryd a messanger,
Hys name was callyd Bernager,
" Forther wole we seke nought
To my lord she schal be brought."

They soon arrive in England, and the lady is lodged in the Tower of London, one of the royal castles.

The messangers the kyng have tolde
Of that ladye fayr and bold,
Ther he lay in the Tour
Off that lady whyt so flour.
Kyng Henry gan hym son dyght,
With erls, barons, and manye a knyght,
Agayn the lady for to wende:
For he was curteys and hende.
The damysele on lond was led,
And clothes of gold before her spred,
And her fadyr her beforn
With a coron off gold icorn;
The messangers be ylk a syde
And menstralles with mekyl pryde
Kyng Henry lyght in hyyng
And grette fayr that uncouth kyng....
To Westemenstre they wente in fere
Lordyngs and ladys that ther were.
Trumpes begonne for to blowe,
To mete[d] they wente in a throwe, &c.[e]

The first of our hero's achievements in chivalry is at a splendid tournament held at Salisbury. Clarendon near Salisbury was one of the king's palaces[f].

[c] company.
[d] to dinner. [e] line 135.
[f] In the pipe-rolls of this king's reign, I find the following articles relating to this ancient palace, which has been already mentioned incidentally. Rot. Pip 1 Ric. I. "WILTES. Et in cariagio vini Regis a Clarendon usque Woodestoke, 34*s.* 4*d.* per Br. Reg. Et pro ducendis 200 m. [marcis] a Saresburia usque Bristow, 7*s.* 4*d.* per Br Reg. Et pro ducendis 2500 libris a Saresburia usque Glocestriam, 26*s* 10*d.* per Br Reg. Et pro tonellis et clavis ad eosdem denarios. Et in cariagio de 4000 marcis a Sarum usque Suthanton, et pro tonellis et aliis necessariis, 8*s.* et 1*d.* per Br. Reg." And again in the reign of Henry the Third. Rot. Pip. 30 Hen. III. "WILTESCIRE. Et in una marcelsia ad opus regis et reginæ apud Clarendon cum duobus

Kyng Rychard gan hym dysguyse,
In a ful strange queyntyse[g].
He cam out of a valaye
For to se of theyr playe,
As a knyght aventurous.
Hys atyre was orgolous[h]:
Al togyder cole black
Was hys horse withoute lacke;
Upon hys crest a raven stode,
That yaned[i] as he wer wode.—
He bare a schafte that was grete and strong,
It was fourtene foot long;
And it was grete and stout,
One and twenty ynches about.*
The fyrst knyght that he there mette,
Ful egyrly he hym grette,
With a dente amyd the schelde;
His hors he bar doun in the felde, &c.[k]

A battle-axe which Richard carried with him from England into the Holy Land is thus described.

King Richard, I understond,
Or he went out of Englond,
Let him make an axe[l] for the nones,
To breke therwith the Sarasyns[m] bones.
The head was wrought right wele;
Therin was twenty pounde of stele;
And when he came into Cyprus lond,
The ax he tok in his hond.

interclusoriis, et duabus cameris privatis, hostio veteris aulæ amovendo in porticu, et de eadem aula camera facienda cum camino et fenestris, et camera privata, et quadam magna coquina quadrata, et aliis operationibus, contentis in Brevi, inceptis per eundem Nicolaum et non perfectis, 526*l.* 16*s.* 5*d* ob. per Br. Reg." Again, Rot Pip. 39 Hen. III. "SUDHAMT. *Comp. Novæ forestæ.* Et in triginta miliaribus scindularum [shingles] faciend in eadem foresta et cariand easdem usque Clarendon ad domum regis ibidem cooperiandam, 6*l.* et 1 marc. per Br. Reg. Et in 30 mill. scindularum faciend. in eadem, et cariand. usque Clarendon, 11*l.* 10*s.*" And again, in the same reign the canons of Ivy-church receive pensions for celebrating in the royal chapel there. Rot Pip. 7 Hen. III. "WILTES. Et canonicis de monasterio ederoso ministrantibus in Capella de Clarendon, 35*l.* 7*d.* ob." Stukeley is mistaken in saying this palace was built by king John.

[g] See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. COINTISE.

[h] proud, pompous. [i] yawned.

* [It is "One and twenti inches aboute" So doctor Farmer's manuscript, purchased from Mr. Martin's library. See supr. p. 125. Note [l]. This is in English.—ADDITIONS.]

[k] line 267.

[l] Richard's battle-ax is also mentioned by Brunne, and on this occasion, Chron. p. 159

[m] The Crusades imported the phrase *Jeu Sarrazinois*, for any sharp engagement, into the old French romances — Thus in the Roman of Alexander, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. P. i.

Tholomer le regrette et le plaint en Grijois,
Et dist que s'il cussent o culz telz vingt et trois,
Il nous eussent fet un JEU SARRAZIONOIS.

All that he hit he all to-frapped;
The griffons[n] away fast rapped;
Natheles many he cleaved,
And their unthanks ther byleved;
And the prisoun when he cam to,
With his ax he smot right tho,
Dores, barres, and iron chains, &c.[o]

This formidable axe is again mentioned at the siege of Acon or Acre, the antient Ptolemais.

Kyng Rychard aftyr, anon ryght,
Toward Acres gan hym dyght;
And as he saylyd toward Surrye[p],
He was warnyd, off a spye,
How the folk off the hethene lawe,
A gret cheyne hadden i-drawe,
Over the havene of Acres fers,
And was festnyd to two pelèrs,
That noo schyp ne scholde in wynne[q],
Ne they nought out that wer withynne.
Therfore sevene yer and more,
Alle Crystene kynges leyen thore,
And with gret hongyr suffryd payne,
For lettyng off that ilke chayne.
Kyng Richard herd that tydyng;
For joye hys herte beganne to sprynge,
And swor and sayde, in his thought,
That ylke chayne scholde helpe hem nought.
A swythe strong galeye he took,
And [r]Trenchemer[7], so says the book,
Steryd the galey ryght ful evene,
Ryght in the mỳddes off the havene.
Wer the maryners saughte or wrothe,
He made hem sayle and rowe bothe;

[n] The Byzantine Greeks are often called Griffones by the historians of the middle ages See Du Cange Gloss. Ville-Hard. p. 363. See also Rob Brun. Chron. p 151. 157. 159. 160. 165. 171. 173 Wanley supposes that the *Griffin* in heraldry was intended to signify a Greek, or Saracen, whom they thus represented under the figure of an imaginary eastern monster, which never existed but as an armorial badge.

[o] line 2196.

[p] Syria.

[q] So Fabyan of Rosamond's bower, "that no creature, man or woman, myght *wynne* to her." i e. *go in*, by contraction, *win*. Chron. vol. i p. 320. col. i. edit. 1533. [pinnan A S. to labour, strive at, and hence attain to by labour.—PRICE.]

[r] Rob. Brun. Chron. p. 170.

The kynge's owne galeie he cald it *Trenchemere.*

[7] ["*Trenchemere*, so saith the boke.—
The galey yede as swift
As ony fowle by the lyfte."]

And kyngo Rychard, that was so good,
With hys axe in foreschyp stood.
And whenne he com the cheyne too,
With hys ax he smot it in two[s],
That all the barouns, verrayment,
Sayde it was a noble dent;
And for joye off this dede,
The cuppes fast abouten yede[t],
With good wyn, pyement and clarré;
And saylyd toward Acres cyté.
Kyng Richard, oute of hys galye,
Caste wylde-fyr into the skeye,
And fyr Gregeys into the see,
And al on fyr wer thê.
Trumpes yede in hys galeye,
Men myghte it here into the skye,
Taboures and hornes Sarezyneys[s],
The see brent all off fyr Gregeys[u].

This *fyr Gregeys*, or Grecian fire, seems to be a composition belonging to the Arabian chemistry. It is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine historians, and was very much used in the wars of the middle ages, both by sea and land. It was a sort of wild-fire, said to be inextinguishable by water, and chiefly used for burning ships, against which it was thrown in pots or phials by the hand. In land engagements it seems to have been discharged by machines constructed on purpose. The oriental Greeks pretended that this artificial fire was invented by Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis, under Constantine; and that Constantine prohibited them from communicating the manner of making it to any foreign people. It was however in common use among the nations confederated with the Byzantines: and Anna Comnena has given an account of its ingredients[w], which were bitumen, sulphur, and naphtha. It is called *feu gregois* in the French chronicles and romances. Our minstrel, I believe, is singular in saying that Richard scattered this fire on Saladin's ships: many monkish historians of the holy war, in describing the siege of Acon, relate that it was employed on that occasion, and many others, by the Saracens against the Christians[x]. Procopius, in his history of the Goths, calls it MEDEA'S OIL, as if it had been a preparation used in the sorceries of that enchantress[y].

[s] Thus R. de Brunne says, "he fondied the Sarazyns otuynne." p. 574. He forced the Saracens into *two parties*.—[Vid. supra, p. 67. Note [e].]

[t] went.

[u] line 2593.

[w] See Du Cange, Not. ad Joinvil. p. 71. And Gl Lat. V. IGNIS GRÆCUS.

[x] See more particularly Chron. Rob. Brun p 170 And Benedict Abb. p 652. And Joinv. Hist. L p. 39. 46. 52. 53. 62. 70

[y] iv. 11.

[s] [shalmys, *shawms*]

The quantity of huge battering rams and other military engines now unknown, which Richard is said to have transported into the Holy Land, was prodigious. The names of some of them are given in another part of this romance[z]. It is an historical fact, that Richard was killed by the French from the shot of an arcubalist, a machine which he often worked skilfully with his own hands: and Guillaume le Briton, a Frenchman, in his Latin poem called Philippeis, introduces Atropos making a decree, that Richard should die by no other means than by a wound from this destructive instrument; the use of which, after it had been interdicted by the Pope in the year 1139, he revived, and is supposed to have shown the French in the Crusades[a].

Sunnes[g] he hadde, on wondyr wyse,
Mangneles[b] off gret quemtyse[c],
Arwblast bowe, and[d] with gynne
The Holy Lond for to wynne.
Ovyr al othyr wyttyrly,
A melle[d] he hadde off gret maystry,
In myddys a schyp for to stand,
Swylke on sawgh nevyr man in land
Four sayles wer theretoo,
Yelew, and grene, red and bloo.

Twenty grete gynnes for the nones
Kynge Richard sent for to cast stones,
&c.

Among these were the *Mategriffon* and the *Robynet* Sign N.iii. The former of these is thus described. Sign E. iii.

I have a castell I understonde
Is made of tembre of Englonde
With syxe stages full of tourelles
Well flouryshed with cornelles, &c.

See Du Cange, Not. Joinv p 68. MATEGRYFFON is the *terror or plague of the Greeks.* Du Cange, in his Gallo-Byzantine history, mentions a castle of this name in Peloponnesus. Benedict says, that Richard erected a strong castle, which he called *Mate-gryffon,* on the brow of a steep mountain without the walls of the city of Messina in Sicily Benedict. Abb p. 621. ed. Hearn. sub ann. 1190. Robert de Brunne mentions this engine from our romance. Chron. p. 157.

The romancer it sais Richarde did make
a pele,
On kastelle wise allwais wrought of tre
ful wele.—
In schip he ded it lede, &c. - - - - -
His pele from that dai forward he cald it
Mate-griffon.

Pele is a house [a castle, fortification]. Archbishop Turpin mentions Charlemagne's *wooden castles* at the siege of a city in France, cap. ix

[z] See Carpentier's Suppl Du Cange, Lat Gl tom i. p 434. And Du Cange ad Ann. Alex. p. 357

[b] See supr p 63 Note [n]. It is observable, that MANGANUM, *Mangonell,* was not known among the Roman military machines, but existed first in Byzantine Greek Μαγγανον, a circumstance which seems to point out its inventors, at least to show that it belonged to the Oriental art of war. It occurs often in the Byzantine tactics, although at the same time it was perhaps derived from the Latin *Machina*. yet the Romans do not appear to have used in their wars so formidable and complicated an engine, as this is described to have been in the writers of the dark ages. It was the capital machine of the wars of those ages. Du Cange in his Constantinopolis Christiana mentions a vast area at Constantinople in which the machines of war were kept. p. 155.

[c] See supr. p. 159. Note [g].

[d] mill.

[g] [gynnes, *engines.*] [I have not the least doubt that *sunnes* in Weber's text is an error of transcription. Indeed, the copy is faulty throughout.—M.]

[d] [made.]

With canevas layd wel al about,
Ful schyr withinne and eke without;
Al withinne ful off feer,
Of torches maad with wex ful cleer;
Ovyrtwart and endelang,
With strenges of wyr the stones hang[10],
Stones that deden never note,
Grounde they never whete, no grote,
But rubbyd as they wer wood.
Out of the eye ran red blood[e].
Beffore the trowgh there stood on,
Al in blood he was begon;
And hornes grete upon his hede,
Sarezynes theroff hadde gret drede[f].

The last circumstance recalls a fiend-like appearance drawn by Shakespeare; in which, exclusive of the application, he has converted ideas of deformity into the true sublime, and rendered an image terrible, which in other hands would have probably been ridiculous.

——— Methought his eyes
Were two full moons, he had a thousand noses,
Horns whelk'd and waved like the enridged sea.
It was some fiend[g]———

At the touch of this powerful magician, to speak in Milton's language, "The grisly terror grows tenfold more dreadful and deform."

[e] This device is thus related by Robert of Brunne, Chron p. 175. 176

Richard als suithe did raise his engyns
The Inglis wer than blythe, Normans and Petevyns.
In bargeis and galeis he set mylnes to go,
The sailes, as men sais, som were blak and blo,
Som were rede and grene, the wynde about them blewe —
The stones were of Rynes, the noyse dreadfull and grete
It affrayed the Sarazins, as leven the fyre out schete
The noyse was unride, &c.

Rynes is the river Rhine, whose shores or bottom supplied the stones shot from their military engines The Normans, a barbarous people, appear to have used machines of immense and very artificial construction at the siege of Paris in 885. See the last note And Vit Saladin per Schultens, p 135 141. 167, &c.

[f] line 2631. [g] King Lear, iv. 6.

[10] [With spryngelles of fyre they dyde honde]—Espringalles, Fr engines. See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. SPINGARDA, QUADRELLUS. And Not Joinv. p. 78. Perhaps he means pellets of tow dipped in the Grecian fire, which sometimes were thrown from a sort of mortar. Joinville says, that the Greek fire thrown from a mortar looked like a huge dragon flying through the air, and that at midnight the flashes of it illuminated the Christian camp, as if it had been broad day. When Louis's army was encamped on the banks of the Thanis in Ægypt, says the same curious historian, about the year 1249, they erected two *chats chateils*, or covered galleries, to shelter their workmen, and at the end of them two *befrois*, or vast moveable wooden towers, full of crossbow men, who kept a continual discharge on the opposite shore, besides eighteen other new-invented engines for throwing stones and bolts But in one night, the deluge of Greek fire ejected from the Saracen camp utterly destroyed these enormous machines. This was a common disaster, but Joinville says, that his pious monarch sometimes averted the danger, by prostrating himself on the ground, and invoking our Saviour with the appellation of *Beau Sire*. p 37 39

The moving castles described by our minstrel, which seem to be so many fabrics of romance, but are founded in real history, afford suitable materials for poets who deal in the marvellous. Accordingly they could not escape the fabling genius of Tasso, who has made them instruments of enchantment, and accommodated them, with great propriety, to the operations of infernal spirits.

At the siege of Babylon, the soldan Saladin sends king Richard a horse. The messenger says,

"Thou sayest thy God is ful of myght:
Wylt thou graunt, with spere and scheeld,
Deraye the ryght in the feeld,
With helm, hawberk and brondes bryght
On strong stedes, good and lyght,
Whether is off more powèr
Jesu or Jubyter?
And he sente thé to say this,
Yiff thou wilt have an hors [of] hys?
In alle the landes ther thou hast gon,
Swylk on say thou nevyr non!
Favel off Cypre, ne Lyard off Prys[h],
Are nought at nede as that he is;
And, yiff thou wylt, this selve day,
It shall be brought thè to asay."
Quoth kyng Richard: "Thou sayest wel;
Swylke an hors, by Seynt Mychel,
I wolde have to ryde upon.——

[h] horses belonging to Richard, "Favel of Cyprus and Lyard of Paris." Robert de Brunne mentions one of these horses, which he calls PHANUEL [FAUVEL]. Chron. p. 175.

Sithen at Japhet was slayn PHANUEL [FAUVEL] his stede,
The Romans telles gret pas ther of his douhty dede.

Thus in our romance, viz. Sign. Q. iii.

To hym gadered every chone
And slewe FAVELL under hym,
Tho was Richard wroth and grym.

This was at the siege of Jaffe, as it is here called. *Favell* of Cyprus is again mentioned, Sign. O. ii.

FAVELL of Cyprus is forth fet
And in the sadell he hym sett.

Robert of Brunne says that Saladin's brother sent king Richard a horse Chron. p. 194.

He sent to king Richard a stede for curteisie
On of the best reward that was in paemie.

[In the wardrobe-roll of prince Edward, afterwards king Edward the Second, under the year 1272, the masters of the horse render their accounts for horses purchased, specifying the colours and prices with the greatest accuracy. One of them is called, "Unus equus FAVELLUS cum stella in fronte," &c. Hearne's Joann de Trokelowe. Præf. p. xxvi. Here *favellus* is interpreted by Hearne to be *honeycomb*. I suppose he understands a dappled or roan horse. But FAVELLUS, evidently an adjective, is barbarous Latin for FALVUS, or *fulvus*, a dun or light yellow, a word often used to express the colour of horses and hawks. See Carpentier, Suppl Du Fresne Lat. Gloss. V. FAVELLUS. tom. ii. p. 370. It is hence that king Richard's horse is called FAVEL From which word PHANUEL [FAUVEL], in Robert de Brunne, is a corruption —ADDITIONS.] [See p. 125. Note * The blunder of *Fanuel* for *Fauvel* is Hearne's, but Warton increases it.—M.]

Bydde hym sende that hors to me;
I schal asaye, what that he be.
Yiff he be trusty, withoute fayle,
I kepe non othir in batayle."
The messanger thenne home wente,
And tolde the Sawdon in presènte,
Hou kyng Richard wolde hym mete.
The rych Sawdon, al so skete,
A noble clerk he sente for thenne
A maytyr negromacien[l],
That conjuryd as [I] you telle,
Thorwgh the feendes craft off helle,
Twoo stronge feendes off the eyr,
In lyknesse off twoo stedes feyr,
Lyke, bothe of hewe and here;
As they sayde that wer there,
Never was ther seen non slyke.
That on was a mere lyke,
That other a colt, a noble stede,
Wher he wer, in ony nede,
Was nevyr kyng ne knyght[k] so bolde,
That, whenne the dame neyghe[l] wolde,
Scholde hym holde agayn hys wylle,
That he ne wolde renne her tylle[m],
And knele adoun, and souke[n] hys dame:
That whyle, the Sawdon with schame,
Scholde kyng Richard soone aquelle.
All thus an aungyl gan hym telle,
That cam to hym aftyr mydnyght;
And sayd "Awake, thou Goddes knyght!
My lord[o] dos thè to undyrstande,
Thè schal com an hors to hande;
Fayr he is off body pyght;
Betraye thè yiff the Sawdon myght.
On hym to ryde have thou no drede,
He schal thè help at thy nede."

The angel then gives king Richard several directions about managing this infernal horse, and a general engagement ensuing, between the Christian and Saracen armies[p],

[l] necromancer.
[k] his rider.
[l] neigh.
[m] go to her.
[n] suck.
[o] God.
[p] In which the Saracen line extended twelve miles in length, and

The grounde myght unnethe be sene
For bryght armure and speres kene.

Again,

Lyke as snowe lyeth on the mountaynes
So were fulfylled hylles and playnes
With hauberkes bryght and harneys clere
Of trompettes, and tabourere.

To lepe to hors thenne was he dyght;
Into the sadyl or he leep,
Off many thynge he took keep.—
Hys men him brought al that he badde.
A quarry tree off fourty foote
Before hys sadyl anon dyd hote
Faste that men scholde it brace, &c.
Hymself was rychely begoo,
From the crest unto the too[q].
He was armyd wondyr weel,
And al with plates off good steel;
And ther aboven, an hawberk;
A schafft wrought off trusty werk;
On his schuldre a scheeld off steel,
With three lupardes[r] wrought ful weel.
An helme he hadde off ryche entayle,
Trusty and trewe hys ventayle;
On hys crest a douve whyte
Sygnyfycacioun off the Holy Spryte:
Upon a croys the douve stood
Off golde wrought ryche and good.
God[s] hymself, Mary and Jhon,
As he was naylyd the roode upon[t],
In sygne off hym for whom he faught,
The spere-hed forgatt he naught:
Upon hys spere he wolde it have,
Goddes hygh name theron was grave.
Now herkenes what oth they swore,
Ar they to the batayle wore:
Yiff it were soo, that Richard myght
Sloo the Sawdon, in feeld with fyght,
Hee, and alle hys scholde gon,
At her wylle everilkon,
Into the cytè off Babylone;
And the kyngdom of Massidoyne
He scholde have undyr his hand:
And yiff the Sawdon off that land,
Myghte sloo Richard in that feeld,
With swerd or spere undyr scheeld,
That Cristene men scholde goo,
Out off that land, for ever moo,

[q] from head to foot.
[r] leopards
[s] Our Saviour
[t] "As he died upon the cross." So in an old fragment cited by Hearne, Gloss. Rob. Br p 634.

Pyned under Ponce Pilat,
Don on the rod after that.

And Sarezynes have her wylle in wolde.
Quod kyng Richard: "Thertoo I holde,
Thertoo my glove, as I am knyght!"
They ben armyd and wel i-dyght.
Kyng Richard into the sadyl leep;
Who that wolde theroff took keep,
To see, that syght was ful fayr.
The stede ran ryght, with gret ayr[u],
Al so harde as they myght dure,
Aftyr her feet sprong the fure.
Tabours beten, and trumpes blowe;
Ther myghte men see, in a throwe,
How kyng Richard, the noble man,
Encounteryd with the Sawdan,
That cheef was told off Damas.[w]
Hys trust upon hys mere was.
Therfoore, as the booke[x] telles
Hys crouper heeng al ful off belles[y]
And his peytrel[z], and his arsoun[a];
Three myle myghte men here the soun.
The mere gan nygh, her belles to ryng,
For grete pryde, withoute lesyng,
A brod[b] fawchoun to hym he bar,
For he thought that he wolde thar
Have slayn kyng Richard with tresoun,
Whenne hys hors had knelyd doun,

[u] ire.

[w] I do not understand this He seems to mean the Sultan of Damas, or Damascus. See Du Cange, Joinv. p. 87.

[There is no difficulty in the passage. Richard encountered the Sultan, who was accounted or esteemed chief of Damascus. —M]

[x] The French romance.

[y] Antiently no person seems to have been gallantly equipped on horseback, unless the horse's bridle or some other part of the furniture was stuck full of small bells Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about 1264, censures this piece of pride in the knights-templars. They have, he says, bridles embroidered, or gilded, or adorned with silver, "Atque in pectoralibus CAMPANULAS INFIXAS MAGNUM emittentes SONITUM, ad gloriam eorum et decorem." Hist lib. xxx. cap. 85. Wickliffe, in his Trialoge, inveighs against the priests for their "fair hors, and jolly and gay sadeles, and bridles *ringing* by the way," &c. Lewis's Wickliffe, p 121 And hence Chaucer may be illustrated, who thus describes the state of a monk on horseback. Prol Cant. v. 170.

And when he rode, men might his bridell *here*
GINGLING in a whistling wind as clere,
And eke as lowde, as doth the chapell bell.

That is, because his horse's bridle or trappings were strung with bells.

[z] The breast-plate, or breast-band of a horse. *Poitral*, Fr *Pectorale*, Lat. Thus Chaucer of the Chanones YEMAN's horse. Chan Yem. Prol. v. 575. Urr.

About the PAYTRELL stoode the fome ful hie.

[a] The saddle-bow "*Arcenarium* extencellatum cum argento," occurs in the wardrobe rolls, ab an. 21 ad an 23 Edw. III. Membr xi. This word is not in Du Cange or his Supplement.

[b] F. *brod.* [broad]

As a colt that scholde souke;
And [ac ?] he was war off that pouke[11].
Hys eeres[c] with wax wer stoppyd fast,
Therfore was he nought agast.
He strook the feend that undyr hym yede,
And gaff the Sawdon a dynt off dede.
In his blasoun, verrayment,
Was i-paynted a serpent.
With the spere, that Richard heeld,
He beor him thorwgh and undyr the scheeld,
None off hys armes myghte laste;
Brydyl and peytrel al to-brast;
Hys gerth, and hys steropes alsoo;
The mere to the grounde gan goo.
Mawgry him, he garte hym staupe[12]
Bakward ovyr hys meres croupe;
The feet toward the fyrmament.
Behynd the Sawdon the spere out went.
He leet hym lye upon the grene[13];
He prekyd the feend with spores[d] kene;
In the name off the Holy Gost,
He dryves into the hethene hoost,
And al so soone as he was come,
He brak asunder the scheltrome[e];
For al that ever before hym stode
Hors and man to erthe yode,
Twenty foot on every syde, &c.
Whenne they of Fraunce wyste,
That the maystry hadde the Chryste,
They wer bolde, her herte they tooke;
Stedes prekyd, schaufftes schooke[f].

Richard arming himself is a curious Gothic picture. It is certainly a genuine picture, and drawn with some spirit; as is the shock of the two necromantic steeds, and other parts of this description. The combat of Richard and the Soldan, on the event of which the christian army got possession of the city of Babylon, is probably the DUEL OF

[c] ears.

[d] spurs.

[e] *Schiltron.* I believe, soldiers drawn up in a circle. Rob. de Brunne uses it in describing the battle of Fowkirke, Chron. p 305. Ther SCHELTRON sone was shad with Inglis that wer gode.

Shad is *separated.* [Scheltron, *turma clipeata*, a troop armed with shields. See Jamieson's Etymol. Scott. Dict. and Whitaker's Peirs Plouhman's Visions.—PRICE]

[f] Line 5642.

[11] [And he was ware of that shame.]

[12] [Maugre her heed, he made her seche
The grounde, withoute more speche.]

[13] [Ther he fell dede on the grene.]

KING RICHARD, painted on the walls of a chamber in the royal palace of Clarendon[g]. The soldan* is represented as meeting Richard with a hawk on his fist, to show indifference, or a contempt of his adversary; and that he came rather prepared for the chace, than the combat. Indeed in the feudal times, and long afterwards, no gentleman appeared on horseback, unless going to battle, without a hawk on his fist. In the *Tapestry of the Norman conquest*, Harold is exhibited on horseback, with a hawk on his fist, and his dogs running before him, going on an embassy from king Edward the Confessor to William duke of Normandy[h]. *Tabour*, a drum, a common accompanyment of war, is mentioned as one of the instruments of martial music in this battle with characteristical propriety. It was imported into the European armies from the Saracens in the holy war. The word is constantly written tabour, not *tambour*, in Joinville's HISTORY OF SAINT LOUIS, and all the elder French romances. Joinville describes a superb bark or galley belonging to a Saracen chief, which he says was filled with cymbals, *tabours*, and Saracen horns[i]. Jean d'Orronville, an old French chronicler of the life of Louis duke of Bourbon, relates, that the king of France, the king of Thrasimere, and the king of Bugie, landed in Africa, according to their custom, with cymbals, kettle drums, *tabours*[k], and whistles[l]. Babylon, here said to be besieged by king Richard, and so frequently mentioned by the romance writers and the chroniclers of the crusades, is Cairo or Bagdat. Cairo and Bagdat, cities of recent foundation, were perpetually confounded with Babylon, which had been destroyed many centuries before, and was situated at a considerable distance from either. Not the least inquiry was made in the dark ages concerning the true situation of places, or the disposition of the country in Palestine, although the theatre of so important a war; and to this

[g] See supr. p 119.

* [This is founded on an erroneous interpretation of the text, where Warton has mistaken "A faucon brode," (black letter edition) or a broad falchion, for a *falcon* — PRICE] [See Ritson's remarks on this passage.—M]

[h] The hawk on the fist was a mark of great nobility. We frequently find it, upon antique seals and miniatures, attributed to persons of both sexes So sacred was this bird esteemed, that it was forbidden in a code of Charlemagne's laws, for any one to give his hawk or his sword as part of his ransom. "*In compositionem Wirigildi volumus ut ea dentur quæ in lege continentur excepto* accipitre et spatha." Lindebrog. Cod. Leg. Antiq. p. 895. In the year 1337, the bishop of Ely excommunicated certain persons for stealing a hawk sitting on her perch in the cloisters of the abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark. This piece of sacrilege, indeed, was committed during service-time in the choir, and the hawk was the property of the bishop. Registr. Adami Orleton, Episc Winton. fol 56 b. In Archiv Winton. In Domesdei-Book, a Hawk's Airy, *Aira Accipitris*, is sometimes returned among the most valuable articles of property.

[i] Histoire de S. Loyis, p. 30. The original has "Cors Sarazinois" See also p. 52 56. And Du Cange's Notes, p. 61.

[k] I cannot find *Glais*, the word that follows, in the French dictionaries. But perhaps it answers to our old English *Glee*. See Du Cange, Gl. Lat. V. CLASSICUM. [Roquefort, who cites the same passage, calls *Glais, a musical instrument*, without defining its peculiar nature —PRICE]

[l] Cap 76. *Nacaires* is here the word for kettle-drums. See Du Cange, ubi supr p. 59. Who also from an old roll *de la chambre des* COMPTES *de Paris* recites, among the household musicians of a French nobleman, "Menestrel du *Cor Sarazinois*," ib. p. 60. This instrument is not uncommon in the French romances.

neglect were owing, in a great measure, the signal defeats and calamitous distresses of the christian adventurers, whose numerous armies, destitute of information, and cut off from every resource, perished amidst unknown mountains and impracticable wastes. Geography at this time had been but little cultivated. It had been studied only from the antients: as if the face of the earth, and the political state of nations, had not, since the time of those writers, undergone any changes or revolutions.

So formidable a champion was king Richard against the infidels, and so terrible the remembrance of his valour in the holy war, that the Saracens and Turks used to quiet their froward children only by repeating his name. Joinville is the only writer who records this anecdote. He adds another of the same sort. When the Saracens were riding, and their horses started at any unusual object, "ils disoient a leurs chevaulx en les picquant de l'esperon, *et cuides tu que ce soit le* ROY RICHART[m]?" It is extraordinary, that these circumstances should have escaped Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Benedict, Langtoft, and the rest of our old historians, who have exaggerated the character of this redoubted hero, by relating many particulars more likely to be fabulous, and certainly less expressive of his prowess.

SECTION V.

Specimens of other Popular Metrical Romances which appeared about the end of the thirteenth century. Sir Guy. The Squier of Low Degree. Sir Degore. King Robert of Sicily. The King of Tars. Ippomedon. La Mort Arthure. Subjects of antient tapestry.

THE romance of SIR GUY, which is enumerated by Chaucer among the "Romances of pris," affords the following fiction, not uncommon indeed in pieces of this sort, concerning the redemption of a knight from a long captivity, whose prison was inaccessible, unknown, and enchanted[a]. His name is Amis of the Mountain.

[m] Hist de S. Loys, p 16 104 Who had it from a French manuscript chronicle of the holy war. See Du Cange's Notes, p 45.

[a] The Romance of Sir Guy is a considerable volume in quarto. My edition is without date, "Imprynted at London in Lothbury by Wylliam Copland," with rude wooden cuts. It runs to Sign. Ll. iii. [An imperfect copy is in Garrick's Collection, vol. K. 9. and a perfect one was in Heber's library, Cat. pt iv. 961. A fragment of this Romance belonged to Dr Farmer, and afterwards to Mr Douce, which Ritson in his MS. Cat of Engl. Romances, states to have been printed by W. de Worde, about 1495 In the possession of Mr Staunton of Longbridge House, co. Warw. is a larger fragment of thirty-six leaves, printed in a thinner letter than W. de Worde's, with wood-cuts, which I should feel inclined to ascribe to Pynson. Ritson mentions also an edition by John Cawood.—M.] It seems to be

"Here besyde an Elfish knyhte[b]
Has taken my lorde in fyghte,
And hath him ledde with him away
In the Fayry[c], Syr, permafay."
"Was Amis," quoth Heraude, "your husbond?
A doughtyer knygte was none in londe."
Then tolde Heraude to Raynborne,
How he loved his father Guyon:
Then sayd Raynburne, "For thy sake,
To morrow I shall the way take,
And nevermore come agayne,
Tyll I bring Amys of the Mountayne."
Raynborne rose on the morrow erly,
And armed hym full richely.—
Raynborne rode tyll it was noone,
Tyll he came to a rocke of stone;
Ther he founde a strong gate,
He blissed hym, and rode in thereat.
He rode half a myle the waie,
He saw no light that came of daie,

older than the *Squyr of lowe degree*, in which it is quoted Sign a iii

Or els so bolde in chivalrie
As was syr Gawayne or syr GIE.

The two best manuscripts of this romance are at Cambridge, MSS Bibl Publ. Mor 690 33. and MSS Coll. Can, A. 8.

[An analysis of this romance will be found in the "Specimens" of Mr Ellis, who is of opinion that "the tale in its present state has been composed from the materials of at least two or three if not more romances The first is a most tiresome love story, which, it may be presumed, originally ended with the marriage of the fond couple. To this it should seem was afterwards tacked on a series of fresh adventures, invented or compiled by some pilgrim from the Holy Land; and the hero of this legend was then brought home for the defence of Athelstan, and the destruction of Colbrand." Mr Ritson in opposition to Dugdale, who regarded Guy as an undeniably historical personage, has laboured to prove that "no hero of this name is to be found in real history," and that he was "no more an English hero than Amadis de Gaul or Percefo1est" Mr. Ellis, on the other hand, conceives the tale "may possibly be founded on some Saxon tradition," and that though the name in its present form be undoubtedly French, yet as it bears some resemblance to Egil, the name of an Icelandic warrior, who "contributed very materially to the important victory gained by Athelstan over the Danes and their allies at Brunanburgh," he thinks "it is not impossible that this warlike foreigner may have been transformed by some Norman monk into the pious and amorous Guy of Warwick." This at best is but conjecture, nor can it be considered a very happy one Egil himself (or his nameless biographer) makes no mention of a single combat on the occasion in which he had been engaged, and the fact, had it occurred, would have been far too interesting, and too much in unison with the spirit of the times, to have been passed over in silence. In addition to this, the substitution of Guy for Egil is against all analogy, on the transformation of a Northern into a French appellation The initial letters in Guy, Guyon, and Guido, are the representatives of the Teutonic W, and clearly point to some cognomen beginning with the Saxon Wig, *bellum* —PRICE]

[b] In Chaucer's Tale of the Chanon Yeman, chemistry is termed an ELFISH art, that is, taught or conducted by Spirits. This is an Arabian idea. Chan Yem. T. p. 122 v. 772. Urry's edit

Whan we be ther as we shall exercise
Our ELVISHE craft. -----

Again, ibid. v 863.

Though he sit at his boke both daie and night,
In lerning of this ELVISH nicè lore.

[c] "Into the land of Fairy, into the region of Spirits."

Then cam he to a watir brode,
Never man ovir suche a one rode.
Within he sawe a place greene
Suche one had he never erst seene.
Within that place there was a pallaice,
Closed with walles of heathenesse[d]:
The walles thereof were of cristall,
And the sommers of corall*.
Raynborne had grete dout to passe,
The watir so depe and brode was:
And at the laste his steede leepe
Into the brode watir deepe
Thyrty fadom he sanke adowne,
Then cleped[e] he to God Raynborne.
God hym help, his steede was goode,
And bure hym ovir that hydious floode.
To the pallaice he yode[f] anone,
And lyghted downe of his steede full soone.
Through many a chamber yede Raynborne,
A knyghte he found in dongeon.
Raynborne grete hym as a knyght courtoise,
"Who oweth," he said, "this fayre pallaice?"
That knyght answered him, "Yt is noght,
He oweth it that me hither broght."
"Thou art," quod Raynburne, "in feeble plight,
Tell me thy name," he sayd, "syr knight."
That knyghte sayd to hym agayne,
"My name is Amys of the Mountayne.
The lord is an Elvish man
That me into thys pryson wan."
"Arte thou Amys," than sayde Raynborne,
"Of the Mountaynes the bold barrone?

[d] "Walls built by the Pagans or Saracens Walls built by magic" Chaucer, in a verse taken from Syr Bevys, [Sign. a. ii] says that his knight had travelled

As well in Christendom as in *hethness.*

Prol. p. 2. v. 49. And in Syr Eglamour of Artoys, Sign. E. ii.

Eglamour sayd to hym yeys,
I am come out of *hethenes.*

Syr Bevys of Hamptoun, Sign. b. iii.

They found shippes more and lesse
Of paynims and of *hethenesse.*

Also, Sign. C. i.

The first dede withouten lesse
That Bevys dyd in *hethenesse.*

* [I do not perfectly understand the materials of this fairy palace —

The walles thereof were of cristall,
And the sommers of *corall*

But Chaucer mentions *corall* in his temple of Diana. Knightes Tale, v. 1912.

And northward, in a touret on the wall,
Of alabastre white, and red corall,
An oratorie riche for to see.

Carpentier cites a passage from the romance De Troyes, in which a chamber of alabaster is mentioned. Suppl. Lat. Gloss Du Cange, tom. i. p. 136.

En celle chambre n'oit noienz,
De chaux, d'areine, de cimenz,
Enduit, ni moillerons, ni emplaistre,
Tot entiere fut *alambastre.*

ADDITIONS.]

[e] called. [f] went.

In greto perill I have gone,
To seke thee in this rocke of stone.
But blessed be God now have I thee
Thou shalt go home with me."
"Let be," sayd Amys of the Mountayne,
"Great wonder I have of thee certayne;
How that thou hythur wan:
For syth this world fyrst began
No man hyther come ne myghte,
Without leave of the Elvish knyghte.
Me with thee thou mayest not lede," &c.[g]

Afterwards, the knight of the mountain directs Raynburne to find a wonderful sword which hung in the hall of the palace. With this weapon Raynburne attacks and conquers the Elvish knight, who buys his life, on condition of conducting his conqueror over the perilous ford, or lake, above described, and of delivering all the captives confined in his secret and impregnable dungeon.

Guyon's expedition into the Souldan's camp, an idea furnished by the crusades, is drawn with great strength and simplicity.

Guy asked his armes anone,
Hosen of yron Guy did upon:
In hys hawberke Guy hym clad,
He drad no stroke whyle he it had.
Upon hys head hys helme he cast,
And hasted hym to ryde full fast.
A syrcle[h] of gold thereon stoode,
The emperarour had none so goode;
Aboute the syrcle for the nones
Were sett many precyous stones.
Above he had a coate armour wyde;
Hys sword he toke by hys syde:
And lept upon his stede anone,
Styrrope with foot touched he none.
Guy rode forth without boste,
Alone to the Soudans hoste:
Guy saw all that countrie
Full of tentes and pavylyons bee:
On the pavylyon of the Soudone
Stoode a carbuncle-stone:
Guy wist therebie it was the Soudones,
And drew hym thyther for the nones.
At the meete[i] he founde the Soudone,
And hys barrons everychone,

[g] Sign. K k. iii. seq [h] circle. [i] at dinner.

And tenne kynges aboute hym,
All they were stout and grymme:
Guy rode forth, and spake no worde,
Tyll he cam to the Soudans borde[k];
He ne rought[l] with whom he mette,
But on thys wyse the Soudan he grette:
"God's curse have thou and thyne,
And tho that leve[m] on Apolme."
Than sayd the Soudan, "What art thou
That thus prowdlie speakest now?
Yet found I never man certayne
That suche wordes durst me sayne."
Guy sayd, "So God me save from hell,
My ryght nam I shall the tell;
Guy of Warwicke my name is."
Than sayd the Sowdan ywis,
"Arte thou the bolde knyght Guyon,
That art here in my pavylyon?
Thou sluest my cosyn Coldran
Of all Sarasyns the boldest man," &c.[n]

I will add Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrond, as it is

[k] table. Chaucer, Squ. T. 105.

And up he rideth to the hie borde.

Chaucer says that his knight had often "*begon the bord* aboven all nations." Prol 52 The term of chivalry, *to begin the board*, is to be placed in the uppermost seat of the hall Anstis, Ord. Gart i. App. p xv "The earl of Surry *began the borde* in presence the earl of Arundel washed with him, and satt both at the first messe. ... *Began the borde* at the chamber's end" i e sat at the head of that table which was at the end of the chamber. This was at Windsor, A D. 1519 In Syr Eglamour of Artoys, we have *to begin the dese*, which is the same thing.

Lordes in halle wer sette
And waytes blewe to the mete —
The two knyghtes the *dese began*

Sign. D iii. See Chaucer, Squ. T. 99 and Kn T. 2002 In a celebration of the feast of Christmas at Greenwich, in the year 1488, we have, "The duc of Bedeford *beganne the table* on the right side of the hall, and next untoo hym was the lorde Dawbeneye," &c That is, *He sate at the head of the table.* Leland, Coll. iii. 237. edit. 1770. To begin the *bourd* is to begin the *tournament.* Lydgate, Chron Troy, b. ii. ch 14.

The grete justes, *bordes*, or *tournay.*

I will here take occasion to correct Hearne's explanation of the word *Bourder* in Brunne's Chron p 204

A knygt a BOURDOUR king Richard hade
A douty man in stoure his name was Markade

BOURDOUR, says Hearne, is *boarder*, pensioner But the true meaning is a *wag*, an arch fellow, for he is here introduced putting a joke on the king of France. BOURDE is *jest, trick*, from the French See R. de Brunne ap. Hearne's Gloss. Rob Glo p 695, and above Sect II., also Chauc Gam 1974. and Non. Urr. 2294. Knyghton mentions a favourite in the court of England who could procure any grant from the king *burdando.* Du Cange Not Joinv. p. 166 Who adds, "De là vient le mot de *Bourdeurs*, qui estoient ces farceurs ou plaisantins qui divertissoient les princes par le recit des fables et des histoires des Romans.—— Aucuns estiment que ce mot vient des *behourds*, qui estoit une espece des tournois" See also Diss Joinv. p 174.

[l] cared, valued. [recked.] Chaucer, Rom. R. 1873.

I ne *rought* of deth ne of life

[m] those who believe.

[n] Sign. Q. iii

touched with great spirit, and may serve to illustrate some preceding hints concerning this part of our hero's history.

Then came Colbronde forthe anone,
On foote, for horse could bare hym none.
For when he was in armure dight
Fower horse ne bare hym might.
A man had ynough to done
To bere hym hys wepon.
Then Guy rode to Colbronde,
On hys stede ful wele rennende[o]:
Colbronde smote Guy in the fielde
In the middest of Syr Guyes shelde,
Through Guyes hawberk that stroke went,
And for no maner thyng it withstent[p].
In two yt share[q] Guyes stedes body
And fell to ground hastily.
Guy upstert as an eger lyoune,
And drue hys gode sworde browne·
To Colbronde he let it flye,
But he might not reche so hye.
On hys shoulder the stroke fell downe,
Through all hys armure share Guyon[r].
Into the bodie a wounde untyde,
That the red blude gan oute glyde.
Colbronde was wroth of that rap,
He thought to give Guy a knap.
He smote Guy on the helme bryght
That out sprang the fyre lyght.
Guy smote Colbronde agayne
Through shielde and armure certayne.
He made his swerde for to glyde
Into his bodie a wound ryht wyde.
So smart came Guyes bronde
That it braste in hys hond.

The romance of the SQUIRE OF LOW DEGREE, who loved the king's daughter of Hungary[s], is alluded to by Chaucer *in the Rime of Sir*

[o] running
[p] "nothing could stop it."
[q] divided.
[r] "Guy cut through all the giant's armour."
[s] It contains thirty-eight pages in quarto. "Imprented at London by me Wyllyam Copland." [In Garrick's Collection, vol. K. 9. John Kynge had a license to print this Romance in 1558, as we are informed by Ritson, MS. Cat. of Engl. Romances. —M.] I have never seen it in manuscript.

[This romance will be found in Mr Ritson's Collection, vol iii. p. 145, who characterizes it as a "strange and whimsical but *genuine English performance*" On Warton's opinion, "that it is alluded to by Chaucer in the *Rime of Sir Topas*," he remarks "as Lybeaus Disconus, one of the romancees enumerateed by Chaucer, is alluded to in the Squyr of lowe degre, it is

Topas[t]. The princess is thus represented, in her closet adorned with painted glass, listening to the squire's complaint[u].

That ladi herde hys mournyng alle,
Ryght undir the chambre walle:
In her oryall[w] there she was,
Closyd well with royall glas,
Fulfyllyd yt was with ymagery,
Every windowe by and by
On eche syde had ther a gynne,
Sperde[x] with manie a dyvers pynne.
Anone that ladie fayre and fre
Undyd a pynne of yvere,
And wyd the wyndowes she open set,
The sunne shonne yn at hir closet.
In that arbre fayre and gaye
She saw where that squyre lay, &c.

I am persuaded to transcribe the following passage, because it delineates in lively colours the fashionable diversions and usages of antient times. The king of Hungary endeavours to comfort his daughter with these promises, after she had fallen into a deep and incurable melancholy from the supposed loss of her paramour.

"To morow ye shall yn huntyng fare;
And yede, my doughter, yn a chare,

not probablely, allso, of his age." But the Lybeaus Disconus referred to in this romance, is evidently a different version of the story from that printed by Mr Ritson, and the quotation, if it prove any thing, would rather speak for the existence of a more ancient translation now unknown. Besides, Mr. Ritson himself has supplied us with an argument strongly favouring Warton's conjecture for if, as he observes, the Squyr of lowe degre be the *only instance* of a romance containing any such impertinent digressions or affected enumerations of trees, birds, &c. as are manifestly the object of Chaucer's satire, the natural inference would be—in the absence of any evidence for its more recent composition—that this identical romance was intended to be exposed and ridiculed by the poet. At all events, Copland's editions with their modern phraseology are no standard for determining the age of any composition; and until some better arguments can be adduced than those already noticed, the ingenious supposition of Dr. Percy—for by him it was communicated to Warton—may be permitted to remain in full force.—PRICE]

[t] See observations on the Fairy Queen, i. § iv p 139

[u] Sign a. iii.

[w] An Oriel seems to have been a recess in a chamber, or hall, formed by the projection of a spacious bow-window from top to bottom. Rot. Pip an 18. Hen III [A. D. 1234] "Et in quadam capella pulchra et decenti facienda ad caput Oriolı camere regis in castro Herefordie, de longitudine xx pedum" This Oriel was at the end of the king's chamber, from which the new chapel was to begin. Again, in the castle of Kenilworth. Rot. Pip. an. 19. Hen III. [A. D. 1235.] "Et in uno magno Oriollo pulchro et competenti, ante ostium magne camere regis in castro de Kenilworth faciendo, vil. xvis. ivd. per Brev. regis."

[The etymologists have been puzzled to find the derivation of an oriel-window. A learned correspondent suggests, that ORIEL is Hebrew for *Lux mea*, or *Dominus illuminatio mea* —ADDITIONS.] [See Mr. Hamper's Dissertation on this word in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 105.—M.]

[x] closed, shut. In P. Plowman, of a blind man, "*unsparryd* his eine," i. e. opened his eyes.

Yt shal be coverd wyth velvette reede
And clothes of fyne golde al about your heede,
With damaske whyte and asure blewe
Well dyaperd[y] with lyllyes newe:
Your pomelles shalbe ended with golde,
Your chaynes enameled many a folde.
Your mantell of ryche degre
Purple palle and armyne fre.

[y] embroidered, diversified Chaucer a bow, Rom R. v 934.

And it was painted wel and thwitten
And ore all *diapred*, and written, &c.

Thwitten is *twisted, wreathed* The following instance from Chaucer is more to our purpose. Knight's Tale, v 2160.

Upon a stede bay, trappid in stele,
Coverid with cloth of gold *diaprid* wele.

This term, which is partly heraldic, occurs in the Provisor's rolls of the Great Wardrobe, containing deliveries for furnishing rich habiliments, at tilts and tournaments, and other ceremonies "Et ad faciendum tria harnesia pro Rege, quorum duo de velvetto albo operato cum garteris de blu et *diasprez* per totam campedinem cum wodehouses" Ex comp J Coke clerici, Provisor Magn Garderob ab ann. XXI Edw III de 23 membranis, ad ann XXIII memb x I believe it properly signifies embroidering on a rich ground, as tissue, cloth of gold, &c This is confirmed by Peacham "DIAPERING is a term in drawing —It chiefly serveth to counterfeit cloth of gold, silver, damask, brancht velvet, camblet, &c" Compl Gent p 345 Anderson, in his History of Commerce, conjectures, that *Diaper*, a species of printed linen, took its name from the city of Ypres in Flanders, where it was first made, being originally called *d'ipre* But that city and others in Flanders were no less famous for rich manufactures of stuff, and the word in question has better pretensions to such a derivation Thus *rich cloth embroidered with raised work* we called *d'ipre*, and from thence *diaper*, and to do this, or any work like it, was called to *diaper*, from whence the participle *Sattin of Bruges*, another city of Flanders, often occurs in inventories of monastic vestments, in the reign of Henry the eighth and the cities of Arras and Tours are celebrated for their tapestry in Spenser. All these cities and others in their neighbourhood, became famous for this sort of workmanship before 1200. The *Armator* of Edward the third, who finishes all the costly apparatus for the shows above mentioned, consisting, among other things, of a variety of the most sumptuous and ornamented embroideries on velvet, satin, tissue, &c. is John of Cologne Unless it be Colonia in Italy. Rotul prædict memb. VIII memb XIII "Quæ omnia ordinata fuerunt per garderobarium competentem, de precepto ipsius Regis. et facta et parata per manus Johis de Colonia, Armatoris ipsius domini nostri Regis" Johannes de Strawesburgh [Strasburgh] is mentioned as *broudator regis*, i e of Richard the second, in Anstis, Ord Gart i 55 See also ii 42 I will add a passage from Chaucer's Wife of Bath, v. 450.

Of cloth-making she had such a haunt,
She passid them of *Ipre* and of *Gaunt*

"Cloth of Gaunt," i e Ghent, is mentioned in the Romaunt of the Rose, v 574 Bruges was the chief mart for Italian commodities, about the thirteenth century In the year 1318, five Venetian galeasses, laden with Indian goods, arrived at this city in order to dispose of their cargoes at the fair. L. Guic Descr di Paesi Bass. p 174 Silk manufactures were introduced from the East into Italy, before 1130 Gianon Hist Napl XI. 7. The crusades much improved the commerce of the Italian states with the East in this article, and produced new artificers of their own But to recur to the subject of this note *Diaper* occurs among the rich silks and stuffs in the French Roman de la Rose where it seems to signify *Damask* v 21867

Samites, *dyaprés*, camelots

I find it likewise in the Roman d'Alexandre, written about 1200 MSS Bodl. [264] fol. 1 b col. 2

Dyapres d'Antioch, samis de Romanie

Here is also a proof that the Asiatic stuffs were at that time famous and probably *Romanie* is Romania The word often occurs in old accounts of rich ecclesiastical vestments. Du Cange derives this word from the Italian *diaspro*, a jasper, a precious stone which shifts its colours V. DIASPRUS. In Dugdale's Monasticon we have *diasperatus*, diapered "Sandalia cum caligis de rubeo sameto DIASPERATO bendata cum imaginibus regum." tom. III. 314 and 321

Jennets of Spayne that ben so wyght
Trapped to the ground with velvet bryght.
Ye shall have harpe, sautry, and songe,
And other myrthes you amonge.
Ye shal have rumney, and malespine,
Both ypocrasse and vernage wyne;
Mountrese and wyne of Greke,
Both algrade and despice eke,
Antioche and bastarde,
Pyment[z] also, and garnarde,
Wine of Greke, and muscadell,
Both clare, pyment, and rochell,
The reed your stomake to defye
And pottes of osey sett you bye.
You shall have venyson ybake[a],
The best wylde fowle that may be take:
A lese of harehound[b] with you to streke,

[z] Sometimes written *pimeate* [Is not this a mere misprint?—M.] In the romance of Syr Bevys, a knight just going to repose takes the usual draught of *pimeate*, which mixed with spices is what the French romances call *vin du coucher*, and for which an officer, called ESPICIER, was appointed in the old royal household of France. Signat m iii.

The knight and she to chamber went —
With *pimeate*, and with spisery,
When they had dronken the wyne

See Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss Lat Du Cange, tom. iii p 842 So Chaucer, Leg. Dido, v. 185.

The spicis parted, and the wine agon,
Unto his chamber he is lad anon

Froissart says, among the delights of his youth, that he was happy to taste,

Au couchier, pour mieulx dormir,
Especes, clairet, et rocelle

Mem. Litt x. 665. Not 4to. Lidgate of Tideus and Polimite in the palace of Adrastus at Thebes. Stor Theb. p. 634. ed. Chauc. 1687.

——gan anon repaire
To her lodging in a ful stately toure,
Assigned to hem by the herbeiour.
And after spicis plenty and the wine
In cuppis grete wrought of gold ful fyne,
Without tarrying to bedde straightes
they gone, &c

Chaucer has it again, Squ. T. v. 311. p. 62 Urr. and Mill. T. v. 270. p. 26.

He sent her *piment*, methe, and spicid ale.

Some orders of monks are enjoined to abstain from drinking *pigmentum*, or *piment*. Yet it was a common refection in the monasteries It is a drink made of wine, honey, and spices "Thei ne could not medell the gefte of Bacchus to the clere honie, that is to say, they could not make ne *piment* ne clarre" Chaucer's Boeth p 371 a Urr *Clarre* is clarified wine In French *Clarey* Perhaps the same as piment, or hypocrass See Mem. Lit viii p 674 4to Compare Chauc Sh. T v 2579 Urr Du Cange, Gloss Lat. v PIGMENTUM SPECIES and Suppl Carp. and Mem sur l'anc Chevalier i p 19 48. I must add, that πιγμεναριος or πιμεναριος, signified an *Apothecary* among the middle and lower Greeks. See Du Cange, Gl. Gr in voc. i. 1167 and ii. Append. Etymolog Vocab. Ling Gall p 301. col. 1. In the register of the bishop of Nivernois, under the year 1287, it is covenanted, that whenever the bishop shall celebrate mass in St Mary's abbey, the abbess shall present him with a peacock, and a cup of piment. Carpentier, ubi supr. vol. iii. p. 277.

[See Weber's note on l. 4178. of the Romance of Alisaunder, and Roquefort's Histoire de la Vie Privée des François, tom. iii pp 65–68. 8° Paris, 1815.—M.]

[a] Chaucer says of the Frankelein, Prol. p. 4. Urr. v. 345

Withoutin *bake mete* never was his house.

And in this poem, Signat. B iii.

With birds in *bread ybake*,
The tele the duck and drake.

[b] In a manuscript of Froissart full of paintings and illuminations, there is a re-

And hart, and hynde, and other lyke,
Ye shalbe set at such a tryst
That hart and hynde shall come to you fyst.
Your desease to dryve ye fro,
To here the bugles there yblowe.
Homward thus shall ye ryde,
On haukyng by the ryvers syde,
With goshauke and with gentil fawcon,
With buglehorn and merlyon.
When you come home your menie amonge,
Ye shall have revell, daunces, and songe:
Lytle chyldren, great and smale,
Shall syng as doth the nyghtyngale,
Than shal ye go to your evensong,
With tenours and trebles among,
Threscore of copes of damask bryght
Full of perles they shalbe pyghte.—
Your sensours shalbe of golde
Endent with asure manie a folde:
Your quere nor organ songe shal want
With countre note and dyscaunt.
The other halfe on orgayns playing,
With yong chyldren ful fayn syngyng.
Than shal ye go to your suppere
And sytte in tentis in grene arbere,
With clothe of arras pyght to the grounde,
With saphyres set of dyamounde.—
A hundred knyghtes truly tolde
Shall plaie with bowles in alayes colde.
Your disease to dryve awaie,
To se the fisshes yn poles plaie.
To a drawe brydge then shal ye,
Thone halfe of stone, thother of tre,
A barge shal meet you full ryht,
With xxiiii ores ful bryght,
With trompettes and with claryowne,
The fresshe watir to rowe up and downe.
Then shal you, doughter, aske the wyne
Wyth spises that be gode and fyne:
Gentyll pottes, with genger grene,
Wyth dates and deynties you betweene.
Fortie torches brenynge bright
At your brydges to bring you lyght.

presentation of the grand entrance of queen Isabel of England into Paris, in the year 1324 She is attended by a greyhound who has a flag, powdered with fleurs de lys, bound to his neck. Montf. Monum. Fr. ii. p 234

Into youre chambre they shall you brynge
Wyth muche myrthe and more lykynge.
Your blankettes shal be of fustyane,
Your shetes shal be of cloths of rayne[c]:
Your head-shete shal be of pery pyght[d],
Wyth dyamondes set and rubys bryght.
Whan you are layd in bed so softe,
A cage of golde shal hange aloft,
Wythe longe peper fayre burning,
And cloves that be swete smellyng,
Frankinsense and olibanum,
That whan ye slepe the taste may come,
And yf ye no rest can take
All nyght mynstrels for you shall wake[e].

SYR DEGORE is a romance perhaps belonging to the same period[f]. After his education under a hermit, Sir Degore's first adventure is

[c] cloath, or linen, of Rennes, a city in Britany. Chaucer, Dr v. 255

And many a pilowe, and every bere
Of clothe of raynes to slepe on softe,
Him thare not nede to turnin ofte

Tela de Reynes is mentioned among habits delivered to knights of the garter, 2 Rich. II Anstis, Ord Gart 1 55.

[Cloath of Rennes seems to have been the finest sort of linen. In the old manuscript Mystery, or religious comedy, of Mary Magdalene, written in 1512, a Galant, one of the retainers to the group of the Seven Deadly Sins, is introduced with the following speech.

Hof, Hof, Hof, a frysch new galaunt!
Ware of thryft, ley that a-doune
What mene ye, syrrys, that I were a marchaunt,
Because that I am new com to toun?
With praty .. wold I fayne round,
I have a *shert* of *reyns* with sleves peneaunt,
A lase of sylke for my lady Constant—
I woll, or even, be shaven for to seme yong, &c.

So also in Skelton's Magnificence, a Morality written much about the same time, f. xx. b.

Your skynne, that was wrapped in *shertes of raynes*,
Nowe must be storm ybeten.——

ADDITIONS.]

[d] "Inlaid with jewels." Chaucer, Kn. T. v. 2938. p. 22 Urr.

And then with cloth of gold and with *perie*.

And in numberless other places

[e] Sign D ii seq At the close of the romance it is said that the king, in the midst of a great feast which lasted forty days, created the squire king in his room, in the presence of his TWELVE LORDS. See what I have observed concerning the number TWELVE, Introd Diss 1

[f] It contains thirty-two pages in quarto. Coloph "Thus endeth the Tretyse of Syr Degore, imprynted by Wyllyam Copland" There is another copy dated 1560 There is a manuscript of it among bishop More's at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ 690. 36. SYR DEGARE

[This romance has been published in a work entitled "Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry, reprinted from the Black Letter," [by E V. Utterson, 2 vols 8°. 1817—M.] and is analysed by Mr Ellis in his Specimens From a fragment of it preserved in the Auchinleck MSS it is clear that the poem in its present form is an unskilful *rifacimento* of an earlier version, since the writer was even ignorant of the true mode of pronouncing the hero's name Throughout Copland's edition—with one exception—it is a word of two syllables, rhyming with 'before', but in p. 135 of the reprint we obtain its true accentuation as exhibited in the Auchinleck MSS

As was the yonge knyght Syr Degoré,
But none wyst what man was he.

The name is intended to express, as the author tells us (line 230), "a thing (or person) almost lost," *Dégaré* or *L'égaré*. —PRICE]

[In Heber's Catalogue, pt. iv No 556. was an unique copy of an edition of this

against a dragon. This horrible monster is marked with the hand of a master[5]."

Degore went furth his waye,
Through a forest half a daye:
He herd no man, nor sawe none,
Tyll yt past the hygh none,
Then herde he grete strokes falle,
That yt made grete noyse with alle,
Full sone he thoght that to se,
To wete what the strokes myght be:
There was an erle, both stout and gaye,
He was com ther that same daye,
For to hunt for a dere or a do,
But hys houndes were gone hym fro.
When was ther a dragon grete and grymme,
Full of fyre and also venymme,
Wyth a wyde throte and tuskes grete,
Uppon that knygte fast gan he bete.
And as a lyon then was hys feete,
Hys tayle was long, and full unmeete:
Betwene hys head and hys tayle
Was xxii fote withouten fayle;
Hys body was lyke a wyne tonne,
He shone ful bryght agaynst the sunne:
Hys eyen were bright as any glasse,
His scales were hard as any brasse;
And therto he was necked lyke a horse,
He bare hys hed up wyth grete force:
The breth of hys mouth that did out blow
As yt had been a fyre on lowe.
He was to loke on, as I you telle,
As yt had bene a fiende of helle.
Many a man he had shent,
And many a horse he had rente.

As the minstrel profession became a science, and the audience grew more civilised, refinements began to be studied, and the romantic poet sought to gain new attention, and to recommend his story, by giving it the advantage of a plan. Most of the old metrical romances are, from their nature, supposed to be incoherent rhapsodies. Yet many of them have a regular integrity, in which every part contributes to produce an intended end. Through various obstacles and difficulties one point is kept in view, till the final and general catastrophe is brought about by

romance by Wynkyn de Worde, 4° bl l. wood cuts, which is described in Dibdin's Ames, vol ii. p 376. From this edition, probably, a transcript in Mr. Douce's library, dated 1564, was taken. Copland's edition is in Garrick's Collection, vol. K. 9. and in the Bodleian library is that of 1560, "imprinted at London, by John King." —M]

[5] Sign. B ii.

a pleasing and unexpected surprise. As a specimen of the rest, and as it lies in a narrow compass, I will develop the plan of the fable now before us, which preserves at least a coincidence of events, and an uniformity of design.

A king's daughter of England, extremely beautiful, is solicited in marriage by numerous potentates of various kingdoms. The king her father vows, that of all these suitors, that champion alone shall win his daughter who can unhorse him at a tournament. This they all attempt, but in vain. The king every year assisted at an anniversary mass for the soul of his deceased queen, who was interred in an abbey at some distance from his castle. In the journey thither, the princess strays from her damsels in a solitary forest: she is discovered by a knight in rich armour, who by many solicitations prevails over her chastity, and, at parting, gives her a sword without a point, which he charges her to keep safe; together with a pair of gloves, which will fit no hands but her own[g]. At length she finds the road to her father's castle, where, after some time, to avoid discovery, she is secretly delivered of a boy. Soon after the delivery, the princess having carefully placed the child in a cradle, with twenty pounds in gold, ten pounds in silver, the gloves given her by the strange knight, and a letter, consigns him to one of her maidens, who carries him by night, and leaves him in a wood, near a hermitage, which she discerned by the light of the moon. The hermit in the morning discovers the child; reads the letter, by which it appears that the gloves will fit no lady but the boy's mother, educates him till he is twenty years of age, and at parting gives him the gloves found with him in the cradle, telling him that they will fit no lady but his own mother. The youth, who is called Degore, sets forward to seek adventures, and saves an earl from a terrible dragon, which he kills. The earl invites him to his palace, dubs him a knight, gives him a horse and armour, and offers him half his territory. Sir Degore refuses to accept this offer, unless the gloves, which he had received from his foster-father the hermit, will fit any lady of his court. All the ladies of the earl's court are called before him, and among the rest the earl's daughter, but upon trial the gloves will fit none of them. He therefore takes leave of the earl, proceeds on his adventures, and meets with a large train of knights; he is informed that they were going to tourney with the king of England, who had promised his daughter to that knight who could conquer him in single combat. They tell him of the many barons and earls whom the king had foiled in several trials. Sir Degore, however, enters the lists, overthrows the king, and obtains the princess. As the knight is a perfect stranger, she submits to her father's commands with much reluctance. He marries her, but in the midst of

[g] Gloves were antiently a costly article of dress, and richly decorated. They were sometimes adorned with precious stones. Rot. Pip. an. 53 Henr. III [A. D. 1267] "Et de 1 pectine auri cum lapidibus pretiosis ponderant xlvis et mid ob. Et de 11 paribus chirothecarum cum LAPIDIBUS." This golden comb, set with jewels, realises the wonders of romance.

the solemnities which preceded the consummation, recollects the gloves which the hermit had given him, and proposes to make an experiment with them on the hands of his bride. The princess, on seeing the gloves, changed colour, claimed them for her own, and drew them on with the greatest ease. She declares to Sir Degore that she was his mother, and gives him an account of his birth: she told him that the knight his father gave her a pointless sword, which was to be delivered to no person but the son that should be born of their stolen embraces. Sir Degore draws the sword, and contemplates its breadth and length with wonder: is suddenly seized with a desire of finding out his father: he sets forward on this search, and on his way enters a castle, where he is entertained at supper by fifteen beautiful damsels. The lady of the castle invites him to her bed, but in vain; and he is lulled asleep by the sound of a harp. Various artifices are used to divert him from his pursuit, and the lady even engages him to encounter a giant in her cause[h]. But Sir Degore rejects all her temptations, and pursues his journey. In a forest he meets a knight richly accoutred, who demands the reason why Sir Degore presumed to enter his forest without permission. A combat ensues. In the midst of the contest, the combatants being both unhorsed, the strange knight observing the sword of his adversary not only to be remarkably long and broad, but without a point, begs a truce for a moment. He fits the sword to a point which he had always kept, and which had formerly broken off in an encounter with a giant, and by this circumstance discovers Sir Degore to be his son. They both return into England, and Sir Degore's father is married to the princess his mother.

The romance of KYNG ROBERT OF SICILY begins and proceeds thus[i].

[*Here is of kyng Robert of Cicyle,*
Hou pride dude him beguile.]'
Princis proude that bene in preesse,
A thinge I wulle yow telle that is no lees.
In Cesille was a nobille kynge,
Fayre and stronge and sumdel yonge[k],

[h] All the romances have such an obstacle as this They have all an enchantress, who detains the knight from his quest by objects of pleasure, and who is nothing more than the Calypso of Homer, the Dido of Virgil, and the Armida of Tasso.

[i] MS Vernon, ut supr Bibl Bodl f 299 It is also in Caius College Camb MSS. Class. E 174 4 and Bibl. Publ Cambr. MSS. More, 690 35 and Brit. Mus MSS. Harl. 525. 2. f 35. Cod membran [and MS Harl 1701 —M] Never printed.

[The extracts in this edition have been copied from the Harl. MS 525, with the exception of the passages in brackets, which have been taken from Warton's transcript of the Vernon MS Mr Ellis, who has analysed it, concurs with Warton in opinion "that the history of the Emperor Jovinian in the 59th chapter of the Gesta Romanorum is nearly identical with this romance" He further adds "The incidents, however, are not exactly similar, and in some of these the Latin prose has a manifest advantage over the minstrel poem"—PRICE]

[k] ȝyng, MS. Vernon

He had a broder in grete Rome
Pope of alle Cristyndome;
Anoder broder in Almayne,
Emperour that Sarysinys wrought ageyne.
The kynge was called kynge Robert,
Neuer mane wyst him aferd:
He was kynge of mikelle honour,
He was cleped a conquerour:
In noo land was his pere,
Kynge ne duke, fer ne nere:
For he was of chyuallry flour,
His broder was made emperour:
His oder broder Goddis vyker,
Pope of Rome, as I seyde ere,
He was cleped pope Urbane,
He loved bothe God [and] mane:
The emperour was cleped sir Valamond,
A stronger werrour was none found,
Affter his broder of Cecyle,
Of whom I wulle speke awhyle.
That kynge thought he had no pere
In alle the world, ferre ne nere,
And in his thought he had pryde,
For he hadde no pere in neuer a syde.
And on a nyght of seynt Johne
The baptist, the kynge to cherche wolde gone,
For to herene his evenesonge;
Hym thought he dwelled there to longe,
His thought was more in worldly honoure
Thanne in Jhesu our Saviour:
In Magnificat[1] he herd a vers,
He made a clerke it to rehers,
n langage of his owne tunge,
In Lateyn he ne west[m] that they songe,
The verse was this I telle the,
Deposuit potentes de sede
Et exaltavit humiles,
That was the verse wethought lees:
The clerke seyde anon ryght,
"Sir, soche is Goddis myght,
That he may make hie lowe
And low hie in a lytylle throwe;
God may do, with out lye,
His wille in twenkelynge of a nye[n]."

[1] the hymn so called [m] *ne wist*, knew not [n] eye.

The kynge seyde with thought vnstabille
"Ye rede and synge false in fable:
What mane hath that power
To brynge me in soche daunger?
My name is flour of cheualrye,
Myne enemyes I may distroye:
Nomane leueth now in londe
That me may now with stonde.
Thenne is this a songe of nought."
This is errour thenne he thought,
And in his slepe a thought him toke
In his pulpitte[o] as seyth the booke.
Whanne evensonge was alle idone,
A kynge lyke him home ganne gone
Alle men gonne with him wende,
Thenne was the toder kynge out of mynde[p].
The newe kynge, as I the telle,
Was Goddis aungelle his pryde to felle.
The aungelle in halle joy made,
And alle his men of him were glade.
The kynge waked that was in cherche,
His men he thougth woo to werche;
For he was left there alone,
And derke nyght felle him vppone.
He ganne cry for his mene,
Ther was none that spake ayene.
But the sexteyne of the cherche att last
Swythly to hym he ganne goo fast,
And seyd "What doost thou here,
Fals thefe, and theves fere?
Thou art here felonye to werche
To robbe God and holy churche," &c.
The kynge ranne ought thanne faste;
As a man that were wode,
Att his paleys there he stode,
And kalled the porter: "False gadlynge[q],
Opene the yates in hyenge[r]."
Anone the yates to on doo,
The porter [seide] "Who clepeth[s] soo?"
He answerd ryght anone,
"Thou shalt wete ar we gone;
Thy lord I am thou shalt wele knowe:
In prysone thou shallt lye fulle lowe,

[*"And in his thought a sleep him tok," MS. Vernon.]

[o] stall, or seat.

[p] "A king like him went out of the chapel, and all the company with him, while the real king Robert was forgotten and left behind."

[q] renegado, traitor

[r] at the call [in haste]

[s] calls.

[And ben an-hanged and to-drawe
As a traytour bi the lawe,]
Thou shalt wete I am kynge," &c.

When admitted, he is brought into the hall; where the angel, who had assumed his place, makes him *the fool of the hall*, and cloathes him in a fool's coat. He is then sent out to lie with the dogs; in which situation he envies the condition of those dogs, which in great multitudes were permitted to remain in the royal hall. At length the emperor Valemounde sends letters to his brother king Robert, inviting him to visit, with himself, their brother the pope at Rome. The angel, who personates king Robert, welcomes the messengers, and cloathes them in the richest apparel, such as could not be made in the world.

The aungell welcomed the mesangeris,
And yaf hem clothynge ryche of pryse,
Forred it was alle with ermyne,
In Cristyndome was none soo fyne;
And alle was congetted with perles ryche,
Neuer mane sawe none hem leche:
Soche clothynge and it were to dyght,
Alle Cristendome hem make ne myght,
Where soche clothynge were to selle,
Ne who them made kanne nomane telle.
And alle they were of o clothynge,
Soche before mad neuer kynge.
The messangeres wentt with the kynge[t],
To grete Rome without lettynge;
The fole Robert with him went,
Clothed in a folis garnement,
With foxis taylys hongynge al abowght,
Men myght [him] knowe in ye rought, &c.
The aungelle was clothed alle in white,
There was neuer fonde soche a wyghte:
Alle was cowched in perles ryche,
Saw neuer mane anoder him liche.
Alle was whyte bothe tyre and stede,
The place was fayr ther they yede[u];
So fayre a stede as he on rode
Was neuer mane that euer bystrode.
And so was alle his aparelle
Alle mene there of hadde mervayle.
Hys mene were alle rychely dyght
Here[w] reches can telle no wyght,
Of clothis, gyrdelis, and oder thyngis,
Euery swquyer men thought knyghtis[x];

[t] that is, the angel. [u] went. [w] their. [x] [a kyng. MS. Vernon.]

Alle they redyne in ryche araye,
But kynge Robert as I yow saye,
[Al men on him gan pyke,
For he rod al other unlyke.
An ape rod of his clothing
In tokne that he was underling.]
The pope and the emperour also,
And oder lordis many mo,
Welcomed the aungele as for kynge
And maden joye of his comynge, &c.

Afterwards they return in the same pomp to Sicily, where the angel, after so long and ignominious a penance, restores king Robert to his royalty.

Sicily was conquered by the French in the eleventh century[n], and

[n] There is an old French Romance, Robert le Diable, often quoted by Carpentier in his Supplement to Du Cange. And a French Morality, without date or name of the author, in manuscript, *Comment il fut enjoint à* ROBERT *le diable, fils du duc de Normandie, pour ses mesfaites, de faire le fol sang parler, et depuis* N. S. *ut merci du lui* Beauchamps, Rech. Theat Fr p 109. This is probably the same Robert.

[The French prose romance of Robert le Diable, printed in 1496, is extant in the little collection, of two volumes, called Bibliothèque Bleue. It has been translated into other languages among the rest into English. The English version was printed by Wynkyn de Worde The title of one of the chapters is, *How God sent an aungell to the hermyte to shewe him the penaunce that he sholde gyve to Robert for his synnes* —"Yf that Robert wyll be shryven of his synnes, he must kepe and counterfeite the wayes of a fole and be as he were dombe, &c." It ends thus.

Thus endeth the lyfe of Robert the devyll
That was the servant of our lorde
And of his condycyons that was full evyll
Enprynted in London by Wynkyn the Worde.

The volume has this colophon. "Here endeth the lyfe of the moost ferefullest and unmercifullest and myschevous Roberte the devyll which was afterwarde called the servaunte of our Lorde Jhesu Cryst Enprynted in Fletestrete in [at] the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde." There is an old English Morality on this tale, under the very corrupt title of ROBERT CICYLL, which was represented at the High-Cross in Chester, in 1529. There is a manuscript copy of the poem, on vellum, in Trinity College library at Oxford, MSS. Num. LVII. fol. —ADDITIONS]

[Robert of Cicyle and Robert the Devil, though not identical, are clearly members of the same family, and this poetic embodiment of their lives is evidently the offspring of that tortuous opinion so prevalent in the middle ages, and which time has mellowed into a vulgar adage, that "the greater the sinner the greater the saint" The subject of the latter poem was doubtlessly Robert the first duke of Normandy, who became an early object of legendary scandal, and the transition to the same line of potentates in Sicily was an easy effort when thus supported The romantic legend of Sir Gowther recently published in the Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry, is only a different version of Robert the Devil with a change of scene, names, &c The Bibliothèque Bleue is a voluminous collection, of which Warton appears to have seen only two volumes —PRICE]

[Although it has been assumed that Robert the Devil was identical with the first duke of Normandy, this question has been recently the subject of a discussion occasioned by the publication of the Miracle or Morality at Rouen in 1836 See the Note at the end of this Section.— R T]

[A curious metrical Lyfe of Roberte the Deuyll was published by J Herbert, 8vo, Lond 1798, from a transcript made in the reign of Elizabeth from a 4to edition in black letter, printed by W de Worde or Pynson, and ornamented with woodcuts In Mr Douce's curious library was a MS containing transcripts by the same hand of the romances of Syr Isenbras, Syr

this tale might have been originally got or written during their possession of that island, which continued through many monarchies[o]. But Sicily, from its situation, became a familiar country to all the western continent at the time of the Crusades, and consequently soon found its way into romance, as did many others of the Mediterranean islands and coasts, for the same reason. Another of them, Cilicia, has accordingly given title to an antient tale called The KING OF TARS; from which I shall give some extracts, touched with a rude but expressive pencil.

"Her bigenneth of the KYNG OF TARS, and of the Soudan of Dammias[p], how the Soudan of Dammias was cristened thoru Godis gras[q]."

Herkeneth now, bothe olde and yyng,
For Maries love, that swete thyng:
How a werre bigan
Bitwene a god Cristene kyng,
And an hethene heyhe lordyng,
Of Damas the Soudan.
The kyng of Taars hedde a wyf,
The feireste that mighte bere lyf,
That eny mon telle can:
A doughter thei hadde hem bitween,
That heore[r] rihte heir scholde ben;
White so[s] fether of swan:
Chaast heo[t] was, and feir of chere,
With rode[u] red so blosme on brere,
Eyyen[w] stepe and gray,
With lowe schuldres, and whyte swere[x];
Hire to seo[y] was gret preyere
Of princes pert in play.

Degore, Syr Gawayne, and Syr Eglamoure of Artoys, all of which were copied in 1564, from printed editions earlier than Copland's —M]

[o] A passage in Fauchet, speaking of rhyme, may perhaps deserve attention here "Pour le regard de *Siciliens*, je me tiens presque asseuré, que Guillaume Ferrabrach frère de Robert Guischard et autres seigneurs de Calabre et Pouille enfans de Tancred François-Normand, l'ont portée aux pais de leur conqueste, estant une coustume des gens de deça chanter, avant que combattre, les beaux faits de leurs ancestres, composez en vers" Rec p 70 Boccacio's Tancred, in his beautiful Tale of Tancred and Sigismunda, was one of these Franco-Norman kings of Sicily Compare Nouv Abreg Chronol. Hist Fr pag 102 edit. 1752. [Also Gibbon, ch lvi]

[p] Damascus

[q] MS. Vernon. Bibl Bodl f 304 It is also in Bibl Adv Edinb. W 4 1 Num. iv. In five leaves and a half. Never printed.

[This romance will be found in Mr. Ritson's Collection, vol ii from whose transcript the present text has been corrected On the authority of Douglas's version of the Æneid and Ruddiman's Glossary, he interprets "Tars" to mean Thrace, but as the story is one of pure invention, and at best but a romantic legend, why not refer the Damas and Tars of the text to the Damascus and Tarsus of Scripture?—PRICE]

[r] their.
[s] as.
[t] she.
[u] ruddy [complexion].
[w] eyes.
[x] neck.
[y] see.

The word of hire[a] sprong ful wyde
Feor and ner, bi vche a syde:
The Soudan herde say;
Him thoughte his herte wolde breke on five
Bot he mihte have hire to wyve,
That was so feir a may;
The Soudan ther he sat in halle;
He sente his messagers faste withalle,
To hire fader the kyng.
And seide, hou so hit ever bifalle,
That mayde he wolde clothe in palle
And spousen hire with his ryng.
"And elles[a] I swere withouten fayle
I schull[b] hire winnen in pleyn battayle
With mony an heih lordyng," &c.

The Soldan, on application to the king of Tarsus for his daughter, is refused; and the messengers return without success. The Soldan's anger is painted with great characteristical spirit.

The Soudan sat at his des,
Iserved of his furste mes;
Thei comen into the halle
Tofore the prince proud in pres,
Heore tale thei tolden withouten lees
And on heore knees gunne falle:
And seide, "Sire, the kyng of Tars
Of wikked wordes nis not scars,
Hethene hound[c] he doth the[f] calle;
And er his doughtur he give the tille[g]
Thyn herte blode he wol spille
And thi barouns alle."
Whon the Soudan this iherde,
As a wod man he ferde,
His robe he rente adoun;
He tar the her[h] of hed and berd,
And seide he wold her wine* with sword,
Beo his lord seynt Mahoun.
The table adoun riht he smot,
In to the floore foot hot[i],
He lokede as a wylde lyoun;

[a] The report of her
[a] also [else] [b] shall
[c] A phrase often applied to the Saracens. So in Syr Bevys, Signat C ii b

To speke with an *hethene hounde.*

[f] thee.
[g] "Before his daughter is given to thee"
[h] "tore the hair"
* [Warton reads "wene," and Ritson "wive," from whence the reading in the text was too obvious not to be adopted — PRICE.] [I doubt very much whether *wine* for winne is admissible, and should feel inclined to follow the reading of the MS. *wiue*, for *marry*, as in Ritson —M.]
[i] struck, stamped [An idiomatic expression to denote anger or haste, still used by the Irish peasantry.—M.]

Al that he hitte he smot doun riht
Bothe sergaunt and kniht,
Erl and eke baroun.
So he ferde forsothe a plıht,
Al a day, and al a nıht,
That no man mıhte hım chaste
A morwen whon hıt was day lıht,
He sent his messagers ful rıht,
After hıs barouns ın haste:
[That thaı com to his parlement,
For to heren his jugement
Bothe lest and mast.
When the parlement was pleyner,
Tho bispac the Soudan fer,
And seyd to hem ın hast.]†
"Lordynges," he seıth, "what to rede[l],
Me ıs don a grete mysdede,
Of Taars the Crısten kyng;
I bed him bothe lond and ledc
To have his douhter in worthli wede,
And spousc hıre with my ryng.
And he seıde, withouten fayle
Arst he wolde me sle in batayle,
And mony a gret lordynge.
Ac sertes[m] he schal be forswore,
Or to wrothe [r] hele[n] that he was bore,
Bote he hit therto[o] bryng.
Therefore lordynges, I have after ow sent
For to come to my parliment,
To wıte of yow counsayle."
And alle onswerde with godc entent
Thei wolde be at hıs comaundement
Withouten eny fayle.
And whon theı were alle at his heste,
The Soudan made a wel gret feste,
For love of his batayle;
The Soudan gederet an oste unryde[p],
With Sarazıns of muchel pryde,
The kyng of Tars to assayle.

[k] check.

† [The lınes wıthin brackets were ınserted by Mr. Rıtson from the Auchınleck MS.—PRICE]

[l] "what counsel shall we take?"

[m] But certaınly

[n] Loss of health or safety Maledıctıon So Robert of Brunne, Chron apud Hearne's Rob Glouc p 737 738.

Morgan dıd after conseile,
And wrought hım selfe to *wrotherheıle.*

Again,

To ȝow al was a wikke conseile,
That ȝe selle se full *wrotherheıle.*

[o] To that issue.

[p] unrıght, wıcked [numerous]

Whon the kyng hit herde that tyde
He sent about on vche asyde,
Alle that he mihte of seende;
Gret werre tho bigan ꝧo wrake
For the mariage ne most be take
Of that mayden heende[q].
Batayle thei sette uppon a day,
Withinne the thridde day of May,
Ne longer nolde thei leende[r].
The Soudan com with gret power,
With helm briht, and feir baneer,
Uppon that kyng to wende.
The Soudan ladde an huge ost,
And com with muche pruyde and cost,
With the kyng of Tars to fihte.
With him mony a Sarazyn feer[s],
Alle the feldes feor and neer,
Of helmes leomede[t] lihte.
The kyng of Tars com also
The Soudan batayle for to do
With mony a Cristene knihte;
Either ost gon othur assayle
Ther bigon a strong batayle
That grislych was of siht.
Threo hethene ayein twey Cristene mei
And falde hem doun in the fen,
With wepnes stif and goode:
The steorne Sarazyns in that fiht,
Slowe vr Cristen men doun riht,
Thei fouhte as heo weore woode.
The Soudan ost in that stounde
Feolde the Cristene to the grounde,
Mony a freoly foode;
The Sarazins, withouten fayle,
The Cristene culde[u] in that battayle,
Nas non that hem withstoode.
Whon the king of Tars sauh that siht
Wodde he was for wraththe apliht;
In honde he hent a spere,
And to the Soudan he rode ful riht,
With a dunt[x] of much miht,
Adoun he gon him bere:

[q] hend, handsome, [courteous. A general term expressive of personal and mental accomplishments.—PRICE.]
[r] tarry.
[t] shone.
[x] *dint.* wound, stroke.
[s] companion.
[u] killed.

The Soudan neigh he hedde islawe,
But thritti thousent of hethene lawe
Coomen him for to were;
And broughten him ayeyn upon his stede,
And holpe him wel in that nede,
That no mon miht him dere[y].
Whon he was brouht uppon his stede,
He sprong as sparkle doth of glede[z],
For wrathe and for envye,
Alle that he hutte he made hem blede,
He ferde as he wolde a wede[a],
"Mahoun help," he gan crye.
Mony an helm ther was unweved,
And mony a bacinet[b] tocleved,
And sadeles mony emptye;
Men mihte se uppon the feld
Moni a knyht ded under scheld,
Of the Cristene cumpagnye.
Whon the kyng of Taars saugh hem so ryde,
No lengor there he nolde abyde,
Bote fleyh[c] to his oune citè:
The Sarazins, that ilke tyde,
Slough adoun bi vche a syde
Vr Cristene folk so fre.
The Sarazins that tyme, saunz fayle,
Slowe vr Cristene in batayle,
That reuthe hit was to se;
And on the morwe for heore[d] sake
Truwes thei gunne togidere take[e],
A moneth and dayes thre.
As the kyng of Tars sat in his halle,
He made ful gret deol[f] withalle,
For the folk that he hedde ilore[g]
His douhter com in riche palle,
On kneos heo[h] gon biforen him falle,
And seide with syking sore:
"Fader," heo seide, "let me beo his wyf,
That ther be no more strif," &c.

To prevent future bloodshed, the princess voluntarily declares she is willing to be married to the Soldan, although a Pagan: and notwithstanding the king her father peremptorily refuses his consent, and re-

[y] hurt
[z] coal, fire-brand
[e] They began to make a truce together.
[a] as if he was mad.
[b] helmet.
[f] dole, grief.
[c] flew
[d] their.
[g] lost.
[h] she.

solves to continue the war, with much difficulty she finds means to fly to the Soldan's court, in order to produce a speedy and lasting reconciliation by marrying him.

To the Soudan heo[i] is ifare;
He com with mony an heigh lordyng,
For to welcom that swete thyng,
Ther heo com in hire chare[k]:
He custe[l] hire wel mony a sithe
His joye couthe no man kithe[m],
Awei was al hire care.
Into chambre heo was led,
With riche clothes heo was cled,
Hethene as thaug heo were[n].
The Soudan ther he sat in halle,
He comaundede his knihtes alle
That mayden for to fette,
In cloth of riche purpil palle,
And on hire hed a comeli calle,
Bi the Soudan heo was sette.
Unsemli was hit for to se
Heo that was so bright of ble
To habbe[o] so foule a mette[p], &c.

They are then married, and the wedding is solemnized with a grand tournament, which they both view from a high tower. She is afterwards delivered of a son, which is so deformed as to be almost a monster. But at length she persuades the Soldan to turn Christian; and the young prince is baptized, after which ceremony he suddenly becomes a child of most extraordinary beauty. The Soldan next proceeds to destroy his Saracen idols.

He hente a staf with herte grete,
And al his goddes he gan to bete,
And drouh hem alle adoun;
And leyde on til that he con swete,
With sterne strokes and with grete,
On Jovyn* and Plotoun,
On Astrot and sire Jovin
On Tirmagaunt and Apollin,

[i] she.
[k] chariot.
[l] kist.
[m] know
[n] as if she had been a heathen, one of that country.
[o] have.
[p] mate.
* [I know not if by *sire Jovyn* he means Jupiter, or the Roman emperour called Jovinian, against whom St. Jerom wrote, and whose history is in the Gesta Romanorum, c 59. He is mentioned by Chaucer as an example of pride, luxury, and lust. Somp. T. v. 7511 Verdier (in v) recites a *Moralité* on Jovinian, with nineteen characters, printed at Lyons, from an antient copy in 1581, 8vo, with the title *L'Orgueil et présomption de l'Empereur* JOVINIAN. But *Jovyn* being mentioned here with *Plotoun* and *Apollin*, seems to mean *Jove* or *Jupiter;* and the appellation SIRE perhaps implies *father*, or *chief*, of the heathen gods.—ADDITIONS.]

He brak hem scolle and croun;
On Tirmagaunt, that was heore brother,
He lafte no lym hole with other,
Ne on his lord seynt Mahoun, &c.

The Soldan then releases thirty thousand Christians, whom he had long detained prisoners. As an apostate from the pagan religion, he is powerfully attacked by several neighbouring Saracen nations: but he solicits the assistance of his father-in-law the king of Tars; and they both joining their armies, in a pitched battle, defeat five Saracen kings, Kenedoch, Lesyas king of Taborie, Merkel, Cleomadas, and Membrok. There is a warmth of description in some passages of this poem, not unlike the manner of Chaucer. The reader must have already observed that the stanza resembles that of Chaucer's RIME OF SIR TOPAS[q].

IPOMEDON is mentioned among the romances in the Prologue of RICHARD CUER DE LYON; which, in an antient copy of the British Museum, is called SYR IPOMYDON: a name borrowed from the Theban war, and transferred here to a tale of the feudal times[r]. This piece is evidently derived from a French original. Our hero Ipomydon is son of Ermones king of Apulia, and his mistress is the fair heiress of Calabria. About the year 1230, William Ferrabras[s], and his brethren, sons of Tancred the Norman, and well known in the romantic history of the Paladins, acquired the signories of Apulia and Calabria. But our English romance seems to be immediately translated from the French; for Ermones is called king of *Poyle*, or Apulia, which in French is *Pouille*. I have transcribed some of the most interesting passages[t].

Ipomydon, although the son of a king, is introduced waiting in his father's hall, at a grand festival. This servitude was so far from being dishonourable, that it was always required as a preparatory step to knighthood[u].

Every yere the kyng wold
At Whytsontyde a fest hold
Off dukis, erlis, and barons,
Many there come frome dyuers townes,
Ladyes, maydens, gentille and fre,
Come thedyr frome ferre contrè:

[q] The romance of SIR LIBEAUX or LYBIUS DISCONIUS, quoted by Chaucer, is in this stanza. MSS. Cott. Calig. A. ii. f. 40.

[r] MS. Harl. 2252. 44. f. 54. And in the library of Lincoln cathedral (K. k. 3. 10.) is an antient imperfect printed copy, [enprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, wanting the first sheet. This translation is said to differ from that in MS.—M.] [Printed in Mr. Weber's collection of Metrical Romances. It has also been analysed by Mr. Ellis.—PRICE.]

[s] *Bras de fer.* Iron arms.

[William Ferrabras and his brethren may be found in the *real* not the *romantic* history of the Paladins. Mr. Warton seems to have confounded him with the giant Fierabras mentioned in Don Quixote.—RITSON.]

[t] MS. f. 55.

[u] See p. 38, note[r] of this volume.

And grete lordis of ferre lond,
Thedyr were prayd by fore the hond[w].
When alle were come togedyr than
There was joy of many a man;
Fulle riche I wote were hyr seruice,
For better myght no man devyse.
Ipomydon that day servyd in halle,
Alle spake of hym bothe grete and smalle,
Ladies and maydens byheld hym one,
So godely a man they had sene none:
His feyre chere in halle theym smert
That many a lady smote throw the hert.
And in there hertis they made mone
That there lordis ne were suche one.
Aftyr mete they went to pley,
Alle the peple, as I you sey;
Somme to chambre, and som to boure,
And somme to the hye towre[x];
And somme in the halle stode
And spake what hem thought gode:
Men that were of that cite[y]
Enquered of men of other contrè, &c.

Here a conversation commences concerning the heiress of Calabria: and the young Prince Ipomydon immediately forms a resolution to visit and to win her. He sets out in disguise.

Now they go forthe on hir way,
Ipomydon to hys men gan sey,
That ther be none of hem alle,
So hardy by hys name hym calle,
Whereso thei wend ferre or nere,
Or ouer the strange ryuere;
"Ne man telle what I ame,
What I shalle be, ne whens I came."
Alle they granted his comandement,
And forthe they went with one assent.
Ipomydon and Tholomew
Robys had on and mantillis new,
Of the richest that myght bee,
Ther was [nas] suche in that cuntrèe:

[w] before-hand.

[x] In the feudal castles, where many persons of both sexes were assembled, and who did not know how to spend the time, it is natural to suppose that different parties were formed, and different schemes of amusement invented. One of these was to mount to the top of one of the highest towers in the castle.

[y] The Apulians.

For many was the ryche stone
That the mantillis were vppon.
So longe there weys they haue nome[z]
That to Calabre they ar come:
They come to the castelle yate
The porter was redy there at,
The porter to theyme they gan calle,
And prayd hym go in to the halle,
And say thy lady[a] gent and fre,
That comen ar men of ferre contrè,
And if it plese hyr, we wolle hyr prey,
That we myght ete with hyr to day.
The porter sayd fulle cortessly
"Your erand to do I am redy."
The lady to hyr mete was sette,
The porter come and feyre hyr grette,
"Madame," he sayd, "God you saue,"
Atte your gate gestis ye haue,
Strange men as for to see
They aske mete for charytè."
The lady comaundith sone anone
That the gates were vndone,
"And bryng theym alle byfore me
For wele at ese shalle they bee."
They toke hyr pagis, hors & alle,
These two men went in to the halle,
Ipomydon on knees hym sette,
And the lady feyre he grette:
"I am a man of strange contrè
And pray you yff your wille to [so] be
That I myght dwelle with you to-yere
Of your norture for to lere[b],
I am come frome ferre lond;
For speche I here by fore the hand,

[z] took [taken].

[a] She was lady, by inheritance, of the signory. The female feudataries exercised all the duties and honours of their feudal jurisdiction in person. In Spenser, where we read of the *Lady of the Castle*, we are to understand such a character. See a story of a *Comtesse*, who entertains a knight in her castle with much gallantry. Mem. sur l'Anc. Chev. ii. 69. It is well known that anciently in England ladies were sheriffs of counties.

[Margaret countess of Richmond was a justice of peace. Sir W. Dugdale tells us that Ela widow of William earl of Salisbury executed the sheriff's office for the county of Wilts, in different parts of the reign of Henry III. (See Baronage, vol i 177.) From Fuller's Worthies we find that Elizabeth widow of Thomas Lord Clifford was sheriffess of Westmoreland for many years: and from Pennant's Scottish Tour we learn that for the same county, Anne, the celebrated countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery, often sat in person as sheriffess. Yet Ritson doubted of facts to substantiate Mr. Warton's assertion. See his Obs. p. 10. and reply in the Gent. Mag. 1782. p. 573.—PARK.]

[b] learn.

That your norture and your servise,
Ys holden of so grete empryse,
I pray you that I may dwelle here
Somme of your seruyse for to lere."
The lady byheld Ipomydone,
Hym semyd wele a gentilmane,
She knew none suche in hyr londe,
So goodly a mane & wele farand[c];
She saw also by his norture
He was a man of grete valure:
She cast fulle sone in hyr thoght
That for no seruyce come he noght;
But it was worship hyr vnto
In feyre seruyce hym to do.
She sayd, "Syr, welcome ye be,
And alle that comyn be with the;
Sithe ye haue had so grete travayle,
Of a service ye shalle not fayle:
In thys contre ye may dwelle here,
And at youre wille for to lere;
Of the cuppe ye shalle serue me
And alle your men with you shal be;
Ye may dwelle here at youre wille,
But[d] your beryng be fulle ylle."
"Madame," he sayd, "grantmercy,"
He thankid the lady cortesly.
She comandyth hym to the mete,
But or he satte in any sete,
He saluted theym grete & smalle,
As a gentille man shuld in halle;
Alle they sayd sone anone,
They saw neuyr so goodly a mane,
Ne so light, ne so glad,
Ne non that so ryche atyre had;
There was none that sat nor yede[e],
But they had mervelle of hys dede[f],
And sayd, he was no lytell syre
That myght shew suche atyre.
Whan they had ete, and grace sayd,
And the tabylle away was leyd;
Vpp than aroos Ipomydon,
And to the botery he went anone,
And [dyde] his mantille hym aboute;
On hym lokyd alle the route,

[c] handsome. [d] unless. [e] walked. [f] behaviour.

And euery man sayd to other there,
"Wille ye se the proude squeer
Shalle serue[g] my lady of the wyne,
In hys mantelle that is so fyne?"
That they hym scornyd wist he noght,
On othyr thyng he had his thoght.
He toke the cuppe of the botelere,
And drewe a lace of sylke fulle clere,
Adowne than felle hys mantylle by,
He prayd hym for hys curtessy,
That lytelle yifte[h] that he wolde nome
Tille efte sone a better come.
Vp it toke the botelere,
Byfore the lady he gan it bere,
And prayd the lady hertely
To thanke hym of his cortessye.
Alle that was tho in the halle
Grete honowre they spake hym alle;
And sayd he was no lytelle man
That suche yiftys yiffe kan.
There he dwellyd many a day,
And servid the lady wele to pay,
He bare hym on so feyre manere
To knyghtis, ladyes, and squyere,
Alle louyd hym that were hym by,
For he bare hym so cortesly.
The lady had a cosyne that hight Jason,
Fulle wele he louyd Ipomydon;
Where that he yede in or oute,
Jason went with hym aboute.
The lady lay, but she slept noght,
For of the squyere she had grete thoght;
How he was feyre, and shapè wele,
Body and armes, and euery dele;
There was non in alle hir land
So wel besemyd doughty of hand.
But she kowde wete for no case,
Whens he come, ne what he was,
Ne of no man cowde enquere
Other than the strange squyere.
She hyr bythought on a queyntyse,
If she myght know in ony wyse,
To wete whereof he were come;
Thys was hyr thoght alle & somme

[g] "who is to serve." [h] i. e. his mantle.

She thought to wode hyr men to tame[i],
That she myght knowe hym by his game.
On the morow whan it was day
To hyr men than gan she say,
"To morow whan it is day lyght,
Loke ye be alle redy dight,
With youre handis [houndis] more and lesse,
In the forest to take my grese;
And there I wille my self be,
Youre game to byhold and see."
Ipomydon had houndis thre,
That he broght frome his contrè;
When they were to the wodde gone,
This lady and hyr men ichone,
And with hem hyr howndis ladde,
Alle that euyr any howndis had.
Sir Tholomew foryate he noght,
His mastres howndis thedyr he broght,
That many a day ne had ronne ere,
Fulle wele he thoght to note hem there.
Whan they come to the laund on hight,
The quenys pavylon there was pight,
That she myght se of the best,
Alle the game of the forèst.
The wandlessours went throw the forèst,
And to the lady brought many a best[k],
Herte and hynde, buk and doo,
And othir bestis many moo.
The howndis that were of gret prise,
Pluckid downe dere alle at a tryse,
Ipomydon with his houndis thoo
Drew downe bothe buk and doo,
More he toke with houndis thre
Than alle that othyr compaigne.
There squyres vndyd hyr dere,
Iche man on his owne manere;
Ipomydon a dere yede vnto,
Fulle konnyngly gan he it vndo;
So feyre that veneson he gan to dight,
That bothe hym byheld squyere and knyght.
The lady lokyd oute of hyr pavyloune,
And saw hym dight the venysone.
There she had grete deynte
And so had alle that dyd hym see;

[i] f. tempt. [Probably *tane*, take, *rythmi gratia*.—WEBER.]

[k] beast.

She saw alle that he downe droughe,
Of huntyng she wist he cowde inoughe,
And thoght in hyr herte than
That he was come of gentille men.
She bad Jason hyr men to calle;
Home they passyd grete & smalle.
Home they come sone anone,
This lady to hyr mete gan gone,
And of venery[l] had hyr fille,
For they had take game at wille.

He is aftewards knighted with great solemnity.

The heraudes gaff the child[m] the gree,
A M[r] pownde he had to fee,
Mynstrellys had yiftes of golde
And fourty dayes thys fest was holde.[n]

The metrical romance entitled LA MORT ARTHURE, preserved in the same repository, is supposed by the learned and accurate Wanley, to be a translation from the French: who adds, that it is not perhaps older than the times of Henry the Seventh.[o] But as it abounds with many Saxon words, and seems to be quoted in SYR BEVYS[p], I have given it a place here. Notwithstanding the title, and the exordium which promises the history of Arthur and the Sangreal,—the exploits of Sir Lancelot du Lake king of Benwike, his intrigues with Arthur's queen Geneura, and his refusal of the beautiful daughter of the earl of Ascalot, form the greatest part of the poem. At the close, the repentance of Lancelot and Geneura, who both assume the habit of religion, is introduced. The writer mentions the Tower of London. The following is a description of a tournament performed by some of the knights of the Round Table[q].

Tho to the castelle gonne they fare,
To the ladye fayre and bright:
Blithe was the lady thare,
That they wold dwelle with hyr that night.
Hastely was there soper yare[r]
Off mete and drinke rychely dight;

[l] venison, [hunting, game.]
[m] Ipomydon. [n] MS. f. 61 b.
[o] MS. Harl. 2252. 49. f. 86. Pr. "Lordinges that are leffe and deare." Never printed.
[The late Mr. Ritson was of opinion that [this romance] was versified from the prose work of the same name written by Malory and printed by Caxton, in proof of which he contended that the style is marked by an evident affectation of antiquity. But in truth it differs most essentially from Malory's work, which was a mere compilation, whilst it follows with tolerable exactness the French romance of Lancelot, and its phraseology, which perfectly resembles that of Chester and other authors of the fifteenth century, betrays no marks of affectation.—ELLIS. A new edition of Caxton's Morte Arthur has since been published by Mr. Southey, 2 vols. 4to 1817.—PRICE.]
[p] Signat. K. ii. b. [q] MS. f. 89. b.
[r] ready. See Glossary to the Oxford edition of Shakspeare, 1771. In *voc.* [Also Nares and Jamieson.]

On the morow gonne they dyne & fare,
Both Launcelott and that othere knight.
Whan they come in to the feld,
Myche there was of game & play,
A while they hovid[s], & byheld
How Arthurs knightis rode that day,
Galehodis[t] party bygan to held[u],
On fote his knightis ar led away;
Launcelott stiff was vndyr scheld,
Thinkis to helpe yif that he may.
Besyde hym come than sire Ewayne,
Breme[w] as any wilde bore;
Launcelott springis hym ageyne[x],
In rede armys that he bore;
A dynte he yaff with mekille mayne,
Sire Ewayne was vnhorsid thare,
That alle men wente[y] he had bene slayne,
So was he woundyd wondyr sare[z].
Sir Boerte thoughte no thinge good,
When sire Ewayne vnhorsid was;
Forthe he springis, as he were wode,
To Launcelot withouten lees.
Launcelot hytte hym on the hode,
The nexte way to ground he chese;
Was none so stiff agayne hym stode
Fulle thynne he made the thikkest prees[a].
Sir Lyonelle beganne to tene[b],
And hastely he made hym bowne[c],
To Launcelott, with herte kene,
He rode with helme and sword browne;
Launcelott hitte hym as I wene,
Throughe the helme in to the crowne:
That euyr aftere it was sene;
Bothe hors and man there yede adowne.
The knightis gadrid togedire thare,
And gan with crafte, &c.

I could give many more ample specimens of the romantic poems of these nameless minstrels, who probably flourished before or about the reign of Edward the Second[d]. But it is neither my inclination nor in-

[s] hovered, [tarried.—M.]
[t] Sir Galaad's.
[u] Perhaps *yeld*, i. e. yield, [heel, i. e. give way.—M.]
[w] fierce. [x] against. [y] weened.
[z] sore. [a] crowd.
[b] be troubled. [c] ready.
[d] *Octavian* is one of the romances mentioned in the Prologue to Cure de Lyon, above cited. See also p. 124. of this volume. In the Cotton manuscripts there is the metrical romance of *Octavian imperator*, but it has nothing of the history of the Roman emperors. Pr. "Jhesu þat was with spere ystonge." Calig. A ii. f. 20. It is a very singular stanza. In Bishop More's

tention to write a catalogue, or compile a miscellany. It is not to b expected that this work should be a general repository of our antien

manuscripts at Cambridge, there is a poem with the same title, but a very different beginning, viz. "Lytyll and mykyll olde and younge." Bibl. Publ. 690. 30.—[This romance will be found in Mr. Weber's collection, vol. iii p. 157.—PRICE]—The emperor *Octavyen*, perhaps the same, is mentioned in Chaucer's Dreme, v. 368. Among Hatton's manuscripts in Bibl. Bodl. [No. 100] we have a French poem, *Romanz de Otheviene Empereor de Rome*. Hyper. Bodl. 4046. 21.

[A metrical romance of Octavyan was printed by W. de Worde, *bl. l.* with woodcuts. See MS. Harl. 5905. f. 17. (Bayford).—M.]

In the same line of the aforesaid Prologue, we have the romance of Ury. This is probably the father of the celebrated Sir Ewaine or Yvain, mentioned in the Court Mantell. Mem. Anc. Cheval. ii. p. 62.

Li rois pris par la destre main
L' amiz monseignor Yvain
Qui au ROI URIEN fu filz,
Et bons chevaliers et hardiz,
Qui tant ama chiens et oisiaux.

Specimens of the English Syr Bevys may be seen in Percy's Ball. iii. 216, 217, 297. edit 1767. And Observations on the Fairy Queen, § ii. p. 50. It is extant in the black letter. It is in manuscript at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ 690. 30 And Coll Cain, A 9. 5. And MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edinb. W 4. 1. Num. xxii.

[It is in this romance of Syr Bevys, that the knight passes over a bridge, the arches of which are hung round with small bells. Signat. E iv. This is an oriental idea. In the ALCORAN it is said, that one of the felicities in Mahomet's paradise, will be to listen to the ravishing music of an infinite number of bells, hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God. Sale's Koran, Prelim. Disc. p. 100. In the enchanted horn, as we shall see hereafter, in *le Lai du Corn*, the rim of the horn is hung round with a hundred bells of a most musical sound.—ADDITIONS.]

Sidracke was translated into English verse by one Hugh Campden; and printed, probably not long after it was translated, at London, by Thomas Godfrey, at the cost of Dan Robert Saltwood, monk of saint Austin's in Canterbury, 1510. This piece therefore belongs to a lower period. I have seen only one manuscript copy of it. Laud, G 57. fol. membran.

Chaucer mentions, in Sir Topaz, among others, the romantic poems of *Sir Blandamoure*, *Sir Libeaux*, and *Sir Ippotis*. Of the former I find nothing more than the name occurring in *Sir Libeaux*.

[This has been copied from Percy's Essay referred to below, the last edition of which reads *Blaundemere*, while the best MSS. of Chaucer read *Pleindamoure*—PRICE.]

To avoid prolix repetitions from other works in the hands of all, I refer the reader to Percy's Essay on antient metrical Romances, who has analysed the plan of *Sir Libeaux*, or *Sir Libius Disconius*, at large p. 17. See also p. 24. ibid.

As to *Sir Ippotis*, an antient poem with that title occurs in manuscript, MSS. Cotton, Calig. A ii. f. 77. and MS. Vernon f. 296. [Other copies may be found in MSS. Ashmole, 61. f. 83. and 750. f. 147 and MS. Arund. 140. Br. Mus.—M.] But as Chaucer is speaking of romances of chivalry, which he means to ridicule, and this is a religious legend, it may be doubted whether this is the piece alluded to by Chaucer. However, I will here exhibit a specimen of it from the exordium. MS Vernon, f. 296.

Her bi ginneth a tretys
That me clepeth YPOTYS.
Alle that wolleth of wisdom lere,
Lustneth now, and ȝe may here,
Of a tale of holi writ
Seynt John the evangelist witnesseth it
How hit bifelle in grete Rome,
The cheef citee of Cristendome,
A childe was sent of mihtes most,
Thorow vertue of the holi gost.
The emperour of Rome than
His name was hoten sire Adrian,
And when the child of grete honour
Was come bifore the emperour,
Upon his knees he him sette
The emperour full faire he grette.
The emperour with milde chere
Askede him whethence he come were, &c

We shall have occasion, in the progress of our poetry, to bring other specimens of these compositions. See Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, ii. 42, 43.

I must not forget here, that Sir Gawaine one of Arthur's champions, is celebrated in a separate romance. Among Tanner's manuscripts, we have the Weddynge of Sir Gawain, Numb. 455. Bibl. Bodl. It begins, "Be ye blythe and listeneth to the lyf of a lorde riche." [This reference is erroneous, and the poem has been sought for anxiously without success.—M.] Dr

poetry. I cannot however help observing, that English literature and English poetry suffer, while so many pieces of this kind still remain concealed and forgotten in our manuscript libraries. They contain in common with the prose-romances, to most of which indeed they gave rise, amusing images of antient customs and institutions, not elsewhere to be found, or at least not otherwise so strikingly delineated: and they preserve pure and unmixed, those fables of chivalry which formed the taste and awakened the imagination of our elder English classics. The antiquaries of former times overlooked or rejected these valuable remains, which they despised as false and frivolous; and employed their industry in reviving obscure fragments of uninstructive morality or uninteresting history. But in the present age we are beginning to make ample amends: in which the curiosity of the antiquarian is connected with taste and genius, and his researches tend to display the progress of human manners, and to illustrate the history of society.

As a further illustration of the general subject, and many particulars, of this section and the three last, I will add a new proof of the reverence in which such stories were held, and of the familiarity with which they must have been known, by our ancestors. These fables were not only perpetually repeated at their festivals, but were the constant objects of their eyes. The very walls of their apartments were clothed with romantic history. Tapestry was antiently the fashionable furniture of our houses, and it was chiefly filled with lively representations of this sort. The stories of the tapestry in the royal palaces of Henry the Eighth are still preserved[e]; which I will here give without reserve,

Percy has printed the Marriage of Sir Gawayne, which he believes to have furnished Chaucer with his Wife of Bath. Ball i. 11. It begins, "King Arthur lives in merry Carlisle." I think I have somewhere seen a romance in verse entitled, The Turke and Gawaine —[This romance occurs in Bishop Percy's catalogue given from his folio MS.—PRICE.]

[From a French MS. of the Romanz de Othevien Emperor de Rome, bequeathed by Hatton to the Bodleian Library, an elegant translated abridgement has been made, and printed for private distribution, (Oxford, 1809) by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare, late professor of Anglo-Saxon at the University of Oxford. —PARK.]

[e] "The seconde part of the Inventorye of our late sovereigne lord kyng Henry the Eighth, conteynynge his guard-robes, houshold-stuff, &c. &c." MS. Harl. 1419. fol. The original. Compare p. 119. of this volume, and Walpole's A necd. Paint. i. p. 10.

[I make no apology for adding here an account of the furniture of a CLOSET at the old royal palace of Greenwich, in the reign of Henry the Eighth; as it throws light on our general subject, by giving a lively picture of the fashions, arts, amusements, and modes of life, which then prevailed. From the same manuscript in the British Museum. "A clocke. A glasse of steele. Four battell axes of wood. Two quivers with arrowes. A painted table [i. e. a picture]. A payre of ballance [balances], with waights. A case of tynne with a plot. In the window [a large bow-window], a rounde mapp. A standinge glasse of steele in ship.—A branche of flowres wrought upon wyre. Two payre of playing tables of bone. A payre of chesmen in a case of black lether. Two birds of Araby. A gonne [gun] upon a stocke wheeled. Five paxes [crucifixes] of glasse and woode. A tablet of our ladie and saint Anne. A standinge glasse with imagery made of bone. Three payre of hawkes gloves, with two lined with velvett. Three combe-cases of bone furnished. A night-cappe of blacke velvett embrawdered. Sampson made in alablaster. A peece of unicorne's horne. Littel boxes in a case

including other subjects, as they happen to occur, equally descriptive of the times. In the tapestry of the Tower of London, the original and most antient seât of our monarchs, there are recited Godfrey of Bulloign, the three kings of Cologn, the emperor Constantine, saint George, king Erkenwald[f], the history of Hercules, Fame and Honour, the Triumph of Divinity, Esther and Ahasuerus, Jupiter and Juno, saint George, the eight Kings, the ten Kings of France, the Birth of our Lord, Duke Joshua, the riche history of king David, the seven Deadly Sins, the riche history of the Passion, the Stem of Jesse[g], our Lady and Son, king Solomon, the Woman of Canony, Meleager, and the Dance of

of woode. Four littel coffres for jewels. A horne of ivorie. A standinge diall in a case of copper. A horne-glasse Eight cases of trenchers. Forty-four dogs collars, of sondrye makynge. Seven *lyans* of silke A purse of crymson satten for a ... . embrawdered with golde. A round painted table with th' ymage of a kinge. A foldinge table of images. One payre of bedes [beads] of jasper garnyshed with lether. One hundred and thirty-eight hawkes hoodes. A globe of paper. A mappe made lyke a scryne. Two green boxes with wrought corall in them. Two boxes covered with blacke velvett. A reede tipt at both ends with golde, and bolts for a turony[1] bowe. A chaire of joyned worke An elle of synnamounde [cinnamon] sticke tipt with sylver. Three ridinge roddes for ladies, and a yard [rod] of blake tipt with horne. Six walkyng staves, one covered with silke and golde. A blake satten-bag with chesmen. A table with a cloth [a picture] of saint George embrawdered. A case of fyne carved work. A box with a bird of Araby. Two long cases of blacke lether with pedegrees. A case of Irish arrows. A table, with wordes, of Jhesus A target Twenty-nine bowes." MSS. Harl. 1412. fol 58. In the GALLERY at Greenwich, mention is made of a "Mappe of England" Ibid. fol. 58. And in Westminster-palace "a Mappe of Hantshire." fol 133. A proof that the topography of England was now studied. Among various HEADS of Furniture, or stores, at the castle of Windsor, such as HORNS, GYRDELLES, HAWKES HOODS, WEAPONS, BUCKLERS, DOGS COLLARS, and AIGLETTES, WALKING-STAVES are specified. Under this last HEAD we have, "A Cane garnished with sylver and gilte, with astronomie upon it. A Cane garnished with golde havinge a perfume in the toppe, undre that a diall, with a paire of twitchers, and a paire of compasses of golde and a foote reule of golde, a knife and the file, th' afte [the handle of the knife] or golde with a whetstone tipped with golde, &c." fol 407.—ADDITIONS]

[f] So in the record. But he was the third bishop of St Paul's, London, son of king Offa, and a great benefactor to St. Paul's church, in which he had a most superb shrine He was canonised Dugdale, among many other curious particulars relating to his shrine, says, that in the year 1339 it was decorated anew, when three goldsmiths, two at the wages of five shillings by the week, and one at eight, worked upon it for a whole year. Hist St. Paul's, p 21. See also p. 233.

[g] This was a favourite subject for a large gothic window. This subject also composed a branch of candlesticks thence called a JESSE, not unusual in the antient churches In the year 1097, Hugo de Flori, abbot of S. Aust. Canterb. bought for the choir of his church a great branch-candlestick. "Candelabrum magnum in choro æneum quod *jesse* vocatur in partibus emit transmarinis." Thorn, Dec. Script. col. 1796. About the year 1330, Adam de Sodbury, abbot of Glastonbury, gave to his convent "Unum dorsale laneum *le* JESSE." Hearn. Joan. Glaston, p. 265. That is, a piece of tapestry embroidered with the *stem of Jesse*, to be hung round the choir, or other parts of the church, on high festivals. He also gave a tapestry of this subject for the abbot's hall. Ibid. And I cannot help adding, what indeed is not immediately connected with the subject of this note, that he gave his monastery, among other costly presents, a great clock, processionibus et spectaculis insignitum, an organ of prodigious size, and eleven bells, six for the tower of the church, and five for the clock tower. He also new vaulted the nave of the church, and adorned the new roof with beautiful paintings. Ibid.

[1] Perhaps Tyrone in Ireland.

Maccabre[h]. At Durham-place we find the Citie of Ladies[i], the tapestrie of Thebes and of Troy, the City of Peace, the Prodigal Son[k], Esther, and other pieces of Scripture. At Windsor castle the siege of Jerusalem, Ahasuerus, Charlemagne, the siege of Troy, and *hawking and hunting*[l]. At Nottingham castle, Amys and Amelion[m]. At Woodstock manor, the tapestrie of Charlemagne[n]. At the More, a palace in Hertfordshire, king Arthur, Hercules, Astyages, and Cyrus. At Richmond, the arras of Sir Bevis, and Virtue and Vice fighting[o]. Many of these subjects are repeated at Westminster, Greenwich, Oatelands, Bedington in Surry, and other royal seats, some of which are now unknown as such[p]. Among the rest we have also Hannibal, Holofernes, Romulus and Remus, Æneas, and Susannah[q]. I have mentioned romances written on many of these subjects, and shall mention others. In the romance of SYR GUY, that hero's combat with the dragon in Northumberland is said to be represented in tapestry in Warwick castle.

> In Warwike the truth shall ye see
> In arras wrought ful craftely[r].

This piece of tapestry appears to have been in Warwick castle before the year 1398. It was then so distinguished and valued a piece of furniture, that a special grant was made of it by king Richard the Second

[h] f. 6. In many churches of France there was an antient shew or mimicry, in which all ranks of life were personated by the ecclesiastics, who all danced together, and disappeared one after another. It was called DANCE MACCABRE, and seems to have been often performed in St. Innocent's at Paris, where was a famous painting on this subject, which gave rise to Lydgate's poem under the same title. See Carpent. Suppl. Du Cange, Lat Gl. II. p. 1103. More will be said of it when we come to Lydgate. [See Mr. Douce's elaborate work on this subject published in 1833.]

[i] A famous French allegorical romance.

[k] A picture on this favourite subject is mentioned in Shakspeare. And in Randolph's Muses Looking-glass "In painted cloth the story of the PRODIGAL." Dodsl. Old Plays, VI. 260.

[l] f. 298. [m] f 364.

[n] f. 318. [o] f. 346

[p] Some of the tapestry at Hampton-court, described in this inventory, is to be seen still in a fine old room, now remaining in its original state, called the Exchequer.

[In an inventory of the effects of King Henry V. several pieces of tapestry are mentioned, with the subjects of the following romances, viz. Bevis of Hampton, Octavian, Gyngebras, Hawkyn namtelet, L'arbre de jeonesse, Farman (i. e Pharamond), Charlemayn, Duke Glorian, Elkanus le noble, Renaut, Trois roys de Coleyn, &c. See Rolls of Parl. sub anno 1423 —DOUCE]

[q] Montfaucon, among the tapestry of Charles the Fifth, king of France, in the year 1370, mentions, *Le tappis de la vie du saint Theseus.* Here the officer who made the entry calls Theseus a saint. *The seven Deadly Sins, Le saint Graal, Le graunt tappis de Neuf Preux, Reyne d'Ireland,* and *Godfrey of Bulloign.* Monum. Fr. III. 64. The *neuf preux* are the Nine Worthies. Among the stores of Henry the Eighth, taken as above, we have, "two old stayned clothes of the IX worthies for the greate chamber," at Newhall in Essex, f. 362. These were pictures. Again, at the palace of Westminster in *the little study called the Newe Librarye,* which I believe was in Holbein's elegant Gothic gatehouse lately demolished, there is, "Item, xii pictures of men on horsebacke of enamelled stuffe of the Nyne Worthies, and others upon square tables." f. 188. MSS. Harl. 1419. ut supr.

[r] Signat. Ca. 1. Some perhaps may think this circumstance an innovation or addition of later minstrels. A practice not uncommon.

in that year, conveying "that suit of arras hangings in Warwick castle, which contained the story of the famous Guy earl of Warwick," together with the castle of Warwick, and other possessions, to Thomas Holand, earl of Kent[s]. And in the restoration of forfeited property to this lord after his imprisonment, these hangings are particularly specified in the patent of king Henry the Fourth, dated 1399. When Margaret, daughter of king Henry the Seventh, was married to James king of Scotland, in the year 1503, Holyrood House at Edinburgh was splendidly decorated on that occasion; and we are told in an antient record, that the "hanginge of the queenes grett chammer represented the ystory of Troye toune." Again, "the king's grett chammer had one table, wer was satt, hys chammerlayn, the grett sqyer, and many others, well served; the which chammer was haunged about with the story of Hercules, together with other ystorys[t]." And at the same solemnity, "in the hall wher the qwene's company wer satt in lyke as in the other, an wich was haunged of the history of Hercules, &c.[u]" A stately chamber in the castle of Hesdin in Artois, was furnished by a duke of Burgundy with the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece, about the year 1468[w]. The affecting story of Coucy's Heart, which gave rise to an old metrical English romance entitled, the KNIGHT OF COURTESY, and the LADY OF FAGUEL, was woven in tapestry in Coucy castle in France[x]. I have seen an antient suite of arras, containing Ariosto's Orlando and Angelica, where, at every group, the story was all along illustrated with short rhymes in romance or old French. Spenser sometimes dresses the superb bowers of his fairy castles with this sort of historical drapery. In Hawes's Poem called the PASTIME OF PLEASURE, written in the reign of Henry the Seventh, of which due notice will be taken in its proper place, the hero of the piece sees all his future adventures displayed at large in the sumptuous tapestry of the hall of a castle. I have before mentioned the most valuable and perhaps most antient work of this sort now existing, the entire series of duke William's descent on England, preserved in the church of Bayeux in Normandy, and intended as an ornament of the choir on high festivals. Bartholinus

[s] Dugd. Bar. i. p. 237.

[t] Leland. Coll. vol. iii. p. 295, 296. Opuscul. edit. 1770.

[u] Ibid.

[w] See Obs. Fair. Qu. i. p. 177.

[x] Howel's Letters, xx. § vi. B. i. This is a true story, about the year 1180. Fauchet relates it at large from an old authentic French chronicle; and then adds, "Ainsi fineront les amours du Chastelain du Couci et de la dame de Faiel." Our Castellan, whose name is Regnard de Couci, was famous for his *chansons* and chivalry, but more so for his unfortunate love, which became proverbial in the old French romances. See Fauch. Rec. p. 124. 128. [The Knight of Curtesy and the fair Lady of Faguel has been reprinted by Mr. Ritson, vol. iii. p 193. The hero of this Romance was *Raoul* de Coucy, and not *Regnard* as stated by Warton on the authority of Fauchet. See Memoires Historiques sur Raoul de Coucy. Paris, 1781. —PRICE.] [The French Metrical Romance of the Châtelain de Coucy et de la Dame de Fayel, has been sumptuously printed from a MS. in the Bibliothèque du Roi, by G. A. Crapelet, roy. 8vo. Paris, 1829.—M.]

relates, that it was an art much cultivated among the antient Islanders, to weave the histories of their giants and champions in tapestry[y]. The same thing is recorded of the old Persians; and this furniture is still in high request among many oriental nations, particularly in Japan and China[z]. It is well known, that to frame pictures of heroic adventures in needle-work, was a favourite practice of classical antiquity.

NOTE ON ROBERT THE DEVIL: see page 187. note[n].

THAT the subject of the legend of Robert the Devil was Robert the first duke of Normandy is treated by some writers as a matter of much uncertainty, although Mr. Price, in the note referred to, appears to have entertained no doubt of it. The ancient drama founded upon the legend has been lately printed at Rouen under the following title: "Miracle de Nostre Dame de Robert le Dyable, filz du duc de Normendie; publié d'après un MS. du xiv siècle de la Bibl. du Roi, par plusieurs membres de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie, 1836:" and its publication has occasioned an examination of the hypotheses of various writers relative to this personage, in an ingenious essay by the erudite M. Pottier, published in the Revue de Rouen, for March 1836. "Setting out," says he, "with the scarcely plausible opinion, that all the personages of semi-historic romance must have their type and representative in history, they have set themselves to investigate what real pattern the fabulous Robert the Devil could have been modelled after. As the chronicle [of Normandy], the drama, and the romance agree in making him the son of a duke of Normandy, it has been thence concluded that he must himself have been duke of Normandy; and comparisons have been instituted of his legend with the history of the two or three Roberts that the whole ducal lineage furnishes. Yet neither chroniclers nor poets had ever dreamt of creating, of their own mere authority, Robert the Devil duke of Normandy: the chronicle makes him die at Jerusalem; the romance, in a hermitage near Rome; and the miracle makes him marry the emperor's daughter, and then of course succeed his father-in-law, agreeably to the eternal law of all seekers of adventures, from the paladins of the round table down to the renowned Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance." According to the later version of the Bibliothèque Bleue, Robert brings his wife into Normandy, ascends the ducal throne, and having lived a good prince,

[y] Antiquit. Dan. Lib. i. 9. p. 51.

[z] In the royal palace of Jeddo, which overflows with a profusion of the most exquisite and superb eastern embellishments, the tapestry of the emperor's audience-hall is of the finest silk, wrought by the most skilful artificers of that country, and adorned with pearls, gold, and silver. Mod. Univ. Hist. B. xiii. c. ii. vol. ix. p. 83. (Not. G.) edit. 1759.

dies laden with honours and with years, leaving the duchy to *his son, Richard-sans-Peur*, whose marvellous history has also been recounted by the writers of romance.

Having given his reasons for neglecting this later interpolated version as unfit to give evidence in the case, and stated that between the personages in question and the hero of the romance the historical differences were radical and evident, whilst at the same time some general traits of character might suit any of them, M. Pottier enumerates, as those whose claims have found supporters, Rollo, baptized under the name of Robert, Robert-le-Magnifique, father of the Conqueror; and lastly Robert-Courte-Heuse, son of the latter; adding that, whilst thus recruiting for Roberts, the pretensions of Robert-le-Fort, one of the dukes of Neustria anterior to Rollo, might perhaps be supported with some plausibility.

After an examination of the claims of these candidates, and of the points of analogy and dissimilarity in the legend with the history of each, he comes to the conclusion that Robert the Devil is a purely fabulous personage, and not to be identified with any one of them; and remarks that none of the historians, nearly contemporary or of succeeding ages until the 17th century, ever connected this appellation with either.

M. Pottier gives us to expect a fuller investigation of this and similar questions in a work upon which he is engaged, entitled "Histoire romanesque de Normandie; ou Examen critique des Fables et Légendes mêlées à l'histoire de cette province."—R. T.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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