

THE HISTORY
OF
ENGLISH POETRY.

VOL. III.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY,

FROM THE
CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH
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
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A NEW EDITION

CAREFULLY REVISED,

WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE LATE MR. RITSON,
THE LATE DR. ASHBY, MR. DOUCE,
MR. PARK, AND OTHER EMINENT ANTIQUARIES,
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C O N T E N T S.

VOL. III.

SECTION XXVII.

Page.

THE reigns of Richard the Third and Henry the Seventh abound in obscure versifiers. Bertram Walton. Benedict Burgh translates Cato's Latin Distichs. History of that work. Julian Barnes. Abbesses fond of hunting and hawking. A religious poem by William of Nassyngton. His Prologue explained. Minstrels and Gestours to be distinguished. Gest of the Three Kings of Cologne sung in the arched chamber of the Prior at Winchester. The Gest of the Seven Sleepers. Originally a Greek Legend. Bradshaw's Life of Saint Werburgh. Metrical chronicles of the kings of England fashionable in this century. Ralph Higden proved to be the author of the Chester-plays. Specimen of Bradshaw's poem, from his description of the historical tapestry in the hall of Ely monastery when the princess Werburgh was admitted to the veil. Legends and legend-makers. Fabyan. Watson. Caxton a poet. Kalendar of Shepherds. Pageaunts. Transition to the drama. Histrionic profession. Mysteries. Nicodemus's Gospel. Use of Mysteries

1

SECTION XXVIII.

Reign of Henry the Seventh. Hawes. His poems. Painting on the walls of chambers. Visions. Hawes's Pastyle of Pleasure. The fable analysed. Walter. Medwall. Wade....

45

SECTION XXIX.

Barklay's Ship of Fools. Its origin. Specimens. Barklay's Eclogues, and other pieces. Alcock bishop of Ely. Modern Bucolics

73

C O N T E N T S.

SECTION XXX.

Page.

- Digression to the Scotch poets. William Dunbar. His Thistle and Rose, and Golden Terge. Specimens. Dunbar's comic pieces. Estimate of his genius. Moralities fashionable among the Scotch in the fifteenth century..... 90

SECTION XXXI.

- Scotch poets continued. Gawen Douglass. His translation of the Eneid. His genius for descriptive poetry. His Palice of Honour, and other pieces 111

SECTION XXXII.

- Scotch poets continued. Sir David Lyndesay. His chief performances the Dreme, and Monarchie. His talents for description and imagery. His other poems examined. An anonymous Scotch poem, never printed, called Duncane Laidir. Its humour and satire. Feudal robbers. Blind Harry reconsidered. A History of the Scotch poetry recommended 125

SECTION XXXIII.

- Skelton. His life. Patronized by Henry fifth earl of Northumberland. His character, and peculiarity of style. Critical examination of his poems. Macaronic poetry. Skelton's Morality called the Nigramansir. Moralities at their height about the close of the Seventh Henry's reign 162

SECTION XXXIV.

- A digression on the origin of Mysteries. Various origins assigned. Religious dramas at Constantinople. Plays first acted in the monasteries. This ecclesiastical origin of the drama gives rise to the practice of performing plays in universities, colleges, and schools. Influence of this practice on the vernacular drama. On the same principle, plays acted by singing-boys in choirs. Boy-bishop. Fete de Foux. On the same principle, plays acted by the company of Parish clerks. By the Law-societies in London. Temple-Masques 193

CONTENTS.

SECTION XXXV.

Page.

Causes of the increase of vernacular composition in the fifteenth century. View of the revival of classical learning. In Italy. In France. In Germany. In Spain. In England..... 233

SECTION XXXVI.

The same subject continued. Reformation of Religion. Its effects on literature in England. Application of this digression to the main subject 258

SECTION XXXVII.

Petrarch's sonnets. Lord Surrey. His education, travels, mistress, life, and poetry. He is the first writer of blank-verse. Italian blank-verse. Surrey the first English classic poet.... 287

SECTION XXXVIII.

Sir Thomas Wyatt. Inferior to Surrey as a writer of sonnets. His life. His genius characterised. Excels in moral poetry.... 313

SECTION XXXIX.

The first printed Miscellany of English poetry. Its contributors. Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Rochford, and Lord Vaulx. The first true pastoral in English. Sonnet-writing cultivated by the nobility. Sonnets by king Henry the Eighth. Literary character of that king 326

SECTION XL.

The second writer of blank-verse in English. Specimens of early blank-verse 344

SECTION XLI.

Andrew Borde. Bale. Ansley. Chertsey. Fabyll's Ghost, a poem. The Merry Devil of Edmonton. Other minor poets of the reign of Henry the Eighth 354

SECTION XLII.

John Heywood the epigrammatist. His works examined. Antient unpublished burlesque poem of Sir Penny..... 371

C O N T E N T S.

SECTION XLIII.

Page.

Sir Thomas More's English poetry. Tournament of Tottenham. Its age and scope. Laurence Minot. Alliteration. Digression illustrating comparatively the language of the fifteenth century, by a specimen of the metrical Armoric romance of Ywayn and Gawayn 383

SECTION XLIV.

The Notbrowne Mayde. Not older than the sixteenth century. Artful contrivance of the story. Misrepresented by Prior. Metrical romances, Guy, syr Bevys, and Kynge Apolyn, printed in the reign of Henry. The Scolle howse, a satire. Christmas carols. Religious libels in rhyme. Merlin's prophecies. Laurence Minot. Occasional disquisition on the late continuance of the use of waxen tablets. Pageantries of Henry's court. Dawn of Taste..... 419

SECTION XLV.

Effects of the Reformation on our poetry. Clement Marot's Psalms. Why adopted by Calvin. Version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins. Defects of this version, which is patronised by the Puritans in opposition to the Choral Service. 444
Additional Notes 465

THE HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH POETRY.

SECTION XXVII.

THE subsequent reigns of Richard the Third, Edward the Fifth, and Henry the Seventh, abounded in obscure versifiers.

A mutilated poem which occurs among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum, and principally contains a satire on the nuns, who, not less from the nature of their establishment than from the usual degeneracy which attends all institutions, had at length lost their original purity, seems to belong to this period^a. It is without wit, and almost without numbers. It was written by one Bertram Walton [Waton], whose name now first appears in the catalogue of English poets; and whose life I calmly resign to the researches of some more laborious and patient antiquary.

About the year 1480, or rather before, Benedict Burgh, a master of arts of Oxford, among other promotions in the church, archdeacon of Colchester, prebendary of saint Paul's, and canon of saint Stephen's chapel at Westminster^b, translated Cato's

^a Disadvantageous suspicions against the chastity of the female religious were pretended in earlier times. About the year 1250, a bishop of Lincoln visited the nunneries of his diocese: on which occasion, says the continuator of Matthew Paris, "ad domos religiosarum veniens, fecit exprimi mamillas earum-

dem, ut sic *physice*, si esset inter eas corruptela, experiretur." Matt. Paris. Hist. p. 789. HENRICUS III. edit. Tig. 1589. fol. An anecdote, which the historian relates with indignation; not on account of the nuns, but of the bishop.

^b See Newcourt, Repertor. i. 90. ii. 517. The university sealed his letters

MORALS into the royal stanza, for the use of his pupil lord Bouchier son of the earl of Essex^c. Encouraged by the example and authority of so venerable an ecclesiastic, and tempted probably by the convenient opportunity of pilfering phraseology from a predecessor in the same arduous task, Caxton translated the same Latin work; but from the French version of a Latin paraphrase, and into English prose, which he printed in the year 1483. He calls, in his preface, the measure, used by Burgh, the BALAD ROYAL. Caxton's translation, which superseded Burgh's work, and with which it is confounded, is divided into four books, which comprehend seventy-two heads.

I do not mean to affront my readers, when I inform them, without any apology, that the Latin original of this piece was

testimonial, jul. 3. A. D. 1433. Registr. Univ. Oxon. supr. citat. T. f. 27. b. He died A. D. 1483.

[In the British Museum there is a poem entitled, "A CRISTEMASSE GAME" made by maister BENET howe God Almighty seyde to his apostelys and echeon of them were baptiste and none knew of othis." The piece consists of twelve stanzas, an apostle being assigned to each stanza. Probably maister Benet is Benedict Burgh. MSS. HARL. 7533. This is saint Paul's stanza.

Doctour of gentiles, a perfitte Paule,
By grace convertid from thy grete er-
roure,
And cruelte, changed to Paule from
Saule,
Of fayth and trouth most perfyte pre-
choure,
Slayne at Rome undir thilke emperoure
Curiyd Nero; Paule syt down in thy
place
To the ordayned by purveaunce of grace.

ADDITIONS.

[The Harl. MS. 1706. contains "Aristotles A, B, C, made by [this] mayster Benet."—RITSON.]

Gascoigne says that "rithme royal is a verse of ten syllables, and ten such verses make a staffe," &c. *Instructions for verse*, &c. Sign. D. i. ad calc. WORKES, 1587. [See supra, p. 300. Note^b.] Burgh's stanza is here called *balade royall*: by which, I believe, is

commonly signified the *octave stanza*. All those pieces in Chaucer, called *Certaine Ballads*, are in this measure. In Chaucer's *LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN*, written in long verse, a song of three octave stanzas is introduced; beginning, *Hide Absolon thy gylte tressis clere*. v. 249. p. 340. UTT. Afterwards, Cupid says, v. 537. p. 342.

— a ful grete negligence
Was it to thee, that ilke time thou made,
Hide Absolon thy tressis, IN BALADE.

In the British Museum there is a *Kalandre in Englysahe*, made in BALADE by *Dann John Lydgate monke of Bury*. That is, in this stanza. MSS. HARL. 1706. 2. fol. 10. b. The reader will observe, that whether there are eight or seven lines, I have called it the *octave stanza*. Lydgate has, most commonly, only seven lines. As in his poem on *Guy earl of Warwick*, MSS. LAUD. D. 31. fol. 64. *Here ginneth the lyff of Guy of Warwyk*. [Pr. From Criste's birth compleat nine 100 yere.] He is speaking of Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrand, at Winchester.

Without the gate remembered as I rede,
The place callyd of antiquyte
In Inglysh tonge named *hyde mede*,
Or ellis *denmarch* nat far from the cyte:
Meeting to gedre, there men myght see
Terryble strokys, lyk the dent of thonder;

Sparklys owt of thar harnyss, &c.

not written by Cato the censor, nor by Cato Uticensis^d: although it is perfectly in the character of the former, and Aulus Gellius has quoted Cato's poem *DE MORIBUS*^e. Nor have I the gravity of the learned Boxhornius, who in a prolix and elaborate dissertation has endeavoured to demonstrate, that these distichs are undoubtedly supposititious, and that they could not possibly be written by the very venerable Roman whose name they bear. The title is *DISTICHA DE MORIBUS AD FILIUM*, which are distributed into four books, under the name of Dionysius Cato. But he is frequently called *MAGNUS CATO*.

This work has been absurdly attributed by some critics to Seneca, and by others to Ausonius^f. It is, however, more antient than the time of the emperour Valentinian the Third, who died in 455^g. On the other hand, it was written after the appearance of Lucan's *PHARSALIA*, as the author, at the beginning of the second book, commends Virgil, Macer^h, Ovid, and Lucan. The name of Cato probably became prefixed to these distichs, in a lower age, by the officious ignorance of transcribers, and from the acquiescence of readers equally ignorant, as Marcus Cato had written a set of moral distichs. Whoever was the author, this metrical system of ethics had attained the highest degree of estimation in the barbarous ages. Among Langbain's manuscripts bequeathed to the university of Oxford by Antony Wood, it is accompanied with a Saxon paraphraseⁱ. John of Salisbury, in his *POLYCRATICON*, mentions it as the favourite and established manual in the education of boys^l.

^d See Vignol. Marville. Miscell. tom. i. p. 56.

^e Noct. Att. xi. 2.

^f It was printed under the name of Ausonius, Rostoch. 1572. 8vo.

^g Ex Epistol. Vindiciani Medici, ad Valent. They are mentioned by Notkerus, who flourished in the tenth century, among the *Metrorum, Hymnorum, Epigrammatumque conditores*. Cap. vi. *DE ILLUSTRIB. VIR. etc.* printed by Fabric. M. Lat. v. p. 904.

^h The poem *DE VIRTUTIBUS HERRA-*

RUM, under the name of Macer, now extant, was written by Odo, or Odobonus, a physician of the dark ages. It was translated into English, by John Lelarmoner, or Lelamar, master of Hereford school, about the year 1373. MSS. Sloane. 29. *Princ.* "Apium, Ache is hote and drie." There is *Macer's Herbal*, *ibid.* 43. This seems to have been printed, see Ames, p. 158.

ⁱ Cod. 12. [8615.]

^l Polycrat. vii. 9. p. 373. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. It is cited, *ibid.* p. 116.

To enumerate no others, it is much applauded by Isidore the old etymologist^m, Alcuineⁿ, and Abelard^o: and we must acknowledge, that the writer, exclusive of the utility of his precepts, possesses the merit of a nervous and elegant brevity. It is perpetually quoted by Chaucer. In the MILLER'S TALE, he reproaches the simple carpenter for having never read in Cato that a man should marry his own likeness^p: and in the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, having quoted Seneca to prove that no blessing is equal to an humble wife, he adds Cato's precept of prudently

321. 512. In the ART OF VERSIFICATION, a Latin poem, written by Eberhardus Bethuniensis, about the year 1212, there is a curious passage, in which all the classics of that age are recited; or the best authors, then in vogue, and whom he recommends to be taught to youth. [Leyser. Poet. Med. æv. p. 825.] They are, CATO the moralist. THEODULUS, the author of a leonine Eclogue, a dialogue between Truth and Falshood, written in the tenth century, printed among the OCTO MORALES, and by Goldastus, Man. Bibl. 1620. 8vo. MSS. Harl. 9093. 4. Wynkyn de Worde printed this piece under the title of *Theodoli liber, cum commento satis proliro auctoris cujusdam Anglici qui multa Anglicana ubique miscuit*. 1515. 4to. It was from one of Theodulus's ECLOGUES, beginning *Æthiopum terras*, that Field, master of Fotheringay college about the year 1480, *sette the versis of the book caulid Æthiopum terras, in the glasse window, with figures very neatly*. Leland. ITIN. i. fol. 5. [p. 7. edit. 1745.] This seems to have been in a window of the new and beautiful cloister, built about that time. FLAVIUS AVIANUS, a writer of Latin fables, or apologues, Lugd. Bat. 1731. 8vo. Æsor, or the Latin fabulist, printed among the OCTO MORALES, Lugd. Bat. 1506. 4to. MAXIMIANUS, whose six elegies, written about the seventh century, pass under the name of Gallus. Chaucer cites this writer; and in a manner, which shews his elegies had not then acquired the name of Gallus. COURT OF L. v. 798. "MAXIMINIAN truly thus doeth he write." PAMPHILUS MAURILIANUS, author of the hexametrical poem *de Vetula*, and the elegies *de Arte*

amandi, entitled PAMPHILUS, published by Goldastus, Catalect. Ovid. Francof. 1610. 8vo. [See supra, vol. ii. p. 442.] GETA, or *Hosidius Geta*, who has left a tragedy on *Medea*, printed in part by Pet. Scriverius, *Fragm. Vett. Tragic.* Lat. p. 187. [But see supr. vol. ii. p. 65.] DARES PHRYGIUS, on the destruction of Troy. MACER [See supra.] MARBODEUS, a Latin poet on *Gems*. [See supra, vol. ii. p. 214.] PÆTRUS DE RIGA, canon of Rheims, whose *AURORA*, or the *History of the Bible allegorised*, in Latin verses, some of which are in rhyme, was never printed entire. He has left also *Speculum Ecclesie*, with other pieces, in Latin poetry. He flourished about the year 1150. SEDULIUS PROSPER. ARATOR. PRUDENTIUS. BOETHIUS. ALANUS, author of the *Anticlaudian*, a poem in nine books, occasioned by the scepticism of Claudian. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 227.] VIRGIL, HORACE, OVID, LUCAN, STATIUS, JUVENAL, and PERSIUS. JOHN HANVILLE, an Englishman who wrote the *ARCHITRENIUS*, in the twelfth century, a Latin hexameter poem in nine books. PHILIP GUALTIER, of Chatillon, who wrote, about the same period, the *ALEXANDREID*, an heroic poem on Alexander the great. SOLYMARIIUS, or GUNTHER, a German Latin poet, author of the *SOLYMARIIUS*, or *Crusade*. GALFRIDUS, our countryman, whose *NOVA PORTIA* was in higher celebrity than *HORACE'S Art of Poetry*. [See vol. i. *Dissertat. ii.*] MATTHÆUS, of Vendosme, who in the year 1170 paraphrased the *Book of Tobit* into Latin elegiacs, from the Latin bible of saint Jerom, under the title of the *TORIID*, sometimes called the *THERAID*, and first printed among

bearing a scolding wife with patience⁴. It was translated into Greek at Constantinople by Maximus Planudes, who has the merit of having familiarised to his countrymen many Latin classics of the lower empire, by metaphrastic versions⁵: and at the restoration of learning in Europe, illustrated with a commentary by Erasmus, which is much extolled by Luther⁶. There are two or three French translations⁷. That of Mathurine Corderoy is dedicated to Robert Stephens. In the British Museum, there is a French translation by Helis de Guincestre, or Winchester; made, perhaps, at the time when our countrymen affected to write more in French than English⁸. Chaucer

the OCTO MORALES. ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, whose DOCTRINALE, or Grammar in Leonine verse, superseded Priscian about the year 1200. It was first printed at Venice, fol. 1473. And by Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. He was a French frier minor, and also wrote the ARGUMENTS of the chapters of all the books of either Testament, in two hundred and twelve hexameters. With some other forgotten pieces. MARCIANUS CAPELLA, whose poem on the MARRIAGE OF MERCURY WITH PHILOLOGY rivalled Boethius. [See supra, vol. ii. p. 384.] JOANNES DE GARLANDIA, an Englishman, a poet and grammarian, who studied at Paris about the year 1200. The most eminent of his numerous Latin poems, which crowd our libraries, seem to be his EPITHALAMIUM on the Virgin Mary in ten books of elegiacs. MSS. Cotton, CLAUD. A. x. And DE TRIUMPHIS ECCLESIE, in eight books, which contains much English history. MS. *ibid.* Some of his pieces, both in prose and verse, have been printed. BERNARDUS CARNOTENSIS, or Sylvester, much applauded by John of Salisbury, who styles him the most perfect Platonic of that age. Metallog. iv. c. 35. His MEGACOSM and MICROCOSM, a work consisting both of verse and prose, is frequently cited by the barbarous writers. He is imitated by Chaucer, *Man of L. Tale*, v. 4617. "In starres many a winter," &c. PHYSIOLOGUS, or THEOBALDUS EPISCOPUS, who wrote in Latin verse *De Naturis xii. animalium*, MSS. Harl. 3093. 5. He is there called *Italicus*. There is also a *Magister FLORINUS*, styled also *PHYSIOLOGUS*, on the same

subject. Chaucer quotes *PHYSIOLOGUS*, whom I by mistake have supposed to be Pliny, "For *PHYSIOLOGUS* says sikerly." NONNES PR. TALE. v. 15277. [See supra, vol. ii. p. 255.] SIDONIUS, who wrote a metrical dialogue between a Jew and a Christian on both the Testaments. And a SIDONIUS, perhaps the same, *regis qui fingit prelia*. To these our author adds his own *GRECIAMUS*, or a poem in hexameters on rhetoric and grammar; which, as Du Cange [Præf. Lat. Gloss. § XLV.] observes, was antiently a common manual in the seminaries of France, and, I suppose, of England.

^m Etymol. V. OFFICIPERDA.

ⁿ Contra Elipand. lib. ii. p. 949.

^o Lib. i. Theol. Christ. p. 1182.

^p V. 3227.

^q V. 9261.

^r It occurs often among the Barocian manuscripts, Bibl. Bodl. viz. 64. 71. bis. 95. 111. 194. The first edition of Cato, soon followed by many others, I believe, is August. A.D. 1485. The most complete edition is that of Christ. Daumius, Cygn. 1672. 8vo. Containing the Greek metaphrases of Maximus Planudes, Joseph Scaliger, Matthew Zuber, and John Mylius, a German version by Martinus Apicius, with annotations and other accessions. It was before translated into German rhymes by Abraham Morterius, of Weissenburgh. Francof. 1590. 8vo.

^s Colloqu. Mensal. c. 37.

^t One by Peter Grosnet, *Les mots dorees du sage Caton*. Paris. 1543.

^u MSS. Harl. 4388. This manuscript is older than 1400. Du Cange quotes a CATO in French rhymes. Gl. Lat. V.

constantly calls this writer CATON or CATHON, which shews that he was more familiar in French than in Latin. Caxton in the preface to his aforesaid translation affirms, that Poggius Florentinus, whose library was furnished with the most valuable authors, esteemed CATHON GLOSED, that is, Cato with notes, to be the best book in his collection^w. The glossarist I take to be Philip de Pergamo, a prior at Padua; who wrote a most elaborate MORALISATION on Cato, under the title of SPECULUM REGIMINIS, so early as the year 1380^x. In the same preface, Caxton observes, that it is *the beste boke for to be taught to yonge children in scole*. But he supposes the author to be Marcus Cato, whom he duly celebrates with the two Scipios and other *noble Romaynes*. A kind of supplement to this work, and often its companion, under the title of CATO PARVUS, or *Facetus*, or *Urbanus*, was written by Daniel Churcher, or Ecclesiensis, a domestic in the court of Henry the Second,

LECATOR. See MSS. Ashmol. 789. 2. [6995.]

[In Bennet college library, there is a copy of the French CATO by Helis of Winchester, MSS. ccccv. 24. fol. 317. It is entitled and begins thus. *Les Distiches Morales de CATON mises en vers par Helis de Guyncestre.*

Ki vout savor la faitement
 Ki Catun a sun fiz a prent,
 Si en Latin nel set entendre,
 Jci le pot en rumainz¹ aprendre,
 Cum Helis de Guyncestre
 Ki deu met a se destre
 La translate si faitement.

Cod. membran. 4to. The transcript is of the fourteenth century. Compare Verdier, BIBL. FRANC. tom. iii. p. 288. edit. 1772. In the Latin Chronicle of Anonymus Salernitanus, written about the year 900, the writer mentions a description in Latin verse of the palace of the city of Salerno, but laments that it was rendered illegible through length of time: "Nam si unam paginam fuissemus nacti, comparare illos [versus] profecto potuissemus Maroni in *voluminibus*, CATONIQUE, sive profecto aliis *Sophistis*." cap. xxviii. col. 195. B. tom. ii. P. ii.

SCRIPTOR. REG. ITAL. Mediolan. 1726. — ADDITIONS.]

^w Many of the *glossed manuscripts*, so common in the libraries, were the copies with which pupils in the university attended their readers, or lecturers; from whose mouths paraphrastic notes were *interlined* or written in the margin, by the more diligent hearers. In a Latin translation of some of Aristotle's philosophical works, once belonging to Rochester priory, and transcribed about the year 1350, one Henry de Rewham is said to be the writer; and to have *glossed* the book, during the time he heard it explained by a public reader in the schools of Oxford. "Et *audiuit* in scholis Oxonie, et emendavit et *glosavit audiendo*." MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii. 4to. In the mean time, I am of opinion, that the word *reader* originally took its rise from a paucity of books: when there was only *one* book to be had, which a professor or lecturer recited to a large audience.

^x Printed, August. 1475. In Exeter college library, there is CATO MORALISATUS, MSS. 37. [837.] And again at All Souls, MSS. 9. [1410.] Compare MSS. More, 35. [9221.] And Bibl. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 651. 14. And MSS. Harl. 6294.

¹ in romance; in French.

a learned prince and a patron of scholars, about the year 1180^v. This was also translated by Burghe; and in the British Museum, both the CATOS of his version occur, as forming one and the same work, viz. *Liber MINORIS Catonis, et MAJORIS, translatus a Latino in Anglicum per Mag. Benet Borugh*². Burghe's performance is too jejune for transcription; and, I suspect, would not have afforded a single splendid extract, had even the Latin possessed any sparks of poetry. It is indeed true, that the only critical excellence of the original, which consists of a terse conciseness of sentences, although not always expressed in the purest latinity, will not easily bear to be transfused. Burghe, but without sufficient foundation, is said to have finished Lydgate's GOVERNAUNCE OF PRINCIS².

About the year 1481, Julian Barnes, more properly Berners, sister of Richard lord Berners, and prioress of the nunnery of Sopewell, wrote three English tracts on *Hawking, Hunting, and Armory, or Heraldry*, which were soon afterwards printed in the neighbouring monastery^b of saint Alban's^c. From an abbess disposed to turn author, we might more reasonably have expected a manual of meditations for the closet, or select rules

^v MSS. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 275. And Bibl. Eccles. Vigorn. sub Tit. URBANUS, MSS. 147. One Tedbaldus, of the same age, is called the author, from a manuscript cited, Giornal. Lett. d'Ital. iv. p. 181. In Lewis's CAXTON, in a collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's poems by Caxton, without date, are recited 3. PARVUS CATO. 4. MAGNUS CATO. p. 104. What these translations are I know not. Beside Caxton's CATO, mentioned above, there is a separate work by Caxton, "Hic incipit PARVUS CATON;" in English and Latin. No date. Containing thirty-seven leaves in quarto. I find PARVUS CATO in English rhyme, MSS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. fol. cccx. [See supr. vol. i. p. 15.] The Latin of the lesser CATO is printed among AUCTORES OCTO MORALES, Lugd. 1538. Compare MSS. Harl. 2251. iii. fol. 174. 112. fol. 175. A translation into English verses of both CATOS, perhaps by Lydgate. See also MSS. Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. THE PROVERBIA

CATONS are a different work from either of these, written in hexameters by Marbodeus, Opp. Hildebert. p. 1634. Paris 1708. fol.

² MSS. Harl. 116. 2. See also, 271. 2.

^a See supr. LYDGAZE. There is a translation of the *Wyz Cato*, and *Æsop's Fables*, into English dogrell, by one William Bulloker, for Edm. Bollifant. 1585. This W. Bulloker wrote a *Pamphlet for grammar*, for the same, 1586. 12mo.

^b There was a strong connexion between the two monasteries. In that of saint Alban's a monk was annually appointed, with the title of *Custos monasterii de Sopewelle*. Registr. Abbat. Wallingford, [sub an. 1480.] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Tanner.

^c In the year 1486. fol. Again, at Westminster, by W. de Worde. 1496. 4to. The barbarism of the times strongly appears in the indelicate expressions which she often uses; and which are equally incompatible with her sex and

for making salves, or distilling strong waters. But the diversions of the field were not thought inconsistent with the character of a religious lady of this eminent rank, who resembled an abbot in respect of exercising an extensive manorial jurisdiction; and who hawked and hunted in common with other ladies of distinction^d. This work, however, is here mentioned, because the second of these treatises is written in rhyme. It is spoken in her own person; in which, being otherwise a woman of authority, she assumes the title of dame. I suspect the whole to be a translation from the French and Latin^e.

profession. The poem begins thus. [I transcribe from a good manuscript, MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. papyr. fol.]

Mi dere sones, where ye fare, by frith,
or by fell¹,
Take good hede in his tyme how Tris-
trem² wol tell;
How many maner bestes of venery there
were,
Listenes now to our Dame, and ye shul-
len here.
Ffowre maner bestes of venery there are,
The first of hem is a hart, the second is
an hare;
The boor is ohe of tho,
The wolff, and no mo.
And whereso ye comen in play³ or in
place,
Now shal I tel you which ben bestes of
chace:
One of the a buck, another a doo,
The ffox, and the mārteryn, and the
wilde roo:
And ye shall, my dere sones, other bestes
all,
Where so ye hem finde, rascall hem call,
In frith or in fell,
Or in fforrest, y yow tell.
And to speke of this hert, if ye wil hit
lere,
Ye shall call him a calfe at the first yere;
The second yere a broket, so shall he be,
The third yere a spayard, lerneth this at
me;
The iiiii yere calles hem a stagge, be any
way
The first yere a grete stagge, my dame
bade you say.

Among Crynes's books [911. 4to. Bibl. Bodl.] there is a bl. lett. copy of this piece, "Imprynted at London in Paul's churchyarde by me Hary Tab." Again by William Copland without date, "The boke of hawkyng, hunting, and fishing, with all the properties and medecynes that are necessary to be kept." With wooden cuts. Here the tract on *armory* is omitted, which seems to have been first inserted, that the work might contain a complete course of education for a gentleman. The same title is in W. Powel's edit. 1550. The last edition is "The GENTLEMAN'S ACADEMY, or the book of saint Albans, concerning hawking, hunting, and armory." Lond. 1595. 4to.

^d At the magnificent marriage of the princess Margaret with James the Fourth, king of Scotland, in 1503, his majesty sends the new queen, "a grett tame hart, for to have a course." Leland. Coll. ARFEND. iii. 280. edit. 1770.

^e This is the latter part of the colophon at the end of the saint Alban's edition. "And here now endith the boke of blasynge of armyes, translattyd and compylt togedyr at saynt Albons the yere from thyncarnacyon of oure lorde Jhesu Crist MCCCCLXXXVI." [This very scarce book, printed in various inks, was in the late Mr. West's library.] [A fac-simile of this edition was printed a few years ago; but as it has not found its way into our public libraries, I have not been able to refer to it.—Enrr.] This part is translated or abstracted from Upton's book *De re militari, et factis illustribus*, written

¹ wood or field.

² Sir Tristram. See OBSERVAT. SPENS. i. p. 21.

³ plain.

To this period I refer William of Nassyngton a proctor or advocate in the ecclesiastical court at York. He translated into English rhymes, as I conjecture, about the year 1480, a theological tract, entitled *A treatise on the Trinity and Unity with a declaration of God's Works and of the Passion of Jesus Christ*, written by John of Waldenby, an Augustine frier of Yorkshire, a student in the Augustine convent at Oxford, the provincial of his order in England, and a strenuous champion against the doctrines of Wicliffe^f. I once saw a manuscript of Nassyngton's translation in the library of Lincoln cathedral^g; and was tempted to transcribe the few following lines from the prologue, as they convey an idea of our poet's character, record the titles of some old popular romances, and discover antient modes of public amusement,

about the year 1441. See the fourth book *De insignibus Anglorum nobilium*. Edit. Biss. Lond. 1654. 4to. It begins with the following curious piece of sacred heraldry. "Of the offspring of the *gentilman* Jafeth, come Habraham, Moyses, Aron and the profetys, and also the kyng of the right lyne of Mary, of whom that *gentilman* Jhesus was borne, very god and man: after his manhode kyng of the land of Jude and of Jues, *gentilman* by is moder Mary, *prynce of Cote armure*," &c. Nicholas Upton, above mentioned, was a fellow of New college Oxford, about the year 1430. He had many dignities in the church. He was patronised by Humphrey duke of Gloucester, to whom he dedicates his book. This I ought to have remarked before.

^f Wood, Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 117.

^g See also MSS. Reg. 17 C. viii. p. 2.

[But the same lines occur in the Prologue to Hampole's *Speculum Vitæ*, or *MIRROUR OF LIFE*, as it has been called, written about the year 1350. [See MSS. Bodl. 48. p. 47. a. Bibl. Bodl. And *ibid.* MSS. LANG. 5. p. 64.] From which, that those who have leisure and opportunity may make a further comparison of the two Prologues, I will transcribe a few more dull lines.

Latyn als, I trowe, canne nane
Bot these that it of scole hane tane,

Some canne *frankes* and *latyn*
That hanes vsed covrte and dwelled
theryn,

And som canne o *latyn* a party
That canne *frankes* bot febely,
And soum vnderstandes in *inglys*
That canne nother *latyn* ne *frankys*,
Bot lered and lewed alde and younge
All vnderstandes *inglysche* tounges:
Thare fore I halde it maste syker thon
To schew that langage that ilk a man
konne,

And for all lewed men namely
Thet can no maner of clergy,
To kenne thanne what ware maste nede,
Ffor clerkes canne bathe se and rede, &c.

This poem, consisting of many thousand verses, begins with the spiritual advantages of the Lord's Prayer, of its seven petitions, their effects, &c. &c. And ends with the seven Beatitudes, and their rewards. [See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 99. Note².] These are the two concluding lines.

To whylk blysse he vs bryng
That on the crosse for vs all wolde hyng.

This is supposed to be a translation from a Latin tract, afterwards printed at Cologne, 1536. fol. But it may be doubted, whether Hampole was the translator. It is, however, most probably of the fourteenth century.—ADDITIONS.]

I warne you firste at the begynnyng,
 That I will make no vayne carpyng,
 Of dedes of armes, ne of amours,
 As does MYNSTRELLIS and GESTOURS,
 That maketh carpyng in many a place
 Of OCTOVIANE and ISENBRACE*,
 And of many other GESTES,
 And namely when they come to festes ;
 Ne of the lyf of BEVYS OF HAMPTOUNE,
 That was a knyght of grete renoune :
 Ne of syr GYE OF WARWYKE, &c.

Our translator in these verses formally declares his intention of giving his reader no entertainment ; and disavows all concern with secular vanities, especially those unedifying tales of love and arms, which were the customary themes of other poets, and the delight of an idle age. The romances of OCTAVIAN, sir BEVIS, and sir GUY, have already been discussed at large. That of sir ISEMBRAS was familiar in the time of Chaucer, and occurs in the RIME OF SIR THOPAS^h. In Mr. Garrick's curious library of chivalry, which his friends share in common with himself, there is an edition by Copland, extremely different from the manuscript copies preserved at Cambridgeⁱ, and in the Cotton collection^k. I believe it to be originally a French romance, yet not of very high antiquity. It is written in the stanza of Chaucer's sir THOPAS^l. The incidents are for the most part those trite expedients, which almost constantly form the plan of these metrical narratives.

I take this opportunity of remarking, that the MINSTRELS, who in this prologue of Nassyngton are named separately from the GESTOURS, or tale-tellers, were sometimes distinguished from the harpers. In the year 1374, six Minstrels, accompanied with four Harpers, on the anniversary of Alwyne the bishop,

* [Isebrasc. King's MS.]

^h V. 6. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 127.
 Notes. [This romance has been reprinted in the "Select pieces of early

Popular Poetry."—*ERRA.*]

ⁱ MSS. Caius Coll. Class. A. 9. (2.)

^k CALIG. A. 12. f. 128.

^l See Percy's BALL. i. 306.

performed their *minstrelskies*, at dinner, in the hall of the convent of saint Swithin at Winchester; and during supper, sung the same G^{EST}, or tale, in the great *arched* chamber of the prior: on which solemn occasion, the said chamber was hung with the arras, or tapestry, of THE THREE KINGS OF COLOGNE^m. These minstrels and harpers belonged, partly to the royal household in Winchester castle, and partly to the bishop of Winchester. There was an annual mass at the shrine or tomb of bishop Alwyne in the church, which was regularly followed by a feast in the convent. It is probable, that the G^{EST} here specified was some poetical legend of the prelate, to whose memory this yearly festival was instituted, and who was a Saxon bishop of Winchester about the year 1040ⁿ. Although songs of chivalry were equally common, and I believe more welcome to the monks, at these solemnities. In an accompt-roll of the priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire^o, I find a parallel instance, under the year 1432. It is in this entry. “*Dat. sex Mini-*

^m Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. [ut supr. vol. i. p. 93.] “In festo Alwyni episcopi. . . . Et durante pietancia in aulâ conventûs, sex MINISTRALLI, cum quatuor CITHARISATORIBUS, faciebant ministralcias suas. Et post cenam, in magnâ camerâ arcuatâ dom. Prioris, cantabant idem G^{ESTUM}, in quâ camerâ suspendebatur, ut moris est, magnum dorsale Prioris, habens picturas trium regum Colein. Veniebant autem dicti joculariores a castello domini regis, et ex familiâ episcopi. . . .” The rest is much obliterated, and the date is hardly discernible. Among the Harleian manuscripts, there is an antient song on the three kings of Cologne, in which the whole story of that favorite romance is resolved into alchemy. MSS. 2407. 13. fol. Wynkyn de Worde printed this romance in quarto, 1526. It is in MSS. Harl. 1704. 11. fol. 49. b. Imperf. Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. 14. [C. 16.] MSS. More, 37. And frequently in other places. Barclay, in his *EGLOGES*, mentions this subject, a part of the nativity, painted on the walls of a *churche cathedral*. *EGL. v. Signat. D. ii. ad calc. Ship of fools*, edit. 1570.

And the *three kinglys*, with all their company,
Their crownes glistening bright and oriently,
With their presentes and giftes mysticall,
All this behelde I in picture on the wall.

In an Inventory of ornaments belonging to the church of Holbech in Lincolnshire, and sold in the year 1548, we find this article. “*Item, for the COATS of the iiii. kyngs of Coloyne, vs. iiii d.*” I suppose these coats were for dressing persons who represented the three kings in some procession on the NATIVITY. Or perhaps for a MYSTERY on the subject, plaid by the parish. But in the same Inventory we have, *Item, for the apostylls [the apostles] coats, and for HAROD's [Herod's] coate, &c.* Stukeley's *ITIN. CURIOS.* pag. 19. In old accounts of church-wardens for saint Helen's at Abingdon, Berks, for the year 1566, there is an entry *For setting up ROBIN HOODS DOWER*. I suppose for a parish interlude. *ARCHÆOL.* vol. i. p. 16.

ⁿ He is buried in the north wall of the presbytery, with an inscription.

^o In *Thesaurario Coll. Trin. Oxon.* [See supr. vol. i. p. 94.]

strallis de Bokyngham cantantibus in refectorio MARTYRIUM SEPTEM DORMIENTIUM in *ffesto epiphanie, ivs.*" That is, the treasurer of the monastery gave four shillings to six *minstrels* from Buckingham, for singing in the refectory a legend called the MARTYRDOM OF THE SEVEN SLEEPERS^p, on the feast of the Epiphany. In the Cotton library, there is a Norman poem in Saxon characters on this subject^q; which was probably translated afterwards into English rhyme. The original is a Greek legend^r, never printed; but which, in the dark ages, went about

^p In the fourth century, being inclosed in a cave at Ephesus by the emperor Decius 372 years, they were afterwards found sleeping, and alive.

^q MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. ix. iii. fol. 213. b. [See supr. vol. i. p. 20.] "*Jci commence la vie de Set dormanz.*"

La uertu deu ke tut iur dure
E tut iurz eyt cereine e pure.

^r MSS. Lambec. viii. p. 375. Photius, without naming the author, gives the substance of this Greek legend, *Bibl. Cod. ccliii. pag. 1399. edit. 1591. fol.* This story was common among the Arabians. The mussulmans borrowed many wonderful narratives from the christians, which they embellished with new fictions. They pretend that a dog, which was accidentally shut up in the cavern with the *seven sleepers*, became rational. See Herbelot, *Dict. Orient.* p. 139. a. V. *ASHAB*, p. 17. In the British Museum there is a poem, partly in Saxon characters, *De pueritia domini nostri Jhesu Cristi. Or, the childhood of Christ.* MSS. Harl. 2399. 10. fol. 47. It begins thus,

Alle myzhty god yn Trynyte,
That bowth [bought] man on rode dere;
He gefe ows washe to the
A lytyl wyle that ye wyll me hyre.

Who would suspect that this absurd legend had also a Greek original? It was taken, I do not suppose immediately, from an apocryphal narrative ascribed to saint Thomas the apostle, but really compiled by Thomas Israelites, and entitled, *Λόγος τις τὰ παιδιὰ καὶ θαυμάσια τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Liber de pueritia et miraculis domini, &c.* It is printed in part by Cotelierius, *Not. ad Patr. Apostol.* p. 274. Who there men-

tions a book of Saint Matthew the Evangelist, *De Infantia Salvatoris*, in which our Lord is introduced learning to read, &c. See *Iren. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 104.* Among other figments of this kind, in the Pseudo-Gelasian Decree are recited, *The history and nativity of our Saviour, and of Mary and the midwife.* And, *The history of the infancy of our Saviour.* *Jur. Can. DISTINCT. can. 3.* The latter piece is mentioned by Anastasius, where he censures as supposititious, the *puerile miracles of Christ.* *Orig. c. xiii. p. 26.*

On the same subject there is an Arabic book, probably compiled soon after the rise of Mahometanism, translated into Latin by Sikius, called *EVANGELIUM INFANTIAE*, Arab. et Latin. Traject. ad Rhen. 1697. 8vo. In this piece, Christ is examined by the Jewish doctors, in astronomy, medicine, physics, and metaphysics. Sikius says, that the *puerile miracles of Christ* were common among the Persians. *Ibid. in Not. p. 55.* Fabricius cites a German poem, more than four hundred years old, founded on these legends. *Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test. tom. i. pag. 212. Hamburg. 1703.*

At the end of the English poem on this subject above cited, is the following rubric. "*Quòd dnus Johannes Arcitenens canonicus Bodminie et natus in illa.*" Whether this canon of Bodmin in Cornwall, whose name was perhaps Archer, or Bowyer, is the poet, or only the transcriber, I cannot say. See fol. 48. In the same manuscript volume, [6.] there is an old English poem to our Saviour, with this note. "*Explicit Contemplationem bonam. Quòd dnus Johannes Arcuarius Canonicus Bodminie.*" See what is said, below, of the *PSEUDO-EVANGELIUM* attributed to Nichodemus.

in a barbarous Latin translation, by one Syrus⁶; or in a narrative framed from thence by Gregory of Tours⁷.

Henry Bradshaw has rather larger pretensions to poetical fame than William of Nassington, although scarcely deserving the name of an original writer in any respect. He was a native of Chester, educated at Gloucester college in Oxford, and at length a Benedictine monk of saint Werburgh's abbey in his native place⁸. Before the year 1500, he wrote the LIFE OF SAINT WERBURGH, a daughter of a king of the Mercians, in English verse⁹. This poem, beside the devout deeds and passion of the poet's patroness saint, comprehends a variety of other subjects; as a description of the kingdom of the Mercians¹⁰, the lives of saint Etheldred and saint Sexburgh¹¹, the foundation of the city of Chester¹², and a chronicle of our kings¹³.

⁶ Apud Surium, ad 27 Jul.

⁷ *Historia septem Dormientium*. Paris. 1511. 4to. Ibid. 1640. And apud Ruinart. p. 1270. See Præf. Ruinart. § 79. And Gregory himself *De gloria martyrum*, cap. 95. pag. 826. This piece is noticed and much commended by the old chronicler Albericus, ad ann. 319.

⁸ Athen. Oxon. i. p. 9. Pits. 690.

⁹ He declares, that he does not mean to rival Chaucer, Lydgate *sententious*, *pregnant* Barklay, and *inventive* Skelton. The two last were his contemporaries. L. ii. c. 24. ¹⁰ Lib. i. c. ii.

¹¹ Lib. i. cap. xviii. xix.

¹² Lib. i. cap. iii.

¹³ Lib. ii. cap. xv. The fashion of writing metrical *Chronicles of the kings of England* grew very fashionable in this century. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 96. Many of these are evidently composed for the harp: but they are mostly mere genealogical deductions. Hearne has printed, from the Heralds office, a *PEREGASSE* of our kings, from William the conqueror to Henry the Sixth, written in 1448. [APPENDIX to Rob. Gloucestr. vol. ii. p. 585. see p. 588.] This is a specimen. Then regnyd Harry nought full wyse,
The son of Mold [Maud] the emperyse.
In hys tyme then seynt Thomas
At Caunterbury martyryd was.
He held Rosomund the sheen,
Gret sorwe hit was for the queen:
At Wodestoke for hure he made a toure,
That is called ROSEMOUNDES BOURE.—

And sithen regnyd his sone Richerd,
A man that was never aferd:
He werred ofte tyme and wyse
Worthily upon goddis enemyse.
And sithen he was shoten, alas!
Atte castle Gailard there he was.
Atte Fonte Everarde he lithe there:
He regnyd almost ten yere.—
In Johne is tyme, as y understonde,
Was entredyted alle Engelonde:
He was fulle wrothe and grym,
For prestus would nought synge before
hym, &c.

Lydgate has left the best chronicle of the kind, and most approaching to poetry. *The regnyng of kyngys after the conquest by the monk of Bury*. MSS. Fairf. Bibl. Bodl. 16. [And MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3. And a beautiful copy, with pictures of the kings, MSS. Cotton. Julius. E. 5.] Never printed. [Unless printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1530. 4to. "This myghty Wyllyam duke of Normandy." This is one of the stanzas. [See MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 1999. 6.]

RICHARDUS PRIMUS.

Rychard the next by successyon,
First of that name, strong, hardy, and
notable,
Was crowned kynge, called Cur de lyon,
With Saryzonys hedys served atte table:
Sleyn at Galard by death full lamentable:
The space regned fully ix yere;
His hert buryed in Roon, atte highe
autere. Compare

It is collected from Bede, Alfred of Beverly, Malmesbury, Girardus Cambrensis, Higden's Polychronicon, and the passio-naries of the female saints, Werburgh, Etheldred, and Sex-burgh, which were kept for public edification in the choir of the church of our poet's monastery^b. Bradshaw is not so fond of relating visions and miracles as his argument seems to promise. Although concerned with three saints, he deals more in plain facts than in the fictions of religious romance; and, on the whole, his performance is rather historical than legendary. This is remarkable, in an age, when it was the fashion to turn history into legend^c. His fabulous origin of Chester is not

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 5. There was partly a political view in these deductions: to ascertain the right of our kings to the crowns of France, Castile, Leon, and the dutchy of Normandy. See MSS. Harl. 326. 2.—116. 11. fol. 142. I know not whether it be worth observing, that about this time a practice prevailed of constructing long parchment-rolls in Latin, of the Pedigree of our kings. Of this kind is the *Pedigree of British kings from Adam to Henry the Sixth*, written about the year 1450, by Roger Alban, a Carmelite friar of London. It begins, "Considerans chronico-rum prolixitatem." The original copy, presented to Henry the Sixth by the compiler, is now in Queen's college library at Oxford. MSS. [22.] B. 5. 3. There are two copies in Winchester college library, and another in the Bodleian. Among bishop More's manuscripts, there is a parchment-roll of the Pedigree of our kings from Ethelred to Henry the Fourth, in French, with pictures of the several monarchs. MSS. 495. And in the same collection, a Pedigree from Harold to Henry the Fourth, with elegant illuminations. MSS. 479. In the same rage of genealogising, Alban above mentioned framed the Descent of Jesus Christ, from Adam through the Levitical and regal tribes, the Jewish patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets, and priests. The original roll, as it seems, on vellum, beautifully illuminated, is in MSS. More, ut sup. 495. But this was partly copied from Peter of Poictou, a disciple of Lombard about the year 1170, who, for the benefit of the poorer clergy, was the first that found out the

method of forming, and reducing into parchment-rolls, HISTORICAL TREES of the old testament. Alberic. in Chron. p. 441. See MSS. Denb. 1627. 1. Rot. membr.

As to Bradshaw's history of the foundation of Chester, it may be classed with the FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY OF GLOUCESTER, a poem of twenty-two stanzas, written in the year 1534, by the last abbot William Malverne, printed by Hearne, ubi sup. p. 378. This piece is mentioned by Harpsfield, Hist. ECCLES. ANGL. p. 264. Princip. "In sundrie fayer volumes of antiquitie." MSS. Harl. 539. 14. fol. 111.

^b For as declareth the true PASSIONARY,
A boke where her holie lyfe wrytten is,
Which boke remayneth in Chester monastery.

Lib. i. c. vii. Signat. C. ii. And again, ibid.

I folow the legend and true hystory
After an humble stile and from it lytell vary.

And in the Prologue, lib. i. Signat. A. iiii.

Untoo this rude worke myne auctors
these,
Fyrst the true Legends, and the vene-
rable Bede,
Mayster Alfridyus, and Wyllyam Mal-
musbury,
Gyrdard, Polychronicon, and other mo
indeed.

^c Even scripture-history was turned into romance. The story of Esther and Abasuerus, or of AMON or Hamon, and

so much to be imputed to his own want of veracity, as to the authority of his voucher Ranulph Higden, a celebrated chronicler, his countryman, and a monk of his own abbey^d. He

MARDOCHEUS or *Mordecai*, was formed into a fabulous poem. MS. Vernon, ut supr. fol. 213.

OF AMON and MARDOCHEUS.

Mony wynter witerly
Or Crist weore boren of vre ladi,
A rich kyng, hizte AHASWERE,
That stif was on stede and stere;
Mighti kyng he was, i wis,
He livede muchel in weolye ant blis,
His blisse may i nat telle zou,
How lange hit weore to schewe hit nou;
But thing that tovcheth to vre maisters
I wol zou telle, gif ze wol here.
The kyng lovede a knight so wele,
That he commaunded men should knele
Bifore him, in vche a streete,
Over all ther men mihte him meete;
AMON was the knihtes nome,
On him fell muchel worldus schome,
Ffor in this ilke kynges lande
Was meche folke of Jewes wonande,
Of heore kynd the kyng hym tok
A qwene to wyve, as telleth the bok, &c.

In the British Museum, there is a long commentitious narrative of the *Creation of Adam and Eve, their Sufferings and Repentance, Death and Burial*. MSS. Harl. 1704. 5. fol. 18. This is from a Latin piece on the same subject, *ibid.* 495. 12. fol. 43. imperf. In the English, Peter Comestor, the *maister of stories*, author of the *historia scholastica*, who flourished about the year 1170, is quoted, fol. 26. But he is not mentioned in the Latin, at fol. 49.

In Chaucer's MILLER'S TALE, we have this passage, v. 3538.

Hast thou not herd, quod Nicholas also,
The sorwe of Noe with his felawship,
Or that he might get his wif to ship?

I know not whether this anecdote about Noah is in any similar supposititious book of Genesis. It occurs, however, in the *Chester Whitsun Plays*, where the authors, according to the established indulgence allowed to dramatic poets, perhaps thought themselves at liberty to enlarge on the sacred story. MSS. Harl. 2013. This altercation between Noah and his wife, takes up almost the whole third pageant of these interludes. Noah, hav-

ing reproached his wife for her usual frowardness of temper, at last conjures her to come on board the ark, for fear of drowning. His wife insists on his sailing without her; and swears by *Christ* and *saint John*, that she will not embark till some of her old female companions are ready to go with her. She adds, that if he is in such a hurry, he may sail alone, and fetch himself a new wife. At length Shem, with the help of his brothers, forces her into the vessel; and while Noah very cordially welcomes her on board, she gives him a box on the ear.

There is an apocryphal book, of the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, and of Seth's pilgrimage to Paradise, &c. &c. MSS. Eccles. Cathedr. Winton. 4.

^d There is the greatest probability, that RALPH HIGDEN, hitherto known as a grave historian and theologian, was the compiler of the *Chester-plays*, mentioned above, vol. ii. p. 76. In one of the Harleian copies [2015. 1.] under the *Proclamation* for performing these plays in the year 1522, this note occurs, in the hand of the third Randal Holme, one of the Chester antiquaries. "Sir John Arnway was mayor, A.D. 1327 and 1328. At which tyme these playes were written by RANDALL HIGGENET, a monke, of Chester abbey," &c. In a prologue to these plays, when they were presented in the year 1600, are these lines, *ibid.* 2. That some tymes ther was mayor of this cite

Sir John Arnway knight: who most worthilie

Contented hymselfe to sett out in playe,
The *Devis* of one Done RONDALL,
Moonke of Chester abbaye.

Done Rondall is *Dan* [dominus] *Randal*. In another of the Harleian copies of these plays, written in the year 1607, this note appears, seemingly written in the year 1628. [MSS. Harl. 2124.] "The Whitsun playes first made by one *Don Rondle Heggnet*, a monke of Chester abbey: who was thrise at Rome before he could obtaine leave of the pope to have them in the English tongue." Our chronicler's name in the text, sometimes written *Hikeden*, and *Higgeden*, was easily

supposes that Chester, called by the antient Britons CAIR LEON, or *the city of Legions*, was founded by Leon Gaur, a giant, corrupted from LEON VAUR, or the *great legion*.

The founder of this citie, as sayth Polychronicon,
Was Leon Gaur, a myghte stronge gyaunt,
Which buildid caves and dongeons manie a one,
No goodlie buildyng, ne proper, ne pleasant.

He adds, with an equal attention to etymology :

But kinge Leir a Britan fine and valiaunt,
Was founder of Chester by pleasaunt buildyng,
And was named Guar Leir by the kyng.^c

But a greater degree of credulity would perhaps have afforded him a better claim to the character of a poet: and, at least, we should have conceived a more advantageous opinion of his imagination, had he been less frugal of those traditionary fables, in which ignorance and superstition had cloathed every part of his argument. This piece was first printed by Pinson in the year 1521. "Here begynneth the holy lyfe of SAYNT WERBURGE, very frutefull for all cristen people to rede^f." He traces the genealogy of saint Werburg with much historical accuracy^g.

corrupted into *Higgenet*, or *Heggenet*: and *Randal* is Ranulph or Randolph, *Ralph*. He died, having been a monk of Chester abbey sixty-four years, in the year 1363. In *PIERS PLOWMAN*, a frier says, that he is well acquainted with the "*rimes of RANDALL OF CHESTER*." fol. 26. edit. 1550. I take this passage to allude to this very person, and to his compositions of this kind, for which he was probably soon famous. [The MSS. read *Randall erle of Chester*, which independently of other reasons equally conclusive renders this conjecture perfectly nugatory.—EDIT.] In an anonymous *CHRONICON*, he is styled *Ranulphus Cestrensis*, which is nothing more than *RANDALL OF CHESTER*. MS. Ric. James xi. 8. Bibl. Bodl. And again we have, *RANULPHI CESTRENSIS* "*ars componendi sermones*." MSS. Bodl. sup. N. 2. Art. 10. And in many other places.

By the way, if it be true that these MYSTERIES were composed in the year

1328, and there was so much difficulty in obtaining the pope's permission that they might be presented in English, a presumptive proof arises, that all our MYSTERIES before that period were in Latin. These plays will therefore have the merit of being the first English interludes. ^c Lib. ii. c. iii.

^f In octavo. With a wooden cut of the Saint. Princip. "When Phebus had ronne his cours in Sagittari." At the beginning is an English copy of verses, by J. T. And at the end two others.

^g *A descriptiō of the genealogy of SAYNT WERBURGE, &c.*

This noble prynces, the daughter of Syon,

The floure of vertu, and vyrgyn gloryous,

Blessed saynt Werburge, full of devocyon,

Descended by auncety, and tyle famous,
Of foure myghty kynges, noble and vyc-toryous,

The most splendid passage of this poem, is the following description of the feast made by king Ulpher in the hall of the abbey of Ely, when his daughter Werburgh was admitted to the veil in that monastery. Among other curious anecdotes of antient manners, the subjects of the tapestry, with which the hall was hung, and of the songs sung by the minstrels, on this solemn occasion, are given at large^b.

Kynge Wulfer her father at this ghostly spousage
Prepared great tryumphes, and solempnyte;
Made a royall feest, as custome is of maryage,
Sende for his frendes, after good humanyte
Kepte a noble housholde, shewed great lyberalyte
Both to ryche and poore, that to this feest wolde come,
No man was denyed, every man was wellcome.

Her uncles and auntes, were present there all
Ethelred and Merwalde, and Mercelly also
Thre blessed kynges, whome sayntes we do call
Saint Keneswyd, saint Keneburg, their sisters both two
And of her noble lynage, many other mo
Were redy that season, with reverence and honour
At this noble tryumphe, to do all theyr devour.

Reynynge in his lande, by true succes-
syon,

As her lyfe historyall¹, maketh declara-
cyon.

The year of our lorde, from the na-
tyuyte

Fyue hundreth xliii. and liii. score,
Whan Austyn was sende, from saynt

Gregorye,

To conuert this regyon, unto our sa-
uyoure

The noble kyng Crydathan reigned with
honoure

Upon the Mercyens, whiche kyng was
father

Unto kyng Wybba, and Quadriburge
his systere.

This Wybba gate Penda, kyng of
Mercyens,

Which Penda subdued, fyue kynges of
this regyon

Reynynge thyrty yere, in worshyp and
reuerens

Was grauntfather to Werburge, by ly-
nyall successyon

By his quene Kyneswith, had a noble
generacyon

Fyue valeant prynces, Penda and kyng
Wulfer,

Kyng Ethelred, saynt Marceyl, saynt
Marwalde in fere.²

^b "Of the great solempnyte kyng
Wulfer made at the ghostly maryage of
Saynt Werburge his daughter, to all his
lovers, cosvns, and frendes." Ca. xvi.
L. i.

¹ That is, her Legend.

² Edit. Pins. 1521.

The kynges mette them, with their company,
 Egbrict kyng of Kent, brother to the quene;
 The second was Aldulphe kyng of the east party,
 Brother to saynt Audry, wyfe and mayde serene;
 With divers of theyr progeny, and nobles as I wene,
 Dukes, erles, barons, and lordes ferre and nere,
 In theyr best array, were present all in fere¹.

It were full tedyous, to make descrypcyon
 Of the great tryumphes, and solempne royaltie,
 Belongynge to the feest, the honour and provysyon,
 By playne declaracyon, upon every partye;
 But the sothe to say, withouten ambyguyte,
 All herbes and flowres, fragraunt, fayre and swete,
 Were strawed in halles, and layd under theyr fete.

Clothes of golde and arras, were hanged in the hall
 Depaynted with pyctures, and hystoryes manyfolde,
 Well wroughte and craftely, with precious stones all
 Glyteryng as Phebus, and the beten golde,
 Lyke an erthly paradyse, pleasaunt to beholde:
 As for the sayd moynes^k, was not them amonge,
 But prayenge in her cell, as done all novice yonge.

The story of Adam, there was goddly wrought
 And of his wyfe Eve, bytwene them the serpent,
 How they were deceyved, and to theyr peynes brought;
 There was Cayn and Abell, offerynge theyr present,
 The sacryfyce of Abell, accepte full evydent:
 Tubal and Tubalcain, were purtrayed in that place
 The inventours of musyke, and crafte by great grace.

Noe and his shyppe, was made there curiously
 Sendynge forthe a raven, whiche never came again;
 And how the dove returned, with a braunche hastily,

¹ together.

^k nua. i. e. The Lady Werburg.

A token of comforte and peace, to man certayne:
 Abraham there was, standing upon the mount playne
 To offer in sacrifice, Isaac his dere sone,
 And how the shepe for hym was offered in oblacyon.

The twelve sones of Jacob, there were in purtrayture
 And how into Egypt, yonge Joseph was solde,
 There was imprisoned, by a false conjectour,
 After in all Egypte, was ruler (as is tolde).
 There was in pycture, Moyses wyse and bolde,
 Our Lorde apperynge, in bushe flammynge as fyre
 And nothing thereof brent, lefe, tree, nor spyre¹.

The ten plages of Egypt, were well embost
 The chyldren of Israel, passyng the reed see,
 Kyng Pharoo drowned, with all his proude hoost,
 And how the two table, at the mounte Synaye
 Were gyven to Moyses, and how soon to idolatry
 The people were prone, and punished were therefore,
 How Datan and Abyron, for pryde were full soure².

Duke Josue was joyned, after them in pycture,
 Ledyng the Israhelytes to the land of promysyon,
 And how the said land was divided by mesure
 To the people of God, by equall sundry porcyon:
 The judges and bysshops were there everychone,
 Theyr noble actes, and tryumphes marcyall,
 Freshly were browdred in these clothes royall.

Nexste to the greate lorde, appered fayre and bryght
 Kyng Saul and David, and prudent Solomon,
 Roboas succedyng, whiche soone lost his myght,
 The good kyng Ezechyas, and his generacyon,
 And so to the Machabees, and dyvers other nacyon,
 All these sayd storyes, so rychely done and wrought,
 Belongyng to kyng Wulfer, agayn that tyme were brought³.

¹ twig, branch.² burnt.

Wulfer, was brought to Ely monastery

³ All this history, belonging to king on this occasion.

But over the hye desse^o, in the pryncypall place
 Where the sayd thre kynges sate crowned all,
 The best hallynge^p hanged, as reason was,
 Whereon were wrought the ix. orders angelicall
 Dyvyded in thre ierarchyses, not cessyng to call
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, blessed be the Trynite,
Dominus Deus Sabaoth, thre persons in one deyte.

Next in order suyng^q, sette in goodly purtrayture
 Was our blessed lady, flowre of femynyte,
 With the twelve Apostles, echeone in his figure,
 And the foure Evangelystes, wrought most curiously:
 Also the Dyscyples of Christ in theyr degre
 Prechyng and techyng, unto every nacyon,
 The faythtes^r of holy chyrche, for their salvacyon.

Martyrs than folowed, right manifolde:
 The holy Innocentes, whom Herode had slayne,
 Blessed Saynt Stephen, the prothomartyr truly,
 Saynt Laurence, Saynt Vyncent, sufferyng great payne;
 With many other mo, than here ben now certayne,
 Of which sayd martyrs exsample we may take,
 Pacyence to observe, in herte, for Chrystes sake.

Confessours approched, right convenient,
 Fressely embrodred in ryche tysshewe and fyne;
 Saynt Nycholas, Saynt Benedycte, and his covent,
 Saynt Jerom, Basylyus, and Saynt Augustine,
 Gregory the great doctour, Ambrose and Saynt Martyne:
 All these were sette in goodly purtrayture,
 Them to beholde was a heavenly pleasure.

Vyrgyns them folowed, crowned with the lyly,
 Among whome our lady chefe president was;
 Some crowned with rooses for their great vyctory:
 Saynt Katheryne, Saynt Margerette, Saynt Agathas,
 Saynt Cycyly, Saynt Agnes, and Saynt Charytas,

^o seat. [Vid. supr.]

^p tapestry.

^q following.

^r feats; facts.

Saynt Lucy, Saynt Wenefryde, and Saynt Apolyn;
All these were brothered*, the clothes of golde within.

Upon the other syde of the hall sette were
Noble auntyent storyes, and how the stronge Sampson
Subdued his enemyes by his myghty power;
Of Hector of Troye, slayne by fals treason;
Of noble Arthur, kyng of this regyon:
With many other mo, which it is to longe
Playnly to expresse this tyme you amonge.

The tables were covered with clothes of dyaper,
Rychely enlarged with silver and with golde,
The cupborde with plate shynyng fayre and clere,
Marshalles theyr offyces fulfilled manyfolde:
Of myghty wyne plenty, both newe and olde,
All maner kynde of meetes delycate
(Whan grace was sayd) to them was preparate.

To this noble feest there was suche ordinaunce,
That nothyng wanted that gotten myght be
On see and on lande, but there was habundance
Of all maner pleasures to be had for monye;
The bordes all charged full of meet plente,
And dyvers subtyltes^t prepared sothly were,
With cordyall and spyces, theyr gwestes for to chere.

The joyfull wordes and sweet communycacyon
Spoken at the table, it were harde to tell;
Eche man at lyberte, without interrupcyon,
Bothe sadnes and myrthes, also pryve counsell,
Some adulacyon, some the truth dyd tell,
But the great astates^u spake of theyr regyons,
Knyghtes of theyr chyvalry, of craftes the comons.

Certayne at eche cours of service in the hall,
Trumpettes blewe up, shalmes and claryons,
Shewyng theyr melody, with toynes^w musycall,

* embroidered.

^t dishes of curious cookery, so called.^u kings.^w tunes.

Dyvers other ~~mynstrelles~~, in crafty proporcions,
 Mad swete concordance and lusty dyvysions:
 An hevenly pleasure, suche armony to here,
 Rejoysynge the hertes of the audyence full clere.

A singuler Mynstrell, all other ferre passynge,
 Toyned^x his instrument in pleasaunte armony,
 And sang moost swetely, the company gladyng,
 Of myghty conquerours, the famous vycory;
 Wherwith was ravysshed theyr sprytes and memory:
 Specyally he sange of the great Alexandere,
 Of his tryumphes and honours enduryng xii yere.

Solemply he ~~songe~~ the ~~scate~~ of the Romans,
 Ruled under kynges by policy and wysdome,
 Of theyr hye justice and ryghtful ordinauns
 Dayly increasyng in worshyp and renowne,
 Tyll Tarquyne the proude kyng, with that great confusion,
 Oppressed dame Lucrece, the wyfe of Colatyne,
 Kynges never reyned in Rome syth that tyme.

Also how the Romayns, under thre dycatours,
 Governed all regyons of the worlde ryght wysely,
 Tyll Julyus Cesar, excellynge all conquerours,
 Subdued Pompeius, and toke the hole monarchy
 And the rule of Rome to hym selfe manfully;
 But Cassius Brutus, the fals conspyratour,
 Caused to be slayne the sayd noble emperour.

After the sayd Julius, succeeded his syster sone,
 Called Octavianus, in the imperyall see,
 And by his precepte was made descrypcyon
 To every regyon, lande, shyre^y, and cytee,
 A tribute to pay unto his dignyte:
 That tyme was universal peas and honour,
 In whiche tyme was borne our blessed Savvoure.

^x tuned.

the officers of the kingdom of Babylon,

^y This puts one in mind of the *Sheriffs*, DAN. iii. 2.
 in our Translation of the Bible, among

All these hystories, noble and auneynt,
 Rejoysnge the audyence, he sange with pleasuer;
 And many other mo of the Newe Testament,
 Pleasaunt and profytable for their soules cure,
 Whiche be omytted, now not put in ure^a:
 The mynsters were ready, theyr offyce to fullfyll,
 To take up the tables at their lordes wyll.

Whan this noble feest and great solemnyte,
 Dayly endurynge a longe tyme and space,
 Was royally ended with honour and royalte,
 Eche kynge at other lysence taken hace,
 And so departed from thens to theyr place:
 Kyng Wulfer retourned, with worshyp and renowne,
 From the house^a of Ely to his owne mansyon.

If there be any merit of imagination or invention, to which the poet has a claim in this description, it altogether consists in the application. The circumstances themselves are faithfully copied by Bradshaw, from what his own age actually presented. In this respect, I mean as a picture of antient life, the passage is interesting; and for no other reason. The versification is infinitely inferior to Lydgate's worst manner.

Bradshaw was buried in the cathedral church, to which his convent was annexed, in the year 1513^b. Bale, a violent reformer, observes, that our poet was a person remarkably pious for the times in which he flourished^c. This is an indirect satire on the monks, and on the period which preceded the Reformation. I believe it will readily be granted, that our author had more piety than poetry. His Prologue contains the following humble professions of his inability to treat lofty subjects, and to please light readers.

To descrybe hie hystories I dare not be so bolde,
 Syth it is a matter for clerkes convenyent;
 As of the seven ages, and of our parentes olde,

^a Not mentioned here; [not now put in use.—Barrow.]

^a monastery.

^b Ath. Oxon. i. 9.

^c Cent. ix. Numb. 17.

Or of the four empyres whilom most excellent ;
 Knowyng my lerning therto insufficient :
 As for baudy balades you shall have none of me,
 To excyte lyght hertes to pleasure and vanity.^d

A great translator of the lives of the Saxon saints, from the Saxon, in which language only they were then extant, into Latin, was Goscelinus, a monk of Saint Austin's at Canterbury, who passed from France into England, with Herman, bishop of Salisbury, about the year 1058^e. As the Saxon language was at this time but little understood, these translations opened a new and ample treasure of religious history: nor were they acquisitions only to the religion, but to the literature, of that era. Among the rest, were the Lives of saint Werburgh^f, saint Etheldred^g, and saint Sexburgh^h, most probably the legends, which were Bradshaw's originals. Usher observes, that Goscelinus also translated into Latin the ancient Catalogue of the Saxon saints buried in Englandⁱ. In the register of Ely it is recorded, that he was the most eloquent writer of his age; and that he circulated all over England, the lives, miracles, and GESTS, of the saints of both sexes, which he reduced into prose-histories^k. The words of the Latin deserve our attention. "In historiis in *prosa* dictando mutavit." Hence we may perhaps infer, that they were not before in prose, and that he took them from old metrical legends: this is a presumptive proof, that the lives of the saints were at first extant in verse*. In the same light we are to understand the

^d Prol. lib. i. Signat. A. iii. [Ames or Herbert attribute to this author: "The Lyfe of Saynt Radegunde," printed by Pinsor in 4to. without date: in stanzas of seven lines. He dyed, as it appears from the book, in 1513.—RITSON.]

^e W. Malmesbur. lib. iv. ubi infr.—Goscelin. in Præfati. ad Vit. S. Augustini. See Mabillon, Act. BEN. Sæc. i. p. 499.

^f Printed, Act. SANCTOR. Bolland. tom. i. februar. p. 386. A part in Leland, Coll. ii. 154. Compare MSS. C. C. C. Cant. J. xiii.

^g In Registr. Eliens. ut infr.

^h See Leland. Coll. iii. p. 152. Compare the Lives of S. Etheldred, S. Werburgh, and S. Sexburgh, at the end of the HISTORIA AUREA of John of Timmouth, MS. Lambeth. 12. I know not whether they make a part of his famous SANCTILOGIUM. He flourished about the year 1380.

ⁱ Antiquit. Brit. c. ii. p. 15. See Leland's Coll. iii. 86. seq. And Hickea. Thesaur. vol. ult. p. 86. 146. 208.

^k Cap. x. Vit. Ethel

* [The passion for versifying every

words which immediately follow. "Hic scripsit *Prosam* sanctæ Etheldredæ!" Where the *Prose* of saint Etheldred is opposed to her *poetical legend*^m. By *mutavit dictando*, we are to un-

thing was carried to such a height in the middle ages, that before the year 1900, Justinian's Institutes, and the code of French jurisprudence, were translated into French rhymes. There is a very antient edition of this work, without date, place, or typographer, said to be corrected *par plusieurs docteurs* and *souverains legistes*, in which are these lines,

J'ay, par paresse, demouré
Trop longuement a commencer
Pour Institutes romancer.

See Menage, *Oss. sur le Lang. Fr. P. prem. ch. 3.* Verdier and La Croix, iii. 428. iv. 160. 554. 360. *Bibl. Fr. edit. 1773.*—*Adorions.*]

^l Which is extant in this Ely register, and contains 54 heads.

^m And these improved prose-narratives were often turned back again into verse, even so late as in the age before us: to which, among others I could mention, we may refer the legend of Saint Eustathius, *MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2.*

Seynt Eustace, a nobull knyghte,
Of hethen law he was;
And ere than he crystened was
Mene callyd him *Placidus*.
He was with *Trajan* themperor, &c.

A Latin legend on this saint is in *MSS. Harl. 2316. 42.*

Concerning legend-makers, there is a curious story in *MSS. James, xxxi. p. 6.* [ad *ITER LANCASTR.* num. 39. vol. 40.] *Bibl. Bodl.* Gilbert de Stone, a learned ecclesiastic, who flourished about the year 1380, was solicited by the monks of Holywell in Flintshire, to write the life of their patron saint. Stone applying to these monks for materials, was answered, that they had none in their monastery. Upon which he declared, that he could execute the work just as easily without any materials at all; and that he would write them a most excellent legend, after the manner of the legend of Thomas a Becket. He has the character of an elegant Latin writer; and seems to have done the same piece of service, perhaps

in the same way, to other religious houses. From his *Epistles*, it appears that he wrote the life of saint *Wolstade*, patron of the priory of canons regular of his native town of Stone in Staffordshire, which he dedicated to the prior, William de Madely. *Epist. iii. dat. 1399.* [*MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Sup. D i. Art. 123.*] He was Latin secretary to several bishops, and could possibly write a legend or a letter with equal facility. His epistles are 123 in number. The first of them, in which he is stiled *chancellor* to the bishop of Winchester, is to the archbishop of Canterbury. That is, *secretary.* [*MSS. Cotton. Vitell. E. x. 17.*] This bishop of Winchester must have been William of Wykeham.

The most extraordinary composition of this kind, if we consider, among other circumstances, that it was compiled at a time when knowledge and literature had made some progress, and when mankind were so much less disposed to believe or to invent miracles, more especially when the subject was quite recent, is the *Legend of King Henry the Sixth.* It is entitled, *De Miraculis beatissimi illius Militis Christi, Henrici sexti, etc.* That it might properly rank with other legends, it was translated from an English copy into Latin, by one Johannes, stiled *Pauperculus*, a monk, about the year 1503, at the command of John Morgan, dean of Windsor, afterwards bishop of saint David's. It is divided into two books: to both of which, prefaces are prefixed, containing proofs of the miracles wrought by this pious monarch. At the beginning, there is a hymn, with a prayer, addressed to the royal saint. fol. 72.

Salve, miles preciose,
Rex Henrice generose, &c.

Henry could not have been a complete saint without his legend. *MSS. Harl. 423. 7.* And *MSS. Reg. 13 C. 8.* What shall we think of the judgment and abilities of the dignified ecclesiastic, who could seriously patronise so ridiculous a narrative?

derstand, that he *translated, or reformed, or, in the most general sense, wrote anew in Latin,* these antiquated lives. His principal objects were the more recent saints, especially those of this island. Malmesbury says, "Innumeras SANCTORUM VITAS RECENTIUM *stylo extulit, veterum vel amissas, vel informiter editas, comptius renovavit*." In this respect, the labours of Goscelin partly resembled those of Symeon Metaphrastes, a celebrated Constantinopolitan writer of the tenth century: who obtained the distinguished appellation of the METAPHRAST, because at the command, and under the auspices, of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, he modernised the more antient narratives of the miracles and martyrdoms of the most eminent eastern and western saints, for the use of the Greek church: or rather digested, from detached, imperfect, or obsolete books on the subject, a new and more commodious body of the sacred biography.

Among the many striking contrasts between the manners and characters of antient and modern life, which these annals present, we must not be surprised to find a mercer, a sheriff, and an alderman of London, descending from his important occupations, to write verses. This is Robert Fabyan, who yet is generally better known as an historian, than as a poet. He was esteemed, not only the most facetious, but the most learned, of all the mercers, sheriffs, and aldermen, of his time: and no layman of that age is said to have been better skilled in the Latin language. He flourished about the year 1494. In his CHRONICLE, or *Concordance of histories*, from Brutus to the year 1485, it is his usual practice, at the division of the books, to insert metrical prologues, and other pieces in verse. The best of his metres is the COMPLAINT of king Edward the Second; who, like the personages in Boccacio's FALL OF PRINCES, is very dramatically introduced, reciting his own misfortunes^o.

^o Hist. Angl. lib. iv. p. 180.

^o Fol. 171. tom. ii. edit. 1533. See Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. p. 425. And Præfat. p. xxxviii. Fabyan says, "they are reported to be his own makinge, in

the tyme of his emprysonment." *ibid.* By the way, there is a passage in this chronicle which points out the true reading of a controverted passage in Shakespeare, "Also children were chris-

But this soliloquy is nothing more than a translation from a short and a very poor Latin poem attributed to that monarch, but probably written by William of Wyrester, which is preserved among the manuscripts of the college of arms, and entitled, *Lamentatio gloriosi regis Edwardi de Karnarvon quam edidit tempore suæ incarcerationis*. Our author's transitions from prose to verse, in the course of a prolix narrative, seem to be made with much ease; and, when he begins to versify, the historian disappears only by the addition of rhyme and stanza. In the first edition of his *CHRONICLE*, by way of epilogues to his seven books, he has given us *The seven joys of the Blessed Virgin in English Rime*. And under the year 1385, there is a poem to the virgin; and another on one Badby, a Lollard, under the year 1409^p. These are suppressed in the later editions. He has likewise left a panegyric on the city of London; but despairs of doing justice to so noble a subject for verse, even if he had the eloquence of Tully, the morality of Seneca, and the harmony of that *faire Lady Calliope*^q. The reader will thank me for citing only one stanza from king Edward's *COMPLAINT*.

When Saturne, with his cold and isye face,
 The ground, with his frostes, turneth grene to white;
 The time winter, which treès doth deface,
 And causeth all verdure to avoyde quite:
 Then fortune, which sharpe was, with stormes not lite
 Hath me assaulted with her froward wyll,
 And me beclipped with daungers ryght yll.^r

tened thorough all the land, and menne
housled and anealed, excepte suche," &c.
 tom. ii. p. 30. col. 2. [Another proof
 which ascertains this reading of the con-
 troverted passage in *HAMLET*, occurs in
 the romance of *MORTHE ARTHUR*. When
 sir Lancelot was dying, "whan he was
*housled and cneled, and had all that a
 crysten man ought to have, he praid the
 bishop, that his felowes might beare his
 bodie unto Joyous Garde,*" &c. B. xxi.
 esp. xii.—*ADDITIONS.*]

^p Edit. Lond. 1516. fol.

^q Fol. 2. tom. ii. ut supr.

^r In the British Museum there is a
 poem on this subject, and in the same
 stanza. MSS. Harl. 2393. 4to. 1. The
 ghost of Edward the Second, as here, is
 introduced speaking. It is addressed to
 queen Elizabeth, as appears, among other
 passages, from st. 92. 242. 243. 305. It
 begins thus.

Whie should a wasted spirit spent in woe
 Disclose the wounds receyved within his
 brest?

It is imperfect, having only 352 stanzas.
 Then follows the same poem; with

As an historian, our author is the dullest of compilers. He is equally attentive to the succession of the mayors of London, and of the monarchs of England: and seems to have thought the dinners at Guildhall, and the pageantries of the city-companies, more interesting transactions, than our victories in France, and our struggles for public liberty at home. One of Fabyan's historical anecdotes, under the important reign of Henry the Fifth, is, that a new weathercock was placed on the cross of Saint Paul's steeple. It is said that cardinal Wolsey commanded many copies of this chronicle to be committed to the flames, because it made too ample a discovery of the excessive revenues of the clergy. The earlier chapters of these childish annals faithfully record all those fabulous traditions, which generally supply the place of historic monuments in describing the origin of a great nation.

Another poet of this period is John Watson, a priest. He wrote a Latin theological tract entitled *SPECULUM CHRISTIANI*, which is a sort of paraphrase on the decalogue and the creed[†]. But it is interspersed with a great number of wretched English rhymes: among which, is the following hymn to the virgin Mary[‡].

Mary Moder, wel thu be ;
Mary Moder think on me :

many alterations, additions, and omissions. This is addressed to James the First, as appears from st. 6. 259. 260. 326, &c. It contains 581 stanzae. There is another copy in the same library, Num. 558. At the end the poet calls himself *IWRORUNIO*. This is an appellation which, I think, Spenser sometimes assumed. But Spenser was dead before the reign of James: nor has this piece any of Spenser's characteristic merit. It begins thus.

I sing thy sad disaster, fatal king,
Carnarvon Edward, second of that name.

The poem on this subject in the addition to the *MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES*, by William Nicolls, is a different composition. A *WINTER NIGHT'S VISION*. Lond. 1610. p. 702. These two manuscript

poems deserve no further mention: nor would they have been mentioned at all, but from their reference to the text, and on account of their subject. Compare MSS. Harl. 2251. 119. fol. 254. An unfinished poem on Edward the Second, perhaps by Lydgate. Princ. "Beholde this greate prince Edward the Secunde." [The author of this poem, on the Miseries of Edward II. was Ralph Starkey, the antiquary.—RITSON.]

[†] MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 155. MSS. Laud. G. 12. MSS. Thoresb. 530. There is an abridgement of this work, [MSS. Harl. 2250. 20.] with the date 1477. This is rather beyond the period with which we are at present engaged.

[‡] Compare a hymn to the holy virgin, supra, vol. ii. p. 150. Mathew Paris relates, that Godrich, a hermit, about

Mayden and moder was never non
 Togedir, lady, save thou allon^t.
 Swete lady, mayden clene,
 Schilde me fro ille, schame, and tene,
 And out of dette, for charitee, &c.^u

Caxton, the celebrated printer, was likewise a poet; and beside the rhyming introductions and epilogues with which he frequently decorates his books, has left a poem of considerable

the year 1150, who lived in a solitary wild on the banks of the river Ware near Durham, had a vision, in his oratory, of the virgin Mary, who taught him this song.

Sainte Marie [clene] virgine,
 Moder Jhesu Cristes Nazarene,
 Onfo, schild, help thir Gedric
 Onfang, bring heglich with the in godes
 riche.

Sainte Marie, Christes bur,
 Maidens clenhad, moderes flur,
 Dille min sinne, rix in min mod,
 Bring me to winne with the selfd god.

Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. [HENRIC. ii.]
 p. 115. edit. Tig. 1589. [The present
 text has been taken from Mr. Ritson's
 Bibliographia Poetica.—EDIT.]

In one of the Harleian manuscripts, many very antient hymns to the holy virgin occur. MS. 2253. These are specimens. 66. fol. 80. b.

Blessed be þou [thou] levedy, ful of
 heovene blisse,
 Swete flur of parays, moder of milde-
 nesse,

Preye Jhesu þy [thy] sone þat [that]
 he me rede and wysse
 So my wey forte gon, þat he me never
 mysse.

Ibid. 67. fol. 81. b.

As y me rod þis ender day,
 By grene wode to seche play,
 Mid herte y pohte al on a May [Maid],
 Sweetest of alle þinge!
 Lyþe, and ich ou telle may al of þat
 suete þinge.

Ibid. 69. fol. 83. In French and English.

Mayden moder milde, olex cel oreyson,
 From shome þou me shilde, e di ly mal
 feloun,
 For love of thine childe, me metex de
 tresoun,
 Ich wes wod and wilde, ore su en pri-
 soun.

See also *ibid.* 49. fol. 75.—57. fol. 78.
 And 372. 7. fol. 55.

In the library of Mr. Farmer, of Tusmore in Oxfordshire, are, or were lately, a collection of hymns and antiphones, paraphrased into English by William Herbert, a Franciscan friar, and a famous preacher, about the year 1330. These, with some other of his pieces contained in the same library, are unmentioned by Bale, v. 31. And Pitte, p. 428. [*Autogr. in pergamen.*] Pierre de Corbian, a troubadour, has left a hymn, or prayer, to the holy virgin: which, he says, he chose to compose in the romance-language, because he could write it more intelligibly than Latin. Another troubadour, a mendicant friar of the thirteenth century, had worked himself up into such a pitch of enthusiasm concerning the holy virgin, that he became deeply *in love* with her. It is partly owing, as I have already hinted, to the gallantry of the dark ages, in which the female sex was treated with so romantic a respect, that the virgin Mary received such exaggerated honours, and was so distinguished an object of adoration in the devotion of those times.

^t These four lines are in the exordium of a prayer to the virgin, MSS. Harl. 2382. (4to.) 3. fol. 86. b. [See *supra*, vol. ii. p. 369.

^u Printed by William Maclyn or Machlinia. Without date.

length, entitled the *WORKE OF SAPIENCE*™. It comprehends, not only an allegorical fiction concerning the two courts of the castle of Sapience, in which there is no imagination, but a system of natural philosophy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, theology, and other topics of the fashionable literature. Caxton appears to be the author, by the prologue: yet it is not improbable, that he might on this occasion employ some professed versifier, at least as an assistant, to prepare a new book of original poetry for his press. The writer's design, is to describe the effects of wisdom from the beginning of the world: and the work is a history of knowledge or learning. In a vision, he meets the goddess SAPIENCE in a delightful meadow; who conducts him to her castle, or mansion, and there displays all her miraculous operations. Caxton, in the poem, invokes the *gylted goddess* and *moost facundyous lady Clio*, apologises to those *makers* who delight in *termes gay*, for the inelegancies of language which as a foreigner he could not avoid, and modestly declares, that he neither means to rival or envy Gower and Chaucer.

Among the anonymous pieces of poetry belonging to this period, which are very numerous, the most conspicuous is the *KALENDAR OF SHEPHERDS*. It seems to have been translated into English about the year 1480, from a French book entitled *KALENDRIER DES BERGERS*². It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the year 1497³. This piece was calculated for the purposes of a perpetual almanac; and seems to have been the universal magazine of every article of salutary and useful knowledge. It is a medley of verse and prose; and contains, among

™ Printed by him without date. fol. in thirty-seven leaves. [But more justly attributed to Lydgate.—RITSON.]

² I have seen an edition of the French, of 1500.

³ I have an edition printed by John Wally, at London, without date. 4to. In the prologue it is said, "This book was first corruptly printed in France, and after that at the cost and charges of Richard Pinson newly translated and

reprinted although not so faithfully as the original copy required," &c. It was certainly first printed by de Worde, 1497. Again, ch. ii. "From the yeare this kalender was made M.CCCC.XCVII. unto the yeare M.CCCC.XVI." From whence I conclude, that Worde's edition was in 1497, Wally's in 1516. Again, "This yeare of the present kalender whiche began to have course the first daye of January M.CCCC.XCVII."

many other curious particulars, the saints of the whole year, the moveable feasts, the signs of the zodiac, the properties of the twelve months, rules for blood-letting, a collection of proverbs, a system of ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography². Among other authors, *Cathon the great clarke*^a, *Solomon*, *Ptolomeus the prince of astronomy*, and Aristotle's Epistle to Alexander, are quoted^b. Every month is introduced respectively speaking, in a stanza of *balad royal*, its own panegyric. This is the speech of May^c.

Of all monthes in the yeare I am kinge,
 Flourishing in beauty excellently;
 For, in my time, in vertue is all thinge,
 Fieldes and medes sprede most beautiously,
 And birdes singe with sweete harmony;
 Rejoycing lovers with hot love-endewed,
 With fragrant flowers all about renewed.

In the theological part, the terrors and certainty of death are described, by the introduction of Death, seated on the pale horse of the Apocalypse, and speaking thus^d.

Upon this horse, blacke and hideous
 DEATH I am, that fiercely doth sitte:
 There is no fairenesse, but sight tedious,
 All gay colours I do hitte.

^a Pieces of this sort were not uncommon. In the British Museum there is an *ASTROLOGICAL* poem, teaching when to buy and sell, to let blood, to build, to go to sea, the fortune of children, the interpretation of dreams, with other like important particulars, from the day of the moon's age. MSS. Harl. 2320. 3. fol. 31. In the principal letter the author is represented in a studious posture. The manuscript, having many Saxon letters intermixed, begins thus.

He that wol herkyn of wit
 That ys witnest in holy wryt,
 Lystenyth to me a stonde,
 Of a story y schal zow telle,
 What tyme ys good to byen and to sylle,
 In bok is hyt ys y fewnde.

The reader who is curious to know the state of quackery, astrology, fortune-telling, midwifery, and other occult sciences, about the year 1420, may consult the works of one John Crophill, who practised in Suffolk. MSS. Harl. 1735. 4to. 3. seq. [See fol. 29. 36.] This *cunning-man* was likewise a poet; and has left, in the same manuscript, some poetry spoken at an entertainment of *Frere Thomas*, and five ladies of quality, whose names are mentioned: at which, two great bowls, or goblets, called *MERCY* and *CHARITY*, were briskly circulated. fol. 48.

^a Epilogue.

^b Cap. 42.

^d Cap. xix.

^c Cap. 2.

My horse runneth by dales and hilles,
 And many he smiteth dead and killes.
 In my trap I take some by every way,
 By towns [and] castles I take my rent.
 I will not respite one an houre of a daye,
 Before me they must needes be present.
 I slea all with my mortall knife,
 And of duety I take the life.
 HELL knoweth well my killing,
 I sleepe never, but wake and warke ;
 It^d followeth me ever running,
 With my darte I slea weake and starke :
 A great number it hath of me,
 Paradyse hath not the fourth parte, &c.

In the eighth chapter of our KALENDER are described the seven visions, or the punishments in hell of the seven deadly sins, which Lazarus saw between his death and resurrection. These punishments are imagined with great strength of fancy, and accompanied with wooden cuts boldly touched, and which the printer Wynkyn de Worde probably procured from some German engraver at the infancy of the art^e. The PROUD are bound by hooks of iron to vast wheels, like mills, placed between craggy precipices, which are incessantly whirling with the most violent impetuosity, and sound like thunder. The ENVIOUS are plunged in a lake half frozen, from which as they attempt to emerge for ease, their naked limbs are instantly smote with a blast of such intolerable keenness, that they are compelled to dive again into the lake. To the WRATHFULL is assigned a gloomy cavern, in which their bodies are butchered, and their limbs mangled by demons with various weapons. The SLOTHFULL are tormented in a *horrible hall dark and tenebrous*, swarming with innumerable flying serpents of various shapes and sizes, which sting to the heart. This, I think, is the Hell of the Gothic EDDA. The COVETOUS are dipped in cauldrons

^d That is, HELL. ^e Compare the torments of Dante's hell. INF. Cant. v. vi. seq.

filled with boiling metals. The **GLUTTONOUS** are placed in a vale near a loathsome pool, abounding with venomous creatures, on whose banks tables are spread, from which they are perpetually crammed with toads by devils. **CONCUPISCENCE** is punished in a field full of immense pits or wells, overflowing with fire and sulphur. This visionary scene of the infernal punishments seems to be borrowed from a legend related by Matthew Paris, under the reign of king John: in which the soul of one Thurkill, a native of Tidstude in Essex is conveyed by saint Julian from his body, when laid asleep, into hell and heaven. In hell he has a sight of the torments of the damned, which are presented under the form and name of the **INFERNAL PAGEANTS**, and greatly resemble the fictions I have just described. Among the tormented, is a knight, who had passed his life in shedding much innocent blood at tilts and tournaments. He is introduced, compleatly armed, on horseback; and couches his lance against the demon, who is commissioned to seize and to drag him to his eternal destiny. There is likewise a priest who never said mass, and a baron of the exchequer who took bribes. Turkill is then conducted into the mansions of the blessed, which are painted with strong oriental colouring: and in Paradise, a garden replenished with the most delicious fruits, and the most exquisite variety of trees, plants, and flowers, he sees Adam, a personage of gigantic proportion, but the most beautiful symmetry, reclined on the side of a fountain which sent forth four streams of different water and colour, and under the shade of a tree of immense size and height, laden with fruits of every kind, and breathing the richest odours. Afterwards saint Julian conveys the soul of Turkill back to his body; and when awakened, he relates this vision to his parish-priest^f. There is a story of a similar cast in Bede^g, which I have mentioned before^h.

^f Matt. Paris. Hist. pag. 206. seq. Edit. Tig. Much the same sort of fable is related, *ibid.* p. 178. seq. There is an old poem on this subject, called **OWAYNE MILES**, MSS. COTT. CALIG. A. 12. f. 90.

^g See DISSERTATION ii. Signat. E. The **DEAD MAN'S SONG** there mentioned, seems to be more immediately taken from this fiction as it stands in our **SHEPHERD'S KALENDER**. It is entitled, *The DEAD MAN'S SONG, whose Dwelling was*

As the ideas of magnificence and elegance were enlarged, the public pageants of this period were much improved: and beginning now to be celebrated with new splendour, received, among other advantages, the addition of **SPEAKING PERSONAGES**.

near *Basinghall* in London. Wood's **BALLADS**. Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. It is worthy of Doctor Percy's excellent collection, and begins thus.

Sore sieke, dear friends, long tynde I was,
And weakly laid in bed, &c.

See also the legend of saint Patrick's cave, *Matth. Paris*. p. 84. And MSS. Harl. 2385. 82. *De quodam ducto videre penas Inferni*. fol. 56. b. [These highly painted infernal punishments, and joys of Paradise, are not the invention of the author of the **KALENDRIEK**. They are taken, both from *M. Paris*, and from Henry of Saltry's Description of saint Patrick's **PURGATORY**, written in 1140, and printed by Messingham in his **FLORELIQIUM INSULÆ SANCTORUM**, &c. Paris, 1624. fol. cap. vi. &c. p. 101. See *Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl.* 550. [See *infra*, p. 128.] Messingham has connected the two accounts of *M. Paris* and *H. de Saltry*, with some interpolations of his own. This adventure appears in various manuscripts. No subject could have better suited the devotion and the credulity of the dark ages.—**ADDITIONS.**]

I chuse to throw together in the Notes many other anonymous pieces belonging to this period, most of which are too minute to be formally considered in the series of our poetry. The **CASTELL OF HONOUR**, printed in quarto by *Wydkyn de Worde*, 1506. The **PARLYAMENT OF DEUVYLLS**. Princip. "As *Mary* was great with *Gabriel*," &c. For the same, in quarto, 1509. The **HISTORIE OF JACOB AND HIS TWELVE SONS**. In stanzas. For the same, without date. I believe about 1500. Princ. "Al yonge and old that lyst to here." A **LYTEL TREATYSE called the Dysputacyon or Complaynt of the Heart thourgh the perced with the lokyng of the eye**. For the same, in quarto, perhaps before 1500. The first stanza is elegant, and deserves to be transcribed. In the fyrst weke of the season of *Maye*,
Whan that the wodes be covered in grene,
In which the nyghtyngale lyst for to playe

To shewe his voys among the thornes
kene,
Them to rejoyce which loves servaunts
bene,
Which fro all comforte thynke them fast
behynd;
My pleasyr was as it was after sene
For my dysport to chase the harte and
hynde.

The **LYFE OF SAINT JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA**. For *Pinsot*, in quarto. 1590. The **LYFE OF PETRONVILLA**. In stanzas, for the same, without date, in quarto. The **CASTLE OF LABOUR**. In stanzas. For the same, in quarto, without date, with neat wooden cuts. [Vid. *infra*, Sect. XV. Note 4.] THE **LYFE OF SAINT RADEGUNDA**. In quarto, for the same. [Vid. *supra*, p. 24. Note 4.] THE **A. B. C. E. OF ARISTOTILLE**, MSS. Harl. 1304. 4. Proverbial verses in the alliterative manner, *vis*.

Woso wil be wise and worship desireth,
Lett him lerne one letter, and loke on
another, &c.

Again, *ibid.* 541. 19. fol. 213. [Compare, *ibid.* 919. 10. fol. 15. b. 11. fol. 15. b.] See also some satyrical Ballads written by *Frere Michael Kildare*, chiefly on the *Religious orders, Saints, the White Friars of Drogheda, the vanity of riches, &c. &c. A divine poem on death, &c.* MSS. Harl. 919. 3. fol. 7. 4. fol. 9. 5. fol. 10. 13. fol. 16. [He has left a Latin poem in rhyme on the abbot and prior of Gloucester, *ibid.* 5. fol. 10. And burlesque pieces on some of the divine offices, *ibid.* 6. fol. 12. 7. fol. 13. b.] Hither we may also refer a few pieces written by one *Whyting*, not mentioned in *Tanner*, MSS. Harl. 541. 14. fol. 207. seq. Undoubtedly many other poems of this period, both printed and manuscript, have escaped my enquiries, but which, if discovered, would not have repaid the research.

Among *Rawlinson's* manuscripts there is a poem, of considerable length, on the

These spectacles, thus furnished with speakers, characteristically habited, and accompanied with proper scenery, co-operated with the MYSTERIES, of whose nature they partook at first, in introducing the drama. It was customary to prepare these shews at the reception of a prince, or any other solemnity of a similar kind: and they were presented on moveable theatres, or occasional stages, erected in the streets. The speeches were in verse; and as the procession moved forward, the speakers, who constantly bore some allusion to the ceremony, either

antiquity of the Stanley family, beginning thus.

I entende with true reporte to praise
The valiant acts of the stowte Stan-
delais,
Ffrom whence they came, &c.

It comes down no lower than Thomas earl of Derby, who was executed in the reign of Henry the Seventh. This induced me to think at first, that the piece was written about that time. But the writer mentions king Henry the Eighth, and the suppression of Monasteries. I will only add part of a Will in verse, dated 1477. MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. fol. 176. [M. 13. Th.]

Fleshy lustes and festes,
And furues of divers bestes,
(A fend was heu fonde;)
Hole clothe cast on shredys,
And wymen with thare hye hedys,
Have almost lost thys londe!

[To the reign of king Henry the Sixth we may also refer a poem written by one Richard Sellyng, whose name is not in any of our biographers. MSS. HABL. f. 38. a. It is entitled and begins thus, *Evidens to be ware and gode counsaile made now late by that honourable squier Richard Sellyng.*

Loo this is but a symple tragedie,
Ne thing lyche yn to hem of Lumbardy,
Which that Storax wrote unto Pompeie,
Sellyng maketh this in his manere,
And to John Shirley now sent it is
Ffor to amende where it is amisse.

He calls himself an old man. Of this honourable squier I can give no further account. John Shirley, here mentioned,

lived about the year 1440. He was a gentleman of good family, and a great traveller. He collected, and transcribed in several volumes, which John Stowe had seen, many pieces of Chaucer, Lydgate, and other English poets. In the Ashmolean Museum, there is, *A boke cleped the Abstracte Breuyare compyled of divers balades, roundels, virgyls, tragedyes, envoys, complaints, moralities, stories, practysed and eke devyced and ymagined; as it sheweth here followinge, collected by John Shirley.* MSS. 89. ii. In Thoresby's library was a manuscript, once belonging to the college of Selby, *A most pyteous cronycle of thorrubil dethe of James Stewarde, late kynge of Scotys, nought long agone prisoner yn Englando yn the tymes of the kynges Henry the Fyfte and Henry the Sixte, translated out of Latine into oure mothers Englishe tong bi your simple subject John Shirley.* Also, *The boke clepyd Les bones meures translated out of French by your humble serviture John Shirley of London, mcccxxi, comprised in v partes. The firste partie spekith of remedie that is agaynst the sevyen deadly syns. 2. The estate of holy church. 3. Of prynces and lordes temporall. 4. Of comone people. 5. Of deth and universal dome.* Also, his Translation of the Sanctum Sanctorum, &c. DUCAT. LEON. p. 590. A preserver of Chaucer's and Lydgate's works deserved these notices. The late Mr. Ames, the industrious author of the HISTORY OF PRINTING, had in his possession a folio volume of English Ballads in manuscript, composed or collected by one John Lucas about the year 1450.—ADDITIONS.]

conversed together in the form of a dialogue, or addressed the noble person whose presence occasioned the celebrity. Speakers seem to have been admitted into our pageants about the reign of Henry the Sixth.

In the year 1432, when Henry the Sixth, after his coronation at Paris, made a triumphal entry into London, many stanzas, very probably written by Lydgate, were addressed to his majesty, amidst a series of the most splendid allegorical spectacles, by a giant representing religious fortitude, Enoch and Eli, the holy Trinity, two *Judges* and eight *Serjeants of the coiffe*, *dame Clennesse*, *Mercy*, *Truth*, and other personages of a like nature¹.

In the year 1456, when Margaret wife of Henry the Sixth, with her little son Edward, came to Coventry, on the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, she was received with the presentation of pageants, in one of which king Edward the confessor, saint John the Evangelist, and saint Margaret, each speak to the queen and the prince in verse^k. In the next reign in the year 1474, another prince Edward, son of Edward the Fourth, visited Coventry, and was honoured with the same species of shew: he was first welcomed, in an octave stanza, by Edward the confessor; and afterwards addressed by saint George, completely armed: a king's daughter holding a lamb, and supplicating his assistance to protect her from a terrible dragon, the lady's father and mother standing in a tower above, the conduit on which the champion was placed "renning wine in four places, and minstrelcy of organ playing^l." Undoubtedly the Franciscan friers of Coventry, whose sacred interludes,

¹ Fabyan, ubi supr. fol. 382. seq.

^k *LEZET-BOOK* of the city of Coventry. MS. fol. 168. Stowe says, that at the reception of this queen in London, in the year 1445, several pageants were exhibited at *Paul's-gate*, with verses written by Lydgate, on the following *lammata*. *Ingredimini et replete terram. Non amplius irascat super terram. Madam Grace chancelor de dieu. Five wise and five foolish virgins. Of saint Mar-*

garet, &c. *HIST. ENGL.* pag. 385. edit. Howes. I know not whether these poems were spoken, or only affixed to the pageants. Fabyan says, that in those pageants there was *resemblance of dyoirse olde hystories*. I suppose tapestry. *CROW.* tom. ii. fol. 398. edit. 1533. See the ceremonies at the coronation of Henry the Sixth, in 1430. *FAB.* *ibid.* fol. 378.

^l *Ibid.* fol. 221.

presented on Corpus Christi day, in that city, and at other places, make so conspicuous a figure in the history of the English drama^m, were employed in the management of these devises: and that the Coventry men were famous for the arts of exhibition, appears from the share they took in the gallant entertainment of queen Elisabeth at Kenelworth-castle, before whom they played their *old storial show*ⁿ.

At length, personages of another cast were added; and this species of spectacle, about the period with which we are concerned, was enlivened by the admission of new characters, drawn either from profane history, or from profane allegory^o, in the application of which, some degree of learning and invention appeared.

I have observed in a former work, and it is a topic which will again be considered in its proper place, that the frequent and familiar use of allegoric personifications in the public pageants, I mean the general use of them, greatly contributed to form the school of Spenser^p. But moreover, from what is here said, it seems probable, that the PAGEAUNTS, which being shewn on civil occasions, derived great part of their decorations and actors from historical fact, and consequently made profane characters the subject of public exhibition, dictated ideas of a regular drama, much sooner than the MYSTERIES: which being confined to Scripture stories, or rather the legendary miracles of sainted martyrs, and the no less ideal personifica-

^m See supra, vol. ii. p. 129. The friers themselves were the actors. But this practice being productive of some enormities, and the laity growing as wise as the clergy, at least as well qualified to act plays; there was an injunction in the MEXICAN COUNCIL, ratified at Rome in the year 1589, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Mysteries, *even on CORPUS CHRISTI-DAY*. "Neque in Comœdiis personam agat, etiam in festo CORPUS CHRISTI." SACROSANCT. CONCIL. fol. per Labb. tom. xv. p. 1268. edit. Paris. 1672.

ⁿ See supra, vol. i. p. 95.

^o Profane allegory, however, had been

applied in pageants, somewhat earlier. In the pageants, above mentioned, presented to Henry the Sixth, the seven liberal sciences personified are introduced, in a *tabernacle of curious worke*, from which their queen *dame Sapience* speaks verses. At entering the city he is met, and saluted in metre by three ladies, *richly cladde in golde and silkes* with coronets, who suddenly issue from a stately tower hung with the most splendid arras. These are the Dames, NATURE, GRACE, and FORTUNE. Fabyan, ut supr. fol. 382. seq. But this is a rare instance so early,

^p See Obs. FAIRY QUEEN. ii. 90.

tions of the Christian virtues, were not calculated to make so quick and easy a transition to the representations of real life and rational action.

In the year 1501, when the princess Catharine of Spain came to London, to be married to prince Arthur, her procession through the city was very magnificent. The pageants were numerous, and superbly furnished; in which the principal actors, or speakers, were not only God the father, saint Catharine, and saint Ursula, but king Alphonsus the astronomer and an ancestor of the princess, a Senator, an Angel, Job, Boethius, Nobility, and Virtue. These personages sustained a sort of action, at least of dialogue. The lady was compared to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and Alphonsus, from his skill in the stars, was introduced to be the fortune-teller of the match⁹. These machineries were contrived and directed by an ecclesiastic of great eminence, bishop Fox; who, says Bacon, "was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the active part, belonging to the service of court, or state of a great king." It is probable, that this prelate's dexterity and address in the conduct of a court-rareeshow procured him more interest, than the gravity of his counsels, and the depth of his political knowledge: at least his employment in this business presents a striking picture of the importance of those popular talents, which even in an age of blind devotion, and in the reign of a superstitious monarch, were instrumental in paving the way to the most opulent dignities of the church. "Whosoever," adds the same penetrating historian, "had these toys in compiling, they were not altogether PEDANTICAL^r." About the year 1487, Henry the Seventh went a progress into the north; and at every place of distinction was received with a pageant; in which he was saluted, in a poetical oration, not always religious, as, at York by Ebranck, a British king and the founder of the

⁹ Chron. MS.

^r Bacon's HENRY THE SEVENTH. Compl. Hist. Eng. vol. i. p. 628.

city, as well as by the holy virgin, and king David: at Worcester by Henry the Sixth his uncle: at Hereford by saint George, and king Ethelbert, at entering the cathedral there: at Bristol, by king Bremmuis, Prudence, and Justice. The two latter characters were personated by young girls⁵.

In the mean time it is to be granted, that profane characters were personated in our pageants, before the close of the fourteenth century. Stowe relates, that in the year 1377, for the entertainment of the young prince Richard, son of Edward the black prince, one hundred and thirty citizens rode disguised from Newgate to Kennington where the court resided, attended with an innumerable multitude of waxen torches, and various instruments of music, in the evening of the Sunday preceding Candlemas-day. In the first rank were forty-eight, habited like esquires, with visors; and in the second the same number, in the character of knights. "Then followed one richly arrayed like an EMPEROR, and after him, at some distance, one stately-tyred like a POPE, whom followed twenty-four CARDINALLS, and after them eyght or tenne with blacke visors not amiable, as if they had been LEGATES from some forrain princes." But this parade was nothing more than a DUMB SHEW, unaccompanied with any kind of interlocution. This appears from what follows. For our chronicler adds, that when they entered the hall of the palace, they were met by the prince, the queen, and the lords; "whom the said mummers did salute, *shewing by a pair of dice their desire to play with the prince,*" which they managed with so much complaisance and skill, that the prince won of them a bowl, a cup, and a ring of gold; and the queen and lords, each, a ring of gold. Afterwards, having been feasted with a sumptuous banquet, they had the honour of dancing with the young prince and the nobility, and so the ceremony was concluded⁶. Matthew Paris informs us, that

⁵ From a manuscript in the Cotton library, printed in Leland. *COLLECTANEA* ad calc. vol. iii. p. 185.

⁶ Stowe's *SUEV. LOND.* pag. 71. edit. 1599. 4to. It will perhaps be said, that this shew was not properly a PAGEANT

but a MUMMERY. But these are frivolous distinctions: and, taken in a general view, this account preserves a curious specimen of early PERSONATION, and proves at least that the practice was not then in its infancy, [The most

at the magnificent marriage of Henry the Third with Eleanor of Provence, in the year 1236, certain strange pageants, and wonderful devises, were displayed in the city of London; and that the number of HISTRIONES on this occasion was infinite".

splendid spectacle of this sort which occurs in history, at least so early as the fourteenth century, is described by Froissart, who was one of the spectators. It was one of the shews at the magnificent entrance of queen Isabell into Paris, in the year 1389. The story is from the crusade against Saladin. I will give the passage from lord Berners's Translation, printed by Pinson in 1523. "Than after, under the mynster of the Trinite, in the strete, there was a stage, and therupon a castell. And along on the stage there was ordeyned the PASSE OF KYNG SALHADYN, and all their dedes in Personages: the cristen men on the one parte, and the Sarazins on the other parte. And there was, in Personages, all the lordes of name that of olde tyme hadde ben armed, and had done any feates of armes. at the PASSE OF SALHADYNE, and were armed with suche armure as they than used. And thanne, a lyttel above them, there was in Personages the Frenche kyng and the twelve Peeres of Fraunce armed, with the blason of their armes. And whan the Frenche queenes lytter was come before this stage, she rested there a season. Thenne the Personages on the stage of kyng Rycharde departed fro his company, and wente to the Frenche kyng, and demaunded lycence to go and assaile the Sarazins; and the kyng gave hym [them] leave. Thanne kyng Rycharde retourned to his twelve companyons. Thanne they all sette them in order, and incontynente wente and assailed Salhadyne and the Sarazins. Then in sporte there seemed a great bataile, and it endured a good space. This pageaunt was well regarded." *CRON.* tom. ii. c. 56. fol. cixii. col. 1. By the two kings, he means Philip of France, and our king Richard the First, who were jointly engaged in this expedition. It is observable, that the superiority is here given to the king of France.—*ADDITIONS.*

"I will cite the passage more at large, and in the words of the original. "Con-

venerunt autem vocata ad convivium nuptiale tanta nobillum multitudo utriusque sexus, tanta religiosorum numerositas, tanta plebium populositas, tanta HISTRIONUM Varietas, quod vix eos civitas Londoniarum sinu suo capaci comprehenderet. Ornata est igitur civitas tota olosericis, et vexillis, coronis, et palliis, cereis et lampadibus, et quibusdam prodigiosis ingenii et portentis," &c. *HIST.* p. 406. edit. Tig. 1589. sub HENRICO III. Here, by the way, the expression '*Varietas histrionum*' plainly implies the comprehensive and general meaning of the word HISTRIO; and the multifarious performances of that order of men. Yet in the Injunctions given by the Barons to the religious houses, in the year 1258, there is an article which seems to shew, that the 'Histriones' were sometimes a particular species of public entertainers. "HISTRIONUM LUDI non videantur vel audiantur, vel permittantur fieri, coram abbate vel monasticis." *ANAL. BURTON.* p. 437. *OXON.* 1684. Whereas minstrels, harpers, and juglers, were notoriously permitted in the monasteries. We cannot ascertain whether LUDI here means plays, then only religious: *LUDI theatralis* in churches and church-yards, on vigils and festivals, are forbidden in the Synod of Exeter, dat. 1287, cap. xiii. *CONCIL. MAGN. BRIT.* per Wilkins. tom. ii. p. 140. col. 2. edit. 1737. fol.

I cannot omit the opportunity of adding a striking instance of the extraordinary freedom of speech, permitted to these people, at the most solemn celebrities. About the year 1250, king Henry the Third, passing some time in France, held a most magnificent feast in the great hall of the knights-templars at Paris; at which, beside his own suite, were present the kings of France and Navarre, and all the nobility of France. The walls of the hall were hung all over with shields, among which was that of our king Richard the First. Just before the feast began, a JOCULATOR, or minstrel, accosted king Henry thus. "My lord, why did you invite so many

But the word *HISTRIO*, in the Latin writers of the barbarous ages^w, generally comprehends the numerous tribe of mimics, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, musicians, minstrels, and the like public practitioners of the recreative arts, with which those ages abounded: nor do I recollect a single instance in which it precisely bears the restrained modern interpretation.

As our thoughts are here incidentally turned to the rudi-

Frenchmen to feast with you in this hall? Behold, there is the shield of Richard, the magnanimous king of England!—All the Frenchmen present will eat their dinner in fear and trembling!” Matt. Paris. p. 871. sub *HENR. III.* edit. Tigur. 1589. fol. Whether this was a pre-concerted compliment, previously suggested by the king of France, or not, it is equally a proof of the familiarity with which the minstrels were allowed to address the most eminent personages.

^w There is a passage in John of Salisbury much to our purpose, which I am obliged to give in Latin, “At eam [desidiem] nostris prorogant *HISTRIONES*. Admissa sunt ergo *SPECTACULA*, et infinita lenocinia vanitatis.—Hinc *mimi*, *salii vel saliores*, *balatrones*, *amiliiani*, *gladiatores*, *palestrite*, *gignadii*, *prestigitores*, malefici quoque multi, et tota *JOCULATORUM SCENA* procedit. Quorum adeo error invaluit, ut a *præclaris domibus* non arceantur etiam illi, qui *obscænis partibus corporis*, oculis omnium eam ingerunt *turpitudinem*, quam erubescet videre vel cynicus. Quodque magis mirere, nec tunc ejiciuntur, quando *TUMULTUANTES INFERIUS crebro sonitu ærem fadant*, et *turpiter inclusum turpius produnt*. Veruntamen quid in singulis possit aut deceat, animus sapientis advertit, nec *APOLOGOS* refugit, aut *NARRATIONES*, aut quæcunque *SPECTACULA*, dum virtutis,” &c. *POLYCRAT.* lib. i. cap. viii. p. 28. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Here, *GIGNADI*, a word unexplained by Du Cange, signifies wrestlers, or the performers of athletic exercises: for *gignasium* was used for *gymnasium* in the barbarous Latinity. By *apologos*, we are perhaps to understand an allegorical story or fable, such as were common in the Provençal poetry; and by *narrationes*, tales of chivalry: both which were recited at festivals by these *HISTRIONES*. *Spectacula* I need not explain: but here

seems to be pointed out the whole system of antient exhibition or entertainment. I must add another pertinent passage from this writer, whom the reader will recollect to have flourished about the year 1140. “Non facile tamen crediderim ad hoc quemquam impelli posse litteratorem, ut *HISTRIONEM* profiteatur.—*GESTUS* siquidem *EXPALMUNT*, rerum utilitate deducta.” Ibid. lib. viii. cap. xiii. p. 514. [Compare Blount’s *ART. TEXNURUS*, p. 11. *HEMINGSTON.*]

With regard to *APOLOGO*, mentioned above, I have further to observe, that the Latin metrical apologues of the dark ages, are probably translations from the Provençal poetry. Of this kind is Wircker’s *SPÉCULUM STULTORUM*, or BURNELL’S *ASS*. See supr. vol. ii. p. 254. And the *ASINUS PŒNITENTIARIUS*, in which an ass, wolf, and fox, are introduced, confessing their sins, &c. See Matt. Flacius, *Catal. Test. Verit.* p. 903. edit. 1556. In the British Museum there is an antient thin folio volume on vellum, containing upwards of two hundred short moral tales in Latin prose, which I also class under the *APOLOGO* here mentioned by John of Salisbury. Some are legendary, others romantic, and others allegorical. Many of them I believe to be translations from the Provençal poetry. Several of the Esopian fables are intermixed. In this collection is Parnell’s *HERMIT*, *De ANGELO et Heremita Peregrinum occisum sepelientibus*, Rubr. 32. fol. 7. And a tale, I think in Fontaine, *of the king’s son who never saw a woman*. Rubr. 8. fol. 2. The stories seem to have been collected by an Englishman, at least in England: for there is, the tale of one *Godfrey, a priest of Sussex*. Rubr. 40. fol. 8. MSS. Harl. 463. The story of Parnell’s *HERMIT* is in *Gesta Romanorum*, MSS. Harl. 2270. ch. lxxx.

ments of the English stage^x, I must not omit an anecdote, entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the MYSTERIES at this period, which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry the Seventh kept his residence at the castle at Winchester, on occasion of the birth of prince Arthur, on a sunday, during the time of dinner, he was entertained with a religious drama called CHRISTI DESCENSUS AD INFEROS, or *Christ's descent into hell*^y. It was represented by the PUERI ELEEMOSYNARII, or choir-boys, of Hyde abbey, and saint Swithin's priory, two large monasteries at Winchester. This is the only proof I have ever seen of choir-boys acting in the old MYSTERIES: nor do I recollect any other instance of a royal dinner, even on a festival, accompanied with this species of diversion^z. The story of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Christ, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptist, was not uncommon in the antient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the LUDUS PASCHALIS, or *Easter Play*^a. It occurs in the Coventry plays acted on Corpus Christi day^b; and in the Whitsun-plays at Chester, where it is called the HARROWING OF HELL^c. The representation is Christ entering hell triumphantly, delivering our first parents, and the most sacred characters of the Old and New Testaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into Paradise. There is an ancient poem, perhaps an interlude, on the same subject, among the Harleian manuscripts; containing our Saviour's dialogues in hell with Sathanas, the Janitor, or porter of hell, Adam,

^x See supr. vol. ii. p. 70. seq.

^y Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. ut supr.

^z Except, that on the first Sunday of the magnificent marriage of king James of Scotland with the princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry the Seventh, celebrated at Edinburgh with high splendour, "after dynnar a Moralite was played by the said master Inglyshe and hys companyons in the presence of the kyng and qwene." On one of the preceding days, "After soupper the kyng and qwene beyng togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglysh and

his companyons *plaid*." This was in the year 1503. Apud Leland. cel. iii. p. 300. 299. APPEND. edit. 1770.

^a The Italians pretend that they have a LUDUS PASCHALIS as old as the twelfth century. TEATRO ITALIANO, tom. i. See *Un Istoria del Teatro*, &c. prefixed, p. ii. Veron. 1723. 12mo.

^b [See supr. vol. I. p. 95.] "Nunc dormiunt milites, et veniet anima Christi de inferno cum Adam et Eva, Abraham, Joh. Baptiste, et aliis."

^c MSS. Harl. 2013. PAGEAUNT xvii. fol. 135.

Eve, Habraham, David, Johan Baptist, and Moytes. It begins,

Alle herkney to me nou :
A strif wolle y tellen ou
Of Jhesu ant of Sathan
þo Jhesu wes to helle y-gan^d.

The composers of the MYSTERIES did not think the plain and probable events of the New Testament sufficiently marvelous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The subject of the MYSTERIES just-mentioned was borrowed from the PSEUDO-EVANGELIUM, or the FABULOUS GOSPEL, ascribed to Nicodemus^e: a book, which, together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical history, and forged at Constantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endless variety of legends concerning the life of

^d MSS. Harl. 2253. 21. fol. 55. b. [See Mr. Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the People of England*, vol. ii.—EDIT.] There is a poem on this subject, MS. Bodl. 1687.

How Jesu Crist harowed helle
Of hardi gestes ich wille telle.

[See supr. vol. i. p. 15.]

^e In Latin. A Saxon translation, from a manuscript at Cambridge, coeval with the Conquest, was printed at Oxford, by Thwaites, 1699. In an English translation by Wynkyn de Worde, the prologue says, "Nichodemus, which was a worthy prynce, dydde wryte thys blessyd storye in Hebrewe. And Theodosius, the emperour, dyde it translate out of Hebrewe into Latin, and bysshoppe Turpyn dyde translate it out of Latyn into Frenshe." With wooden cuts, 1511. 4to. There was another edition by Wynkyn de Worde, 1518. 4to. and 1532. See a very old French version, MSS. Harl. 2253. 3. fol. 33. b. There is a translation into English verse, about the fourteenth century. MSS. Harl. 4196. 1. fol. 206. See also, 149. 5. fol.

254. b. And MSS. Coll. Sion. 17. The title of the original is, *NICODEMI DESCENSUS de Jesu Christi passione et resurrectione EVANGELIUM*. Sometimes it is entitled *GESTA SALVATORIS nostri Jesu Christi*. Our lord's *Descent into hell* is by far the best invented part of the work. Edit. apud ORTHODOX. PATR. Jac. Greyn, [Basil. 1569. 4to.] pag. 653. seq. The old Latin title to the pageant of this story in the *Chester plays* is, "DE DESCENSU AD INFERNA, et de his que ibidem fiebant secundum EVANGELIUM NICODEMI," fol. 138. ut supr. Hence the first line in the old interlude, called *HICKS-CORNER* is illustrated.

Now Jesu the gentyll that brought Adam
from hell.

There is a Greek homily on *Saint John's Descent into hell*, by Eusebius Alexandrinus. They had a notion that *Saint John* was our Saviour's precursor, not only in this world, but in hades. See *Allat. de libr. eccles. Græcor.* p. 303. seq. Compare the *Legend of Nicodemus, Christ's descent into hell, Pilate's exile, &c.* MSS. Bodl. B. 5. 2021. 4. seq.

Christ and his apostles^f; and which, in the barbarous ages, was better esteemed than the genuine Gospel, on account of its improbabilities and absurdities.

But whatever was the source of these exhibitions, they were thought to contribute so much to the information and instruction of the people on the most important subjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thousand days to every person who resorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitsun week at Chester, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgment; and this indulgence was seconded by the bishop of the diocese, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the same time denouncing the sentence of damnation on all those incorrigible sinners, who presumed to disturb or interrupt the due celebration of these pious sports^g. It is certain that they had their use, not only in teaching the great truths of Scripture to men who could not read the Bible, but in abolishing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had so long prevailed as the sole species of popular amusement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they softened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to spectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than those of bodily strength and savage valour.

^f In the manuscript register of saint Swithin's priory at Winchester, it is recorded, that Leofric, bishop of Exeter, about the year 1150, gave to the convent, a book called *GESTA Beatissimi Apostoli Petri cum Glosa*. This is probably one of these commentitious histories. By the way, the same Leofric was a great benefactor in books to his church at Exeter. Among others, he gave *Boetii Liber ANGLICUS*, and, *Magnus liber ANGLICUS omnino METRICE descriptus*. What was this translation of Boethius, I know not; unless it is Alfred's. It is still more difficult to determine, what was

the other piece, the GREAT BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE, at so early a period. The grant is in Saxon, and, if not genuine, must be of high antiquity. Dugdale. *MONAST. tom. i, p. 222*. I have given Dugdale's Latin translation. The Saxon words are, "Boetier boc on englyc.— And 1. mycel englyc boc be gehwylcum þingum on leod þýran zepohrt." [The Saxon text speaks neither of prose or verse. Dugdale has confounded leod *populus* with leod *carmen*. The book in question might be supposed a copy of the Saxon Chronicle.—EDR.]

^g MSS. Harl. 2124. 2013.

SECTION XXVIII.

THE only writer deserving the name of a poet in the reign of Henry the Seventh, is Stephen Hawes. He was patronised by that monarch, who possessed some tincture of literature, and is said by Bacon to have confuted a Lollard in a public disputation at Canterbury^a.

Hawes flourished about the close of the fifteenth century; and was a native of Suffolk^b. After an academical education at Oxford, he travelled much in France; and became a complete master of the French and Italian poetry. His polite accomplishments quickly procured him an establishment in the household of the king; who struck with the liveliness of his conversation, and because he could repeat by memory most of the old English poets, especially Lydgate, made him groom of the privy chamber^c. His facility in the French tongue was a qualification which might strongly recommend him to the favour of Henry the Seventh, who was fond of studying the best French books then in vogue^d.

Hawes has left many poems, which are now but imperfectly known, and scarcely remembered. These are, the TEMPLE OF GLASSE. The CONVERSION OF SWERERS^e; in octave stanzas, with Latin lemmata, printed by de Worde in 1509^f. A JOYFUL MEDITATION OF ALL ENGLOND, OR THE CORONACYON TO OUR MOST NATURAL SOVEREIGN LORD KING HENRY THE EIGHTH IN VERSE. By the same, and without date; but pro-

^a LIFE of HENRY VII. p. 628. edit. ut supr. One Hodgkins, a fellow of King's college in Cambridge, and vicar of Ringwood in Hants, was eminently skilled in the mathematics; and on that account, Henry the Seventh frequently condescended to visit him at his house at Ringwood. Hatcher, MS. *Catal. Præpos. et Soc. Coll. Regal. Cant.*

^b Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 5.

^c Bale says, that he was called by the king "ab interiori camera ad privatum cubiculum." Cent. viii.

^d Bacon, ut supr. p. 637.

^e "The CONVERSION OF SWERERS, made and compyled by Stephen Hawes, groome of the chamber of our sovereigne lord kyng Henry VII."

^f It contains only one sheet in quarto.

bably it was printed soon after the ceremony which it celebrates. These coronation carols were customary. There is one by Lydgate^a. THE CONSOLATION OF LOVERS. THE EXEMPLAR OF VIRTUE. THE DELIGHT OF THE SOUL. OF THE PRINCE'S MARRIAGE. THE ALPHABET OF BIRDS. Some of the five latter pieces, none of which I have seen, and which perhaps were never printed, are said by Wood to be written in Latin, and seem to be in prose,

The best of Hawes's poems, hitherto enumerated, is the TEMPLE OF GLASS^b. On a comparison, it will be found to

^a A BALLAD presented to Henry the Sixth the day of his coronation. PRINC. "Most noble prince of crysten princes all." MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii.

^b By mistake, as it seems, I have hitherto quoted Hawes's TEMPLE OF GLASS, under the name of Lydgate. See supr. vol. ii. p. 244. 251. It was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1500. "Here byganeth the TEMPLE OF GLASS. By Stephen Hawes, grome of the chamber to king Henry vii." [Amea, Hist. Print. pag. 86.] 8vo. in twenty-seven leaves. Afterwards by Bertheletts, without date, or name of the author, with this colophon. "Thus endeth the temple of glasse. Emprinted at London, in Flete-strete, in the house of Thomas Berthelette, near to the cundite, at the sygne of the Lucrece. Cum privilegio." I will give the beginning, with the title.

This boke called the Temple of glasse, is in many places amended, and late diligently imprinted.

Through constraynt and greuous heuyness,

For great thought and for highe penyuenesse,

To bedde I went nowe this other night,
Whan that Lucina with her pale lyght,
Was ioyned last with Phebus in Aquary,
Amydde Decembre, whan of January
There be kalendes of the newe yere;
And derke Dyana, horned and nothyng clere,

Hydde her beames under a mysty cloude,

Within my bedde for colde gan me shroude;

All desolate for constraynt of my wo,
The long night walowying to and fro,
Tyll at last, or I gan take kepe, &c.

This edition, unmentioned by Arthes, is in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. C. 89. Art. Sell. 4to. In the same library are two manuscript copies of this poem. MSS. Fairfax, xvi. membran. without a name. And MSS. Bodl. 638. In the first leaf of the Fairfax manuscript is this entry. "I bought this at Gloucester, 8 Sept. 1650, intending to exchange it for a better boke. *F. Fairfax.*" And at the end, in the same hand. "Here lacketh seven leaves that are in Joseph Holland's boke." This manuscript, however, contains as much as Berthelett's edition. Lewis mentions the *Temple of Glass* by John Lydgate in Caxton's second edition of CHAUCER. [LIFE CH. p. 104. See also Middleton's DISSERT. p. 263.] But no such poem appears in that edition in saint John's college library at Oxford.

[In the Bodleian manuscript (BODL. 638.) this poem, with manifest impropriety, is entitled the TEMPLE OF BRAS. It there appears in the midst of many of Chaucer's poems. But at the end are two poems by Lydgate, THE CHAUNCE OF THE DYTE, and RAGMANT'S ROLL. And, I believe, one or two more of Lydgate's poems are intermixed. It is a miscellany of old English poetry, chiefly by Chaucer: but none of the pieces are respectively distinguished with the author's name. This manuscript is partly on paper and partly on vellum, and seems to have been written not long after the year 1500.—ADDITIONS.]

The strongest argument which induces me to give this poem to Hawes, and not to Lydgate, is, that it was printed in Hawes's lifetime, with his name, by

be a copy of the HOUSE OF FAME of Chaucer, in which that poet sees in a vision a temple of glass, on the walls of which were engraved stories from Virgil's Eneid and Ovid's Epistles. It also strongly resembles that part of Chaucer's ASSEMBLY OF FOULES; in which there is the fiction of a temple of brass, built on pillars of jasper, whose walls are painted with the stories of unfortunate lovers^l. And in his ASSEMBLY OF LADIES, in a chamber made of beryl and crystal, belonging to the sumptuous castle of *Pleasant Regard*, the walls are decorated with historical sculptures of the same kind^k. The situation of Hawes's TEMPLE on a craggy rock of ice, is evidently taken from that of Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME. In Chaucer's DREAM, the poet is transported into an island, where *wall and gate was all of glasse*^l. These structures of glass have their origin in the chemistry of the dark ages. This is Hawes's exordium.

Me dyd oppresse a sodayne, dedely slepe :
 Within the whichè, methought that I was
 Ravyshe in spyrite into a TEMPLE OF GLAS,
 I ne wyst howe ful ferre in wyldernesse,
 That founded was, all by lyckelynesse,
 Nat upon stele, but on a craggy roche
 Lyke yse yfroze : and as I dyd approche,
 Againe the sonné that shone, methought, so clere
 As any crystall ; and ever, nere and nere,
 As I gan nyghe this grisely dredefull place,
 I wext astonyed, the lyght so in my face

Wynkyn de Worde. Bale also mentions, among Hawes's poems, *Templum Crystallinum* in one book. There is, however, a no less strong argument for giving it to Lydgate, and that is from Hawes himself; who, reciting Lydgate's Works, in the PASTORAL OF PLEASURE, says thus, [ch. xiv. edit. 1555. Signat. G. iiii. ut infr.]

— And the tyme to passe
 Of love he made the bryght temple of glasse.

And I must add, that this piece is expressly recited in the large catalogue of Lydgate's works, belonging to W.

Thinne, in Speght's edition of Chaucer, printed 1602. fol. 376. Yet on the whole, I think this point still doubtful: and I leave it to be determined by the reader, before whom the evidence on both sides is laid at large. [The testimony of Hawes is sufficient to establish Lydgate's right to the Temple of Glass. The edition by de Worde, with Hawes's name, rests solely upon the authority of Ames, who appears to have spoken by conjecture. The corrections, noticed in the early part of this note, have consequently not been made.—EDR.]

^l v. 290.

^k v. 451.

^l v. 72.

Began to smyte, so persyng ever in one,
 On every part^b where that I dyde gon,
 That I ne mightè nothing as I wolde
 Aboutè me consydre, and beholde,
 The wondre esters^m, for brightnesse of the sonne:
 Tyll at the lastè, certayne skyes donneⁿ
 With wynde^o ychased, han their course ywent,
 Before the stremes of Titan and iblent^p,
 So that I myght within and without,
 Where so I wolde, behelden me about,
 For to report the facyon and manere
 Of all this placè, that was circular,
 In cumpace-wyse rounde by yntale ywrought :
 And whan I had longe goon, and well sought,
 I founde a wicket, and entred yn as faste
 Into the temple, and myne eyen caste
 On every side, &c.^q

The walls of this wonderful temple were richly pictured with the following historical portraitures; from Virgil, Ovid, king Arthur's romance, and Chaucer.

I sawe depeynted upon a wall^r,
 From est to west ful many a fayre ymage,
 Of sondry lovers, lyke as they were of age
 I set in ordre after they were true;
 With lyfely colours, wonders fresshe of hewe,
 And as methought I saw som syt and som stande,
 And some knelyng, with bylles^s in theyr hande,
 And some with complaynt woful and pitious,
 With dolefull chere, to put to Venus,
 So as she sate fletynge in the see,
 Upon theyr wo for to have pite.

^m The wonderful chambers of this temple.

ⁿ *dun*, dark.

^o i. e. collected.

^p *blinded*, darkened the sun.

^q This text is given from Berthelett's edition, collated with MSS. Fairfax. xvi.

^r From Pr. Cop. and MSS. Fairfax. xvi. as before.

^s bills of complaint.

And fyrst of all I sawe there of Cartage
 Dido the quene, so goodly of visage,
 That gan complayne her auenture and caas,
 Howe she disceyued was of Aeneas,
 For all his hestes and his othes sworne,
 And sayd helas that she was borne,
 Whan she sawe that dede she must be.

And next her I sawe the complaynt of Medee,
 Howe that she was falsed of Jason.
 And nygh by Venus sawe I syt Addon,
 And all the maner howe the bore hym sloughe,
 For whom she wepte and had pite inoughe.

There sawe I also howe Penelope,
 For she so long ne myght her lorde se,
 Was of colour both pale and grene.

And alder next was the fresshe quene;
 I mean Alceste, the noble true wife,
 And for Admete howe she lost her lyfe;
 And for her trouthe, if I shall nat lye,
 Howe she was turned into a daysye.

There was also Grisildis innocence,
 And all hir mekenesse and hir pacience.

There was eke Ysaude, and many other mo,
 And all the tourment and all the cruell wo
 That she had for Tristram all her lyue;
 And howe that Tysbe her hert dyd ryue
 With thylke swerde of syr Pyramus.

And all maner, howe that Theseus
 The minotaure slewe, amynd the hous
 That was forwrynked by craft of Dedalus,
 Whan that he was in prison shyt in Crete, &c.

And uppermore mery depeinten might see,
 Howe with her ring goodlie Canace
 Of every foule the leden^s and the song
 Could understand, as she hem walkt among:

^s language.

And how her brother so often holpen was
In his mischeffe by the stede of brass. †

We must acknowledge, that all the picturesque invention which appears in this composition, entirely belongs to Chaucer. Yet there was some merit in daring to depart from the dull taste of the times, and in chusing Chaucer for a model, after his sublime fancies had been so long forgotten, and had given place for almost a century, to legends, homilies, and chronicles in verse. In the mean time, there is reason to believe, that Chaucer himself copied these imageries from the romance of *GUIGEMAR*, one of the metrical *TALES*, or *LAIS*, of Bretagne^u, translated from the Armorican original into French, by Marie, a French poetess, about the thirteenth century: in which the walls of a chamber are painted with Venus, and the *Art of love* from Ovid^v. Although, perhaps, Chaucer might not look further than the temples in Boccaccio's *THESEID* for these ornaments. At the same time it is to be remembered, that the imagination of these old poets must have been assisted in this respect, from the mode which antiently prevailed, of entirely covering the walls of the more magnificent apartments, in castles and palaces, with stories from scripture, history, the classics, and romance. I have already given instances of this practice, and I will here add more^w. In the year 1277, Otho, duke of Milan, having restored the peace of that city by a signal victory, built a noble castle, in which he ordered every particular circumstance of that victory to be painted. Paulus Jovius relates, that these paintings remained, in the great vaulted chamber of the castle, fresh and unimpaired, so late as the year 1547.

† See Chaucer's *SQUIER'S TALE*.

^u Fol. 141. MSS. Harl. 978. See *supr.* *DISSERTAT.* i.

^v A passage in Ovid's *REMEDIIUM AMORIS* concerning Achilles's spear, is supposed to be alluded to by a troubadour, Bernard Ventadour, who lived about the year 1150. *HIST. TROUBAD.* p. 27. This Mons. Millot calls, "Un trait d'erudition alambiqué dans un troubadour." It is not, however, impossible, that he might get this fiction from some of the early romances about Troy.

^w See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 139. To the passages adduced from Chaucer these may be added, *CHAUCER'S DREAM*, v. 1320.

• In a chamber paint
Full of stories old and diverse.
Again, *ibid.* v. 2167.
For there n' as no lady ne creature,
Save on the walls old portraiture
Of horsemen, hawkis, and houndes, &c.
Compare Dante's *PURGATORIO*, c. x.
pag. 105. seq. edit. Ald.

"Extantque adhuc in *maximo testudinatoque conclavi*, incorruptæ præliorum cum *veris ducum vultibus* imagines, *Latinis elegis* singula rerum elogia indicantibus²." That the castles and palaces of England were thus ornamented at a very early period, and in the most splendid style, appears from the following notices. Langton, bishop of Litchfield, commanded the coronation, marriages, wars, and funeral, of his patron king Edward the First, to be painted in the great hall of his episcopal palace, which he had newly built³. This must have been about the year 1312. The following anecdote relating to the old royal palace at Westminster, never yet was published. In the year 1322, one Symeon, a friar minor, and a doctor in theology, wrote an ITINERARY, in which is this curious passage. He is speaking of Westminster Abbey. "Eidem monasterio quasi immediate conjungitur illud famosissimum palatium regium Anglorum, in quo illa VULGATA CAMERA, in *oujus parietibus* sunt omnes HISTORIÆ BELLIÆ TOTIUS BIBLIÆ ineffabiliter *depictæ*, atque in Gallico completissime et perfectissime constanter conscriptæ, in non modica intuentium admiratione, et maxima regali magnificentia²."—"Near this monastery stands the most famous royal palace of England; in which is that celebrated chamber, on whose walls all the warlike histories of the whole Bible are painted with inexpressible skill, and explained by a regular and complete series of texts, beautifully written in French over each battle, to the no small admiration of the beholder, and the increase of royal magnificence²."

² Vit. Vicecomit. Mediolan. Orho. p. 56. edit. Paris. 1549. 4to.

³ Erdswicke's Staffordshire, p. 101.

"Itinerarium Symeonis et fratris Hugonis Illuminatoris ex Hibernia in terram sanctam, A. D. mcccxxii." MSS. C. C. C. Cantabr. G. 6. Princip. "Culmine honoris spreto." It comprehends a journey through England, and describes many curiosities now lost. See supr. vol. i. p. 118.

² This palace was consumed by fire in 1399, but immediately rebuilt, I suppose, by Edward the First. Stowe's London, p. 379. 387. edit. 1599. So that these

paintings must have been done between the years 1299 and 1322. It was again destroyed by fire in 1519, and never afterwards re-edified. Stowe, *ibid.* p. 389. About the year 1600, the walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel, built by prior Silkested, in the cathedral of Winchester, were elegantly painted with the miracles, and other stories, of the New Testament, in small figures; many delicate traces of which now remain.

Falcandus the old historian of Sicily, who wrote about the year 1300, says, that the chapel in the royal palace at Palermo, had its walls decorated "de la-

This ornament of a royal palace, while it conveys a curious history of the arts, admirably exemplifies the chivalry and the devotion of the times, united. That part of the Old Testament, indeed, which records the Jewish wars, was almost regarded as a book of chivalry: and their chief heroes, Joshua and David, the latter of whom killed a giant, are often recited among the champions of romance. In France, the battles of the kings of Israel with the Philistines and Assyrians, were wrought into a grand volume, under the title of "*Plusieurs Batailles des roys d'Israel en contre les Philistines et Assyriens*"^b.

With regard to the form of Hawes's poem, I am of opinion, that VISIONS, which are so common in the poetry of the middle ages, partly took their rise from Tully's SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS. Had this composition descended to posterity among Tully's six books de REPUBLICA, to the last of which it originally belonged, perhaps it would have been overlooked and neglected^c. But being preserved, and illustrated with a prolix commentary, by Macrobius, it quickly attracted the attention of readers, who were fond of the marvellous, and with whom Macrobius was a more admired classic than Tully. It was printed, subjoined to Tully's OFFICES, in the infancy of the typographic art^d. It was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes^e; and is fre-

pillulis quadris, partim aureis, partim diversicoloribus veteris ac novi Testamenti depictam historiam continentibus." Sicil. Histor. p. 10. edit. Paris. 1550. 4to. But this was mosaic work, which, chiefly by means of the Crusades, was communicated to all parts of Europe from the Byzantine Greeks; and with which all the churches, and other public edifices at Constantinople, were adorned. ERIST. de COMPARAT. Vet. et Nov. Romæ. p. 192. Man. Chrysolor. See supr. vol. ii. p. 189. Leo Ostiensis says, that one of the abbots of Cassino in Italy, in the eleventh century, sent messengers to Constantinople, to bring over artificers in MOSAIC, to ornament the church of the monastery, after Rome or Italy had lost that art for five hundred years. He calls Rome *magistra Latinitas*. Chron. Cassin. lib. iii. c. 27. Compare Mura-

tori, ANTICH. ITALIAN. Tom. I. Diss. xxiv. p. 279. Nap. 1752. 4to.

^b MSS. Reg. [Brit. Mus.] 19 D. 7. fol. Among the Harleian manuscripts, there is an Arabic book, containing the Psalms of David, with an additional psalm, on the slaughter of the giant Goliath. MSS. Harl. 5476. See above.

^c But they were extant about the year 1000, for they are cited by Gerbert. Epist. 83. And by Peter of Poitou, who died in 1197. See Barth. Advers. xxiij. 5. 58. Leland says, that Tully de REPUBLICA was consumed by fire, among other books, in the library of William Selling, a learned abbot of saint Austin's at Canterbury, who died in 1496. SCARR. CELLINGUS.

^d Venet. 1472. fol. Apud Vinde. Spiram.

^e Lambecius mentions a Greek ma-

quently quoted by Chaucer^f. Particularly in the *ASSEMBLY OF FOULES*, he supposes himself to fall asleep after reading the *SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS*, and that Scipio shewed him the beautiful vision which is the subject of that poem^g. Nor is it improbable, that, not only the form, but the first idea of Dante's *INFERNO*, was suggested by this favourite apologue; which, in Chaucer's words, treats

————— Of heaven, and hell,
And yearth, and souls, that therein dwell^h.

Not to insist on Dante's subject, he uses the shade of Virgil for a mystagogue; as Tully supposes Scipio to have been shewn the other world by his ancestor Africanus.

But Hawes's capital performance is a poem entitled "*THE PASSETYME OF PLEASURE, OR THE HISTORIE OF GRAUNDE AMOURE AND LA BEL PÜCEL: contayning the knowledge of the seven sciences, and the course of man's lyfe in this worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, groome of kyng Henry the Seventh hys chambre!*" It is dedicated to the king, and was finished at the beginning of the year 1506.

If the poems of Rowlie are not genuine, the *PASTIME OF PLEASURE* is almost the only effort of imagination and inven-

manuscript of Julian, a cardinal of S. Angelo, *O scriptor vñ Eusebii*. S. p. 153. The *DISPUTATIO* of Favonius Elogius, a Carthaginian rhetorician, and a disciple of saint Austin, on the *SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS*, was printed by G. Schottus, Antw. 1613. 4to.

^f *ROM. ROSE*. lib. i. v. 7. [&c.]

An author that hight MACROME,
That halte not dremis false ne lefe;
But undoth us the AVISION
That wilcom met KING CIRIOUN.

NONNES PR. TALE, v. 1238. Urr.

MACROMEUS that writth th' AVISION
In Affricke, of the worthy SCIPION.

DREME CH. v. 284. He mentions this as the most wonderful of dreams. *HOUSE F. v.* 407. lib. 1. He describes a prospect more extensive and various than that which Scipio saw in his dream.

That sawe in dreme, at point devise,
Heven, and erth, hell, and paradise.
And in other places.

^g He makes Scipio say to him, v. 110.
————— Thou hast the so wel borne
In looking of mine olde book al to torne,
Of which MACROME raught not a lite, &c.

^h *Ibid.* v. 32.

ⁱ By Wynkyn de Worde, in 1517. 4to, with wooden cuts. A second edition followed in 1554. By John Wayland, in 4to. A third, in 4to. by John Waley, in 1555. See a poem called a *Dialogue between a Lover and a Jay*, by one Thomas Feylde, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 4to. Princ. Prol. "Thoughte laureate pootes in old antiquite." This obscure rhymers is here only mentioned, as he has an allusion to his cotemporary Hawes.

tion which had yet appeared in our poetry since Chaucer. This poem contains no common touches of romantic and allegoric fiction. The personifications are often happily sustained, and indicate the writer's familiarity with the Provençal school. The model of his versification and phraseology is that improved harmony of numbers, and facility of diction, with which his predecessor Lydgate adorned our octave stanza. But Hawes has added new graces to Lydgate's manner. Antony Wood, with the zeal of a true antiquary, laments, that "such is the fate of poetry, that this book, which in the time of Henry the Seventh and Eighth was taken into the hands of all ingenious men; is now thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's stall!" The truth is, such is the good fortune of poetry, and such the improvement of taste, that much better books are become fashionable. It must indeed be acknowledged, that this poem has been unjustly neglected: and on that account, an apology will be less necessary for giving the reader a circumstantial analysis of its substance and design.

GRAUNDE AMOURE, the hero of the poem, and who speaks in his own person^k, is represented walking in a delicious meadow. Here he discovers a path which conducts him to a glorious image, both whose hands are stretched out and pointing

^k There is something dramatic in this circumstance. Raimond Vidal de Bessaudin, a troubadour of Provence, who flourished about the year 1200, has given the following dramatic form to one of his *contes* or tales. One day, says the troubadour, Alphonsus, king of Castille, whose court was famous for good cheer, magnificence, loyalty, valour, the practice of arms and the management of horses, held a solemn assembly of minstrels and knights. When the hall was quite full, came his queen Eleanor, covered with a veil, and disguised in a close robe bordered with silver, adorned with the bláson of a golden lion; who making obeysance, seated herself at some distance from the king. At this instant, a minstrel advancing to the king addressed him thus. "O king, emperour of valour, I come to supplicate you to give me audience." The king, under pain

of disgrace, ordered that no person should interrupt the minstrel in what he should say. The minstrel had travelled from his own country to recite an adventure which had happened to a baron of Arragon, not unknown to king Alphonsus: and he now proceeds to tell no unassuming story concerning a jealous husband. At the close, the minstrel humbly requests the king and queen, to banish all jealous husbands from their dominions. The king replied, "MINSTREL, your tale is pleasant and gentle, and you shall be rewarded. But to shew you still further how much you have entertained me, I command that henceforth your tale shall be called *Le JALOUX CHATEL*." Our troubadour's tale is greatly enlivened by these accompaniments, and by being thrown into the mouth of a minstrel.

to two highways; one of which is the path of CONTEMPLATION, the other of ACTIVE LIFE, leading to the Tower of Beauty. He chooses the last-mentioned path, yet is often tempted to turn ~~aside~~ into a variety of bye-paths, which seemed more pleasant: but proceeding directly forward, he sees afar off another image, on whose breast is written, "This is the road to the Tower of DOCTRINE, he that would arrive there must avoid sloth," &c. The evening being far advanced, he sits down at the feet of the image, and falls into a profound sleep; when, towards the morning, he is suddenly awakened by the loud blast of a horn. He looks forward through a valley, and perceives a beautiful lady on a palfrey, swift as the wind, riding towards him, encircled with tongues of fire¹. Her name was FAME, and with her ran two milk-white greyhounds, on whose golden collars were inscribed in diamond letters *Grace* and *Governance*^m.

¹ In Shakespeare, RUMOUR is painted *fall of tongues*. This was from the PAGEANTS.

^m See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 199. Greyhounds were antiently almost as great favourites as hawks. Our forefathers reduced hunting to a science; and have left large treatises on this species of diversion, which was so connected with their state of life and manners. The most curious one I know, is, or was lately, among the manuscripts of Mr. Farmor, of Tusmore in Oxfordshire. It is entitled, "LE ART DE VENERIE, le quel maistre Guillame Twici venour le roy d'Angleterre fist en son temps per aprendre autres." This *maister William Twici* was grand huntsman to Edward the Second. In the Cotton library, this book occurs in English under the names of William Twety and John Giffard, most probably a translation from the French copy, with the title of a book of *Venerie dialogue wise*. Princ. "TWETY now will we begynnen." MSS. Cotton. VESPAE. B. xii. The less antient tract on this subject, called the *Maistre of the Game*, written for the instruction of prince Henry, afterwards Henry the Fifth, is much more common. MSS. Digb. 182. Bibl. Bodl. I believe the *maistre veneur* has been long abolished in England: but the *royal falconer* still remains. The latter was an officer of high dignity in the Grecian court of

Constantinople, at an early period, under the style of *νεωρολογος*. Pachym. lib. i. c. 8. x. 15. Codin. cap. ii. Phrenzes says, that the emperor Andronicus Palæologus the younger kept more than one thousand and four hundred hawks, with almost as many men to take care of them. lib. i. c. 10.

About the year 750, Winifrid, or Boniface, a native of England, and archbishop of Mons, acquaints Ethelbald, a king of Kent, that he has sent him, one hawk, two falcons, and two shields. And Hedilbert, a king of the Mercians, requests the same archbishop Winifrid, to send him two falcons which have been trained to kill cranes. See EPISTOL. Winifrid. [Bonifac.] Mogunt. 1605. 1629. And in *Bibl. Patr.* tom. vi. and tom. xiii. p. 70. *Falconry*, or a right to sport with falcons, is mentioned so early as the year 986. Chart. Ottonis iii. Imperator. ann. 986. apud Ughell. de Episcop. Januens. A charter of Kenulf, king of the Mercians, granted to the abbey of Abingdon, and dated 821, prohibits all persons carrying hawks or falcons, to trespass on the lands of the monks. Dugd. Monast. i. p. 100. Julius Firmicus, who wrote about the year 365, is the first Latin author who mentions hawking, or has even used the word FALCO. Mathes. lib. v. c. 7. vii. c. 4. Hawking is often mentioned in the ca-

Her palfrey is Pegasus; and the burning tongues denote her office of consigning the names of illustrious personages to posterity; among which she mentions a lady of matchless accomplishments, named LA BELL PUCELL, who lives within a tower seated in a delightful island; but which no person can enter, without surmounting many dangers. She then informs our hero, that before he engages in this enterprise, he must go to the Tower of DOCTRINE, in which he will see the Seven Sciencesⁿ;

pitularies of the eighth and ninth centuries. The *grand fauconnier* of France was an officer of great eminence. His salary was four thousand florins; he was attended by a retinue of fifty gentlemen and fifty assistant falconers, and allowed to keep three hundred hawks. He licensed every venter of falcons in France; and received a tribute for every bird that was sold in that kingdom, even within the verge of the court. The king of France never rode out, on any occasion, without this officer. [See *supr.* vol. i. p. 177-8.]

An ingenious French writer insinuates, that the passion for hunting, which at this day subsists as a favourite and fashionable species of diversion in the most civilised countries of Europe, is a strong indication of our gothic origin, and is one of the savage habits, yet unreformed, of our northern ancestors. Perhaps there is too much refinement in this remark. The pleasures of the chase seem to have been implanted by nature; and, under due regulation, if pursued as a matter of mere relaxation and not of employment, are by no means incompatible with the modes of polished life.

The author of the *Taxson*, a troubadour, gives the following account of his own system of erudition, which may not be inapplicable here. He means to shew himself a profound and universal scholar; and professes to understand the seven liberal arts, grammar, the Latin language, logic, the Decretals of Gratian, music according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, the ecclesiastic computation, medicine, pharmacy, surgery, necromancy, geomancy, magic, divination, and mythology, *better than Ovid and Thales le Meneur*: the histories of Thebes, Troy, Rome, Romulus, Cesar, Pompey, Augustus, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, who

took Jerusalem, the *Twelve Cæsars* down to Constantine; the history of Greece, and that of Alexander, who dying distributed his acquisitions among his *twelve peers*; the history of France, containing the transactions of Clovis, converted by saint Remi; Charles Martel, who established tents; king Pepin, Charlemagne and Roland, and the good king Louis. To these he adds, the HISTORY of ENGLAND, which comprehends the arrival of Brutus in England, and his conquest of the giant Corineus, the prophecies of Merlin, the redoubted death of Arthur, the adventures of Gawaine, and the amours of Tristram and Bel Isould. Amidst this profusion of fabulous history, which our author seems to think real, the history of the Bible is introduced; which he traces from the patriarchs down to the day of judgment. At the close of the whole, he gives us some more of his fashionable accomplishments; and says, that he is skilled in the plain chant, in singing to the lute, in making canzonets, pastorals, amorous and pleasant poesies, and in dancing: that he is beloved by ecclesiastics, knights, ladies, citizens, minstrels, squires, &c. The author of this *Taxson*, or cyclopede of science, mentioned above, is Pierre de Corbian, who lived about the year 1200, Crescimbeni says, that this *Taxson* furnished materials of a similar compilation in Italian verse to Bennet [Brunetti], Dante's master; and of another in French prose. But see *Jul. Niger, Script. Flor.* p. 112. [I know not whether this statement be correctly taken from Crescimbeni, but it has been previously shewn (vol. i. p. 150.) that the *Tesoro* of Brunetti Latini was written in French prose. His *Tesoretto*, a book of rare occurrence even in Italy, was written in Italian verse. These works are frequently confounded.—*EDIT.*]

and that there, in the turret, or chamber of Music, he will have the first sight of La Bell Pucell. FAME departs, but leaves with him her two greyhounds. Graunde Amour now arrives at the Tower, or rather castle, of DOCTRINE, framed of fine copper, and situated on a craggy rock: it shone so bright, that he could distinctly discern the form of the building; till at length, the sky being covered with clouds, he more visibly perceives its walls decorated with figures of beasts in gold, and its lofty turrets crowned with golden images^o. He is admitted by COUNTENANCE the portress, who leads him into a court, where he drinks water of a most transcendent fragrance, from a magnificent fountain, whence flow four rivers, clearer than Nilus, Ganges, Tigris, or Euphrates^p. He next enters the hall framed of jasper, its windows crystal, and its roof overspread with a golden vine, whose grapes are represented by rubies^q: the floor is paved with beryl, and the walls hung with rich tapestry, on which our hero's future expedition to the Tower of La Bell

^o He says, that the *little turrets* had, for weathercocks or fans, images of gold, which, moving with the wind, played a tune. So Chaucer, CH. DREAM, v. 75.

For everie yate [tower] of fine gold
A thousand fanis, aie turning,
Entuned had, and briddes singing
Divers, and on eche fane a paire,
With opin mouth againe the aire:
And of a sute were all the toures:—
And many a *small turret* hic.

Again, in the castle of PLEASANT REGARD, the fans on the high towers are mentioned as a circumstance of pleasure and beauty. ASSEMBL. LAB. v. 160.

The towris his full pleasant shall ye
finde,
With *phomis fresche*, turning with everie
winde.

And our author again, ch. xxxviii.

Aloft the towres the golden fanes goode
Dyde with the wynde make full sweete
armony

Them for to heare it was great melody.
Our author here paints from the life. An excessive agglomeration of turrets, with their fans, is one of the characteristic

marks of the florid mode of architecture, which was now almost at its height. See views of the palaces of Nonesuch and Richmond.

^p The crusades made the eastern rivers more famous among the Europeans than any of their own. Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour of the thirteenth century, declares, he had rather please his mistress than possess all the dominions which are washed by Hebrus, Meander, and Tigris. Hist. Troub. ii. p. 485. The compliment would have been equally exaggerated, if he had alluded to some of the rivers of his own country.

^q From sir John Maundeville's TRAVELS, "In the hall, is a vine made of gold, that goeth all aboute the hall: and it hath many bunches of grapes, some are white, &c. All the red are of rubies," &c. ch. lxvii. Paulus Silentarius, in his description of the church of S. Sophia at Constantinople, mentions such an ornament. ii. 235.

Κλημασι χρυσεισιναι περιδραμις ακριβοι
ισπει, &c.
*Palmitibus auricomis circumcurrentis vitis
serpi.*

Pucell was gloriously wrought'. The marshall of this castle is REASON, the sewer ORSERVANCE, the cook TEMPERANCE, the high-steward LIBERALITY, &c. He then explains to DOCTRINE his name and intended adventure; and she entertains him at a solemn feast. He visits her seven daughters, who reside in the castle. First he is conducted to GRAMMAR, who delivers a learned harangue on the utility of her science: next to LOGIC, who dismisses him with a grave exhortation: then to RHETORIC, who crowned with laurel, and seated in a stately chamber, strewd with flowers, and adorned with the clear mirrors of speculation, explains her five parts in a laboured oration. Graunde Amoure resolves to pursue their lessons with vigour; and animates himself, in this difficult task, with the examples of Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate', who are panegy-

' In the eleventh book of Boccacio's *THESSALID*, after Arcite is dead, Palamon builds a superb temple in honour of him, in which his whole history is painted. The description of this painting is a recapitulatory abridgement of the preceding part of the poem. Hawes's tapestry is less judiciously placed in the beginning of the piece, because it precludes expectation by forestalling all the future incidents.

He recites some of the pieces of the two latter. Chaucer, he says, wrote the *BOOK OF FAME on his own invention*. The *TRAGEDIES of the six ladies, a translatyoun*. The *CANTERBURY TALES, upon his ymaginacyon*, some of which are *virtuous*, others *glad and merry*. The *pytous dolour of TROVLUS and CRESSIDA*, and *many other bokes*.

Among Lydgate's works, he recites the *LIFE of our LADY. SAINT EDMUND'S LIFE. THE FALL of PRINCES. THE THREE REASONS. THE CROULE and THE BIRD. THE TROY BOOK. VIRTUE and VICE*, [MSS. Harl. 2251. 63. fol. 95.] *THE TEMPLE of GLASS. THE BOOK of GODS and GODDESSES*. This last, I suppose, is *THE BANKET of GODS and GODDESSES*.

The poem of the *CHORLE and THE BIRD* our author calls a *pamflete*. Lydgate himself says, that he translated this tale from a *pamflete in Frensche*, st. 5.

It was first printed by Caxton in his *CHAUCER*. Afterwards by Wynkyn de Worde, before 1500, in quarto. And, I think, by Copland. Ashmole has printed it under the title of *HERMES'S BIRD*, and supposes it to have been written originally by Raymond Lully; or at least made English by Cremer, abbot of Westminster, Lully's scholar. *THEATR. CHEM.* p. 213. 467. 465. Lydgate, in the last stanza, again speaks of this piece as a "*translatyoun owte of the Frenshe*." But the fable on which it is founded, is told by Petrus Alphonsus, a writer of the twelfth century, in his tract *de Clericali Disciplina*, never printed. See vol. ii. p. 449.

Our author, in his recital of Chaucer's pieces, calls the *LEGENDE of GOOD WOMEN tragedyes*. Antiently a serious narrative in verse was called a *tragedy*. And it is observable, that he mentions *six ladies* belonging to this legend. Only *nine* appear at present. *Nineteen* was the number intended, as we may collect from Lydgate's *FALL PR. FROL.* and *ibid.* l. i. c. 6. Compare *MAN of L. T. FROL.* v. 60. *URR.* Where eight more ladies than are in the present legends are mentioned. This piece is called the *legendis of is good women*, MSS. *Fairf.* xvi. Chaucer himself says, "I sawe cominge of ladyes *Nineteen* in royall habit." v. 328. *URR.* Compare *PARA. T.*

rised with great propriety. He is afterwards admitted to ARITHMETIC, who wears a GOLDEN *wedg*^t: and, last of all, is led to the Tower of MUSIC^u, which was composed of crystal, in eager expectation of obtaining a view of La Bell Pucell, according to FAME's prediction. MUSIC was playing on an organ, before a solemn assembly; in the midst of which, at length he discovers La Bell Pucell, is instantly captivated with her beauty, and almost as soon tells her his name, and discloses his passion^w. She is more beautiful than Helen, Proserpine, Cressida, queen Hyppolita, Medea, Dido, Polyxena, Alcmena, Menalippa, or even *fair Rosamond*. The solemnity being finished, MUSIC and La Bell Pucell go forth into a stately temple, whither they are followed by our hero. Here MUSIC seats herself amidst a concert of all kinds of instruments^x. She explains the principles

Urr. p. 214. col. 1. [An additional argument for believing, that the number intended was nineteen, may be drawn from the Court of Love, v. 108. where speaking of Alceste, Chaucer says:

To whom obeyed the ladies gode nineteen.
TYRWHITT.

See also the note on v. 4481 of the *Canterbury Tales*.—EHR.]

^t The walls of her chamber are painted in gold with the three fundamental rules of arithmetic.

^u In the *Tasso* of Pierre de Corbian, cited at large above, Music, according to Boethius and Guy Arétin, is one of the seven liberal sciences. At Oxford, the graduates in music, which still remains there as an academical science, are at this day required to shew their proficiency in Boethius or *MUSICA*. In a pageant, at the coronation of king Edward the Sixth, *MUSIC* personified appears among the seven sciences. Leland. *Coll. Ar.* ser. iii. 317. edit. 1770.

^w In the description of her person, which is very elegant, and consists of three stanzas, there is this circumstance, "She gartered wel her hose." ch. xxx. Chaucer has this circumstance in describing the *Wife of Bath*. *Prol.* v. 458.

Hire hosen weren of fine scarlet rede
Ful straite yteged.——

^x That is, tabours, trumpets, pipes,

sackbuts, organs, recorders, harps, lutes, *crouds*, *tymphans*, [i. symphans] dulcimers, *claricimbales*, *rebeches*, *clarychordes*. ch. xvi. At the marriage of James of Scotland with the princess Margaret, in the year 1503, "the king began before hyr to play of the *clarychordes* and after of the *lute*. And upon the said *clarychorde* sir Edward Stanley played a ballade and sange therewith." Agais, the king and queen being together, "after she played upon the *clarychorde* and after of the *lute*, he beinge upon his knee allwaies bare-headed." Leland. *Coll. APPEN.* iii. p. 284. 285. edit. 1770. In *Lydgate's* poem, entitled *REASON* and *SENSUALITY*, compiled by John Lydgate, various instruments and sorts of music are recited. MSS. Fairfax. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. [Pr. "To all folkys virtuuous." "Here reheryth the auctor the MYSTRALCYS that were in the gardyn."

Of al maner mynstralcy

That any man kan specyfy:

Ffor there were rotys of Almayne,
And eke of Arragon and Spayne:
Songes, stampe, and eke dannces,
Divers plente of plesaunces;
And many unkouth notys newe
Of swiche folke as lovid trewe;
And instrumentys that dyd excelle,
Many moo than I kan telle:
Harpys, fythales, and eke rotys,
Well according with her notys,

of harmony. A dance is plaid^v, and Graunde Amoure dances with La Bell Pucell. He retires, deeply in love. He is met by COUNSELL, who consoles and conducts him to his repose in a stately chamber of the castle. In the morning, COUNSELL and our hero both together visit La Bell Pucell. At the gate of the garden of the castle they are informed by the portress CURTESY, that the lady was sitting alone in an arbour, weaving a garland of various flowers. The garden is described as very delicious, and they find the lady in the arbour near a stately fountain, *among the floures of aromatyke fume*. After a long dialogue, in which for some time she seems to reject his suit, at last she resigns her heart; but withal acquaints her lover, that he has many monsters to encounter, and many dangers to conquer, before he can obtain her. He replies, that he is well acquainted with these difficulties; and declares, that, after having received instructions from ASTRONOMY, he will go to the Tower of CHIVALRY, in order to be more completely qualified to succeed in this hazardous enterprise. They take leave with tears; and the lady is received into a ship, which is to carry her into the island where her tower stood. COUNSELL consoles Amoure², and leaves him to attend other desponding lovers.

Lutys, ribibles, and geternes,
More for estatys than tavernes;
Orguys, cytolis, monacordys.—
There were trumpe, and trumpettes,
Lowde shallys, and doucettes.

Here *geterne* is a *guitar*, which, with *cytolis*, has its origin in *cithara*. *Fythales* is *fiddles*. *Shallys*, I believe, should be *shalmies*, or *shawms*. *Orguys* is *organs*. See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 264. By *estatys* he means *states*, or solemn assemblies.

^v Music commands her *mynstrelles* to play the dance, which was called *Mammours the swete*. So at the royal marriage just mentioned, "The *mynstrelles* begonne to play a basse dance, &c. After this done, they plaid a rownde, the which was daunced by the lorde Grey ledyng the said queene.—After the dinner in-contynent the *mynstrelles* of the *chammer* [chamber] began to play and then daunced the queene," &c. Leland, APPEND. ubi *supr.* p. 284. seq.

² COUNSELL mentions the examples of

Troilus and Cressida, and of Ponthus and Sidonia. Of the latter faithful pair, there is an old French romance, "*Le Roman du noble roy Ponthus fils du roy de Gallice et de la belle Sidoine fille du roy de Bretagne*." Without date, in bl. letter. 4to. It is in the royal library at Paris, MS. fol. See *Lengl. Bibl. Rom.* ii. 250. And among the king's manuscripts in the British Museum there is, "*Le Livre du roy Ponthus*." 15 E. vi. 6. I think there are some elegant miniatures in this manuscript. Our author calls him "the famous knyght yelypped Ponthus, whych loved Sydonye," ch. xvi. KING PONTIUS is among the copies of James Roberts, a printer in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Ames, p. 342. I believe it was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, "*The hystory of Ponthus and Galyce, and of lytel Brytayne*." With wooden cuts. 1511. 4to. [See vol. i. p. 46.]

Our hero bids adieu in pathetic terms to the Tower of Music, where he first saw Pucell. Next he proceeds to the Tower of GEOMETRY, which is wonderfully built and adorned. From thence he seeks ASTRONOMY, who resides in a gorgeous pavilion pitched in a fragrant and flowery meadow: she delivers a prolix lecture on the several operations of the mind, and parts of the body^a. He then, accompanied with his greyhounds, enters an extensive plain overspread with flowers; and looking forward, sees a flaming star over a tower. Going forward, he perceives that this tower stands on a rough precipice of steel, decorated with beasts of various figures. As he advances towards it, he comes to a mighty fortress, at the gate of which were hanging a shield and helmet, with a marvellous horn. He blows the horn with a blast that shook the tower, when a knight appears; who, asking his business, is answered, that his name is Graunde Amoure, and that he was just arrived from the tower of DOCTRINE. He is welcomed by the knight, and admitted. This is the castle of CHIVALRY. The next morning he is conducted by the porter STEDFASTNESS into the base court, where stood a tower of prodigious height, made of jasper: on its summit were four images of armed knights on horses of steel, which, on moving a secret spring, could represent a turney. Near this tower was an antient temple of Mars: within it was his statue, or picture, of gold, with the figure of FORTUNE on her wheel; and the walls were painted with the siege of Troy^b. He supplicates Mars, that he may be enabled to subdue the monsters which obstruct his passage to the Tower

^a In a wooden cut Ptolomy the astronomer is here introduced, with a quadrant: and Plato, the *conynge and famous clerke*, is cited.

^b This was a common subject of tapestry, as I have before observed: but as it was the most favourite martial subject of the dark ages, is here introduced with peculiar propriety. Chaucer, from the general popularity of the story, has made it a subject for painted glass. *Drexel Chauc. v. 322. p. 406. Urr. col. 1.*

— — and with glas
Were al the windowes wel yglased
Ful clere, and nat an hole ycrased,

That to beholde it was grete joy;
For wholly all the *story of Troy*
Was in the *glaisinge* ywrought thus,
Of Hector, and king Priamus,
Achilles, &c.

In our author's description of the palace of Pucell, "there was enameled with figures curious the *seyge of Troy*." cap. xxxviii. Sign. A. iii. edit. 1555. The arras was the *seyge of Thebes*. *ibid.* In the temple of Mars was also "the *seyge of Thebes* depaynted fayre and clere" on the walls. cap. xxvii. Sign. Q. iii. [See *supr.* pp. 50, 51.]

of Pucell. Mars promises him assistance; but advises him first to invoke Venus in her temple. FORTUNE reproves Mars for presuming to promise assistance; and declares, that all human glory is in the power of herself alone. Amoure is then led^c by Minerva to king Melyzus^d, the inventor of tilts and tournaments, who dubs him a knight. He leaves the castle of CHIVALRY, and on the road meets a person, habited like a Fool, named Godfrey Gobilive^e, who enters into a long discourse on the falsehood of women^f. They both go together into

^c Through the sumptuous hall of the castle, which is painted with the *Siege of Thebes*, and where many knights are playing at chess.

^d A fabulous king of Thrace, who, I think, is mentioned in Caxton's *RECYVAL OF THE HYSTORYES OF TROY*, now just printed; that is, in the year 1471. Our author appeals to this romance, which he calls the *Recule of Troye*, as an authentic voucher for the truth of the labours of Hercules. ch. i. By the way, Boccacio's *GENEALOGY OF THE GODS* is quoted in this romance of *Troy*, B. ii. ch. xix.

^e His father is *Davy Drunken nole*,
Who never dranke but in a fayre
blacke boule.

Here he seems to allude to Lydgate's poem, called *Of Jack Wat that could pull the lining out of a black boll*. MS. Ashmol. Oxon. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 12. fol. 14. One *Jack Hare* is the same sort of ludicrous character, who is thus described in Lydgate's *Tule of froward Maysonde*. MSS. Laud. D. 31. Bibl. Bodl.

A froward knave pleynly to descryve,
And a sloggard shortely to declare,
A precious knave that castith hym never
to thryve.

His mouth weel weest, his slevis riht
thredbare;

A turnebroche [turn-spit], a boy for
hogge of ware,

With louring face noddying and slumbering,

Of new crystened, and called Jakke
Hare,

Whiche of a boll can plukke out the
lynyng.

These two pieces of Lydgate appear to be the same.

^f He relates, how Aristotle, for all his clergy, was so infatuated with love, that he suffered the lady, who only laughed at his passion, to bridle and ride him about his chamber. This story is in Gower, *CONF. AMANT.* lib. viii. fol. clxxxix. b. edit. ut supr. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 325-6.

I saw there Aristote also
Whom that the queene of Grece also
Hath bridled, &c.

Then follows a long and ridiculous story about Virgil, not the poet, but a necromancer framed in the dark ages, who is deceived by the tricks of a lady at the court of Rome; on whom, however, her paramour takes ample revenge by means of his skill in music, ch. xxix. I have mentioned this Virgil, supr. vol. ii. p. 241. See also, pp. 325-6. Where I have falsely supposed him to be the poet. [There can be little doubt but the poet of the Augustan age, and the necromancer of the dark ages, is one and the same person. Similar honours have been conferred upon Horace in the neighbourhood of Palestrina, where he is still revered by the people as a powerful and benevolent wizard.—ENR.] This fiction is also alluded to by Gower, and added to that of Aristote's, among his examples of the power of love over the wisest men. ubi supr.

And eke Virgile of acquaintance
I sigh [saw] where he the maiden praid
Which was the daughter, as men said,
Of themperour whilom of Rome.

There is an old book, printed in 1510, entitled, "VIRGILIUS. This boke treateth of the lyfe of Virgilius, and of his deth, and many marvayles, that he did

the temple of Venus, who was now holding a solemn assembly, or court, for the redress of lovers. Here he meets with SAPPENCE, who draws up a supplication for him, which he presents to Venus. Venus, after having exhorted him to be constant, writes a letter to Pucell, which she sends by Cupid. After offering a turtle, he departs with Godfrey Gobilive, who is overtaken by a lady on a palfrey, with a knotted whip in her hand, which she frequently exercises on Godfrey. Amoure asks her name, which, she answers, is CORRECTION; that she lived in the Tower of CHASTITY, and that he who assumed the name of Godfrey Gobilive was FALSE REPORT, who had just escaped from her prison, and disguised himself in a fool's coat. She invites Amoure to her Tower, where they are admitted by Dame MEASURE; and led into a hall with a golden roof, in the midst of which was a carbuncle of a prodigious size, which illuminated the room². They are next introduced

in his lifestyme by witchcraft and nigramansy, thorough the help of the devylls of hell." Coloph. "Thus endeth the lyfe of Virgilius with many dyvers comytes that he dyd. *Emprynted in the cytie of Andoverne by me John Doesborche dwelling at the Camer Porte.*" With cuts, octavo. It was in Mr. West's library. *Virgil's Life* is mentioned by Laneham among other romantic pieces, *Kilnour's Castle*, p. 94. edit. 1575. 12mo. This fictitious personage, however, seems to be formed on the genuine Virgil, because, from the subject of his eighth Eclogue, he was supposed to be an adept in the mysteries of magic and incantation.

¹ In another place he is called FOLLY, and said to ride on a mare. When chivalry was at its height in France, it was a disgrace to any person, not below the degree of a gentleman, to ride a mare.

² From Chaucer, *ROM. ROS.*, v. 1120. *Urr*, p. 223. a. RICHARDS is crowned with the costliest gems,

But all before full subtilty
A fine carbuncle sel sawe I,
The stone so cleare was and bright,
That all so sene as it was night,

Men mightin sene to go for nede
A mile or two in length and brede.
Such light ysprange out of that stone;

But this is not uncommon in romance, and is an Arabian idea. See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 214. In the *History of the SEVEN CHAMPIONS*, a book compiled in the reign of James the First by one Richard Johnson, and containing some of the most capital fictions of the old Arabian romance, in the adventure of the ENCHANTED FOUNTAIN, the knights entering a dark hall, "tooke off their gauntlets from their left hands whereon they wore *marvellous great and fine diamonds*, that gave so much light, that they might plainly see all things that were in the hall, the which was very great and wide, and upon the walls were painted the figures of many furious fends," &c. *SEC. P.* ch. ix. And in Maundeville's *TRAVELS*, "The emperor hath in his chamber a pillar of gold, in which is a ruby and carbuncle a foot long, which lighteth all his chamber by night," &c. ch. lxxii. [The *History of the Seven Champions* was not "compiled in the reign of James the First," it being quoted as a popular book by Meres in his *Wits Treasury* printed in 1598.—*ELPHINSTON.*]

to a fair chamber; where they are welcomed by many famous women of antiquity, Helen, *quene* Proserpine, the *lady Meduse*, Penthesilea, &c. The next morning, CORRECTION shews our hero a marvellous dungeon, of which SHAMFASTNESSE is the keeper; and here FALSE REPORT is severely punished. He now continues his expedition, and near a fountain observes a shield and a horn hanging. On the shield was a lion rampant of gold in a silver field, with an inscription, importing, that this was the way to La Bell Pucell's habitation, and that whoever blows the horn will be assaulted by a most formidable giant. He sounds the horn: when instantly the giant appeared, twelve feet high, armed in brass, with three heads, on each of which was a streamer, with the inscriptions *Falsehood*, *Imagination*, *Perjury*. After an obstinate combat, he cuts off the giant's three heads with his sword *Claraprudence*. He next meets three fair ladies, VANITY, GOOD-OPERATION, FIDELITY. They conduct him to their castle with music; where, being admitted by the portress OBSERVANCE, he is healed of his wounds by them. He proceeds and meets PERSEVERANCE, who acquaints him, that Pucell continued still to love: that, after she had read Venus's letter, STRANGENESS and DISDAIN came to her, to dissuade her from loving him; but that soon after, PEACE and MERCY¹ arrived, who soon undid all that DISDAIN and STRANGENESS had said, advising her to send PERSEVERANCE to him with a shield. This shield PERSEVERANCE now presents, and invites him to repose that night with her cousin COMFORT, who lived in a moated manor-place under the side of a neighbouring wood^k. Here he is ushered into a *chamber*

¹ MERCY is no uncommon divinity in the love-system of the troubadours. See M. Millot's *HIST. LITT. DES TROUBAD.* tom. i. p. 181. Par. 1774.

^k There is a description of a magnificent *manor-place*, curious for its antiquity, in an old poem, written before the year 1300, entitled a *Disputation bytwene*

a *Cristen man and a Jewe*, perhaps translated from the French, MS. Vernon. fol. 301. ut supr. [See Carpentier's *Suppl. du Cange*, Lat. Gloss. V. RADINERRE.]

Forth heo¹ wenten on the feld
To an hul² thei bi held,
The eorthe clevet³ as a scheld⁴,
On the grownde grene:

¹ they.

² hill.

³ cleaved.

⁴ shield.

precious, perfumed with the richest odours. Next morning, guided by PERSEVERANCE and COMFORT, he goes forward, and sees a castle, nobly fortified, and walled with jet. Before it was

Some fonde thei on stih⁸,
Thei went thereon radly⁹;
The cristen mon hadde farly⁷
What hit mihte mene.

Afir that stiz lay a strete,
Clere i pavet with gete⁸;
Thei fond a Maner that was mete
With murthes ful schene;

Wel corven and wroht
With halles heize upon loft⁹,
To a place weore thei brouht
As paradys the clene¹⁰.

Ther was foulen¹¹ song,
Much murthes among,
Hose lenge wolde longe

Fful luitell hym thout:
On vche a syde of the halle,
Pourpell, pelure, and palle¹²;
Wyndowes in the walle

Was wonderli i wrouht¹³:

There was dosers¹⁴ on the dees¹⁵,
Hose the cheefe wolde ches¹⁶

That never richere was,
In no sale¹⁷ souht:

Both the mot and the mold
Schone al on red golde

The cristene mon hadde ferli of that
folde¹⁸,

That hidre was brouzt.

Ther was erbes⁸ growen grene,
Spices springgyng bi twene,
Such hadde I not sene,
Ffor sothe as I say:
The thrustell¹⁹ songe full shrille,
He newed notes at his wille;
Ffaire flowers to fille,
Ffine in that ffay:

And al the rounde table good,
Hou Arthur in eorthe zod²⁰,
Sum sate and sum stod,
O the grounde grey:
Hit was a wonder siht
As thei wer quik men²¹ diht
To seo hou they play²².

Together with some of his expressions, I do not always understand this writer's context and transitions, which have great abruptness. In what he says of king Arthur, I suppose he means, that king Arthur's round table, and his knights turneing, were painted on the walls of the hall. [Arthur and his knights appear rather to be the inhabitants of this marvellous spot. Some were engaged in sports, whilst others either "sat or stood upon the gray ground" observing them.—EDIT.]

⁸ road, way, cavern ascent.

⁹ readily, easily.

⁷ was very attentive;

headed, [had wonder. RITSON.]

⁸ paved with gritt, i. e. sand, or gravel.

[jet. RITSON.] ⁹ with halls built high.

¹⁰ bright, or pleasant, as Paradise.

¹¹ fowls, birds.

¹² The guests sate on each side of the hall,

cloathed in purple, furs, or ermine, and rich robes. [The text makes no mention

of guests: the hall was hung with purple, &c.—EDIT.] ¹³ wonderfully

wrought. ¹⁴ dosser is a basket carried on the back. Lat *dorsarium*. Chau-

cer's H. F. iii. 850. "Or else hutchis or dosseris." We must here understand

provisions. ¹⁵ dees is here the table. ¹⁶ whoever would chuse the best.

¹⁷ hall. Lat. *salta*.

¹⁸ house [ground].

¹⁹ thrush.

²⁰ yod, went;

walked on earth. ²¹ as if they were living men.

²² to see their sports,

tournaments, &c.

* An Herbariy, for furnishing domestic medicines, always made a part of our ancient gardens. In Hawes's poem, now before us, in the delicious garden of the castle of Music, "Amiddes the garden there was an herber fayre and quadrante." ch. xviii. In the Glossary to Chaucer, *Erbers* is absurdly interpreted *Arbours*. Nov. Pl. T. v. 1081. "Or erve ive growing in our *erberis*." [Mr. Tyrwhitt reads: Or erve ive growing in your yerd, that mery is.—EDIT.] Chaucer is here enumerating various medical herbs, usually planted in *erberis*, or herbaries.

a giant with seven heads, and upon the trees about him were hanging many shields of knights, whom he had conquered. On his seven heads were seven helmets crowned with seven streamers, on which were inscribed *Dissimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variance, Envy, Detraction, Doubtfulness*. After a bloody battle, he kills the giant, and is saluted by the five ladies STEDFASTNESS, AMOROUS PURVEYANCE, JOY AFTER SORROW, PLEASAUNCE, GOOD REPORT, AMITIE, CONTINUANCE, all riding from the castle on white palfries. These ladies inform Amoure, that they had been exiled from La Bell Pucell by DISDAINE, and besieged in this castle, for one whole year, by the giant whom he had just slain. They attend him on his journey, and travel through a dreary wilderness, full of wild beasts: at length they discern, at a vast distance, a glorious region, where stood a stately palace beyond a tempestuous ocean. "That (says PERSEVERANCE) is the palace of Pucelle." They then discover, in the island before them, an horrible fiend, roaring like thunder, and breathing flame, which my author strongly paints,

The fyre was greet, it made the yland lyght.

PERSEVERANCE tells our hero, that this monster was framed by the two witches STRANGENESS and DISDAINE, to punish La Bell Pucell for having banished them from her presence. His body was composed of the seven metals, and within it a demon was inclosed. They now enter a neighbouring temple of Palas; who shews Amoure, in a trance, the secret formation of this monster, and gives him a box of wonderful ointment. They walk on the sea-shore, and espy two ladies rowing towards them; who land, and having told Amoure that they are sent by PATIENCE to enquire his name, receive him and his company into the ship PERFECTNESS. They arrive in the island; and Amoure discovers the monster near a rock, whom he now examines more distinctly. The face of the monster resembled a virgin's, and was of gold; his neck of silver; his breast of steel; his fore-legs, armed with strong talons, of laten; his

back of copper; his tail of lead, &c. Amoure, in imitation of Jason, anoints his sword and armour with the unguent of Pallas; which, at the first onset, preserves him from the voluminous torrent of fire and smoke issuing from the monster's mouth. At length he is killed; and from his body flew out a *fioule ethiope*, or black spirit, accompanied with such a smoke that all the island was darkened, and loud thunder-claps ensued. When this spirit was entirely vanished, the air grew serene; and our hero now plainly beheld the magnificent castle of La Pucell, walled with silver, and *many a story upon the wall enameled royally*¹. He rejoins his company; and entering the gate of the castle, is solemnly received by PEACE, MERCY, JUSTICE, REASON, GRACE, and MEMORY. He is then led by the portress COUNTEAUNCE into the base court; where, into a conduit of gold, dragons spouted water of the richest odour. The gravel of the court is like gold, and the hall and chambers are most superbly decorated. Amoure and La Pucell sit down and converse together. Venus intervenes, attended by Cupid clothed in a blue mantle embroidered with golden hearts pierced with arrows, which he throws about the lovers, declaring that they should soon be joined in marriage. A sudden transition is here made from the pagan to the christian theology. The next morning they are married, according to the catholic ritual, by LEX ECCLESIAE; and in the wooden print prefixed to this chapter, the lovers are represented as joining hands at the western portal of a great church, a part of the ceremonial

¹ See supra, p. 52. and vol. ii. p. 139. I know not from what romantic history of the Crusades, Richard Johnson took the description of the stately house of the *courteous Jew* at Damascus, built for entertaining christian pilgrims, in which "the walls were painted with as many stories as there were years since the creation of the world." SEC. P. ch. iv. The word *enameled*, in the text, is probably used in the same sense as in Stowe, SUZUKY LOUD. p. 359. edit. 1599.

"The great bell-tower, [of the priory of S. John in Clerkenwell,] a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, gilt, and *inameled*, to the great beautifying of the citie, and passinge all other that I have seene," &c. So again our authority Hawes, ch. ii.

—— The toure doth stande
Made all of golde, *enameled* aboute
With noble storyes.——

of antient marriages^m. A solemn feast is then held in honour of the nuptialsⁿ.

Here the poem should have ended. But the poet has thought it necessary to extend his allegory to the death and burial of his hero. Graund Amoure having lived in consummate happiness with his amiable bride for many years, saw one morning an old man enter his chamber, carrying a staff, with which he strikes Amoure's breast, saying, *Obey*, &c. His name is OLD AGE. Not long after came POLICY or Cunning, and AVARICE. Amoure now begins to abandon his triumphal shows and splendid carousals, and to be intent on amassing riches. At last arrived DEATH, who peremptorily denounces, that he must prepare to quit his wealth and the world. After this fatal admonition, came CONTRITION and CONSCIENCE, and he dies. His body is interred by MERCY and CHARITY; and while his epitaph is written by REMEMBRANCE, FAME appears; promising that she will enroll his name with those of Hector, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, king David^o, Alexander the Great, Julius Cesar, Arthur^p, Charlemagne^q, and Godfrey of Bul-

^m For this custom, see *supra*, vol. ii. p. 273. And the romance of *AROLYNE*, ch. xxxiii.

ⁿ Which is described thus, ch. xxix.

Why should I tary by long continuance
Of the feast, &c.

In the same manner Chaucer passes over the particularities of Cambuscan's feast, *Sqr. T. v. 83. Urr. And of Theuseus's feast, Kn. T. v. 2199.* See also *MAN OF L. T. v. 704.* And Spenser's *FAIRY Qv. v. iii. 3.* [See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 169.] And Matthew Paris, in describing the magnificent marriage and coronation of queen Eleanor in 1236, uses exactly the same formulary, and on a similar subject, "Quid in ecclesia seriem enarrem deo, ut decuit, reverenter ministrantium? Quid in mensa dapium et diversorum libaminum describam fertilitatem redundantem? Venationis [venison] abundantiam? Piscium varietatem? Joculatorum voluptatem? Mi-

nistrantium venustatem?" etc. *HIST. ANGL. sub HEN. iii. p. 406. edit. Tig.* ut *supr.* Compare another feast described in the same chronicle, much after the same manner; and which, the writer adds, was more splendid than any feast celebrated in the time of Ahasuerus, king Arthur, or Charlemagne. *ibid.* p. 871.

^o The chief reason for ranking king David among the knights of romance was, as I have already hinted, because he killed the giant Goliath: an achievement here mentioned by Hawes. See *supr.* p. 52. and vol. ii. p. 251.

^p Of Arthur and his knights he says, that their exploits are recorded "in royall boke and jestes hystoryall." ch. xliiii. Sir Thomas Maillorie had now just published his *MORTE ARTHUR*, a narrative digested from various French romances on Arthur's story. Caxton's printed copy of this favourite volume must have been known to our poet Hawes, which

loign^r. Afterwards TIME, and ETERNITIE clothed in a white vestment and crowned with a triple diadem of gold, enter the

appeared in 1485. fol. By the way, in panegyrising Chaucer, Hawes mentions it, as a circumstance of distinction, that his works were printed. ch. xiii.

— Whose name

In *raintre* bokés doth remayne in fame.

This was natural at the beginning of the typographic art. Many of Chaucer's poems were now recently printed by Caxton.

With regard to Maillorie's book, much if not most of it, I believe, is taken from the great French romance of LANCELOT, translated from Latin into French at the command of one of our Henrys, a metrical English version of which is now in Benet library at Cambridge. [See a specimen in Mr. Naasmith's curious catalogue, p. 54.] I have left it doubtful whether it was the third Henry who ordered this romance to be translated into Latin, vol. i. p. 118. But, beside the proofs there suggested, in favour of that hypothesis, it appears, that Henry the Third paid great attention to these compositions, from the following curious anecdote just published, which throws new light on that monarch's character.

Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour, highly celebrated by Dante and Petrarch, about the year 1240 made a voyage into England, where, in the court of king Henry the Third, he met a minstrel, who challenged him at *difficult rhymes*. The challenge was accepted, a considerable wager was laid, and the rival bards were shut up in separate chambers of the palace. The king, who appears to have much interested himself in the dispute, allowed them ten days for *composing*, and five more for *learning to sing*, their respective pieces: after which, each was to exhibit his performance in the presence of his majesty. The third day, the English minstrel announced that he was ready. The troubadour declared he had not wrote a line; but that he had tried, and could not as yet put two words together. The following evening he overheard the minstrel practising his *chanson* to himself. The next day he had the good fortune to hear the same

again, and learned the air and words. At the day appointed they both appeared before the king. Arnaud desired to sing first. The minstrel, in a fit of the greatest surprise and astonishment, suddenly cried out, *C'est ma chanson, This is my Song*. The king said it was impossible. The minstrel still insisted upon it; and Arnaud, being closely pressed, ingenuously told the whole affair. The king was much entertained with this adventure; and ordering the wager to be withdrawn, loaded them with rich presents. But he afterwards obliged Arnaud to give a *chanson* of his own composition. Millot, ut supr. tom. ii. p. 491.

In the mean time I would not be understood to deny, that Henry the Second encouraged these pieces; for it partly appears, that Gualter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, translated, from Latin into French, the popular romance of SAINT GRAAL, at the instance of Henry the Second, to whom he was chaplain, about the year 1190. See MSS. Reg. 20 D. iii. a manuscript perhaps coeval with the translator; and, if so, the original copy presented to the king. Maister Benoit, or Benedict, a rhymier in French, was also patronised by this monarch: at whose command he compiled a metrical Chronicle of the DUKES OF NORMANDY; in which are cited Isidore Hispalensis, Pliny, and saint Austin. MSS. Harl. 1717. 1. on vellum. See fol. 85. 163. 192. 236. This old French poem is full of fabulous and romantic matter; and seems to be partly translated from a Latin Chronicle, *DE MORIBUS ET ACTIS PRIMORUM NORMANNIE DUCUM*, written about the year 1000, by Dudo, dean of S. Quintin's, and printed among Du Chesne's *SCRIPTOR. NORMAN.* p. 49. edit. 1619. Maister Benoit ends with our Henry the First. Dudo with the year 996.

³ With his *douseperes*, or twelve peers, among which he mentions Rowland and Oliver.

⁷ These are the NINE WORTHIES: to whom Shakespeare alludes in LOVE'S LAB. LOST. "Here is like to be a good presence of WORTHIES. He presents Hector of Troy: The swain, Pompey

temple, and pronounce an exhortation. Last follows an epilogue, in which the poet apologises for his hardiness in attempting to *feign* and *devise* this fable.

The reader readily perceives, that this poetical apologue is intended to shadow the education of a complete gentleman; or rather, to point out those accomplishments which constitute the character of true gallantry, and most justly deserve the reward of beauty. It is not pretended, that the personifications display that force of colouring, and distinctness of delineation, which animate the ideal portraits of John of Meun. But we must acknowledge, that Hawes has shewn no inconsiderable share of imagination, if not in inventing romantic action, at least in applying and enriching the general incidents of the Gothic fable. In the creation of allegoric imagery he has exceeded Lydgate. That he is greatly superior to many of his immediate predecessors and cotemporaries, in harmonious versification, and clear expression, will appear from the following stanza.

Besydes this gyaunt, upon every tree
 I did see hanging many a goodly shielde
 Of noble knyghtes, that were of hie degree,
 Whiche he had slayne and murdred in the felde:
 From farre this gyaunt I ryght well behelde;
 And towarde hym as I rode on my way,
 On his first heade I sawe a banner gay.*

To this poem a dedication of eight octave stanzas is prefixed,

the Great: The parish-curate, Alexander: Armado's page, Hercules: The pedant, Judas Macchabeus," &c. Act v. Sc. i. Elias Cairels, a troubadour of Perigord, about the year 1240, wishes for the wisdom of Solomon, the courtesy of Roland, the puissance of Alexander, the strength of Samson, the friendly attachment of sir Tristram, the *chevalerie* of sir Gawaine, and the learning of Merlin. Though not immediately connected with the present purpose, I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the re-

mainder of our troubadour's idea of complete happiness in this world. His ambition can be gratified by nothing less than by possessing "Une si parfaite loyauté, que nul chevalier et nul jongleur n' aient rien à reprendre en lui; une maistrisse jeune, jolie, et decente; mille cavaliers bien en ordre pour le suivre par tout," &c. Millot, *HIST. LITT. des TROUBAD.* tom. i. p. 388. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 250.

* Ch. xxxv.

addressed to king Henry the Seventh: in which our author professes to follow the manner of his *maister* Lydgate.

To folowe the trace and all the perfytness
Of my maister Lydgate, with due exercise,
Such fayned tales I do fynde^t and devyse:
For under coloure a truthe may aryse,
As was the guyse, in old antiquitie,
Of the poetes olde a tale to surmyse,
To cloake the truthe. — — —

In the course of the poem he complains, that since Lydgate, *the most dulcet sprynge of famous rhetoryke*, that species of poetry which deals in fiction and allegoric fable, had been entirely lost and neglected. He allows, that some of Lydgate's successors had been skilful versifiers in the *balade royall* or octave stanza, which Lydgate carried to such perfection: but adds this remarkable restriction,

They *fayne* no *fables* pleasaunt and *covert*:—
Makyng balades of fervent amytié,
As *gestes* and *tryfles*.^u — — —

These lines, in a small compass, display the general state of poetry which now prevailed.

Coeval with Hawes was William Walter, a retainer to sir Henry Marney, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster: an unknown and obscure writer whom I should not have named, but that he versified, in the octave stanza, Boccaccio's story, so beautifully paraphrased by Dryden, of Sigismonda and Guiscard. This poem, I think, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde [1532], and afterwards reprinted in the year 1597, under the title of THE STALEY TRAGEDY OF GUISCARD AND SIGISMOND^x.

^t invent.

^u Ch. xiv. So Barklay, in the SHIP OF FOOLLES, finished in 1506, fol. 18. a. edit. 1570. He is speaking of the profane and improper conversation of priests in the choir.

And all of fables and *jentes* of Robin Hood,
Or other *tryfles*. — — —

^x Viz. "Certaine worthy manuscript poems of great antiquitie, reserved long in the studie of a Northfolke gentleman, now first published by J. S. Lond. R. D. 1597." 12mo. In this edition, beside the story of SIGISMUNDA, mentioned in the text, there is "The Northern Mother's Blessing, written nine yeares before the death of G. Chaucer. And

It is in two books. He also wrote a dialogue in verse, called the *Spectacle of Lovers*¹, and the *History of Titus and Gesippus*, a translation from a Latin romance concerning the siege of Jerusalem*.

About the year 1490, Henry Medwall, chaplain to Morton archbishop of Canterbury, composed an interlude, called NATURE, which was afterwards translated into Latin. It is not improbable, that it was played before the archbishop. It was the business of chaplains in great houses to compose interludes for the family. This piece was printed by Rastel, in 1538, and entitled, "NATURE, a goodly interlude of nature, compyled by mayster Henry Medwall, chaplayn to the right reverent father in God, Johan Morton, sometyme cardynall, and archebysshop of Canterbury."

In the year 1497, Laurence Wade, a Benedictine monk of Canterbury², translated, into English rhymes, THE LIFE OF THOMAS A BECKETT, written about the year 1180, in Latin³, by Herbert Bosham^b. The manuscript, which will not bear a citation, is preserved in Benet college in Cambridge^c. The original had been translated into French verse by Peter Langtoft^d. Bosham was Becket's secretary, and present at his martyrdom,

"The Way to Thrift." This collection is dedicated to the worthiest Poet MASTER EDMOND SPENSER.

¹ Begins the PROLOGUE, "Forasmuche as ydelness is rote of all vices," This and the following piece are also printed in quarto, by Wynkyn de Worde. [He likewise compiled "A lytell contravers dialogue bytwene love and counsell, with many goodly argumentes of good women and bad, very compendyouus to all estates."—RITSON.]

* [This opinion Warton afterwards

rejected. Vid, infra, Sect. XXXIII.—EDIT.]

² Professed in the year 1467, CATAL. Mon. Cant. inter MSS. C. C. C. N. 7.

³ VITA ET RES GESTÆ THOMÆ EPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS, published in the QUADRILOGUS, Paris. 1495. 4to.

^b See supr. vol. i. p. 89.

^c MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. CCCXCVII. 1. Beginn. Prol. "O ye vertuous soverayns spirituall and temporall."

^d Pits. p. 890. APPEND,

SECTION XXIX.

I PLACE Alexander Barklay within the year 1500, as his *SHIP OF FOOLS* appears to have been projected about that period. He was educated at Oriel college in Oxford^d, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests, or prebendaries, of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire^e. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery^f; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury^g. He temporised with the changes of religion; for he possessed some church-preferments in the reign of Edward the Sixth^h. He died, very old, at Croydon, in Surryⁱ, in the year 1552.

^d He seems to have spent some time at Cambridge, *Ecoloc.* i. Signat. A. iii. And once in Cambridge I heard a scolar say,
One of the same that go in copès gay.

^e The chief patron of his studies appears to have been Thomas Cornish, provost of Oriel college, and Suffragan bishop of Tyne, in the diocese of Bath and Wells; to whom he dedicates, in a handsome Latin epistle, his *SHIP OF FOOLS*. But in the poem, he mentions *My Maister Kyrkham*, calling himself "his true servitour, his chaplayne, and bede-man." fol. 152. b. edit. 1570. Some biographers suppose Barklay to have been a native of Scotland. It is certain that he has a long and labour'd encomium on James the Fourth, king of Scotland; whom he compliments for his bravery, prudence, and other eminent virtues. One of the stanzas of this panegyric is an acrostic on Jacobus. fol. 206. a. He most probably was of Devonshire or Gloucestershire.

^f In the title to his translation from Mancinus, called the *MIRROUR OF GOOD MANNERS*.

^g MS. Bale, Sloan, f. 68.

^h He was instituted to Much Badew in Essex, in 1546. *Newcourt, Rer.* i. 254. And to Wokey in Somersetshire, the same year. *Registr. Wellens.* He had also the church of All Saints, in Lombard-street, London, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, which was vacant by his death, Aug. 24, 1552. *Newcourt, ut supr.*

ⁱ He frequently mentions Croydon in his *ELOGES*. He was buried in Croydon church. *EGL.* i. Signat. A. iii.

And as in CROYDON I heard the Collier preache.

Again, *ibid.*

While I in youth in CROYDON towne did dwell.

Again, *ibid.*

He hath no felowe betwepe this and CROYDON

Save the proude plowman *Gnatho* of *Chorlington*.

He mentions the collier again, *ibid.*

Such maner riches the collier tell thee can.

Also, *ibid.*

As the riche shepheard that woned in *Mortlake*.

Barklay's principal work is the *SHIP OF FOOL'S*, above mentioned. About the year 1494 [1470*], Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title¹. The design was to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident, or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French²; and, in the year 1488†, into tolerable Latin verse, by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the inventour Brandt¹. From the original, and the two translations, Barklay formed a large English poem, in the balade or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed by Pinson, in 1509, whose name occurs in the poem.

Howbeit the charge PINSON has on me layde
With many fool'es our navy not to charge.^m

It was finished in the year 1508, and in the college of saint

* [In the Additions to this volume, Warton instructed the reader to expunge the date 1494; and substitute that of 1470. But Brandt was not born till the year 1458, a circumstance which makes this correction quite untenable. The German bibliographers speak of an edition printed at Basle without date, as the earliest known to them, though others maintain the Strasburg edition of 1494 to be the first of the German original. If this be true, Locher must have translated from Brandt's manuscript.—*EDIT.*]

¹ I presume this is the same Sebastian Brandt, to whom Thomas Acuparius, poet laureate, dedicates a volume of Poggius's works, Argentorat. 1513. fol. He is here styled, "Juris utriusque doctor, et S. P. Q. Argentinensis cancellarius." The dedication is dated 1511. See Hendreich. *PANDECT.* p. 703.— [Brandt was a doctor of laws, an imperial counsellor, and Syndic to the Senate of Strasburg.—*EDIT.*]

² By Joce Bade. Paris, 1497. [In

verse. From which the French prose translation was made the next year.—*ADDITIONS.*]

† [With this title, "Sebastiani Brandt NAVIS STULTIFERA Mortalium, a vernaculo ac vulgari sermone in Latinum conscripta, per JACOBUM LOCHER cognomine Philomusum Suevum cum figuris. Per Jacobum Zachoni de Romano, anno 1488." 4to. In the colophon, it is said to have been *jampridem traducta* from the German original by Locher; and that this Latin translation was revised by the inventor Brandt, with the addition of many new FOOLS. A second edition of Locher's Latin was printed at Paris in 1498. 4to. There is a French prose translation by Jehan Drouyn, at Lyons, 1498. fol. In the royal library at Paris, there is a curious copy of Barklay's English *SHIP OF POLYS*, by Pinson, on vellum, with the wood-cuts: a rarity not, I believe, to be found in England.—*ADDITIONS.*]

¹ See THE PROLOGUE.

^m Fol. 38. In another place he com-

Mary Ottery, as appears by this rubric, "The SHYFF OF FOLYS, translated in the colege of saynt Mary Otery, in the counte of Devonshyre, oute of Laten, Frenche, and Doch, into Englishẽ tonge, by Alexander Barclay, preste and chaplen in the sayd colledge, M.CCCC.VIII. n." Our author's stanza is verbose, prosaic, and tedious: and for many pages together, his poetry is little better than a trite homily in verse. The title promises much character and pleasantry: but we shall be disappointed, if we expect to find the foibles of the crew of our ship touched by the hand of the author of the CANTERBURY TALES, or exposed in the rough yet strong satire of Pierce Plowman. He sometimes has a stroke of humour: as in the following stanza, where he wishes to take on board the eight secondaries, or minor canons, of his college. "*Alexander Barclay ad FATUOS, ut dent locum OCTO SECUNDARIIS beatæ Mariæ de Ottery, qui quidem prima hujus ratis transtra merentur*."°

Softe, Foolis, softe, a litle slacke your pace,
Till I have space you to' order by degree;
I have eyght neyghbours, that first shall have a place
Within this my shyp, for they most worthy be:
They may their learning receyve costles and free,
Their walles abutting and joining to the schooles^p;
Nothing they can^q, yet nought will they learn nor see,
Therefore shall they guide this one ship of fooles.

The ignorance of the English clergy is one of the chief objects of his animadversion. He says^r,

plains that some of his *wordes* are *amis*, on account of the *printers not perfect in science*. And adds, that

— The printers in their busynes
Do all their workes speediely and in
haste.

fol. 258. b.

^a In folio. A second edition, from which I cite, was printed with his other works, in the year 1570, by Cawood, in folio, with curious wooden cuts, taken from Pinson's impression, viz. "The SHIP OF FOOLIS, whercin is shewed the

folly of all states, with divers other works adjoined to the same," &c. This has both Latin and English. But Ames, under Wynkyn de Worde, recites "The Ship of Fools in this World," 4to. 1517. HIST. PRINT. p. 94.

^o fol. 68.

^p To the collegiate church of saint Mary Ottery a school was annexed, by the munificent founder, Grandison, bishop of Exeter. This college was founded in the year 1337.

^q know.

^r fol. 2.

For if one can flatter, and beare a hawke on his fist,
He shalbe made parson of Honington or of Clist.

These were rich benefices in the neighbourhood of saint Mary Ottery. He disclaims the profane and petty tales of the times.

I write no jeste ne tale of Robin Hood*,
Nor sowe no sparkles, ne sede of viciousnes;
Wise men love vertue, wilde people wantonnes,
It longeth not my science nor cuning,
For Philip the sparrow the dirige to sing.

The last line is a ridicule on his cotemporary Skelton, who wrote a *LITTLE BOKE OF PHILIP SPARROW*, or a *Dirige*,

For the soule of Philip Sparrow
That was late slaine at Carow, &c.[†]

And in another place, he thus censures the fashionable reading of his age: much in the tone of his predecessor Hawes.

For goodly scripture is not worth an hawe,
But tales are loved ground of ribaudry,
And many are so blinded with their foly,
That no scriptur thinke they so true nor gode
As is a foolish jest of Robin hode.[‡]

As a specimen of his general manner, I insert his character of the Student, or Bookworm: whom he supposes to be the First Fool in the vessel.

That[¶] in this ship the chiefe place I governe,
By this wide sea with foolis wandering,
The cause is plaine and easy to discerne;
Still am I busy bookes assembling,

* fol. 23.

† See Skelton's *WORKS*, p. 215. edit. 1736. This will be mentioned again, below.

‡ fol. 23.

¶ I subjoin the Latin from which he translates, that the reader may judge how much is our poet's own. fol. 1. a.

Primus in excelso teneo quod nave redentes,

Stultivagosque sequor comites per flumina vasta,

Non ratione vacat certa, sensuque lententi:

- Congestis etenim stultus confide libellis;

For to have plentie it is a pleasaunt thing,
In my conceyt, to have them ay in hand ;
But what they meane do I not understande.

But yet I have them in great reverence
And honour, saving them from filth and ordure ;
By often brusshing and much diligence,
Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt coverture
Of damas, sattin, or els of velvet pure * :
I keepe them sure fearing least they should be lost
For in them is the cunning wherein I me boast.

But if it fortune that any learned man
Within my house fall to disputation,
I drawe the curtaynes to shewe my bokes then,
That they of my cunning should make probation :
I love not to fall in alterication :
And while the commen, my bookes I turne and winde,
For all is in them, and nothing in my minde.

Spem quoque, nec parvam, congesta volumina præbent.

Calleo nec verbum, nec libri sentio mentem :

Attamen in magno per me servantur honore,

Fulveris et cariem plumatis tergo flabellia.

Ast ubi doctrinæ certamen volvitur, inquam,

Ædibus in nostris librorum culta suppellex

Eminet, et chartis vivo contentus opertis,
Quas video ignorans, juvat et me copia sola.

Constituit quondam dives Ptolomeus, haberet

Ut libros toto quesitos undique mundo ;
Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse putabat :

Non tamen arcane legis documenta tenebat,

Quis sine non poterat vitæ disponere cursum.

En pariter teneo numerosa volumina, tardus :

Fuca lego, viridi contentus tegmine libri.

Cur vellem studio sensus turbare frequenti,

Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere rebus ?

Qui studet, assiduo motu fit stultus et amens.

Seu studeam, seu non, dominus tamen esse vocabor ;

Et possum studio socium disponere nostro,

Qui pro me sapiat, doctasque examinet artes :

Aut si cum doctis versor, *concedere* malo
Omnia, ne cogar fors verba Latina profari.

* Students and monks were antiently the binders of books. In the first page

of a manuscript *Life of Concubranus*, this note occurs, " *Ex conjunctione*

dompni Wyllelmi Edys monasterii B. Mariæ S. Modwenæ virginis de Burton

super Trent monachi, dum esset studens Oxoniæ, A. D. m̄dxvii." See MSS. Cotton. Cleopatra. ii. And MSS. Coll. Oriel.

N. vi. 3. et 7. Art. The word *Conjunctio* is *ligatura*. The book is much older

than this entry.

Ptolomeus^y the riche caused, longe agone,
 Over all the worlde good bookes to be sought,
 Done was his commandement, &c.

* * * * *

Lo in likewise of bookès I have store,
 But few I reade, and fewer understande;
 I folowe not their doctrine, nor their lore,
 It is enough to beare a booke in hande:
 It were too much to be in such a lande;
 For to be bounde to loke within the booke
 I am content on the fayre coveryng to looke.—

Eche is not lettred that nowè is made a lorde,
 Nor eche a clerke that hath a benefice;
 They are not all lawyers that plees do recorde,
 All that are promoted are not fully wise;
 On suche chance now fortune throwes her dice:
 That though one knowe but the yrishe game
 Yet would he have a gentlemans name.

So in likewise, I am in such a case,
 Though I nought can^z, I would be called wise;
 Also I may set another in my place
 Which may for me my bookès exercise;
 Or els I will ensue the common guise,
 And say *concedo* to every argument
 Lest by much speech my Latin should be spent.^z

In one part of the poem, Prodicus's apologue, of Hercules meeting VIRTUE and PLEASURE, is introduced. In the speech of PLEASURE, our author changes his metre: and breaks forth into a lyrical strain, not totally void of elegance and delicacy, and in a rhythmical arrangement adopted by Gray.

All my vestùre is of golde pure,
 My gay chaplèt with stonès set;
 With couverture of fine asure,

^y Ptolomeus Philadelphus, for whom . . .^z know. he quotes Josephus, lib. xii.

^z fol. 2.

In silver net my haire upknet,
 Softe silke betwene, lest it might fret ;
 My purple pall oercovereth all,
 Cleare as cristall, no thing egall.—
 With harpe in hande, alway I stande,
 Passing eche houre, in swete pleasour ;
 A wanton bande, of every lande,
 Are in my towre, me to honouèr,
 Some of valouèr, some bare and poore ;
 Kinges in their pride sit by my side :
 Every freshe floure, of swete odouèrè,
 To them I provide, that with me bide.—
 Whoeer they be, that folowe me,
 And gladly flee to my standarde,
 They shall be free, nor sicke, nor see
 Adversitie, and paynès harde.
 No poynt of payne shall he sustayne,
 But joy soverayne, while he is here ;
 No frost ne rayne there shall distayne
 His face by payne, ne hurt his chere.
 He shall his hede cast to no drede
 To get the mede^b and lawde of warre ;
 Nor yet have nede, for to take hede,
 How battayles spede, but stande asarre.
 Nor yet be bounde to care the sounde
 Of man or grounde, or trompet shrill ;
 Strokes that redound shall not confounde,
 Nor his minde wounde, but if he will, &c.^c

All antient satirical writings, even those of an inferior cast, have their merit, and deserve attention, as they transmit pictures of familiar manners, and preserve popular customs. In this light, at least, Barklay's *SHIP OF FOOLS*, which is a general satire on the times, will be found entertaining. Nor must it be denied, that his language is more cultivated than

^b mede ; rewani.

^c fol. 241. b.

that of many of his cotemporaries, and that he contributed his share to the improvement of the English phraseology. His author, Sebastian Brandt, appears to have been a man of universal erudition; and his work, for the most part, is a tissue of citations from the ancient poets and historians.

Barklay's other pieces are the *MIRROUR OF GOOD MANNERS*, and five *EGLOGES*^d.

The *MIRROUR* is a translation from a Latin elegiac poem,

^d He also wrote, *The figure of our mother holy church oppressed by the French king*, printed for Pinson, 4to.—*Answer to John Skelton the Poet*.—*The Lives of S. Catharine, S. Margaret, and St. Etheldred*.—*The Life of S. George*, from Mantuan: dedicated to N. West bishop of Ely, and written while our author was a monk of Ely.—*De Pronuntiatione Gallica*. John Palsgrave, a polite scholar, and an eminent preceptour of the French language about the reign of Henry the Eighth, and one of the first who published in English a grammar or system of rules for teaching that language, says in his *L' Eclaircissement de la language François*, addressed to Henry the Eighth, and printed (fol. Lond.) in 1530, that our author Barklay wrote a tract on this subject at the command of Thomas duke of Norfolk.—*The famous Cronycle of the Warre which the Romans had agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kyngdoms of Numidy: which cronycle is compiled in Latin by the renowned Romayn Sallust*. And translated into Englishe by SYR ALEXANDER BARCLAY, preest, at the commaundmente of the hye and mighty prince Thomas duke of Norfolk. In two editions, by Pinson, of this work, both in folio, and in the public library at Cambridge, the Latin and English are printed together. The Latin is dedicated to Vesey bishop of Exeter, and dated "ex Cellula Hatfeld regis [i. e. King's Hatfield, Hertfordshire] iiii. id. Novemb." A new edition, without the Latin and the two dedications, was printed by J. Waley, 1557, 4to.—*Orationes variae*.—*De fide Orthodoxa*.—To these I add, what does not deserve mention in the text, a poem translated from the French, called *The CASTEL OF LABOURE, wherein*

is riches, vertue, and honor. It is of some length, and an allegory; in which Lady REASON conquers Despair, Poverty, and other evils, which attend a poor man lately married. The Prologue begins, "Ye mortal people that desire to obtayne." The poem begins, "In musyng an evenyng with me was none." Printed for Wynken de Worde, 1506. 4to. And again by Pinson, without date. 4to. In seven-lined stanzas. By mistake I have mentioned this piece as anonymous, supra, p. 34. [Bishop Alcock's *CASTEL OF LABOURE* was translated into English from a French poem by Octavien de S. Gelais, a bishop, and an eminent translator of the classics into French at the restoration of learning, viz. "*Le CHATEAU DE LABOUR en rime françoise, auquel est contenu l'adresse de riches et chemin de pauvreté par Octavien de S. Gelais, &c.* Paris, Gallyot du Pré, 1536. 16mo." Our highest efforts of poetry at this period were translations from the French. This piece of S. Gelais was also translated into English rhymes by one *Dane*, or *dominus James*: the same perhaps who made the following version, "Here begynnef the ORCHARDE OF SYON: in the which is containned the revelation of saynt Catherine of Sene, with ghostly fruytes and presyous plantes for the helthe of mannes soule. Translated by Dane James. Prynted at the cost of master Richard Sutton esquire, Steward of the monasterie of Syon, 1519." For Wynkya de Worde, in folio, with fine Gothic cuts in wood. This *Master Richard Sutton*, steward of the opulent monastery of Sion near London, was one of the founders of Brasenose college in Oxford.—*ADDITIONS.*]

written in the year 1516, by Dominic Mancini, DE QUATUOR VIRTUTIBUS. It is in the ballad stanza^c. Our translator, as appears by the address prefixed, had been requested by sir Giles Alyngton to abridge, or modernise, Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS. But the poet declined this undertaking as unsuitable to his age, infirmities, and profession; and chose rather to oblige his patron with a grave system of ethics. It is certain that he made a prudent choice. The performance shews how little qualified he was to correct Gower.

Our author's ECGLOGES, I believe, are the first that appeared in the English language^f. They are, like Petrarch's and Mantuan's^g, of the moral and satirical kind; and contain but few touches of rural description and bucolic imagery. They seem to have been written about the year 1514^h. The three first are paraphrased, with very large additions, from the MISERIE CURIALIUM of Eneas Sylviusⁱ, and treat of the *Miseryes of Courtiers and Courtes of all Princes in general*. The fourth, in which is introduced a long poem in stanzas, called the *Tower of Vertue and Honour*^j, of the behaviour of riche men agaynst poetes. The fifth, of the disputation of citizens and men of the country. These pastorals, if they deserve the name, contain many

^c Printed as above, 1570. fol. And by Pinson, at the command of Richard earl of Kent. Without date, 4to. The Latin elegiacs are printed in the margin, which have been frequently printed. At Basil, 1548. At Antwerp, 1559. With the epigram of Peter Carmeliani annexed. And often before. Lastly, at the end of MARTINI Braccarenensis *Formula honeste Vitae*, Helmstad. 1691. 8vo. They are dedicated "Frederico Severinati episcopo Malleacensi." They first appeared at Leipsic, 1516. See Trithemius, concerning another of his poems, Mancini's, *De passione domini*, cap. 995.

^f Printed as above, 1570. fol. First, I believe, by Humphry Powell. 4to. Without date. Perhaps about 1550.

^g Whom he mentions, speaking of ECGLOGES. ECGLOG. I. PROL.

And in like manner, nowe lately in our dayes, Hath other poetes attempted the same wayes,

As the most famous Baptist Mantuan The best of that sort since poets first began,

And Frauncis Petrarke also in Italy, &c.

^h Because he praises "noble Henry which now departed late." Afterwards he falls into a long panegyric on his successour Henry the Eighth. ECGLOG. I. As he does in the SHIP OF FOOLES, fol. 205. a. where he says,

This noble prince beginneth vertuously By justice and pitie his realme to mayntayne.

He then wishes he may retake Jerusalem from the Turks; and compares him to Hercules, Achilles, &c.

ⁱ That is, pope Pius the Second, who died in 1464. This piece is among his EPISTLES, some of which are called Tracts. EPIST. CLVI.

^j It is properly an elegy on the death of the duke of Norfolk, lord high admiral.



allusions to the times. The poet is prolix in his praises of Alcock bishop of Ely, and founder of Jesus college in Cambridge^k.

Yes since his dayes a cocke was in the fen^l,
 I knowe his voyce among a thousand men:
 He laught, he preached, he mended every wrong;
 But, Coridon, alas no good thing bideth long!
 He All was a Cock^m, he wakened us from slepe,
 And while we slumbered, he did our foldes kepe.
 No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges' wood,
 Could hurt our fouldes, his watching was so good.
 The hungry wolves, which that time did abounde,
 What time he crowedⁿ, abashed at the sounde.
 This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe,
 Than is a lion abashed of an oxe.
 When he went, faded the floure of al the fen;
 I boldly swære this cocke trode never hen!

Alcock, while living, erected a beautiful sepulchral chapel

^k This very learned and munificent prelate deservedly possessed some of the highest dignities in church and state. He was appointed bishop of Ely in 1486. He died at Wisbich, 1501. See Whart. ANGL. SACR. i. 675. 801. 381. Rosse says, that he was tutor to prince Edward, afterwards Edward the Fifth, but removed by the king's uncle Richard. Rosse, I think, is the only historian who records this anecdote. HIST. REG. ANGL. p. 212. edit. Hearn.

^l The isle of Ely.

^m ALCOCK.

ⁿ Among Wren's manuscript Collections, (Registr. parv. Consistorii Eliensis, called the BLACK BOOK,) the following curious memorial, concerning a long sermon preached by Alcock at saint Mary's in Cambridge, occurs. "I. Alcock, divina gratia episcopus Eliensis, prima die dominica, 1488, bonum et blandum sermonem prædicavit in ecclesia B. Mariæ Cantabrig. qui incepit in hora prima post meridiem et duravit in horam tertiam et ultra." He sometimes, and even in the episcopal character, condescended to sport with his own name. He published an address to the clergy assembled at Barnwell, under the title of GALLI CANTUS ad confratres suos curatos

in synodo apud Barnwell, 25 Sept. 1498. To which is annexed his CONSTITUTION for celebrating certain feasts in his diocese. Printed for Pinson, 1498. 4to. In the beginning is the figure of the bishop preaching to his clergy, with two cocks on each side. And there is a cock in the first page. By the way, Alcock wrote many other pieces. THE HILL OF PERFECTION, from the Latin. For Pinson, 1497. 4to. For Wynkyn de Worde, 1497. 4to. Again, for the same, 1501. 4to. THE ABBY OF THE HOLY GHOST that shall be founded and grounded in a clear conscience, in which abbey shall dwell twenty and nine ladies ghostly. For the same, 1531. 4to. Again, for the same, without date, but before 1500. 4to. At the end, "Thus endeth without bost, The Abby of the holi gost." [See MSS. Harl. 5272. 3.—1704. 9. fol. 32. b. And MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 155. and MSS. MORE, 191.] SPOUSAGE OF A VIRGIN TO CHRIST, 1486. 4to. HOMELIA VULGARES. MEDITATIONES FLÆ. A fragment of a comment upon the SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS, in English verse, is supposed to be by bishop Alcock, MSS. Harl. 1704. 4. fol. 13.

in his cathedral, still remaining, but miserably defaced. To which the shepherd alludes in the lines that follow :

This was the father of thinges pastorall,
 And that well sheweth his cathedrall.
 There was I lately, aboute the midst of May :
 Coridon, his church is twenty sith more gay
 Then all the churches between the same and Kent ;
 There sawe I his tombe and chapel excellent.—
 Our parishe church is but a dongeon
 To that gay churche in comparison.—
 When I sawe his figure lye in the chapel side, &c.^o

In another place he thus represents the general lamentation for the death of this worthy prelate : and he rises above himself in describing the sympathy of the towers, arches, vaults, and images, of Ely monastery.

The pratie palace by him made in the fen^p,
 The maidès, widowes, the wives, and the men,
 With deadly dolour were pearsed to the hearte,
 When death constrayned this shepherd to departe.
 Corne, grasse, and fieldes, mourned for wo and payne,
 For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne.
 The pleasaunt floures for him faded eche one.—
 The okès, elmès : every sorte of dere^q
 Shrunke under shadowes, abating all their chere.
 The mightie walles of Ely monastery,
 The stonès, rockes, and towrès semblably,
 The marble pillours, and images eche one,
 Swete all for sorrowe, when this cocke was gone, &c.^r

^o EGLOG. I. Signat. A. iii.

^p He rebuilt, or greatly improved, the episcopal palace at Ely.

^q beasts, quadrupeds of all kinds. So in the romance of *Syr Brax*, Signat. F. iii.

Rattes and myse and such smal *dere*
 Was his meate that seven yere.

Whence Shakespeare took, as Dr. Percy has observed, the well-known distich of

the madman in KING LEAR, ACT iii. Sc. 4.

Mice and rats and such small *deere*
 Have been Tom's food for seven long
 yeere.

It cannot now be doubted, that Shakespeare in this passage wrote *deer*, instead of *geer* or *cheer*, which have been conjecturally substituted by his commentators.

^r EGL. iii.

It should be remembered, that these pastorals were probably written while our poet was a monk of Ely: and although Alcock was then dead, yet the memory of his munificence and piety was recent in the monastery¹.

Speaking of the dignity and antiquity of shepherds, and particularly of Christ at his birth being first seen by shepherds, he seems to describe some large and splendid picture of the Nativity painted on the walls of Ely cathedral.

I sawe them myselſe well paynted on the wall,
 Late gasing upon our churche cathedrall:
 I saw great wethers, in picture, and small lambes,
 Daunsing, some sleping, some sucking of their dams;
 And some on the grounde, mesemed, lying still:
 Then sawe I horsemen appendant of an hill;
 And the three kings, with all their company,
 Their crownes glistering bright and oriently,
 With their presents and giftes misticall:
 All this behelde I in picture on the wall.²

Virgil's poems are thus characterised, in some of the best turned lines we find in these pastorals:

He sung of fieldes, and tilling of the grounde,
 Of shepe and oxen, and battayle did he sounde;
 So shrille he sounded in termes eloquent
 I trowe his tunes went to the firmament.³

He gives us the following idea of the sports, spectacles, and pleasures, of his age.

¹ He also compliments Alcock's predecessor Moreton, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury: not without an allusion to his troubles, and restoration to favour, under Richard the Third and Henry the Seventh. EGL. iii.

And shepheard MORRISON, when he durst
 not appeare,
 Howe his olde servauntes were carefull
 of his chere;

In payne and pleasour they kept fidelitie,
 Till grace agayne gave him autoritie, &c.

And again, EGL. liii.

Micene [Mecenas] and Moarrow be
 deade and gone certaine.

² The Deane of Powles, I suppose dean Colet, is celebrated as a preacher, *ibid.* As is, "The olde friar that wonned in Greenwich." EGL. v.

³ EGL. v.

⁴ EGL. iv.

Some men deliteth beholding men to fight,
 Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,
 Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes and male^x.—
 Some glad is to see these ladies beauteous,
 Goodly appoynted in clothing sumpteous :
 A number of people appoynted in like wise^y
 In costly clothing, after the newest gise ;
 Sportes, disguising^z, fayre coursers mount and prounce,
 Or goodly ladies and knightes sing and daunce :
 To see fayre houses, and curious picture,
 Or pleasaunt hanging^a, or sumpteous vesture,
 Of silke, of purpure, or golde moste orient,
 And other clothing divers and excellent :
 Hye curious buildinges, or palaces royall,
 Or chapels, temples fayre and substanciall,
 Images graven, or vaultes curious^b ;
 Gardeyns, and meadowes, or places^c delicious,
 Forests and parkes well furnished with dere,
 Cold pleasaunt streames, or wellès fayre and clere,
 Curious cundytes, &c.^d

^x armour and coats of mail.

^y apparelled in uniform.

^z masques, &c. ^a tapestry.

^b roofs, curiously vaulted.

^c houses, seats.

^d EGL. ii. I shall here throw together in the Notes, some traits in these Eclogues of the common customs and manners of the times. A shepherd, after mentioning his skill in shooting birds with a bow, says, EGL. i.

No shepherds throweth the *axletree* so farre.

A gallant is thus described, EGL. ii.
 For women use to love them most of all,

Which boldly bosteth, or that can sing and jet ;

Whiche hath the maistry oftimes in tournament,

Or that can gambould, or dance feat and gent.

The following sorts of wine are recited, EGL. ii.

As muscadell, caprike, romney, an.
 mahmey,
 From Genoe brought, from Greece, or
 Hungary.

As are the dainties of the table, *ibid.*
 A shepherd at court must not think to eat

— Swanne, nor heron,

Curlewe, nor crane. —

Again, *ibid.*

What fishe is of savour swete and delicious,—

Rosted or sodden in swete herbes or wine ;

Or fried in oyle, most saporous and fine.—

— The pasties of a hart.—

The crane, the fesaunt, the peccocke,
 and curlewe,

The partriche, plover, bittorn, and heronsewe :—

Seasoned so well in licour redolent,

That the hall is full of pleasant smell and sent.

We have before seen, that our author and Skelton were rivals. He alludes to Skelton, who had been laureated at Oxford, in the following lines.

Then is he decked as *poete laureate*,
 When stinking Thais made him her *graduate* :—
 If they have smelled the *artes triviall*,
 They count them poets *hye and heroicall*.^c

THE TOWRE OF VERTUE AND HONOUR, introduced as a

At a feast at court, *ibid*.

Slowe be the sewers in serving in alway,
 But swift be they after, taking the meate
 away :

A speciall custom is used them amonge,
 No good dishe to suffer on borde to be
 long :

If the dishe be pleasaunt, eyther fleshe
 or fishe,

Ten handes at once swarme in the dishe :
 And if it be fleshe ten knives shall thou
 see

Mangling the fleshe, and in the platter
 flee :

To put there thy handes is perill without
 fayle,

Without a gauntlet or els a glove of
 mayle.

The two last lines remind us of a saying of Quin, who declared it was not safe to sit down to a turtle-feast in one of the city-halls, without a basket-hilted knife and fork. Not that I suppose Quin borrowed his *bons mots* from black letter books.

The following lines point out some of the festive tales of our ancestors. EGL. iv.

Yet would I gladly heare some mery

fit
 Of Mayde Marian, or els of Robin
 Hood ;

Or Bentley's Ale which chafeth well the
 blood,

Of Perte of Norwich, or sauce of Wil-
 berton,

Or buckish Toby well-stuffed as a ton.

He mentions *Bentley's Ale*, which *maketh me to winke*, EGL. ii.

Some of our antient domestic pastimes and amusements are recorded, EGL. iv.

Then is it pleasure the yonge maydens
 amonge

To watche by the fire the winter-nightes
 long :—

And in the ashes some playes for to
 marke,

To cover wardens [pears] for faulte of
 other warke :

To taste white shevers, and to make pro-
 phitroles ;

And, after talking, oftymes to fill the
 bowles, &c.

He mentions some musical instru-
 ments, EGL. ii.

— — — Methinkes no mirth is scant,
 Where no rejoycing of minstrelsie doth
 want :

The bagpipe or fiddle to us is delect-
 able, &c.

And the mercantile commodities of
 different countries and cities, EGL. iv.

England hath cloth, Bordenus hath store
 of wine,

Cornwalle hath tinne, and Lymster
 woollens fine.

London hath scarlet, and Bristowe plea-
 saunt red, &c.

Of songs at feasts, EGL. iv.

When your fat dishes smoke hot upon
 your table,

Then laude ye songes and balades mag-
 nifie,

If they be mery, or written craftely,
 Ye clappe your handes and to the ma-
 kinge harke,

And one say to another, lo here a pro-
 per warke.

He says that minstrels and singers are highly favoured at court, especially those of the *French gise*, EGL. ii. Also *jugglers* and *pipers*, EGL. iv. ^c EGL. iv.

song of one of the shepherds into these pastorals, exhibits no very masterly strokes of a sublime and inventive fancy. It has much of the trite imagery usually applied in the fabrication of these ideal edifices. It, however, shews our author in a new walk of poetry. This magnificent tower, or castle, is built on inaccessible cliffs of flint: the walls are of gold, bright as the sun, and decorated with *olde historyes and pictures manyfolde*: the turrets are beautifully shaped. Among its heroic inhabitants are king Henry the Eighth, Howard duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Shrewsbury. LABOUR is the porter at the gate, and VIRTUE governs the house. LABOUR is thus pictured, with some degree of spirit.

Fearfull is LABOUR, without favour at all,
 Dreadfull of visage, a monster intractable;
 Like Cerberus lying at gates infernall;
 To some men his looke is halfe intollerable,
 His shoulders large for burden strong and able,
 His bodie bristled, his necke mightie and stiffe;
 By sturdie sinewes his joynts strong and stable,
 Like marble stones his handes be as stiffe.
 Here must man vanquish the dragon of Cadmus,
 Gainst the Chimere here stoutly must he fight;
 Here must he vanquish the fearfull Pegasus,
 For the golden flece here must he shewe his might:
 If LABOUR gainsay, he can nothing be right:
 This monster LABOUR oft changeth his figure,
 Sometime an oxe, a bore, or lion wight,
 Playnely he seemeth thus changeth his nature.
 Like as Protheus ofte changeth his stature.

* * * * *

Under his browes he dreadfully doth lowre
 With glistening eyes, and side-dependant beard,
 For thirst and hunger alway his chere is soure,
 His horned forehead doth make faynt hearts asfeard.

Always he drinketh, and yet alway is drye,
The sweat distilling with droppes abundant, &c.

The poet adds, that when the noble Howard had long boldly contended with this hideous monster, had broken the bars and doors of the castle, had bound the porter, and was now preparing to ascend the tower of Virtue and Honour, FORTUNE and DEATH appeared, and interrupted his progress^f.

The first modern Latin Bucolics are those of Petrarch, in number twelve, written about the year 1350^g. The Eclogues of Mantuan, our author's model, appeared about the year 1400, and were followed by many others. Their number multiplied so soon, that a collection of thirty-eight modern bucolic poets in Latin was printed at Basil, in the year 1546^h. These writers judged this indirect and disguised mode of dialogue, consisting of simple characters which spoke freely and plainly, the most safe and convenient vehicle for abusing the corruptions of the church. Mantuan became so popular, as to acquire the estimation of a classic, and to be taught in schools. Nothing better proves the reputation in which this writer was held, than a speech of Shakespeare's pedant, the pedagogue Holofernes. "*Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub ulmo*ⁱ, and so forth. Ah, good old MANTUAN! I may speak of thee, as the traveller doth of Venice, *Vinegia, Vinegia, chi non te vedi, ei non te pregia*. Old MANTUAN! Old MANTUAN! Who understandeth thee not, loveth thee not^k." But although Barklay copies Mantuan, the recent and separate publication in

^f EGL. iv.

^g BUCOLICORUM ECLOGÆ XII.

^h VIZ. XXVIII. AUCTORES BUCOLICI, Basil. 1546. 8vo.

ⁱ One of Mantuan's lines. Farnaby in his Preface to Martial says, that *Fauste precor gelida*, was too often preferred to *Arma virumque cano*. I think there is an old black letter translation of Mantuan into English. Another translation appeared by one Thomas Harvey, 1656. Mantuan was three times

printed in England before the year 1600. VIZ. B. Mantuani Carmelitæ theologi ADOLESCENTIA seu BUCOLICA. With the commentary of Jodocus Badius. Excud. G. Dewes and H. Marabe, 1584. 12mo. Again, for the same, the same year, 12mo. Again, for Robert Dexter, 1598. 12mo. With Arguments to the Eclogues, and Notes by John Murnelius, &c.

^k LOVE'S LAB. L. Act iv. Sc. 3.

England of Virgil's bucolics, by Wynkyn de Worde¹, might partly suggest the new idea of this kind of poetry.

With what avidity the Italian and French poets, in their respective languages, entered into this species of composition, when the rage of Latin versification had subsided, and for the purposes above mentioned, is an inquiry reserved for a future period. I shall only add here, that before the close of the fifteenth century, Virgil's bucolics were translated into Italian², by Bernardo Pulci, Fossa de Cremona, Benivieni, and Fiorini Buoninsegni.

¹ *BUCOLICA VIRGILII cum commento familiari*. At the end, *Ad juvenes hujus Mironiatis operis commendatio. Die vero viii Aprilis*. 4to. And they were reprinted by the same, 1514 and 1516.

² *Viz. LA BUCOLICA DI VIRGILIO per Fratrem Evangelistam Fossa de Cremona ord. servorum*. In Venezia, 1494. 4to. But thirteen years earlier we find, Bernardo Pulci nella *BUCOLICA di Virgilio*: di Jeronimo Benivieni, Jacopo

Fiorino Buoninsegni de Sienna: *Epistole di Luca Pulci*. In Firenze, per Bartolomeo Miscomini, 1484. A dedication is prefixed, by which it appears, that Buoninsegni wrote a *PISCATORY ECLOGUE*, the first ever written in Italy, in the year 1468. There was a second edition of Pulci's version, *LA BUCOLICA di VIRGILIO tradotta per Bernardo Pulci con l'Elegie*. In Firenze, 1494.

SECTION XXX.

IT is not the plan of this work to comprehend the Scotch poetry. But when I consider the close and national connection between England and Scotland in the progress of manners and literature, I am sensible I should be guilty of a partial and defective representation of the poetry of the former, was I to omit in my series a few Scotch writers, who have adorned the present period, with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination, not to be found in any English poet since Chaucer and Lydgate: more especially as they have left striking specimens of allegorical invention, a species of composition which appears to have been for some time almost totally extinguished in England.

The first I shall mention is William Dunbar, a native of Salton in East Lothian, about the year 1470. His most celebrated poems are *THE THISTLE AND THE ROSE*, and *THE GOLDEN TERGE*.

THE THISTLE AND THE ROSE was occasioned by the marriage of James the Fourth, king of Scotland, with Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry the Seventh, king of England: an event, in which the whole future political state of both nations was vitally interested, and which ultimately produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms. It was finished on the ninth day of May in the year 1503, nearly three months before the arrival of the queen in Scotland: whose progress from Richmond to Edinburgh was attended with a greater magnificence of parade, processions, and spectacles, than I ever remember to have seen on any similar occasion^a. It may be

^a See a memoir, cited above, in *Le-land's COLL.* tom. iii. APPEND. edit. 1770. p. 265. It is worthy of particular notice, that during this expedition there was in the magnificent suite of the princess a company of players, under the

pertinent to premise, that Margaret was a singular patroness of the Scotch poetry, now beginning to flourish. Her bounty is thus celebrated by Stewart of Lorne, in a Scotch poem, called *LERGES OF THIS NEW YEIR DAY*, written in the year 1527.

Grit God relief^b MARGARET our quene!
 For and scho war as scho hes bene^c
 Scho wald be lerges of luf ray^d
 Than all the laif that I of mene^e,
 For lerges^f of this new-yeir day.^g

Dunbar's *THISTLE AND ROSE* is opened with the following stanzas, which are remarkable for their descriptive and picturesque beauties.

Quhen^h Merche wes with variand windis past,
 And Appryll had with hir silven shouris,
 Tane leifⁱ at Nature, with ane orient blast,
 And lusty May, that muddir^k is of flouris,
 Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris^l,

direction of one John English, who is sometimes called Johannes. "Amonge the saide lordes and the qweene was in order, Johannes and his companye, the minstrells of musicke," &c. p. 267. See also, p. 299. 300. 280. 289. In the midst of a most splendid procession, the princess rode on horse-back behind the king into the city of Edinburgh, p. 287. Afterwards the ceremonies of this stately marriage are described; which yet is not equal, in magnificence and expence, to that of Richard the Second with Isabell of France, at Calais, in the year 1397. This last-mentioned marriage is recorded with the most minute circumstances, the dresses of the king and the new queen, the names of the French and English nobility who attended, the presents, one of which is a collar of gold studded with jewels, and worth three thousand pounds, given on both sides, the banquets, entertainments, and a variety of other curious particulars, in five large vellum pages, in an ancient Register of Merton priory in Surry, in old French. MSS. LAUD, E. 54. fol. 105. b. Bibl.

Bodl. Oxon. Froissart, who is most commonly prolix in describing pompous ceremonies, might have greatly enriched his account of the same royal wedding, from this valuable and authentic record. See his *CHRON.* tom. iv. p. 226. ch. 78. B. penult. Paris, 1574. fol. Or lord Berners's Translation, vol. ii. f. 273. cap. cxxvi. edit. Finson, 1523. fol.

[The presents at this marriage ascertain a doubtful reading in Chaucer, viz. "UN-VOUCHER pr. ocs. livr.—It. un riche NOUCHER.—UN NOUCHER priz de cynk centz marcs."—In the *CLERK'S TALE*, Grisilde has a crown "full of ouchtis grete and smale." The late editor acquaints us, that the best manuscripts read *nouchis*. —ADDITIONS.]

^b great God help, &c.

^c If she continues to do as she has done.

^d bounty. Fr. *l'Offre*.

^e any other I could speak of.

^f largess, bounty. ^g St. x.

^h when. Qu has the force of *w*.

ⁱ taken leave. ^k mother.

^l Mattin orisons. From *Horæ* in the missal. So again in the *GOLDEN TEECE*,

Amang the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,
Quhois harmony to heir it wes delyt :

In bed at morrow sleiping as I lay,
Methocht Aurora, with her cristall ene
In at the window lukit^m by the day,
And halsitⁿ me with visage pale and grene;
On quhois hand a lark sang, fro the splene^o,
“Awak, luvaris^p, out of your slemering^q,
Se how the lusty morrow dois upspring!”

Methocht fresche May befoir my bed upstude,
In weid^r depaynt of mony diverse hew,
Sober, benyng, and full of mansuetude,
In bright atteir of flouris forgit new^s,
Hevinly of color, quhyt, reid, brown, and blew,
Balmit in dew, and gilt with Phebus' bemys;
Quhil al the house illumynit of her lemys.^t

MAY then rebukes the poet, for not rising early, according to his annual custom, to celebrate the approach of the spring; especially as the lark has now announced the dawn of day, and his heart in former years had always

— — — glaid and blissful bene

Sangis^u to mak undir the levis grene.^x

St. ii. Where he also calls the birds the *chapel-clarkes* of Venus, St. iii. In the *COURT* OF LOVE, Chaucer introduces the birds singing a mass in honour of May. Edit. Urr. p. 570. v. 1353. seq. On May-day, when the larke began to ryse,

To MATTINS went the lustie nightingale,
He begins the service with *Dominus lobia*. The eagle sings the *Venite*. The popinjay *Caeli enarrant*. The peacock *Dominus regnavit*. The owl *Benedicite*. The *Te Deum* is converted into *Te Deum Amoris*, and sung by the thrush, &c. &c. Skelton, in the *BOOK* OF PHILIP SPARNOW, ridicules the missal, in supposing various parts of it to be sung by birds. p. 226. edit. Lond. 1739, 12mo. Much the same sort of fiction occurs in Sir David Lyndesay's *COMPLAINT* OF THE PARYNGO, edit. ut infr. SIGNAT. B. iii.

Suppose the geis and hennis suld cry alarum,
And we sall serve *secundum usum Saturni*, &c.

^m looked. ⁿ halled. ^p lovers.
^o with good will. ^q slumbering. ^r attice.

^s From Chaucer, *MILLER'S TALE*, v. 147. p. 25. Urr.

Full brightir was the shining of hir hewe
Than in the Towre the noble *forged newe*.

^t brightness. ^u songs.

^x St. iv. See Chaucer's *KNIGHT'S TALE*, v. 1042, p. 9. Urr.

She was arisin, and all redie dight,
For May will have no sluggardy annight:
The season prikkith every gentill herte;
And makith it out of his slepe to sterre,
And sayth, Aryse, and do May obser-
vaunce, &c.

The poet replies, that the spring of the present year was unpromising and ungenial; unattended with the usual song of birds, and serenity of sky: and that storms and showers, and the loud blasts of the horn of *lord Eolus*, had usurped her mild dominion, and hitherto prevented him from wandering at leisure under the vernal branches. *MAY* rejects his excuse, and with a smile of majesty commands him to arise, and to perform his annual homage to the flowers, the birds, and the sun. They both enter a delicious garden, filled with the richest colours and odours. The sun suddenly appears in all his glory, and is thus described in the luminous language of *Lydgate*.

The purpoure sone, with tendir bemys reid,
 In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
 Throw goldin skyis putting up his heid,
 Quo his gilt tressis schone so wondir cleir,
 That all the world tuke comfort fer and neir.^v

Immediately the birds, like the morning-stars, singing together, hail the unusual appearance of the sun-shine.

And, as the blissful sone of cherarchy^z,
 The foulis sung throu comfort of the lycht;
 The burdis did with oppin voices cry,
 To luvaris so, "Away thow duly nicht,
 And welcum day that comfortis every wicht.
 Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora schene,
 Hail princes Nature, hail Venus, luvis quene."^a

NATURE is then introduced, issuing her interdict, that the progress of the spring should be no longer interrupted, and that *Neptune* and *Eolus* should cease from disturbing the waters and air.

Dame Nature gaif an inhibitioun thair,
 To fers Neptune, and Eolus the bauld^b,
 Nocht to perturb the wattr nor the air;

^v St. viii.

^a The hierarchy. See *Job*, ch. xxxviii.

v. 7. The morning-stars singing together.

^b St. ix.

^c bold.

And that no schouris^c and no blastis cawld
 Effray suld^d flouris, nor fowlis on the fauld;
 Scho bad eik Juno goddess of the sky
 That scho the hevin suld keip amene and dry.^e

This preparation and suspence are judicious and ingenious; as they give dignity to the subject of the poem, awaken our curiosity, and introduce many poetical circumstances. NATURE immediately commands every bird, beast, and flower, to appear in her presence; and, as they had been used to do every May-morning, to acknowledge her universal sovereignty. She sends the roe to bring the beasts, the swallow to collect the birds, and the yarrow^f to summon the flowers. They are assembled before her in an instant. The lion advances first, whose figure is drawn with great force and expression.

This awfull beist full terrible of cheir,
 Persing of luke, and stout of countenance,
 Ryght strong of corpes, of fassoun fair, but feir^g,
 Lusty of shaip, lycht of deliverance,
 Reid of his cullour as the ruby glance,
 In field of gold he stude full mychtely
 With floure de lucis sirculit^h lustely.ⁱ

This is an elegant and ingenious mode of blazoning the Scottish arms, which are a lion with a border, or tressure, adorned with flower de luces. We should remember, that heraldry was now a science of high importance and esteem. NATURE lifting up his *clavis cleir*, or shining claws, and suffering him to rest on her knee, crowns him with a radiant diadem of precious stones, and creates him the king of beasts: at the same time she enjoins him to exercise justice with mercy,

^c read *Scho-u-ris*.

^d should hurt, [affright.]

^e St. x.

^f The yarrow is *Achillea*, or *Millefolium*, commonly called *Sneewort*. There is no reason for selecting this plant to go on a message to the flowers; but that its name has been supposed to be

derived from *Arrow*, being held a remedy for healing wounds inflicted by that weapon. The poet, to apologise for his boldness in personifying a plant, has added, "full craftely conjurit scho."
 St. xii.

^g fierce.

^h encircled.

ⁱ St. xiv.

and not to suffer his subjects of the smallest size or degree, to be oppressed by those of superior strength and dignity. This part of NATURE'S charge to the lion, is closed with the following beautiful stroke, which indicates the moral tenderness of the poet's heart.

And lat no bowgle with his busteous^k hornis
The meik pluch-ox^l oppress for all hys pryde,
Bot in the yok go peciable him besyd.^m

She next crowns the eagle king of fowls: and sharpening his talons like darts of steel, orders him to govern great and small, the wren or the peacock, with an uniform and equal impartiality. I need not point out to my reader the political lessons couched under these commands. NATURE now calls the flowers; and observing the thistle to be surrounded with a bush of spears, and therefore qualified for war, gives him a crown of rubies, and says, "In field go forth and fend the laifⁿ." The poet continues elegantly to picture other parts of the royal arms; in ordering the thistle, who is now king of vegetables, to prefer all herbs, or flowers, of rare virtue, and rich odour: nor ever to permit the nettle to associate with the flour de lys, nor any ignoble weed to be ranked in competition with the lily. In the next stanza, where NATURE directs the thistle to honour the rose above all other flowers, exclusive of the heraldic meaning, our author with much address insinuates to king James the Fourth an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, drawn from the high birth, beauty, and amiable accomplishments, of the royal bride the princess Margaret^o.

^k boisterous, strong.

^l plough-ox.

^m St. xvi.

ⁿ defend the rest.

^o Among the pageants exhibited at Edinburgh in honour of the nuptials, she was complimented with the following curious mixture of classical and scriptural history. "Ny to that cross was a scarfawst [scaffold] made, where was represented Paris and the three Deesses, with Mercure that gaff hym the apyll of

gold for to gyffe to the most fayre of the Thre, which he gave to Venus. In the scarfawst was also represented the Salutation of Gabriell to the Virgyne in saying *Ave gratia*, and sens after [next,] the sollempnization of the very maryage betwix the said Vierge [Virgin] and Joseph." Leland, COLL. iii. APPEND. p. 289. ut supr. Not to mention the great impropriety, which they did not perceive, of applying such a part of scripture.

Nor hald no udir flour in sic denty^b
 As the fresche ROSE, of cullor reid and quhyt;
 For gif thou dois^a, hurt is thyne honesty,
 Considering that no flour is so perfyt,
 So full of vertew, plesans, and delyt,
 So ful of blissfull angelik bewty,
 Imperial birth, honour, and dignite^r.

NATURE then addresses the rose, whom she calls, "O lusty daughter most benyng," and whose lineage she exalts above that of the lily. This was a preference of Tudor to Valois. She crowns the rose with *claresfed* gems, the lustre of which illumines all the land. The rose is hailed queen by the flowers. Last, her praises are sung by the universal chorus of birds, the sound of which awakens the poet from his delightful dream. The fairy scene is vanished, and he calls to the muse to perpetuate in verse the wonders of the splendid vision.

Although much fine invention and sublime fabling are displayed in the allegorical visions of our old poets, yet this mode of composition, by dealing only in imaginary personages, and by excluding real characters and human actions, necessarily fails in that chief source of entertainment which we seek in antient poetry, the representation of antient manners.

Another general observation, immediately resulting from the subject of this poem, may be here added, which illustrates the present and future state of the Scotch poetry. The marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland, from the new communication and intercourse opened between the two courts and kingdoms by such a connection, must have greatly contributed to polish the rude manners, and to improve the language, literature, and arts, of Scotland.

The design of Dunbar's GOLDEN TERGE, is to shew the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, when too far indulged, over reason. The discerning reader will observe, that the cast of this poem is tinctured with the morality and imagery

^b *dainty, price.*

^a *if thou doest.*

^r *St. xxi.*

of the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, and the FLOURE AND LEAFE,
of Chaucer.

The poet walks forth at the dawn of a bright day.. The effects of the rising sun on a vernal landscape, with its accompaniments, are thus delineated in the manner of Lydgate, yet with more strength, distinctness, and exuberance of ornament.

Richt as the sterne of day begouth to schyne,
Quhen gone to bed was Vesper and Lucyne,
I raise, and by ane rosere^a did me rest :
Upsprang the goldyn candill matutine,
With cleir depurit^c bemys chrystallyne,
Glading the mery fowlis in thair nest :
Or Phebus wes in purpour kaip^u revest,
Upraise the lark, the hevenis mēnstral syne^w,
In May intill a morrow mirthfullest.

Full angelyk the birdis sang thair houris,
Within their courtyngis^x grene, into thair bouris
Apperrellit quhite and reid with blumys sweit :
Ennamelit wes the feild with all cullouris,
The perlie droppis schuke in silver schouris^y,
Quhyle al in balme did branche and levis fleit
To pairt fra Phebus, did Aurora greit,
Hir chrystall teiris I saw hing on the flouris,
Quhilk he for lufe all drank up with his heit.

For mirth of May, with skippis and with hoppis,
The birdis sang upon the tendir croppis^z,
With curious note, as Venus' chapell-clarkes :
The rosis yung, new spreiding of their knoppis^a,
Were powderit^b bricht with hevinly berial-droppis,

^a rose-tree.

^c purified.

^y The pearled drops fall from the trees like silver showers.

^u cape. Ere Phebus was dressed in his purple robe.

branches.

^w then. [The printed copies read *fyne*, instead of *syne* as given by Warton.—EDR.]

^z knobs; buds.

^a besprinkled. An heraldic term. See OBSERVATIONS ON THE FAIRY QUEEN, ii. p. 158. seq.

^x curtains.

Throw bemis reid, burning as ruby sparkis;
 The skyis rang for schoutyng of the larkis,
 The purpour hevin ourskaillit in silver sloppis^c
 Owregilt the treis, branchis, lef and barkis.

Doun throu the ryce^d ane revir ran with stremis
 So lustely agayn the lykand^e lemys,
 That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht,
 Quhilk shaddowit all about with twynkline glemis^f;
 The bewis^g baithit war in secund bemis,
 Throu the reflex of Phebus visage bricht
 On every side the hegies raise on hicht^h:
 The bank was grene, the bruke wes ful of bremys,
 The stanneris cleir as stern in frostie nicht.

The crystall air, the sapher firmament,
 The ruby skyis of the orient,
 Kestⁱ berial bemis on emerant bewis grene,
 The rosy garth^k, depaynt, and redolent,
 With purpour, asure, gold, and gowlis^l gent,
 Arrayit wes, by dame Flora the quene,
 Sa nobilly, that joy wes for to sene:
 The rocke^m, agane the rivir resplendent,
 As low enlumynit all the levis schene.ⁿ

^c covered with streaks, *slips*, of silver.

^d through the bushes, the trees. Rice, or *Ris*, is properly a long branch. This word is still used in the west of England. Chaucer, MILLER'S TALE, v. 215. p. 26. Urr. edit.

And thereupon he had a fair surplice
 As white as is the blosome on the rice.

[See supra, vol. ii. p. 263.] So in a Scotch poem by Alexander Scott, written 1562. *ANTIEN SCOTTISH POEMS*, Edinb. 1770. p. 194.

Welcum ours rubent rois [rose] upon
 the rice.

So also Lydgate, in his poem called
 LONDON LICKPENNY, MSS. Harl. 367.

Hot pescode own [one] began to crye,
 Straberys rype, and cherries in the wynd.

That is, as he passed through London streets, they cried, hot pease, ripe strawberries, and cherries on a bough, or twig.

^e pleasant.

^f The water blazed like a lamp, and threw about it shadowy gleams of twinkling light.

^g boughs.

^h The high-raised edges, or bank.

ⁱ cast.

^k garden.

^l gules. The heraldic term for red.

^m The rock, glittering with the reflection of the river, illuminated as with fire all the bright leaves. *Low* is flame.

ⁿ Sr. i. seq. Compare Chaucer's

Our author, lulled by the music of the birds; and the murmuring of the water, falls asleep on the flowers, which he calls *Flora's mantill*. In a vision, he sees a ship approach, whose sails are like the *blossom upon the spray*, and whose masts are of gold bright as the *star of day*^o. She glides swiftly through a chrysal bay; and lands in the blooming meadows, among the green rushes and reeds, an hundred ladies clad in rich but loose attire. They are clothed in green kirtles; their golden tresses, tied only with glittering threads, flow to the ground; and their snowy bosoms are unveiled.

As fresche as flouris that in the May upspreidia
 In kirtills grene, withoutyn kell^p or bandis
 Thair bricht hairis hang gleting on the strandis
 In tressis cleir, wyppit^q with goldin threidis;
 With papis^r quhyt, and middills small as wandis.^s

In this brilliant assembly, the poet sees NATURE, *dame Venus quene, the fresche AURORA, May, lady Flora schene, Juno, Latona, Proserpine, Diana goddess of the chase and woodis grene, lady Clio, Minerva, Fortune, and Lucina*. These *michty quenes* are crowned with diadems, glittering like the morning-star. They enter a garden. May, the queen of mirthful *months*, is supported between her sisters April and June: as she walks

Morning, in the KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 1493.
 p. 12. Urr.

The mary lark, messengere of the day,
 Salewith in her song the morowe gray;
 And fyrie Phebus rysing up so bright
 That all the orient laughith at the sight,
 And with his stremis dryth in the greves
 The silver dropis hanging in the leves.

It is seldom that we find Chaucer indulging his genius to an absurd excess in florid descriptions. The same cannot be said of Lydgate.

^o In our old poetry and the romances, we frequently read of ships superbly decorated. This was taken from real life. Froissart, speaking of the French fleet in 1387, prepared for the invasion of England under the reign of Richard the Second, says, that the ships were painted

with the arms of the commanders, and gilt, with banners, pennons, and standards, of silk: and that the masts were painted from top to bottom, glittering with gold. The ship of lord Guy of Tremoyll was so sumptuously garnished, that the painting and colours cost 2000 French franks, more than 222 pounds of English currency at that time. See Grafton's CHRON. p. 864. At his second expedition into France, in 1417, king Henry the Fifth was in a ship, whose sails were of purple silk most richly embroidered with gold. Speed's CHRON. B. ix. p. 636. edit. 1611. Many other instances might be brought from antient miniatures and illuminations.

^p caul.

^q bound.

^r paps.

^s Sr. vii.

up and down the garden, the birds begin to sing, and NATURE gives her a gorgeous robe adorned with every colour under heaven.

Thair sawe I NATURE present till^t her a gown
Rich to behald, and nobil of renoun,
Of every hew undir the hevin that bene
Depaynt and broud^u be gude proportioun.^w

The vegetable tribes then do their obeisance to NATURE, in these polished and elegant verses.

And every blome on branche, and eik on bonk,
Opnyt, and spred thair balmy levis donk,
Full low enelyneyng to thair quene full cleir,
Quhame for their noble norising thay thonk.^x

Immediately another court, or groupe, appears. Here Cupid the king presides :

— — — wyth bow in hand ybent,
And dredefull arrowis grundyn scharp and squair.
Thair saw I Mars the god armipotent
Awfull and sternè, strong and corpolent.
Thair saw I crabbit^y Saturne, ald and haire^z,
His luke wes lyk for to perturb the air.
Thair wes Mercurius, wise and eloquent,
Of rethorik that fand^a the flouris fair.^b

These are attended with other pagan divinities, Janus, Priapus, Eolus, Bacchus the *glader of the table*, and Pluto. They are all arrayed in green; and singing amorous ditties to the harp and lute, invite the ladies to dance. The poet quits his ambush under the trees, and pressing forward to gain a more perfect view of this tempting spectacle, is espied by Venus. She bids her *keen archers* arrest the intruder. Her attendants, a groupe of *fair ladies*, instantly drop their green mantles, and

^t to her.
^w Sr. x.

^u broad.
^x Sr. xi.

^y crabbed.
^a found.

^z haire.
^b Sr. xiii.

each discovers a huge bow. They form themselves in battle-array, and advance against the poet.

And first of all, with bow in hand ybent,
Come dame BEWTEE, right as scho wald me schent;
Syne followit all her damosells yfeir,
With mony divers awfull instrument^c :
Unto the pres FAIR HAVING^d with hir went;
Syne^e PORTRATURE, PLESANCE, and lusty CHEIR,
Than come RESSOUN, with Schelde of gold so cleir,
In plate and maille, as Mars armipotent,
Defendit me that noble^f chevellere.^g

BEAUTY is assisted by *tender* YOUTH with her *virgin's ying*, GREEN INNOCENCE, MODESTY, and OBEDIENCE: but their resistance was but feeble against the golden target of REASON. WOMANHOOD then leads on PATIENCE, DISCRETION, STEDFASTNESS, BENIGNE LOOK, MYLDE CHEIR, and HONEST BUSINESS.

Bot RESSOUN bure the Terge with sic constance,
Their scharp assayes might do no dures^h;
To me for all thair awfull ordinanceⁱ.

The attack is renewed by DIGNITY, RENOWN, RICHES, NOBILITY, and HONOUR. These, after displaying their *high* banner, and shooting a cloud of arrows, are soon obliged to retreat. VENUS, perceiving the rout, orders DISSEMBLANCE to make an attempt to pierce the Golden Shield. DISSEMBLANCE, or DISSIMULATION, chuses for her archers, PRESENCE, FAIR CALLING, and CHERISHING. These bring back BEAUTY to the charge. A new and obstinate conflict ensues.

Thik was the schott of grandyn^k dartis kene,
Bot RESSOUN, with the Scheld of Gold he schent,
Warly^l defendit quhosoevir assayit :
The awfull stour he manly did sustene.^m

^c formidable weapons.

^d behaviour.

^e warrior.

^f next, [after.]

^g St. xvii.

^h injury.

ⁱ St. xix.

^m St. xxiii.

^k weapons.

^l warily.

At length PRESENCE, by whom the poet understands that irresistible incentive accruing to the passion of love by society, by being often admitted to the company of the beloved object, throws a magical powder into the eyes of REASON; who is suddenly deprived of all his powers, and reels like a drunken man. Immediately the poet receives a deadly wound, and is taken prisoner by BEAUTY; who now assumes a more engaging air, as the clear eye of REASON is growing dim by intoxication. DISSIMULATION then tries all her arts on the poet: FAIR CALLING smiles upon him: CHERISHING soothes him with soft speeches: NEW ACQUAINTANCE embraces him awhile, but soon takes her leave, and is never seen afterwards. At last DANGER delivers him to the custody of GRIEF.

By this time, "God Eolus his bugle blew." The leaves are torn with the blast: in a moment the pageant disappears, and nothing remains but the forest, the birds, the banks, and the brook.^a In the twinkling of an eye they return to the ship; and unfurling the sails, and stemming the sea with a rapid course, celebrate their triumph with a discharge of ordinance. This was now a new topic for poetical description. The smoke rises to the firmament, and the roar is re-echoed by the rocks, with a sound as if the rain-bow had been broken.

And as I did awake of this sweving^o,
 The joyfull birdis merily did sing
 For mirth of Phebus tendir bemis schene.
 Sweit war the vapouris, soft the morrowing,
 Hailsum the vaill^p depaynt with flouris ying,
 The air attemperit sobir and amene;
 In quhit and reid was al the felde besene,
 Throw Naturis nobill fresch annameling
 In mirthfull May of every moneth quene.^q

Our author then breaks out into a laboured encomium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. This I chuse to recite at large,

^a St. xxvi.

^o dream.

^p vale.

^q St. xxviii.

as it shews the peculiar distinction antiently paid to those fathers of verse; and the high ideas which now prevailed, even in Scotland, of the improvements introduced by their writings into the British poetry, language, and literature. †

O reverend CHAUCERE, rose of rethoris all,
As in oure tong ane flour † imperial
That raise in Britane evir, quha reidis richt ‡,
Thou beris of makarism † the tryumph ryall,
Thy fresche annamilit termes celestiaall :
This mater coud illuminit haif full bricht † ;
Was thou noucht of our English all the licht,
Surmounting every tong terrestriall
Als fer as Maxis morrow dois midnycht.

O morale GOWER, and LYDGATE laureat,
Your sugarit † lippis †, and tongis aureat,
Bene to our eiris † cause of grit delyte;
Your angel mouthis most mellifluat
Our rude langage hes cleir illumynat,
And fair owregilt our speche, that imperfyte
Stude, or your goldin pennis schup to wryt †,
This yle befor wes bair and dissolat †
Of rethorik, or lusty fresche indyte †. †

This panegyric, and the poem, is closed with an apology, couched in elegant metaphors, for his own comparative humility of style. He addresses the poem, which he calls a *litill quair*.

I know quhat thou of rethoric has spent;
Of all hir lusty rosis redolent
Is nane into thy gerland sett on hicht †.
Eschame † tharof, and draw thè out of sicht !

† Other instances occur in the elder Scotch poets. See *supra*, vol. ii. p. 437.

† one flower.

† Ever rose, or sprung, in Britain, whose reads right.

† Thou bearest of poets.

† This subject would have appeared to some advantage, had not, &c.

† sugared.

† lips.

† to our ears.

† Ere your golden pens were shaped to write.

† bare and desolate.

† elegant composition.

† St. XXX.

† No fresh and fragrant roses of rethoric are placed on high in thy garland.

† be ashamed.

Rude is thy weid^g, desteynit, bair, and reit,
Wele aucht thou be affeirit of the licht!^h

Dunbar's DAUNCE has very great merit in the comic style of painting. It exhibits a groupe of figures touched with the capricious but spirited pencil of Callot. On the eve of Lent, a general day of confession, the poet in a dream sees a display of heaven and hell. Mahometⁱ, or the devil, commands a dance to be performed by a select party of fiends; particularly by those, who in the other world had never made confession to the priest, and had consequently never received absolution. Immediately the SEVEN DEADLY SINS appear; and present a mask, or mummery, with the newest gambols just imported from France^k. The first is PRIDE, who properly takes place of all the rest, as by *that SIN fell the angels*. He is described in the fashionable and gallant dress of those times: in a bonnet and gown, his hair thrown back, his cap awry, and his gown affectedly flowing to his feet in large folds.

Let se, quoth he^l, now quha beginis?
With that the fowll Deadly Sinnis
Begouth to leip attanis^m.
And first of all in dance was PRYD,
With hair wyld bak, bonet on syde,
Lyk to mak vaistie wanis;
And round about him as a quheillⁿ,
Hang all in rumpillis^o to the heill,
His kethat^p for the nanis.^q

^g weed; dress.

^h St. xxxi.

ⁱ Mahon. Sometimes written Mahoun, or Mahound. See Mat. Paris. p. 289. ad ann. 1236. And Du Fresne, Lat. Gloss. V. MAHUM. The Christians in the crusades were accustomed to hear the Saracens swear by their prophet Mahomet: which thence became in Europe another name for the devil.

^k The original is *garmountis*. In the Memoir, cited above, concerning the

progress of the princess Margaret into Scotland, we have the following passage. "The lord of Northumberland made his *devoir*, at the departyng, of *gambades* and *leips*, [leaps,] as did likewise the lord Scrop the father, and many others that returned agayne, in *takyng ther congie*." p. 281. [See Notes, supr. p. 85-86.]

^l Mahomet.

^m began to dance at once. ⁿ wheel.

^o rumples.

^p *casaque*, *casnock*.

^q nonce, designedly.

Many proud troupour^r with him trippit,
 Throw skaldan^s fyr ay as they skippit
 They girnd with hyddous^c granis.^v

Several *holy harlots* follow, attended by monks, who make great sport for the devils.^w

Heilie Harlottis in hawtain wyis^x,
 Come in with mony sindrie gyis^y,
 But yet luche newir^z Mahoun :
 Quhill priestis cum with bair schevin^z nekks,
 Than all the feyns lewche^b, and maid gekks^c,
Black-belly, and Bawsy-brown.

Black-belly and Bawsy-brown are the names of popular spirits in Scotland. The latter is perhaps our ROBIN GOODFELLOW, known in Scotland by the name of BROWNIE.

ANGER is drawn with great force, and his accompaniments are boldly feigned. His hand is always upon his knife, and he is followed, in pairs, by boasters, threateners, and quarrelsome persons, all armed for battle, and perpetually wounding one another.^d

Than YRE come in with sturt^e and stryfe ;
 His hand was ay upon his knyfe,
 He brandeist lyk a beir :
 Bostaris, braggarists, and barganeris,
 Efter hym passit in pairis,
 All bodin in feir of weir^f :

^r deceiver. See Spenser's *SIR TROMP-
 POUR*. Or perhaps an empty fellow, a
 rattle. Or Trompour may be *trumpeter*,
 as in Chaucer's *KNIIGHT'S TALE*, v. 2673.
 See Chaucer's *CANTERBURY TALES*, with
 the NOTES of the very judicious and in-
 genious editor. Lond. 1775. vol. iv.
 p. 231.

^s they grinned hideously. ^v St. ii.
^w St. iii. ^x haughty guise.

^y gambols, [a mask.]

^z never laughed.

^a while priests came with bare-shaven.

^b laughed.

^c signs of desision.

^d St. iv.

^e disturbance; affray.

^f Literally, "All arrayed in feature of
 war." *Bodin*, and *feir of weir*, are in the
 Scotch statute book. Sir David Lynde-
 say thus speaks of the state of Scotland
 during the minority of James the Fifth.
 COMPLAINT OF THE MINORITY OF JAMES THE FIFTH.
 B. iii. edit. ut infr.

Oppressioun did sa loud his bougill blaw,
 That none durst ride but into *feir of weir*.

That is, *without being armed for battle*.

In jakkis, stryppis, and bonnettis of steil^g,
 Thair leggis wer cheyned to the heill^h,
 Frawart was thair affeirⁱ;
 Sum upon uder with brands beft^k,
 Sum jagit utheris to the heft^l
 With knyvis that scheirp coud scheir^m.

ENVY is equal to the rest. Under this SIN our author takes occasion to lament, with an honest indignation, that the courts of princes should still give admittance and encouragement to the whisperers of idle and injurious reports.^a

Next in the dance followit INVY,
 Fild full of feid^o and fellony,
 Hid malyce and dispyte;
 For pryvie haterit^p that tratour trymlit^q,
 Him followit mony freik dissymlit^r,
 With feynit wordis quhyte.
 And flattereris into mens facis,
 And back-byttaris^s of sundry racis,
 To ley^t that had delyte.
 With rownaris^u of fals lesingis^w:
 Allace! that courtis of noble kingis
 Of tham can nevir be quyte^x!

AVARICE is ushered in by a troop of extortioners, and other miscreants, patronised by the magician Warloch^{*}, or the demon of the covetous; who vomit on each other torrents of melted

^a In short jackets, plates, or slips, and bonnets of steel. Short coats of mail and helmets.

^b Either, chained together. Or, their legs armed with iron, perhaps iron network, down to the heel.

ⁱ Their business was untoward. Or else their look froward, fierce. *Feir* is feature.

^k Some struck others, their companions, with swords.

^l Wounded others to the quick, to the haft.

^m cut sharp.

ⁿ Str. v.

^o enmity.

^p hatred.

^q trembled.

^r dissembling gallant.

^s backbiters.

^t lye.

^u Rounders, whisperers. To *round in the ear*, or simply to *round*, was to whisper in the ear.

^w falsities.

^x free.

^{*} [The original reads:

Next him in dance cam Cuvatyce—
 Catyvis, wrechis, and ockeraris,—

All with that warlo went.

Where *warlo* means a wicked person.
 A. S. *war-loga iniquus*.—EDRX.]

gold, blazing like wild-fire: and as they are emptied at every discharge, the devils replenish their throats with fresh supplies of the same liquefied metal.^y

SLOTH does not join the dance till he is called twice: and his companions are so slow of motion, that they cannot keep up with the rest, unless they are roused from their lethargy by being sometimes warmed with a glimpse of hell-fire.^z

Syne SWEIRNES, at the secound bidding,
 Come lyk a sow out of a midding^a,
 Full slepy was his grunye^b.
 Mony sweir bumbarde belly-huddroun^c,
 Mony slute daw and slepy duddroun^d,
 Him servit ay with sounye^e.
 He drew tham forth intill a chenye^f,
 And Belliall, with a brydill reynie^g,
 Evir lascht thame on the lunye^h.
 In daunce thay wer so slow of feit
 Thay gaif tham in the fyre a heit
 And maid tham quicker of conyeⁱ.

LUST enters, neighing like a horse^k, and is led by IDLENESS. When his associates mingle in the dance, their visages burn red like the turkis-stone.^l The remainder of the stanza, although highly characteristic, is too obscene to be transcribed. But this gave no offence. Their manners were too indelicate to be shocked at any indecency. I do not mean that these manners had lost their delicacy, but that they had not yet acquired the sensibility arising from civilisation. In one of the Scotch interludes of this age, written by a fashionable court-poet, among other ridiculous obscenities, the trying on of a Spanish padlock in public makes a part of theatrical representation.

^y Sr. vi. ^z Sr. vii. ^a dunghill.

^b snout, visage, [grunt.]

^c lazy, drunken sloven, [glutton.]

^d slothful, idle spectre, [sluggard.]

^e attended on him with care.

^f into a chain.

^g a bridle-rein; thong of leather.

^h lashed them on the loins.

ⁱ apprehension.

^k "Berand like a bagit horse." The French *baguette* need not be explained.

^l Sr. viii.

GLUTTONY brings up the rear; whose insatiable roars are incessantly calling out for meat and drink; and although they are drenched by the devils with draughts of melted lead, they still ask for more.

Than the fowll monster GLUTTONY,
 Of wame^m unsasiable and gredy,
 To daunce syn did him dress:
 Him followit mony fowll drunckhart,
 With can and collop, copⁿ and quart,
 In surfett and excess.
 Full many a waistless wally-drag^o,
 With waimis^p unweildable did furth wag,
 In creische^q that did inress:
 Drink, ay thay cryit with mony a gaip^r,
 The feynds gave them hait leid to lap^s,
 Thair lovery^t was na less.“

At this infernal dance no minstrels plaid. No GLEEMAN, or minstrel, ever went to hell; except one who committed murder, and was admitted to an inheritance in hell *by brief of richt*, that is, *per breve de recto*.^w This circumstance seems an allusion to some real fact.

The concluding stanza is entirely a satire on the Highlanders. Dunbar, as I have already observed, was born in Lothian, a county of the Saxons. The mutual antipathy between the Scottish Saxons and the Highlanders was excessive, and is not yet quite eradicated. Mahom, or Mahomet, having a desire to see a highland pageant, a fiend is commissioned to fetch Macfadyan; an unmeaning name, chosen for its harshness. As soon as the infernal messenger begins to publish his summons, he gathers about him a prodigious crowd of *Brasche men*; who soon took up great room in hell. These loquacious *termagants* began to chatter like rooks and ravens, in their own barbarous language: and the devil is so stummed with their

^m womb, belly.

^o out-cast, [sot.]

^p wombs, bellies.

ⁿ cup.

^q fat.

^r gape.

^s hot lead to drink; to lap.

^t desire, appetite. ^w Sr. ix. ^x Sr. x.

horrid yell, that he throws them down to his deepest abyss,
and smothers them with smoke.

Than cryd Mahoun for a heleand padyane,
Syn ran a feynd to fetch Makfadayne
Far northwart in a nuke^x :
Be he the correnoth had done schout^y,
Ersche men so gadderit him about,
In hell grit rume thay tuke :
Thae turmagantis^z with tag and tatter
Full loud in Ersche begout to clatter,
And rowp lyk revin and ruke^a.
The devil sa devit^b wes with thair yell
That in the deepest pot of hell
He smorit them with smoke.^c

I have been prolix in my citations and explanations of this poem, because I am of opinion, that the imagination of Dunbar is not less suited to satirical than to sublime allegory: and that he is the first poet who has appeared with any degree of spirit in this way of writing since Pierce Plowman. His THISTLE AND ROSE, and GOLDEN TERGE, are generally and justly mentioned as his capital works: but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic cast. The measure of this poem is partly that of Sir THOPAS in Chaucer:

^x nook.

^y As soon as he had made the cry of distress, what the French call *à l'aide*. Some suppose, that the *correnoth*, or *corrynoth*, is a highland tune. In MARGAROT'S TESTAMENT, [MS. infr. citat.] the author speaks of being out-lawed by the CORRYNOCH, v. 51.

The loud CORRYNOCH then did me exile,
Thow Lorne, Argyle, Monteith, and
Bridalbane, &c.

That is, The *Hue and Cry*. I presume, what this writer, in another place, calls the KING'S-HORN, is the same thing, v. 382.

Quhen I have beine aft at the KINGIS
HORN.

^z Perhaps the poet does not mean the common idea annexed to *termagant*. The context seems to shew, that he alludes to a species of wild-fowl, well known in the highlands, and called in the Scotch statute-book *termigant*. Thus he compares the highlanders to a flock of their country birds. For many illustrations of this poem, I am obliged to the learned and elegant editor of ANTIQNT SCOTTISH POEMS, lately published from Lord Hyndford's manuscript: and to whom I recommend a task, for which he is well qualified, The History of Scotch Poetry.

^a chattered hoarsely.

^b deafened.

^c Str. xi.

and hence we may gather by the way, that Sir THOMAS was antiently viewed in the light of a ludicrous composition. It is certain that the pageants and interludes of Dunbar's age must have quickened his invention to form those grotesque groupes. The exhibition of MORALITIES was now in high vogue among the Scotch. A Morality was played at the marriage of James the Fourth and the princess Margaret^d. Mummeries, which they call GYSARTS, composed of moral personifications, are still known in Scotland: and even till the beginning of this century, especially among the festivities of Christmas, itinerant maskers were admitted into the houses of the Scotch nobility.

^d MEMOIR, ut supra, p. 300.

SECTION XXXI.

ANOTHER of the distinguished luminaries, that marked the restoration of letters in Scotland at the commencement of the sixteenth century, not only by a general eminence in elegant erudition, but by a cultivation of the vernacular poetry of his country, is Gawen Douglass. He was descended from a noble family, and born in the year 1475^e. According to the practice of that age, especially in Scotland, his education perhaps commenced in a grammar-school of one of the monasteries: there is undoubted proof, that it was finished at the university of Paris. It is probable, as he was intended for the sacred function, that he was sent to Paris for the purpose of studying the canon law: in consequence of a decree promulgated by James the First, which tended in some degree to reform the illiteracy of the clergy, as it enjoined, that no ecclesiastic of Scotland should be preferred to a prebend of any value without a competent skill in that science^f. Among other high promotions in the church, which his very singular accomplishments obtained, he was provost of the collegiate church of saint Giles at Edinburgh, abbot of the opulent convent of Abberbrothrock, and bishop of Dunkeld. He appears also to have been nominated by the queen regent to the archbishoprick, either of Glasgow, or of saint Andrew's: but the appointment was repudiated by the pope^g. In the year 1513, to avoid the persecutions of the duke of Albany, he fled from Scotland into England, and was most graciously received by king Henry the Eighth; who, in consideration of his literary merit, allowed

^e Hume, *HIST. DOUGL.* p. 219.

^f *Lesl. Rer. Gest. Scot.* lib. ix.

^g Thynne, *CONTINUAT. HIST. SCOT.* 455.

him a liberal pension^b. In England he contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, one of the classical scholars of Henry's courtⁱ. He died of the plague in London, and was buried in the Savoy church, in the year 1521^k.

In his early years he translated Ovid's ART OF LOVE, the favorite Latin system of the science of gallantry, into Scottish metre, which is now lost^l. In the year 1513, and in the space of sixteen months^m, he translated into Scotch heroics the Eneid of Virgil, with the additional thirteenth book by Mapheus Vegius, at the request of his noble patron Henry earl of Sinclairⁿ. But it was projected so early as the year 1501. For in one of his poems written that year^o, he promises to Venus a translation of Virgil, in atonement for a ballad he had published against her court: and when the work was finished, he tells Lord Sinclair, that he had now made his peace with Venus, by translating the poem which celebrated the actions of her son Eneas^p. No metrical version of a classic had yet appeared in English; except of Boethius, who scarcely deserves that appellation. Virgil was hitherto commonly known, only by Caxton's romance on the subject of the Eneid; which, our author says, no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like saint Austin^q.

This translation is executed with equal spirit and fidelity: and is a proof, that the lowland Scotch and English languages were now nearly the same. I mean the style of composition; more especially in the glaring affectation of anglicising Latin

^b Hollinsh. Scot. 307.—iii. 872.

ⁱ Bale, riv. 58.

^k Weever, FUN. MON. p. 446. And Stillinffl. ORIG. BARR. p. 54.

^l See edit. Edinb. fol. 1710. p. 483.

In the EPIGRAM, or EPILOGUE, to Lord Sinclair. I believe the editor's name is ROBERT FRASERMAN; [Thomas Ruddiman] a Scotchman. This translation was first printed at London, 1553. 4to. bl. lett.

^m Leal. REE. GEST. SCOT. lib. ix. p. 379. Rom. 1675. ⁿ Epil. ut snpr.

^o The PALACE OF HONOUR. ad calcem.

^p Epil. ut snpr.

^q PROLOGUE to the Translation, p. 5. The manuscript notes written in the margin of a copy of the old quarto edition of this translation, by Patrick Junius, which bishop Nicolson (Hist. LIBR. p. 99.) declares to be excellent, are of no consequence, Bibl. Bodl. ARCHIV. SELD. B. 54. 4to. The same may be said of Junius's Index of obsolete words in this translation, Cod. MSS. Jun. 114. (5225.) See also Mus. Ashmol. Diverse Scotch words, &c. Cap. ASHM. 846. 13.

words. The several books are introduced with metrical prologues, which are often highly poetical; and shew that Douglas's proper walk was original poetry. In the prologue to the sixth book, he wishes for the Sybill's golden bough, to enable him to follow his master Virgil through the dark and dangerous labyrinth of the infernal regions^r. But the most conspicuous of these prologues is a description of May. The greater part of which I will insert. ^s

As fresche Aurore, to mychty Tithone spous,
 Ischit^t of her saffron bed, and euyr^u hous,
 In crammesy^w clad and granite violate,
 With sanguyne cape, the selvage^x purpurate;
 Unschet^v the wyndoys of hir large hall,
 Spred all with rosis, and full of balme royall.
 And eik the hevinly portis cristallyne
 Upwarpis brade, the warlde till illumyne.
 The twynkling stremouris^z of the orient
 Sched purpoure sprayngis with gold and asure ment^a.
 Eous the stede, with ruby hammys rede,
 About the seyis liftis furth his hede
 Of culloure sore, and somedele broun as bery,
 For to alichtin and glad our emispery;
 The flambe out brastin at the neis thirlis.—
 Quhil schortlie, with the blesand^b torche of day,
 Abulzeit^c in his lemand^d fresche array,
 Furth of his palice ryall ischit Phebus,
 With golden croun and visage glorious,
 Crisp haris^e, bricht as chrissolite or thopas;
 For quhais hew^f mycht nane behold his face:
 The firie sparkis brasting from his ene,
 To purge the air, and gilt the tender grene.—

^r In the PROLOGUE to the eighth book, the alliterative manner of Pierce Plowman is adopted.

^s Pag. 400.

^t ivory.

^x edge.

^u issued.

^w crimson.

^v unshut, i. e. opened.

^z streamers.

^a streaks, mingled with, &c.

^b blazing.

^c Fr. habillé; clothed.

^d luminous.

^e curled locks.

^f whose excessive brightness.

The auriat phanis^g of his trone soverane
 With glitterand glance overspred the octiane^h;
 The largè fludis, lemand all of licht,
 Bot with ane blenkⁱ of his supernal sicht,
 For to behald, it was ane gloure to se
 The stabillyt^k wyndis, and the calmyt æ;
 The soft sessoun^l, the firmament serene;
 The loune illuminate are^m, and firthⁿ amene:
 The silver-scalit fyschis on the grete^o,
 Ouer thowrt^p clere stremes sprinkilland^q for the hete,
 With fynnyis schinand broune as synopare^r,
 And chesal talis^s, stourand here and there^t:
 The new cullour, alichting^u all the landis,
 Forganè the stanryis schene^w, and beriall strandis:
 Quhil the reflex of the diurnal bemes
 The bene bonkis^x kest ful of variant glemes:
 And lustie Flora did her blomes sprede
 Under the fete of Phebus fulzeart^y stede,
 The swardit soyll enbrode with selkouth hewis^z,
 Wod and forest obumbrate with bewis^a,
 Quhais blysful branchis, porturate^b on the ground,
 With schaddois schene schew rocchis rubicund:
 Towris, turrettis, kirnallis^c, and pynnakillis hie,
 Of kirkis, castellis, and ilk faire citie,
 Stude payntit, every fane, phioll^d, and stage^e,
 Apoun the playn grounde by thaire awn umbrage^f.

^g fans, or vanes, of gold.

^h ocean.

ⁱ only with one glance.

^k settled, calmed.

^l season.

^m air without wind, &c.

ⁿ frith.

^o sand, gravel.

^p athwart, across, through.

^q Gliding swiftly, with a tremulous motion, or vibration of their tails.

^r cinnabar.

^s talls shaped like chissels.

^t swimming swiftly, darting hastily.

^u illuminating.

^w Over, upon, over-against, the bright gravel, or small stones, thrown out on the banks of rivers. Hence the strands were all of beryl.

^x pleasant banks.

^y brilliant, glittering.

^z Bladed with grass, and embroidered with strange colours.

^a boughs.

^b portrayed, painted, reflected.

^c battlements.

^d round tower.

^e their own shadow.

^f story.

Of Eolus north blastis havand^r no drede,
 The sulze spred hir brad bosum on brede^h.—
 The corpis croppis, and the bere new-brendeⁱ,
 With gladsum garment revesting the erde^k.—
 The variant vesture of the venust vale
 Schrowdis the scherand fur^l, and every fale^m
 Ouerfrettⁿ with fulzeis^o, and figuris ful dyuers,
 The pray^p bysprent with spryngand sproutis dyspers,
 For callour humours on the dewy nycht,
 Rendryng sum place the gyrs pylis thare licht,
 Als fer as catal the lang somerys day
 Had in thare pasture ete and gny^q away :
 And blyssful blossomys in the blømyt zard
 Submittis thare hedys in the zoung sonnys safgard :
 Iue leius^r rank ouerspred the barmkyn^r wall,
 The blømit hauthorne cled his pykis all,
 Furth of fresche burgeouns^s the wyne grapis^t zing
 Endlang the trazileys^u dyd on twistis hing,
 The loukit^w buttouns on the gemyt treis
 Ouerspredand leuis of naturis tapestryis.
 Soft gresy verdourè estir balmy schouris,
 On curland stalkis smyland to thare flowris :
 Behaldand thame sa mony divers hew
 Sum piers^x, sum pale, sum burnet, and sum blew,
 Sum gres, sum gowlis, sum purple, sum sanguane,
 Blanchit or broun, fauch zallow mony ane,

^x having.

^h The soil, the country, spread abroad her expansive bosom.

ⁱ new-sprung barley.

^k earth.

^l furrow.

^m turf.

ⁿ It is evident our author intends to describe two distinct things, viz. corn-fields and meadows or pasture-lands: the former in the three first lines; the *variant vesture*, &c. is plainly arable, and the *fulzeis and figuris full dyuers*, see the various leaves and flowers of the weeds growing among the corn, and making a piece of embroidery. And

here the description of corn-fields ends: and that of pasture-lands begins at, *The pray bysprent*, &c. *Pray*, not as the printed glossary says, *corruptedly for spray*, but formed, through the French, from the Lat. *Pratum*, and *Spryngand Sproutis*, rising springs, from the Ital. *spruzzare, spruzzolare, aspergere*.

^o leaves.

^p mead.

^q ivy-leaves.

^r rampart.

^s sprigs.

^t young.

^u trellises; espaliers for vines.

^w locked, enclosed, gemmed.

^x red.

Sum heuinly colourit in celestial gre,
 Sum watty^y hewit as the haw wally^z se,
 And sum departe in freklis rede and quhyte,
 Sum bricht as gold with aureate leuis lyte.
 The dasy did on brede^a hir crownel smale,
 And euery flour unlappit in the dale,
 In battil gers^b burgeouns, the banwart wyld,
 The claur, catcluke, and the cammomyld;
 The flourdelyce furth sprede his heuynly hew,
 Floure damas, and columbe blak and blew,
 Sere downis smal on dentilioun^c sprang,
 The zoung grene^d blomit strabery leus amang,
 Gimp jereflouris^e thareon leuis unschet,
 Fresche prymrois, and the pourpour violet,
 The rois knoppis, tetand furth thare hede,
 Gan chyp, and kyth thare vernale lippis rede,
 Crysp skarlet leuis sum scheddand baith at attanis,
 Kest^f fragrant smel amyd fra goldin granis^g,
 Heuinlie lyllyis, with lokkerand toppis quhyte,
 Opynnit and schew thare creistis redemyte^h,
 The balmy vapour from thare sylkyn croppis
 Distilland haesum sugurat hony droppis,
 And sylver schakerisⁱ gan fra leuis hing,
 With chrystal sprayngis on the verdure zing:
 The plane pouderit with semelie seitis sound,
 Bedyit ful of dewy peirlys round;

^y watchet.

^z blue and wavy.

^a unbraid.

^b grass embattelled.

^c dandelion.

^d young weeds.

^e Gilliflowers. *Gariophilum*, Lat. *Καρυφύλλον*. Gr. The Scotch word is nearer the original. Probably the poet wrote *thare awin*. See ver. 72. *thare awin umbrage*.

^f It is observable, that our Poet never once mentions the scent of flowers till he comes to the rose, and never at all the scent of any particular flower, except the rose, not even of the lily; for I take it, the words, *from thare sylkyn croppis*, are

meant to describe the flowers in general; and *the balmy vapour* to be the same with *the fresche liquour*, and *the dulce humouris ruharoof the beis wrocht thare hony swete*, an exhalation distinct from that which causes the scent. Afterwards *redolent odour*, is general; for he certainly means to close his description of the vegetable world, by one universal cloud of fragrance from all nature.

^g seeds.

^h *Redeemed*. Released, opened. The glossary says, *Decked, Beautiful*, from *Redimitus*, Lat.

ⁱ shakers.

So that ilk burgeon, syon, herbe, or floure,
 Wox all embalmit of the fresche liquour,
 And baithit hait did in dulce humouris flete,
 Quhareof the beis wrocht thare hony swete.—
 Swannis^k souchis throw out the respand^l redis,
 Ouer all the lochis^m and the fludis gray,
 Sersand by kynd ane place quhare they suld lay;
 Phebus rede foule his curale creist can stere,
 Oft strekand furth his hekkil crawand clere
 Amyd the wortis, and the rutis gent,
 Pickland hys mete in alayis quhare he went,
 His wyffis Toppa and Partolet hym by,
 As bird al tyme that hantis bygamy;
 The-payntit powne^a paysand with plumys gym,
 Kest up his tale ane proud plesand quhile rym^q,
 Ischrowdit in his fedderane bricht and schene,
 Schapand the prent of Argois hundreth ene;
 Among the bronys^p of the olyue twistis,
 Sere smale foulis, wirkand crafty nestis,
 Endlang the hedgeis thik, and on rank akis^q
 Ilk bird reiosand with thare mirthful makis;
 In corneris and clere fenesteris of glas
 Full besely Arachne weuand was,
 To knyt hyr nettis and hyr wobbis sle,
 Tharewith to cauch the litil mige^r or fle:
 Under the bewis bene in lufely valis,
 Within fermance and parkis clois of palis,

^k That Milton had his eye upon this passage is plain, from his describing the swan, the cock, and peacock, in this order, and with several of the attributes that our author has given them. See *PARAD. L. vii. 458. seq.*

— The SWAN with arched neck
 Between her white wings mantling
 proudly, rows
 Her state with oary feet; yet oft they
 quit
 The dank, and rising on stiff pennons,
 tower

The mid aerial sky: Others on ground
 Walk'd firm: the crested Cock, whose
 clarion sounds
 The silent hours, and th' OTHER, whose
 gay train
 Adorns him, color'd with the florid hue
 Of rainbows and starry eyes.—

^l rustling.

^m lakes.

^a peacock.

^p brant hes.

^q onks.

^r gnat.

^q wheel-rim.

The bustling bukis rakis furth on raw,
 Heirdis of hertis throw the thyck wod schaw,
 The zoung fownys followand the dun days¹,
 Kiddis skippanð throw ronnyes eftir rais¹,
 In leşuris² and on leyls litill lammes
 Full tait and trig sochtit bletand to thare dammes.
 On salt stremes wolk Dorida and Thetis,
 By rynnand strandis, nymphs and naiades,
 Sic as we clepe wenschis and damyssellis,
 In gersy grauis wanderand by spring wellis,
 Of blommed branchis and flouris quhyte and rede
 Plettand their lusty chaplettis for thare hede :
 Sum sang ring sangis, ledis, and roundis,
 With vocis schil, quhil all the dale resoundis.—
 Dame naturis menstralis on that uthyr parte,
 Thare blissful bay intonyng euery arte,
 To bete thare amouris of thare nychtis bale,
 The merle, the mauys, and the nychtingale,
 With mirry notis myrthfully furth brist,
 Enforsing thaim quha nicht do clink it best :
 The kowschot³ croudis and pykkis on the ryse,
 The stirling changis diuers steuynnys nyse⁴,
 The sparrow chirmis in the wallis clyft,
 Goldspink and lintquhite fordynnand the lyft⁵,
 The gukkow galis⁶, and so quhitteris the quale,
 Quhil ryveris reiridit⁷, schawis, and euery dale,
 And tendir twistis trymblit on the treis,
 For birdis sang, and bemyng of the beis,

¹ does.² roes.That is, *I cry*. Ital. *Gridare*. The word is used with more propriety in Adam Davie's *Gest of Alexander*, written in 1312. fol. 55. col. 2. [See *supr. ii. p. 53.*]³ leasowes.⁴ dove.⁵ fine tunes.⁶ firmament.⁷ Cries. So Chaucer of the nightingale. *COUR. L. v. 1357.*But *DOMINE LANJA* gan he crie and *GALE*, So the Friar is said to *gale*, *WIFE OF B. PROL. v. 832.* [In Chaucer's *CUCKOWE AND NIGHTINGALE*, the latter is said to *GREDE*, *v. 135. p. 544. Uir.*And that for that skil ocy ocy I *GREDE*.Averil is meory, and longith the day,
 Ladies loven solas and play,
 Swaynes justis, knyghtis turnay,
 Syngith the nygtyngale, *GREDETH* the
 Jay. ADDITIONS.]⁸ resounded.

In werblis dulce of heuinlie armonyis,
 The larkis loude releischand^b in the skyis,
 Louis thare lege^c with tonys curious;
 Bayth to dame Natur, and the fresche Venus,
 Rendring hie laudis in thare obseruance,
 Quhais suggourit throttis^d made glade hartis dance,
 And al smal foulis singis on the spray;

Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
 Welcum fosterare of tendir herbis grene,
 Welcum quhikkynnar of flurist flouris schene,
 Welcum support of euery rute and vane,
 Welcum confort of al kind frute and grane,
 Welcum the birdis beild^e apoun the brere,
 Welcum maister and reulare of the zere,
 Welcum walefare of husbandis at the plewis^f,
 Welcum reparare of woddis, treis, and bewis,
 Welcum depaynter of the blomyt medis,
 Welcum the lyffe of euery thing that spredis,
 Welcum storare^g of all kynd bestial,
 Welcum be thy bricht bemes gladand al.

The poetical beauties of this specimen will be relished by every reader who is fond of lively touches of fancy, and rural imagery*. But the verses will have another merit with those critics who love to contemplate the progress of composition, and to mark the original workings of genuine nature; as they are the effusion of a mind not overlaid by the descriptions of other poets, but operating, by its own force and bias, in the delineation of a vernal landscape, on such objects as really occurred. On this account, they deserve to be better understood:

^b mounting.

^c praised their Lady NATURE.

^d sugared throats. ^e who build.

^f ploughs. ^g restorer.

* [In the last-mentioned excellent old poem, Autumn is touched with these circumstances, fol. 95. col. 2.

In tyme of heruest merry it is ynouz,
 Peres and apples hongeth on bouz,

The hayward bloweth his horne,
 In everych fulde ripe is corne,
 The grapes hongen on the vyne,
 Swete is trewe love and fyne;
 King Alisaunder a morowe arist,
 The sonne dryveth away the mist,
 Pforth he went farre into Ynde
 Moo mervayles for to fynde.

ADDITIONS.]

and I have therefore translated them into plain modern English prose. In the mean time, this experiment will serve to prove their native excellence. Divested of poetic numbers and expression, they still retain their poetry; and, to use the comparison of an elegant writer on a like occasion, appear like Ulysses, still a king and conqueror, although disguised like a peasant, and lodged in the cottage of the herdsman Eumæus.

“ Fresh Aurora, the wife of Tithonus, issued from her saffron bed, and ivory house. She was clothed in a robe of crimson and violet-colour; the cape vermilion, and the border purple: she opened the windows of her ample hall, overspread with roses, and filled with balm, or nard. At the same time, the crystal gates of heaven were thrown open, to illumine the world. The glittering streamers of the orient diffused purple streaks mingled with gold and azure.—The steeds of the sun, in red harness of rubies, of colour brown as the berry, lifted their heads above the sea, to glad our hemisphere: the flames burst from their nostrils:—While shortly, appalled in his luminous array, Phebus, bearing the blazing torch of day, issued from his royal palace; with a golden crown, glorious visage, curled locks bright as the chrysolite or topaz, and with a radiance intolerable.—The fiery sparks, bursting from his eyes, purged the air, and gilded the new verdure.—The golden vanes of his throne covered the ocean with a glittering glance, and the broad waters were all in a blaze, at the first glimpse of his appearance. It was glorious to see the winds appeased, the sea becalmed, the soft season, the serene firmament, the still air, and the beauty of the watery scene. The silver-scaled fishes, on the gravel, gliding hastily, as it were from the heat or sun, through clear streams, with fins shining brown as cinnabar, and chissel-tails, darted here and there. The new lustre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the small pebbles on the sides of rivers, and on the strands, which looked like beryl: while the reflection of the rays played on the banks in variegated gleams; and Flora threw forth her blooms under the feet of the sun’s brilliant horses. The bladed soil was equ-

broidered with various hues. Both wood and forest were darkened with boughs; which, reflected from the ground, gave a shadowy lustre to the red rocks. Towers, turrets, battlements, and high pinnacles, of churches, castles, and every fair city, seemed to be painted; and, together with every bastion and story, expressed their own shape on the plains. The glebe, fearless of the northern blasts, spread her broad bosom.—The corn-crops, and the new-sprung barley, reclothed the earth with a gladsome garment.—The variegated vesture of the valley covered the cloven furrow; and the barley-lands were diversified with flowery weeds. The meadow was besprinkled with rivulets: and the fresh moisture of the dewy night restored the herbage which the cattle had cropped in the day. The blossoms in the blowing garden trusted their heads to the protection of the young sun. Rank ivy-leaves overspread the wall of the rampart. The blooming hawthorn clothed all his thorns in flowers. The budding clusters of the tender grapes hung end-long, by their tendrils, from the trellises. The gems of the trees unlocking, expanded themselves into the foliage of Nature's tapestry. There was a soft verdure after balmy showers. The flowers smiled in various colours on the bending stalks. Some red, &c. Others, watchet, like the blue and wavy sea; speckled with red and white; or, bright as gold. The daisy unbraided her little coronet. The grass stood embattled, with banewort, &c. The seeded down flew from the dandelion. Young weeds appeared among the leaves of the strawberries. Gay gilliflowers, &c. The rose buds, putting forth, offered their *red vernal lips* to be kissed; and diffused fragrance from the crisp scarlet that surrounded their golden seeds. Lilies, with white curling tops, shewed their crests open. The odorous vapour moistened the silver webs that hung from the leaves. The plain was powdered with round dewy pearls. From every bud, scyon, herb, and flower, bathed in liquid fragrance, the bee sucked sweet honey.—The swans clamoured amid the rustling reeds; and searched all the lakes and gray rivers where to build their nests. The red bird of the sun

lifted his coral crest, crowing clear among the plants and *rustis gent*, picking his food from every path, and attended by his wives Toppa and Partlet. The painted peacock with gaudy plumes, unfolded his tail like a bright wheel, inshrouded in his shining feathers, resembling the marks of the hundred eyes of Argus. Among the boughs of the twisted olive, the small birds framed their artful nests, or along the thick hedges or rejoiced with their merry mates on the tall oaks. In the secret nook, or in the clear windows of glass, the spider full busily wove her sly net, to ensnare the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that screen the valley, or within the pale-inclosed park, the nimble deer trooped in ranks, the harts wandered through the thick woody shaws, and the young fawns followed the dappled does. Kids skipped through the briers after the roes; and in the pastures and leas, the lambs, *full tight and trig*, bleated to their dams. Doris and Thetis walked on the salt ocean; and Nymphs and Naiads, wandering by spring-wells in the grassy groves, plaited lusty chaplets for their hair, of blooming branches, or of flowers red and white. They sung, and danced, &c.—Meantime, dame Nature's minstrels raise their amorous notes, the ring-dove coos and pitches on the tall copse, the starling whistles her varied descant, the sparrow chirps in the clefted wall; the goldfinch and linnet filled the skies, the cuckow cried, the quail twittered; while rivers, shaws, and every dale resounded; and the tender branches trembled on the trees, at the song of the birds, and the buzzing of the bees," &c.

This landscape may be finely contrasted with a description of WINTER, from the Prologue to the seventh book^b, a part of which I will give in literal prose.

“The fern withered on the miry fallows: the brown moors assumed a barren mossy hue: banks, sides of hills, and bottoms, grew white and bare: the cattle looked hoary from the dank weather: the wind made the red weed waver on the dike: From crags and the foreheads of the yellow rocks hung great icicles, in length like a spear: the soil was dusky and gray,

^b p. 200. fol. edit.

bereft of flowers, herbs, and grass: in every holt and forest, the woods were stripped of their array. Boreas blew his bugle horn so loud, that the solitary deer withdrew to the dales: the small birds flocked to the thick briers, shunning the tempestuous blast, and changing their loud notes to chirping: the cataracts roared, and every linden-tree whistled and brayed to the sounding of the wind. The poor labourers *went wet and weary, dragged in the fen*. The sheep and shepherds lurked under the hanging banks, or wild broom.—Warm from the chimney-side, and refreshed with generous cheer, I stole to my bed, and laid down to sleep; when I saw the moon shed through the windows her twinkling glances, and watery light; I heard the horned bird, the night-owl, shrieking horribly with crooked bill from her cavern: I heard the wild-geese, with screaming cries, fly over the city through the silent night, I was soon lulled asleep; till the cock clapping his wings crowed thrice, and the day peeped. I waked and saw the moon disappear, and heard the jack-daws cackle on the roof of the house. The cranes, prognosticating tempests, in a firm phalanx, pierced the air with voices sounding like a trumpet. The kite, perched on an old tree, fast by my chamber, cried lamentably, a sign of the dawning day. I rose, and half-opening my window, perceived the morning, livid, wan, and hoary; the air overwhelmed with vapour and cloud; the ground stiff, gray, and rough; the branches rattling; the sides of the hills looking black and hard with the driving blasts; the dew-drops congealed on the stubble and rind of trees; the sharp hail-stones, deadly-cold, *hopping* on the thatch and the neighbouring causeway," &c.

Bale, whose titles of English books are often obscured by being put into Latin, recites among Gawin Douglass's poetical works, his *Narrationes aureæ*, and *Comædiæ aliquot sacræ*¹. Of his NARRATIONES AUREÆ, our author seems to speak in the EPILOGUE TO VIRGIL, addressed to his patron lord Sinclair²,

¹ xiv. 58.

² Ut supr. p. 483.

I have also a strange command [comment] compyl'd,
To expone strange hystories and termes wild.

Perhaps these tales were the fictions of antient mythology. Whether the *COMÆDIÆ* were sacred interludes, or *MYSTERIES*, for the stage, or only sacred narratives, I cannot determine. Another of his original poems is the *PALICE OF HONOUR*, a moral vision, written in the year 1501, planned on the design of the *TABLET* of Cebes, and imitated in the elegant Latin dialogue *De Tranquillitate Animi* of his countryman Florence Wilson, or Florentius Volusenus¹. It was first printed at London, in 1553^m. The object of this allegory, is to shew the instability and insufficiency of worldly pomp; and to prove, that a constant and undeviating habit of virtue is the only way to true Honour and Happiness, who reside in a magnificent palace, situated on the summit of a high and inaccessible mountain. The allegory is illustrated by a variety of exemplès of illustrious personages; not only of those, who by a regular perseverance in honourable deeds gained admittance into this splendid habitation, but of those, who were excluded from it, by debasing the dignity of their eminent stations with a vicious and unmanly behaviour. It is addressed, as an apologue for the conduct of a king, to James the Fourth; is adorned with many pleasing incidents and adventures, and abounds with genius and learning.

¹ Lugd. apud Seb. Gryph. 1543. 4to.
² In quarto. Again, Edinb. 1579.
4to. "When pale Aurora with face lamentable." [Mr. Pinkerton has since published another allegorical poem by Douglas, called King Hart. Vide Ancient Scottish Poems. 1786.—EDIT.] Douglas also wrote a small Latin His-

tory of Scotland. See also a *DIALOGUE* concerning a theological subject to be debated between *duos famatos viros*, G. Douglas provost of saint Giles, and master David Cranstoun bachelour of divinity, prefixed to John Major's *COMMENTARIUM in prim. Sentent.* Paris. 1519. fol.

SECTION XXXII.

WITH Dunbar and Douglass I join Sir David Lyndesay, although perhaps in strictness he should not be placed so early as the close of the fifteenth century. He appears to have been employed in several offices about the person of James the Fifth, from the infancy of that monarch, by whom he was much beloved; and at length, on account of his singular skill in heraldry, a science then in high estimation and among the most polite accomplishments, he was knighted and appointed Lion king of arms of the kingdom of Scotland. Notwithstanding these situations, he was an excellent scholar^a.

Lyndesay's principal performances are *The DREME*, and *The MONARCHIE*. In the address to James the Fifth, prefixed to the *DREME*, he thus, with much tenderness and elegance, speaks of the attention he paid to his majesty when a child.

Quhen thou wes young, I bure the in myne arme
Full tenderlye, till thow begouth to gang^o;
And in thy bed, oft happit the full warme
With lute in hand, syne^p softlye to the sang.

He adds, that he often entertained the young prince with various dances and gesticulations, and by dressing himself in feigned characters, as in an interlude^q. A new proof that theatrical diversions were now common in Scotland.

^a See the *WARRES OF THE FAMOUS AND WORTHIE KNIGHT SCHIR DAVID LYNDESAY OF THE MOUNT, &c.* Newly correctit and vindicate from the former erroris, &c. Pr. by Johne Scott, A. D. 1568. 4to. They have been often print. d. I believe the last edition is at Edinburgh, 1709. 12mo. [The last edition is by Mr. G. Chalmers, 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1806. by which the present text has been corrected.—*ED. T.*]

^o began to walk.

^p then.

^q So also his *COMPLAYNT to the Kingis Grace*. SIGNAT. E. iii.

—As ane chapman beris his pack,
I bure thy grace upon my back;
And surtymes stridlingis on my nek,
Dansand with mony bend and bek. —
And ay quhen thow come fra the scule,
Than I behuffit to play the fule. —
I wat thou luffit me better than
Nor now sum wyfe dois hir gude man.

Sumtyme, in dansing, feirelie I flang,
And sumtyme playand farsis^r on the flure :

* * * * *

And sumtyme lyke ane feind^s transfigure,
And sumtyme lyke the grislie gaist of Gy^t,
In divers formis oftymes disfigure,
And sumtyme disagysit full plesandlye^u.

In the PROLOGUE to the DREME, our author discovers strong talents for high description and rich imagery. In a morning of the month of January, the poet quits the copse and the bank, now destitute of verdure and flowers, and walks towards the sea-beach. The dawn of day is expressed by a beautiful and brilliant metaphor.

^r playing farces, frolica.

^s in the shape of a fiend.

^u the grisly ghost of Guy earl of Warwick.

^t Disguised, masked, to make sport.
SIGNAT. D. i. He adds, what illustrates the text, above,

So sen thy birth I have continuallye
Bene occupyt, and ay to thy plesour,
And sumtyme Sewar, Coppar, and Car-
sour.

That is, sewer, and cupper or butler.
He then calls himself the king's *secret*
thesaurer, and *chief Cubicular*. After-
wards he enumerates some of his own
works.

I have at lenth the storeis done discryve
Of Hector, Arthur, and gentill Julius,
Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius.

Of Jason and Medea, al at lenth,
Of Hercules the actis honorabill,
And of Sampson the supernaturall
strenth,
And of leill luffaris [lovers] stories ami-
abill :

And oftymes have I feizeit mony fabill,
Of Troylus the sorrow and the joy,
And seiges all of Tyre, Thebes, and
Troy.

The prophocyis of Rymour, Beid, and
Marling,
And of mony uther plesand storrye,
Of the reid Etin, and the gyir carling.

That is, the prophecies of Thomas Rymour, venerable Bede, and Merlin. [See supr. vol. i. p. 79, 80. seq. And MSS. Ashm. 337. 6.] Thomas the Rymour, or Thomas Lermouth of Erceuldoun, seems to have wrote a poem on Sir Tristram. Rob. BRUNNE says this story would exceed all others,

If men yt sayd as made THOMAS.

That is, "If men recited it according to the original composition of Thomas Erceuldoun, or the RYMOUR." See Langtoft's CHRON. Append. Pref. p. 100. vol. i. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1725. 8vo. He flourished about 1280. I do not understand, *The reid Etin*, and the *gyir carling*: but *gyir* is a maske or masquerade. [*The taylor of the red Etin* is mentioned in *The Complaynt of Scotland*; as a popular story of a giant with three heads. *Chalmers*. The *Gyir-carling* is Hecate, or the mother witch of the [Scottish] peasants, *Dr. Jamieson*.]—Many of Lyndesay's Interludes are among Lord Hyndford's manuscripts of Scotch poetry, and are exceedingly obscene. One of Lyndesay's MORALITIES, called, ANE SATYRE OF THE THREE ESTAIRS in commendation of vertew and vstuperation of vyce, was printed at Edinburgh, 1602. This piece, which is entirely in rhyme, and consists of a variety of measures, must have taken up four hours in the representation.

Be this, fair Titan with his lemis licht
Over all the land had spred his banner bricht.

In his walk, musing on the desolations of the winter, and the distance of spring, he meets Flora disguised in a sable robe.™

I met dame Flora in dule weid disagysit^x,
Quhilk into May was dulce and delectabill,
With stalwart^y stormis hir sweitnes wes supprysit,
Hir hevinly hewis war turnit into sabill,
Quhilkis umquhyle^z war to luffaris amiabill.
Fled from the frost the tender flouris I saw
Under dame NATURIS mantill lurkyng law^a.

The birds are then represented, flocking round NATURE, complaining of the severity of the season, and calling for the genial warmth of summer. The expostulation of the lark with AURORA, the sun, and the months, is conceived and conducted in the true spirit of poetry.

“Allace, AUBORE, the sillie lark can cry,
Quhare hes thow left thy balmy liquour sweit,
That us rejosit, we mounting in the sky?
Thy silver droppis ar turnit into sleit!
O fair Phebus, quhare is thy hailsum heit?
* * * * *
Quhare art thow, MAY, with JUNE thy sister schene,
Weall bordourit with dasyis of delyte?
And gentill JULIE, with thy mantill grene
Enamilit with rosis reid and whyte?”

The poet ascends the cliffs on the sea-shore, and entering a cavern, *high in the crags*, sits down to register in rhyme some *mery mater of antiquitie*. He compares the fluctuation of the sea with the instability of human affairs; and at length, being comfortably shrouded from the falling sleet by the closeness of

™ SIGNAT. D. ii.

^x disguised in a dark [sad] garment.

^y violent,

^z once, one while, [formerly.]

^a low.

his cavern, is lulled asleep by the whistling of the winds among the rocks, and the beating of the tide. He then has the following vision.

He sees a lady of great beauty, and benignity of aspect; who says, she comes to sooth his melancholy by shewing him some new spectacles. Her name is REMEMBRANCE. Instantaneously she carries him into the centre of the earth. Hell is here laid open^b; which is filled with popes, cardinals, abbots, archbishops in their pontifical attire, and ecclesiastics of every degree. In explaining the causes of their punishments, a long satire on the clergy ensues. With these are joined *bishop* Caiphaz, *bishop* Annas, the traitor Judas, Mahomet, Chorah, Dathan, and Abiram. Among the tyrants, or unjust kings, are Nero, Pharaoh, and Herod. Pontius Pilate is hung up by the heels. He sees also many duchesses and countesses, who suffer for pride and adultery. She then gives the poet a view of purgatory.^c

^b It was a part of the old mundane system, that hell was placed in the centre of the earth. So a fragment, cited by Hearne, GLOSSARY Rob. Glouc. ii. 583.

Ryght so is hell-pitt, as clerkes telles,
Amyde the erthe and no where elles.

So also an old French tract, L'IMAIGE DU MONDE, or *Image of the world*, "Saches que en la terre est enfer, car enfer ne pourrait estre en si noble lieu comme est l'air," &c. ch. viii.

^c See above, p. 32. seq. I have there mentioned a Vision of Hell, under the title of OWAYNE MILES. One Gilbertus Ludensis, a monk sent by king Stephen into Ireland, where he founded a monastery, with an Irish knight called OEN, wrote *De OENI Visione in Purgatorio*. See WENDOVIC, apud Mat. Paris, sub ann. 1153. Reg. Stephan. According to Ware, Gilbertus flourished in the year 1152. SCRIPTOR. HIBERN. p. 111. Among the manuscripts of Magdalene college in Oxford, are the VISIONES of Tundal, or Tungal, a knight of Ireland. "Cum anima mea corpus exueret." MSS. Coll. Magd. 53. It is printed in Tim. South's SANCTILOGIUM. And in the SPECULUM HISTORIALE of Vincentius

Bellovacensis, lib. xxvii. cap. 88. He is called Fundalus in a manuscript of this piece, Bibl. Bodl. NE. B. 3. 16. He lived in the year 1149. Ware, ut supr. p. 55. I believe this piece is in the Cotton library, under the name of TUNDALE, MS. CALIG. A. 12. f. 17. See what is said in Froissart, of the visions of a cave in Ireland, called saint Patrick's Purgatory. tom. ii. c. 200. Berners's Translat.

[There is a manuscript, Of a knight, called SIR OWKYN, visiting saint Patrick's Purgatory, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. 550. MSS. Cott. Nero. A. vii. 4. [See ad p. 33.] This piece was written by Henry, a Cistercian monk of Saltry in Huntingtongshire. See T. Messingham, FLORILEG. p. 86. seq. In the Catalogue of the library of Sion monastery, which contained fourteen hundred volumes, in Bennet library, it is falsely attributed to Hugo de Saltercia. MSS. C. C. C. C. XII. The French have an antient spiritual romance on this favorite expedition, so fertile of wonders, entitled, "Le VOYAGE du Puy Saint Patrix, auquel lieu on voit les peines du Purgatoire et aussi les joyes de Paradis, Lyon, 1506. 4to."—ADDITIONS.]

A lytill above that dolorous dungeoun,
 We enterit in ane cuntre full of cair;
 Quhare that we saw mony ane legioun
 Greitand and gowland with mony ruthfull rair^d.
 Quhat place is this, quod I, of blis so bair?
 Scho answerit and said, Purgatorie,
 Quhilk purgis saulis or thay cum to glorie.^e

After some theological reasonings on the absurdity of this intermediate state, and having viewed the dungeon of unbaptized babes, and the limbus of the souls of men who died before Christ, which is placed in a vault above the region of torment; they reascend through the bowels of the earth. In passing, they survey the secret riches of the earth, mines of gold, silver, and precious stones. They mount, through the ocean, which is supposed to environ the earth: then travel through the air, and next through the fire. Having passed the three elements, they bend towards heaven, but first visit the seven planets^f. They enter the sphere of the moon, who is elegantly styled,

Quene of the sey, and bewtie of the night.

The sun is then described, with great force.

Than past we to the spheir of Phebus bricht,
 That lustye lamp and lanterne of the hevin;
 And glaider of the sterris with his licht;
 And principal of all the planetis sevin,
 And set in middis of thame all full evin:
 As roy^s royall rolling in his spheir
 Full plesandye into his goldin chair.—

^d roar.

^e SIGNAT. D. iii.

^f The planetary system was thus divided. i. The Primum Mobile, or first motion. ii. The crystalline heaven, in which were placed the fixed stars. iii. The twelve signs of the zodiac. iv. The spheres or circles of the planets in this order: viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and lastly the moon, which they placed in the centre of universal nature. Again, they supposed the earth to be surrounded by

three elementary spheres, fire, air, and water. Milton, in his *Elegy on the DEATH OF A FAIR INFANT*, makes a very poetical use of the notion of a *primum mobile*, where he supposes that the soul of the child hovers

—— Above that high FIRST MOVING
 SPHERE,
 Or in th' Elysian fields, &c.

St. vi. v. 39. See *PARAD. L.* iii. 483.

^g to be pronounced dissyllabically.

For to discryve his diademe royall,
 Bordourit with precious stanis schyning bricht,
 His goldin cart, or throne imperiall,
 The foure steidis that drawith it full richt, &c.^b

They now arrive at that part of heaven which is called the *CHRISTALLINE*ⁱ, and are admitted to the *Empyrean*, or heaven of heavens. Here they view the throne of God, surrounded by the nine orders of angels, singing with ineffable harmony.^k

^a SIGNAT. E. I.

ⁱ Most of this philosophy is immediately borrowed from the first chapters of the Nuremburgh Chronicle, a celebrated book when Lyndesay wrote, printed in the year 1493. It is there said, that of the waters above the firmament which were frozen like crystal, God made the crystalline heaven, &c. fol. iv. This idea is taken from GENESIS, i. 4. See also saint Paul, ii. EPIST. COR. xii. 2. The same system is in Tasso, where the archangel Michael descends from heaven, GER. LIB. C. ix. st. 60. seq. And in Milton, PARAD. L. iii. 481.

They pass the planets seven, and pass
 the fixed,
 And that crystallin sphere, &c.

^b Because the scriptures have mentioned several degrees of angels, Dionysius the Areopagite, and others, have divided them into nine orders; and those they have reduced into three hierarchies. This was a tempting subject for the refining genius of the school-divines: and accordingly we find in Thomas Aquinas a disquisition, *De ordinatione Angelorum secundum Hierarchias et Ordines*. QUÆST. cviii. The system, which perhaps makes a better figure in poetry than in philosophy, has been adopted by many poets who did not outlive the influence of the old scholastic sophistry. See Dante, PARAD. C. xxviii. Tasso mentions, among *La grande oste del ciel*,
 TRE VOLTE SQUADRE, et ogni squadra
 instrutta
 IN TRE ORDINI gira, &c.

GER. LIB. xviii. 96. And Spenser speaks of the angels singing in their
 THIRALL TRIPLICITIES. FAIR. QU. i. xii.

39. And again, in his Hymns of HEAVENLY LOVE. See also Sannasarius, DE PART. VIRGIN. iii. 241. Milton perhaps is the last poet who has used this popular theory. PARAD. L. v. 748.

Regions they pass'd, and mighty regencies
 Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and
 Thrones,
 In their TRIPLE DEGREES.——

And it gives great dignity to his arrangement of the celestial army. See *ibid.* sup. 583.

—— Th' empyreal host
 Of angels, by imperial susannons call'd,
 Innumerable before th' Almighty's
 throne,
 Forthwith from all the ends of heaven
 appear'd,
 Under their HIERARCHIES in ORDERS
 bright.——
 Ten thousand thousand ensigns high
 advanc'd,
 Standards and gonfalons, twist van and
 rear
 Stream in the air, and for distinction
 serve
 OF HIERARCHIES, OF ORDERS, and DE-
 GREES.

Such splendid and sublime imagery has Milton's genius raised on the problems of Thomas Aquinas! See also *ibid.* v. 600. Hence a passage in his Hymn on THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NARIVITY is to be illustrated. Sr. xiii. v. 131.

And with your ninefold harmony
 Make up full concert to the angelike
 symphony.

That is, the symphony of the nine orders of angels was to be answered by the

Next the throne is the Virgin Mary, the queen of queens, "well companyit with ladyis of delyte." An exterior circle is formed by patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, conquerors in the three battles of the world, of the flesh, and of the devil, martyrs, confessors, and *doctours in divinitie*, under the command of saint Peter, who is represented as their lieutenant-general.¹

Milton, who feigns the same visionary route with very different ideas, has these admirable verses, written in his nineteenth year, yet marked with that characteristic great manner which distinguishes the poetry of his maturer age. He is addressing his native language.

Yet I had rather, if I were to chuse,
 Thy service in some graver subject use;
 Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
 Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound:
 Such, where the deep-transported mind may soar
 Above the wheeling poles; and at Heaven's door
 Look in, and see each blissfull deitie
 How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
 Listening to what unshorn Apollo sings
 To th' touch of golden wires, while Hebe brings
 Immortal nectar to her kingly sire.
 Then passing through the spears of watchfull fire,
 And mistie regions of wide air next under,
 And hills of snow, and lofts of piled thunder,
 May tell at length how green-eyed Neptune raves,
 In heaven's defiance mustering all his waves.^m

REMEMBRANCE and the poet, leaving heaven, now contemplate the earth, which is divided into three parts. To have mentioned America, recently discovered, would have been

nine-fold music of the spheres. One at London, 1635. See also Jonson's
 Thomas Haywood, a most voluminous *ELUCORON MY MUSE*, in the *UNDERWOOD*.
 dramatic poet in the reign of James the p. 260. edit. fol. Lond. 1640.
 First, wrote a long poem with large .¹ *Ibid.*
 notes on this subject, called *THE HIR- .^m At a VACATION EXERCISE, &c.*
MARCHES OF ANGELS, printed in folio, Newton's *MILT. B.* p. 11.

heresy in the science of cosmography; as that quarter of the globe did not occur in Pliny and Ptolemy.^a The most famous cities are here enumerated. The poet next desires a view of Paradise; that glorious *garth*, or garden, of every flower. It is represented as elevated in the middle region of the air, in a climate of perpetual serenity.^o From a *fair* fountain, springing in the midst of this ambrosial garden, descend four rivers, which water all the east. It is inclosed with walls of fire, and guarded by an angel.

The cuntre closit is about full richt,
With wallis hie of hote and birnyng fyre,
And straitly keipit be ane angell bricht.^p

From Paradise a very rapid transition is made to Scotland. Here the poet takes occasion to lament, that in a country so fertile, and filled with inhabitants so ingenious and active, universal poverty, and every national disorder, should abound. It is very probable, that the poem was written solely with a view of introducing this complaint. After an enquiry into the causes of these infelicities, which are referred to political mismanagement, and the defective administration of justice, the COMMONWEALTH OF SCOTLAND appears, whose figure is thus delineated.

We saw a bousteous berne^q cum ovir the bent^r,
But^s hors on fute, als fast as he nicht go;
Quhose rayment was all raggit, revin^t, and rent,
With visage lene, as he had fastit Lent:
And fordwart fast his wayis he did advance,
With ane malicious countenance:

^a For the benefit of those who are making researches in antient cosmography, I observe that the map of England, mentioned by Harrison and Hearne, and belonging to Merton college library, appears to have existed at least so early as the year 1512. For in that year, it was lent to the dean of Wells, William Cosyn, with a caution of forty shillings. Registr. Vet. Coll. Mert. fol. 218. b. See its restitution, *ibid.* fol. 219. b.

^o "Paradisus tantæ est altitudinis, quod est inaccessibilis secundura Boddam; et tam altus, quod etheream regionem pertingat," &c. СНАЖ. НВА. ut supr. f. viii. b.

^p Stowar. E. iii.

^q boisterous fellow, [strong, powerful.]

^r coarse grass, [also, an open field, or plain.]

^s without.

^t riven.

With scrip on hip, and pykstaff in his hand,
 As he had purposit, to pas fra hame.
 Quod I, Gude man, I wald fane understand,
 Gif ye pleisit^u, to wit^w quhat is your name?
 Quod he, My sone, of that I think greit schame.
 Bot sen thow wald of my name have ane feill,
 Forsuthe thay call me *Jhone*^x *the Commoun-weill*.^y

The reply of SYR COMMONWEALTH to our poet's question, is a long and general satire on the corrupt state of Scotland. The spiritual prelates, he says, have sent away Devotion to the mendicant friars: and are more fond of describing the dishes at a feast, than of explaining the nature of their own establishment.

Sensual Plesour hes baneist Chaistitie.

Liberality, Loyalty, and Knightly Valour, are fled,

And Cowardice, with lordis is laureate.

From this sketch of Scotland, here given by Lyndesay, under the reign of James the Fifth, who acted as a viceroy to France, a Scotch historian might collect many striking features of the state of his country during that interesting period, drawn from the life.

The poet then supposes, that REMEMBRANCE conducts him back to the cave on the sea-shore, in which he fell asleep. He is awakened by a ship firing a broadside.^z He returns home, and entering his oratory, commits his vision to verse. To this

^u if you please. ^w know.

^z JOHN, for what reason I know not, is a name of ridicule and contempt in most modern languages.

^y SIGNAT. F. I.

^x They sparit nocht the poulder nor the stans.

A proof that stones were now used instead of leaden bullets. At first they shot darts, or *carriours*, i. e. quarrels, from great guns. Afterwards stones, which they called *gun-stones*. In the BAU of ENGLAND, it is said, that when

Henry the Fifth, before Hareflete, received a taunting message from the Dauphine of France, and a ton of tennis-balls by way of contempt, "he anoone lette make tenes balles for the *Doffin* [Henry's ship] in all the haste that they myght, and they were great *CONNESTONES* for the *Doffin* to plays with alle." But this game at tennis was too rough for the besieged, when Henry "playede at the tenes with his harde *GONNESTONES*," &c. See STRUTT'S CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE ENGLISH, vol. ii. p. 32. Lond. 1775.

is added an exhortation of ten stanzas to king James the Fifth: in which he gives his majesty advice, and censures his numerous instances of misconduct, with incredible boldness and asperity. Most of the addresses to James the Fifth, by the Scotch poets, are satires instead of panegyrics.

I have not at present either leisure or inclination, to enter into a minute enquiry, how far our author is indebted in his DREME to Tully's DREAM OF SCIPIO, and the HELL, PURGATORY, and HEAVEN, of Dante.^a

Lyndesay's poem, called the MONARCHIE, is an account of the most famous monarchies that have flourished in the world: but, like all the Gothic prose-histories, or chronicles, on the same favorite subject, it begins with the creation of the world, and ends with the day of judgment.^b There is much learning in this poem. It is a dialogue between EXPERIENCE and a courtier. This mode of conducting a narrative by means of an imaginary mystagogue, is adopted from Boethius. A descriptive prologue, consisting of octave stanzas, opens the poem, in which the poet enters a delightful park.^c The sun clad in his embroidered mantle, brighter than gold or precious stones, extinguishes the *horned queen of night*, who hides her visage in a *misty veil*. Immediately Flora began to expand

— — — — — hir tapistrie

Wrocht be dame NATURE queynt and curiouslie,
Depaynt with mony hundreth hevinlie hewis.

^a In the Medicean library at Florence, and the Ambrosian at Milan, there is a long manuscript Italian poem, in three books, divided into one hundred chapters, written by Matteo Palmeri, a learned Florentine, about the year 1450. It is in imitation of Dante, in the *terza rima*, and entitled CITTA DI VITA, or *The City of Life*. The subject is, the peregrination of the soul, freed from the shackles of the body, through various ideal places and situations, till at length it arrives in the city of heaven. This poem was publicly burnt at Cortona, because the author adopted Origen's heresy concerning a third class of angels who for their sins were destined to animate human bodies. See Trithem. c. 797.

Julius Niger, SCARFOR. FLOREN. p. 404.

^b In a manuscript at Lambeth [332.] this poem is said to have been begun Jun. 11, 1556. This is a great mistake. [The meaning is, that the *transcript* was begun on that day.—*Chalmers*.] It was printed Hafn. 1532. 4to.

^c SIGNAT. i. B. A park is a favorite scene of action in our old poets. See Chaucer's COMPL. BL. KN. v. 39.

Toward a park enclosed with a wall, &c.

And in other places. Parks were anciently the constant appendage of almost every considerable manerial house. The old patent-rolls are full of licences for imparcations, which do not now exist.

Meanwhile, Eolus and Neptune restrain their fury, that no rude sounds might mar the melody of the birds which echoed among the rocks.^d

In the park our poet, under the character of a courtier, meets EXPERIENCE, reposing under the shade of a holly. This *pourtrait* is touched with uncommon elegance and expression.

Into that park I saw appeir
 Ane agit man, quhilk drew me neir;
 Quhais berd was weil thre quarter lang,
 His hair doun ovir his schulders hang,
 The quhilk as ony snaw was quhyte,
 Quhome to behald I thocht delyte.
 His habit angellyke of hew,
 Of colour lyke the sapheir blew:
 Under ane holyne he reposit.—
 To sit down he requestit me
 Under the schadow of that tre,
 To saif me frome the sonnis heit,
 Amangis the flowris soft and sweet.^e

In the midst of an edifying conversation concerning the fall of man and the origin of human misery, our author, before he proceeds to his main subject, thinks it necessary to deliver a formal apology for writing in the vulgar tongue. He declares

^d Instead of Parnassus he chuses mount Calvary, and his Helicon is the stream which flowed from our Saviour's side on the cross, when he was wounded by Longinus, that is LONGIAS. This is a fictitious personage in Nicodemus's Gospel. I have mentioned him before. Being blind, he was restored to sight by wiping his eyes with his hands which were bloody. See more of him in Chaucer's LAMENTAT. MARY MAGD. v. 176. In the Gothic pictures of the Crucifixion, he is represented on horseback, piercing our Saviour's side: and in Xavier's Persian History of Christ, he is called a horseman. This notion arose from his using a spear, or lance: and that weapon, λονχον, undoubtedly gave rise to his ideal name of Longias, or Longinus. He is

afterwards supposed to have been a bishop of Cesarea, and to have suffered martyrdom. See Tillemont. MEMOR. HIST. ECCLESIAST. tom. i. pp. 81. 251. And Fabric. APOCR. NOV. TESTAM. tom. i. p. 261. In the old Greek tragedy of CHRIST SUFFERING, the CONVERTED CENTURION is expressly mentioned, but not by this name. Almost all that relates to this person, who could not escape the fictions of the monks, has been collected by J. Ch. Wolfius, CUR. PHILOL. ET CRIT. in S. EVANGEL. tom. i. p. 414. ii. 984. edit. Basil. 1741. 4to. See also Hoffman. LEXIC. UNIVERSAL. CONTINEAT. in Voc. tom. i. p. 1036. col. 2. Basil. 1683. fol.

^e SIGNAT. B. i.

that his intention is to instruct and to be understood, and that he writes to the people.⁵ Moses, he says, did not give the Judaic law on mount Sinai in Greek or Latin. Aristotle and Plato did not communicate their philosophy in Dutch or Italian. Virgil and Cicero did not write in Chaldee or Hebrew. Saint Jerom, it is true, translated the bible into Latip, his own natural language; but had saint Jerom been born in Argyleshire, he would have translated it into Erse. King David wrote the psalter in Hebrew, because he was a Jew. Hence he very sensibly takes occasion to recommend the propriety and necessity of publishing the scriptures and the missal, and of composing all books intended for common use, in the respective vernacular language of every country. This objection being answered, which shews the ideas of the times, our author thus describes the creation of the world and of Adam.

Quhen God had maid the hevinis bricht,
 The sone, and mone, for to gyf licht,
 The sterry hevin, and christallyne;
 And, be his sapience divine,
 The planeitis, in thair circles round
 Quhirling about with merrie sound :—
 He cled the erth with herbis and treis ;
 All kynd of fisches in the seis,
 All kynd of beist he did prepair,
 With fowlis fleing in the air.—
 Quhen hevin, and erth, and thair contentis,
 Wer endit, with thair ornamentis,
 Than, last of all, the lord began
 Off maist vyle erth to mak the man :
 Nocht of the lillie nor the rose,
 Nor cyper-tre, as I suppose,
 Nouthor of gold, nor precious stanis,
 Of erth he maid flesche, blude, and banis ;

⁵ Quharefore to coilzearis, carteris, and to cukis,
 To Jok and Thome, my ryme sal be directit.

To that intent God maid him thus,
 That man suld nocht be glorious,
 Nor in himself na thying suld se
 Bot mater of humilite.^b

Some of these nervous, terse, and polished lines need only to be reduced to modern and English orthography, to please a reader accustomed solely to relish the tone of our present versification.

To these may be added the destruction of Jerusalem and Solomon's temple.

Prince Titus with his chevalrye
 With sound of trompe tryumphandlye,
 He enterit in that greit cite, &c.
 Thare wes nocht ellis bot tak and slay,
 For thare nicht na man win away¹.
 The strandis of blude ran through the streitis,
 Of deid folk trampit under feitis;
 Auld wedowis in the preis war smorit^k,
 Young virginis, schamefully deflorit.
 The greit tempill of Salamone,
 With mony ane curious carvit stone,
 With perfyte pinnaclis on hicht,
 Quhilkis war richt bewtifull and wicht^l,
 Quharein ryche jowellis did abound,
 Thay ruscheit^m rudelie to the ground;
 And set, in till thair furious ireⁿ,
 Sancta Sanctorum into fire.^o

The appearance of Christ coming to judgement is poetically painted, and in a style of correctness and harmony, of which few specimens were now seen.

As fyreflaucht haistely glansing^p,
 Discend sall the maist hevinly king;

^b SIGNAT. C. iii.

¹ escape.

^k in their rage.

^o SIGNAT. L. iii.

^k smothered.

^l white.

^p A meteor quickly glancing along,

^m f. rased, [or dashed.]

[lightning.]

As Phebus in the orient
 Lichtnis^a in haist the occident,
 Sa plesandlye he sall appeir
 Among the hevinlye cluddis cleir.—
 The angellis of the ordouris nyne
 Inviron sall that throne devyne.—
 In his presens thare sal be borne
 The signis^r of cros, and croun of thorne,
 Pillar, naillis, scurgis, and speir,
 With everilk thing that did him deir^s,
 The tyme of his grym passioun:
 And, for our consolatoun,
 Appeir sall, in his handis and feit,
 And in his syde the prent compleit
 Of his fyve woundis precious
 Schynand lyke rubies radious.

When Christ is seated at the tribunal of judging the world, he adds,

Thare sall ane angell blawe ane blast
 Quhilk sall mak all the warld agast.^t

Among the monarchies, our author describes the papal see: whose innovations, impostures, and errors, he attacks with much good sense, solid argument, and satirical humour; and whose imperceptible increase, from simple and humble beginnings to an enormity of spiritual tyranny, he traces through a gradation of various corruptions and abuses, with great penetration, and knowledge of history.^u

Among antient peculiar customs now lost, he mentions a superstitious idol annually carried about the streets of Edinburgh.

Of Edinburgh the greit idolatrie,
 And manifest abhominatioun!
 On thair feist day, all creature may see,
 Thay beir ane auld stok-image^w through the toun,

^a lightens.

^r representations.

^t SIGNAT. P. iii.

^u SIGNAT. M. ii.

^s dismay, torment, [or hurt.]

^w an old image made of a stock of

With talbrone^a, trumpet, schalme, and clarion,
 Quhilk hes bene usit mony ane yeir bygone,
 With priestis, and freiris, into processioun,
 Siclyke^b as Bai wes borne through Babylone.^c

He also speaks of the people flocking to be cured of various infirmities, to the *auld rude*, or cross, of Kerrail.^a

Our poet's principal vouchers and authorities in the *MONARCHIE*, are Livy, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, Avicen the Arabic physician, Orosius, saint Jerom, Polydore Virgil, Cario's chronicle, the *FASCICULUS TEMPORUM*, and the *CHRONICA CHRONICARUM*. The *FASCICULUS TEMPORUM* is a Latin chronicle, written at the close of the fifteenth century by Wernerus Rolewinck, a Westphalian, and a Carthusian monk of Cologne; a most venerable volume, closed with this colophon. "FASCICULUS TEMPORUM, a Carthusiense compilatum in formam cronicis figuratum usque in annum 1478, a me Nicolao Gatz de Seltztat impressum^b." The *CHRONICA CHRONICARUM* or *CHRONICON MUNDI*, written by Hartmannus Schedelius, a physician at Nuremburgh, and from which our author evidently took his philosophy in his *DREME*, was printed at Nuremburgh in 1493^c. This was a most popular compilation, and is at present a great curiosity to those who are fond of history in the Gothic style, consisting of wonders conveyed in the black letter and wooden cuts.

wood. [The *auld stock-image* which is here reprobated by Lyndsay, was the image of St. Giles the patron saint of Edinburg; and which was yearly, on the first of September, carried through the town in grand procession.—*CHALMERS*.]
^a tabor. ^b so as.

^a SIGNAT. H. iii.

^a SIGNAT. H. i. For allusions of this kind the following stanza may be cited, which I do not entirely understand.
 SIGNAT. H. iii.

This was the practick of sum pilgrimage,

Quhen fillokis into Fyfe began to fon
 With Joke and Thom than tuke thair
 their vayage

In Angus till the feild chespell of Dron:

Than kittock thare als caidgie as ane
 con,

Without regards outhter to sin or schame,
 Gave Lawrie leif at laiser to loup on,
 Far better had bene till have biddin at
 hame.

I will here take occasion to explain two lines, SIGNAT. I. iii.

Nor yit the fair maydin of Fraunce
 Danter of Inglis ordinance.

That is, Joan of Arc, who so often daunted or defeated the English army. To this heroine, and to Penthesilea, he compares Semiramis.

^b See it also among *SCRIPTOR. GERMAN.* per J. Pistorium, tom. i. p. 580.

^c Again, *ibid.* by Joh. Schensperger. 1497. fol.

Cario's chronicle is a much more rational and elegant work: it was originally composed, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Ludovicus Cario, an eminent mathematician, and improved or written anew by Melancthon. Of Orosius, a wretched but admired christian historian, who compiled in Latin a series of universal annals from the creation to the fifth century, he cites a translation.

The translatur of Orosius
Intill his cronicle wryttis thus.^d

I know of no English translation of Orosius, unless the Anglo-saxon version by king Alfred, and which would perhaps have been much more difficult to Lyndesay than the Latin original, may be called such: yet Orosius was early translated into French^e and Italian^f. For the story of Alexander the Great, our author seems to refer to Adam Davie's poem on that subject, written in the reign of Edward the Second^g: a work, which I never remember to have seen cited before, and of which, although deserving to be printed, only two public manuscripts now remain, the one in the library of Lincoln's-inn, and the other in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

Alexander the conquerour,
Gif thou at lenth wald reid his ring^b,
And of his crewell conquessing,
IN ENGLIS TOUNG IN HIS GREIT BUKE,
At lenth his LYFE thare thou may luke.ⁱ

He acquaints us, yet not from his own knowledge, but on the testimony of other writers, that Homer and Hesiod were the inventors in Greece, of poetry, medicine, music, and astronomy.^h

^d SIGNAT. F. ii.

^e By Philip Le Noir. Paris. 1526. fol.

^f By Bonaccivoli. Ven. 1528. 4to.

^g See supr. vol. ii. p. 53.

^h If thou at length would read his reign.

ⁱ SIGNAT. K. iii. He also cites Lucan for Alexander, SIGNAT. L. i. For an account of the riches of pope John, he quotes Palmerius. SIGNAT. N. i. This

must have been Matheus Palmerius above mentioned, author of the *CITTA DE VITA*, who wrote a general chronicle from the fifth century to his own times, entitled *DE TEMPORIBUS*, and, I believe, first printed at Milan, 1475. fol. Afterwards reprinted with improvements and continuations. Particularly at Venice, 1483. 4to. And by Grynæus at the end of Eusebius, fol. 1570.

^k SIGNAT. K. iii.

EXPERIENCE departs from the poet, and the dialogue is ended, at the approach of the evening; which is described with these circumstances.

Behald, how Phebus dounwart dois discend,
 Towart his palyce in the occident!—
 The dew now donkis^l the rosis redolent:
 The mariguldis, that all day wer rejosit
 Of Phebus heit, now craftily ar closit^m.—
 The cornecraik in the croft, I heir hir cry;
 The bak, the howlattⁿ, febyl of thair eis,
 For thair pastyme, now in the evinning fleis.
 The nightingail with myrthful melody
 Hir naturall notis, peirsith through the sky.°

Many other passages in Lyndesay's poems deserve attention. Magdalene of France, married to James the Fifth of Scotland^p, did not live to see the magnificent preparations made for her public entry into Edinburgh. In a poem, called the DEITH OF QUENE MAGDALENE, our author, by a most striking and lively prosopopeia, an expostulation with DEATH, describes the whole order of the procession. I will give a few of the stanzas.

THEIF, saw thow nocht the greit preparatyvis
 Of Edinburgh, the nobill famous toun?
 Thow saw the pepill lauboring for thair lyvis,
 To mak tryumphe with trump and clarioun!—
 * * * * *
 Thow saw makand^q richt costlie scaffolding,
 Depaintit weill with gold and asure fyne,
 Reddye prepairit for the upsetting,
 With fontanis flowing water cleir and wyne:
 Disagysit^r folkis, lyke creaturis divyne,

^l moistens.^m are closed.

into France to address the princess, to Leander swimming through the Hellespont to Hero.

ⁿ owl, owl.^o SIGNAT. R.

making.

^p Not inelegantly, he compares James making frequent and dangerous voyages^r men, actors disguised.

On ilk scaffold to play ane sundrie storie^o:
Bot all in greiting^t turnit thow that glorie.

Thow saw mony ane lustie fresche galland
Weill ordourit for resaiving of thair quene,
Ilk craftisman with bent bow in his hand,
Ful galzearthie in schort clething of grene, &c.—

* * * * *

Syne nyxt in ordour passing throw the toun,
Thow suld haif hard the din of instrumentis,
Of tabrone, trumpet, schalme, and clarioun,
With reird^u redoundand throw the elementis;
The herauldis with thair awful vestimentis,
With maseris^w upon ather of thair handis,
To rewle the preis, with burneist silver wandis, &c.—

Thow suld haif hard^x the ornate oratouris,
Makand hir hynes salutatioun,
Baith of the clergy town and counsalouris,
With mony notabill narratioun.

Thow suld haif sene hir coronatioun,
In the fair abbay of the haly rude,
In presence of ane myrthfull multitude.

Sic banketting, sic awfull tornamentis
On hors and fute, that tyme quhilk suld haif bene,
Sic chapell royall with sic instrumentis,
And craftie musick, &c. ^v— —

Exclusive of this artificial and very poetical mode of introducing a description of these splendid spectacles, instead of saying plainly that the queen's death prevented the superb ceremonies which would have attended her coronation, these stanzas have another merit, that of transmitting the ideas of the times in the exhibition of a royal entertainment^z.

^o plays and pageants acted on moveable scaffolds.

^t to grief.

^w maces.

^v STEWART. K. iii.

^u sound.

^x heard.

^z The curious reader may compare "The ordynance of the entre of quene Isabell into the towne of Paris," in Froissart. Berners's Transl. tom. ii. c. clvii. f. 172. b.

Our author's *COMPLAYNT* contains a curious picture, like that in his *DREME*, of the miserable policy by which Scotland was governed under James the Fifth. But he diversifies and enlivens the subject, by supposing the public felicity which would take place, if all corrupt ministers and evil counsellors were removed from the throne. This is described by striking and picturesque personifications.

For, Justice haldis hir swerd on hie,
 With hir ballance of equitie.—
 Dame Prudence hes the be the heid,
 And Temperance dois thy brydill leid.
 I se dame Force mak assistance,
 Bearand thy targe of assurance:
 And lusty lady Chastitie
 Hes banisheit Sensualitie.
 Dame Ryches takis on the sic cure,
 I pray God that scho lang indure!
 That Povertie dar nocht be sene
 Into thy hous, for baith hir ene:
 Bot fra thy grace fled mony mylis
 Amangis the huntaris in the Ilis.*

* *SIGNAT. G. i.* I here take occasion to explain the two following lines.

Als Jhone Makrery, the kingis fule,
 Gat dowbill garmentis agane the yule.

That is, "The king's fool got two suits of apparel, or garments doubly thick, to wear at Christmas." *SIGNAT. G. i.* Yule is Christmas. So James the First, in his declaration at an assembly of the Scotch Kirk at Edinburgh, in 1590, "The church of Geneva keep *Pasche* and YULE," that is, *Easter* and *CHRISTMAS*. Calderwood's *HIST. CH. SCOT.* p. 256. Our author, in the *COMPLAYNT OF THE PARTRIGE*, says that his bird sung well enough to be a minstrel at Christmas. *SIGNAT. A. iii.*

Scho might have bene ane menstrall at
 the *gule*.

Thus Robert of Brunne, in his chroni-

cle, speaking of King Arthur keeping Christmas at York.

On zole day mad he fest
 With many barons of his geste.

See Hearne's *ROB. GLOUC.* vol. ii. p. 678. And Leland's *ITIN.* vol. ii. p. 116. In the north of England, Christmas to this day is called *ule*, *yule*, or *youle*. Blount says, "in the northern parts they have an old custom, after sermon or service on Christmas-day; the people will, even in the churches, cry *ule*, *ule*, as a token of rejoicing, and the common sort run about the streets singing

"ULE, ULE, ULE,
 Three puddings in a pule,
 Crack nuts, and cry ULE."

DICTION. VOC. ULE. In Saxon the word is *zehul*, *zabol*, or *zeol*. In the Welch rubric every saint's day is the

I know not whether it be worth observing, that playing at cards is mentioned in this poem, among the diversions, or games, of the court.

There was na play, bot CARTIS and dyce^c.

And it is mentioned as an accomplishment in the character of a bishop.

Bot, gif thay can play at the CARTIS.^d

Thus, in the year 1503, James the Fourth of Scotland, at an interview with the princess Margaret in the castle of Newbattle, finds her playing at cards. "The kynge came prively to the said castell, and entred within the chammer [chamber] with a small cumpany, whare he founde the quene *playing at the CARDES^e*."

Wyl, or *Gwl*, of that saint: either from a British word signifying *watching*, or from the Latin *Vigilia*, Vigil, taken in a more extended sense. In Wales *wyliau* or *gwyliau* hadolig, signifies the *Christmas* holidays, where *wyla* or *gwyliau* is the plural of *wyl* or *gwyyl*.

I also take this opportunity of observing, that the court of the Roman pontiff was exhilarated by a fool. The pope's fool was in England in 1230, and received forty shillings of king Henry the Third, *de dono regis*. MSS. James, xxviii. p. 190.

^c SIGNAT. F. iii.

^d SIGNAT. G. i.

^e Leland. COLL. APPEND. iii. p. 284. ut supr. In our author's TRAGEDIE of CARDINAL BETOUN, a soliloquy spoken by the cardinal, he is made to declare, that he played with the king for three thousand crowns of gold in one night, at *cartis* and dice. SIGNAT. I. ii. They are also mentioned in an old anonymous Scotch poem, *Of COVETICK*. ANC. SC. P. ut supr. p. 168. st. iii.

Halking, hunting, and swift horse rynn-
ning,

Are changit all in wrangus wyunning;
Thar is no play bot *cartis* and dyce.

Where, by the way, horse-racing is considered among the liberal sports, such as hawking, and hunting; and not as a species of gaming. See also, *IBID.* p. 146. st. v.

Cards are mentioned in a statute of Henry the Seventh, xi. Hen. vii. cap. ii. That is, in 1496. Du Cange cites two Greek writers, who mention card-playing as one of the games of modern Greece, at least before the year 1498. GLOSS. GR. tom. ii. V. XAPTIA. p. 1734. It seems highly probable, that the Arabians, so famous for their ingenuity, more especially in whatever related to numbers and calculation, were the inventors of cards, which they communicated to the Constantinopolitan Greeks. Carpenter says, that cards, or *folia lusoria*, are prohibited in the STATUTA CRIMIN. SAONÆ. cap. xxx. p. 61. But the age of these statutes has not occurred to me. SUPPLEM. LAT. GLOSS. Du Cange, V. CARTÆ. tom. i. p. 842.

Benedictus Abbas has preserved a very curious edict, which shews the state of gaming in the Christian army, commanded by Richard the First king of England, and Philip of France, during the crusade in the year 1190. No person in the army is permitted to play at any sort of game for money, except Knights and Clergymen; who in one whole day and night shall not, each, lose more than twenty shillings: on pain of forfeiting one hundred shillings, to the archbishops of the army. The two kings may play for what they please: but their attendants, not for

Prophecies of apparent impossibilities were common in Scotland: such as the removal of one place to another. Under this popular prophetic formulary, may be ranked the prediction in Shakespeare's *MACBETH*, where the *APPARITION* says, that Birnam-wood shall go to Dusinane. In the same strain, peculiar to his country, says our author,

Quhen the Bas and the isle of May
Beis set upon the mont Sinay,
Quhen the Lowmound besyde Falkland
Beis liftit to Northumberland.

But he happily avails himself of the form, to introduce a stroke of satire.

Quhen Kirkman yairnis^f na dignite,
Nor wyffis na soveranite.^g

The minority of James the Fifth was dissipated in pleasures, and his education most industriously neglected. He was flattered, not instructed, by his preceptors. His unguarded youth was artfully exposed to the most alluring temptations^h. It was in this reign, that the nobility of Scotland began to frequent the court; which soon became the theatre of all those idle amusements which were calculated to solicit the attention of a young king. All these abuses are painted in this poem with

more than twenty shillings. Otherwise, they are to be whipped naked through the army for three days, &c. *Viz. Ric. i.* p. 610. edit. Hearn. tom. ii. King Richard is described playing at chess in this expedition. *MSS. Harl. 4690.*

And kyng Rycharde stode and plays
Att the chesse in hys galleye.

^f earn, gain.

^g *Ibid. SIGNAT. H. i.*

^h Even his governors and preceptors threw these temptations in his way: a circumstance touched with some humour by our author. *Ibid. SIGNAT. G.*

There was few of that garnisoun
That lernit hym ane gude lessoun.—

Quod ane, The devill stik me with ane
knife,

Bot, Schir, I knaw ane maide in Fyfe,
Ane of the lustiest wantoun lassie!—

Hald thy toung brother, quod ane uther,
I knaw ane fairer be fystene futher.

Schir, whan ye pleis to Linlithquow pas,
Thare sall ye se ane lustie laa.

Now *tristill tratill treps low,*

Quod the third man, thow dois bot mow;
Quhen his grace cummis to fair Stirling

Thare sal he se ane dayis darling.

Schir quod the fourt, tak my counsell,

And go all to the hie bordell,

Thare may we loup at libertie

Withoutin any gravite, &c.

Compare Buchanan, *HIST. lib. xiv.*

ad fin.

an honest unreserved indignation. It must not in the mean time be forgotten, that James possessed eminent abilities, and a love of literature: nor is it beside our present purpose to observe, that he was the author of the celebrated ballad called **CHRIST'S KIRK ON THE GREEN.**¹

The **COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPINGO** is a piece of the like tendency. In the Prologue, there is a curious and critical catalogue of the Scotch poets who flourished about the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. As the names and works of many of them seem to be totally forgotten, and as it may contribute to throw some new lights on the neglected history of the Scotch poetry, I shall not scruple to give the passage at large, with a few illustrations. Our author declares, that the poets of his own age dare not aspire to the praise of the three English poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. He then, under the same idea, makes a transition to the most distinguished poets, who formerly flourished in Scotland.

Or quha can now the warkis contrefait *
Off **KENNEDIE**¹, with termes aureait ?
Or of **DUNBAR**, quha language had at large,
As may be sene intill his **GOLDIN TARGE**^m ?

QUINTYNⁿ, **MERSER**^o, **ROWL**^p, **HENDERSON**^q, **HAY**^r, and
HOLLAND^s,
Thocht thay be deid, thair libellis bene livand^t,

¹ Printed at Oxford, by Edm. Gibson, 1691. 4to. with Notes. He died in 1452.

* imitate.

¹ I suppose Walter Kennedie, who wrote a poem in Scottish metre, whether printed I know not, on the Passion of Christ. MSS. Coll. Gresham, 286. Some of Kennedie's poems are in MSS. Hyndford. The *Flyting* between Dunbar and Kennedie is in the **EVERGREEN**. See Dunbar, ut supr. p. 77. And *ibid.* p. 274. And Kennedie's **PRAIS OF AGE**, *ibid.* p. 189. He exceeds his cotemporary Dunbar in smoothness of versification.

^m The poem examined above, p. 96.

ⁿ He flourished about the year 1320. He was driven from Scotland under the devastations of Edward the First, and took refuge at Paris. He wrote a poem, called the *Complaint of the Miseries of his Country*, printed at Paris, 1511. Dempst. xv. 1084. [It is far more likely that the writer alluded to, is Quintyne Schaw, the author of a poem called "Advyce to a Courtier," printed in Sibbald's *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*, vol. i. p. 348. He is mentioned by Dunbar in his "Lament for the Makaris," by the name of Quintyne, (as in the text) without any addition.—*ERR.*]

^o Merser is celebrated by Dunbar,

Quhilkis to reherse makith reidaris to reiose.
 Allace for ane quhilk lamp was of this land,
 Of eloquence the flowand balmy strand^a,
 And in our Inglis rethorick the rose,
 As of rubeis the carbunckle bene chose,
 And as Phebus dois Cynthie precell;
 So GAWIN DOWGLAS, bischop of Dunkell,

Had, quhen he wes into this lande on lyve,
 Abuf vulgar poetis prerogatyve,
 Baith in practick and speculatioun.
 I say na mair: gude reidaris may discryve
 His worthy werkis, in noumer mo than fyve.
 And speciallie the trew translatioun
 Of Virgill, quhilk bene consolatioun
 To cunnyng men to knaw his greit ingyne,
 Als weill in naturall science as devyne.

LAMENT FOR THE DEATH OF THE MAK-
 KARS, OF POETS. See ANC. SCOTTISH
 POEMS, ut supr. p. 77.

That did in luv so lyfly wryte,
 So schort, so quick, of sentens hie.

See, in that Collection, his PERRELL IN
 PARAMOURS. p. 156.

^p Dunbar mentions Rowll of Aber-
 deen, and Rowll of Costorphine, "twa
 bettir fallowis did no man sie." Ibid.
 p. 77. In Lord Hyndford's Manu-
 script [p. 104. 2.] a poem is mentioned,
 called ROWLL'S CURSING. ibid. p. 272.
 There is an allusion in this piece to pope
 Alexander the Sixth, who presided from
 1492 to 1503.

^r Perhaps Robert Henrison. See
 Dunbar, ubi supr. p. 77. And ibid.
 p. 98. seq. In MSS. Harl. are, "The
 morall fabillis of Esope compylit be
 Maister Robert Henrysount scholmaister
 of Dumferling, 1571." 3865. 1. He
 was most probably a teacher of the youth
 in the Benedictine convent at Dumfer-
 line. See many of his poems, which are
 of a grave moral turn, in the elegant
 Scottish Miscellany just cited.

^r I know not if he means Archibald

Hay, who wrote a panegyric on Cardinal
 Beaton, printed at Paris, 1540. 4to. He
 also translated the HECURA of Euripides
 from Greek into Latin. MSS. HATTON.
 But I have seen none of his Scotch
 poetry. [Sir Gilbert Hay was cham-
 berlain to Charles VII. of France, and,
 in 1456, translated from French into
 Scottish, the book of Bonet, prior of Sa-
 lon, upon battles. From the testimony
 of Dunbar, it appears that Sir Gilbert
 also wrote poems, but his subscription
 does not occur in any of the ancient col-
 lections. — SIBBALD.]

^r See Dunbar, ut supr. p. 77. His
 poem, called the HOWLATT, is in the Ma-
 nuscripts of Lord Hyndford, and Lord
 Auchinleck. In this are described, the
 "Kyndis of instrumentis, the sportaris,
 [juglers] the Irish bard, and the fule."
 It was written before the year 1455.—
 [Holland's poem has since been printed.
 It will be found in Mr. Pinkerton's col-
 lection of "Ancient Scottish Poems,"
 1792, and in Sibbald's Chronicle of Scot-
 tish Poetry, vol. i. p. 61. — EDK.]

^r living.

^a stream.

And in the courte bene present in thir dayis,
 That ballatis brevis^w lustelie and layis,
 Quhilkis to our prince daylie thay do present.
 Quha can say mair than schir JAMES INGLIS sayis
 In ballatis, farsis, and in plesand playis^x ?
 Bot CULROSS haith his pen maid impotent,
 Kid in cunnyng^y and practik richt prudent.
 And STEWARD quhilk desyrith ane staitly style
 Full ornate warkis daylie dois compyle.

STEWART of Lorne will carpe richt curiouslie^z,
 GALBRAITH, KYNLOUCH^z, quhen thay lyst tham applie
 Into that art, ar craftie of ingyne.
 But now of late is starte up haistelie,
 Ane cunnyng clark, quhilk wrytith craftelie :
 Ane plant of poetis callit BALLENDYNE^b;
 Quhose ornat workis my wit can nocht defyne :

^w write.

^x I know nothing of Sir James Inglis, or of his ballads, farces, and pleasant plays. But one John English was master of a company of players, as we have before seen, at the marriage of James the Fourth. Here is a proof, however, that theatrical representations were now in high repute in the court of Scotland. [The only poem at present known which is attributed to Sir James Inglis, is one contained both in the Bannatyne and Maitland manuscript, and called "A general Satyre." In the former this piece is given to Dunbar; in the latter to Sir James. The Scottish antiquaries seem to incline to the authority of the Maitland MS.—EDR.]

^y Yet in knowing. [Proved or practised in knowledge.—EDR.]

^z See some of his satirical poetry, *ANC. SC. P.* p. 151.

^b These two poets are converted into one, under the name of GABRIEL KINLYCK, in an edition of some of Lyndesay's works first turned and made perfect *Englishe*, printed at London by Thomas Purfoote, A. D. 1581. p. 105. This edition often omits whole stanzas; and

has the most arbitrary and licentious misrepresentations of the text, always for the worse. The editor, or translator, did not understand the Scottish language; and is, besides, a wretched writer of English. But the attempt sufficiently exposes itself.

^b I presume this is John Balantyn, or Ballenden, archdeacon of Murray, canon of Rosse, and clerk of the register in the minority of James the Fifth and his successour. He was a doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris. G. Con, *De duplici statu religionis apud Scotos*, lib. ii. p. 167. At the command of James the Fifth, he translated the seventeen books of Hector Boethius's *HISTORY OF SCOTLAND*. Edinb. by T. Davidson, 1536. fol. The preface is in verse. "Thow marcyal buke pas to the not yll prince." Prefixed is the *COSMOGRAPHY* of Boethius's History, which Mackenzie calls, *A Description of Albany*, ii. 596. Before it is a Prologue, a vision in verse, in which VIRTUE and PLEASURE address the king, after the manner of a dialogue. He wrote an addition of one hundred years to Boethius's history: but this does not appear in the Edinburgh edi-

Get he into the courte auctorite,
He will precell Quintyn and Kennedie.^c

The Scotch, from that philosophical and speculative cast which characterises their national genius, were more zealous and early friends to a reformation of religion than their neighbours in England. The pomp and elegance of the catholic worship made no impression on a people, whose devotion sought only for solid edification; and who had no notion that the interposition of the senses could with any propriety be admitted to co-operate in an exercise of such a nature, which appealed to reason alone, and seemed to exclude all aids of the imagination. It was natural that such a people, in their system of spiritual refinement, should warmly prefer the severe and rigid plan of Calvin: and it is from this principle, that we find most of their writers, at the restoration of learning, taking all occasions of censuring the absurdities of popery with an unusual degree of abhorrence and asperity.

In the course of the poem before us, an allegory on the corruptions of the church is introduced, not destitute of invention, humour, and elegance; but founded on one of the weak theories of Wickliffe, who not considering religion as reduced to a civil establishment, and because Christ and his apostles were poor, imagined that secular possessions were inconsistent with the simplicity of the gospel.

In the primitive and pure ages of christianity, the poet supposes, that the Church married Poverty, whose children were Chastity and Devotion. The emperor Constantine soon afterwards divorced this sober and decent couple; and, without obtaining or asking a dispensation, married the Church with

tion: also *Epistles to James the Fifth*, and *On the Life of Pythagoras*. Many of his poems are extant. The author of the article *BALLENDEEN*, in the *BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA*, written more than thirty [years] ago, says, that "in the large collection of Scottish poems, made by Mr. Carmichael, there were some of our author's on various subjects; and Mr.

Laurence Dundass had several, whether in manuscript or printed, I cannot say." vol. i. p. 461. His style has many gallicisms. He seems to have been a young man, when this compliment was paid him by Lyndesay. He died at Rome, 1550. Dempst. ii. 197. Bale, xiv. 65. Mackenz. ii. 595. seq.

^c SIGNAT. K.

great solemnity to Property. Pope Silvester ratified the marriage: and Devotion retired to a hermitage. They had two daughters, Riches and Sensuality; who were very beautiful, and soon attracted such great and universal regard, that they acquired the chief ascendancy in all spiritual affairs. Such was the influence of Sensuality in particular, that Chastity, the daughter of the Church by Poverty, was exiled: she tried, but in vain, to gain protection in Italy and France. Her success was equally bad in England. She strove to take refuge in the court of Scotland: but they drove her from the court to the clergy. The bishops were alarmed at her appearance, and protested they would harbour no rebel to the See of Rome. They sent her to the nuns, who received her in form, with processions and other honours. But news being immediately dispatched to Sensuality and Riches, of her friendly reception among the nuns, she was again compelled to turn fugitive. She next fled to the mendicant friers, who declared they could not take charge of ladies. At last she was found secreted in the nunnery of the Burrowmoor near Edinburgh, where she had met her mother Poverty and her sister Devotion. Sensuality attempts to besiege this religious house, but without effect. The pious sisters were armed at all points, and kept an irresistible piece of artillery, called *Domine custodi nos*.

Within quhose schot, thare dar no enemies
 Approche thair place for dreid of dintis dour^d;
 Baith nicht and day thay wyrk lyke besie beis^e,
 For thair defence reddye to stand in stour:
 And hes sic watchis on thair utter tour,
 That dame Sensuall with seige dar nocht assailze,
 Nor cum within the schote of thair artailze.^f

I know not whether this chaste sisterhood had the delicacy to observe strictly the injunctions prescribed to a society of nuns in England; who, to preserve a cool habit, were ordered

^d hard dints.

^e busy bees.

^f artillery. SIGNAR. C. li.

to be regularly blooded three times every year, but not by a secular person, and the priests who performed the operation were never suffered to be strangers^g.

I must not dismiss this poem, without pointing out a beautiful valediction to the royal palace of Snowdon; which is not only highly sentimental and expressive of poetical feelings, but strongly impresses on the mind an image of the romantic magnificence of antient times, so remote from the state of modern manners.

A dew fair Snawdoun, with thy towris hie,
Thy chapell royall, park, and tabill round.^h !
May, June, and July, wald I dwell in the,
War I ane man, to heir the birdis sound
Quhilk doth againe thy royall roche redound!ⁱ !

Our author's poem, *To the Kingis grace in contemptioun of syde taillis*, that is, a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, has more humour than decency^k. He allows a tail to the queen, but thinks it an affront to the royal dignity and prerogative, that

Every lady of the land
Suld have hir taill so syde trailland.^l—
Quhare ever thay go it may be sene
How kirk and calsay^m thay soup clene.—
Kittok that clekkit was yestreneⁿ,
The morne wyll counterfute the quene.
Ane mureland^o Mag that milkid the yowis
Claggit^p with clay above the howis,
In barn, nor byir, scho will nocht byde
Without hir kirtill taill besyde.—

^g MSS. JAMES. XXVI. p. 32. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

^h round table, tournaments.

ⁱ SIGNAT. B. iii.

^k Compare a manuscript poem of *Oocleve, Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men which is awens her astate*. MSS. LAUD. K. 78. f. 67. b. Bibl. Bodl. His

chief complaint is against pendent sleeves, sweeping the ground, which with their fur amount to more than twenty pounds.

^l SIGNAT. L. ii.

^m causey, street, path.

ⁿ Kitty that was born yesterday.

^o moor-land.

^p clogged.

They waist more claith [cloth] within few yeiris
Than wald cleith fyftie score of freris.⁹

In a statute of James the Second of Scotland^r, about the year 1460, it was ordered, that no woman should come to church or to market with her face *mussaled*, that is muzzled, or covered. Notwithstanding this seasonable interposition of the legislature, the ladies of Scotland continued *muzzled* during three reigns^s. The enormous excrescence of female tails was prohibited in the same statute, "That na woman wear tails unfit in length." The legitimate length of these tails is not, however, determined in this statute; a circumstance which we may collect from a mandate issued by a papal legate in Germany, in the fourteenth century. "It is decreed, that the apparel of women, which ought to be consistent with modesty, but now, through their foolishness, is degenerated into wantonness and extravagance, more particularly the immoderate length of their petticoats, with which they sweep the ground, be restrained to a moderate fashion, agreeably to the decency of the sex, under pain of the sentence of excommunication^t." The orthodoxy of petticoats is not precisely ascertained in this salutary edict: but as it excommunicates those female tails, which, in our author's phrase, *keep the kirk and causey clean*, and allows such a moderate standard to the petticoat, as is compatible with female delicacy, it may be concluded, that the ladies who covered their feet were looked upon as very laudable conformists; an inch or two less would have been avowed immodesty; an inch or two

⁹ SIGNAT. L. iii. He commends the ladies of Italy for their decency in this article.

^r Act. 70.

^s As appears from a passage in the poem before us.

Bot in the kirk and market placis
I think thay suld nocht hide thair facis.—
He therefore advises the king to issue a proclamation,

Baith throw the land, and Borrow-
stounis,
To schaw thair face, and cut thair
gownis.

He adds, that this is quite contrary to the mode of the French ladies.

Hail aue France lady quben ye pleis,
Scho wil discover mouth and neis.

^t "Velamina etiam mulierum, quæ ad *verecundiam designandam* eis sunt concessa, sed nunc, per insipientiam earum, in lasciviam et luxuriam excreverunt, et immoderata longitudo *superpellicorum*, quibus pulverem trahunt, ad moderatum usum, sicut decet *verecundiam sensus*, per excommunicationis sententiam cohibentur." Ludewig, RELIQ. DIPLOM. tom. ii. p. 441.

more an affectation bordering upon heresy^u. What good effects followed from this ecclesiastical censure, I do not find: it is, however, evident, that the Scottish act of parliament against *long tails* was as little observed, as that against *muzzling*. Probably the force of the poet's satire effected a more speedy reformation of such abuses, than the menaces of the church, or the laws of the land. But these capricious vanities were not confined to Scotland alone. In England, as we are informed by several antiquaries, the women of quality first wore trains in the reign of Richard the Second: a novelty which induced a well meaning divine, of those times, to write a tract *Contra caudas dominarum*, against the Tails of the Ladies^v. Whether or no this remonstrance operated so far, as to occasion the contrary extreme, and even to have been the distant cause of producing the short petticoats of the present age, I cannot say. As an apology, however, for the English ladies, in adopting this fashion, we should in justice remember, as was the case of the Scotch, that it was countenanced by Anne, Richard's queen: a lady not less enterprising than successful in her attacks on established forms; and whose authority and example were so powerful, as to abolish, even in defiance of France, the safe, commodious, and natural mode of riding on horseback, hitherto practised by the women of England, and to introduce side-saddles^x.

An anonymous Scotch poem has lately been communicated to me, belonging to this period: of which, as it was never printed, and as it contains capital touches of satirical humour, not inferior to those of Dunbar and Lyndesay, I am tempted to transcribe a few stanzas^y. It appears to have been written soon after the death of James the Fifth^z. The poet mentions

^u See Notes to ANC. SC. POEMS, ut supr. p. 256.

^v See Collectanea Historica, ex Diction. MS. Thomæ Gascoign. Apud Hearne's W. HEMINGFORD, p. 512.

^x Chaucer represents his WIFE OR BATH as riding with a pair of spurs.

PROL. v. 475. p. 5. Urr.

And on her feete a paire of spurris sharpe.

^y For the use of this manuscript I am obliged to the ingenious Mr. Pennant; whose valuable publications are familiar to every reader of taste and science.

^z v. 162.

the death of James the Fourth, who was killed in the battle of Flodden-field, fought in the year 1513^a. It is entitled *DUNCANE LAIDER, OR MACGREGOR'S TESTAMENT*^b. The Scotch poets were fond of conveying invective, under the form of an assumed character writing a will^c. In the poem before us, the writer exposes the ruinous policy, and the general corruption of public manners, prevailing in Scotland, under the personage of the *STRONG MAN*^d, that is, tyranny or oppression. Yet there are some circumstances which seem to point out a particular feudal lord, famous for his exactions and insolence, and who at length was outlawed. Our testator introduces himself to the reader's acquaintance, by describing his own character and way of life, in the following expressive allegories.

My maister houshold was heich^e Oppressioun,
Reif^f my stewart, that cairit of na wrang^g;
Murthure, Slauchtir^h, aye of ane professioun,
My cubicularisⁱ has bene thir yearis lang:
Recept, that oft tuik in mony ane fang^k,
Was porter to the yettis^l, to oppin wyde;
And Covatice was chamberlane at all tyde^m.

Conspiracie, Invy, and False Report,
Were my prime counsalouris, leveⁿ and deare;
Then Robberie, the peepill to extort,
And common Thift^o tuke on tham sa the steir^p,
That Treuth in my presince durst not appeir,
For Falsheid had him ay at mortal feid^q,
And Thift brocht Lautie finalie to deid^r.

^a v. 78.

^b "Copied," says my manuscript, "at Taymouth, in September 1769. From a Manuscript in the library there, ending August 20th, 1490." The latter date certainly cannot refer to the time when this poem was written.

^c See *The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy. ANC. SC. POEMS*, ut supr. p. 35.

^d viz. LAIDER.

^e named, *high*.

^f robbery.

^g that scrupled to do no wrong.

^h murder, slaughter.

ⁱ The pages of my bed-chamber; called, in Scotland, *chamber-lads*.

^k took many a booty.

^l gates; *yates, yattis*.

^m all times.

ⁿ beloved.

^o theft.

^p steer, steerage; the management.

^q enmity, hatred.

^r brought loyalty to death.

Oppressioun clikit Gude Reule^a be the hair,
 And suddainlie in ane preesoun him flang^t;
 And Crueltie cast Pitie our the stair^u,
 Qhuill Innocence was murthurit in that thrang^w.
 Than Falsheid said, he maid my house richt strang,
 And furnist weill with meikill wrangus geir^x,
 And bad me neither god nor man to feir.^y

At length, in consequence of repeated enormities and violations of justice, Duncane supposes himself to be imprisoned, and about to suffer the extreme sentence of the law. He therefore very providently makes his last will, which contains the following witty bequests.

To my CURAT Negligence I resigne,
 Thairwith his parochinaris^z to teche;
 Ane ather gift I leif him als condigne^a,
 Slouth and Ignorance sendill^b for to preche:
 The saullis he committis for to bleiche^c
 In purgatorie, quhill thair be waschin clene^d,
 Pure religion thairbie to sustene.

To the VICAR I leif Diligence and Care
 To tak the upmost claith and the kirk kow^e,
 Mair nor^f to put the corps in sepulture:
 Have pour wad six gryis and ane sow^g,
 He will have ane to fill his bellie fowe^h:

^a caught Good Rule. Read *cleikit*, checked. *CLEIK* is crooked iron, *Uncus*.

^t threw him into prison.

^u over the stairs.

^w murdered in the croud.

^x furnished it well with much ill-gotten wealth.

^y v. 15. seq.

^z parishioners.

^a as good.

^b seldom.

^c to be bleached; whitened, or purified.

^d till they be washed clean.

^e Part of the pall, taken as a fee at funerals. The *kirk-kow*, or cow, is an ecclesiastical perquisite which I do not un-

derstand. [The *kirk-kow* is the Mortuary.—RITSON.]

^f more than.

^g If the poor have six pigs and one sow.

^h His belly full. BELLY was not yet proscribed as a coarse indelicate word. It often occurs in our Translation of the Bible: and is used, somewhat singularly, in a chapter-act of Westminster-abbey, so late as the year 1628. The prebendaries vindicate themselves from the imputation of having reported, that their dean, bishop Williams, repaired the abbey, "out of the diet, and BELLIES of the prebendaries, and revenues of our

His thoct is mair upon the pasche fynis,
Nor the saullis in purgatorie that pynis.¹

Oppressioun the PERSONE I leif untill^k,
Pour mens corne to hald upon the rig^l,
Quhill he get the teynd alhail at his will^m :
Suppois the barins thair bread suld go thigⁿ,
His purpois is na kirkis for to big^o ;
Sa fair an barne-tyme^p god has him send'n,
This seven years the queir will ly unmendin.^q

I leif unto the DEAN Dignite, bot fail^r,
With Greit Attendence quilk he sall not miss,
Fra adulteraris [to] tack the buttock-maill^s ;
Gif ane man to ane madin gif ane kiss^t,
Get he not geir, thai sall not come to bliss^u :
His winnyng^w is maist throw fornicatioun,
Spending it shur with siclike^x occupatioun.

I leif unto the PRIoure, for his part,
Gluttony, him and his monkis to feid,

said church, and not out of his own revenues," &c. Widmore's WESTMINSTER ABBEY, p. 213. Append. NUM. xii. Lond. 1751. Here, as we now think, a periphrasis, at least another term, was obvious. How shocking, or rather ridiculous, would this expression appear in a modern instrument, signed by a body of clergy!

¹ He thinks more of his Easter-offerings, than of the souls in purgatory. Pasche is *paschal*. PAIS, Easter.

^k I leave Oppression to the PARSON, the proprietor of the great, or rectorial tythes.

^l To keep the corn of the poor in the rig, or rick. [The rig is the ridge of the open field, where the Parson is so oppressive as to detain the whole of the poor people's corn, till he thinks fit to draw his *tithe*.—RITSON.]

^m Until he get the tythe all at his will.

ⁿ Suppose the children should beg their bread. *Barins*, or *Bearnis*.

^o To build no churches.

^p So fair a harvest.

^q The choir, or chancel, which, as the rector, he is obliged to keep in repair. The more tythe he receives, the less willing he is to return a due proportion of it to the church.

^r without doubt.

^s A fine for adultery. MAILLS is duties, rents. MAILL-MEN, MAILLERIS, persons who pay rent. MALE is Saxon for tribute or tax. Whence MAALMAN, Saxon, for one paying tribute. See Spelman and Dufresne, in VV.

^t If a man give a maid one kiss. Chaucer says of his SOMPOUR, or Apparitor, PROL. URR. p. 6. v. 651.

He would suffer for a quart of wine
A good fellow to have his concubine.

See the FREERES TALK, where these abuses are exposed with much humour. URR. edit. p. 87.

^u If he does not get his fine, they will not be saved. GEIR is properly goods, chattels.

^w his profits, in the spiritual court.

^x surely in the same manner.

With far better will to drink ane quart^y,
 Nor an the bible ane chaptoure^z to reid;
 Yit ar thai wyis and subtile into deid^a,
 Fenzeis thame pour^b, and has gret sufficence,
 And takith wolph away with gret patience.

I leif the ABBOT Pride and Arrogance,
 With trappit mules in the court to ryde^c,
 Not in the closter to make residence;
 It is na honoure thair for him to byde^d,
 But ever for ane bischoprik provyde^e:
 For weill ye wat ane pour benefice
 Of ten thousand markis^f may not him suffice.

To the BISCHOP his Free will I allege^g,
 Becaus thair [is] na man him [dares] to blame;
 Fra secular men he will him replege^h,
 And weill ye wat the pape is fur fra hameⁱ:
 To preich the gospell he thinkis schame,
 (Supposis sum tym it was his professioun,)
 Rather nor for to sit upon the sessioun^k.

^y an English gallon.

^z to read one chapter.

^a unto death.

^b feign themselves poor.

^c to ride on a mule with rich trappings. Cavendish says, that when Cardinal Wolsey went ambassador to France, he rode through London with more than twenty sumpter-mules. He adds, that Wolsey "rode very sumptuouslie like a cardinal, on a mule; with his spare-mule, and his spare-horse, covered with crimson velvett, and gilt stirrups," &c. *MEM. OF CARD. WOLSEY*. edit. Lond. 1708. 8vo. p. 57. When he meets the king of France near Amiens, he mounts another mule, more superbly caparisoned. *Ibid.* p. 69. See also p. 192. [See a manuscript of this Life, MSS. LAUD. i. 66. MSS. ARCH. B. 44. Bibl. Bodl.] The same writer, one of the cardinal's domestics, says that he constantly rode to Westminster-hall, "on a mule trapped in crimson velvett with a saddle of the

same." *Ibid.* p. 29. 30. In the *Computus of Maxtoke pory*, in Warwickshire, for the year 1446, this article of expenditure occurs, "Pro pabulo duarum mularum cum harnessiis domini Prioris hoc anno." Again in the same year, "Pro freno deaurato, cum sella et panno blodii coloris, mularum Prioris." MS. penes me supr. citat. Wicliffe describes a *WORDLY PRIEST*, "with fair hors and jolly, and gay saddles and bridles ringing by the way, and himself in costly clothes and pelure." Lewis's *WICCL.* p. 121.

^d continue.

^e look out for a bishoprick.

^f marcs.

^g give, assign.

^h He will order tryal in his own court. It is therefore unsafe to attack him.

ⁱ You well know the pope is at a great distance.

^k He had rather sit in parliament.

I leif my Flatterie, and Fals Dissembling,
 Unto the FRERIS, thai sa weill can fleitche¹,
 With mair profit throwe ane marriage-making
 Nor all the lentrane^m in the kirk to preicheⁿ.
 Thai gloiss^o the scripture, ever quhen thai teache,
 Moer in intent the auditouris to pleiss,
 Nor the trew worde of god for to appeiss^p.

Thir^q gifts that dame Nature has me lent
 I have disponit^r heir, as ye may see :
 It nevir was, nor yit is, my intent,
 That trew kirkmen get acht belongis to me^s :
 But that haulis^t Huredome and Harlottrie,
 Gluttony, Invy, Covatice, and Pryde,
 My executouris I mak tham at this tyde.

Adew all friends, quhill^u after that we meit,
 I cannot tell yow quhair, nor in quhat place ;
 But as the lord dispousis for my spreit,
 Quher is the well of mercie and of grace,
 That I may [stand] befoirr his godlie face :
 Unto the devill I leif my synnis^w all,
 Fra him thai came, to him agane thei fall.^x

Some readers may perhaps be of opinion, that Makgregor was one of those Scottish lairds, who lived professedly by ra-

¹ fawn.

^m Or, Lentrone, Lent.

ⁿ Who get more by making one match, than by preaching a whole Lent. The mendicants gained an establishment in families, and were consulted and gave their advice in all cases. Chaucer's FRERIS

Had mad full manie a marriage
 Of yong women, &c. PAOL. v. 212.

^o expound.

^p explain. The mendicants not only perverted the plainest texts of scripture to cover their own fraudulent purposes, but often amused their hearers with legends and religious romances. Wicliffe,

the grand antagonist of these orders, says that, "Capped [graduated] friers that been cleped [called] masters of divinitie, have their chamber and service as lords and kings, and senden out idiots full of covetise to preche, not the gospel, but chronicles, fables, and lesinges, to plesse the peple, and to robbe them." Lewis's LIFE OF WICLIF. p. 21. xiii.

^q these.

^r disposed, bequeathed.

^s A true churchman, a christian on the reformed plan, shall never get any thing belonging to me.

^t whole.

^u till.

^w sins.

^x v. 309. seq.

pine and pillage: a practice greatly facilitated, and even supported, by the feudal system. Of this sort was Edom o'Gordon, whose attack on the castle of Dunse is recorded by the Scotch minstrels, in a pathetic ballad, which begins thus.

It fell about the Martinmas,
 Qhen the wind blew schril and cauld,
 Saint Edom o'Gordon to his men,
 We maun draw to a hauld :

And quhat a hauld sall we draw to,
 My mirry men and me?
 We wul gae to the house o' the Rhodes,
 To see that fair ladie. †

Other parts of Europe, from the same situations in life, afford instances of the same practice. Froissart has left a long narrative of an eminent robber, one Amergot Marcell; who became at length so formidable and powerful, as to claim a place in the history of France. About the year 1380, he had occupied a strong castle for the space of ten years, in the province of Auvergne, in which he lived with the splendor and dominion of a petty sovereign: having amassed, by pillaging the neighbouring country, one hundred thousand francs. His depredations brought in an annual revenue of twenty thousand floreins. Afterwards he is tempted imprudently to sell his castle to one of the generals of the king for a considerable sum. Froissart introduces Marcell, after having sold his fortress, uttering the following lamentation, which strongly paints his system of depredation, the feudal anarchy, and the trade and travelling of those days. "What a joy was it when we rode forthe at adventure, and somtyme found by the way a ryche priour, or marchaunt, or a route of mulettes, of Montpellyer, of Narbone, of Lymons, of Fongans, of Tholous, or of Carcassone, laden with clothe of Brusselles, or peltre ware comynge from the fayres, or laden with spycery from Bruges, from Damas, or

† Percy's BALL. i. 100.

from Alysaunder ! Whatsoever we met, all was ours, or els ransomed at our pleasures. Dayly we gate newe money ; and the vyllaynes of Auvergne and of Lymosyn dayly provyded, and brought to our castell, whete mele, breed [bread] ready baken, otes for our horses and lytter, good wyne, beffes, and fatte mottons, pullayne, and wylde foule. We were ever furnyshed, as though we had been kings. Whan we rode forthe, all the country trembled for feare. All was oures, goynge or comynge. Howe toke we Carlaste, I and the Bourge of Compayne ! and I and Perot of Bernoys toke Caluset. How dyd we scale with lytell ayde the strong castell of Marquell pertayninge to the erle Dolphyn ! I kept it not past fyve dayes, but I receyved for it, on a fayre table, fyve thousand frankes ; and forgave one thousand, for the love of the erle Dolphyn's chyl-dren. By my faithe, this was a fayrie and goodlie life ! " &c. ^a

But on the whole I am inclined to think, that our testator Makgregor, although a robber, was a personage of high rank, whose power and authority were such, as to require this indirect and artificial mode of abuse. For the same reason, I believe the name to be fictitious.

I take this opportunity of observing, that the old Scotch poet Blind Harry belongs to this period ; and, at the same time, of correcting the mistake, which, in conformity to the common opinion, and on the evidence of Dempster and Mackenzie, I have committed, in placing him towards the close of the fourteenth century^a. John Major the Scotch historian, who was born about the year 1470, remembered Blind Harry to have been living, and to have published a poem on the achievements of Sir William Wallace, when he was a boy. He adds, that he cannot vouch for the credibility of those tales which the bards were accustomed to sing for hire in the castles of the nobility^b. I will give his own words. "Integrum librum

^a See tom. ii. cap. 170. fol. 115. a. And tom. i. cap. 149. fol. 73. See also *ibid.* cap. 440. fol. 313. b. Berner's Translation.

^a See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 157. Dempster says he lived in 1361.

^b The poem as now extant has probably been reformed and modernised.

Gulielmi Wallacei Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, mæse infantie tempore cudit: et quæ vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit. Ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior; quippe qui HISTORIARUM RECITATIONE CORAM PRINCIPIBUS victum et vestitum, quo dignus erat, nactus est^c." And that, in this poem, Blind Harry has intermixed much fable with true history, will appear from some proofs collected by sir David Dalrymple, in his judicious and accurate annals of Scotland, lately published^d.

I cannot return to the English poets without a hint, that a well-executed history of the Scotch poetry from the thirteenth century, would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain. The subject is pregnant with much curious and instructive information, is highly deserving of a minute and regular research, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both accessible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scotland have never yet been written with tolerable care; and at present are only known from the meagre outlines of Dempster and Mackenzie. The Scotch appear to have had an early propensity to theatrical representations; and it is probable, that in the prosecution of such a design, among several other interesting and unexpected discoveries, many anecdotes, conducing to illustrate the rise and progress of our ancient drama, might be drawn from obscurity.

^c HIST. MAGN. BRITAN. L. iv. c. xv. Mack. tom. i. 423. Dempst. lib. viii. f. 74. a. edit. Ascens. 1521. 4to. Comp. p. 349.

pare Hollinsh. Scotz. ii. p. 414. And ^d See p. 245. edit. 1776. 4to.

SECTION XXXIII.

MOST of the poems of John Skelton were written in the reign of king Henry the Eighth. But as he was laureated at Oxford about the year 1489^e, I consider him as belonging to the fifteenth centry.

Skelton, having studied in both our universities, was promoted to the rectory of Diss in Norfolk^f. But for his buf-

^e See supr. vol. ii. p. 440.

^f At least before the year 1507. For at the end of his *TRENTALE for old John Clarke*, there is this colophon. "Auctore Skelton rectore de Dis. Finis, &c. Apud Trumpinton, script. per Curatum ejusdem quinto die Jan. A.D. 1507." See the *PITHY PLEASANT AND PROFITABLE WORKES OF MAISTER SKELTON*, reprinted at London, 1736, 12mo. pag. 272. He was ordained both deacon and priest in the year 1498. On the title of the monastery de Gracilis near the tower of London. *REGISTR. Savage. Episc. Lond.* There is a poem by Skelton on the death of king Edward the Fourth, who died A. D. 1483. *WORKES*, ut supr. p. 100. This is taken into the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*.

Skelton's poems were first printed at London, 1512. 8vo. A more complete edition by Thomas Marshé appeared in 1568. 12mo. From which the modern edition, in 1736, was copied. Many pieces of this collection have appeared separately. We have also, *CERTAIN BOOKS OF SKELTON*. For W. Bonham, 1547. 12mo. Again, viz. Five of his poems, for John Day, 1583. 12mo. Another collection for A. Scolcker, 1582. 12mo. Another of two pieces, without date, for A. Kytson. Another, viz. *MERIE TALES*, for T. Colwell, 1575. 12mo. *MAGNIFICENCE, a goodly Interlude and a mery deuyed and made by mayster Skelton, poet laureate, late deceased*, was printed by Rastell, in 1533. 4to.

This is not in any collection of his poems. He mentions it in his *CROWNE OF LAWRELL*, p. 47. "And of *MAGNIFICENCE*, a notable mater," &c. Pinson also printed a piece of Skelton, not in any collection, "How yong scholars now a days emboldened in the fly blowne blast of the moche vayne glorious," &c. Without date, 4to. There are also, not in his Works, *Epitaph of Jasper duke of Bedford*, Lond. 4to. And, *Miseries of England under Henry Seventh*, Lond. 4to. See two of his epitaphs in *Camden's EPITAPHIA REGUM*, &c. Lond. 1600. 4to. See a distich in *Hollinsh. iii. 378*. And *Stanzas presented to Henry the Seventh*, in 1488, at Windsor, in *Ashmole's ORD. GART. chap. xxi. Sect. vii. p. 594*. A great number of Skelton's pieces remain unprinted. See *MSS. Harl. 367. 36. fol. 101. seq.—2252. 51. fol. 134. seq. MSS. Reg. 18. D. 4. 5. MSS. C. C. C. Cambr. G. ix. MSS. Cotton. VITELL. E. x. 28. And MSS. Cathedr. Linc.* In the *CROWNE OF LAWRELL*, Skelton recites many of his own pieces, p. 47. seq. The *soverayne Interlude of Virtue. The Rosiar. Prince Arthur's creation. Of Perfidia. Dialogues of Ymaginacion. The comedy of Achademios. Tullis familiars*, that is, a translation of Tully's *Familier Epistles. Of good Adviseiment. The Recule against Gaguine*. See p. 47. 162. The *Popyngay. A noble pamyhelet of soveraynte. The Play of Magnificence*, above mentioned. *Maters of Myrth to maistres Margery.*

foonerics in the pulpit, and his satirical ballads against the Mendicants^s, he was severely censured, and perhaps suspended by Nykke his diocesan, a rigid bishop of Norwich, from exercising the duties of the sacerdotal function. Wood says, he was also punished by the bishop for "having been guilty of *certain crimes, as most poets are*^h." But these persecutions only served to quicken his ludicrous disposition, and to exasperate the acrimony of his satire. As his sermons could be no longer a vehicle for his abuse, he vented his ridicule in rhyming libels. At length, daring to attack the dignity of cardinal Wolsey, he was closely pursued by the officers of that powerful minister; and, taking shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster

The *Peregrination of Mannes Lyfte*, from the French, perhaps of Guillaume, prior of Chalis. [See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 427.] But it should be observed, that Pyndon printed *Peregrinatio humani generis*, 1508. 4to. The *triumphes of the redde rose*, containing many stories long unremembered. *Speculum principis*, a manual written while he was *creauncer*, or tutor, to Henry the Eighth, when a boy. The *Tunnynge of Elinour Rummyng*. See p. 123. *Colin Clout*. See p. 179. *John Yve*. *Joforth Jacke*. Verses to *maistres Anne*. Epitaph of *one Adam a knave*. See p. 271. The *balade of the mustarde tart*. The fate of *Philip Sparrowe*. See p. 215. The *grounting of the noyme*. The *mourning of the mapely rote*. A prayer to *Moyse's hornes*. The *paiaunts* [pageaunts] *played in joyous garde*, that is, in king Arthur's castle, so called in the romance of *MORTE ARTHUR*. The *fenestrall* [window] of *castell Angel*. The *recule of Rosamaundes dowre*. *How dame Minerva first found the olive tre*. The *myller and his joly mate*, or wife. *Marione clacion*. Of the *Bonhoms of Ashrige* near Berkhamstead, where is the *sange royall of Christ's blode*, that is, the *real blood of Christ*. He professes to have received many favours from this monastery. The *nacion of foles*. The *boke of three foolis* is printed in his Works, p. 260. *Apollo that whist-d up his chare*. The *mayden of Kent*. Of *lovers testaments*. Of *Jollas and Phillis*. The *boke of honoroues astate*: *Of royall demonaunce*: *How to flis symme*:

How to speke well. *How to dye when ye will*. A translation of *Diodorus Siculus*, *outs of freshe Latin*, that is, of *Poggins Florentinus*, containing six books, MS. C. C. C. Camb. viii. 5. *Poggius's* version was first printed at Venice, 1476. Caxton in his Preface to *Virgil's ENNEIDOS*, says that Skelton "translated diverse other workes out of Latyn into Englysh," beside *Tully's Epistles*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. Bale mentions his *Invectiva* on *William Lily the grammarian*. I know nothing more of this, than that it was answered by *Lily* in *Apologis ad Joh. Scheltonum*. Pr. "Siccine vipe-reo pergis me," &c. The piece of Skelton most frequently printed was, I believe, his *ELINOUR RUMMYNG*, or *Rumpkin*. The last of the old editions is in 1624. 4to. In the title page, is the picture of our genial hostess, a deformed old woman, holding a pot of ale, with this inscription.

When Skelton wore the lawrel crown
My ale put all the alewives down.

See *Davies's CRITICAL HISTORY OF PAMPHLETS*, p. 28. 86. [Skelton's printed poems have been incorporated by *Mr. A. Chalmers* in his *Collection of the British Poets*, vol. 2d.—*EDIT.*]

^s See *WORKS*, p. 200. 202. &c.

^h *ATH. OXON.* i. 22. seq. [Fuller says it was for keeping a concubine, and *Delasfield* (in *Mr. Bliss's* edition of *Wood Ath. Oxon.*) for being married.—*EDIT.*]

abbey, was kindly entertained and protected by abbot Islip¹, to the day of his death. He died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of Saint Margaret, in the year 1529.

Skelton was patronised by Henry Algernon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, who deserves particular notice here; as he loved literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of such genius as his age produced. He encouraged Skelton, almost the only professed poet of the reign of Henry the Seventh, to write an elegy on the death of his father, which is yet extant. But still stronger proofs of his literary turn, especially of his singular passion for poetry, may be collected from a very splendid manuscript, which formerly belonged to this very distinguished peer, and is at present preserved in the British Museum^k. It contains a large collection of English poems, elegantly engrossed on vellum, and superbly illuminated, which had been thus sumptuously transcribed for his use. The pieces are chiefly those of Lydgate, after which follow the aforesaid Elegy of Skelton, and some smaller compositions. Among the latter are a metrical history of the family of Percy, presented to him by one of his own chaplains; and a prolix series of poetical inscriptions, which he caused to be written on the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments of his castles of Leginfield and Wressil^l. His cultivation of

¹ His Latin epitaph or elegy on the Death of Henry the Seventh, is addressed to Islip, A. D. 1512. p. 285.

^k MSS. Reg. 18 D. 11.

^l See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 438. And MSS. C. C. C. Cant. 168. Three of the apartments in Wressill Castle, now destroyed, were adorned with POETICAL INSCRIPTIONS. These are called in the manuscript above mentioned, "PROVERBS IN THE LODGINGS IN WRESSILL."

1. "The proverbes in the sydis of the innere chamber at Wressill." This is a poem of twenty-four stanzas, each containing seven lines: beginning thus, "When it is tymes of coste and greate expens,

Beware of waste and spende by measure:

Who that outrageously makithe his dispens,
Causythe his goodes not long to endure," &c.

2. "The counsell of Aristotill, whiche he gayfe to Alexander, kynge of Masydony; whiche are wrytyn in the syde of the Utter Chamber above the house in the Garden at Wresyll." This is in distichs of thirty-eight lines; beginning thus,

"Punyshe moderatly and discretly correcte,
As well to mercy as to justice havynge a respecte," &c.

3. "The proverbis in the syde of the Utter Chamber above of the hous in the

the arts of external elegance appears, from the stately sepulchral monuments which he erected in the minster, or collegiate church, of Beverly in Yorkshire, to the memory of his father

gardying at Wresyll." A poem of thirty stanzas, chiefly of four lines, viz.

"Remorde thyne ey inwardly,
Fyx not thy mynde on Fortune, that
delythe dyversly," &c.

The following apartments in Lekingfeld had poetical inscriptions: as mentioned in the said manuscript. "PROVERBS IN THE LODGINGS AT LEKINGFELD."

1. "The proverbis of the garet over the Bayne at Lekyngfelde." This is a dialogue in 32 stanzas, of four lines, between "the Parte Sensatyve," and "the Part Intellectyve;" containing a poetical comparison between sensual and intellectual pleasures.

2. "The proverbis in the garet at the new lodge in the parke of Lekingfelde." This is a poem of 32 stanzas, of four lines, being a discant on Harmony, as also on the manner of Singing, and playing on most of the instruments then used: i. e. the Harpe, Claricordes, Lute, Virgynall, Clarisymballis, Clarion, Shawme, Orgayne, Recorder. The following stanza relates to the SHAWME, and shews it to have been used for the Bass, as the RECORDER was for the Means or Tenor.

"A SHAWME makithe a sweete sounde
for he tunithe the BASSE,
It mountithe not to hy, but kepithe rule
and space.
Yet yf it be blowne with a too vehement
wynde,
It makithe it to misgoverne out of his
kynde."

3. "The proverbis in the rooffe of the hyst chawmbre in the gardinge at Lekingfelde." If we suppose this to be the room mentioned by Leland, where the Genealogy was kept; the following jangling reflections on the family motto, (in thirty distichs) will not appear quite so misplaced;

"*Esperance en Dycu,*
Truste in hym he is most trewe.

En Dieu esperance,
In hym put thyne affiance.

Esperance in the worlde? nay;
The worlde varieth every day.

Esperance in riches? nay, not so,
Riches slidithe and some will go.

Esperance in exaltation of honoure?
Nay, it widderithe... lyke a flour.

Esperance in bloode and highlynage?
At moste nede, bot esy avantage."

The concluding distich is,

"*Esperance en Dieu, in hym is all;*
Be thou contente and thou art above
Fortune's fall."

4. "The proverbis in the roufe of my Lorde Percy closett at Lekyngfelde." A poetical dialogue, containing instructions for youth, in 142 lines.

5. "The proverbis in the roufe of my Lordis library at Lekyngfelde." Twenty-three stanzas of four lines, from which take the following specimen:

"To every tale geve thou no credens.
Prove the cause, or thou give sentens.
Agayn the right make no dyffens,
So hast thou a clene consciens."

6. "The counsell of Aristotell, whiche he gave to Alexander kinge of Macedony; in the syde of the garet of the gardynge in Lekyngfelde." This consists of nine stanzas, of eight lines: Take the last stanza but one:

"Punishe moderately, and discretly
correct,
As well to mercy, as to justice havynge
a respect;
So shall ye have meryte for the punysh-
ment,
And cause the offender to be sory and
penitent.

If ye be moved with anger or hastynes,
Pause in youre mynde and your yre re-
press:

Defer vengeance unto your anger asswa-
gede be;
So shall ye mynyster justice, and do
dewe equyte."

This castle is also demolished. One of the ornaments of the apartments of the old castles in France, was to write the walls all over with amorous SONNETS.

and mother; which are executed in the richest style of the florid Gothic architecture, and remain to this day, the conspicuous and striking evidences of his taste and magnificence. In the year 1520, he founded an annual stipend of ten marcs for three years, for a preceptor, or professor, to teach grammar and philosophy in the monastery of Alnewick, contiguous to another of his magnificent castles^m. A further instance of his attention to letters and studious employments, occurs in his *HOUSEHOLD-BOOK*, dated 1512, yet remaining; in which the *LIBRARIES* of this earl and of his lady are specifiedⁿ: and in the same curious monument of antient manners it is ordered, that one of his chaplains should be a *MAKER OF INTERLUDES*^o. With so much boldness did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers, whose principal occupations were hawking and tilting; and who despised learning, as an ignoble and petty accomplishment, fit only for the purposes of laborious and indigent ecclesiastics. Nor was he totally given up to the pursuits of leisure and peace: he was, in the year 1497, one of the leaders who commanded at the battle of Blackheath against lord Audley and his partisans; and was often engaged, from his early years, in other public services of trust and honour. But Skelton hardly deserved such a patronage^p.

^m From the Receiver's accounts of the earl's estates in Com. Northumb. A. xv. Henr. VIII. A. D. 1527. "SOLUTIONES DENARIORUM per WARRANTUM DOMINI. Et in denariis per dominum receptorem doctori Makerell Abbati monasterii de Alnewyk solutis, de exitibus hujus anni, pro solutione vadii unius PEDAGOGI, sive Magistri, existentis infra Abbatiam predictam, et docentis ac legentis GRAMMATICAM et PHILOSOPHIAM canonicis et fratribus monasterii predicti, ad x marcas per annum pro termino iij annorum, virtute unius warranti, cujus data est apud Wressill xx^{mo} die Septembris anno xij Regis predicti, signo manuali ipsius Comitatus signati, et penes ipsum Abbatem remanentis, ultra vj lib. xij s. iv d. sibi allocatas anno xij Henr. viijth, et vj lib. xij s. iij d. similiter sibi allocatas in anno xiiij ejusdem

Regis ut per ii acquietancias inde confectas, et penes Auditorem remanentes." FROM EVIDENCES of the PERCY FAMILY, at Sion-house. C. iii. Num. 5. 6. Communicated by doctor Percy.

ⁿ Pag. 44. P. Cop.

^o Pag. 378. I am indebted to the usual kindness of Dr. Percy for all the notices relating to this earl. See his Preface to the *HOUSEHOLD BOOK*, pag. xxi. seq.

^p I am informed by a manuscript note in one of Mr. Oldys's books, that Skelton also wrote a poem called *TITUS AND GEXIPPUS*. This I believe to be a mistake: for I suppose he attributes to Skelton, William Walter's poem on this subject, mentioned above, p. 71. At the same time I take occasion to correct a mistake of my own, concerning that piece; which I have inadvertently called,

It is in vain to apologise for the coarseness, obscenity, and scurrility of Skelton, by saying that his poetry is tinctured with the manners of his age. Skelton would have been a writer without decorum at any period. The manners of Chaucer's age were undoubtedly more rough and unpolished than these

"a translation from a Latin romance concerning the siege of Jerusalem." *ibid.* Titus and Gesippus were famous for their friendship; and their history forms an interesting novel in Boccacio, the substance of which is this. Gesippus, falling into poverty, thought himself despised by Titus; and thence growing weary of life, gave out that he was guilty of a murder just committed. But Titus knowing the true state of the case, and desiring to save the life of his friend by losing his own, charged himself with the murder: at which the real murderer, who stood among the crowd at the trial, was so struck that he confessed the fact. All three are saved; and Titus, to repair the broken fortunes of Gesippus, gives him his sister in marriage, with an ample dower. *Bocc. DECAM. Nov. viii. GIOAN. x.* This is a frequent example of consummate friendship in our old poets. In the *FABRIZI QUEENE*, they are placed in the temple of Venus among the celebrated Platonic friends of antiquity, *B. iv. c. x. st. 27.*

Myld Titus and Gesippus without pryde.

See also *SONGES* and *SONNETS* written by E. G. At the end of lord Surrey's Works, fol. 114.

O friendship flour of flours, O lively sprite of life,

O sacred bond of blisful peace, the stalworth staunch of life!

Scipio with Lelius didst thou conjoin in care:—

Gesippus eke with TITUS, Damon with Pythias;

And with Menethus sonne Achill by thee combynd was:

Euryalus and Nisus, &c. &c.

[Boccacio borrowed the story of Titus and Gesippus from the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, or from Alphonso, *FAB. ii.* There is another Latin history of these two friends, probably a translation from

Boccacio by Fr. M. Bandello, and printed at Milan in 1509. An exceedingly scarce book. "Titi Romani et Hegesippi Atheniensis Historia in Latinum versa per Fr. Mattheum Bandellum Castronovensem. MEDIOLANI. Apud Gotard de Ponte, 1509. 4to."

I take this opportunity of pointing out another source of Boccacio's *TALES*. Friar Philip's story of the *GOOSE*, or of the Young Man who had never seen a Woman, in the Prologue to the Fourth day of the *DECAMERON*, is taken from a spiritual romance, called the *HISTORY OF BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT*. This fabulous narrative, in which Barlaam is a hermit and Josaphat a king of India, is supposed to have been originally written in Greek by Johaanes Damascenus. The Greek is no uncommon manuscript. See *MSS. LAUR. C. 72*. It was from the old Latin translation, which is mentioned by Vincent of Beauvais, that it became a favorite in the dark ages. The Latin, which is also a common manuscript, was printed so early as the year 1470. It has often appeared in French. A modern Latin version was published at Paris in 1577. The legendary historians, who believed every thing, and even Baronius, have placed Barlaam and Josaphat in their catalogues of confessours. Saint Barlaam and saint Josaphat occur in the *METRICAL LIVES OF THE SAINTS. MSS. BODL. 72. fol. 288. b.* This history seems to have been composed by an oriental Christian: and, in some manuscripts, is said to have been brought by a monk of saint Saba into the holy city from Ethiopia. Among the Barocccian manuscripts there is an *OFFICE* in Greek for these two supposed saints. *Cod. xxi.—ADDITIONS.*

There is a manuscript of some of Skelton's poems in the Cotton library: but the volume is so much damaged by fire, that they are almost illegible. [*Brit. Mus.*] *VITELL. E. x. 28.*

of the reign of Henry the Seventh. Yet Chaucer, a poet abounding in humour, and often employed in describing the vices and follies of the world, writes with a degree of delicacy, when compared with Skelton. That Skelton's manner is gross and illiberal, was the opinion of his cotemporaries; at least of those critics who lived but a few years afterwards, and while his poems yet continued in vogue. Puttenham, the author of the *ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE*, published in the year 1589, speaking of the species of short metre used in the minstrel-romances, for the convenience of being sung to the harp at feasts, and in *CAROLS* and *ROUNDS*, "and such other light or lascivious poems which are commonly more commodiously uttered by those buffoons or Vices in playes than by any other person," and in which the sudden return of the rhyme fatigues the ear, immediately subjoins: "Such were the rimes of Skelton, being indeed but a rude rayling rimer, and all his doings ridiculous; he used both short distaunces and short measures, pleasing only the popular eare^o." And Meres, in his *PALLADIS TAMIA, OR WIT'S TREASURY*, published in 1598: "Skelton applied his wit to skurilities and ridiculous matters: such among the Greekes were called *pantomimi*, with us buffoons^q."

Skelton's characteristic vein of humour is capricious and grotesque. If his whimsical extravagancies ever move our laughter, at the same time they shock our sensibility. His festive levities are not only vulgar and indelicate, but frequently want truth and propriety. His subjects are often as ridiculous as his metre: but he sometimes debases his matter by his versification. On the whole, his genius seems better suited to low burlesque, than to liberal and manly satire. It is supposed by Caxton, that he improved our language; but he sometimes affects obscurity, and sometimes adopts the most familiar phraseology of the common people.

^o Lib. ii. ch. ix. p. 69.

London, printed by P. Short. &c. 1598."

^q "Being the second part of Wrr's 12mo. fol. 279. b. The first part is, *COMMONWELTH*. By Francis Meres, "*POLITOPHONIA, Wit's Commonwealth*, maister of artes of both universities. for Nicholas Ling, 1598," 12mo.

He thus describes, in the *BOKE OF COLIN·CLOUTE*, the pompous houses of the clergy.

Building royally
 Their mancyons, curiously
 With turrettes, and with toures,
 With halles, and with boures,
 Streching to the starres;
 With glasse windowes and barres :
 Hangyng about the walles
 Clothes of golde and palles ;
 Arras of ryche arraye,
 Freshe as floures in Maye :
 With dame Dyana naked ;
 Howe lystye Venus quaked,
 And howe Cupide shaked
 His darte, and bente his bowe,
 For to shote a crowe
 At her tyrly tylowe :
 And how Paris of Troye
 Daunced a *lege de moy*,
 Made lustye sporte and toye
 With dame Helyn the queene :
 With suche storyes by deen',
 Their chambres wel be seene.
 With triumphes of Cesar, &c.—
 Now * all the world stares
 How they ryde in goodly chares,
 Conveyed by olyphantes
 With lauriat garlantes ;
 And by unycornes
 With their semely hornes ;
 Upon these beastes riding
 Naked boyes striding,
 With wanton wenches winkyng.—

* by the dosen. [By deene, seems to signify, besides, moreover. Dr. Jamieson.]

* This is still a description of tapestry.

For prelates of estate
 Their courage to abate;
 From wordly wantonnes,
 Their chambers thus to dres
 With such parfytness,
 And all such holynes,
 How beít they lett down fall
 Their churches cathedrall.^c

These lines are in the best manner of his petty measure: which is made still more disgusting by the repetition of the rhymes. We should observe, that the satire is here pointed at the subject of these tapestries. The graver ecclesiastics, who did not follow the levities of the world, were contented with religious subjects, or such as were merely historical. Rosse of Warwick, who wrote about the year 1460, relates that he saw in the abbat's hall at saint Alban's abbey a suite of arras, containing a long train of incidents belonging to a most romantic and pathetic story in the life of the Saxon king Offa, which that historian recites at large^d.

^c *The Boke of Colin Cloute*, p. 205. seq.

^d J. Ross. WARWIC. HIST. REG. ANGL. edit. Hearne, p. 64. Hugh de Foliot, a canon regular of Picardy, so early as the year 1140, censures the magnificent houses of the bishops, with the sumptuous paintings, or tapestry, of their chambers, chiefly on the Trojan story. "Episcopi domos non impares ecclesiis magnitudine construunt. Pictos delectantur habere thalamos: vestuntur ibi imagines pretiosas colorum indumentis.—Trojanorum gestis paries, purpura atque auro vestitur.—Græcorum exercitui dantur arma. Hectori clypeus datur auro splendens," &c. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. JAMES. II. p. 208. But I believe the tract is published in the Works of a cotemporary writer, Hugo de Sancto-Victore. Among the manuscript EPISTLES of Gilbert de Stone, a canon of Wells, and who flourished about the year 1360, there is a curious passage concerning the spirit for fox-hunting which antiently prevailed among

our bishops. Reginald Bryan, bishop of Worcester, in 1352, thus writes to the bishop of Saint David's. "Reverende in Christo pater et domine, premissa recommendatione debita tanto patri. Illos optimos canes venaticos, duodecim ad minus, quibus non vidimus meliores, quos nuper, scitis, vestra reverenda PATERNITAS reppromisit, quotidie expectamus. *Languet namque cor nostrum, donec realiter ad manus nostras venerit reppromissum.*" He then owns his eagerness of expectation on this occasion to be sinful; but observes, that it is the fatal consequence of that deplorable frailty which we all inherit from our mother Eve. He adds, that the foxes, in his manor of Alnechurch, and elsewhere, had killed most of his rabbits, many of his capons, and had destroyed six of his swans in one night. "Veniant ergo, PATER REVERENDE, illæ sæx *Conculcatorum capularum, et non tardent.*" &c. He then describes the very exquisite pleasure he shall receive, in hearing his woods echo with the cry of the hounds,

In the poem, **WHY COME YE NOT TO THE COURT**, he thus satirises cardinal Wolsey, not without some tincture of humour.

He is set so hye
 In his ierarchie^w,
 Of frantike frenesy,
 And folish fantasy,
 That in chambre of stars^x
 Al maters ther he mars,
 Clapping his rod on the borde,
 No man dare speake a worde;
 For he hath al the saying
 Without any renaying,
 He rolleth in his Recordes:
 He saith, "How say ye my lordes?
 Is not my reason good?
 Good!—even good—*Robin-hood!*"
 Borne up on every syde
 With pompe and with pryde,

and the music of the horns; and in seeing the trophies of the chase affixed to the walls of his palace. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. SUPPL. D. 1. A. 2. 123.—MSS. Cotton. VITELL. E. x. 17. [See MSS. JAMES, xix. p. 139.]

From a want of the notions of common propriety and decorum, it is amazing to see the strange absurdities committed by the clergy of the middle ages, in adopting the laical character. Du Cange says, that the deans of many cathedrals in France entered on the dignities habited in a surplice, girt with a sword, in boots and gilt spurs, and a hawk on the fist. LATIN. GLOSS. V. DECANUS, tom. i. p. 1326. See also *ibid.* p. 79. And tom. ii. p. 179. seq. Carpentier adds, that the treasurers of some churches, particularly that of Nivernois, claimed the privilege of assisting at mass, on whatever festival they pleased, without the canonical vestments, and carrying a hawk. And the lord of Sasseay held some of his lands, by placing a hawk on the high altar of the church of Evreux, while his parish priest celebrated the

service, booted and spurred, to the beat of drum, instead of the organ. SUPPL. tom. i. p. 52. Although their ideas of the dignity of the church were so high, yet we find them sometimes conferring the rank and title of secular nobility even on the Saints. Saint James was actually created a BARON at Paris. Thus Froissart, tom. iii. c. 90. "Or eurent ils affection et devotion d'aller en pelerinage au BARON Saint Jaques." And in *Fabl.* (tom. ii. p. 182.) cited by Carpentier, *ubi supr.* p. 469.

Dame, dist il, et je me veu,
 A dieu, et au BARON Saint Leu,
 Et s' irai au BARON Saint Jaques.

Among the many contradictions of this kind, which entered into the system of these ages, the institution of the Knights templars is not the least extraordinary. It was an establishment of armed monks; who made a vow of living at the same time both as anchorets and soldiers.

^w hierarchy.

^x the star-chamber. So below, p. 151.

In the *ster-chamber* he nods and becks.

With trump up alleluya^y,
 For dame Philargyria^z
 Hath so his hart in hold, &c.—
 Adew Philosophia!
 Adew Theologia!
 Welcome dame Simonia^a,
 With dame Castimergia^b,
 To drynke and for to eate
 Swete ipocras, and swete meate^c:
 To kepe his fleshe chaste,
 In Lente, for his repaste
 He eateth capons stewed,
 Fesaunt and partriche mewed:—
 Spareth neyther mayd ne wife,
 This is a postel's life^d!

^y The pomp in which he celebrates divine service.

^a love of money.

^z simony.

^b The true reading is *CASTRIMARGIA*, or *Gula concupiscentia*, Gluttony. From the Greek, *Γαστριμαγία*, Ingluvis, heluatio. Not an uncommon word in the monkish latinity. Du Cange cites an old Litany of the tenth century, "A Spiritu *CASTRIMARGIE Libera nos domine!*" *LAT. GLOSS.* i. p. 398. Carpentier adds, among other examples, from the statutes of the Cistercian order, 1375, "Item, cum propter detestabile *CASTRIMARGIE* vitium in labyrinthum vitiorum descendatur," &c. *SUPPL.* tom. i. p. 862.

^c I have before spoken of Hypocras, or spiced wine. I add here, that the spice, for this mixture, was served, often separately, in what they called a spice-plate. So Froissart, describing a dinner in the castle of Thoulouse, at which the king of France was present. "After dyner, they take other pastymes in a great chambre, and hereyng of instruments, wherein the erle of Foiz greatly deliyed. Than *WYN* and *SPYCES* was brought. The erle of Harcourt served the kyng of his *SPYCE-PLATE*. And sir Gerard de la Pyen served the duke of Burbone. And sir Monaunt of Noailles served the erle of Foiz," &c. This was

about the year 1360. *CHRON.* tom. ii. cap. 164. f. 184. a. Again, *ibid.* cap. 100. f. 114. a. "The kyng slyghted at his palis [of Westminster] whiche was redie apparelled for him. There the kyng *DRANKE* and *TOKE SPYCES*, and his uncles also: and other prelates, lordes, and knyghtes." Lord Berners's *TRANSL.* In the *Computus of Maxtoke priory* [*MS.* *supr.* *citat.*] an. 1447, we have this entry, "Item pro vino cretico cum speciebus et confectis datis diversis generosis in die sancti Dionysii quando *Le fole* domini Monfordes erat hic, et faceret jocositates suas in camera oriolii." Here, I believe, *vinum creticum* is raisin-wine, or wine made of dried grapes; and the meaning of the whole seems to be this. "Paid for raisin wine with cornfits and spices, when sir S. Montford's fool was here, and exhibited his merriments in the oriel-chamber." With regard to one part of the entry, we have again, "Item, extra cameram vocatam *le geais chamber*, erat una lintheamina furata in die sancti Georgii Martiris quando *le fole* de *MONFORDES* erat hic."

^d an apostle's. p. 147. He afterwards insinuates, that the Cardinal had lost an eye by the French disease: and that *Balthasar*, who had cured of the same disorder *Domingo Lomelyn*, one who had won much money of the king

The poem called the *BOUGE OF COURT*, or the *Rewards of a Court*, is in the manner of a pageant, consisting of seven personifications. Here our author, in adopting the more grave and stately movement of the seven-lined stanza^c, has shewn himself not always incapable of exhibiting allegorical imagery with spirit and dignity. But his comic vein predominates.

RYOTT is thus forcibly and humourously pictured.

With that came RYOTTE rushing al at ones,
A rustie galande^f, to ragged and to rente^g;
And on the borde he whirled a paire of bones^h;
Quater treye dew he clattered as he went:
Nowe have at all by saint Thomas of Kenteⁱ,
And ever he threwe, and kyst^k I wote nere what:
His here was growen thorowe out of his hat.

Than I behylde how he dysgysed was;
His hedd was heavy for watchinge over night,
His eyen blered, his face shone like a glas;

at cards and *hasarding*, was employed to recover the cardinal's eye. p. 175. In the *Boke of Colin Clout*, he mentions the cardinal's mule, "wyth golde all be trapped." p. 188. [See *supr.* p. 157.]

^c But in this stanza he sometimes relapses into the absurdities of his favorite style of composition. For instance, in *SPEAKE PARROT*, p. 97.

Albertus de modo significandi,
And Donatus, be dryven out of schole;
Priscians hed broken now handy dandy,
And *Interdidascalos* is returned for a
fole:

Alexander a gander of Menander's pole,
With *da Consales* is cast out of the gate,
And *da Racionales* dare not shew his
pate.

Here, by *da Consales*, he perhaps means *Concilia*, or the canon law. By *da Racionales* he seems to intend *Logic*. Albertus is the author of the *MARGARITA PÖETICA*, a collection of Flores from the classics and other writers, printed at Nurenberg, 1472. fol. For Donatus, see vol. ii. p. 117. To which add, that Ingulphus says, in Croyland abbey library, there were many *Catones* and *Donati*, in the year 1091. *HIST. CROYL.*

Ingulph. Script. Vet. i. p. 104. And that no person was admitted into the college of Boissy at Paris, founded in 1358, "nisi DONATUM aut Catonem didicerit." *BUL. HIST. UNIV. PARIS.* tom. iv. p. 355. *INTERDIDASCALOS* is the name of an old grammar. Alexander was a schoolmaster at Paris about the year 1290, author of the *DOCTRINALE PUERORUM*, which for some centuries continued to be the most favorite manual of grammar used in schools, and was first printed at Venice in the year 1473. It is compiled from Priscian and in Leonine verse. See *Henr. Gandav. SCRIPTOR. ECCLÆ.* cap. lix. This admired system has been loaded with glosses and lucubrations: but, on the authority of an ecclesiastical synod, it was superseded by the *COMMENTARIUM GRAMMATICI* of Despauterius, in 1512. It was printed in England as early as the year 1503, by W. de Worde. [See *supr.* p. 5.] Barklay, in the *SHIP OF FOOL'S*, mentions Alexander's book, which he calls "The *olde DOCTRINALL* with his diffuse and unperfite brevite." fol. 53. b.

^f galant. ^g all over tatters and rags.

^h dice. ⁱ Saint Thomas Becket.

^k cast; he threw I know not what.

His gowne so shorte, that it ne cover myght
 His rompe, he went so all for somer light;
 His hose was gardyd with a lyste of grene^l,
 Yet at the knee they broken were I ween:

His cote was checkerd with patches rede and blewe,
 Of Kyrkbye Kendall^m was his short demyeⁿ;
 And aye he sange in fayth decon thou crewe:
 His elbowe bare, he ware his gere so nye^o:
 His nose droppinge, his lippes were full drye:
 And by his syde his whynarde, and his pouche,
 The devyll myght dance therin for any crouche^p.

There is also merit in the delineation of DISSIMULATION, in the same poem^q: and it is not unlike Ariosto's manner in imagining these allegorical personages.

Than in his hode I sawe there faces tweyne;
 That one was lene and lyke a pyned ghost,
 That other loked as he wolde me have slayne:
 And to me ward as he gan for to coost,
 Whan that he was even at me almost,
 I sawe a knyfe hid in his one sleve,
 Whereon was wryten this worde MISCHEVE.

^l There was an affectation of smartness in the trimming of his hose, Yet, &c.

^m See KENDALL-GREEN, in the Glossary to Shakespeare. edit. 1771.

ⁿ doublet, jacket.

^o his coat-sleeve was so short.

^p Pag. 70. The devil might dance in his purse without meeting with a single sixpence. CROUCHE is *Cross*, a piece of money so called, from being marked with the cross. Hence the old phrase, to *cross the hand*, for, to give money. In

Chaucer's MARCHAUNT'S TALE, when January and May are married, it is said the priest "*Croichid* them, and bad god should them bless." v. 1223. Urr. That is, "He *crossed* the new-married couple," &c. In the poem before us, RYOTTE says, "I have no coyne nor *crose*." p. 72. Carpendier mentions a coin, called in Latin *CROSATUS*, and in old

French *CROSAT*, from being marked with the cross. Hence *CROISAGE*, Fr. for TRIBUTE. V. *CROSATUS*. SUPPL. DU CANGE, LAT. GLOSS. tom. i. p. 1208. In Shakespeare's TIMON OF ATHENS, Flavius says,

More jewels yet! There is no *CROSSING*
 him in's humour,
 Else I should tell him—well—if *faith* I
 should,
 When all's spent he'd be *CROSS'D* than
 if he could.——

Act i. Sc. iv. That is, not *thwarting* him in his humour, but giving him money. Yet a jingle is intended. So in AS YOU LIKE IT, ii. iv. "Yet I should bear no cross if I did bear you; for I think you have no *money* in your purse." A *CRUZADOZ*, a Portuguese coin, occurs in Shakespeare.

^q P. 73.

And in his other sleve methought I sawe
 A spone of goldè, full of hony swete,
 To feed a fole, and for to prey a dawer, &c.

The same may be observed of the figure of DISDAYNE.

He looked hawtie, he sette eche man at nought;
 His gawdy garment with scornes was al wrought,
 With indignacyon lyned was his hode;
 He frowned as he wolde swere by cockes blode^r.

He bote^t the lyppe, he loked passynge coye;
 His face was belymmed, as bees had hym stounge:
 It was no tyme with hym to jape nor toye,
 Envye hath wasted his lyver and his lounge;
 Hatred by the herte so had hym wrounge,
 That he loked pale as ashes to my syghte:
 DISDAYNE, I wene, this comberous crab is hyghte.—

Forthwith he made on me a proude assawte,
 With scornfull lokè moyvd all in mode^u;
 He wente about to take me in a fawte,
 He fround, he stared, he stamped where he stoode:
 I loked on hym, I wende^w he had be woode^x:
 He set the arme proudly under the syde,
 And in this wyse he gan with me chyde.^y

In the CROWNE OF LAWRELL our author attempts the higher poetry: but he cannot long support the tone of solemn description. These are some of the most ornamented and poetical stanzas. He is describing a garden belonging to the superb palace of FAME.

In an herber^z I sawe brought where I was;
 The byrdes on the brere sange on every syde,

^r to catch a silly bird.
^s The Host's oath in *Lydgata*. See
 supr. vol. ii. p. 383.
^t bit.

^u in anger.
^w weened, thought.
^x mad. ^y P. 69.
^z See supr. p. 65.

With aleys ensandyd about in compas^a,
 The bankes enturfed with singular solas,
 Enrailed with rosers^b, and vines engraped;
 It was a new comfort of sorowes escaped.

In the middes a cundite, that curiously was cast
 With pypes of golde, engushing out streames
 Of cristall, the clerenes these waters far past,
 Enswimminge with roches, barbilles, and breames,
 Whose skales ensilvred again the son beames
 Englisterd

Where I sawe growyng a goodly laurell tre,
 Enverdured with leave, continually grene;
 Above in the top a byrde of Araby,
 Men call a Phenix: her wynges bytwene
 She bet up a fyre with the sparkes full kene,
 With braunches and bowes of the swete olyve,
 Whose fragraunt flower was chefe preservative

Ageynst all infections with rancour enflamed:

* * * * *

It passed all baumes that ever were named,
 Or gummes of Saby, so derely that be solde:
 There blewe in that garden a soft piplynge colde,
 Enbrething of Zephirus, with his pleasaunt wynde;
 Al frutes and flowers grew there in their kynde.

Dryades there daunsed upon that goodly soile,
 With the nyne Muses, Pierides by name;
 Phillis and Testelis, there tresses with oyle
 Were newly enbibed: And, round about the same
 Grene tre of laurell, moche solacious game
 They made, with chaplettes and garlandes grene;
 And formost of al dame Flora the quene;

^a It was surrounded with sand-walks. v. 1651. seq. And our author, *infr.* p. 40.

^b rose-trees. See Chaucer's *ROM. R.* The ruddy *rosary*,
 The pretty *rosemary*, &c.

Of somer so formally she foted the daunce :
 There Cinthius sat, twinklyng upon his harpestrings :
 And Jopas his instrument dyd avaunce,
 The poemes and stories auntyent in bringes
 Of Atlas astrology, &c.^c— —

Our author, supposes, that in the wall surrounding the palace of FAME were a thousand gates, new and old, for the entrance and egress of all nations. One of the gates is called ANGLIA, on which stood a leopard^d. There is some boldness and animation in the figure and attitude of this ferocious animal.

The buyldyng thereof was passing commendable ;
 Wheron stode a lybbard crowned with gold and stones,
 Terrible of countinaunce and passing formidable,
 As quickly^e touched as it were fleshe and bones,
 As gastly that glaris^f, as grimly that grones,
 As fiersly frownyng as he had ben fyghtyng,
 And with firme fote he shoke forthe his writyng.

Skelton, in the course of his allegory, supposes that the *poets laureate*, or learned men, of all nations, were assembled before Pallas. This groupe shews the authors, both antient and modern, then in vogue. Some of them are quaintly characterised. They are, first,—*Olde Quintilian*, not with his Institutes of eloquence, but with his Declamations: Theocritus, with his *bucolicall relations*: Hesiod, the *Icononucar*^g: Homer, the *freshe historiari*: *The prince of eloquence*, Cicero: Sallust, who wrote both the *history* of Catiline and Jugurth: Ovid, *enshryned with the Musys nine*: Lucan^h: Statius, writer of *Achilleidos*:

^c P. 30. seq.

^d P. 28.

^e with as much life.

^f glares.

^g I cannot decypher this appellation.

^h Of the popularity of Lucan in the dark ages, I have given proofs in the SECOND DISSERTATION, vol. i. To which I will here add others. The following passage occurs in Lydgate's PROLOGUE to the *LIVY AND PASSION* of the blessed *Martyr seynt Alban* [Alban] and *seynt Amphibalus*, written in 1439. MSS. Col. Trin. Oxon. Num. xxxviii. fol. 1.

a. [Never printed.]

I not acqueyntyd with Muses of Mars,
 Nor with metris of LUCAN nor Virgile ;
 Nor with sugred diteys of Cichero,
 Nor of Omere to folowe the freshe style.

And again, speaking of Julius Cæsar, Lydgate refers to Lucan's PHARSALIA, which he calls the "Records of LUCAN." *ibid.* fol. 2. b. Peter de Blois, in writing to a professor at Paris, about the year 1170, says, "Prisciannus, et Tullius, Lucanus, et Persius, isti sunt dii vestri." *EPISTOL.* iv. fol. 3. edit. 1517. fol. Eberhardus Bethuniensis, called GRÆ-

Persius, with *problems diffuse*: Virgil, Juvenal, Livy: Ennius, who wrote of *marciall warre*: Aulus Gellius, that noble *historiar*: Horace, with his *New Poetry*^l: Maister Terence, the famous *comicar*, with Plautus: Seneca, the tragedian: Boethius: Maximian, with his *madde dities how dotyng age wolde jape with young foly*^k: Boccaccio, with his *volumes grete*: Quintus Curtius: Macrobius, who treated of *Scipion's dreame*: Poggius Florentinus, with many a *mad tale*^l: a friar of France syr Gaguine, who frowned on me *full angrily*^m: Plutarch and Petrarch, two *famous clarkes*: Lucilius, Valerius Maximus, Propertius, Pisanderⁿ, and Vincentius Bellovacensis, who wrote the SPECULUM HISTORIALE. The catalogue is closed by Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, who first adorned the English language^o: in allusion to which part of their characters, their apparel is said to shine beyond the power of description,

CISTA, a philologist who wrote about the year 1190, in a poem on VERSIFICATION, says of Philip Gualtier, author of a popular epic poem called ALEXANDREIS, that he shines with the light of LUCAN. "Lucet Alexander Lucani luce." And of Lucan he observes, "Metro lucidiore carit." [See supr. p. 3. 4.] It is easy to conceive why Lucan should have been a favorite in the dark ages.

^l That is, Horace's ART OF POETRY. Vinesauf wrote DE NOVA POETRIA. Horace's ART is frequently mentioned under this title.

^k His six Elegies *De incommodis senectutis*. [See supr. p. 4.] Reinesius thinks that Maximinian was the bishop of Syracuse, in the seventh century: a most intimate friend, and the secretary, of pope Gregory the Great. EPIST. ad DAUM. p. 207. These Elegies contain many things superior to the taste of that period.

^l Poggius flourished about the year 1450. By his *mad tales*, Skelton means his FACETIÆ, a set of comic stories, very licentious and very popular. See Poggius's WORKS by Thomas Aucuparius, fol. Argentorat. 1513. f. 157—184. The obscenity contained in these compositions gave great offence, and fell under the particular censure of the learned Laurentius Valla. The objections of Valla, Poggius attempts to obviate; by saying, that Valla was a clown, a cynic, and a pedant, without any ideas of wit or

elegance: and that the FACETIÆ were universally esteemed in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, and all countries that cultivated pure Latinity. Poggius's INVECTIVA. Invect. in Laurent. Vallam, f. 82. b. edit. ut supr.

^m Robert, or Rupert, Gaguin, a German, minister general of the Maturines, who died at Paris 1502. His most famous work is COMPENDIUM SUPER FRANCORUM GESTIS, from Pharamond to the author's age. He has written, among many other pieces, Latin orations and poems, printed at Paris in 1498. The history of Skelton's quarrel with him is not known. But he was in England, as ambassador from the king of France, in 1490. He was a particular friend of dean Colet.

ⁿ Our author got the name of Pisander, a Greek poet, from Macrobius, who cites a few of his verses.

^o In the *boke of Philip Sparow*, he says, *Gower's Englyshe is old*, but that Chaucer's *Englyshe is wel allowed*: he adds, that Lydgate writes *after an hyer rate*, and that he has been censured for his elevation of phrase; but acknowledges, "No man can amend those matters that he hath pend." p. 237. In Rastall's TRUENS, in ENGLISH, printed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, these three are mentioned in the Prologue, which is in stanzas, as the only English poets. Without date. 4to.

and their tabards to be studded with diamonds and rubies^p. That only these three English poets are here mentioned, may be considered as a proof, that only these three were yet thought to deserve the name.

No writer is more unequal than Skelton. In the midst of a page of the most wretched ribaldry, we sometimes are surprized with three or four nervous and manly lines, like these.

Ryot and Revell be in your court roubles,
Mayntenaunce and Mischeffe these be men of myght,
Extorcyon is counted with you for a knyght.^q

Skelton's modulation in the octave stanza is rough and in-harmonious. The following are the smoothest lines in the poem before us; which yet do not equal the liquid melody of Lydgate, whom he here manifestly attempts to imitate^r.

Lyke as the larke upon the somers daye,
When Titan radiant burnisheth his bemes bright,
Mounteth on hye, with her melodious laye,
Of the son shyne engladed with the light.

The following little ode deserves notice; at least as a specimen of the structure and phraseology of a love-sonnet about the close of the fifteenth century.

TO MAISTRESS MARGARY WENTWORTH,

With margerain^s gentill,
The flowre of goodly hede^t,
Embrowdered the mantill
Is of your maydenhede^u.
Plainly I can not glose^w;
Ye be, as I devine^x,
The praty primèrose,
The goodly columbyne.
With margerain gentill, &c.

^p P. 19. seq.

^q Ibid. p. 15.

^r virginity.

^s P. 26.

^t In truth, I cannot flatter or deceive.

^u *Margelain*, the herb Marjoram.

Or, *glose* may be, simply to write.

Chaucer. Ass. LAD. 56.

^w as I imagine. So Chaucer, Nov.

And upon that a pette of MARGELAIN.

Pr. T. 1381.

^x goodlihed, goodness.

I can noon harme of no woman *divine*.

Benyne, courteis, and meke,
 With wordès well devised;
 In you, who lyst to seke,
 Be⁷ vertues well comprysed.^a
With margerain gentill,
The flowre of goodly hede,
Embrawdred the mantill
Is of your maydenhede.

For the same reason this stanza in a sonnet to *Maistress Margaret Hussey* deserves notice.

Mirry Margaret
 As Midsomer flówre,
 Gentyll as faucon,
 Or hawke^e of the towre.^a

As do the following flowery lyrics, in a sonnet addressed to *Maistress Isabell Pennel*.

— — Your colowre
 Is lyke the daisy flowre,
 After the April showre,
 Sterre of the morowe graye!
 The blossome on the spraye,
 The freshest flowre of Maye!
 Madenly demure,
 Of womanhede the lure! &c.^b

But Skelton most commonly appears to have mistaken his genius, and to write in a forced character, except when he is indulging his native vein of satire and jocularly, in the short minstrel-metre above mentioned: which he mars by a multiplied repetition of rhymes, arbitrary abbreviations of the verse, cant expressions, hard and sounding words newly-coined, and patches of Latin and French. This anomalous and motley mode of versification is, I believe, supposed to be peculiar to

^a are.
^b f. 39.

^a f. 41. In the king's mews in the tower.
^b p. 41.

our author^c. I am not, however, quite certain that it originated with Skelton.

About the year 1512, Martin Coccaie of Mantua, whose true name was Theophilo Folengo, a Benedictine monk of Casino in Italy, wrote a poem entitled PHANTASIE MACARONICÆ, divided into twenty-five parts. This is a burlesque Latin poem, in heroic metre, chequered with Italian and Tuscan [Mantuan] words, and those of the plebeian character, yet not destitute of prosodical harmony. It is totally satirical, and has some degree of drollery; but the ridicule is too frequently founded on obscene or vulgar ideas. Prefixed is a similar burlesque poem called ZANITONELLA, or the Amours of Tonellus and Zanina^d: and a piece is subjoined, with the title of MOSCHEA, or the War with the Flies and the Ants. The author died in 1544^e; but these poems, with the addition of some epistles and epigrams, in the same style, did not, I believe, appear in print before the year 1554^f. Coccaie is often cited by Rabelais, a writer of a congenial cast^g. The three last books, containing a description of hell, are a parody on part of Dante's INFERNO. In the preface, or APOLOGETICA, our author gives an account of this new species of poetry, since called the MACARONIC, which I must give in his own words. "Ars ista poetica nuncupatur Ars MACARONICA, a *Macaronibus* derivata: qui *Macarones* sunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, caseo, butyro compaginatum, grossum, rude, et rusticatum.

^c I have given specimens. But the following passage in the *Boke of Colin Clout* affords an apposite example at one view. p. 186.

Of suche vagabundus
Speaketh totus mundus.
How some syng let abundus, &c.
Cum ipsis et illis
Qui manent in villis,
Est uxor vel ancilla,
Welcome Jacke and Gilla,
My pretty Petronilla,
And you will be stilla
You shall have your willa:
Of such pater noster pekes
All the worlde vpekes.

^d Perhaps formed from Zanni, or Giovanni, a foolish character on the Italian stage. See Riccoboni, *THEATR. ITAL.* ch. ii. p. 14. seq.

^e See his Life, Jac. Phil. Thomasin's *Elog.* Patav. 1644. 4to. p. 71.

^f At Venice, 8vo. Again, 1564. And, 1613, 8vo. [These are the only editions I have seen of Coccaie's work. De Bure says, the first edition was in 1517. See his curious catalogue of *Poetes Latini modernes facitieux, vulgairement appellees MACARONIQUES.* *BIBL. INSTRUCT.* Bel. Lett. tom. i. § 6. p. 445. seq.—ADDITIONS.]

^g See Liv. iv. c. 13. ii. 1. xi. 3.

Ideo MACARONICA nil nisi grossedinem, ruditatem, et VOCABULAZZOS, debet in se continere^h." Vavassor observès, that Coccaie in Italy, and Antonius de Arena in France, were the two first, at least the chief, authors of the semi-latin-burlesque poetryⁱ. As to Antonius de Arèna, he was a civilian of Avignon; and wrote, in the year 1519, a Latin poem in elegiac verses, ridiculously interlarded with French words and phrases. It is addressed to his fellow-students, or, in his own words, "*Ad suos. compagnones studentes, qui sunt de persona friantes, bassas dansas, in galanti stilo bisognatas, cum guerra Romana, totum ad longum sine require, et cum guerra Neapolitana, et cum revoluta Genuensi, et guerra Avenionensi, et epistola ad fatalissimam garsam pro passando lo tempos*." I have gone out of my way, to mention these two obscure writers^k with so much particularity, in order to observe, that Skelton, their cotemporary, probably copied their manner: at least to shew, that this singular mode of versification was at this time fashionable, not only in England, but also in France and Italy. Nor did it cease to be remembered in England, and as a species of poetry thought to be founded by Skelton, till even so late as the close of queen Elizabeth's reign. As appears from the following poem on the SPANISH ARMADA, which is filled with Latin words.

A SKELTONICALL salutation,
Or condigne gratulation,
And just vexation,
Of the Spanish nation;

^h See Menag. DICTION. ETYMOLOG. ORIG. LANG. FRANC. edit. 1694. p. 462. V. MACARONS. And Oct. Ferrarius, ORIG. ITALIC.

ⁱ DICT. LUDR. p. 453.

^j [I believe one of the most popular of Arèna's Macaronic poems, is his *MEIGRA Enterpria Cutiloqui Imperatoris*, printed at Avignon in 1537. It is an ingenious pasquinade on Charles the Fifth's expedition into France. The date of the Macaronic Miscellany, in various languages, entitled, *MACARONICA VARIA*, and printed in the Gothic character, without place, is not known.

The authors are anonymous; and some of the pieces are little comedies intended for representation. There is a Macaronic poem in hexameters, called *POLEMO-MIDDINIA* by Drummond of Hawthornden, printed with Notes, and a preface on this species of poetry, by Gibson at Oxford, 1691. 4to.—ADDITIONS.]

^k Erythræus mentions Bernardinus Stephonius as writing in this way. *PRÆCOTR.* i. p. 160. See also some poems in Baudius, which have a mixture of the Greek and Latin languages; and which others have imitated, in German and Latin.

That in a bravado
Spent many a crusado,
In setting forth the armado
England to envado, &c.¹

But I must not here forget, that Dunbar, a Scotch poet of Skelton's own age, already mentioned, wrote in this way. His TESTAMENT OF MAISTER ANDRO KENNEDY, which represents the character of an idle dissolute scholar, and ridicules the funeral ceremonies of the Romish communion, has almost every alternate line composed of the formularies of a Latin Will, and shreds of the breviary, mixed with what the French call *Latin de cuisine*^m. There is some humour, arising from these burlesque applications, in the following stanzas.ⁿ

In die meæ sepulturæ,
I will have nae but our awin gang^o,
Et duos rusticos de rure,
Berand ane barrell on a stang^p;

¹ Printed at Oxford by Joseph Barnes, 1589. 4to. See also a doggerel piece of this kind, in imitation of Skelton, introduced into Browne's *SHEPHERD'S PIPE*, Lond. 1614. 8vo. Perhaps this way of writing is ridiculed by Shakespeare, *MERRY WIVES OF WINDS*. A. ii. Sc. i. Where Falstaffe says, "I will not say, Pity me, 'tis not a soldier's phrase, but I say love me: by me

Thine own true knight, by day or night, Or any kind of light, with all his might With thee to fight."—

See also the Interlude of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, in the *MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM*. Often printed separately in quarto, as a droll for Bartholomew fair, under the title of *BOTTOM THE WEAVER*. Skelton, however, seems to have retained his popularity till late. For the first part of T. Heywood's two-fold play on the earl of Huntingdon, entitled, "Robert earl of Huntingdon's downfall, afterwards called Robin Hood of merry Sherwoode, with his love to chaste Matilda the lord Fitzwater's daughter, afterwards his fair maid Marian," acted

by lord Nottingham's players, and printed in quarto, at London, in 1601, is introduced by JOHN SKELTON, *poet laureat to king Henry the Eighth*. The second part, printed with the former, is introduced by FRYAR TUCK, with whom I am less acquainted. [Friar Tuck is, however, mentioned in Skelton's play of *MAGNIFICENCE*. f. 5. b.

Another hade shave halfe my berde,
And boyes to the pylery gan me plucke,
And wolde have made me FRYAR TUCKE
To preche oute of the pylery hole.

ADDITIONS.]

[For an account of Fryar Tuck, see Mr. Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, and Mr. Brand's "*Popular Antiquities*."—EDIT.]

^m See *ANT. SCOTTISH POEMS*, Edinb. 1770. p. 35. And the Notes of the learned and ingenious editor; who says, that Dunbar's *DERGZ* is a most profane parody on the popish litanies. p. 248.

ⁿ St. xiii. xiv.

^o My own merry companions.

^p a stake.

Drinkand and playand cap out, even
Sicut egomet solebam ;
 Singand and greitand with the stevin^q,
Potum meum cum fletu miscebam.

I will no priestis for me sing,
Dies ille, dies iræ^r ;
 Nar yet no bellis for me ring
Sicut semper solet feri ;
 But a bag-pyp to play a spring,
Et unum ale-wisp ante me,
 Instead of torchis, for to bring,
Quatuor lagenas cervisiæ,
 Within the graif to sett, fit thing,
In modum crucis juxta me,
 To fle the feyndis^s, then hardly sing
De terra plasmasti me.^t

We must, however, acknowledge, that Skelton, notwithstanding his scurrility, was a classical scholar; and in that capacity he was tutor to prince Henry, afterwards king Henry the Eighth: at whose accession to the throne, he was appointed the royal orator. He is styled by Erasmus, "Britannicarum literarum decus et lumen." His Latin elegiacs are pure, and

^q With that verse, or stanza, in the Psalms, "I have mingled my drink with weeping."

^r A hymn on the resurrection in the missal, sung at funerals.

^s Instead of a cross on my grave to keep off the devil.

^t A verse in the Psalms. See other instances in Dunbar, *ibid.* p. 79. In George Bannatyne's manuscript collection of old Scotch poetry are many examples of this mixture: the impropriety of which was not perhaps perceived by our ancestors. *Ibid.* p. 268. See a very ludicrous specimen in Harsenet's *Direction*, p. 156. Where he mentions a witch who has learned "of an old wife in a chimnies end *Pax, mar, fax*, for a spell; or can say sir John of Grantam's

curse for the miller's celes that were stolne.

All you that stolen the miller's celes,
Laudate dominum de caelis,
 And all they that have consented thereto,
Benedicamus domino."

See a poem on Becket's martyrdom, in Wasse's *BIBL. LITER.* Num. i. p. 39. Lond. 1722. 4to. Hither we must refer the old Caroll on the BOAR'S HEAD, Hearne's *SPICILEG.* ad Gul. Neubrig. *HIST.* vol. iii. p. 740. [See also *supr.* vol. i. p. 90.] Some of the metrical hymns in the French *FETE DE ANE* are in Latin and French. See *MERCURE DE FRANCE*, Avril 1725. p. 724. *suiv.*

^u See *Or.* p. 1019. 1021.

often unmixed with the monastic phraseology; and they prove, that if his natural propensity to the ridiculous had not more frequently seduced him to follow the whimsies of Walter Mapes and Goliass^w, than to copy the elegancies of Ovid, he would have appeared among the first writers of Latin poetry in England at the general restoration of literature. Skelton could not avoid acting as a buffoon in any language, or any character.

I cannot quit Skelton, of whom I yet fear too much has been already said, without restoring to the public notice a play, or MORALITY, written by him, not recited in any catalogue of his works, or annals of English typography; and, I believe, at present totally unknown to the antiquarians in this sort of literature. It is, *The NIGRAMANSIR, a morall ENTERLUDE and a pithie written by Maister SKELTON laureate, and plaid before the king and other estatys at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday.* It was printed by Wynkin 'de Worde in a thin quarto, in the year 1504^x. It must have been presented before king Henry the Seventh, at the royal manor or palace, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, now destroyed. The characters are a Necromancer, or conjurer, the devil, a notary public, Simonie^y, and

^w These two writers are often confounded. See the Second DISSERTATION. James says, that Goliass was not a name adopted by Mapes: but that there was a real writer of that name, a collection of whose works he had seen. See MSS. [Bibl. Bodl.] JAMES, i. p. 920. Goliass and Mapes appear to have been cotemporaries, and of a similar genius. The curious reader will find many extracts from their poetry, which has very great merit in its way, among James's manuscript collections. The facility of these old Latin rhymers is amazing: and they have a degree of humour and elegance far exceeding their age.

^x My lamented friend Mr. William Collins, whose ODES will be remembered while any taste for true poetry remains, shewed me this piece at Chichester, not many months before his death: and he pointed it out as a very rare and valuable curiosity. He intended to write the HISTORY OF THE RESTORATION OF LEARNING

UNDER LEO THE TENTH, and with a view to that design, had collected many scarce books. Some few of these fell into my hands at his death. The rest, among which, I suppose, was this INTERLUDE, were dispersed.

In the Mystery of MARIE MAGDALENE, written in 1512, a *Heathen* is introduced celebrating the service of *Mahound*, who is called *Saracenorum fortissimus*; in the midst of which he reads a Lesson from the Alcoran, consisting of gibberish, much in the metre and manner of Skelton. MSS. Digb. 133.

^y Simonie is introduced as a person in *SIR PENNY*, an old Scotch poem, written in 1527, by Stewart of Lorne. See ANTIEN SCOTTISH POEMS. Edinb. 1770. 8vo. p. 154.

So why can syr Peter wink,
And als sir SYMONY his servand,
That now is gydar of the kyrk.
And again, in an antient anonymous

Philargyria², or Avarice. It is partly a satire on some abuses in the church; yet not without a due regard to decency, and an apparent respect for the dignity of the audience. The story, or plot, is the tryal of SIMONY and AVARICE: the devil is the judge, and the notary public acts as an assessor or scribe. The prisoners, as we may suppose, are found guilty, and ordered into hell immediately. There is no sort of propriety in calling this play the Necromancer: for the only business and use of this character is to open the subject in a long prologue, to evoke the devil, and summon the court. The devil kicks the necromancer, for waking him so soon in the morning: a proof, that this drama was performed in the morning, perhaps in the chapel of the palace. A variety of measures, with shreds of Latin and French, is used: but the devil speaks in the octave stanza. One of the stage-directions is, *Enter Balsebub with a Berde*. To make him both frightful and ridiculous, the devil was most commonly introduced on the stage, wearing a-visard with an immense beard². Philargyria quotes Seneca and saint

Scotch poem, *ibid.* p. 253. At a feast, to which many disorderly persons are invited, among the rest are,

And twa lerit men thairby,
Schir Ochir and schir SIMONY.

That is, sir Usury and sir Simony. SIMONY is also a character in Pierce Plowman's VISIONS. Pass. sec. fol. viii. b. edit. 1550. Wiccliffe, who flourished about the year 1350, thus describes the state of Simony in his time. "Some lords, to colouren their Symony, wole not take for themselves but keverchiefs for the lady, or a palfray, or a tun of wine. And when some lords wolden present a good man and able, for love of god and cristen souls, then some ladies been means to have a dancer, a tripper on tapits, or hunter or hawker, or a wild player of summers gamenes," &c. MSS. C. C. C. Cant. O. 161. 148. There is an old poem on this subject, MSS. Bodl. 48.

² Robert Crowley, a great reformer, of whom more hereafter, wrote "The Fable of PHILARGYRIA, the great gigant

of Great Britain, what houses were builded, and lands appointed, for his provision," &c. 1551. 4to.

² Thus in Turpin's HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE, the Saracens appear, "Habentes LARVAS BARBATUS, cornutas, DEMONIBUS consimiles." c. xviii. And in LEWIS THE EIGHTH, an old French romance of Philip Mouskes.

J ot apries lui une barboire,
Com diable cornu et noire.

There was a species of masquerade celebrated by the ecclesiastics in France, called the SHREW OF BEARDS, entirely consisting of an exhibition of the most formidable beards. Gregory of Tours says, that the abbess of Poictou was accused for suffering one of these shrews, called a BARBATORIA, to be performed in her monastery. Hist. lib. x. c. vi. In the EPISTLES of Peter de Blois we have the following passage. "Regis curiam sequuntur assidue histriones, candidatrices, aleatores, dulcorarii, caupones, nebulatores, mimi, BARBATORES, balatriones, et hoc genus omne." EPIST. xiv.

Austin: and Simony offers the devil a bribe. The devil rejects her offer with much indignation: and swears by the *foule Eumenides*, and the hoary beard of Charon, that she shall be well fried and roasted in the unfathomable sulphur of Cocytus, together with Mahomet, Pontius Pilate, the traitor Judas, and king Herod. The last scene is closed with a view of hell, and a dance between the devil and the necromancer. The dance ended, the devil trips up the necromancer's heels, and disappears in fire and smoke^b. Great must have been the edification and entertainment which king Henry the Seventh and his

Where, by *Barbatores*, we are not to understand *Barbers*, but mimics, or buffoons, disguised in huge bearded masks. In *Don Quixote*, the barber who personates the squire of the princess Micomicona, wears one of these masks, "una gran barba," &c. Part. prim. c. xxvi. l. 3. And the countess of Trifaldi's squire has "la mas larga, la mas horrida," &c. Part. sec. c. xxxvi. l. 8. See OBSERVAT. ON SPENSER, vol. i. SECTION II.

About the eleventh century, and long before, beards were looked upon by the clergy as a secular vanity; and accordingly were worn by the laity only. Yet in England this distinction seems to have been more rigidly observed than in France. Malmesbury says, that king Harold, at the Norman invasion, sent spies into Duke William's camp; who reported, that most of the French army were priests, because their faces were shaved. HIST. lib. iii. p. 56. b. edit. Savil. 1596. The regulation remained among the English clergy at least till the reign of Henry the Eighth: for Longland bishop of Lincoln, at a Visitation of Oriel college, Oxford, in 1531, orders one of the fellows, a priest, to abstain, under pain of expulsion, from wearing a beard, and pinked shoes, like a laic; and not to take the liberty, for the future, of insulting and ridiculing the governor and fellows of the society. ORDINAT. Coll. Oriel. OXON. APPEND. ad Joh. TROKELowe, p. 339. See Edicts of king John, in Frynne, LIBERTAT. ECCLES.

ANGL. tom. iii. p. 23. But among the religious, the Templars were permitted to wear long beards. In the year 1311, king Edward the Second granted letters of safe conduct to his valet Peter Auger, who had made a vow not to shave his beard; and who having resolved to visit some of the holy places abroad as a pilgrim, feared, on account of the length of his beard, that he might be mistaken for a knight-templar, and insulted. Pat. iv. Edw. II. In Dugdale's WARRICKSHIRE, p. 704. Many orders about Beards occur in the registers of Lincoln's-inn, cited by Dugdale. In the year 1542, it was ordered, that no member, wearing a beard, should presume to dine in the hall. In 1553, says Dugdale, "such as had beards should pay twelve-pence for every meal they continued them; and every man to be shaven, upon pain of being put out of commons." ORIG. JURID. c. 64. p. 244. In 1559, no member is permitted to wear any beard above a fortnight's growth; under pain of expulsion for the third transgression. But the fashion of wearing beards beginning to spread, in 1560 it was agreed at a council, that "all orders before that time made, touching BEARDS, should be void and repealed." Dugd. ibid. p. 245.

^b In the Mystery of MARY MAGDALENE, just mentioned, one of the stage directions is, "Here enters the pryne of the devylls in a stage, with hell underneath the stage." MSS. DIGE 133.

court derived from the exhibition of so elegant and rational a drama! The royal taste for dramatic representation seems to have suffered a very rapid transition: for in the year 1520, a *goodlie comedie of Plautus* was played before king Henry the Eighth at Greenwich^c. I have before mentioned Skelton's play of *MAGNIFICENCE*^d. [The only copy of Skelton's moral comedy of *MAGNIFICENCE* now remaining, printed by Rastal, without date in a thin folio, has been most obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Garrick; whose valuable collection of old Plays is alone a complete history of our stage. The first leaf and the title are wanting. It contains sixty folio pages in the black letter, and must have taken up a very considerable time in the representation. [See p. 162. *supr.*] The substance of the allegory is briefly this. *MAGNIFICENCE* becomes a dupe to his servants and favorites, *Fansy*, *Counterfet Countenance*, *Crafty Conveyance*, *Clokyd Colusion*, *Courtly Abusion*, and *Foly*. At length he is seized and robbed by *Adversyte*, by whom he is given up as a prisoner to *Poerte*. He is next delivered to *Despate* and *Mischeffe*, who offer him a knife and a halter. He snatches the knife, to end his miseries by stabbing himself; when *Good Hope* and *Redresse* appear, and persuade him to take the *rubarbe of repentance* with some *gostly gummes*, and a

^c Hollinsh. iii. 850.

^d It is in Mr. Garrick's valuable collection. No date. 4to. Hawkins, in the *HISTORY OF MUSIC*, has first printed a Song written by Skelton, alluded to in the *CROWN OF LAWRELL*, and set to music by William Cornishe, a musician of the chapel royal under Henry the Seventh. B. i. ch. i. vol. iii. p. 3. Lond. 1776. It begins,

Ab, beshrew you, by my fay,
These wanton clarkes are nice alway, &c.
The same diligent and ingenious inquirer has happily illustrated a passage in Skelton's description of *RIOX*. *Ibid.* B. iii. ch. ix. vol. ii. p. 354.

Counter he coulede O Lux upon a potte.
That is, this drunken disorderly fellow

could play the beginning of the hymn, O Lux *besta Trinitas*, a very popular melody, and on which many fugues and canons were antiently composed, on a quart-pot at the tavern. See also, *ibid.* B. i. ch. vii. p. 90. ii. 1. p. 130.

By the way, the abovementioned William Cornish has a poem printed at the end of Skelton's Works, called a *Treatise between Trouthe and Information*, containing some anecdotes of the state of antient music, written while the author was in the Fleet, in the year 1504. MSS. Rrc. 18 D. ii. 4. See Thoresby's *LEARNERS*, for *Old musical compositions by several masters, among them by WILLIAM CORNISH*. p. 517. Morley has assigned Cornish a place in his *Catalogue of English musicians*.

few *drammes of devocyon*. He becomes acquainted with *Circumspeccyon*, and *Perseverance*, follows their directions, and seeks for happiness in a state of penitence and contrition. There is some humour here and there in the dialogue, but the allusions are commonly low. The poet hardly ever aims at allegorical painting, but the figure of POVERTY is thus drawn, fol. xxiii. a.

A, my bonys ake, my lymmys be sore,
 A lasse I haue the cyatyca full euyll in my hyppe,
 A lasse where is yonth that was wont for to skyppe !
 I am lowsy, and vnykyng, and full of scurffe,
 My coloure is tawny-coloured as a turffe :
 I am POVERTIE that all men doth hate,
 I am baytyd with doggys at euery manns gate :
 I am raggyd and rent, as ye may se,
 Full few but they have envy at me.
 Nowe must I this carcasse lyft up,
 He dynded with DELYTE, with POVERTIE he must sup.

The stage-direction then is, "Hic accedat ad levandum MAGNIFICENCE." It is not impossible, that DESPARE offering the knife and the halter, might give a distant hint to Spenser. The whole piece is strongly marked with Skelton's manner, and contains every species of his capricious versification*. I have been prolix in describing these two dramas, because they place Skelton in a class in which he never has yet been viewed, that of a Dramatic poet. And although many MORALITIES were now written, yet these are the first that bear the name of their author. There is often much real comedy in these ethic interludes, and their exemplifications of Virtue and Vice in the abstract, convey strokes of character and pictures of life and manners. I take this opportunity of remarking, that a

* [Counterfet Countenance says, f. vi. a.

But nowe wyll I — — —
 In *bastarde* ryme of doggrell gyse
 Tell you where of my name doth ryse.]

MORALITY-MAKER was a professed occupation at Paris. Pierre Gringoire is called, according to the style of his age, *Compositeur, Historien et Facteur de Mysteres, ou Comedies*, in which he was also a performer. His principal piece, written at the command of Louis the Twelfth, in consequence of a quarrel with the pope and the states of Venice, is entitled, *Le JEU du Prince de Sots et Mere Sotte, joue aux Halles de Paris*. It was printed at Paris in 1511*.—**ADDITIONS.**]

MORALITIES seem to have arrived at their height about the close of the Seventh Henry's reign^c. This sort of spectacle was now so fashionable, that John Rastall, a learned typographer, brother-in-law to sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had hitherto been confined, either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published, *A new INTERLUDE and a mery, of the nature of the iiii Elements, declaring many proper points of phylosophy naturall and dyvers straunge landys; &c.*^f In the cosmographical part of the play, in which the poet professes to treat of *dyvers straunge regyons, and of the new founde landys*, the tracts of America recently discovered, and the manners of the natives, are described. The characters are, a Messenger who speaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Desire, Sensual Appetite, a Taverher, Experience, and Ignorance.^g

* [See Mohs. l'Abbé Gbujet, *BIBL. FRANC.* tom. xi. p. 212.]

^c See *supr.* p. 42.

^f Among Mr. Garrick's *OLD PLAYS*. [Imperf.] i. vol. 3. It was written about 1510, or rather later. One of the characters is *NATURE naturate*: under which title Bale inaccurately mentions this piece. viii. 75. See Percy, *ESS. ENG. STAGE*, p. 8. edit. 1767. Who supposes this play to have been written about 1510, from the following lines,

— — Within this xx yere
Westwarde be founde new landes,
That we never harde tell of before this.

The West-Indies were discovered by Columbus in 1492.

^g For the sake of connection I will here mention some more of Rastall's pieces. He was a great writer of *INTERLUDES*. He has written, "Of *GENTLENESS AND NOBILITYE*. A dialoge between the marchsunt, the knyght, and the plowman, disputyng who is a very gentylman, and how men shuld come to auctoryte, compiled in maner of an *INTERLUDE*. With *dyvers toyx and games addyd thereto, w^{ch} make mery pastyme and disport*. *J. Rastall me fieri fecit.*" Printed by himself in quarto, without date.

I have before observed, that the frequent and public exhibition of personifications in the PAGEAUNTS, which antiently accompanied every high festivity, greatly contributed to cherish the spirit of allegorical poetry, and even to enrich the imagination of Spenser^b. The MORALITIES, which now began to acquire new celebrity, and in which the same groupes of the impersonated vices and virtues appeared, must have concurred in producing this effect. And hence, at the same time, we are led to account for the national relish for allego-

Pa. "O what a gret welth and." Also, "A new Commodity in English in manner of an ENTERLUDE ryght elygant and full of craft of rhetoryck: wherein is shewed and dyscrybyd, as well the beute of good propertes of women, as theyr vyces and evyll condicions, with a morall conclusion and exhortation to vertew. *J. Rastall me imprimi fecit.*" In folio, without date. This is in English verse, and contains twelve leaves. Pa. "*Melebea*," &c. He reduced a dialogue of Lucian into English verse, much after the manner of an interlude, viz. "NECROMANTIA. A Dialogue of Lucyan for his fantasy fayned for a mery pastyme, &c. — *J. Rastall me fieri fecit.*" It is translated from the Latin, and has Latin notes in the margin. It may be doubted, whether Rastall was not the printer only of these pieces. If the printer only, they might come from the festive genius of his brother sir Thomas More. But Rastall appears to have been a scholar. He was educated at Oxford; and took up the employment of printing as a profession at that time esteemed liberal, and not unsuitable to the character of a learned and ingenious man. An English translation of Terence, called *TERENS IN ENGLISH*, with a prologue in stanzas, beginning "The famous renown through the worlde is spronge," is believed, at least from similarity of type, to be by Rastall. In quarto, without date. He published, in 1525, *THE MERRY GESTES of one callyd EDWYN the lyeng wydow*. This is a description, in English rhymes, of the frauds practised by a female sharper in the neighbourhood

of London: the scene of one of her impostures is laid in sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea. The author, one of her dupes, is Walter Smyth. *Emprynted at London at the sygne of the Meremayde at Pollis gate next to Chepeyde by J. Rastall.* fol. It will be sufficient to have given this short incidental notice of a piece which hardly deserves to be named. Rastall wrote and printed many other pieces, which I do not mention, as unconnected with the history of our poetry. I shall only observe further, in general, that he was eminently skilled in mathematics, cosmography, history, our municipal law, and theology. He died 1536.

^b And of Shakespeare. There is a passage in *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA*, where the metaphor is exceedingly beautiful; but where the beauty both of the expression and the allusion is lost, unless we recollect the frequency and the nature of these shews in Shakespeare's age. Act iv. Sc. xi. I must cite the whole of the context, for the sake of the last hemistich.

Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish,
A vapour sometime, like a bear or lion;
A towred citadel, a pendant rock,
A forked mountain, or blue promontory
With trees upon't, that nod unto the world
And mock our eyes with air. Thou'rt
seen these signs,
They are *BLACK VESPER'S PAGEANTS*.—

rical poetry, which so long prevailed among our ancestors. By means of these spectacles, ideal beings became common and popular objects: and emblematic imagery, which at present is only contemplated by a few retired readers in the obsolete pages of our elder poets, grew familiar to the general eye.

SECTION XXXIV.

IN a work of this general and comprehensive nature, in which the fluctuations of genius are surveyed, and the dawnings or declensions of taste must alike be noticed, it is impossible that every part of the subject can prove equally splendid and interesting. We have, I fear, been toiling for some time through materials, not perhaps of the most agreeable and edifying nature. But as the mention of that very rude species of our drama, called the MORALITY, has incidentally diverted our attention to the early state of the English stage, I cannot omit so fortunate and seasonable an opportunity of endeavouring to relieve the weariness of my reader, by introducing an obvious digression on the probable causes of the rise of the MYSTERIES, which, as I have before remarked, preceded, and at length produced, these allegorical fables. In this respect I shall imitate those map-makers mentioned by Swift, who

— — O'er inhospitable downs,
Place elephants for want of towns.

Nor shall I perhaps fail of being pardoned by my reader, if, on the same principle, I should attempt to throw new light on the history of our theatre, by pursuing this enquiry through those deductions which it will naturally and more immediately suggest^s.

About the eighth century, trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France; as did William the Conqueror, and his Norman successors, in En-

^s Compare vol. ii. p. 67.

gland^b. The merchants, who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minstrels, and buffoons; who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill, on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no public spectacles or popular amusements were established; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestic life and private society were yet unknown, the fair-time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shews were attended and encouraged, they began to be set off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery, being rendered still more attractive by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy, observing that the entertainments of dancing, music, and mimicry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrities, made the people less religious, by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy. The death of saint Catharine, acted by the monks of saint Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Music was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of holy farces. The festivals among the French, called *LA FETE DE FOUX, DE L'ANE*ⁱ, and *DES INNOCENS*, at length

^a See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 115.

ⁱ For a most full and comprehensive account of these feasts, see "Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de la FETE DE FOUX, qui se faisoit autrefois dans plusieurs eglises. Par M. du TILLIOT, gentilhomme ordinaire de son Altesse royale Monseigneur le duc de BERRY. A LAUSANNE et a GENEVE, 1741." 4to. Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln in the eleventh century, orders his dean and chapter to

abolish the *FESTUM ANIMORUM, cum sit vanitate plenum, et voluptatibus spurcum*, which used to be annually celebrated in Lincoln cathedral on the feast of the Circumcision. Grossetestri *EPISCOPUS*. xxxij. apud Browne's *FASCICUL.* p. 331. edit. Lond. 1690. tom. ii. Append. And p. 412. Also he forbids the archdeacons of his diocese to permit *SCOT-ALLS* in their chapters and synods, (*Spelm. Gl.* p. 506.) and other *LUDI* on holidays.

became greater favorites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. These are the ideas of a judicious French writer, now living, who has investigated the history of human manners with great comprehension and sagacity.

Voltaire's theory on this subject is also very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he supposes, came originally from Constantinople; where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were represented, till the fourth century.* About

Ibid. Epistol. xxii. p. 314. [See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 82.] See in the *MERCURE FRANÇOIS* for September, 1742, an account of a mummy celebrated in the city of Besançon in France, by the canons of the cathedral, consisting of dancing, singing, eating and drinking, in the cloisters and church, on Easter-day, called *BROGARETZA*, or the *SONG OF THE SHEPHERDS*; which remained unabolished till the year 1738. From the *RETRIAL* of the church, pag. 1930, ad ann. 1582. See Carpentier, *SUPL. Du Cang. LAT. GLOSS. tom. i. p. 523.* in V. And *ibid.* V. BOCLARE, p. 570.

* [The profane drama, however degenerated, maintained its footing both in the East and West, much later than the era assumed in the text. It may be worth while to offer a few illustrations of this position. The Imperial edict of 399, which abolished the feast of Majuma, gave free permission for the continuance of all other public entertainments; and among these the theatre was of course included. The petition of the African bishops, drawn up in the same year according to Godefroy, or in 401 according to Baronius, merely solicits the suppression of plays upon Sundays, and other days observed as festivals in the Christian church; and begs an exemption for all Christians from being compelled to attend them. Nor was it till the year 425, that the prayer of this petition was confirmed by Theodosius the younger; and then restricted to the most important feasts in the calendar. Four years after, the same emperor found it necessary to rescind the law, which

prohibited female Christian proselytes from appearing upon the stage; who were thus allowed to resume their profession, without the fear of spiritual censure. (*Mimas diversis adnotationibus liberatas ad proprium officium summæ instantiâ revocari decernimus.* L. xv. Cod. Th. Tit. 7. L. 13.) The capture of Carthage (439) was effected by Geneseric, whilst the inhabitants were engaged at the theatre; and the language of Theodoret upon this occasion, unless we are to accept it as a mere rhetorical flourish, might be strained to imply, that the dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles were still exhibited in the Empire, or at least that they were generally known. An edict of Justinian, only forbids deacons, priests, and bishops, from attending any species of scenic representation; and under the same emperor (588), Gregory bishop of Antioch was publicly defamed by the spectators at the theatre, and ridiculed by the actors on the stage. In the year 692 the council of Trullo prohibited all christians, both clergy and laity, under pain of suspension or excommunication, from following the occupation of a player, and from frequenting the games of the circus and the theatre. (*Can. 51.*) And lastly, the canons of Nicephorus, and of Photius, both framed in the ninth century, only re-echo the edict of Theodosius, that the theatre ought to be closed upon Sundays and days of solemn festival.—The history of the West will afford us nearly similar notices. The theatres of France and Italy, especially those of Rome and Marsailles, continued in high celebrity long

that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished pagan plays from the stage at Constantinople, and introduced select stories from the Old and New Testament. As the antient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle, a transition was made on the same plan; and the choruses were turned into Christian hymns¹. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas for this purpose, which have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called *Χριστος πασχωων*, or CHRIST'S PASSION, is still extant^m. In the prologue it is said to be in imitation of Euripides, and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary has been produced on the stage. The fashion of acting spiritual dramas, in which at first a due degree of method and decorum was preserved, was at length adopted from Constantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous species of theatrical representation called MYSTERIES, or sacred comedies, and which were soon afterwards received in Franceⁿ. This opinion will acquire probability, if we consider the early commercial intercourse between Italy and Constantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be supposed to have imported plays of this

after the first incursions of the barbarians; and the policy of Theoderic found it expedient to tolerate a pastime which he secretly condemned, and to encourage an abuse he could neither chasten nor correct. (*Hæc nos fovemus necessitate populorum. Expediit interdum desipere, ut possumus populi desiderata gaudia continere.*) For a period indeed, these amusements appear to have been suspended, by the ravages of Totila in Italy and of the Franks in France. But in the time of Charlemagne, the Mimi and *Histriones* are spoken of in much the same terms of invective, cast upon their profession by the early Christian teachers; nor does the language of Agobard warrant a belief, that he was characterizing a different order of men, from those who fell

under the denunciations of his predecessors. (*Satiat præterea et inebriat Histriones, Mimos, turpissimosque et vanissimos Jocularæ, cum pauperes Ecclesiæ fame discruciatu intereant.* Agobard, de Dispens. p. 299.) See *Discours sur la Comédie* par Pierre Le Brun. Paris, 1731.—EDIT.]

¹ See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 78.

^m Or. Greg. Nazianz. tom. ii. p. 253. In a manuscript cited by Lambecius, it is called *Δραμα των Ευαγγελιων*. iv. 22. It seems to have been falsely attributed to Apollinaris, an Alexandrian, bishop of Laodicea. It is, however, written with less elegance and judgement than most of Gregory's poetical pieces. Apollinaris lived about the year 370.

ⁿ *Hist. Gen. Addit.* p. 138.

nature, did not understand the Greek language, yet they could understand, and consequently could imitate, what they saw.

In defence of Voltaire's hypothesis it may be further observed, that the FEAST OF FOOLS and of the Ass, with other religious farces of that sort, so common in Europe, originated at Constantinople. They were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, probably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, particularly the Bacchanalian and calendary solemnities, by the substitution of christian spectacles, partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness. The fact is, however, recorded by Cedrenus, one of the Byzantine historians, who flourished about the year 1050, in the following words. “*Εργον εκεινου, και το νυν κρατουν εθος, εν ταις λαμπραις και δημοτελεσιν εορταις υβριζεσθαι τον θεον, και τας τον αγιον μνημας, δια λογισματων απρεπων και γελασων, και παραφορων κραυγων, τελουμενων των θειων υμνων ους εθι, μετα καταλυξεως και συντριμμου καρδιας, υπερ της ημων σατηριας, προσφερειν τω θεω. Πληθος γαρ συστησαμενος επιβρητων ανδρων, και εξαρχων αυτοις επιστησας Ευθυμιον τινα Καστην λεγουμενον, ον αυτος Δομεστικον της εκκλησιας προουβαλλετο και τας σατανικας ορχησεις, και τας ασημους κραυγας, και τα εκ τριωδων και χαμαιτυπειων ηρανισμενα ασματα τελεισθαι ειδαξεν.*” That is, “Theophylact introduced the practice, which prevails even to this day, of scandalising god and the memory of his saints, on the most splendid and popular festivals, by indecent and ridiculous songs, and enormous shoutings, even in the midst of those sacred hymns, which we ought to offer to the divine grace with compunction of heart, for the salvation of our souls. But he, having collected a company of base fellows, and placing over them one Euthymius, surnamed Casnes, whom he also appointed the superintendant of his church, admitted into the sacred service, diabolical dances, exclamations of ribaldry, and ballads borrowed from the streets and brothels^a.” This prac-

^a Cedren. COMPEND. HIST. p. 639. B. NAL. sub ann. 956. tom. x. p. 752. C. edit. Paris. 1647. Compare Baron. AN- edit. Plantin. Antw. 1608. fol. {Per-

tice was subsisting in the Greek church two hundred years afterwards: for Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, complains of the gross abominations committed by the priests at Christmas and other festivals, even in the great church at Constantinople; and that the clergy, on certain holidays, personated a variety of feigned characters, and even entered the choir in a military habit, and other enormous disguises^p.

I must however observe here, what perhaps did not immediately occur to our lively philosopher on this occasion, that in the fourth century it was customary to make christian parodies and imitations in Greek, of the best Greek classics, for the use of the christian schools. This practice prevailed much under the emperor Julian, who forbade the pagan poets, orators, and philosophers, to be taught in the christian seminaries. Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea, above mentioned, wrote Greek tragedies adapted to the stage, on most of the grand events recorded in the Old Testament, after the manner of Euripides. On some of the familiar and domestic stories of scripture, he composed comedies in imitation of Menander. He wrote christian odes on the plan of Pindar. In imitation of Homer, he wrote an heroic poem on the history of the bible, as far as the reign of Saul, in twenty-four books^q. Sozomen says, that

haps Theophylact was only the first who admitted these buffooneries within the walls of a church; and thus prepared the way for their reception among the Christians of the West. Their origin may with more probability be referred to an earlier period, when the Iconoclast Emperors sought to degrade the Roman Pontiffs, by an absurd mockery of the papal election, the ceremonies of the Western church, and all its observances both civil and spiritual. Gibbon has detailed in part, the conduct taken by the Emperor Michael III. in such a scene; and has noticed the sources whence the curious reader may derive a confirmation, or rather a strong corroboration, of this opinion. Decl. and Fall of the Rom. Emp. cap. 49. n. 18.—EDIT.]

^p COMMENT. ad CANON. lxiij. SYNOD. vi. in Trullo. Apud Beverigii SYNODIC.

tom. i. Oxon. fol. 1672. p. 230. 231. In return, he forbids the professed players to appear on the stage in the habit of monks. Saint Austin, who lived in the sixth century, reproves the paganising christians of his age, for their indecent sports on holidays; but it does not appear that these sports were celebrated within the churches. "In sanctis festivitibus choros ducendo, cantica luxuriosa et turpia, &c. Isti enim infelices ac miseri homines, qui balationes ac saltationes ANTE IPSAS BASILICAS sanctorum exercere nec metuunt nec erubescunt." SERM. ccxv. tom. x. opp. S. Augustin. edit. Froben. 1529. fol. 763. B. See also SERM. cxcvij. cxcviii. opp. edit. Benedictin. tom. v. Paris. 1683. p. 904. et seq.

^q Sozomen (ubi infra) says, that he compiled a system of grammar, *Ἐπεριστάσις*, on the christian model.

these compositions, now lost, rivalled their great originals in genius, expression, and conduct. His son, a bishop also of Laodicea, reduced the four gospels and all the apostolical books into Greek dialogues, resembling those of Plato^r.

But I must not omit a much earlier and more singular specimen of a theatrical representation of sacred history, than this mentioned by Voltaire. Some fragments of an antient Jewish play on the Exodus, or the Departure of the Israelites from Egypt under their leader and prophet Moses, are yet preserved in Greek iambics^s. The principal characters of this drama are Moses, Sapphira, and God from the Bush, or God speaking from the burning bush. Moses delivers the prologue, or introduction, in a speech of sixty lines, and his rod is turned into a serpent on the stage. The author of this piece is Ezekiel a Jew, who is called *Ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τραγωδίων ποιητής*, or the tragic poet of the Jews^t. The learned Huetius endeavours to prove, that Ezekiel wrote at least before the christian era^u. Some suppose that he was one of the seventy, or septuagint, interpreters of the bible under the reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus. I am of opinion, that Ezekiel composed this play after the destruction of Jerusalem, and even in the time of Barocbas, as a political spectacle, with a view to animate his dejected countrymen with the hopes of a future deliverance from their captivity under the conduct of a new Moses, like that from the Egyptian servitude^w. Whether a theatre subsisted among the Jews, who by their peculiar situation and circumstances were prevented from keeping pace with their neighbours in the cul-

^r Socrates, iii. 16. ii. 46. Sozomen, v. 18. vi. 26. Niceph. x. 25.

^s In Clemens Alexandrin. lib. i. Strom. p. 344. seq. Eusebius, Præparat. Evang. c. xxviii. xxix. Eustathius ad Hex. p. 25. They are collected, and translated into Latin, with emendations, by Fr. Morellus, Paris. 1580. See also CORPUS POETAR. GRÆC. TRAGICOR. et COMICOR. Genev. 1614. fol. And POETÆ CHRIS- TIAN. GRÆCI, Paris. 1609. 8vo.

^t See Scaliger, ad EUSEB. p. 401.

^u DEMONSTRAT. EVANGELIC. p. 99.

^w See Le Moyne, OBS. ad VAR. SACR. tom. i. pag. 336. [The author of this Jewish tragedy seems to have belonged to that class of Hellenistico-Judaic writers of Alexandria, of which was the author of the apocryphal Book of Wisdom: a work originally written in Greek, perhaps in metre, full of allusions to the Greek poets and customs, and containing many lessons of instruction and consolation peculiarly applicable to the distresses and situation of the Jews after their dispersion.—ADDITIONS.]

ture of the social and elegant arts, is a curious speculation. It seems most probable, on the whole, that this drama was composed in imitation of the Grecian stage, at the close of the second century, after the Jews had been dispersed, and intermixed with other nations.

Boileau seems to think, that the antient PILGRIMAGES introduced these sacred exhibitions into France.

Chez nos devots ayeux le théâtre abhorré
Fut long-tems dans la France une plaisir ignoré.
De PELERINS, dit on, une troupe grossiere
En public à Paris y monta la première ;
Et sotement zélee en sa simplicité,
Ioua les SAINTS, la VIERGE, et DIEU, par piété.
Le Savoir, a la fin, dissipant l'Ignorance,
Fit voir de ce projet la devote imprudence :
On chassa ces docteurs préchant sans mission,
On vit renaître Hector, Andromaque, Ilion *.

The authority to which Boileau alludes in these nervous and elegant verses is Menestrier, an intelligent French antiquary[†]. The pilgrims who returned from Jerusalem, saint James of Compostella, saint Baume of Provence, saint Reine, Mount saint Michael, Notre dame du Puy, and other places esteemed holy, composed songs on their adventures; intermixing recitals of passages in the life of Christ, descriptions of his crucifixion, of the day of judgement, of miracles, and martyrdoms. To these tales, which were recommended by a pathetic chant and a variety of gesticulations, the credulity of the multitude gave the name of Visions. These pious itinerants travelled in companies; and taking their stations in the most public streets, and singing with their staves in their hands, and their hats and mantles fantastically adorned with shells and emblems painted in various colours, formed a sort of theatrical spectacle. At length their performances excited the charity and compassion

* ART. POET. cant. iii. 81.

† Des Represent. en MUSIQUEZ. p. 153. seq.

of some citizens of Paris; who erected a theatre, in which they might exhibit their religious stories in a more commodious and advantageous manner, with the addition of scenery and other decorations. At length professed practitioners in the histrionic art were hired to perform these solemn mockeries of religion, which soon became the principal public amusement of a devout but undiscerning people.

To those who are accustomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies, which the unpolished ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear surprising, that the people, who were forbidden to read the events of the sacred history in the bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, should at the same time be permitted to see them represented on the stage, disgraced with the grossest improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the most ridiculous kind, sullied with impurities, and expressed in the language and gesticulations of the lowest farce.

On the whole, the MYSTERIES appear to have originated among the ecclesiastics; and were most probably first acted, at least with any degree of form, by the monks. This was certainly the case in the English monasteries². I have already mentioned the play of saint Catharine, performed at Dunstable abbey by the novices in the eleventh century, under the superintendance of Geoffry a Parisian ecclesiastic: and the exhibition of the PASSION, by the mendicant friers of Coventry and other places. Instances have been given of the like practice among the French². The only persons who could read were in the religious societies: and various other circumstances,

² In some regulations given by cardinal Wolsey, to the monasteries of the canons regular of St. Austin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be *LUSORES aut MIMICI*, players or mimics. Dugd. Monast. ii. 568. But the prohibition means, that the monks should not go abroad to exercise these arts in a secular and mercenary capacity. See ANNAL. BURTONKENSIS, p. 437. supra

citat. p. 40, 41. By the way, *MIMICUS* might also literally be construed a player, according to Jonson, ERIG. 195.

— But the *Vice*
Acts old *iniquity*, and in the fit
Of *MIMICRY* gets th' opinion of a *wit*.

² See supra, vol. ii. p. 81.

peculiarly arising from their situation, profession, and institution, enabled the monks to be the sole performers of these representations.

As learning increased, and was more widely disseminated from the monasteries, by a natural and easy transition the practice migrated to schools and universities, which were formed on the monastic plan, and in many respects resembled the ecclesiastical bodies. Hence a passage in Shakespeare's *HAMLET* is to be explained; where Hamlet says to Polonius, "My lord, you played once in the UNIVERSITY, you say." Polonius answers, "That I did, my Lord, and was accounted a good actor. —I did enact Julius Cesar, I was killed i' th' capitol^b." Boulay observes, that it was a custom, not only still subsisting, but of very high antiquity, *vetustissima consuetudo*, to act tragedies and comedies in the university of Paris^c. He cites a statute of the college of Navarre at Paris, dated in the year 1315, prohibiting the scholars to perform any immodest play on the festivals of saint Nicholas and saint Catharine. "*In festis sancti Nicolai et beatæ Catharinæ nullum ludum inhonestum faciant*^d." [The tragedy called JULIUS CESAR, and two comedies, of Jaques Grevin, a learned physician and an elegant poet of France, were first acted in the college of Beauvais at Paris, in the years 1558 and 1560*.—ADDITIONS.] Reuchlin, one of the German classics at the restoration of antient literature, was the first writer and actor of Latin plays in the academies of Germany. He is said to have opened a theatre at Heidelberg; in which he brought ingenuous youths or boys on the stage, in the year

^b ACT. iii. sc. 5.

^c HIST. UNIV. PARIS. tom. ii. p. 226. See also his History *De Patronis quatuor Nationum*, edit. 1662.

^d HIST. UNIV. PARIS. tom. iv. p. 93. Saint Nicholas was the patron of scholars. Hence at Eton college saint Nicholas has a double feast. The celebrity of the Boy-bishop began on St. Nicholas's day. In a fragment of the cellarer's COMPUTUS of Hyde abbey near Winchester, A. D. 1397. "Pro epulis PUEBI CE-

LEBRANTIS in festo S. Nicolai." That is the Chorister celebrating mass. MSS. Wulves. Winton. Carpentier mentions an indecent sport, called le *VIRELLI*, celebrated in the streets on the feast of St. Nicholas, by the vicar and other choral officers of a collegiate church. SUPPL. Du Cang. LAT. GLOSS. in V. tom. iii. p. 1178.

* [BIBL. VERDIER, ut supra, tom. ii. p. 284. La Croix du Maine, i. p. 415. seq.]

1498^e. In the prologue to one of his comedies, written in trimeter iambics, and printed in 1516, are the following lines.

*Optans poeta placere paucis versibus,
Sat esse adeptum gloriæ arbitratus est,
Si autore se Germaniæ SCHOLA luserit
Græcanicis et Romuleis LUSIBUS.*

The first of Reuchlin's Latin plays seems to be one entitled SERGIUS, SEU CAPITIS CAPUT, COMOEDIA, a satire on bad kings or bad ministers, and printed in 1508^f. He calls it his *primiciæ*. It consists of three acts, and is professedly written in imitation of Terence. But the author promises, if this attempt should please, that he will write INTEGRAS COMEDIAS, that is, comedies of five acts^g. I give a few lines from the Prologue^h.

*Si unquam tulistis ad jocum vestros pedes,
Aut si rei aures præbuitis ludicræ,
In hac nova, obsecro, poetæ fabula,
Dignemini attentiores esse quam antea;
Non hic erit lasciviæ aut libidini
Meretriciæ, aut tristi senum curæ locus,
Sed histrionum exercitus et scommata.*

For Reuchlin's other pieces of a like nature, the curious reader is referred to a very rare volume in quarto, PROGYMNAS-MATA SCENICA, seu LUDICRA PRÆEXERCITAMENTA varii generis. Per Joannem Bergman de Olpe, 1498. An old biographer affirms, that Conradus Celtes was the first who introduced into Germany the fashion of acting tragedies and comedies in public halls, after the manner of the antients. "*Primus comædias et tragædias in publicis aulis veterum more egit!*" Not to

^g "Nunquam ante ipsius ætatem Comœdia in Germanorum scholis acta fuit," &c. G. Lizelli HISTOR. POETAR. GERMAN. Francof. et Leips. 1730. 12mo. p. 11.

^h Phorcæ. 4to. It is published with a gloss by Simlerus his scholar.

ⁱ Fol. x.

^k Fol. iv.

^l VIROB. ILLUSTR. VITÆ, &c. pub-

lished by Fischardus, Francof. 1536. 4to. p. 8. b. Celtes himself says, in his DESCRIPTIO URBS NORIMBERGÆ, written about 1500, that in the city there was an "AULA prætoria, ubi PUBLICA NUPTIARUM ET CHOREARUM SPECTACULA celebrantur, hystoriis et ymaginibus imperatorum et regum nostrorum depicta." Cap. x.

enter into a controversy concerning the priority of these two obscure theatrical authors, which may be sufficiently decided for our present satisfaction by observing, that they were certainly cotemporaries; about the year 1500, Celtes wrote a play, or masque, called the *PLAY OF DIANA*, presented by a literary society, or seminary of scholars, before the emperor Maximilian and his court. It was printed in 1502, at Nuremberg, with this title, "*Incipit LUDUS DYANÆ, coram Maximiliano rege, per Sodalitatem Litterariam Damulianam in Linzio*." It consists of the iambic, hexameter, and elegiac measures; and has five acts, but is contained in eight quarto pages. The plot, if any, is entirely a compliment to the emperor; and the personages, twenty-four in number, among which was the poet, are Mercury, Diana, Bacchus, Silenus drunk on his ass, Satyrs, Nymphs, and Bacchanalians. Mercury, sent by Diana, speaks the Prologue. In the middle of the third act, the emperor places a crown of laurel on the poet's head: at the conclusion of which ceremony, the chorus sings a panegyric in verse to the emperor. At the close of the fourth act, in the true spirit of a German shew, the imperial butlers refresh the performers with wine out of golden goblets, with a symphony of horns and drums: and at the end of the play, they are invited by his majesty to a sumptuous banquet¹.

It is more generally known, that the practice of acting Latin plays in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, continued to

¹ See Conradi Celtis *AMORES*, Norimb. 1502. 4to. ad calc. SIGNAT. q.

[There is also a work attributed to Conradus Celtes, containing six Latin plays in imitation of Terence, under this title, "*HROSIVITE, illustris virginis et Monialis Germanæ, Opera: nempe, COMŒDIE SEX IN ÆMULATIONEM TERENTI, Octo Sacræ Historiæ versibus compositæ, necnon Panegyricus, &c. NORIMBERGÆ, sub privilegio Sodalitatis Socraticæ, anno 1501. fol.*"—ADDITIONS.] [Celtes was only the editor of this work. vide supra. vol. ii. p. 68. Note².—EDIT.]

² In the colleges of the Jesuits in Italy this was a constant practice in modern

times. Denina says, that father Granelli's three best tragedies were written, for this purpose, between 1729 and 1731. ch. v. § 9. The tragedies of Petavius, Bernardinus and Stephonius, all Jesuits, seem intended for this use. See Morhoff, *POLYHIST. LITERAR.* lib. vii. cap. iii. tom. i. 15. pag. 1069. edit. Fabric. Lubec. 1747. 4to. Riccoboni relates, that he saw, in the Jesuit's college at Prague, a Latin play acted by the students, on the subject of Luther's heresy; and the ridicule consisted in bringing Luther on the stage, with a bible in his hand, quoting chapter and verse in defence of the reformation.

Cromwell's usurpation. The oldest notice I can recover of this sort of spectacle in an English university, is in the fragment of an antient account-roll of the dissolved college of Michaelhouse in Cambridge: in which, under the year 1386, the following expence is entered. "*Pro ly pallio brusdato et pro sex larvis et barbīs in comedia.*" That is, for an embroidered pall, or cloak, and six visors and six beards, for the comedy^m. In the year 1544, a Latin comedy, called PAMMACHIUS, was acted at Christ's college in Cambridge: which was laid before the privy council by bishop Gardiner, chancellor of the university, as a dangerous libel, containing many offensive reflections on the papistic ceremonies yet unabolishedⁿ. The comedy of GAMMAR GURTON'S NEEDLE was acted in the same society about the year 1552. In an original draught of the statutes of Trinity college at Cambridge, founded in 1546, one of the chapters is entitled, *De Præfecto Ludorum qui IMPERATOR dicitur*, under whose direction and authority, Latin comedies and tragedies are to be exhibited in the hall at Christmas; as also *Sex SPECTACULA*, or as many DIALOGUES. Another title to this statute, which seems to be substituted by another and a more modern hand, is, *De Comediis ludisque in natali Christi exhibendis*. With regard to the peculiar business and office of IMPERATOR, it is ordered, that one of the masters of arts shall be placed over the juniors, every Christmas, for the regulation of their games and diversions at that season of festivity. At the same time, he is to govern the whole society in the hall and chapel, as a republic committed to his special charge, by

^m Inter MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

ⁿ MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. CATAL. Nasmith. p. 92. This mode of attack was seldom returned by the opposite party: the catholic worship, founded on sensible representations, afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of some of the sects of the reformers, which was of a more simple and spiritual nature. But I say this of the infancy of our stage. In the next century, fanaticism was brought upon the English

stage with great success, when polished manners had introduced humour into comedy, and character had taken place of spectacle. There are, however, two English interludes, one of the reign of Henry the Eighth, called EVERY MAN, the other of that of Edward the Sixth, called LUSTY JUVENTUS, written by R. Weever: the former defends, and the latter attacks, the church of Rome. [Both these pieces will be found in Mr. Hawkins's Origin of the English Drama. vol. i.—EDIT.]

a set of laws, which he is to frame in Latin or Greek verse. His sovereignty is to last during the twelve days of Christmas, and he is to exercise the same power on Candlemas-day. During this period, he is to see that six SPECTACLES or DIALOGUES be presented. His fee is forty shillings^o. Probably the constitution of this officer, in other words, a *Master of the Revels*, gave a latitude to some licentious enormities, incompatible with the decorum of a house of learning and religion; and it was found necessary to restrain these Christmas celebrities to a more rational and sober plan. The SPECTACULA also, and DIALOGUES, originally appointed, were growing obsolete when the substitution was made, and were giving way to more regular representations. I believe these statutes were reformed by queen Elizabeth's visitors of the university of Cambridge, under the conduct of archbishop Parker, in the year 1573. John Dee, the famous occult philosopher, one of the first fellows of this noble society, acquaints us, that by his advice and endeavours, both here, and in other colleges at Cambridge, this master of the Christmas plays was first *named and confirmed* EMPEROR. "The first was Mr. John Dun, a very goodly man of person, habit, and complexion, and well learned also^p." He also further informs us, little thinking how important his *boyish attempts and exploits scholastical* would appear to future ages, that in the refectory of the college, in the character of Greek lecturer, he exhibited, before the whole university, the *Εἰρηνη*, or PAX, of Aristophanes, accompanied with a piece of machinery, for which he was taken for a conjuror: "with the performance of the scarabeus his flying up to Jupiter's palace, with a man, and his basket of victuals, on her back: wherest

^o This article is struck out from CAP. xxiv. p. 85. MSS. Rawlins. Num. 233. Only that part of the statute is retained, in which *Comedies* and *Tragedies* are ordered to be acted. These are to be written, or rather exhibited, by the nine lecturers. The senior lecturer is to produce one: the eight others are charged with four more. A fine of ten shillings is imposed for the omission of each in-

terlude. Another clause is then struck out, which limits the number of the plays to THREE, if *FIVE commodè exponi non queant*.

^p COMPENDIOUS REHEARSALL OF JOHN DEE, &c. written by himself, A. D. 1592. ch. i. p. 501. 502. APPEND. J. Glastoniensis CHRON. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1726.

was great *wondering*, and many *vain reports* spread abroad, of the means how that was effected⁴." The tragedy of Jephthah, from the eleventh chapter of the book of JUDGES, written both in Latin and Greek, and dedicated to king Henry the Eighth, about the year 1546, by a very grave and learned divine, John Christopherson, another of the first fellows of Trinity college in Cambridge, afterwards master, dean of Norwich, and bishop of Chichester, was most probably composed as a Christmas-play for the same society. It is to be noted, that this play is on a religious subject⁵. Roger Ascham, while on his travels in Flanders, says in one of his Epistles, written about 1550, that the city of Antwerp as much exceeds all other cities, as the refectory of saint John's college in Cambridge exceeds itself, when furnished at Christmas with its theatrical apparatus for acting plays⁶. Or, in his own words, "*Quemadmodum aula Johannis, theatri more ornata, seipsam post Natalem superat*." In an audit-book of Trinity college in Oxford, I think for the year 1559, I find the following disbursements relating to this subject. "*Pro apparatu in comoedia Andriæ, viii. ix. s. iv. d. Pro prandio Principis NATALICII eodem tempore, xiii. ix. d. Pro refectioe præfectorum et doctorum magis illustrium cum Bursariis prandentium tempore comoediæ, iv. viii. d.*" That is, For dresses and scenes in acting Terence's ANDRIA, for the dinner of the CHRISTMAS PRINCE, and for the entertainment of the heads of the colleges and the most eminent doctors dining with the bursars or treasurers, at the time of acting the comedy, twelve pounds, three shillings, and eight pence. A CHRISTMAS PRINCE, OR LORD OF MISRULE, corresponding to the IMPERATOR at Cambridge just mentioned, was

⁴ Ibid. p. 502.

⁵ Buchanan has a tragedy on this subject, written in 1554. Hamlet seems to be quoting an old play, at least an old song, on Jephthah's story, *HAML. ACT II. SC. 7.* There is an Italian tragedy on this subject by Benedict Capuano, a monk of Casino. Florent. 1587. 4to.

⁶ There is a latin tragedy, *ARCHIPROPHETA, sive Johannes Baptista*, written in

1547, by Nicolas Grimald, one of the first Students of Christ-church, Oxford, which probably was acted in the refectory there. It is dedicated to the dean, doctor Richard Cox, and was printed, Colon. 1548, 8vo. This play coincided with his plan of a rhetoric lecture, which he had set up in the college.

⁷ Aschami Epistol. p. 126. b. Lond. 1581.

a common temporary magistrate in the colleges at Oxford: but at Cambridge, they were censured in the sermons of the puritans, in the reign of James the First, as a relic of the pagan ritual^u. The last article of this disbursement shews, that the most respectable company in the university were invited on these occasions. At length our universities adopted the representation of plays, in which the scholars by frequent exercise had undoubtedly attained a considerable degree of skill and address, as a part of the entertainment at the reception of princes and other eminent personages. In the year 1566, queen Elizabeth visited the university of Oxford. In the magnificent hall

^u Fuller, CH. HIST. Hist. of Cambridge, p. 159. edit. 1655. See OMSKRVAT. on Spenser, ii. 211. In the court of king Edward the Sixth, George Ferrers, a lawyer, poet, and historian, bore this office at Greenwich, all the twelve days of Christmas, in 1552. "Who so pleasantly and wisely behaved himself, that the king had great delight in his PASTIMES." Stowe's CHRON. p. 632. Hollingshead says, "being of better credit and estimation than commonlie his predecessors had bene before, he received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the MAISTER OF THE KING'S PASTIMES. Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundrie sights and devices of rare inventions, and in act of divers INTERLUDES, and matters of pastime *plaid by persons*, as not onlie satisfied the common sort, but also were verie well liked and allowed by the COUNCELL, and others of skill in the like PASTIMES," &c. CHRON. iii. p. 1067. col. 2. 10. The appointment of so dextrous and respectable an officer to this department, was a stroke of policy; and done with a design to give the court popularity, and to divert the mind of the young king, on the condemnation of Somerset.

In some great families this officer was called the ABBOT OF MISRULE. In Scotland, where the reformation took a more severe and gloomy turn, these and other festive characters were thought worthy to be suppressed by the legislature. See PARL. vi. of queen Mary of Scotland, 1555. "It is statute and ordained, that

in all times cumming, na maner of person be chosen ROBERT HUDZ nor LITTLE JOHN, ABBOT OF UN-REASON, QUEENIS OF MAY, nor utherwise, nother in burgh, nor to landwart, [in the country,] in onie time to cum." [See Dr. Jamieson's Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, in voc. ABBOT OF UN-RESSOU.—EDR.] And this under very severe penalties, viz. In burghs, to the chusers of such characters, loss of freedom, with other punishments at the queen's pleasure: and those who accepted such offices were to be banished the realm. In the country, the chusers forfeited ten pounds, with an arbitrary imprisonment. "And gif onie women or uther about summer hees [hies, goes,] singand [singing]. . . thorow Burrowes and uthers Landward townes, the women. . . sall be taken, handled, and put upon the cuck-stules," &c. See Notes to the PERCY HOUSEHOLD-BOOK. p. 441. Voltaire says, that since the Reformation, for two hundred years there has not been a fiddle heard in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

In the French towns there was L' ABBE DE LIESSE, who in many towns was elected from the burgesses by the magistrates, and was the director of all their public shews. Among his numerous mock-officers were a herald, and a *Maitre d'Hotel*. In the city of Auxerre he was especially concerned to superintend the play which was annually acted on Quinquagesima Sunday. Carpentier, SURV. GLOSS. LAT. Du Cange, tom. i. p. 7. V. ABBAS LATTILE. See also, *ibid.* V. CHARAVANTUM. p. 923.

of the college of Christ Church, she was entertained with a Latin comedy called *MARCUS GEMINUS*, the Latin tragedy of *PROGNE*, and an English comedy on the story of Chaucer's *PALAMON AND ARCITE*, all acted by the students of the university. The queen's observations on the persons of the last mentioned piece, deserve notice; as they are at once a curious picture of the romantic pedantry of the times, and of the characteristic turn and predominant propensities of the queen's mind. When the play was over, she summoned the poet into her presence, whom she loaded with thanks and compliments: and at the same time turning to her levee, remarked, that Palamon was so justly drawn as a lover, that he certainly must have been in love indeed: that Arcite was a *right martial knight, having a swart and manly countenance*, yet with the aspect of a Venus clad in armour: that the lovely Emilia was a virgin of uncorrupted purity and unblemished simplicity, and that although she sung so sweetly, and gathered flowers alone in the garden, she preserved her chastity undeflowered. The part of Emilia, the only female part in the play, was acted by a boy of fourteen years of age, a son of the dean of Christ-Church, habited like a young princess; whose performance so captivated her majesty, that she gave him a present of eight guineas^w. During the exhibition a cry of hounds, belonging to Theseus, was counterfeited without, in the great square of the college: the young students thought it a real chace, and were seized with a sudden transport to join the hunters: at which the queen cried out from her box, "O excellent! These boys, in very troth, are ready to leap out of the windows to follow the hounds^x!" In the year 1564, queen Elizabeth honoured the

^w This youth had before been introduced to the queen's notice, in her privy chamber at her lodgings at Christ-Church; where he saluted her in a short Latin oration with some Greek verses, with which she was so pleased, that she called in secretary Cecill, and encouraging the boy's modesty with many compliments and kind speeches, begged him to repeat his elegant performance. By

Wood he is called, *summa spei puer*. *HIST. ANTIQ. UNIV. OXON.* lib. i. p. 287. col. 2. See also *ATHEN. OXON.* i. 152. And Peck's *DIXON. CURIO.* vol. ii. lib. vii. Num. xviii. p. 46. seq. [For a detailed account of this, and subsequent exhibitions of the same kind, see Nicholls's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*. — *EDR.*]

^x Wood, *ATHEN. OXON.* ubi supr.

university of Cambridge with a royal visit^y. Here she was present at the exhibition of the *AULULARIA* of Plautus, and the tragedies of *DIDO*, and of *HEZEKIAH*, in English: which were played in the body, or nave, of the chapel of King's college, on a stage extended from side to side, by a select company of scholars, chosen from different colleges at the discretion of five doctors, "especially appointed to set forth such plays as should be exhibited before her grace^z." The chapel, on this occasion, was lighted by the royal guards; each of whom bore a staff-torch in his hand^z. Her majesty's patience was so fatigued by the sumptuous parade of shews and speeches, with which every moment was occupied, that she could not stay to see the *AJAX* of Sophocles, in Latin, which was prepared. Having been praised both in Latin and Greek, and in prose and verse, for her learning and her chastity, and having received more compliments than are paid to any of the pastoral princesses in Sydney's *ARCADIA*, she was happy to return to the houses of some of her nobility in the neighbourhood. In the year 1583, Albertus de Alasco, a Polish prince, Palatine, arrived at Oxford^b. In the midst of a medley of pithy orations, tedious sermons, degrees, dinners, disputations, philosophy, and fire-works, he was invited to the comedy of the *RIVALES*^c,

^y For a minute account of which, see Peck's *DESID. CURIOS.* ut supr. p. 25. Num. xv. [MSS. Baker. vol. x. 7087. p. 109. Brit. Mus.] The writer was probably N. Robinson, domestic chaplain to archbishop Parker, afterwards bishop of Bangor. See Wood, *ATHEN. OXON.* i. col. 696. MSS. Baker, ut supr. p. 181. And Parker's *ANT. BRIT. ECCLES.* p. 14. *MATH. Vir fuit prudens*, &c. edit. 1572-3.

^z Peck, ut supr. p. 36. 39.

^a Peck, *ibid.* p. 36.

^b Supposed to be the person whom Shakespeare, in the *MERCHANT OF VENICE* called the *Count Palatine*. *ACT* i. *SC.* i.

^c This was in Latin, and written by William Gager, admitted a student of Christ-Church in 1572. By the way, he is styled by Wood, the best comedian

of his time, that is dramatic poet. But he wrote only Latin plays. His Latin *MELLEAGE* was acted at Christ-Church before lord Leicester, sir Philip Sydney, and other distinguished persons, in 1581. *ATH. OXON.* i. p. 366. This Gager had a controversy with doctor John Rainolds, president of Corpus, at Oxford, concerning the lawfulness of plays: which produced from the latter a pamphlet, called *THE OVERTHROW OF STAGE-PLAYS*, &c. Printed 1599. Gager's letter, in defence of his plays, and of the students who acted in them, is in *Bibl. Coll. Univ. MSS. J.* 18. It appears by a pamphlet written by one W. Heale, and printed at Oxford in 1609, that Gager held it lawful, in a public Act of the university, for husbands to beat their wives.

and the tragedy of Dido, which were presented in Christ-Church hall by some of the scholars of that society, and of saint John's college. In the latter play, Dido's supper, and the destruction of Troy, were represented in a marchpane, or rich cake: and the tempest which drove Dido and Eneas to the same cave, was counterfeited by a snow of sugar, a hail-storm of comfits, and a shower of rose-water^d. In the year 1605, king James the First gratified his pedantry by a visit to the same university^e. He was present at three plays in Christ-Church hall: which he seems to have regarded as childish amusements, in comparison of the more solid delights of scholastic argumentation. Indeed, if we consider this monarch's insatiable thirst of profound erudition, we shall not be surprised to find, that he slept at these theatrical performances; and that he sate four hours every morning and afternoon with infinite satisfaction, to hear syllogisms in jurisprudence and theology. The first play, during this solemnity, was a pastoral comedy called ALBA: in which five men, almost naked, appearing on the stage as part of the representation, gave great offence to the queen and the maids of honour: while the king, whose delicacy was not easily shocked at other times, concurred with the ladies, and availing himself of this lucky circumstance, peevishly expressed his wishes to depart, before the piece was half finished^f. The second play was VERTUMNUS; which although *learnedly penned* in Latin, and by a doctor in divinity, could not keep the king awake, who was wearied in consequence of having executed the office of moderator all that day at the disputations in saint Mary's church^g. The third drama was the AJAX of Sophocles, in Latin, at which the stage was varied

^d Hollinsh. CHRON. iii. 1355.

^e See PREPARATIONS AT OXFORD, &c. APPEND. IRELANDI COLL. vol. ij. p. 626. seq. edit. Lond. 1774. [MSS. Baker, ut supr. Brit. Mus.] They were written by one present.

^f Ibid. p. 637.

^g The queen was not present; but next morning, with her ladies, the young prince, and gallants attending the court, she saw an English pastoral, by Daniel,

called ARCADIA REFORMED. Ibid. p. 642.

Although the anecdote is foreign to our purpose, I cannot help mentioning the reason, why the queen, during this visit to Oxford, was more pleased to hear the Oration of the professor of Greek, than the king. "The king heard him willingly, and the Queen much more; because, she sayd, she never had heard Greek." Ibid. 636.

three times^b. "The king was very wearie before he came thither, but much more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislike!" But I must not omit, that as the king entered the city from Woodstock, he was saluted at the gate of saint John's college with a short interlude, which probably suggested a hint to Shakespeare to write a tragedy on the subject of Macbeth. Three youths of the college, habited like witches, advancing towards the king, declared they were the same who once met the two chiefs of Scotland, Macbeth and Bancho; prophesying a kingdom to the one, and to the other a generation of monarchs: that they now appeared, a second time, to his majesty, who was descended from the stock of Bancho, to shew the confirmation of that prediction^k. Immediately afterwards, "Three young youths, in habit and attire like Nymphs, confronted him, representing England, Scotland, and Ireland; and talking dialogue wise, each to the other, of their state, at last concluded, yielding themselves up to his gracious government^l."

It would be unnecessary to trace this practice in our universities to later periods. The position advanced is best illustrated by proofs most remote in point of time; which, on that account, are also less obvious, and more curious. I could have added other antient proofs; but I chose to select those which seemed, from concomitant circumstances, most likely to amuse.

Many instances of this practice in schools, or in seminaries

^b Towards the end of the hall, was a scene like a wall, "painted and adorned with stately pillars, which pillars would turn about, by reason whereof, with the help of other painted clothes, their stage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy." *LXL APPEND.* ut *supr.* p. 631. The machinery of these plays, and the temporary stages in St. Mary's church, were chiefly conducted by one Mr. Jones, a *great traveller*, who undertooke to furnish them with rare devices, but performed very little to that which was expected." *Ibid.* p. 646. Notwithstanding these slighting expressions, it is highly probable that this was Inigo

Jones, afterwards the famous architect. He was now but thirty-three years of age, and just returned into England. He was the principal Contriver for the masques at Whitehall. Gerard, in *STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS*, describing queen Henrietta's popish chapel, says, "Such a glorious scene built over the altar! Inigo Jones never presented a more curious piece in any of the masks at Whitehall." [*dat.* 1635.] vol. i. pag. 505.

^l *Ibid.* p. 639.

^k *REX PLATONICUS, sive MUSÆ RECREANTES*, Oxon. 1607. 4to. p. 18.

^l *LXL APPEND.* ut *supr.* p. 636.

of an inferior nature, may be enumerated. I have before mentioned the play of *ROBIN* and *MARIAN*, performed, according to an annual custom, by the school-boys of Angiers in France, in the year 1392^m. But I do not mean to go abroad for illustrations of this part of our present inquiry. Among the writings of Udal, a celebrated master of Eton, about the year 1540, are recited *Plures Comediæ*, and a tragedy *de Papatu*, on the papacy: written probably to be acted by his scholars. An extract from one of his comedies may be seen in Wilson's *LOGIKE*ⁿ. In the antient *CONSUE TUDINARY*, as it is called, of Eton-School, the following passage occurs. "Circa festum divi Andreae, ludimagister eligere solet, pro suo arbitrio, SCENICAS FABULAS optimas et accommodatissimas, quas Pueri feriis Natalitiis subsequentibus, non sine LUDORUM ELEGANTIA, populo spectante, publice aliquando peragant.—Interdum etiam exhibet Anglico sermone contextas fabulas, siquæ habeant acumen et leporem^o." That is, about the feast of saint Andrew, the thirtieth day of November, the master is accustomed to chuse, according to his own discretion, such Latin stage-plays as are most excellent and convenient; which the boys are to act in the following Christmas holidays, before a public audience, and with all the elegance of scenery and ornaments usual at the performance of a play. Yet he may sometimes order English plays; such, at least, as are smart and witty. In the year 1538, Ralph Radcliffe, a polite scholar, and a lover of graceful elocution, opening a school at Hitchin in Hertfordshire, obtained a grant of the dissolved friery of the Carmelites in that town: and converting the refectory into a theatre, wrote several plays, both in Latin and English, which were exhibited by his pupils. Among his comedies were *Dives and Lazarus*, Boccaccio's *Patient Grisilde*, *Titus and Gesippus*^p, and Chaucer's *Melibeus*: his tragedies were, the *Delivery of Susannah*, the *Burning of John Huss*, *Job's Sufferings*, the *Burning of Sodom*, *Jonas*, and

^m Supr. ii. p. 80. See more instances, *ibid.*

ⁿ Written in 1553, p. 69.

^o Supposed to have been drawn up

about the year 1560. But containing all the antient and original customs of the school. MSS. Rawlins. Bihl. Bodl.

^p See supr. p. 166, 167.

the *Fortitude of Judith*. These pieces were seen by the biographer Bale in the author's library, but are now lost^a. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that this very liberal exercise is yet preserved, and in the spirit of true classical purity, at the college of Westminster^r. I believe, the frequency of these school-plays suggested to Shakespeare the names of Seneca and Plautus as dramatic authors; where Hamlet, speaking of a variety of theatrical performances, says, "Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light^s." Jonson, in his comedy of *THE STAPLE OF NEWES*, has a satirical allusion to this practice, yet ironically applied: where CENSURE says, "For my part, I believe it, and there were no wiser than I, I would have neer a cunning schoole-master in England: I mean a Cunning-man a schoole-master; that is, a conjurour, or a poet, or that had any acquaintance with a poet. They make all their schollers Play-boyes! Is't not a fine sight to see all our children made Enterluders? Doe we pay our money for this? Wee send them to learne their grammar and their Terence, and they learne their play-bookes. Well, they talk

^a Bale, viii. 98. *ATH. OXON.* i. 73. I have seen an anonymous comedy, *APOLLO SHROVING*, composed by the Master of Hadleigh-school, in Suffolk, and acted by his scholars, on Shrove-tuesday, Feb. 7. 1626. printed 1627. 8vo. Published, as it seems, by E. W. Shrove-tuesday, as the day immediately preceding Lent, was always a day of extraordinary sport and feasting. So in the song of Justice Silence in Shakespeare, See P. *HENRY IV. A. v. S. 4.*

Tis merry in hall when beards wag all,
And welcome MERRY SHROVETIDE.

In the Romish church there was antiently a feast immediately preceding Lent, which lasted many days, called *CARNISCIPIUM*. See Carpentier, in V. *SUPPL. LAT. GL. Du Cang. tom. i. p. 831.* In some cities of France an officer was annually chosen, called *LE PRINCE D'AMOURRUX*, who presided over the sports of the youth for six days before Ash-wednesday. *Ibid. V. AMORATUS. p. 195. and V. CARDINALIS. p. 818.*

also V. *SPINETUM, tom. iii. p. 848.* Some traces of these festivities still remain in our universities. In the *PERCY HOUSEHOLD-BOOK, 1512*, it appears that the clergy and officers of lord Percy's chapel performed a play "before his lordship upon Shrowftewesday at night." pag. 345.

^r It appears antiently to have been an exercise for youth, not only to act but to write interludes. Erasmus says, that sir Thomas More, "adolescens *COMOEDIOLAS* et scripsit et egit." *ERISTOL. 447.* But see what I have said of More's *PAGEAUNTS*, *Observat. on Spens. ii. 47.* And we are told, that More, while he lived a Page with archbishop Moreton, as the plays were going on in the palace during the christmas holidays, would often step upon the stage without previous notice, and exhibit a part of his own, which gave much more satisfaction than the whole performance besides. *Roper's LIFE AND DEATH OF MORE, p. 27. edit. 1731. 8vo.*

^s *ACT II. SC. 7.*

we shall have no more parliaments, god blesse us! But an wee have, I hope *Zeale of the Land Buxzy*, and my gossip *Rabby Trouble-truth*, will start up, and see we have painfull good ministers to keepe schoole, and catechise our youth; and not teach em to speake Playes, and act fables of false newes," &c.^t

In tracing the history of our stage, this early practice of performing plays in schools and universities has never been considered as a circumstance instrumental to the growth and improvement of the drama. While the people were amused with Skelton's TRIAL OF SIMONY, Bale's GOD'S PROMISES, and CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL, the scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of a legitimate fable must have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama. And we may add, while no settled or public theatres were known, and plays were chiefly acted by itinerant minstrels in the halls of the nobility at Christmas, these literary societies supported some idea of a stage: they afforded the best accommodations for theatrical exhibition, and were almost the only, certainly the most rational, companies of players that existed.

But I mean yet to trespass on my reader's patience, by pursuing this inquiry still further; which, for the sake of comprehension and connection, has already exceeded the limits of a digression.

It is perhaps on this principle, that we are to account for plays being acted by singing-boys: although they perhaps acquired a turn for theatrical representation and the spectacular arts, from their annual exhibition of the ceremonies of the boy-bishop; which seem to have been common in almost every religious community that was capable of supporting a choir^u. I have before given an instance of the singing-boys

^t Act iii. p. 50. edit. fol. 1631. This play was first acted in the year 1625.

^u In a small college, for only one provost, five fellows, and six choristers, founded by archbishop Rotheram in 1481, in the obscure village of Rotheram in Yorkshire, this piece of mummery

was not omitted. The founder leaves by will, among other bequests to the college, "A Myter for the *burne-bishop* of cloth of gold, with two knoppes of silver, gilt and enamelled." Hearne's LIT. SIG. SCACC. APPEND. p. 674. 686. This establishment, but with a far greater de-

of Hyde abbey and saint Swithin's priory at Winchester, performing a MORALITY before king Henry the Seventh at Winchester castle, on a Sunday, in the year 1487. In the accounts of Maxtoke priory near Coventry, in the year 1430, it appears, that the eleemosynary boys, or choristers, of that monastery, acted a play, perhaps every year, on the feast of the Purification, in the hall of the neighbouring castle belonging to lord Clinton: and it is specified, that the cellarer took no money for their attendance, because his lordship's minstrels had often assisted this year at several festivals in the refectory of the convent, and in the hall of the prior, without fee or gratuity. I will give the article, which is very circumstantial, at length: "*Pro jentaculis puerarum eleemosynæ exeuntium ad aulam in castro ut ibi LUDUM peragerent in die Purificationis, xivd. Unde nihil a domini [Clinton] thesaurario, quia sæpius hoc anno ministralli castri fecerunt ministralsiam in aula conventus et*

gree of buffoonery, was common in the collegiate churches of France. See Dom. Marlot, HISTOIRE de la Metropole de Rheims, tom. ii. p. 769. A part of the ceremony in the church of Noyon was, that the children of the choir should celebrate the whole service on Innocent's day. Brillon, DICTIONNAIRE DES ARRÊTS, Artic. NOYON. edit. de 1727. This privilege, as I have before observed, is permitted to the children of the choir of Winchester college, on that festival, by the founder's statutes, given in 1380. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 83.] Yet in the statutes of Eton college, given in 1441, and altogether transcribed from those of Winchester, the chorister-bishop of the chapel is permitted to celebrate the holy offices on the feast of saint Nicholas, but *by no means* on that of the INNOCENTS.—"In festo sancti Nicolai, in quo et NULLATENUS in festo sanctorum INNOCENTII, divina officia (præter Missæ Secreta) exequi et dici permittimus per Episcopum Puerorum, ad hoc, de eisdem [pueris choristis] annis singulis eligendum." STATUT. Coll. Etonens. Cap. xxxi. The same clause is in the statutes of King's college at Cambridge. Cap. xlii. The parade of the mock-bishop is evidently akin to the *Fete des Four*, in which they had a bishop, an abbot, and a precentor, of the fools.

One of the pieces of humour in this last-mentioned shew, was to shave the precentor in public, on a stage erected at the west door of the church. M. Tilliot, MÈM. de la Fete des Four, ut supr. p. 13. In the Council of Sens, A. D. 1485, we have this prohibition. "*Turpem etiam illum abusum in quibusdam frequentatum ecclesiis, quo, certis annis, nonnulli cum mitra, baculo, ac vestibus pontificalibus, more episcoporum benedicunt, alii ut reges et duces induti, quod Festum FATUORUM, vel INNOCENTIIUM, seu PUERORUM, in quibusdam regionibus nuncupatur,*" &c. CONCIL. SENON. cap. iii. Harduin. ACT. CONCIL. Paris. 1714. tom. ix. p. 1525. E. See also *ibid.* CONCIL. BASIL. Sess. xxi. p. 1122. E. And 1296. D. p. 1344. A. It is surprising that Colet, dean of saint Paul's, a friend to the purity of religion, and who had the good sense and resolution to censure the superstitions and fopperies of popery in his public sermons, should countenance this idle farce of the boy-bishop, in the statutes of his school at saint Paul's; which he founded with a view of establishing the education of youth on a more rational and liberal plan than had yet been known, in the year 1512. He expressly orders that his scholars "*shall every Childermas [Innocents] daye come to Paulis church,*

Prioris ad festa plurima sine ullo regardo." That is, For the extraordinary breakfast of the children of the almonry, or singing-boys of the convent, when they went to the hall in the castle, to perform the *PLAY* on the feast of the Purification, fourteen-pence. In consideration of which performance, we received nothing in return from the treasurer of the lord Clinton, because the minstrels of the castle had often this year plaid at many festivals, both in the hall of the convent and in the prior's hall, without reward. So early as the year 1378, the scholars, or choristers, of saint Paul's cathedral in London, presented a petition to king Richard the Second, that his majesty would prohibit some ignorant and unexperienced persons from acting the *HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT*, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended considerable sums for preparing a public presentation of that play at the ensuing Christmas^x. From *MYSTERIES* this young fraternity proceeded to more regular dramas: and at the commencement of a theatre, were the best and almost only comedians. They

and hear the *CHILDE-BYSHOP*'s [of S. Paul's cathedral] sermon. And after, be at the hygh masse; and each of them offer a penny to the *CHILDE-BYSHOP*, and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole." Knight's *LIFE OF COLET*, (*MISCELL. Num. V. APPEND.*) p. 362. [See also Mr. Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*.—*EDIT.*] I take this opportunity of observing, that the anniversary custom at Eton of going *ad Montem*, originated from the ancient and popular practice of these theatrical processions in collegiate bodies.

In the statutes of New college in Oxford, founded about the year 1380, there is the following remarkable passage. "Ac etiam illum *LUDUM* vilissimum et horribilem *RADENDI BARBAS*, qui fieri solet in nocte præcedente Inceptionis Magistradorum in Artibus, infra collegium nostrum prædictum, vel alibi in Universitate prædicta, ubicunque, ipais [sociis et scolaribus] penitus interdiximus, ac etiam prohibemus expresse." *RUBR. xxv.* Hearne endeavours to explain this injunction, by supposing that it was made in opposition to the Wic-

eliffites, who disregarded the laws of Scripture; and, in this particular instance, violated the following text in *LEVITICUS*, where this custom is expressly forbidden. xix. 27. "Neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard." *NOR. ad Joh. Trokelowe. p. 393.* Nothing can be more unfortunate than this elucidation of our antiquary. The direct contrary was the case: for the Wickliffites entirely grounded their ideas of reformation both in morals and doctrine on scriptural proofs, and often committed absurdities in too precise and literal an acceptance of texts. And, to say no more, the custom, from the words of the statute, seems to have been long preserved in the university, as a mock-ceremony on the night preceding the solemn Act of Magistration. It is styled *LUDUS*, a Play: and I am of opinion, that it is to be ranked among the other ecclesiastic mummeries of that age; and that it has some connection with the exhibition mentioned above of shaving the Precentor in public.

^v Penes me. *supr. citat.*

^x See *RISZ AND PROGRASS, &c. CIB. L.* vol. ii. p. 118.

became at length so favorite a set of players, as often to act at court: and, on particular occasions of festivity, were frequently removed from London, for this purpose only, to the royal houses at some distance from town. This is a circumstance in their dramatic history, not commonly known. In the year 1554, while the princess Elizabeth resided at Hatfield-house in Hertfordshire, under the custody of sir Thomas Pope, she was visited by queen Mary. The next morning, after mass, they were entertained with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, *with which their highnesses were right well content.* In the evening, the great chamber was adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry, called *The Hanginge of Antioch*: and after supper, a play was presented by the *children of Paul's*¹. After the play, and the next morning, one of the children, named Maximilian Poines, sung to the princess, while she *plaid at the virginals*². Strype, perhaps from the same manuscript chronicle, thus describes a magnificent entertainment given to queen Elizabeth, in the year 1559, at Nonsuch in Surry, by lord Arundel, her majesty's housekeeper, or superintendant, at that palace, now destroyed. I chuse to give the description in the words of this simple but picturesque compiler. "There the queen had great entertainment, with banquets, especially on Sunday night, made by the said earl: together with a Mask, and the warlike sounds of drums and flutes, and all kinds of musick, till midnight. On Monday, was a great supper made for her: but before night, she stood at her standing in the further park, and there she saw a Course. At night was a Play by the

¹ Who perhaps performed the play of *Holophernes*, the same year, after a *greate and rich maskinge and banquet*, given by sir Thomas Pope to the princess, in the *grete hall at Hatfelde.* LIFE of sir THO. POPE. SECT. iii. p. 85.

² MS. ANNALES OF Q. MARIE'S REIGNE. MSS. COTTON. VITELL. F. 5. There is a curious anecdote in Melville's MEMOIRS, concerning Elizabeth, when queen, being surprized from behind the tapestry by lord Hunsdon, while she was playing on her virginals. Her majesty, I know not whether in a fit of royal

prudery, or of royal coquetry, suddenly rose from the instrument and offered to strike his lordship: declaring, "that she was not used to play before men, but when she was solitary to shun melan choly." MEM. Lond. 1752. pag. 99. Leland applauds the skill of Elizabeth, both in playing and singing. ENCOM. fol. 59. [p. 125. edit. Hearn.]

Aut quid commemorem quos tu testudine sumpta

Concentus referas mellifluosque modos?

Children of Paul's, and their [music] master Sebastian. After that, a costly banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. This entertainment lasted till three in the morning. And the earl presented her majesty a cupboard of plate.^a In the year 1562, when the society of parish clerks in London celebrated one of their annual feasts; after morning service in Guildhall chapel, they retired to their hall; where, after dinner, a *goodly play* was performed by the choristers of Westminster abbey, with *voits, and regals, and singing*^b. The children of the chapel-royal were also famous actors; and were formed into a company of players by queen Elizabeth, under the conduct of Richard Edwards, a musician, and a writer of Interludes, already mentioned, and of whom more will be said hereafter. All Lilly's plays, and many of Shakespeare's and Jonson's, were originally performed by these boys^c: and it seems probable, that the title given by Jonson to one of his comedies, called CYNTHIA'S REVELS, first acted in 1605 "by the children of her majesties chapel, with the allowance of the Master of the Revels," was an allusion to this establishment of queen Elizabeth, one of whose romantic names was CYNTHIA^d. The general reputation which they gained, and the particular encouragement and countenance which they received from the queen, excited the jealousy of the grown actors at the theatres: and Shakespeare, in HAMLET,

^a ANN. REP. vol. i. ch. xv. p. 194. edit. 1725, fol.

^b Strype's edit. of Stowe's SURV. LOND. B. v. p. 231.

^c Six of Lilly's nine comedies are entitled COURT-COMEDIES: which, I believe, were written professedly for this purpose. These were reprinted together, Lond. 1682. 12mo. His last play is dated 1597.

^d They very frequently were joined by the choristers of saint Paul's. It is a mistake that these were rival companies; and that because Jonson's *POSTASTER* was acted, in the year 1601, by the boys of the chapel, his antagonist Decker got his *SATIROMASTIX*, an answer to Jonson's play, to be performed, out of opposition, by those of saint Paul's. Lilly's court-comedies, and many others, were acted by the children of both choirs in conjuuc-

tion. It is certain that Decker sneers at Jonson's interest with the Master of the Revels, in procuring his plays to be acted so often at court. "Sir Vaughan. I have some cossen-germans at court shall beget you the reversion of the master of the king's revels, or else to be his lord of misrule nowe at Christmas." SIGNAT. G. 3. Decker's *SATIROMASTIX*, or the *Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*. Lond. for E. White, 1602. 4to. Again, SIGNAT. M. "When your playes are misselikt at court, you shall not crie mew like a pusse-cat, and say you are glad you write out of the courtier's element." On the same idea the satire is founded of sending Horace, or Jonson, to court, to be dubbed a poet: and of bringing "the quivering bride to court in a maske," &c. Ibid. SIGNAT. I. 3.

endeavours to extenuate the applause which was idly indulged to their performance, perhaps not always very just, in the following speeches of Rosencrantz and Hamlet.—“There is an airy of little children, little eyases^e, that cry out on the top of the question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't: these are now the fashion, and so berattle the *common* stages, so they call them, that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce come thither.—*Ham.* What, are they children? Who maintains them? How are they escoted^f? Will they pursue the Quality no longer than they can sing^g,” &c. This was about the year 1599. The latter clause means, “Will they follow the *profession* of players, no longer than they keep the voices of boys, and sing in the choir?” So Hamlet afterwards says to the player, “Come, give us a taste of your *quality*: come, a passionate speech^h.” Some of these, however, were distinguished for their propriety of action, and became admirable comedians at the theatre of Black-friersⁱ. Among the children of queen Elizabeth's chapel, was one Salvadore Pavy, who acted in Jonson's POETASTER, and CYNTHIA'S REVELS, and was inimitable in his representation of the cha-

^e nest of young hawks. ^f paid.

^g ACT ii. Sc. vi. And perhaps he glances at the same set of actors in ROMEO AND JULIET, when a play, or maske, is proposed. ACT i. Sc. v.

We'll have no Cupid, hood-wink'd with a scarf,

Bearing a Tartar's painted bow of lath.—
Nor a *without-book* prologue faintly spoke

After the prompter. — —

^h Ibid. Sc. iii.

ⁱ There is a passage in STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS, which seems to shew, that the dispositions and accommodations at the theatre of Black-friers, were much better than we now suppose. “A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a box at a new play in the Black-friers, of which the duke had got the key.” The dispute was settled by the king. G. GARRARD to the LORD DEPUTY. Jan. 25. 1635. vol. i. p. 511. edit. 1739. fol.

See a curious account of an order of the privy council, in 1633, “hung up in a table near Paules and Black-fryars, to command all that resort to the play-house there, to send away their coaches, and to disperse abroad in Paules church-yard, carter-lane, the conduit in fleet-street,” &c. &c. Ibid. p. 175. Another of Garrard's letters mentions a play at this theatre, which “cost three or four hundred pounds setting out; eight or ten suits of new cloaths he [the author] gave the players, an unheard of prodigality!” Dat. 1637. Ibid. vol. ii. 150.

It appears by the Prologue of Chapman's ALL FOOLS, a comedy presented at Black-friers, and printed 1605, that only the spectators of rank and quality sate on the stage.

— — To fair attire the stage
Helps much; for if our *other audience*
see

*You on the stage depart before we end,
Our wits go with you all, &c. —*

racter of an old man. He died about thirteen years of age, and is thus elegantly celebrated in one of Jonson's epigrams.

An Epitaph on S. P. a child of queene Elizabeth's chapell.

Weep with me, all you that read
 This little story!
 And know, for whom a teare you shed
 DEATH's selfe is sorry.
 Twas a child, that so did thrive
 In grace and feature,
 As HEAVEN and NATURE seem'd to strive
 Which own'd the creature.
 Yeares he numbred scarce thirteene,
 When Fates turn'd cruell;
 Yet three fill'd zodiackes had he beene
 The Stage's Jewell:
 And did acte, what now we moane,
 Old men so duely;
 As, sooth, the PARCÆ thought him one,
 He plaid so truely.
 So, by errour, to his fate
 They all consented;
 But viewing him since, alas! too late,
 They have repented:
 And have sought, to give new birthe,
 In bathes to steep him:
 But, being so much too good for earthe,
 HEAVEN vowes to keep him*.

To this ecclesiastical origin of the drama, we must refer the plays acted by the society of the parish-clerks of London, for eight days successively, at Clerkenwell, which thence took its name, in the presence of most of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, in the years 1390 and 1409. In the ignorant ages, the parish-clerks of London might justly be considered as a

* EPIGRAMMES, Epig. CXX.

literary society. It was an essential part of their profession, not only to sing but to read; an accomplishment almost solely confined to the clergy: and, on the whole, they seem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild, or fellowship, by king Henry the Third about the year 1240, under the patronage of saint Nicholas. It was antiently customary for men and women of the first quality, ecclesiastics, and others, who were lovers of church-music, to be admitted into this corporation: and they gave large gratuities for the support, or education, of many persons in the practice of that science. Their public feasts, which I have already mentioned, were frequent, and celebrated with singing and music; most commonly at Guildhall chapel or college¹. Before the reformation, this society was constantly hired to assist as a choir, at the magnificent funerals of the nobility, or other distinguished personages, which were celebrated within the city of London, or in its neighbourhood. The splendid ceremonies of their anniversary procession and mass, in the year 1554, are thus related by Strype, from an old chronicle. "May the sixth, was a goodly evensong at Guildhall college, by the Masters of the CLARKS and their Fellowship, with singing and playing; and the morrow after, was a great mass, at the same place, and by the same fraternity: when every clark offered an halfpenny. The mass was sung by diverse of the queen's [Mary's] chapel and children. And after mass done, every clark went their procession, two and two together; each having on, a surplice and a rich cope, and a garland. And then, fourscore standards, streamers, and banners; and each one that bare them had an albe or a surplice. Then came in order the waits playing: and then, thirty clarkes, singing *FESTA DIES*. There were four of these choirs. Then came a canopy, borne over the Sacrament by four of the masters of the clarkes, with staffe torches burning^m," &c. Their profession; employment, and character, naturally dic-

¹ Stowe's SURV. LOND. ut supr. lib. v. p. 231.

^m ECCLES. MEM. vol. iii. ch. xiii. p. 121.

tated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind : and their constant practice in shews, processions, and vocal music, easily accounts for their address in detaining the best company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than a week.

Before I conclude this inquiry, a great part of which has been taken up in endeavouring to shew the connection between places of education and the stage, it ought to be remarked, that the antient fashion of acting plays in the inns of court, which may be ranked among seminaries of instruction, although for a separate profession, is deducible from this source. The first representation of this sort which occurs on record, and is mentioned with any particular circumstances, was at Gray's-inn. John Roos, or Roo, student at Gray's-inn, and created a serjeant at law in the year 1511, wrote a comedy which was acted at Christmas in the hall of that society, in the year 1527. This piece, which probably contained some free reflections on the pomp of the clergy, gave such offence to cardinal Wolsey, that the author was degraded and imprisoned^a. In the year 1550, under the reign of Edward the Sixth, an order was made in the same society, that no comedies, commonly called Inter-ludes, should be acted in the refectory in the intervals of vacation, except at the celebration of Christmas: and that then, the whole body of students should jointly contribute towards the dresses, scenes, and decorations^b. In the year 1561, Sackville's and Norton's tragedy of FERREX AND PORREX was presented before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple^c. In the year 1566, the SUPPOSES, a comedy, was acted at Gray's-inn, written by Gascoigne, one

^a Hollinsh. *CHRON.* iii. 894.

^b Dugdale, *ORIG. JURM.* cap. 67.

p. 285.

^c Printed at London, 1565. 12mo.

In one of the old editions of this play, I think a quarto, of 1590, it is said to be "set forth as the same was shewed before the queen's most excellent majestie; in her highness's court of the inner-tem-

ple." It is to be observed, that Norton, one of the authors, was connected with the law: For the "Approbation of Mr. T. Norton, counsellor and solicitor of London, appointed by the bishop of London," is prefixed to Ch. Marbury's *Collection of Italian Proverbs*, Lond. 1581. 4to.

of the students. Decker, in his satire against Jonson above cited, accuses Jonson for having stolen some jokes from the Christmas plays of the lawyers. "You shall sweare not to bumbast out a new play with the old lyming of jestes stolne from the Temple-revells⁴." In the year 1632 it was ordered, in the Inner Temple, that no play should be continued after twelve at night, not even on Christmas-eve⁵.

But these societies seem to have shone most in the representation of Masques, a branch of the old drama. So early as the year 1431, it was ordered, that the society of Lincoln's inn should celebrate four revels⁶, on four grand festivals, every year, which I conceive to have consisted in great measure of this species of impersonation. In the year 1613, they presented at Whitehall a masque before king James the First, in honour of the marriage of his daughter the princess Elizabeth with the prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, at the cost of more than one thousand and eighty pounds⁷. The poetry was by Chapman, and the machinery by Jones⁸. But the most splendid and sumptuous performance of this kind, plaid by

⁴ SATIROMASTIX, edit. 1602. ut supr
SIGNAT. M.

⁵ Dugd. ut supr. cap. 57. p. 140. seq.
also c. 61. 205.

⁶ It is not, however, exactly known whether these revels were not simply DANCES: for Dugdale says, that the students of this inn "anciently had DANCINGS for their recreation and delight." Iam. And he adds, that in the year 1610, the under barristers, for example's sake, were put out of commons by decimation, because they offended in not DANCING on Candlemas-day, when the JUDGES were present, according to an antient order of the society. Ibid. col. 2. In an old comedy, called CUPID'S WHIRLWIND, acted in the year 1616, by the children of his majesty's revels, a law-student is one of the persons of the drama, who says to a lady, "Faith, lady, I remember the first time I saw you was in quadragesimo-sexto of the queene, in a michaelmas tearme, and I think it was the morrow upon mense Michaelis, or crastino Animarum, I cannot tell

which. And the next time I saw you was at our REVVELLS, where it pleased your ladyship to grace me with a galliard; and I shall never forget it, for my velvet pantables [pantofles] were stolne away the whilst." But this may also allude to their masks and plays. SIGNAT. H. 2. edit. Lond. 1616. 4to.

⁷ Dugdale Iam. p. 246. The other societies seem to have joined. Iam. cap. 67. p. 286. See also Finett's PSYLOXENIA, p. 8. 11. edit. 1656. and Ibid. p. 73.

⁸ Printed LOND. 1614. 4to. "With a description of the whole shew, in the manner of their march on horseback to the court from the Master of the Rolls his house, &c. It is dedicated to sir E. Philipps, Master of the Rolls. But we find a masque on the very same occasion, and at Whitehall, before the king and queen, called *The masque of Gray's inn gentlemen and the Inner temple*, by Beaumont, in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher.

these societies, was the masque which they exhibited at Candlemas-day, in the year 1633, at the expence of two thousand pounds, before king Charles the First; which so pleased the king, and probably the queen, that he invited one hundred and twenty gentlemen of the law to a similar entertainment at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday following^w. It was called the TRIUMPH OF PEACE, and written by Shirley, then a student of Gray's-inn. The scenery was the invention of Jones, and the music was composed by William Lawes and Simon Ives^x. Some curious anecdotes of this exhibition are preserved by a cotemporary, a diligent and critical observer of those seemingly insignificant occurrences, which acquire importance in the eyes of posterity, and are often of more value than events of greater dignity. "On Monday after Candlemas-day, the gentlemen of the inns of court performed their MASQUE at Court. They were sixteen in number, who rode through the streets^y, in four chariots, and two others to carry their pages and musicians; attended by an hundred gentlemen on great horses, as well clad as ever I saw any. They far exceeded in bravery [splendor] any Masque that had formerly been presented by those societies, and performed the dancing part with much applause. In their company was one Mr. Read of Gray's-inn; whom all the women, and some men, cried up for as hand-

^w Dugd. *ibid.* p. 346.

^x It was printed, Lond. 1633. 4to. The author says, that it exceeded in variety and richness of decoration, any thing ever exhibited at Whitehall. There is a little piece called THE INNS OF COURT ANAGRAMMATIST, or *The Masquers Masqued in Anagrams*, written by Francis Lenton, the queen's poet, Lond. 1634. 4to. In this piece, the names, and respective houses, of each masquer are specified; and in commendation of each there is an epigram. The masque with which his majesty returned this compliment on the Shrove-tuesday following at Whitehall, was, I think, Carew's *Cœlum Britannicum*, written by the king's command, and played by his majesty, with many of the nobility and their sons who were boys. The

machinery by Jones, and the music by H. Lawes. It has been given to Devenant, but improperly.

There is a play written by Middleton about the year 1623, called INNER TEMPLE MASQUE, or the MASQUE OF HEROES, presented as an *entertainment for many worthy ladies*, by the members of that society. Printed, Lond. 1640. 4to. I believe it is the foundation of Mrs. Behn's *CITY-HEIRESS*.

I have also seen the MASQUE OF FLOWERS, acted by the students of Gray's-inn, in the Banqueting-house at White-hall, on Twelfth Night in 1613. It is dedicated to sir F. Bacon, and was printed, Lond. 1614. 4to. It was the last of the court-solemnities exhibited in honour of Carr, earl of Somerset.

^y they went from Ely house.

some a man as the duke of Buckingham. They were well used at court by the king and queen. No disgust given them, only this one accident fell: Mr. May, of Gray's-inn, a fine poet, he who translated Lucan, came athwart my lord chamberlain in the banquetting-house², and he broke his staff over his shoulders, not knowing who he was; the king was present, who knew him, for he calls him HIS POET, and told the chamberlain of it, who sent for him the next morning, and fairly excused himself to him, and gave him fifty pounds in pieces.— This riding-shew took so well, that both king and queen desired to see it again, so that they invited themselves to supper to my lord mayor's within a week after; and the Masquers came in a more glorious show with all the riders, which were increased twenty, to Merchant-taylor's Hall, and there performed again³." But it was not only by the parade of processions, and the decorations of scenery, that these spectacles

² at Whitehall.

³ STRAFFORD'S LETTERS, Garrard to the Lord Deputy, dat. Feb. 27. 1633. vol. i. p. 207. It is added, "On Shrove-Tuesday at night, the king and the lords performed their Masque. The templars were all invited, and well pleased," &c. See also p. 177. And Fr. Osborn's TRADIT. MEM. vol. ii. p. 134. WORKS, edit. 1722. 8vo. It seems the queen and her ladies were experienced actresses: for the same writer says, Jan. 9. 1633. "I never knew a duller Christmas than we had at Court this year; but one play all the time at Whitehall!—The queen had some little infirmity, which made her keep in: only on Twelfth-night, she feasted the king at Somerset-house, and presented him with a play, newly studied, long since printed, the FAITHFUL SHEPHERDESS [of Fletcher] which the king's players acted in the robes she and her ladies acted their PASTORAL in the last year." Ibid. p. 177. Again, Jan. 11. 1634. "There is some resolution for a Maske at Shrovetide: the queen, and fifteen ladies, are to perform," &c. Ibid. p. 360. And, Nov. 9. 1637. "Here are to be two masks this winter; one at Christmass, which the

king and the young noblesse do make; the other at Shrovetide, which the queen and her ladies do present to the king. A great room is now building only for this use betwixt the guard chamber and the banquetting-house, and of fir," &c. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 130. See also p. 140. And Finett's PHILŒXENIS, "There being a maske in practice of the queen in person, with other great ladies," &c. p. 198. See Whitelock, sub an. 1632. She was [also] an actress in Davenant's masque of the TEMPLE OF LOVE, with many of the nobility of both sexes. In Jonson's FLORIDA at Shrovetide, 1630.—In Jonson's Masque called LOVE FREED FROM IGNORANCE AND FOLLY, printed in 1640.—In W. Montagu's SHEPHERD'S ORACLE, a Pastoral, printed in 1649.—In the masque of ALMON'S TRIUMPH, the Sunday after Twelfth-night, 1631. Printed 1631.—In LUMINALIA, or *The Festival of Light, a masque*, on Shrove-tuesday in 1637. Printed Lond. 1637. 4to.—In SALMACIDA SCILLA at Whitehall, 1639. Printed Lond. 1639. 4to. The words, I believe, by Davenant; and the music by Lewis Richard, master of her majesty's music.—In TEMPE RESTORED, with fourteen

were recommended. Some of them, in point of poetical composition, were eminently beautiful and elegant. Among these may be mentioned a masque on the story of Circe and Ulysses, called the **INNER TEMPLE MASQUE**, written by William Brown, a student of that society, about the year 1620^b. From this piece, as a specimen of the temple-masques in this view, I make

other ladies, on Shrove-tuesday at Whitehall, 1631. Printed Lond. 1631. 4to. The words by Aurelian Townsend. The king acted in some of these pieces. In the preceding reign, queen Anne had given countenance to this practice; and, I believe, she is the first of our queens that appeared personally in this most elegant and rational amusement of a court. She acted in Daniel's Masque of **THE VISION OF THE FOUR GODDESSES**, with eleven other ladies, at Hampton-court, in 1604. Lond. 1624. 4to.—In Jonson's **MASQUE OF QUEENS**, at Whitehall, in 1609.—In Daniel's **TETHYS'S FESTIVAL**, a Masque, at the creation of prince Henry, Jun. 5. 1610. This was called the **QUEEN'S WAKE**. See Winwood, iii. 180. Daniel dedicates to this queen a pastoral tragi-comedy, in which she perhaps performed, called **HYMEN'S TRIUMPH**. It was presented at Somerset-house, where she magnificently entertained the king on occasion of the marriage of lord Roxburgh. Many others, I presume, might be added. Among the **ENTERTAINMENTS AT RUTLAND-HOUSE**, composed by Davenant in the reign of Charles the First, there is a **DECLAMATION**, or rather Disputation, with music, concerning *Public Entertainment by Moral Representation*. The disputants are Diogenes and Aristophanes. I am informed, that among the manuscript papers of the late Mr. Thomas Coxeter, of Trinity college in Oxford, an ingenious and inquisitive gleaner of anecdotes for a biography of English poets, there was a correspondence between sir Fulke Greville and Daniel the poet, concerning improvements and reformatations proposed to be made in these court-interludes. But this subject will be more fully examined, and further pursued, in its proper place.

After the Restoration, when the dignity of the old monarchical manners had

suffered a long eclipse from a Calvinistic usurpation, a feeble effort was made to revive these liberal and elegant amusements at Whitehall. For about the year 1675, queen Catharine ordered Crowne to write a Pastoral called **CALLISTO**, which was acted at court by the ladies Mary and Anne daughters of the duke of York, and the young nobility. About the same time lady Anne, afterwards queen, plaid the part of Semandra, in Lee's **MITHRIDATES**. The young noblemen were instructed by Betterton, and the princesses by his wife: who perhaps conceived Shakespeare more fully than any female that ever appeared on the stage. In remembrance of her theatrical instructions, Anne, when queen, assigned Mrs. Betterton an annual pension of one hundred pounds. Langb. **DRAM. P.** p. 92. edit. 1691. Cibber's **APOE.** p. 134.

This was an early practice in France. In 1540, Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, wrote *Moralities*, which she called **PASTORALS**, to be acted by the ladies of her court.

^b Printed from a manuscript in Emanuel-college at Cambridge, by Tho. Davies. **WORKS OF W. BROWNE**, Lond. 1772. vol. iii. p. 121. In the dedication to the Society the author says, "If it degenerate in kinde from those other the society hath produced, blame yourselves for not keeping a happier muse." Wood says that Browne "retiring to the inner temple, became famed there for his poetry." **ARTH. OXON.** i. p. 492. [From the additional specimens of his talent, retrieved by Sir Egerton Brydges, and elegantly set forth by the Lee press, it appears that Browne is deserving of a more extended reputation than had before been his allotment. There is a peaceful delicacy and pure morality in these recovered strains, which surpasses those previously collected in his works.—**PARKE.**]

no apology for my anticipation in transcribing the following ode, which Circe sings as a charm to drive away sleep from Ulysses, who is discovered reposing under a large tree. It is addressed to Sleep.

THE CHARME.

Sonne of Erebus and Nighte !
 Hye away, and ayme thy flighte,
 Where consorte none other fowle
 Than the batte and sullen owle :
 Where, upon the lymber gras,
 Poppy and mandragoras,
 With like simples not a fowe,
 Hange for ever droppes of dewe :
 Where flowes Lethe, without coyle,
 Softly like a streame of oyle.
 Hye thee thither, gentle Sleepe !
 With this Greeke no longer keepe.
 Thrice I charge thee by my wand,
 Thrice with moly from my hand
 Doe I touch Ulysses' eyes,
 And with th' iaspis. Then arise
 Sagest Greeke^c !

In praise of this song it will be sufficient to say, that it reminds us of some favourite touches in Milton's *COMUS*, to which it perhaps gave birth. Indeed one cannot help observing here in general, although the observation more properly belongs to another place, that a masque thus recently exhibited on the story of Circe, which there is reason to think had acquired some popularity, suggested to Milton the hint of a masque on the story of *Comus*. It would be superfluous to point out minutely the absolute similarity of the two characters: they both deal in incantations conducted by the same mode of operation, and producing effects exactly parallel.

^c Pag. 135.

From this practice of performing interludes in the inns of court, we may explain a passage in Shakespeare: but the present establishment of the context embarrasses that explanation, as it perplexes the sentence in other respects. In the SECOND PART OF HENRY THE FOURTH, Shallow is boasting to his cousin Silence of his heroic exploits when he studied the law at Clement's-inn. "I was once of Clement's-inn, where I think they will talk of mad Shallow yet. *Sil.* You were called *lusty Shallow* then, cousin. *Shal.* I was called any thing; and I would have done any thing, indeed, and roundly too. There was I, and little John Doit of Staffordshire, &c. You had not four such swinge-bucklers in all the inns of court again. We knew where the Bona Robas were, &c.—Oh, the mad days that I have spent^d!". Falstaffe then enters, and is recognised by Shallow, as his brother-student at Clement's-inn; on which, he takes occasion to resume the topic of his juvenile frolics exhibited in London fifty years ago. "She's old, and had Robin Night work, before I came to Clement's-inn.—Ha, cousin Silence, that thou hadst seen, That that this knight and I have seen! Hah, Sir John," &c. Falstaffe's recruits are next brought forward to be inrolled. One of them is ordered to handle his arms: when Shallow says, still dwelling on the old favorite theme of Clement's-inn, "He is not his craft-master, he doth not do it right. I remember at Mile-End Green, when I lay at Clement's-inn, I was then Sir Dagonet in ARTHUR'S SHOW, there was a little quiver fellow, and he would manage you his piece thus," &c. Does he mean that he acted sir Dagonet at Mile-end Green, or at Clement's-inn? By the application of a parenthesis only, the passage will be cleared from ambiguity, and the sense I would assign will appear to be just. "I remember at Mile-end Green, (when I lay at Clement's-inn, I was then Sir Dagonet in ARTHUR'S SHOW,) there was a little quiver fellow," &c. That is, "I remember, when I was a very young man at Clement's-inn, and not fit to

^d Act iii. Sc. iii.

act any higher part than Sir Dagonet in the interludes which we used to play in the society, that among the soldiers who were exercised in Mile-end Green, there was one remarkable fellow," &c.^e The performance of this part of Sir Dagonet was another of Shallow's feats at Clement's-inn, on which he delights to expatiate: a circumstance, in the mean time, quite foreign to the purpose of what he is saying, but introduced, on that account, to heighten the ridicule of his character. Just as he had told Silence, a little before, that he saw Scoggan's head broke by Falstaffe at the court-gate, and the *very same day*, I did fight with one Sampson Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's-inn." Not to mention the satire implied in making Shallow act Sir Dagonet, who was King Arthur's Fool. ARTHUR'S SHOW, here supposed to have been presented at Clement's-inn, was probably an interlude*, or masque, which actually existed, and was very popular, in Shakespeare's age; and seems to have been compiled from Mallory's MORTE ARTHUR, or the history of king Arthur, then recently published, and the favorite and most fashionable romance^f.

When the societies of the law performed these shews within their own respective refectories, at Christmas, or any other festival, a Christmas-prince, or revel-master, was constantly appointed. At a Christmas celebrated in the hall of the Middle-temple, in the year 1635, the jurisdiction, privileges, and parade, of this mock-monarch, are thus circumstantially described^g.

* In the text, "When I laid at Clement's inn," is *lodged*, or *lived*. So Le-land. "An old manor-place, where in tymes paste sum of the Moulbrays LAY for a starte." That is, *lived for a time*, or *sometimes*. IRIN. vol. i. fol. 119. Again, "Maister Page hath translated the House, and now much LYVE there." Ibid. fol. 131. And in many other places.

^e [From a citation afforded by Mr. Bowle, and taken from Mulcaster's Pontius, &c. in 1581, Mr. Malone satisfied himself that "Arthur's Show" was not an interlude, but an "Exhibition of Archery." See Reed's Shakspeare, vol. xii. p. 146. edit. 1803.—PARKER.]

^f That Mile-end green was the place for public sports and exercises, we learn from Froissart. In the affair of Tyler and Straw he says, "Then the kynge sende to them that they shulde all drawe to a fayre playne place, called Myle-end, where the people of the cytie did sport themselves in the former season," &c. Berner's TRANSL. t. i. c. 383. f. 362. a.

^g See also Dugd. ORIG. JURID. p. 151. where many of the circumstances of this officer are described at large: who also mentions, at Lincoln's-inn, a KING OF THE COCKNEYS on childermas-day, cap. 64. p. 247.

He was attended by his lord keeper, lord treasurer, with eight white staves, a captain of his band of pensioners and of his guard; and with two chaplains, who were so seriously impressed with an idea of his regal dignity, that when they preached before him on the preceding Sunday in the Temple church, on ascending the pulpit, they saluted him with three low bows*. He dined, both in the hall, and in his privy-chamber, under a cloth of estate. The pole-axes for his gentlemen pensioners were borrowed of lord Salisbury. Lord Holland, his temporary Justice in Eyre, supplied him with venison, on demand: and the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, with wine. On Twelfth-day, at going to church, he received many petitions, which he gave to his master of requests: And, like other kings, he had a favorite, whom, with others, gentlemen of high quality, he knighted at returning from church. His expences, all from his own purse, amounted to two thousand pounds^b. We are also told, that in the year 1635, "On Shrove-tide at night, the lady Hatton feasted the king, queen, and princes, at her house in Holborn. The Wednesday before, the PRINCE OF THE TEMPLE invited the prince Elector and his brother to a Masque at the Temple^c, which was very completely fitted for the variety of the scenes, and excellently well performed. Thither came the queen with three of her ladies disguised, all clad in the attire of citizens.—This done, the PRINCE was deposed, but since the king knighted him at Whitehall^d."

But these spectacles and entertainments in our law-societies, not so much because they were romantic and ridiculous in

* [This ceremonial, to the honour and pious memory of George the Third, was laid aside in his reign.—ASHBY.]

^b STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS, ut supra, vol. i. p. 507. The writer adds, "All this is done, to make them fit to give the prince elector a royal entertainment, with masks, dancings, and some other exercises of wit in orations or arraingsments, that day they invite him."

^c This, I think, was Davenant's TRAI-

UMPHS OF PRINCE D'AMOUR, written at their request, for the purpose, in three days. The music by H. and W. Lawes. The names of the performers are at the end.

^d Ibid. p. 525. The writer adds, "Mrs. Basset, the great lace-woman of Cheapside, went foremost, and led the queen by the hand," &c. See *ibid.* p. 506.

their mode of exhibition, as that they were institutions celebrated for the purposes of merriment and festivity, were suppressed or suspended under the false and illiberal ideas of reformation and religion, which prevailed in the fanatical court of Cromwell. The countenance afforded by a polite court to such entertainments, became the leading topic of animadversion and abuse in the miserable declamations of the puritan theologians; who attempted the business of national reformation without any knowledge of the nature of society, and whose censures proceeded not so much from principles of a purer morality, as from a narrowness of mind, and from that ignorance of human affairs which necessarily accompanies the operations of enthusiasm.

SECTION XXXV.

WE are now arrived at the commencement of the sixteenth century. But before I proceed to a formal and particular examination of the poetry of that century, and of those that follow, some preliminary considerations of a more general nature, and which will have a reference to all the remaining part of our history, for the purpose of preparing the reader, and facilitating our future inquiries, appear to be necessary.

On a retrospect of the fifteenth century, we find much poetry written during the latter part of that period. It is certain, that the recent introduction into England of the art of typography, to which our countrymen afforded the most liberal encouragement, and which for many years was almost solely confined to the impression of English books, the fashion of translating the classics from French versions, the growing improvements of the English language, and the diffusion of learning among the laity, greatly contributed to multiply English composition, both in prose and verse. These causes, however, were yet immature; nor had they gathered a sufficient degree of power and stability, to operate on our literature with any vigorous effects.

But there is a circumstance, which, among some others already suggested, impeded that progression in our poetry, which might yet have been expected under all these advantages. A revolution, the most fortunate and important in most other respects, and the most interesting that occurs in the history of the migration of letters, now began to take place; which, by diverting the attention of ingenious men to new modes of thinking, and the culture of new languages, introduced a new course of study, and gave a temporary check to vernacular composition. This was the revival of classical learning.

In the course of these annals we must have frequently remarked, from time to time, striking symptoms of a restless disposition in the human mind to rouse from its lethargic state, and to break the bonds of barbarism. After many imperfect and interrupted efforts, this mighty deliverance, in which the mouldering Gothic fabrics of false religion and false philosophy fell together, was not effectually completed till the close of the fifteenth century. An event, almost fortuitous and unexpected, gave a direction to that spirit of curiosity and discovery, which had not yet appeared in its full force and extent, for want of an object. About the year 1453, the dispersion of the Greeks, after Constantinople had been occupied by the Turks, became the means of gratifying that natural love of novelty, which has so frequently led the way to the noblest improvements, by the introduction of a new language and new books; and totally changed the state of letters in Europe¹.

This great change commenced in Italy; a country, from many circumstances, above all others peculiarly qualified and prepared to adopt such a deviation. Italy, during the darkest periods of monastic ignorance, had always maintained a greater degree of refinement and knowledge than any other European country. In the thirteenth century, when the manners of Europe appear to have been overwhelmed with every species of absurdity, its luxuries were less savage, and its public spectacles more rational, than those of France, England, and Germany. Its inhabitants were not only enriched, but enlightened, by that flourishing state of commerce, which its commodious situation, aided by the combination of other concomitant ad-

¹ But it should be remembered, that some learned Grecians, foreseeing the persecutions impending over their country, frequented Italy, and taught their language there, before the taking of Constantinople. Some Greeks who attended the Florentine council, and never returned for fear of the Turks, founded the present royal library in the city of Turenne. In the year 1401, the Greek emperor, unable to resist the frequent

insults of these barbarians, came into England to seek redress or protection from Henry the Fourth. He landed at Dover, attended by many learned Greeks; and the next day was honourably received at Christ-church priory at Canterbury, by the prior, Thomas Chylenden. In a manuscript called *SÆCULUM PARVULORUM*, lib. 5. c. 30. MSS. Bibl. Lambeth.

vantages, contributed to support. Even from the time of the irruptions of the northern barbarians, some glimmerings of the antient erudition still remained in this country; and in the midst of superstition and false philosophy, repeated efforts were made in Italy to restore the Roman classics. To mention no other instances, Alberti Mussato^m of Padua, and a commander in the Paduan army against the Veronese, wrote two Latin tragedies, *ECERRINIS*ⁿ, or the fate of the tyrant Ecerinus of Verona, and *ACHILLEIS*, on the plan of the Greek drama, and in imitation of Seneca, before the year 1320. The many monuments of legitimate sculpture and architecture preserved in Italy, had there kept alive ideas of elegance and grace; and the Italians, from their familiarity with those precious remains of antiquity, so early as the close of the fourteenth century, had laid the rudiments of their perfection in the antient arts. Another circumstance which had a considerable share in clearing the way for this change, and which deserves particular attention, was the innovation introduced into the Italian poetry by Petrarch: who, inspired with the most elegant of passions, and cloathing his exalted feelings on that delicate subject in the most melodious and brilliant Italian versification, had totally eclipsed the barbarous beauties of the Provencial troubadours; and by this new and powerful magic, had in an eminent degree contributed to reclaim, at least for a time, the public taste, from a love of Gothic manners and romantic imagery.

In this country, so happily calculated for their favourable reception, the learned fugitives of Greece, when their empire was now destroyed, found shelter and protection. Hither they

^m He was honoured with the laurel, and died 1329.

ⁿ Printed at Venice, 1636. fol. with his *EPISTOLÆ, ELEGI, SOLILOQUIA, ECLOGÆ, CENTO OVIDIANUS*, Latin History of Italy, and *BAVARUS ad Filium*. And in Muratori's *REÆ ITAL. SCRIPTOR.* tom. x. Mediolan. 1727. P. l. 123. 569. 769. 785. See also in *THESAUR. ITAL.* tom. vi, part ii. Lugd. Bat. 1722. Among his incited works are mentioned, *LIBER DE LITE NATURÆ ET FORTUNÆ, on Na-*

tural Causes and Fate. And three books in heroic verse, on the War against the Veronese above mentioned. The name and writings of Mussato were hardly known, till they were brought forward to the public notice in the *ESSAY ON POPE*; which I shall not be accused of partiality, as I only join the voice of the world, in calling the most agreeable and judicious piece of Criticism produced by the present age.

imported, and here they interpreted, their antient writers, which had been preserved entire at Constantinople. These being eagerly studied by the best Italian scholars, communicated a taste for the graces of genuine poetry and eloquence; and at the same time were instrumental in propagating a more just and general relish for the Roman poets, orators, and historians. In the mean time a more elegant and sublime philosophy was adopted: a philosophy more friendly to works of taste and imagination, and more agreeable to the sort of reading which was now gaining ground. The scholastic subtleties, and the captious logic of Aristotle, were abolished for the mild and divine wisdom of Plato.

It was a circumstance, which gave the greatest splendour and importance to this new mode of erudition, that it was encouraged by the popes: who, considering the encouragement of literature as a new expedient to establish their authority over the minds of men, and enjoying an opulent and peaceable dominion in the voluptuous region of Italy, extended their patronage on this occasion with a liberality so generous and unreserved, that the court of Rome on a sudden lost its austere character, and became the seat of elegance and urbanity. Nicholas the Fifth, about the year 1440, established public rewards at Rome for composition in the learned languages, appointed professors in humanity, and employed intelligent persons to traverse all parts of Europe in search of classic manuscripts buried in the monasteries°. It was by means of the munificent support of pope Nicholas, that Cyriac of Ancona, who may be considered as the first antiquary in Europe, was enabled to introduce a taste for gems, medals, inscriptions, and other curious remains of classical antiquity, which he collected with indefatigable labour in various parts of Italy and Greece^p.

° See "Dominei Georgii DISSERTATIO de Nich. quinti erga Lit. et Literat. Viros Patrocinio." Rom. 1742. 4to. Added to his LIFE.

^p See Fr. Burmanni PRÆFAT. ad Inscription. Gruterian. Amstel. 1707. fol.

Baluz. MISCELL. tom. vi. p. 539. Ant. Augustini DIALOG. DE NUMISMAT. ix. xl. Voss. de HISTOR. LAT. p. 809. HIS ITINERARIUM was printed at Florence, by L. Mehus, 1742. 8vo. See Leon. Aretini EPISTOL. tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149.

He allowed Francis Philephus, an elegant Latin poet of Italy, about 1450, a stipend for translating Homer into Latin^a. Leo the Tenth, not less conspicuous for his munificence in restoring letters, descended so far from his apostolical dignity, as to be a spectator of the *POENULUS* of Plautus; which was performed in a temporary theatre in the court of the capitol, by the flower of the Roman youth, with the addition of the most costly decorations^r: and Leo, while he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas against the heretical doctrines of Martin Luther, published a bulle of excommunication against all those who should dare to censure the poems of Ariosto*. It was under the pontificate of Leo, that a perpetual indulgence was granted for rebuilding the church of a monastery, which possessed a manuscript of Tacitus^s. It is obvious to observe, how little conformable, this just taste, these elegant arts, and these new amusements, proved in their consequences to the spirit of the papal system: and it is remarkable, that the court of Rome, whose sole design and interest it had been for so many centuries, to enslave the minds of men, should be the first to restore the religious and intellectual liberties of Europe. The apostolical fathers, aiming at a fatal and ill-timed popularity, did not

And *GIORNAL de' Letterati d' Italia*. tom. xxi. p. 428. See the *COLLECTION of Inscriptions*, by P. Apianus, and B. Amantius, Ingoldstat. 1624. fol. at the *MONUM. GADITAN.*

^a Phileph. *EPIST.* xxiv. l. xxxvi. l. In the *EPISTLE* of Philephus, and in his ten books of *SATIRES* in Latin verse, are many curious particulars relating to the literary history of those times. Venet. fol. 1502. His *NICOLAUS*, or two books of *Lyrics*, is a panegyric on the life and acts of pope Nicholas the Fifth.

^r It was in the year 1518, on occasion of Julian Medicis, Leo's brother, being made free of Rome. P. Jovius, *HIST.* lib. xi. ad calc. And *VIT. LEON.* lib. iii. p. 145. Jovius says, that the actors were *Romanæ juventutis lepidissimi*. And that several pieces of poetry were recited at the same time. Leo was also present at an Italian comedy, written by cardinal Bibiensis, called *CALANDEB*, in honour

of the Duchess of Mantua. It was acted by noble youths in the spacious apartments of the Vatican, and Leo was placed in a sort of throne. Jov. in *VIR.* p. 189.

* [This *bull* of Leo's was nothing more than the customary papal license for printing the work; and in which was included the usual denunciation against those who might attempt to pirate it. See Mr. Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv. —*EDIT.*]

^s Paulus Jovius relates an anecdote of pope Leo the Tenth, which shews that some passages in the classics were studied at the court of Rome to very bad purposes. I must give it in his own words. "Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeste nonnullos e cubiculariis suis (erant enim e tota Italia nobilissimi) adamare, et cum his tenerius atque libere jocari videretur." In *VITA LEONIS X.* p. 192.

reflect, that they were shaking the throne, which they thus adorned.

Among those who distinguished themselves in the exercise of these studies, the first and most numerous were the Italian ecclesiastics. If not from principles of inclination, and a natural impulse to follow the passion of the times, it was at least their interest, to concur in forwarding those improvements, which were commended, countenanced, and authorised, by their spiritual sovereign: they abandoned the pedantries of a barbarous theology, and cultivated the purest models of antiquity. The cardinals and bishops of Italy composed Latin verses, and with a success attained by none in more recent times, in imitation of Lucretius, Catullus, and Virgil. Nor would the encouragement of any other European potentate have availed so much, in this great work of restoring literature: as no other patronage could have operated with so powerful and immediate an influence on that order of men, who, from the nature of their education and profession, must always be the principal instruments in supporting every species of liberal erudition.

And here we cannot but observe the necessary connection between literary composition and the arts of design. No sooner had Italy banished the Gothic style in eloquence and poetry, than painting, sculpture, and architecture, at the same time, and in the same country, arrived at maturity, and appeared in all their original splendour. The beautiful or sublime ideas which the Italian artists had conceived from the contemplation of antient statues and antient temples, were invigorated by the descriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Petrarch was crowned in the capitol, and Raphael was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal.

These improvements were soon received in other countries. Lascaris, one of the most learned of the Constantinopolitan exiles, was invited into France by Lewis the Twelfth, and Francis the First: and it was under the latter of these monarchs that he was employed to form a library at Fontainebleau,

and to introduce Greek professors into the university of Paris^c. Yet we find Gregory Typhernas teaching Greek at Paris, so early as the year 1472^u. About the same time, Antonius Eparchus of Corsica sold one hundred Greek books to the emperor Charles the Fifth and Francis the First^w, those great rivals, who agreed in nothing, but in promoting the cause of literature. Francis the First maintained even a Greek secretary, the learned Angelus Vergerius, to whom he assigned, in the year 1541, a pension of four hundred livres from his exchequer^x. He employed Julius Camillus to teach him to speak fluently the language of Cicero and Demosthenes, in the space of a month: but so chimerical an attempt necessarily proved abortive, yet it shewed his passion for letters^y. In the year 1474, the parliament of Paris, who, like other public bodies, eminent for their wisdom, could proceed on no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs, and were alarmed at the appearance of an innovation, commanded a cargo of books, some of the first specimens of typography, which were imported into Paris by a factor of the city of Mentz, to be seized and destroyed. Francis the First would not suffer so great a dishonour to remain on the French nation; and although he interposed his authority too late for a revocation of the decree, he ordered the full price to be paid for the books. This was the same parliament that opposed the reformation of the calendar, and the admission of any other philosophy than that of Aristotle. Such was Francis's solicitude to encourage the graces of a classical style, that he abolished the Latin tongue from all public acts of justice, because the first president of the parliament of Paris had used a barbarous term in

^c Du Breul, *ANTIQUITEZ de Paris*, liv. ii. 1639. 4to. p. 563. Bembi *HIST. VENET.* par. ii. p. 76. And R. Simon, *CRIQUE de la Bibl. Eccles.* par du Pin, tom. i. p. 502. 512.

^u Hody, p. 233.

^w Morhoff, *POLYHIST.* iv. 6.

^x Du Breul, *ibid.* p. 568. It is a just remark of P. Victorius, that Francis the

First, by founding beautiful Greek and Roman types at his own cost, invited many students, who were caught by the elegance of the impression, to read the ancient books. *PRÆFAT. AD COMMENT.* in octo libr. Aristotelis de Opt. Statu Civitat.

^y Alciati *EPISTOL.* xxiii. inter GUDMANAS, p. 109.

pronouncing sentence^a; and because the Latin code and judicial processes, hitherto adopted in France, familiarised the people to a base Latinity. At the same time, he ordered these formularies to be turned, not into good Latin, which would have been absurd or impossible, but into pure French^a: a reformation which promoted the culture of the vernacular tongue. He was the first of the kings of France, that encouraged brilliant assemblies of ladies to frequent the French court: a circumstance, which not only introduced new splendour and refinement into the parties and carousals of the court of that monarchy, but gave a new turn to the manners of the French ecclesiastics, who of course attended the king, and destroyed much of their monkish pedantry^b.

When we mention the share which Germany took in the restitution of letters, she needs no greater panegyric, than that her mechanical genius added, at a lucky moment, to all these fortunate contingencies in favour of science, an admirable invention, which was of the most singular utility in facilitating the diffusion of the antient writers over every part of Europe: I mean the art of printing. By this observation, I do not mean to insinuate that Germany kept no pace with her neighbours in the production of philological scholars. Rodolphus Langius, a canon of Munster, and a tolerable Latin poet, after many struggles with the inveterate prejudices and authoritative threats of German bishops, and German universities, opened a school of humanity at Munster: which supplied his countrymen with every species of elegant learning, till it was overthrown by the fury of fanaticism, and the revolutions introduced by the barbarous reformations of the anabaptistic zealots, in the year 1534^c. Reuchlin, otherwise called Capnio, co-operated with the laudable endeavours of Langius by professing Greek, be-

^a Matagonis de Matagonibus adversus Italogalliam Antonii Matharelli, p. 226.

^b Varillas, Hist. de François I. livr. ix. pag. 381.

^c Brantome, Mem. tom. i. p. 297.

Mesurai, Hist. France, sur Hen. III. tom. iii. p. 446, 447.

^c D. Chytræus, SAXONIA, l. iii. p. 80. Trithem. p. 993. De S. E. Et de LUMINARIB. GERMAN. p. 239.

fore the year 1490, at Basil^d. Soon afterwards he translated Homer, Aristophanes, Plato, Xenophon, Æschines, and Lucian, into Latin, and Demosthenes into German. At Heidelberg he founded a library, which he stored with the choicest Greek manuscripts. It is worthy to remark, that the first public institution in any European university for promoting polite literature, by which I understand these improvements in erudition, appears to have been established at Vienna. In the year 1501, Maximilian the First, who, like Julius Cesar, had composed a commentary on his own illustrious military achievements, founded in the university of Vienna a COLLEGE OF POETRY. This society consisted of four professors: one for poetry, a second for oratory, and two others for mathematics. The professor of poetry was so styled, because he presided over all the rest: and the first person appointed to this office was Conradus Celtes, one of the restorers of the Greek language in Germany, an elegant Latin poet, a critic on the art of Latin versification, the first poet-laureate of his country, and the first who introduced the practice of acting Latin tragedies and comedies in public, after the manner of Terence^e. It was the business of this professor, to examine candidates in philology; and to reward those who appeared to have made a distinguished proficiency in classical studies with a crown of laurel. Maximilian's chief and general design in this institution, was to restore the languages and the eloquence of Greece and Rome^f.

^d See *EPISTOL. CLAROR. VIROB.* ad Reuchlin. p. m. 4. 17. Maius, in *VITA REUCHLINI, &c.* [See *supra*, p. 203.]

^e Celtes dedicates his *AMORES*, or Latin Elegies, to Maximilian, in a latin panegyric prefixed; in which he compliments the emperor, "You who have this year endowed most liberally the muses, long wandering, and banished from Germany by the calumnies of certain unskilful men, with a college and a perpetual stipend: having, moreover, according to a custom practised in my time at Rome, delegated to me and my successors, in your stead, the authority

of creating and laureating poets in the said college," &c. *PANEG. PRIM.* ad Maximilian. IMP. Signat. a. ii. *AMORES, &c.* Noringb. 1502. 4to. The same author, in his *DESCRIPTION* of the City of Nurembergh, written in 1501, mentions it as a circumstance of importance and a singularity, that a person skilled in the Roman literature had just begun to give lectures in a public building, to the ingenuous youth of that city, in poetry and oratory, with a salary of one hundred aurei, as was the practice in the cities of Italy. *Descript. Urb. NORINGB.* cap. xii.

^f See the imperial patent for erecting

Among the chief restorers of literature in Spain, about 1490, was Antonio de Lebrixa, one of the professors in the university of Alacala, founded by the magnificent cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo. It was to the patronage of Ximenes that Lebrixa owed his celebrity^g. Profoundly versed in every species of sacred and profane learning, and appointed to the respectable office of royal historian, he chose to be distinguished only by the name of the grammarian^h; that is, a teacher of polite letters. In this department, he enriched the seminaries of Spain with new systems of grammar, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and with a view to reduce his native tongue under some critical laws, he wrote comparative lexicons, in the Latin, Castilian, and Spanish languages. These, at this time, were plans of a most extraordinary nature in Spain; and placed the literature of his country, which from the phlegmatic temper of the inhabitants was tenacious of ancient forms, on a much wider basis than before. To these he added a manual of rhetoric, compiled from Aristotle, Tully, and Quintilian: together with commentaries on Terence, Virgil, Juvenal, Persius, and other classics. He was deputed by Ximenes, with other learned linguists, to superintend the grand Complutensian edition of the Bible: and in the conduct of that laborious work, he did not escape the censure of heretical impiety for exercising his critical skill on the sacred text, according to the ideas of the holy inquisition, with too great a degree of precision and accuracyⁱ.

Even Hungary, a country by no means uniformly advanced with other parts of Europe in the common arts of civilisation, was illuminated with the distant dawning of science. Mattheo Corvini, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in the fifteenth cen-

this college, in Freherus's *GERMAN. RE-
RUM SCRIPTOR. VAR. &c. tom. ii. fol.
Francof. 1602. p. 237.* And by J. Henry
Van Seelen, Lubec. 4to. 1723. And in
his *SELECT. LITERAR.* p. 488. In this
patent, the purpose of the foundation is
declared to be, "restituere abolitam
prisci sæculi eloquentiam."

^g See Nic. Anton. *BIBL. NOV. HISPAN.*
tom. i. p. 104.—109.

^h L. Vives, de *CAUSIS CORRUPTARUM*
ART. ii. p. 72.

ⁱ See Alvarus Gomesius de *VITA XI-
MENIS*, lib. ii. pag. 43. Nic. Anton. *ut*
supr. p. 109. Imbonatus, *BIBL. LATINO-
HEBR.* p. 315.

tury, and who died in 1490, was a lover and a guardian of literature^k. He purchased innumerable volumes of Greek and Hebrew writers at Constantinople and other Grecian cities, when they were sacked by the Turks: and, as the operations of typography were now but imperfect, employed at Florence many learned librarians to multiply copies of classics, both Greek and Latin, which he could not procure in Greece^l. These, to the number of fifty thousand, he placed in a tower, which he had erected in the metropolis of Buda^m: and in this library he established thirty amanuenses, skilled in painting, illuminating, and writing: who, under the conduct of Felix Ragusinus, a Dalmatian, consummately learned in the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages, and an elegant designer and painter of ornaments on vellum, attended incessantly to the business of transcription and decorationⁿ. The librarian was Bartholomew Fontius, a learned Florentine, the writer of many philological works^o, and a professor of Greek and oratory at Florence. When Buda was taken by the Turks in the year 1526, cardinal Bozmanni offered for the redemption of this inestimable collection, two hundred thousand pieces of the Imperial money: yet without effect; for the barbarous besiegers defaced or destroyed most of the books, in the violence of seizing the splendid covers and the silver bosses and clasps with which they were enriched^p. The learned Obsopaeus relates,

^k See Petr. Jaenichii NOTIT. BIBLIOTH. THORUNIENSIS, p. 32. Who has written a DISSERTATION *De meritis Matthiae Corvini in rem literariam*.

^l See Job. Alex. Brassicani PRÆFAT. AD SALVIANUM, Basil. 1580. fol. And MADERUS DE BIBLIOTHECIS, p. 145. 149.

^m Anton. Bonfinii RER. HUNGAR. Decad. iv. lib. 7. p. 460. edit. 1690.

ⁿ Belius, APPARAT. AD HISTOR. HUNGAR. Dec. i. cap. 5.

^o Among other things, he wrote Commentaries on Persius, Juvenal, Livy, and Aristotle's POETICS. He translated Phalaris's Epistles into the Tuscan language, published at Florence 1491. Crescimbeni has placed him among the Ita-

lian poets. Lambecius says, that in the year 1665, he was sent to Buda by the emperor Leopold, to examine what remained in this library. After repeated delays and difficulties, he was at length permitted by the Turks to enter the room: where he saw about four hundred books, printed, and of no value, dispersed on the floor, and covered with dust and filth. Lambecius supposes, that the Turks, knowing the condition of the books, were ashamed to give him admittance. COMMENT. DE BIBL. VINDOBON. lib. ii. c. ix. p. 993.

^p COLLECTIO MADERO-SCHMIDIANA, ACCESS. i. p. 310. seq. Belius, ut supr. tom. iii. p. 225.

that a book was brought him by an Hungarian soldier, which he had picked up, with many others, in the pillage of king Corvino's library, and had preserved as a prize, merely because the covering retained some marks of gold and rich workmanship. This proved to be a manuscript of the ETHIOPICS of Heliodorus; from which, in the year 1534, Obsopæus printed at Basil the first edition of that elegant Greek romance⁹.

But as this incidental sketch of the history of the revival of modern learning is intended to be applied to the general subject of my work, I hasten to give a detail of the rise and progress of these improvements in England: nor shall I scruple, for the sake of producing a full and uniform view, to extend the enquiry to a distant period.

Efforts were made in our English universities for the revival of critical studies, much sooner than is commonly imagined. So early as the year 1439, William Byngham, rector of Saint John Zachary in London, petitioned king Henry the Sixth, in favour of his grammar scholars, for whom he had erected a commodious mansion at Cambridge, called GOD'S HOUSE, and which he had given to the college of Clare-hall: to the end, that twenty-four youths, under the direction and government of a learned priest, might be there perpetually educated, and be from thence transmitted, in a constant succession, into different parts of England, to those places where grammar schools had fallen into a state of desolation^r. In the year 1498, Alcock bishop of Ely founded Jesus College in Cambridge, partly for a certain number of scholars to be educated in grammar^s.

⁹ In the PREFACE. See Neandri PRÆFAT. AD GNOMOLOG. Stobæi, p. 27.

^r "Ubi scholæ grammaticales existunt desolatæ." Pat. Hen. VI. ann. reg. xvii. p. 2, memb. 16.

^s Rymer, Fœder. xii. 653. We find early establishments of this sort in the colleges of Paris. In the year 1304, queen Jane founded the college of Navarre, at Paris, for thirty theologians, thirty artists, and twenty GRAMMARIANS,

who are also called *Enfants escoliers en grammaire*. They are ordered to hear *lecciones*, [lessons] *materias, et verus, proæt in scholis grammaticulibus consuēt.* Boul. HIST. ACAD. PARIS. vol. iv. p. 74. But the college of AVE MARIA, at Paris, founded in 1339, is for a Master and six boys only, from nine to sixteen years. Boul. *ibid.* p. 261. The society of Merton college, in Oxford, founded in 1272, originally maintained in the university

Yet there is reason to apprehend, that these academical pupils in grammar, with which the art of rhetoric was commonly joined, instead of studying the real models of style, were chiefly trained in systematic manuals of these sciences, filled with unprofitable definitions and unnecessary distinctions: and that in learning the arts of elegance, they acquired the barbarous improprieties of diction which those arts were intended to remove and reform. That the foundations I have mentioned did not produce any lasting beneficial effects, and that the technical phraseology of metaphysics and casuistry still continued to prevail at Cambridge, appears from the following anecdote. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, that university was so destitute of skill in latinity, that it was obliged to hire an Italian, one Caius Auberinus, for composing the public orations and epistles, whose fee was at the rate of twenty-pence for an epistle¹. The same person was employed to explain Terence in the public schools². Undoubtedly the same attention to a futile philosophy, to unintelligible elucidations of Scotus and Aquinas, notwithstanding the accessions accruing to science from the establishment of the Humfredian library, had given the same tincture to the ordinary course of studies at Oxford.

such boys as claimed kindred to the founder, bishop Walter de Merton, in grammar learning, and all necessaries, sometimes till they were capable of taking a degree. They were placed in Nunhall, adjoining to the college on the east. "Expens. factæ per Thomam de Herlyngton, pro pueris de genere fundatoris a fest. Epiph. usque ad fest. S. Petri ad vincula, 21 Edw. III. A. D. 1347."—*Item*, in filo albo et viridi, et ceteris pertinenciis, ad reparationem vestium tam artistarum quam GRAMMATICORUM, vid. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubiensi pro salario SCHOLÆ, in tertio quadragesimali. x d. Et hostiario [usher] suo, iid. ob. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubiensi pro tertio estivali, x d. Et hostiario suo, iid. ob." A. Wood, MS. Coll. Merton COLLECTAN. [Cod. MSS. Ballard. Bibl. Bodl. 46.]¹ MSS. Bibl. C. C. Camb. MISCELL. P. p. 194. *Officium magistri Glomeræ*. I observe here, that Giles du Vadis, or

Ægidius Dewes, successively royal librarian at Westminster, to Henry the Seventh and Eighth, was a Frenchman. The last king granted him a salary for that office, of ten pounds, in the year 1522. Priv. Sig. 13 Henr. VIII. Offic. Pell. He was preceptor in French to Henry Eighth, prince Arthur, princess Mary, the kings of France and Scotland, and the marquis of Exeter. Stowe, LONDON, p. 290. Among other things of the sort, he wrote at the command of Henry, *An Introductory for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speak French truly compyled for the princess Mary*. Lond. p. Waley, 4to. [See Pref. Palsgrave's L'EXCLAIRCISSMENT.] He died in 1535.

² "Quod fecit admodum frigide, ut ea erant tempora." Lib. Matt. Archiep. Parker, MSS. BAKER, MSS. Harl. 7046. f. 125, 6.

For, about the year 1468, the university of Oxford complimented Chadworth bishop of Lincoln, for his care and endeavours in restoring grammatical literature, which, as they represent, had long decayed and been forgotten in that seminary^w.

But although these gleams of science long struggled with the scholastic cloud which enveloped our universities, we find the culture of the classics embraced in England much sooner than is supposed. Before the year 1490, many of our countrymen appear to have turned their thoughts to the revival of the study of classics: yet, chiefly in consequence of their communications with Italy, and, as most of them were clergymen, of the encouragements they received from the liberality of the Roman pontiffs^x. Millyng, abbot of Westminster, about the year 1480, understood the Greek language: which yet is mentioned as a singular accomplishment, in one, although a prelate, of the monastic profession^y. Robert Flemmyng studied the Greek

^w Registr. Univ. Oxon. FF. [EPISTOL. ACAD.] fol. 254. The Epistles in this Register, contain many local anecdotes of the restoration of learning at Oxford.

^x Such of our countrymen as wrote in Latin at this period, and were entirely educated at home without any connections with Italy, wrote a style not more classical than that of the monkish Latin annalists who flourished two or three centuries before. I will instance only in Ross of Warwick, author of the *HISTORIA REGUM ANGLIÆ*, educated at Oxford, an ecclesiastic, and esteemed an eminent scholar. Nor is the plan of Ross's History, which was finished so late as the year 1483, less barbarous than his latinity; for in writing a chronicle of the kings of England, he begins, according to the constant practice of the monks, with the creation and the first ages of the world, and adopts all their legends and fables. His motives for undertaking this work are exceedingly curious. He is speaking of the method of perpetuating the memories of famous men by statues: "Also in our churches, tabernacles in stone-work, or niches, are wrought for containing images

of this kind. For instance, in the new work of the college of Windsor, [i. e. saint George's chapel,] such tabernacles abound, both within and without the building. Wherefore, being requested, about the latter end of the reign of king Edward the Fourth, by the venerable master Edward Seynour, Master of the Works there, and at the desire of the said king, to compile a history of those kings and princes who have founded churches and cities, that the images placed in those niches might appear to greater advantage, and more effectually preserve the names of the persons represented; at the instance of this my brother-student at Oxford, and especially at the desire of the said most noble monarch, as also to exhilarate the minds of his royal successours, I have undertaken his work," &c. Edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1745. p. 120. 8vo.

^y Leland, in V. One Adam Eston, educated at Oxford, a Benedictine monk of Norwich, and who lived at Rome the greatest part of his life, is said to have written many pieces in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He died at Rome, in the year 1397. Tanner, p. 266. Leland

and Latin languages under Baptista Guarini at Ferrara; and at his return into England, was preferred to the deanery of Lincoln about the year 1450^z. During the reign of Edward the Fourth, he was at Rome; where he wrote an elegant Latin poem in heroic verse, entitled *LUCUBRATIONES TIBURTINÆ*, which he inscribed to pope Sixtus his singular patron^a. It has these three chaste and strong hexameters, in which he describes the person of that illustrious pontiff.

Sane, quisquis in hunc oculos converterit acreis,
In facie vultuque viri sublime videbit
Elucere aliquid, majestatemque verendam.

Leland assures us, that he saw in the libraries of Oxford a Greco-Latin lexicon, compiled by Flemmyng, which has escaped my searches. He left many volumes beautifully written and richly illuminated, to Lincoln college in Oxford, where he had received his academical education^b. About the same period, John Gunthorpe, afterwards, among other numerous and eminent promotions, dean of Wells, keeper of the privy seal, and master of King's hall in Cambridge, attended also the philological lectures of Guarini: and for the polished latinity with which he wrote *EPISTLES* and *ORATIONS*, compositions at that time much in use and request, was appointed by king Edward the Fourth Latin secretary to queen Anne, in the year 1487^c.

mentions John Bate, a Carmelite, of York, about the year 1429, as a Greek scholar. Scriptor. *BATUS*.

^z Wood, *HIST. UNIV. OXON.* ii. 62. Wharton, *APPEND.* p. 155. Bate, viii. 21.

^a Printed at Ferrara, 1477. 8vo. In two books. He was prothonotary to pope Sixtus. In this poem he mentions Baptista Platina, the librarian at Rome; who, together with most of the Italian scholars, was his familiar friend. See Carbo's funeral Oration on Guarini. I know not whether one John Opicius, our countryman as it seems, and a Latin poet, improved his taste in Italy about this time: but he has left some copies

of elegant Latin verses. *MSS. COTTON. VESPAS. B. iv.* One is, *De regis Henrici Septimi in Galliam progressu*. It begins, "Bella canant alii Trojæ, prostrataque dicant." Another is, *De ejusdem laudibus sub prætextu rosæ purpureæ*, a dialogue between Mopsus and Melibeus. One of the poems, *On Christmas*, has the date 1497.

^b *Lel. ibid.*

^c Pat. 7. Edw. IV. m. 2. Five of his *ORATIONS* before illustrious personages are extant, *MSS. BODL. NE. F. ii. 20*. In the same manuscript are his *ANNOTATIONES quædam CRITICÆ in verba quædam apud poetas citata*. He gave many books, collected in Italy, to Jesus col-

The manuscripts collected in Italy, which he gave to both the universities of England, were of much more real value, than the sumptuous silver image of the virgin Mary, weighing one hundred and forty-three ounces, which he presented to his cathedral of Wells^d. William Gray imbibed under the same preceptors a knowledge of the best Greek and Roman writers: and in the year 1454, was advanced by pope Nicholas the Fifth, equally a judge and a protector of scholars, to the bishoprick of Ely^e. This prelate employed at Venice and Florence many scribes and illuminators^f, in preparing copies of the classics and other useful books, which he gave to the library of Baliol college in Oxford^g, at that time esteemed the best in the university. John Phrea, or Free, an ecclesiastic of Bristol, receiving information from the Italian merchants who trafficked at Bristol, that multitudes of strangers were constantly crowding to the capitals of Italy for instruction in the learned languages, passed over to Ferrara; where he became a fellow-student with the prelate last mentioned, by whose patronage and assistance his studies were supported^h. He translated Diodorus Siculus, and many pieces of Xenophon, into Latinⁱ. On account of the former work, he was nominated bishop of Bath and Wells by pope Paul the Second, but died before

lege at Cambridge. Lel. COLL. iii. 13. He was ambassador to the king of Castile, in 1466 and 1470. Rymer, FOED. xi. 572. 653. Bale mentions his *Diversi generis CARMINA*. viii. 42. And a book on Rhetoric.

^d Registr. Eccles. Wellens.

^e Wharton, ANGL. SACR. i. 672.

^f One of those was Antonius Marius. In Baliol college library, one of bishop Gray's manuscripts has this entry. "Antonius Marii filius Florentinus civis transcripti ab originalibus exemplaribus, 2 Jul. 1448." &c. MSS. lxviii. [Apud MSS. Langb. BAL. p. 81.] See Leland. COLL. iii. p. 21.

^g Leland, COLL. ut supr. p. 61.

^h Among Phrea's EPISTLES in Baliol library, one is PRECEPTORI SUO GUARINO, whose epistles are full of encomiums on Phreas, MSS. Bal. Coll. Oxon. G. 9.

See ten of his epistles, five of which are written from Italy to bishop Gray, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In one of these he complains, that the bishop's remittances of money had failed, and that he was obliged to pawn his books and clothes to Jews at Ferrara.

ⁱ He also translated into latin Synecius's PANEGYRIC ON BALDNESS. Printed, Basil. 1521. 8vo. [Whence Abraham Flemming made his English translation, London, 1579.] Leland mentions some flowing latin heroics, which he addressed to his patron Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, in which Bacchus expatiates with a goat gnawing a vine. COLL. iii. 13. AND SCRIPTOR. PHREAS. HIS COSMOGRAPHIA MUNDI is a collection from P'liny. Leland, COLL. iii. p. 58. See MSS. Br. Twyne, B. p. 285.

consecration in the year 1464^k. His Latin Epistles, five of which are addressed to his patron the bishop of Ely, discover an uncommon terseness and facility of expression. It was no inconsiderable testimony of Phrea's taste, that he was requested by some of his elegant Italian friends, to compose a new epitaph in Latin elegiacs for Petrarch's tomb: the original inscription in monkish rhymes, not agreeing with the new and improved ideas of Latin versification^l. William Sellynge, a fellow of All Souls college in Oxford, disgusted with the barren and contracted circle of philosophy taught by the irrefragable professors of that ample seminary, acquired a familiarity with the most excellent antient authors, and cultivated the conversation of Politian at Bononia^m, to whom he introduced the learned Linacerⁿ. About the year 1460, he returned into England; and being elected prior of Christ-Church at Canterbury, enriched the library of that fraternity with an inestimable collection of Greek and Roman manuscripts, which he had amassed in Italy^o. It has been said, that among these books, which were all soon afterwards accidentally consumed by fire, there was a complete copy of Cicero's Platonic system of politics *DE REPUBLICA*^p. King Henry the Seventh sent Sellynge in the

^k See Leland, *COLL.* iii. 58. Wood, *HIST. UNIV. OXON.* ii. 76.

^l See Leland, *COLL.* iii. 13. 63. Leland says that he had the new epitaph, *Novum ac elegans. SCRIPTOR. Phreas.* "Tuscia me genuit," &c.

^m Leland, *CELLINGUS.*

ⁿ *Id. ITIN.* vi. f. 5.

^o Wood, *HIST. UNIV. OXON.* ii. 177. In a monastic ORITARY, cited by Wharton, he is said to be, "Latina quoque et GRÆCA lingua apprime institutus." It is added, that he adorned the library over the prior's chapel with exquisite sculptures, and furnished it with books, and that he glazed the south side of the cloysters of his monastery, for the use of his studious brethren, placing on the walls new TEXTS, or inscriptions, called CAROLI, or carola. *ANGL. SACR.* i. p. 145. ses.

^p This is asserted on the authority of Leland. *SCRIPTOR.* ut supr. [See supr.

p. 52.] Cardinal Pole expended two thousand crowns in searching for Tully's *SIX BOOKS DE REPUBLICA* in Poland, but without success. *EPISTOL. ASCHAMI ad Sturm.* dat. 14 Sept. 1555. lib. i. p. 99. And Sturmius, in a letter to Ascham [dat. 30 Jan. 1552.] says, that a person in his neighbourhood had flattered him with a promise of this inestimable treasure. Barthius reports, that they were in the monastery of Fulda, on vellum, but destroyed by the soldiers in a pillage of that convent. *CHRISTIANI FEUSTELL. MISCELLAN.* p. 47. Compare Mabillon. *MUS. ITALIC.* tom. i. p. 79. Isaac Bulart relates, that in the year 1576, during the siege of Moscow, some noble Polish officers, accompanied by one Voynuskus, a man profoundly skilled in the learned languages, made an excursion into the interior parts of Muscovy; where they found, among other valuable monuments of antient literature, Tully's

quality of an envoy to the king of France; before whom he spoke a most elegant Latin oration^a. It is mentioned on his monument, now remaining in Canterbury cathedral, that he understood Greek.

Doctor theologus Selling, GRÆCA atque Latina
Lingua perdoctus. — — —

This is an uncommon topic of praise in an abbot's epitaph. William Grocyn, a fellow of New college at Oxford, pursued the same path about the year 1488: and having perfected his knowledge of the Greek tongue, with which he had been before tinctured, at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondylas and Politian, and at Rome under Hermolaus Barbarus, became the first voluntary lecturer of that language at Oxford, before the year 1490^r. Yet Polydore Virgil, perhaps only from a natural partiality to his country, affirms, that Cornelius Vitellus, an Italian of noble birth and of the most accomplished learning, was the first who taught the Greek and Roman classics at Oxford^s. Nor must I forget to mention John Tiptoft, the unfortunate earl of Worcester; who, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, rivalled the most learned ecclesiastics of his age, in the diligence and felicity with which he prosecuted the politer studies. At Padua, his singular skill in refined Latinity endeared him to pope Pius the Second, and to the most capital ornaments of the Italian school^t. His Latin Letters still remain, and abundantly prove his abilities and connections^u. He trans-

^a REPUBLIC, written in golden letters. ACAD. ART. Scient. tom. p. 87. It is to be wished, that the same good fortune which discovers this work of Cicero, will also restore the remainder of Ovid's *FASTI*, the lost Decads of Livy, the *ANTICATONES* of Cesar, and an entire copy of *PETRONIUS*.

^r From his EPITAPH.

^s Wood, *HIST. UNIV. OXON.* i. 246. See Fiddes's *WOLSEY*, p. 201.

^t ANGL. HISTOR. lib. xxvi. p. 610. SO. edit. Basil. 1534. fol. But he seems to have only been schoolmaster of Magdalen or New-college. See Nic. Harps-

field, *HIST. ECCLES.* p. 651; who says, that this Vitellius spoke his *first oration* at New-college. "Qui primam suam orationem in collegio Wiccamensi habuit."

^u See Ware, *SCRIPT. HIBERN.* ii. 133. *CAIRD. BRIT.* p. 436. And the *Funeral Oration* of Ludovico Carbo, on Guarini.

^v In this correspondence, four letters are written by the earl, viz. To Laurence More, John Fre or Phrea, William Atteclyff, and *Magister Vincent*. To the earl are letters of Galeotus Martius, Baptista Guarini, and other anonymous friends. *MSS. ECCLES. CATHEDR. LINCOLN.*

lated Cicero's dialogue on FRIENDSHIP into English^v. He was the common patron of all his ingenious countrymen, who about this period were making rapid advances in a more rational and ample plan of study; and, among other instances of his unwearied liberality to true literature, he prepared a present of chosen manuscript books, valued at five hundred marcs, for the increase of the Humphredian library at Oxford, then recently instituted^w. These books appear to have been purchased in Italy; at that time the grand and general mart of antient authors, especially the Greek classics^x. For the Turkish

^v Printed by Caxton, 1481. fol. Le-land thinks, that the version of Tully *de Senectute*, printed also by Caxton, was made by this earl. But this translation was made by William of Wyrcestre, or William Botoner, an eminent physician and antiquary, from the French of Lawrence Premierfait, and presented by the translator to bishop Waynflete, Aug. 20, 1473. See MSS. Harl. 4329. 2. 3. Typtoft also translated into English two elegant Latin ORATIONS of Banatusius Magnomontanus, supposed to be spoken by C. Scipio and C. Flaminius, who were rivals in the courtship of Lucretia. This version was printed by Caxton, with Tully's two DIALOGUES abovementioned. He has left other pieces.

^w EPISC. Acad. Oxon. 259. Registr. F F. f. 121. I suspect, that on the earl's execution, in 1470, they were never received by the university. Wood, ANTIQ. Un. Oxon. ii. 50. Who adds, that the earl meditated a benefaction of the same kind to Cambridge.

^x As the Greek language became fashionable in the course of erudition, we find the petty scholars affecting to understand Greek. This appears from the following passage in Barclay's SHIP OF FOOLKS, written, as we have seen, about the end of the fifteenth century:

Another boasteth himself that hath bene
In Greece at scholes, and many other
lande;

But if that he were apposed¹ well, I wene
The Greekes letters he scant doth understand.

Edit. 1570. ut supr. fol. 185. a. With regard to what is here suggested, of our countrymen resorting to Greece for instruction, Rhenanus acquaints us, that Lily, the famous grammarian, was not only intimately acquainted with the whole circle of Greek authors, but with the domestic life and familiar conversation of the Greeks, he having lived some time in the island of Rhodes. PRÆFAT. ad T. Mori EPIGRAM. edit. Basil. 1520. 400. He staid at Rhodes five years. This was about the year 1500. I have before mentioned a Translation of Vegetius's TACTICS, written at Rhodes, in the year 1459, by John Newton, evidently one of our countrymen, who perhaps studied Greek there. MSS. LAUD. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. K. 53. It must however be remembered, that the passion for visiting the holy places at Jerusalem did not cease among us till late in the reign of Henry the Eighth. See *The pilgrimage of syr Richard Torkyngton, parson of Muberton in Norfolk, to Jerusalem*, An. 1517. Catal. MSS. vol. ii. 182. William Wey, fellow of Eton college, celebrated mass *cum cantu organico*, at Jerusalem, in the year 1472. MSS. James, Bibl. Bodl. vi. 153. See his ITINERARIES, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 2. 12. In which are also some of his English rhymes on *The Way to Hierusalem*. He went twice thither.

Barclay, in the same stanza, like a plain ecclesiastic, censures the prevailing practice of going abroad for instruction; which, for a time at least, certainly proved

¹ examined.

emperors, now seated at Constantinople, particularly Bajazet the Second, freely imparted these treasures to the Italian emissaries, who availing themselves of the fashionable enthusiasm,

of no small detriment to our English schools and universities.

But thou, vayne boaster, if thou wilt take in hand

To study cunning¹, and ydelnes despise,
Th'royalme of England might for thee suffice:—

In England is sufficient discipline,
And noble men endowed with science,
&c.

And in another place, *ibid.* fol. 54. a.

One runneth to Almayne, another into Fraunce,

To Paris, Padway², Lombardy, or Spayne;

Another to Bonony³, Rome, or Orleansance,

To Cayns, to Tholous⁴, Athens, or Colayne⁵:

And at the last returneth home agayne,
More ignoraunt. — —

Yet this practice was encouraged by some of our bishops, who had received their education in English universities. Pace, one of our learned countrymen, a friend of Erasmus, was placed for education in grammar and music in the family of Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester; who kept a domestic school within the precincts of his palace, for training boys in these sciences. "Humaniores literas (says my author) tanti estimabat, ut domestica schola pueros ac juvenes ibi erudiendos curavit," &c. The bishop, who took the greatest pleasure in examining his scholars every evening, observing that young Pace was an extraordinary proficient in music, thought him capable of better things; and sent him, while yet a boy, to the university of Padua. He afterwards studied at Bononia: for the same bishop, by will, bequeaths to his scholar, Richard Pace, studying at Bononia, an exhibition of ten pounds annually for seven years. See Pace's *TRACTATUS de fructu qui ex*

doctrina percipitur, edit. Basil, 1517. 4to. p. 27. 28. In which the author calls himself bishop Langton's *a manu minister*. See also Langton's Will, Cur. Prærog. Cant. Registr. MOONE. qu. 10. Bishop Langton had been provost of queen's college at Oxford, and died in 1501. At Padua, Pace was instructed by Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards bishop of Durham, and the giver of many valuable Greek books to the university of Cambridge; and by Hugh Latimer. *TRACTAT.* ut supr. p. 6. 99. 103. *Le-land, COLL.* iii. 14.

We find also archbishop Wareham, before the year 1520, educating at his own expence, for the space of twelve years, Richard Croke, one of the first restorers of the Greek language in England, at the universities of Paris, Louvain, and Leipsic: from which returning a most accomplished scholar, he succeeded Erasmus in the Greek professorship at Cambridge. Croke dedicated to archbishop Wareham his *INTRODUCTIONS IN RUDIMENTA GRÆCÆ*, printed in the shop of Eucharius Cervicornius, at Cologne, 1520.

With regard to what has been here said concerning the practice of educating boys in the families of our bishops, it appears that Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, educated in this manner most of the nobility in the kingdom, who were placed there in the character of pages: "Filius Nobilium procerum regni, quos secum habuit DOMICELLOS." *Joh. de Athona. in CONSTIT. OTTOBON.* Tit. 23. in *Voc. BARONES.* Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, educated in his house many of the young nobility. *Fiddes's WOLSEY*, p. 100. See what is said above of the quality of pope Leo's *CUBICULARII*, p. 411. *Fiddes* cites a record remaining in the family of the earl of Arundel, written in 1620, which contains instructions how the younger son of the writer,

¹ knowledge. ² Padua. ³ Bononia. ⁴ Caen and Thoulouse. ⁵ Cologne in Germany.

traded in the cities of Greece for the purpose of purchasing books, which they sold in Italy: and it was chiefly by means of this literary traffic, that Cosmo and Laurence of Medici, and their munificent successors the dukes of Florence, composed the famous Florentine library^y.

It is obvious to remark the popularity which must have accrued to these politer studies, while they thus paved the way to the most opulent and honourable promotions in the church: and the authority and estimation with which they must have been surrounded, in being thus cultivated by the most venerable ecclesiastics. It is indeed true, that the dignified clergy of the early and darker ages were learned beyond the level of the people^z. Peter de Blois, successively archdeacon of Bath

the earl of Arundel, should behave himself in the family of the bishop of Norwich, whither he is sent for education as page: and in which his lordship observes, that his grandfather the duke of Norfolk, and his uncle the earl of Northampton, were both bred as *pages with bishoppes*. Fiddes, *ibid.* RECORDS. No. 6. c. 4. pag. 19. Sir Thomas More was educated as a page with cardinal Moreton, archbishop of Canterbury, about 1490, who was so struck with his genius, that he would often say at dinner, *This child here waiting at table is so very ingenious, that he will one day prove an extraordinary man*. Mori Utop. cited by Stapleton, p. 157. 198. And Roper's MORE, p. 27. edit. ut supr.

^y Many of them were sent into Italy by Laurence of Medicis, particularly John Lascaris. Varillas says, that Bajazet the Second understood Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle. ANECDOT. de Florence, p. 183. P. Jovii ELOG. c. xxxi. p. 74. Lascaris also made a voyage into Greece by command of Leo the Tenth; and brought with him some Greek boys, who were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on mount Quirinal, and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek tongue. Jov. ut supr. c. xxxi.

^z The inferiour clergy were in the mean time extremely ignorant. About

the year 1500, pope Boniface the Eighth published an edict, ordering the incumbents of ecclesiastic benefices to quit their cures for a certain time, and to study at the universities. [See his ten CONSTITUTIONES, in the BULLARIUM MAGNUM of Laertius Cherubinus, tom. i. p. 198. seq. Where are his *Erectiones studiorum generalium in civitate Firmana, Romæ, et Avenione*, A. D. 1503.] Accordingly our episcopal registers are full of licences granted for this purpose. The rector of Bedhampton, Hants, being an accolite, is permitted to study for seven years from the time of his institution, *in literarum scientia*, on condition that within one year he is made a subdeacon, and after seven years a deacon and priest. Mar. 5, 1502. Registr. PONTISSAR. Winton. fol. 38. Another rector is allowed to study for seven years, *in loco quem eligit et ubi viget studium generale*, 16 kal. Octobr. 1503. *ibid.* fol. 40. Another receives the same privilege, to study at Oxford, Orleans, or Paris, A. D. 1504. *ibid.* fol. 42. Another, being desirous of study, and able to make a proficiency, is licenced to study in *aliquo studio transmarino*, A. D. 1291. *ibid.* fol. 84. This, however, was three years before Boniface became pope. Another is to study *per terminum constitutionis novellæ*, A. D. 1502. *ibid.* fol. 37. b. But these dispensations, the necessity of which proves the illiteracy of the priests,

and London, about the year 1160, acquaints us, that the palace of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was perpetually filled with bishops highly accomplished in literature; who passed their time there, in reading, disputing, and deciding important questions of the state. He adds, that these prelates, although men of the world, were a society of scholars: yet

were most commonly procured for preferences of absence or neglect. Or, if in consequence of such dispensations, they went to any university, they seem to have mispent their time there in riot and idleness, and to have returned more ignorant than before. A grievance to which Gower alludes in the *VOX CLAMANTIS*, a poem which presents some curious pictures of the manners of the clergy, both secular and monastic. cap. xvii. lib. 3. MSS. Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon. xxix. *Hic loquitur de Rectoribus illis, qui sub episcopo licentiatu fingunt se ire scolas, ut sub nomine virtutis vitia corporalia frequentent.*

Et sic Ars nostrum Curatum reddit inertem,

De longo studio fert nihil inde domum:

Stultus ibi venit, sed stultior inde rediit, &c.

By *Ars* we are here to understand the scholastic sciences, and by *Curatus* the beneficed priest. But the most extraordinary anecdote of incompetency which I have seen, occurs so late as the year 1448. A rector is instituted by Waynflete bishop of Winchester, on the presentation of Merton priory in Surrey, to the parish of Sherfield in Hampshire. But previously he takes an oath before the bishop, that on account of his insufficiency in letters, and default of knowledge in the superintendance of souls, he will learn Latin for the two following years; and at the end of the first year he will submit himself to be examined by the bishop, concerning his progress in grammar; and that, if on a second examination he should be found deficient, he will resign the benefice. Registr. WAYNFLETE. Winton. fol. 7. In the Statutes of New College at Oxford, given in the year 1386, one of the ten

chaplains is ordered to learn grammar, and to be able to write; in order that he may be qualified for the arduous task of assisting the treasurers of the society in transcribing their Latin evidences. STATUT. Coll. Nov. RUBRIC. 58. In the statutes of Bradgate college in Kent, given in 1398, it is required that the governor of the house, who is to be a priest, should read well, construe Latin well, and sing well, *sciat bene legere, bene construere, et bene cantare.* Dugd. MONAST. tom. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p. 118. col. 2. At an episcopal visitation of saint Swithin's priory at Winchester, an ample society of Benedictines, bishop William of Wykeham orders the monastery to provide an INFORMATOR, or Latin preceptor, to teach the priests, who performed the service in the church without knowing what they were uttering, and could not attend to the common stops, to read grammatically, Feb. 8. 1386. MSS. Harl. 328. These, indeed, were not secular priests: the instance, however, illustrates what is here thrown together.

Wicliffe says, that the beneficed priests of his age "kunnen [know] not the ten commandments, ne read their sauter, ne understand a verse of it." LITTE of Wicliffe, p. 38. Nor were even the bishops of the fourteenth century always very eminently qualified in literature of either sort. In the year 1387, the bishop of Worcester informed his clergy, that the Lollards, a set of reformers whose doctrines, a few fanatical extravagancies excepted, coincided in many respects with the present rational principles of protestantism, were followers of MAHOMET. Wilkins, CONCIL. tom. iii. p. 202. [See sup. p. 25. fn the NOTES.]

But at this time the most shameful grossness of manners, partly owing to

very different from those who frequented the universities, in which nothing was taught but words and syllables, unprofitable subtleties, elementary speculations, and trifling distinctions^a. De Blois was himself eminently learned, and one of the most distinguished ornaments of Becket's attendants. He tells us, that in his youth, when he learned the *ARS VERSIFICATORIA*, that is, philological literature, he was habituated to an urbanity of style and expression: and that he was instituted, not in idle fables and legendary tales, but in Livy, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Josephus, Trogus Pompeius, Tacitus, and other classical historians^b. At the same time he censures with a just indignation, the absurdity of training boys in the frivolous intricacies of logic and geometry, and other parts of the scholastic philosophy; which, to use his own emphatical words, "*Nec domi, nec militiæ, nec in foro, nec in claustro, nec in ecclesia, nec in curia, nec alicubi prosunt alicui*:" The Latin Epistles of De Blois, from which these anecdotes are taken, are full of good sense, observations on life, elegant turns, and ingenious allusions to the classics. He tells Jocelyne, bishop of Salisbury, that he had long wished to see the bishop's two nephews, according to promise: but that he feared he expected them as the Britons expected king Arthur, or the Jews the Messiah^c. He describes, with a liveliness by no means belonging to the

their celibacy, prevailed among the clergy. In the statutes of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire, dated 1337, and given by the founder bishop Grandison, the following injunction occurs. "Item statuimus, quod nullus Canonicus, Vicarius, vel Secundarius, pueros choristas [collegii] *secum pernoscitare, aut in lectulo cum ipsis dormire, faciat seu permittat.*" Cap. 50. MS. apud Archiv. Wulves. Winton. And what shall we think of the religious manners and practices of an age, when the following precautions were thought necessary, in a respectable collegiate church, consisting of a dean and six secular canons, amply endowed? "Statutum est, quod si quis convictus fuerit de peccato Sodomitico, vel arte magica,"

&c. From the statutes of Stoke-Clare college, in Suffolk, given by the dean Thomas Barnesley, in the year 1422. Dugd. *MONAST.* ut supr. p. 169. col. 1.

From these horrid pictures let us turn our eyes, and learn to set a just value on that pure religion, and those improved habits of life and manners, which we at present enjoy.

^a *Epist.* Petr. Blesens. vi. fol. 3. a. *OPERA.* edit. Paris. 1519. fol.

^b *Epist.* cii. fol. 49. b.

^c *Ibid.* That is, "Which are of no real use or service, at home, in the camp, at the bar, in the cloyster, in the court, in the church, or indeed in any place or situation whatsoever."

^d *Epist.* li. fol. 24. a.

archdeacons of the twelfth century, the difficulties, disappointments, and inconveniencies, of paying attendance at court^e. In the course of his correspondence, he quotes Quintilian, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Seneca, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Ovid, Statius, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Horace, more frequently and familiarly than the fathers^f. Horace seems his favorite. In one of the letters, he quotes a passage concerning Pompey the Great, from the Roman History of Sallust, in six books, now lost, and which appears at present only in part among the fragments of that valuable historian^g. In the *NUGÆ CURIALIUM* of MAPES, or some other manuscript Latin tract written by one of the scholars of the twelfth century, I remember to have seen a curious and striking anecdote, which in a short compass shews Becket's private ideas concerning the bigotries and superstitious absurdities of his religion. The writer gives an account of a dinner in Becket's palace; at which was present, among many other prelates, a Cistercian abbot. This abbot engrossed almost the whole conversation, in relating the miracles performed by Robert, the founder of his order. Becket heard him for some time with a patient contempt; and at length could not help breaking out with no small degree of indignation, *And these are your miracles!*

We must however view the liberal ideas of these enlightened dignitaries of the twelfth century under some restrictions. It

^e "Ut ad ministeriales curiæ redeam, apud forinsecos janitores biduanam forte gratiam aliquis multiplici obsequio merebitur.—Regem dormire, aut ægrotare, aut esse in consiliis, mentientur.—Ostiariorum cameræ confundat altissimus! Si nihil dederis ostiario actum est. Si nihil attuleris ibis, *Homere, foras*. Post primum Cerberum, tibi superest alius horribilior Cerbero, Briareo terribilior, nequior Pygmalione, crudelior Minotauro. Quantacunque tibi mortis necessitas, aut discrimen exhæredationis incubat, non intrabis ad regem." *Epist.* xiv. fol. 8. b.

^f Latin and French, the vernacular excepted, were the only languages now known. Foliot bishop of London, co-temporary with De Blois and Becket,

was esteemed, both in secular and sacred literature, the most consummate prelate of his time. Becket, *Epistol.* lib. iii. 5. Walter Mapes, their cotemporary, giving Foliot the same character, says he was *TRIUM peritissimus linguarum Latine, Gallicæ, Anglicæ, et lucidissime disertus in singulis*. Apud MSS. JAMES, xiv. p. 86. Bibl. Bodl. [EX NUGÆ CURIAL.]

^g "De magno Pompeio refert Sallustius, quod cum alacribus saltu, cum velocibus cursu, cum validis vecte certabat," &c. &c. *Epist.* xciv. fol. 45. a. Part of this passage is cited by Vegetius, a favorite author of the age of Peter de Blois. *De RE MILIT.* lib. i. c. ix. It is exhibited by the modern editors of Sallust, as it stands in Vegetius.

must be acknowledged, that their literature was clogged with pedantry, and depressed by the narrow notions of the times. Their writings shew, that they knew not how to imitate the beauties of the antient classics. Exulting in an exclusive privilege, they certainly did not see the solid and popular use of these studies: at least they did not chuse, or would not venture, to communicate them to the people, who on the other hand were not prepared to receive them. Any attempts of that kind, for want of assistances which did not then exist, must have been premature; and these lights were too feeble to dissipate the universal darkness. The writers who first appeared after Rome was ravaged by the Goths, such as Boethius, Prudentius, Orosius, Fortunatius, and Sedulius, and who naturally, from that circumstance, and because they were Christians, came into vogue at that period, still continued in the hands of common readers, and superseded the great originals. In the early ages of Christianity a strange opinion prevailed, in conformity to which Arnobius composed his celebrated book against the gentile superstitions, that pagan authors were calculated to corrupt the pure theology of the gospel. The prejudice however remained, when even the suspicions of the danger were removed. But I return to the progress of modern letters in the fifteenth century.

SECTION XXXVI.

SOON after the year 1500, Lillye, the famous grammarian, who had learned Greek at Rhodes, and had afterwards acquired a polished Latinity at Rome under Johannes Sulpicius and Pomponius Sabinus, became the first teacher of Greek at any public school in England. This was at saint Paul's school in London, then newly established by dean Colet, and celebrated by Erasmus; and of which Lillye, as one of the most exact and accomplished scholars of his age, was appointed the first master^b. And that antient prejudices were now gradually wearing off, and a national taste for critical studies and the graces of composition began to be diffused, appears from this circumstance alone: that from the year one thousand five hundred and three to the reformation, there were more grammar schools, most of which at present are perhaps of little use and importance, founded and endowed in England, than had been for three hundred years before. The practice of educating our youth in the monasteries growing into disuse, near twenty new grammar schools were established within this period: and among these, Wolsey's school at Ipswich, which soon fell a sacrifice to the resentment or the avarice of Henry the Eighth, deserves particular notice, as it rivalled those of Winchester and Eton. To give splendor to the institution, beside the scholars, it consisted of a dean, twelve canons, and a numerous

^b Knight, *Lives of Colet*, p. 19. Pace, above mentioned, in the Epistle dedicatory to Colet, before his Treatise *De fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur*, thus compliments Lillye, edit. Basil. ut supr. 1517. p. 13. "Ut politioem Latinitatem, et ipsam Romanam linguam, in Britanniam nostram introduxisse videatur.—Tanta [ei] eruditio, ut extrusa bar-

barie, in qua nostri adolescentes solebant fere ætatem consumere," &c. Erasmus says, in 1514, that he had taught a youth, in three years, more Latin than he could have acquired in any school in England, *ne Liliiana quidam excepta*, not even Lillye's excepted. *Epistol.* 165. p. 140. tom. iii.

choirⁱ. So attached was Wolsey to the new modes of instruction, that he did not think it inconsistent with his high office and rank, to publish a general address to the schoolmasters of England, in which he orders them to institute their youth in the most elegant literature^k. It is to be wished that all his edicts had been employed to so liberal and useful a purpose. There is an anecdote on record, which strongly marks Wolsey's character in this point of view. Notwithstanding his habits of pomp, he once condescended to be a spectator of a Latin tragedy of Dido, from Virgil, acted by the scholars of saint Paul's school, and written by John Rightwise, the master, an eminent grammarian^l. But Wolsey might have pleaded the authority of pope Leo the Tenth, who more than once had been present at one of these classical spectacles.

It does not however appear, that the cardinal's liberal sentiments were in general adopted by his brother prelates. At the foundation of saint Paul's school above mentioned, one of the bishops, eminent for his wisdom and gravity, at a public assembly, severely censured Colet the founder for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in the new structure, which he therefore styled a house of pagan idolatry^m.

In the year 1517, Fox, bishop of Winchester, founded a college at Oxford, in which he constituted, with competent stipends, two professors for the Greek and Latin languagesⁿ. Although some slight idea of a classical lecture had already appeared at Cambridge in the system of collegiate discipline^o, this philological establishment may justly be looked upon, as

ⁱ Tanner, NOTIT. MON. p. 520.

^k "Elegantissima literatura." Fides's WOLSEY. COLL. p. 105.

^l Wood, Ath. OXON. i. 15. See what is said of this practice, supra, p. 211.

^m "Episcopum quendam, et eum qui habetur a SAPIENTIORIBUS, in magno hominum Conventu, nostram scholam blasphemasse, dixisseque, me erexisse rem inutilem, imo malam, imo etiam, ut illius verbis utar, *Domum Idololatricæ*," &c. [Coletus Erasmo. Lond. 1517.] Knight's LIFE OF COLET, p. 319.

ⁿ STATUT. C. C. C. OXON. dat. Jun. 20. 1517. CAP. XX. fol. 51. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. LAUD. I. 56.

^o At Christ's college in Cambridge, where, in the statutes given in 1506, a lecturer is established; who, together with logic and philosophy, is ordered to read, "vel ex poetarum, vel ex oratorum operibus." Cap. xxxvii. In the statutes of King's at Cambridge, and New college at Oxford, both much more antient, an instructor is appointed with the general name of INFORMATOR only, who

the first conspicuous instance of an attempt to depart from the narrow plan of education, which had hitherto been held sacred in the universities of England. The course of the Latin professor, who is expressly directed to extirpate BARBARISM from the new society^p, is not confined to the private limits of the college, but open to the students of Oxford in general. The Greek lecturer is ordered to explain the best Greek classics; and the poets, historians, and orators, in that language, which the judicious founder, who seems to have consulted the most intelligent scholars of the times, recommends by name on this occasion, are the purest, and such as are most esteemed even in the present improved state of antient learning. And it is at the same time worthy of remark, that this liberal prelate, in forming his plan of study, does not appoint a philosophy-lecturer in his college, as had been the constant practice in most of the previous foundations: perhaps suspecting, that such an endowment would not have coincided with his new course of erudition, and would have only served to encourage that species of doctrine, which had so long choaked the paths of science, and obstructed the progress of useful knowledge.

These happy beginnings in favour of a new and rational system of academical education, were seconded by the auspicious munificence of cardinal Wolsey. About the year 1519, he founded a public chair at Oxford, for rhetoric and humanity, and soon afterwards another for teaching the Greek language; endowing both with ample salaries^q. About the year 1524, king Henry the Eighth, who destroyed or advanced literary institutions from caprice, called Robert Wakefield, originally a student of Cambridge, but now a professor of humanity at Tubingen in Germany, into England, that one of his own subjects, a linguist of so much celebrity, might no longer teach the Greek and oriental languages abroad: and when Wakefield

taught all the learning then in vogue. ROTUL. COMPUT. vet. Coll. Nov. Oxon. "Solut. Informatoribus sociorum et scolarium, iv l. xii s. ii d."

^p "Lector seu professor artium hu-

maniorum . . . BARBARISM a doctro alveario extirpet." STATUT. ut supr.

^q Wood, HIST. Univ. Oxon. i. 245. 246. But see Fiddes's WOLSEY, p. 197.

appeared before the king, his majesty lamented, in the strongest expressions of concern, the total ignorance of his clergy and the universities in the learned tongues; and immediately assigned him a competent stipend for opening a lecture at Cambridge, in this necessary and neglected department of letters¹. Wakefield was afterwards a preserver of many copies of the Greek classics, in the havock of the religious houses. It is recorded by Fox, the martyrologist, as a memorable occurrence², and very deservedly, that about the same time, Robert Barnes, prior of the Augustines at Cambridge, and educated at Louvain, with the assistance of his scholar Thomas Parnell, explained within the walls of his own monastery, Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, to those academics who saw the utility of philology, and were desirous of deserting the Gothic philosophy. It may seem at first surprising, that Fox, a weak and prejudiced writer, should allow any merit to a catholic: but Barnes afterwards appears to have been one of Fox's martyrs, and was executed at the stake in Smithfield for a defence of Lutheranism.

But these innovations in the system of study were greatly discouraged and opposed by the friends of the old scholastic circle of sciences, and the bigotted partisans of the catholic communion, who stigmatised the Greek language by the name of heresy. Even bishop Fox, when he founded the Greek lecture above mentioned, that he might not appear to countenance a dangerous novelty, was obliged to cover his excellent institution under the venerable mantle of the authority of the church. For as a seeming apology for what he had done, he refers to a canonical decree of pope Clement the Fifth, promulged in the year 1311, at Vienne in Dauphine, which enjoined, that professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, should be instituted in the universities of Oxford, Paris, Bononia, Salamanca, and in

¹ Wakefield's *ORATIO DE LAUDIBUS TRIUM LINGUARUM, &c.* Dated at Cambridge, 1524. Printed for W. de Worde, 4to. *Signat. C. ii.* See also *FAST. Acad.*

Lovan. by Val. Andreas, p. 284. edit. 1650.

² *ACT. MON.* fol. 1192. edit. 1585.

the court of Rome^t. It was under the force of this ecclesiastical constitution, that Gregory Typhernas, one of the learned Greek exiles, had the address to claim a stipend for teaching Greek in the university of Paris^u. We cannot but wonder at the strange disagreement in human affairs between cause and effect, when we consider, that this edict of pope Clement, which originated from a superstitious reverence annexed to two of these languages, because they composed part of the superscription on the cross of Christ, should have so strongly counteracted its own principles, and proved an instrument in the reformation of religion.

The university of Oxford was rent into factions on account of these bold attempts; and the advocates of the recent improvements, when the gentler weapons of persuasion could not prevail, often proceeded to blows with the rigid champions of the schools. But the facetious disposition of sir Thomas More had no small share in deciding this singular controversy, which he treated with much ingenious ridicule^w. Erasmus, about the same time, was engaged in attempting these reformations at Cambridge: in which, notwithstanding the mildness of his temper and conduct, and the general lustre of his literary character, he met with the most obstinate opposition. He expounded the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras in the public schools without an audience^x: and having, with a view to present the Grecian literature in the most specious and agreeable

^t "Quem præterea in nostro Alveario collocavimus, quod SACROSANCTI CANONES commodissime pro bonis literis, et imprimis christianis, instituerunt ac jusserunt, eum in hac universitate Oxoniensi, perinde ac paucis aliis celeberrimis gymnasiis, nunquam desiderari." STATUT. C. C. C. Oxon. ut supr. The words of this statute which immediately follow, deserve notice here, and require explanation. "Nec tamen Eos hac ratione excusatos volumus, qui Græcam lectionem in eorum IMPRÆSIS sustentare debent." By Eos, he means the persons particularly ordered in pope Cle-

ment's injunction to sustain these lectures in the university of Oxford. Bishop Fox, therefore, in founding a Greek lecture, would be understood, that he does not mean to absolve or excuse the other prelates of England from doing their proper duty in this necessary business. At the same time a charge on their negligence seems to be implied.

^u Naud. i. 3. p. 234. This was in 1472.

^w See, among other proofs, his *EROSTIA Scholasticis quibusdam Trojanis & appellantis*, published by Hearne, 1716, 8vo.

^x Erasmi EPIST. Ammonio, dat. 1512. Ep. 123. Op. tom. iii. p. 110.

form by a piece of pleasantry, translated Lucian's lively dialogue called ICAROMENIPPUS, he could find no student in the university capable of transcribing the Greek with the Latin ^γ. His edition of the Greek testament, the most commodious that had yet appeared, was absolutely proscribed at Cambridge: and a programma was issued in one of the most ample colleges, threatening a severe fine to any member of the society, who should be detected in having so fantastic and impious a book in his possession ^z. One Henry Standish, a doctor in divinity and a mendicant frier, afterwards bishop of Saint Asaph, was a vehement adversary of Erasmus in the promotion of this heretical literature; whom he called in a declamation, by way of reproach, *Græculus iste*, which soon became a synonymous appellation for an heretic ^z. Yet it should be remembered, that many English prelates patronised Erasmus; and that one of our archbishops was at this time ambitious of learning Greek ^b.

Even the public diversions of the court took a tincture from this growing attention to the languages, and assumed a classical air. We have before seen, that a comedy of Plautus was acted at the royal palace of Greenwich in the year 1520. And when the French ambassadors with a most splendid suite of the French nobility were in England for the ratification of peace in the year 1514, amid the most magnificent banquets, tournaments, and masques, exhibited at the same palace, they were entertained with a Latin interlude; or, to use the words of a cotemporary writer, with such an "excellent Interlude made in Latin, that I never heard the like; the actors apparel being so gorgeous, and of such strange devices, that it passes my capacitie to relate them ^c."

^γ Ibid. EPIST. 139. dat. 1512. p. 120. Henry Bullock, called Bovillus, one of Erasmus's friends, and much patronised by Wolsey, printed a Latin translation of Lucian, *απερ Διψιδου*, at Cambridge, 1521, quarto.

^z Ibid. EPIST. 148. dat. 1513. p. 126.

^z See ERASMI OPERA, tom. ix. p. 1440.

Even the priests, in their confessions of young scholars, cautioned against this growing evil. "Cave a *Græcis* ne fias *hereticus*." ERASM. ADAG. Op. ii. 993.

^b ERASM. EPIST. 301.

^c Cavendish, MEM. CARD. WOLSEY, p. 94. edit. 1708. 8vo.

Nor was the protection of king Henry the Eighth, who notwithstanding he had attacked the opinions of Luther, yet, from his natural liveliness of temper and a love of novelty, thought favourably of the new improvements, of inconsiderable influence in supporting the restoration of the Greek language. In 1519, a preacher at the public church of the university of Oxford, harangued with much violence, and in the true spirit of the antient orthodoxy, against the doctrines inculcated by the new professors: and his arguments were canvassed among the students with the greatest animosity. But Henry, being resident at the neighbouring royal manor of Woodstock, and having received a just detail of the merits of this dispute from Pace and More, interposed his uncontrovertible authority; and transmitting a royal mandate to the university, commanded that the study of the scriptures in their original languages should not only be permitted for the future, but received as a branch of the academical institution^d. Soon afterwards, one of the king's chaplains preaching at court, took an opportunity to censure the genuine interpretations of the scriptures, which the Grecian learning had introduced. The king, when the sermon was ended, to which he had listened with a smile of contempt, ordered a solemn disputation to be held, in his own presence: at which the unfortunate preacher opposed, and sir Thomas More, with his usual dexterity, defended, the utility and excellence of the Greek language. The divine, who at least was a good courtier, instead of vindicating his opinion, instantly fell on his knees, and begged pardon for having given any offence in the pulpit before his majesty. However, after some slight altercation, the preacher, by way of making some sort of concession in form, ingenuously declared, that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. The king, astonished at his ridiculous ignorance, dismissed the chaplain, with a charge, that he should never again presume to preach at court^e. In the

^d *Erasm. Epist.* 380. tom. iii.

^e *Ibid.* p. 408.

grammatical schools established in all the new cathedral foundations of this king, a master is appointed, with the uncommon qualification of a competent skill in both the learned languages^f. In the year 1523, Ludovicus Vives, having dedicated his commentary on Austin's *DE CIVITATE DEI* to Henry the Eighth, was invited into England, and read lectures at Oxford in jurisprudence and humanity; which were countenanced by the presence, not only of Henry, but of queen Catharine and some of the principal nobility^g. At length antient absurdities universally gave way to these encouragements. Even the vernacular language began to be cultivated by the more ingenious clergy. Colet, dean of saint Paul's, a divine of profound learning, with a view to adorn and improve the style of his discourses, and to acquire the graces of an elegant preacher, employed much time in reading Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, and other English poets, whose compositions had embellished the popular diction^h. The practice of frequenting Italy, for the purpose of acquiring the last polish to a Latin style both in eloquence and poetry, still continued in vogue; and was greatly promoted by the connections, authority, and good taste, of cardinal Pole, who constantly resided at the court of Rome in a high character. At Oxford, in particular, these united endeavours for establishing a new course of liberal and manly science, were finally consummated in the magnificent foundation of Wolsey's college, to which all the accomplished scholars of every country in Europe were invited; and for whose library, transcripts of all the valuable manuscripts which now fill the Vatican, were designedⁱ.

But the progress of these prosperous beginnings was soon obstructed. The first obstacle I shall mention, was, indeed,

^f Statuimus præterea, ut per Decanum, etc. unus [Archidiascalus] "eligatur, Latine et Græce doctus, bonæ famæ," &c. STATUT. Eccles. Roffens. cap. xxv. They were given Jun. 30, 1545. In the same statute the second master is required to be only *Latine doctus*. All the statutes of the new cathedrals are alike. It is remarkable, that Wolsey does not order Greek to be taught in his

school at Ipswich, founded 1528. See Strype, *ECCL. MEM.* i. Append. xxxv. p. 94. seq.

^g Twyne, *AROL.* lib. ii. § 210. seq. Probably he was patronised by Catharine as a Spaniard.

^h Erasmi. *EPISTOL.* Jodoco Jonæ. *Ibid.* Jun. 1521.

ⁱ Wood, *HIST. UNIV. OXON.* i. 249.

but of short duration. It was however an unfavourable circumstance, that in the midst of this career of science, Henry, who had ever been accustomed to gratify his passions at any rate, sued for a divorce against his queen Catharine. The legality of this violent measure being agitated with much deliberation and solemnity, wholly engrossed the attention of many able philologists, whose genius and acquisitions were destined to a much nobler employment; and tended to revive for a time the frivolous subtleties of casuistry and theology.

But another cause which suspended the progression of these letters, of much more importance and extent, ultimately most happy in its consequences, remains to be mentioned. The enlarged conceptions acquired by the study of the Greek and Roman writers seem to have restored to the human mind a free exertion of its native operations, and to have communicated a certain spirit of enterprise in examining every subject: and at length to have released the intellectual capacity of mankind from that habitual subjection, and that servility to system, which had hitherto prevented it from advancing any new principle, or adopting any new opinion. Hence, under the concurrent assistance of a preparation of circumstances, all centring in the same period, arose the reformation of religion. But this defection from the catholic communion, alienated the thoughts of the learned from those pursuits by which it was produced; and diverted the studies of the most accomplished scholars, to inquiries into the practices and maxims of the primitive ages, the nature of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the authority of scripture and tradition, of popes, councils, and schoolmen: topics, which men were not yet qualified to treat with any degree of penetration, and on which the ideas of the times unenlightened by philosophy, or warped by prejudice and passion, were not calculated to throw just and rational illustrations. When the bonds of spiritual unity were once broken, this separation from an established faith ended in a variety of subordinate sects, each of which called forth its respective champions into the field of religious contention. The several princes of christen-

dom were politically concerned in these disputes; and the courts in which poets and orators had been recently caressed and rewarded, were now filled with that most deplorable species of philosophers, polemical metaphysicians. The public entry of Luther into Worms, when he had been summoned before the diet of that city, was equally splendid with that of the emperor Charles the Fifth^k. Rome in return, roused from her deep repose of ten centuries, was compelled to vindicate her insulted doctrines with reasoning and argument. The profound investigations of Aquinas once more triumphed over the graces of the Ciceronian urbanity; and endless volumes were written on the expediency of auricular confession, and the existence of purgatory. Thus the cause of polite literature was for awhile abandoned; while the noblest abilities of Europe were wasted in theological speculation, and absorbed in the abyss of controversy. Yet it must not be forgotten, that wit and raillery, drawn from the sources of elegant erudition, were sometimes applied, and with the greatest success, in this important dispute. The lively colloquies of Erasmus, which exposed the superstitious practices of the papists, with much humour, and in pure Latinity, made more protestants than the ten tomes of John Calvin. A work of ridicule was now a new attempt: and it should be here observed, to the honour of Erasmus, that he was the first of the literary reformers who tried that species of composition, at least with any degree of popularity. The polite scholars of Italy had no notion that the German theologians were capable of making their readers laugh: they were now convinced of their mistake, and soon found that the German pleasantry prepared the way for a revolution, which proved of the most serious consequence to Italy.

Another great temporary check given to the general state of letters in England at this period, was the dissolution of the monasteries. Many of the abuses in civil society are attended with some advantages. In the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly: while the

^k Luther, Op. ii. 412. 414.

benefit arising from the change is the slow effect of time, and not immediately perceived or enjoyed. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favorable to the interests of mankind than the monastic. Yet these seminaries, although they were in a general view the nurseries of illiterate indolence, and undoubtedly deserved to be suppressed under proper restrictions, contained invitations and opportunities to studious leisure and literary pursuits. On this event, therefore, a visible revolution and decline in the national^m state of learning succeeded. Most of the youth of the kingdom betook themselves to mechanical or other illiberal employments, the profession of letters being now supposed to be without support and reward. By the abolition of the religious houses, many towns and their adjacent villages were utterly deprived of their only means of instruction. At the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, Williams, speaker of the house of commons, complained to her majesty, that more than an hundred flourishing schools were destroyed in the demolition of the monasteries, and that ignorance had prevailed ever since^l. Provincial ignorance, at least, became universal, in consequence of this hasty measure of a rapacious and arbitrary prince. What was taught in the monasteries, was not always perhaps of the greatest importance, but still it served to keep up a certain degree of necessary knowledge^m.

^l Strype, ANN. REF. p. 212. sub ann. 1562. The greater abbies appear to have had the direction of other schools in their neighbourhood. In an abbatial Register of Bury abbey there is this entry. "Memorand. quod A.D. 1418. 28 Jul. Gulielmus abbas contulit regimen et magisterium scholarum grammaticalium in villa de Bury S. Edmundi magistro Johanni Somerset, artium et grammaticæ professori, et baccalareo in medicina, cum annua pensione xl. solidorum." MS. Cotton. TIBER. B. ix. 2. This John Somerset was tutor and physician to king Henry the Sixth, and a man of eminent learning. He was instrumental in procuring duke Humphrey's books to be conveyed to Oxford. Registr. Acad. Oxon. EPIST. F. 179. 202. 218. 220. And in the foundation

of King's college at Cambridge. MSS. CORR. JULIUS, F. vii. 43.

^m I do not, however, lay great stress on the following passage, which yet deserves attention, in Rosse of Warwickshire, who wrote about the year 1480: "To this day, in the cathedrals and some of the greater collegiate churches, or monasteries, [quibusdam nobilibus collegiis,] and in the houses of the four mendicant orders, useful lectures and disputations are kept up; and such of their members as are thought capable of degrees, are sent to the universities. And in towns where there are two or more fraternities of mendicants, in each of these are held, every week by turns, proper exercises of scholars in disputation." HIST. REG. ANGL. edit. Hearne, p. 74. [See supr. p. 106.]

Nor should it be forgot, that many of the abbots were learned, and patrons of literature; men of public spirit, and liberal views. By their connections with parliament, and the frequent embassies to foreign courts in which they were employed, they became acquainted with the world, and the improvements of life: and, knowing where to chuse proper objects, and having no other use for the superfluities of their vast revenues, encouraged in their respective circles many learned young men. It appears to have been customary for the governors of the most considerable convents, especially those that were honoured with the mitre, to receive into their own private lodgings the sons of the principal families of the neighbourhood for education. About the year 1450, Thomas Bromele, abbot of the mitred monastery of Hyde near Winchester, entertained in his own abbatial house within that monastery, eight young gentlemen, or *gentiles pueri*, who were placed there for the purpose of literary instruction, and constantly dined at the abbot's table. I will not scruple to give the original words, which are more particular and expressive, of the obscure record which preserves this curious anecdote of monastic life. "Pro octo gentilibus pueris apud dominum abbatem studii causa perhendinantibus, et ad mensam domini victitantibus, cum garcionibus suis ipsos comitantibus, hoc anno, xviii. ixs. Capiendo pro . . ."^a This, by the way, was more extraordinary, as William of Wykeham's celebrated seminary was so near. And this seems to have been an established practice of the abbot of Glastonbury: "whose apartment in the abbey was a kind of well disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and young gentlemen were wont to be sent for virtuous education, who returned thence home excellently accomplished." Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, who was cruelly executed by the king, during the course of his government, educated near three hundred ingenuous youths, who constituted a

^a From a fragment of the *COMPUTUS CAMBRARII* Abbat. Hidens. in Archiv. Wulvea. apud Winton, ut supr.

^o *HIST. and ANTIQ. of GLASTONBURY*, Oxon. 1722. 8vo. p. 98.

part of his family: beside many others whom he liberally supported at the universities^p. Whitgift, the most excellent and learned archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was educated under Robert Whitgift his uncle, abbot of the Augustine monastery of black canons at Wellhow in Lincolnshire: "who, says Strype, had several other young gentlemen under his care for education^q." That, at the restoration of literature, many of these dignitaries were eminently learned, and even zealous promoters of the new improvements, I could bring various instances. Hugh Farringdon, the last abbot of Reading, was a polite scholar, as his Latin epistles addressed to the university of Oxford abundantly testify^r. Nor was he less a patron of critical studies. Leonard Coxe, a popular philological writer in the reign of Henry the Eighth, both in Latin and English, and a great traveller, highly celebrated by the judicious Leland for his elegant accomplishments in letters, and honoured with the affectionate correspondence of Erasmus, dedicates to this abbot, his ARTE OR CHAPTE OF RHETORICKE, printed in the year 1524, at that time a work of an unusual nature^s. Wakefield above mentioned, a very capital Greek and oriental scholar, in his DISCOURSE ON THE EXCELLENCY AND UTILITY OF THE THREE LANGUAGES, written in the year 1524, celebrates William Fryssell, prior of the cathedral Benedictine convent at Rochester, as a distinguished judge and encourager of critical literature^t. Robert Shirwoode, an Englishman, but a professor of Greek and Hebrew at Louvaine, published a new Latin translation of ECCLESIASTES, with critical annotations on the Hebrew text, printed at Antwerp in 1523^u. This, in an elegant Latin epistle, he dedicates to John Webbe, prior of the Benedictine cathedral convent at Coventry; whom he styles, for his singular learning, and attention to

^p Reyner, APOSTOLAT. BENEDICT. Tract. i. sect. ii. p. 224. Sanders de SCHISM. pag. 176.

^q Strype's WHITGIFT, b. i. ch. i. p. 3.

^r Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. F. fol. 101. —125.

^s See Leland, COLLECTAN. vol. 5. p. 118. vol. 6. p. 187. And ENCOM. p. 50. edit. 1589. ERASM. EPISTOL. p. 886.

^t cited above, vol. ii. p. 490.

^u quarto.

the general cause of letters, *MONACHORUM DECUS*. John Batmanson, prior of the Carthusians in London, controverted Erasmus's commentary on the New Testament with a degree of spirit and erudition, which was unhappily misapplied, and would have done honour to the cause of his antagonist^w. He wrote many other pieces; and was patronised by Lee, a learned archbishop of York, who opposed Erasmus, but allowed Ascham a pension^x. Kederminster, abbot of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, a traveller to Rome, and a celebrated preacher before king Henry the Eighth, established regular lectures in his monastery, for explaining both scriptures in their original languages; which were so generally frequented, that his little cloister acquired the name and reputation of a new university^y. He was master of a terse and perspicuous Latin style, as appears from a fragment of the *HISTORY OF WYNCHOMB ABBEY*, written by himself^z. His erudition is attested in an epistle from the university to king Henry the Eighth^a. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the most eloquent preacher of his time, in the dedication to Kederminster, of five quadragesimal sermons, delivered at court, and printed by Pinson in the year 1517, insists largely on his *SINGULARIS ERUDITIO*, and other shining qualifications.

Before we quit the reign of Henry the Eighth, in this review of the rise of modern letters, let us turn our eyes once more on the universities; which yet do not always give the tone to the

^w Theodor. Petreus, *BIBL. CARTHUS.* edit. Col. 1609. p. 157.

^x Ascham, *EPISTOL.* lib. ii. p. 77. a. edit. 1581. [See also iii. p. 86. a.] On the death of the archbishop, in 1544, Ascham desires, that a part of his pension then due might be paid out of some of the archbishop's Greek books: one of these he wishes may be Aldus's *DE CEM RETORTIS GRÆCÆ*, a book which he could not purchase or procure at Cambridge.

^y "Non aliter quam si fuisset altera NOVA UNIVERSITAS, tametsi exigua, claustrum Wynchelcombense tunc temporis se haberet." From his own *HISTORIA*,

as below. Wood, *HIST. Univ. Oxon.* i. p. 248. There is an Epistle from Colet, the learned dean of St. Paul's, to this abbot, concerning a passage in saint Paul's *EPISTOLAS*, first printed by Knight, from the original manuscript at Cambridge. Knight's *LIFE*, p. 311.

^z Printed by Dugdale, before the whole of the original was destroyed in the fire of London. *MOXAR.* i. 182. But a transcript of a part remains in Dodsworth, *MSS. Bibl. Bodl.* lxx. 1. Compare A. Wood, ut supr. and *ATHEX.* Oxon. i. 28.

^a Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. F. fol. 46.

learning of a nation^b. In the year 1531, the learned Simon Grynaeus visited Oxford. By the interest of Claymund, president of Corpus Christi college, an admirable scholar, a critical writer, and the general friend and correspondent of the literary reformers, he was admitted to all the libraries of the university; which, he says, were about twenty in number, and amply furnished with the books of antiquity. Among these he found numerous manuscripts of Proclus on Plato, many of which he was easily permitted to carry abroad by the governors of the colleges, who did not know the value of these trea-

^b It ought not here to be unnoticed, that the royal library of the kings of England, originally subsisting in the old palace at Westminster, and lately transferred to the British Museum, received great improvements under the reign of Henry the Eighth; who constituted that elegant and judicious scholar, John Leland, his librarian, about the year 1530. Tanner, *BIBL.* pag. 475. Leland, at the dissolution of the monasteries, removed to this royal repository a great number of valuable manuscripts: particularly from saint Austin's abbey at Canterbury. *SCRIPT. BRIT.* p. 299. One of these was a manuscript given by Athelstan to that convent, a *HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS*. *Bibl. Reg. MSS. i. A. xviii.* See the hexastich of Leland prefixed. See also *SCRIPT. BRIT.* ut supra, V. *ATHELSTANUS*. Leland says, that he placed in the *PALATINE* library of Henry the Eighth the *COMMENTARI IN MATTHEUM* of Claudius, Bede's disciple. *Ibid.* V. *CLAUDIUS*. Many of the manuscripts of this library appear to have belonged to Henry's predecessors; and if we may judge from the splendour of the decorations, were presents. Some of them bear the name of Humphrey duke of Gloucester. Others were written at the command of Edward the Fourth. I have already mentioned the librarian of Henry the Seventh. Bartholomew Traheron, a learned divine, was appointed the keeper of this library by Edward the Sixth, with a salary of twenty marks, in the year 1549. See Rymer's *Fœd.* xv. p. 351. Under the reign of Elisabeth, Hentzner, a German traveller, who saw

this library at Whitehall in 1598, says, that it was well furnished with Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books, all bound in velvet of different colours, yet chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; and that the covers of some were adorned with pearls and precious stones. *ITINERAR. Germania, Anglia, &c. Noringb.* 1629. 8vo. p. 188. It is a great mistake, that James the First was the first of our kings who founded a library in any of the royal palaces; and that this establishment commenced at St. James's palace, under the patronage of that monarch. This notion was first propagated by Smith in his life of Patrick Junius, *Vit. QUORUND.* etc. Lond. 1707. 4to. pp. 12. 13. 34. 35. Great part of the royal library, which indeed migrated to St. James's under James the First, was partly sold and dispersed, at Cromwell's accession: together with another inestimable part of its furniture, 12000 medals, rings, and gems, the entire collection of Gorlaeus's *DACTYLIOTHECA*, purchased by prince Henry and Charles the First. It must be allowed, that James the First greatly enriched this library with the books of lord Lumley and Casaubon, and sir Thomas Roe's manuscripts brought from Constantinople. Lord Lumley's chiefly consisted of lord Arundel's, his father in law, a great collector at the dissolution of monasteries. James had previously granted a warrant to sir Thomas Bodley, in 1613, to chuse any books from the royal library at Whitehall, over the *Queen's Chamber*. [*RELIQ. BONT.* p. Hearne, p. 205. 286. 320.]

tures^c. In the year 1535, the king ordered lectures in humanity, institutions which have their use for a time, and while the novelty lasts, to be founded in those colleges of the university, where they were yet wanting: and these injunctions were so warmly approved by the scholars in the largest societies, that they seized on the venerable volumes of Duns Scotus and other irrefragable logicians, in which they had so long toiled without the attainment of knowledge, and tearing them in pieces, dispersed them in great triumph about their quadrangles, or gave them away as useless lumber^d. The king himself also established some public lectures with large endowments^e. Notwithstanding, the number of students at Oxford daily decreased: insomuch, that in 1546, not because a general cultivation of the new species of literature was increased, there were only ten inceptors in arts, and three in theology and jurisprudence^f.

As all novelties are pursued to excess, and the most beneficial improvements often introduce new inconveniencies, so this universal attention to polite literature destroyed philosophy. The old philosophy was abolished, but a new one was not adopted in its stead. At Cambridge we now however find the antient scientific learning in some degree reformed, by the admission of better systems.

In the injunctions given by Henry to that university in the year 1535, for the reformation of study, the dialectics of Rodolphus Agricola, the great favorite of Erasmus, and the genuine logic of Aristotle, are prescribed to be taught, instead of the barren problems of Scotus and Burlæus^g. By the same edict, theology and casuistry were freed from many of their old incumbrances and perplexities: degrees in the canon law were forbidden; and heavy penalties were imposed on those acade-

^c During his abode in England, having largely experienced the bounty and advice of sir Thomas More, he returned home, fraught with materials which he had long sought in vain, and published his *PLATO*, viz. "Platonis Opera, cum commentariis Procli in Timæum et Politicam, Basil. 1534." fol. See the *EPISTOLÆ DEDICATORIÆ* to sir Thomas More.

He there mentions other pieces of Proclus, which he saw at Oxford.

^d See Dr. Layton's letter to Cromwell. Strype's *ECCL. MXX. i. 210.*

^e Wood, *HIST. Univ. Oxon. i. 26. ii. 36.*

^f Wood, *ibid. sub anno.*

^g Collier, *ECCLÆ. HIST. vol. ii. p. 110.*

mics, who relinquished the sacred text, to explain the tedious and unedifying commentaries on Peter Lombard's scholastic cyclopede of divinity, called the SENTENCES, which alone were sufficient to constitute a moderate library. Classical lectures were also directed, the study of words was enforced, and the books of Melancthon, and other solid and elegant writers of the reformed party, recommended. The politer studies, soon afterwards, seem to have risen into a flourishing state at Cambridge. Bishop Latimer complains, that there were now but few who studied divinity in that university^b. But this is no proof of a decline of learning in that seminary. Other pursuits were now gaining ground there; and such as in fact were subservient to theological truth, and to the propagation of the reformed religion. Latimer himself, whose discourses from the royal pulpit appear to be barbarous beyond their age, in style, manner, and argument, is an example of the necessity of the ornamental studies to a writer in divinity. The Greek language was now making considerable advances at Cambridge, under the instruction of Cheke and Smith; notwithstanding the interruptions and opposition of bishop Gardiner, the chancellor of the university, who loved learning but hated novelties, about the proprieties of pronunciation. But the controversy which was agitated on both sides with much erudition, and produced letters between Cheke and Gardiner equal to large treatises, had the good effect of more fully illustrating the point in debate, and of drawing the general attention to the subject of the Greek literature¹. Perhaps bishop Gardiner's intolerance in this respect was like his persecuting spirit in religion, which only made more heretics. Ascham observes, with no small degree of triumph, that instead of Plautus, Cicero, Terence, and Livy,

^b SERMONS, &c. p. 68. Lond. 1584. 4to. Sermon before Edward the Sixth, in the year 1550. His words are, "It would pity a man's heart to hear that I hear of the state of Cambridge: what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that study divinity but so many as of necessitie must furnish the colleges."

¹ Ascham. EPISTOL. ut modo infr. p. 65. a. Ascham calls Gardiner, "omnibus literarum, prudentiæ, consilii, autoritatis, præsidii ornatissimus, æque hac una re esset, literarum et academiæ nostræ patronus amplissimus." But he says, that Gardiner took this measure, "quorundam invidiorum hominum precibus victus." *ibid.* p. 64. b.

almost the only classics hitherto known at Cambridge, a more extensive field was opened; and that Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and Isocrates, were universally and critically studied^k. But Cheke being soon called away to the court, his auditors relapsed into dissertations on the doctrines of original sin and predestination; and it was debated with great obstinacy and acrimony, whether those topics had been most successfully handled by some modern German divines or saint Austin^l. Ascham observes, that at Oxford, a decline of taste in both languages was indicated, by a preference of Lucian, Plutarch, and Herodian, in Greek, and of Seneca, Gellius, and Apuleius, in Latin, to the more pure, antient, and original writers, of Greece and Rome^m. At length, both universities seem to have been reduced to the same deplorable condition of indigence and illiteracy.

It is generally believed, that the reformation of religion in England, the most happy and important event of our annals, was immediately succeeded by a flourishing state of letters. But this was by no means the case. For a long time afterwards an effect quite contrary was produced. The reformation in England was completed under the reign of Edward the Sixth. The rapacious courtiers of this young prince were perpetually grasping at the rewards of literature; which being discouraged or despised by the rich, was neglected by those of moderate fortunes. Avarice and zeal were at once gratified in robbing the clergy of their revenues, and in reducing the church to its primitive apostolical state of purity and povertyⁿ. The opulent see of Winchester was lowered to a bare title: its amplest estates were portioned out to the laity; and the bishop, a creature of the protector Somerset, was contented to receive an inconsiderable annual stipend from the exchequer. The bishoprick of Durham, almost equally rich, was entirely dis-

^k Strype's *CRANMER*, p. 170. Ascham. edit. 1581.

EPISTOL. l. ii. p. 64. b. 1581.

ⁿ See Collier's *ECCL. HIST. RECORDS*,

^l Ascham. *EPIST.* lib. ii.

lxvii. p. 80.

^m *EPISTOL.* lib. i. p. 18. b. Dat. 1550.

solved. A favorite nobleman of the court occupied the deanery and treasurership of a cathedral with some of its best canons^o. The ministers of this abused monarch, by these arbitrary, dishonest, and imprudent measures, only provided instruments, and furnished arguments, for restoring in the succeeding reign that superstitious religion, which they professed to destroy. By thus impoverishing the ecclesiastical dignities, they countenanced the clamours of the catholics; who declared, that the reformation was apparently founded on temporal views, and that the protestants pretended to oppose the doctrines of the church, solely with a view that they might share in the plunder of its revenues. In every one of these sacrilegious robberies the interest of learning also suffered. Exhibitions and pensions were, in the mean time, subtracted from the students in the universities^p. Ascham, in a letter to the marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar schools throughout England; and predicts the speedy extinction of the universities from this growing calamity^q. At Oxford the public schools were neglected by the professors and pupils, and allotted to the lowest purposes^r. Academical degrees were abrogated as antichristian^s. Reformation was soon turned into fanaticism. Absurd refinements, concerning the inutility of human learning, were superadded to the just and rational purgation of christianity from the papal corruptions. The spiritual reformers of these enlightened days, at a visitation of the last-mentioned university, proceeded so far in their ideas of a superior rectitude, as totally to strip the public library; established by that munificent patron Humphrey duke of Gloucester, of all its books and manuscripts^t.

I must not, however, forget, as a remarkable symptom of an

^o Burnet, REF. P. ii. 8.

^p Wood, sub ann. 1550. See also Strype's CRANMER, Append. N. xciii. p. 220. viz. A letter to secretary Cecil, dat. 1552.

^q EPISTOL. lib. un. COMMENDAT. p. 194. a. Lond. 1581. "Ruinam et interitum publicarum scholarum," &c.

—"Quam gravis hæc universa scholarum calamitas," &c. See p. 62. b. p. 210. a.

^r Wood, ut supr. p. 273.

^s Catal. MSS. ANGL. fol. edit. 1697. in Hist. Bibl. Bodl. Præfat.

^t See vol. ii. p. 354.

attempt now circulating to give a more general and unreserved diffusion of science, that in this reign, Thomas Wilson, originally a fellow of King's college in Cambridge, preceptor to Charles and Henry Brandon dukes of Suffolk, dean of Durham, and chief secretary to the king, published a system of rhetoric and of logic, in English^u. This display of the venerable mysteries of the latter of these arts in a vernacular language, which had hitherto been confined within the sacred pale of the learned tongues, was esteemed an innovation almost equally daring with that of permitting the service of the church to be celebrated in English: and accordingly the author, soon afterwards happening to visit Rome, was incarcerated by the inquisitors of the holy see, as a presumptuous and dangerous heretic.

It is with reluctance I enter on the bloody reign of the relentless and unamiable Mary; whose many dreadful martyrdoms of men eminent for learning and piety, shock our sensibility with a double degree of horreur, in the present softened state of manners, at a period of society when no potentate would inflict executions of so severe a nature, and when it would be difficult to find devotees hardy enough to die for difference of opinion. We must, however, acknowledge, that she enriched both universities with some considerable benefactions: yet these donations seem to have been made, not from any general or liberal principle of advancing knowledge, but to repair the breaches of reformation, and to strengthen the return of superstition. It is certain, that her restoration of popery, together with the monastic institution, its proper appendage, must have been highly pernicious to the growth of polite erudition. Yet although the elegant studies were now beginning to suffer a new relapse, in the midst of this reign, under the discouragement of all these inauspicious and unfriendly circumstances, a college was established at Oxford, in the constitution of which, the founder principally inculcates the use and necessity of classical literature; and recommends it as the most important and

^u First printed in the reign of Edward the Sixth. See Preface to the second edition of the *RHETORIC*, in 1560. He translated the three Olynthiacs, and the four Philippics, of Demosthenes, from the Greek into English. Lond. 1570. 4to.

leading object in that system of academical study, which he prescribes to the youth of the new society^w. For, beside a lecturer in philosophy appointed for the ordinary purpose of teaching the scholastic sciences, he establishes in this seminary a teacher of humanity: The business of this preceptor is described with a particularity not usual in the constitutions given to collegiate bodies of this kind, and he is directed to exert his utmost diligence, in tincturing his auditors with a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin language^x: and to explain critically, in the public hall, for the space of two hours every day, the Offices, De Oratore, and rhetorical treatises of Cicero, the institutes of Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Livy, and Lucan; together with the most excellent modern philological treatises then in vogue, such as the ELEGANCIES of Laurentius Valla, and the MISCELLANIES of Politian, or any other approved critical tract on oratory or versification^y. In the mean time, the founder permits it to the discretion of the lecturer, occasionally to substitute Greek authors in the place of these^z. He moreover requires, that the candidates for admission into the college be completely skilled in Latin poetry; and in writing Epistles, then a favorite mode of composition^a, and on which Erasmus^b, and Conradus Celtes the restorer of letters in Germany^c, had each recently published a distinct systematical work. He enjoins, that the students

^w In the year 1554.

^x "Latini sermonis ornatu et elegantia imbuendos diligenter curabit," &c. Statut. Coll. Trin. Oxon. cap. iv. Again, "Cupiens et ego Collegii mei juventutem in primis Latini sermonis Puritate ac ingenuarum artium rudimentis, convenienter erudiri," &c. Ibid. cap. xv.

^y Ibid. cap. xv. A modern writer in dialectics, Rodolphus Agricola, is also recommended to be explained by the reader in philosophy, together with Aristotle.

^z Ibid. cap. xv. It may be also observed here, that the philosophy reader is not only ordered to explain Aristotle, but Plato. Ibid. cap. xv. It appears by implication in the close of this statute,

that the public lectures of the university were now growing useless, and dwindling into mere matters of form, viz. "Ad hunc modum Domi meos LECTIONIBUS erudiri cupiens, eos a publicis in Academia lectionibus avocare nolui.—Verum, si temporis tractu, et magistratum incuria, adeo a primario instituto degenerent Magistrorum regentium Lectiones ordinariæ, ut inde nulla, aut admodum exigua, auditoribus accedat utilitas," &c. Ibid. cap. xv.

^a Ibid. cap. vii.

^b DE RATIONE CONSCRIBENDI EPISTOLAS.

^c About the year 1500. At Basil, 1522. It was reprinted at Cambridge by Siberch, and dedicated to archbishop Fisher, 1521, 4to.

shall be exercised every day, in the intervals of vacation, in composing declamations, and Latin verses both lyric and heroic^d: and in his prefatory statute, where he describes the nature and design of his foundation, he declares, that he destines the younger part of his establishment, not only to dialectics and philosophy, but to the more polite literature^e. The statutes of this college were submitted to the inspection of cardinal Pole, one of the chief protectors of the revival of polite letters in England, as appears from a curious passage in a letter written by the founder, now remaining; which not only displays the cardinal's ideas of the new erudition, but shews the state of the Greek language at this period. "My lord Cardinalls grace has had the overseeing of my statutes. He muche lyketh well, that I have therein ordered the Latin tongue [Latin classics] to be redde to my schollers. But he advyseth me to order the Greeke to be more taught there than I have provyded. This purpose I well lyke: but I fear *the tymes will not bear it now*. I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton^f, the Greeke tongue was growing apace; the studie of which is now alate much decayd^g." Queen Mary was herself eminently learned. But her accomplishments in letters were darkened or impeded by religious prejudices. At the desire of queen Catharine Parr, she translated in her youth Erasmus's paraphrase on saint John. The preface is written by Udall, master of Eton school: in which he much extolls her distinguished proficiencie in literature^h. It would have been fortunate, if Mary's attention to this work had softened her temper, and enlightened her understanding. She frequently spoke in public with propriety, and always with prudence and dignity.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, which soon followed, when the return of protestantism might have been ex-

^d Ibid. cap. xv. Every day after dinner "Aliquis scholarium, a Præsidente aut Lectore Rhetorico jussus, de themate quodam proposito, ad edendum ingenii ac profectus sui specimen, diligenter, ornate, ac breviter, dicat," &c. Ibid. cap. x.

^e "Cæteri autem, *scholares* nuncupati, *polterioribus Literis*," &c. Ibid. cap. i.

^f About the year 1520.

^g Dated 1556. See LIFE of sir Thomas Pope, p. 226.

^h Lond. 1548. fol.

pected to produce a speedy change for the better, puritanism began to prevail; and, as the first fervours of a new sect are always violent, retarded for some time the progress of ingenious and useful knowledge. The scriptures being translated into English, and every man assuming a right to dictate in matters of faith, and to chuse his own principles, weak heads drew false conclusions, and erected an infinite variety of petty religions. Such is the abuse which attends the best designs, that the meanest reader of the New Testament thought he had a full comprehension of the most mysterious metaphysical doctrines in the christian faith; and scorned to acquiesce in the sober and rational expositions of such difficult subjects, which he might have received from a competent and intelligent teacher, whom it was his duty to follow. The bulk of the people, who now possessed the means of discussing all theological topics, from their situation and circumstances in life, were naturally averse to the splendor, the dominion, and the opulence of an hierarchy, and disclaimed the yoke of episcopal jurisdiction. The new deliverance from the numerous and burthensome superstitions of the papal communion, drove many pious reformers into the contrary extreme, and the rage of opposition ended in a devotion entirely spiritual and abstracted. External forms were abolished, as impediments to the visionary reveries of a mental intercourse with heaven; and because the church of Rome had carried ceremonies to an absurd excess, the use of any ceremonies was deemed unlawful. The love of new doctrines and a new worship, the triumph of gaining proselytes, and the persecutions which accompanied these licentious zealots, all contributed to fan the flame of enthusiasm. The genius of this refined and false species of religion, which defied the salutary checks of all human authority, when operating in its full force, was attended with consequences not less pernicious to society, although less likely to last, than those which flowed from the establishment of the antient superstitions. During this unsettled state of things, the English reformed clergy who had fled into Germany from the menaces of queen Mary, re-

turned home in great numbers: and in consideration of their sufferings and learning, and their abilities to vindicate the principles of a national church erected in opposition to that of Rome, many of them were preferred to bishopricks, and other eminent ecclesiastical stations. These divines brought back with them into England those narrow principles concerning church-government and ceremonies, which they had imbibed in the petty states and republics abroad, where the Calvinistic discipline was adopted, and where they had lived like a society of philosophers; but which were totally inconsistent with the nature of a more extended church, established in a great and magnificent nation, and requiring an uniform system of policy, a regular subordination of officers, a solemnity of public worship, and an observance of exterior institutions. They were, however, in the present circumstances, thought to be the most proper instruments to be employed at the head of ecclesiastical affairs; not only for the purpose of vindicating the new establishment by argument and authority, but of eradicating every trace of the papal corruptions by their practice and example, and of effectually fixing the reformation embraced by the church of England on a durable basis. But, unfortunately, this measure, specious and expedient as it appeared at first, tended to destroy that constitution which it was designed to support, and to counteract those principles which had been implanted by Cranmer in the reformed system of our religion. Their reluctance or refusal to conform, in a variety of instances, to the established ceremonies, and their refinements in theological discipline, filled the church with the most violent divisions; and introduced endless intricate disputations, not on fundamental doctrines of solid importance to the real interests of christianity, but on positive points of idle and empty speculation, which admitting no elegance of composition, and calling forth no vigour of abilities, exercised the learning of the clergy in the most barbarous and barren field of controversial divinity, and obstructed every pursuit of polite or manly erudition. Even the conforming clergy, from their want of penetration, and from

their attachment to authorities, contributed to protract these frivolous and unbecoming controversies: for if, in their vindication of the sacerdotal vestments, and of the cross of baptism, instead of arguing from the jews, the primitive christians, the fathers, councils, and customs, they had only appealed to common sense and the nature of things, the propriety and expediency of those formalities would have been much more easily and more clearly demonstrated. To these inconveniencies we must add, that the common ecclesiastical preferments were so much diminished by the seizure and alienation of impropriations, in the late depredations of the church, and which continued to be carried on with the same spirit of rapacity in the reign of Elizabeth, that few persons were regularly bred to the church, or, in other words, received a learned education. Hence, almost any that offered themselves were, without distinction or examination, admitted to the sacred function. In-somuch, that in the year 1560, an injunction was directed to the bishop of London from his metropolitan, requiring him to forbear ordaining any more artificers and other illiterate persons who exercised secular occupations^l. But as the evil was unavoidable, this caution took but little effect^k. About the year 1563, there were only two divines, and those of higher rank, the president of Magdalen college^l, and the dean of Christ Church, who were capable of preaching the public ser-

^l Strype's GRINDAL. B. i. ch. iv. b. 40.

^k Numerous illuminated artificers began early to preach and write in defence of the reformed religion. The first mechanic who left his lawful calling to vindicate the cause of the catholics, was one Miles Hoggard, a shoe-maker or hosier, of London; who, in the reign of queen Mary, wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Displaying of protestants, and sundry their practices, &c.* Lond. 1556. 12mo. This piece soon acquired importance, by being answered by Lawrence Humphrey, and other eminent reformers. He printed other pieces of the same tendency. He was likewise an English poet; and I am glad of this oppor-

tunity of mentioning him in that character, as I could not have ventured to give him a place in the series of our poetry. He wrote the *MIRROUR of LOVE*, Lond. 1555. 4to. Dedicated to queen Mary. Also the *PATHWAY to THE TOWRE of PERFECTION*. Lond. 1556. 4to. with some other pieces.

^l Doctor Lawrence Humphrey, mentioned in the last note. Of whom it will not be improper to observe further in this place, that about the year 1553, he wrote an *Epistola de Grecis literis et Homeri lectione et imitatione ad presidem et socios collegii Magdalene, Oxon.* In the *CORNUCOPIA* of Hadrian Junius, Basil. 1558. fol.

mons before the university of Oxford^m. I will mention one instance of the extreme ignorance of our inferiour clergy about the middle of the sixteenth century. In the year 1570, Horne, bishop of Winchester, enjoined the minor canons of his cathedral to get by memory, every week, one chapter of saint Paul's epistles in Latin : and this formidable task, almost beneath the abilities of an ordinary school-boy, was actually repeated by some of them, before the bishop, dean, and prebendaries, at a public episcopal visitation of that churchⁿ. It is well known that a set of homilies was published to supply their incapacity in composing sermons : but it should be remembered, that one reason for prescribing this authorised system of doctrine, was to prevent preachers from disturbing the peace of the church by disseminating their own novel and indigested opinions.

The taste for Latin composition in the reign of Elizabeth, notwithstanding it was fashionable both to write and speak in that language, was much worse than in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when juster models were studied, and when the novelty of classical literature excited a general emulation to imitate the Roman authors. The Latinity of Ascham's prose has little elegance. The versification and phraseology of Buchanan's Latin poetry are splendid and sonorous, but not marked with the chaste graces and simple ornaments of the Augustan age. One is surprised to find the learned archbishop Grindal, in the statutes of a school which he founded, and amply endowed, recommending such barbarous and degenerate classics as Palingenius, Sedulius, and Prudentius, to be taught in his new foundation^o. These, indeed, were the classics of a reforming bishop; but the well-meaning prelate would have contributed much more to the success of his intended reformation, by directing books of better taste and less piety. That classical literature, and the public instruction of youth, were now in the lowest state, we may collect from a provision in archbishop

^m Wood, ut supr. i. 285.

^o Strype's GRINDAL. B. ii. ch. xvii.

ⁿ Registr. Horne, Episc. Winton. fol. p. 312. This was in 1583.

Parker's foundation of three scholarships at Cambridge, in the year 1567. He orders that the scholars, who are appointed to be elected from three the most considerable schools in Kent and Norfolk, shall be "the *best and aptest* schollers, well instructed in the grammar, and, *if it may be*, such as *can make a verse* ^p." It became fashionable in this reign to study Greek at court. The maids of honour indulged their ideas of sentimental affection in the sublime contemplation of Plato's *Phaedo*: and the queen, who understood Greek better than the canons of Windsor, and was certainly a much greater pedant than her successor James the First, translated *Isocrates* ^q. But this passion for the Greek language soon ended where it began: nor do we find that it improved the national taste, or influenced the writings, of the age of Elizabeth.

All changes of rooted establishments, especially of a national religion, are attended with shocks and convulsions, unpropitious to the repose of science and study. But these unavoidable inconveniencies last not long. When the liberal genius of protestantism had perfected its work, and the first fanaticisms of well-meaning but misguided zealots had subsided, every species of useful and elegant knowledge recovered its strength, and arose with new vigour. Acquisitions, whether in theology or humanity, were no longer exclusively confined to the clergy: the laity eagerly embraced those pursuits from which they had long been unjustly restrained: and, soon after the reign of Elizabeth, men attained that state of general improvement, and those situations with respect to literature and life, in which they have ever since persevered.

But it remains to bring home, and to apply, this change in the sentiments of mankind, to our main subject. The customs, institutions, traditions, and religion, of the middle ages, were favorable to poetry. Their pageaunts, processions, spectacles, and ceremonies, were friendly to imagery, to personification and allegory. Ignorance and superstition, so opposite to the

^p Blomefield's *NORFOLK*, ii. 224. edit. 1589. And *EPISTOL.* lib. i. p. 19.

^q Ascham's *SCHOLEMASTER*, p. 19. b. ut *supr.*

real interests of human society, are the parents of imagination. The very devotion of the Gothic times was romantic. The catholic worship, besides that its numerous exterior appendages were of a picturesque and even of a poetical nature, disposed the mind to a state of deception, and encouraged, or rather authorised, every species of credulity: its visions, miracles, and legends, propagated a general propensity to the Marvellous, and strengthened the belief of spectres, demons, witches, and incantations. These illusions were heightened by churches of a wonderful mechanism, and constructed on such principles of inexplicable architecture as had a tendency to impress the soul with every false sensation of religious fear. The savage pomp and the capricious heroism of the baronial manners, were replete with incident, adventure, and enterprise: and the intractable genius of the feudal policy, held forth those irregularities of conduct, discordancies of interest, and dissimilarities of situation, that framed rich materials for the minstrel-muse. The tacit compact of fashion, which promotes civility by diffusing habits of uniformity, and therefore destroys peculiarities of character and situation, had not yet operated upon life: nor had domestic convenience abolished unwieldy magnificence. Literature, and a better sense of things, not only banished these barbarities, but superseded the mode of composition which was formed upon them. Romantic poetry gave way to the force of reason and inquiry; as its own enchanted palaces and gardens instantaneously vanished, when the christian champion displayed the shield of truth, and baffled the charm of the necromancer. The study of the classics, together with a colder magic and a tamer mythology, introduced method into composition: and the universal ambition of rivalling those new patterns of excellence, the faultless models of Greece and Rome, produced that bane of invention, IMITATION. Erudition was made to act upon genius. Fancy was weakened by reflection and philosophy. The fashion of treating every thing scientifically, applied speculation and theory to the arts of writing. Judgment was advanced above imagination, and rules of

criticism were established. The brave eccentricities of original genius, and the daring hardiness of native thought, were intimidated by metaphysical sentiments of perfection and refinement. Setting aside the consideration of the more solid advantages, which are obvious, and are not the distinct object of our contemplation at present, the lover of true poetry will ask, what have we gained by this revolution? It may be answered, much good sense, good taste, and good criticism. But, in the mean time, we have lost a set of manners, and a system of machinery, more suitable to the purposes of poetry, than those which have been adopted in their place. We have parted with extravagancies that are above propriety, with incredibilities that are more acceptable than truth, and with fictions that are more valuable than reality.

SECTION XXXVII.

OUR communications and intercourse with Italy, which began to prevail about the beginning of the sixteenth century, not only introduced the studies of classical literature into England, but gave a new turn to our vernacular poetry. At this period, Petrarch still continued the most favorite poet of the Italians; and had established a manner, which was universally adopted and imitated by his ingenious countrymen. In the mean time, the courts both of France and England were distinguished for their elegance. Francis the First had changed the state of letters in France, by mixing gallantry with learning, and by admitting the ladies to his court in company with the ecclesiastics*. His carousals were celebrated with a brilliancy and a festivity unknown to the ceremonious shews of former princes. Henry the Eighth vied with Francis in these gaieties. His ambition, which could not bear a rival even in diversions, was seconded by liberality of disposition and a love of ostentation. For Henry, with many boisterous qualities, was magnificent and affable. Had he never murdered his wives, his politeness to the fair sex would remain unimpeached. His martial sports were unincumbered by the barbaric pomp of the antient chivalry, and softened by the growing habits of more rational manners. He was attached to those spectacles and public amusements, in which beauty assumed a principal share; and his frequent masques and tournaments encouraged a high spirit of romantic courtesy. Poetry was the natural accompaniment of these refinements. Henry himself was a leader and a chief character in these pageantries, and at the same time a reader and a writer of verses. The language and the manners of Italy

* See *supra*, p. 239.

were esteemed and studied. The sonnets of Petrarch were the great models of composition. They entered into the genius of the fashionable manners: and in a court of such a complexion, Petrarch of course became the popular poet. Henry Howard earl Surrey, with a mistress perhaps as beautiful as Laura, and at least with Petrarch's passion if not his taste, led the way to great improvements in English poetry, by a happy imitation of Petrarch, and other Italian poets, who had been most successful in painting the anxieties of love with pathos and propriety.

Lord Surrey's life throws so much light on the character and subjects of his poetry, that it is almost impossible to consider the one, without exhibiting a few anecdotes of the other. He was the son and grandson of two lords treasurers dukes of Norfolk; and in his early childhood discovered the most promising marks of lively parts and an active mind.

While a boy, he was habituated to the modes of a court at Windsor-castle; where he resided, yet under the care of proper instructors, in the quality of a companion to Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, a natural son of king Henry the Eighth, and of the highest expectations.

This young nobleman, who also bore other titles and honours, was the child of Henry's affection; not so much on account of his hopeful abilities, as for a reason insinuated by lord Herbert, and at which those who know Henry's history and character will not be surprised, because he equally and strongly resembled both his father and mother.

A friendship of the closest kind commencing between these two illustrious youths, about the year 1530, they were both removed to Cardinal Wolsey's college at Oxford, then universally frequented, as well for the excellence as the novelty of its institution; for it was one of the first seminaries of an English university, that professed to explode the pedantries of the old barbarous philosophy, and to cultivate the graces of polite literature. Two years afterwards, for the purpose of acquiring every accomplishment of an elegant education, the earl accompanied

his noble friend and fellow-pupil into France, where they received king Henry, on his arrival at Calais to visit Francis the First, with a most magnificent retinue. The friendship of these two young noblemen was soon strengthened by a new tie; for Richmond married the lady Mary Howard, Surrey's sister. Richmond, however, appears to have died in the year 1536, about the age of seventeen, having never cohabited with his wife^b. It was long, before Surrey forgot the untimely loss of this amiable youth, the friend and associate of his childhood, and who nearly resembled himself in genius, refinement of manners, and liberal acquisitions.

THE FAIR GERALDINE, the general object of lord Surrey's passionate sonnets, is commonly said to have lived at Florence, and to have been of the family of the Geraldini of that city. This is a mistake, yet not entirely without grounds, propagated by an easy misapprehension of an expression in one of our poet's odes, and a passage in Drayton's heroic epistles. She was undoubtedly one of the daughters of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare. But it will be necessary to transcribe what our author himself has said of this celebrated lady. The history of one who caused so memorable and so poetical a passion naturally excites curiosity, and will justify an investigation, which, on many a similar occasion, would properly be censured as frivolous and impertinent.

From Tuscan came my ladies worthy race;
 Faire Florence was sometye her^c auncient seate:
 The westernne yle, whose pleasant shore doth face
 Wild Camber's cliffs, furst gave her lively heate:
 Fostred she was with milke of Irishe brest;
 Her sire an earle: her dame of princes blood:
 From tender yeres in Britain did she rest
 With a kinges child, who tasteth ghostly food.
 Honsdon did first present her to mine eyen:
 Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine she hight.
 Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine,
 And Windsor alas! doth chase me from her sight^d.

^b Wood, *ATH. OXON.* i. 68.

^c i. e. their.

^d Fol. 5. edit. 1557.

These notices, it must be confessed, are obscure and indirect. But a late elegant biographer* has, with the most happy sagacity, solved the difficulties of this little enigmatical ode, which had been before either neglected and unattempted as inexplicable, or rendered more unintelligible by false conjectures. I readily adopt Mr. Walpole's key to the genealogy of the matchless Geraldine^c.

Her poetical appellation is almost her real name. Gerald Fitzgerald, above mentioned, earl of Kildare in the reign of Henry the Eighth, married a second wife, Margaret daughter of Thomas Gray, marquis of Dorset: by whom he had three daughters, Margaret, Elisabeth, and Cicely. Margaret was born deaf and dumb; and a lady who could neither hear nor answer her lover, and who wanted the means of contributing to the most endearing reciprocations, can hardly be supposed to have been the cause of any vehement effusions of amorous panegyric. We may therefore safely pronounce Elisabeth or Cicely to have been Surrey's favorite. It was probably Elisabeth, as she seems always to have lived in England.

Every circumstance of the sonnet evidently coincides with this state of the case. But, to begin with the first line, it will naturally be asked, what was lady Elisabeth Gerald's connection with Tuscany? The beginnings of noble families, like those of nations, often owe somewhat to fictitious embellishment: and our genealogists uniformly assert, that the family of Fitzgerald derives its origin from Otho, a descendant of the dukes of Tuscany: that they migrated into England under the reign of king Alfred, whose annals are luckily too scanty to contradict such an account, and were from England speedily transplanted into Ireland. Her father was an Irish earl, resident at his earldom of Kildare; and she was consequently born and nursed in Ireland. Her mother, adds the sonnet, was of princely paren-

* [Horace Walpole, afterwards earl of Orford, whose ingenious fabric of hypothetical illustration has been levelled like that of Alnaschar by the awakening force of fact. See Life of Lord Surrey in the edit. of English Poets by

Mr. Alex. Chalmers, and Dr. Not's Memoirs before the works of Surrey and Wyatt.—PARK.]

^c CATAL. Roy. and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 105. edit. 1759.

tage. Here is a no less exact correspondence with the line of the lady's pedigree: for Thomas, marquis of Dorset, was son of queen Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the duchess of Bedford, descended from the royal house of Luxemburgh. The poet acquaints us, that he first saw her at Hunsdon. This notice, which seems of an indifferent nature and quite extraneous to the question, abundantly corroborates our conjecture. Hunsdon-house in Hertfordshire was a new palace built by Henry the Eighth, and chiefly for the purpose of educating his children. The lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was second cousin to Henry's daughters the princesses Mary and Elisabeth, who were both educated at Hunsdon^f. At this royal nursery she therefore *tasted of costly foode with kinges childe*, that is, lived while a girl with the young princesses her relations, as a companion in their education. At the same time, and on the same plan, our earl of Surrey resided at Windsor-castle, as I have already remarked, with the young duke of Richmond. It is natural to suppose, that he sometimes visited the princesses at Hunsdon, in company with the young duke their brother, where he must have also seen the fair Geraldine: yet by the nature of his situation at Windsor, which implied a degree of confinement, he was hindered from visiting her at Hunsdon so often as he wished. He therefore pathetically laments,

Windsor, alas, doth chase me from her sight!

But although the earl first beheld this lady at the palace of Hunsdon, yet, as we further learn from the sonnet, he was first struck with her incomparable beauty, and his passion commenced, at Hampton-court.

Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine!

That is, and perhaps on occasion of some splendid masque or carousal, when the lady Elisabeth Fitzgerald, with the princesses Mary and Elisabeth, and their brother Richmond, with the young lord Surrey, were invited by the king to Hampton-court.

^f Strype, ECCL. MEM. vol. i. APPEND. Numb. 71.

In the mean time we must remember, that the lord Leonard Gray, uncle to lord Gerald Fitzgerald, was deputy of Ireland for the young duke of Richmond: a connection, exclusive of all that has been said, which would alone account for Surrey's acquaintance at least with this lady. It is also a reason, to say no more, why the earl should have regarded her from the first with a particular attention, which afterwards grew into the most passionate attachment. She is supposed to have been Maid of honour to queen Catharine. But there are three of Henry's queens of that name. For obvious reasons, however, we may venture to say, that queen Catharine Howard was Geraldine's queen.

It is not precisely known at what period the earl of Surrey began his travels. They have the air of a romance. He made the tour of Europe in the true spirit of chivalry, and with the ideas of an Amadis; proclaiming the unparalleled charms of his mistress, and prepared to defend the cause of her beauty with the weapons of knight-errantry. Nor was this adventurous journey performed without the intervention of an enchanter. The first city in Italy which he proposed to visit was Florence, the capital of Tuscany, and the original seat of the ancestors of his Geraldine. In his way thither, he passed a few days at the emperor's court; where he became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, a celebrated adept in natural magic. This visionary philosopher shewed our hero, in a mirror of glass, a living image of Geraldine, reclining on a couch, sick, and reading one of his most tender sonnets by a waxen taper^s. His imagina-

^s Drayton, *HER. EPIC.*—HOWARD to GERALDINE, v. 57.

[Mr. Warton certainly seems to speak as though this visionary display of the fair Geraldine had been an actual exhibition; whereas it was the romantic invention of Tom Nash in his fanciful *Life of Jacke Wilton*, printed in 1594. Nash under the character of his hero professes to have travelled in company with Lord Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, as his page. On proceeding to the Emperor's court it was agreed be-

tween them to change names and characters, that the earl might take more liberty of behaviour; and becoming familiarly acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, "I, (says Nash,) because I was his suborned Lorde and Master, desired him to see the lively image of Geraldine, his love, in the glasse, and what at that instant she did and with whom she was talking. He showed her us without more ado, sicke, weeping on her bedde, and resolved all into devoute religion for the absence of her lorde.

tion, which wanted not the flattering representations and artificial incentives of illusion, was heated anew by this interesting and affecting spectacle. Inflamed with every enthusiasm of the most romantic passion, he hastened to Florence: and, on his arrival, immediately published a defiance against any person who could handle a lance and was in love, whether Christian, Jew, Turk, Saracen, or Canibal, who should presume to dispute the superiority of Geraldine's beauty*. As the lady was pretended to be of Tuscan extraction, the pride of the Florentines was flattered on this occasion: and the grand duke of Tuscany permitted a general and unmolested ingress into his dominions of the combatants of all countries, till this important trial should be decided. The challenge was accepted, and the earl victorious^b. The shield which he presented to the duke before the tournament began, is exhibited in Vertue's valuable plate of the Arundel family, and was actually in the possession of the late duke of Norfolk^c.

These heroic vanities did not, however, so totally engross the time which Surrey spent in Italy, as to alienate his mind from letters: he studied with the greatest success a critical knowledge of the Italian tongue, and, that he might give new lustre to the name of Geraldine, attained a just taste for the peculiar graces of the Italian poetry.

He was recalled to England for some idle reason by the king;

At the sight thereof he could in no wise
refrayne, though he had tooke upon him
the condition of a servant, but he must
forthwith frame an extemporal dittee."
This ditty Nash provided: it begins:

All soule, no earthly flesh, why dost
thou fade? PARK.]

* [Hooker thus alludes to this challenge in his "Amanda," &c. 1653.

Were Surrey travel'd now to Tuskanie
Off'ring to reach his gauntlet out for
thee;

If on the guilt tree in the list he set
Thy pretty, lovely, pretty counterfeit¹;

All planet-struck with those two stars,
thy eyne,
(Out-shining farre his heav'nly Geraldine)

There w^d no staffe be shiver'd—none
w^d dare

A beautie with Amanda's to compare.
p. 73. PARK.]

^b Wood, ubi supr.

^c Walpole, ANECD. PAINT. i. 76. [The shield is still preserved at Norfolk House. Dr. Nott, who rejects the story of the tournament as an idle fable, conceives the shield to have been a later acquisition of the Norfolk family.—EDIT.]

¹ i. e. picture.

much sooner than he expected: and he returned home, the most elegant traveller, the most polite lover, the most learned nobleman, and the most accomplished gentleman, of his age. Dexterity in tilting, and gracefulness in managing a horse under arms, were excellencies now viewed with a critical eye, and practised with a high degree of emulation. In 1540, at a tournament held in the presence of the court at Westminster, and in which the principal of the nobility were engaged, Surrey was distinguished above the rest for his address in the use and exercise of arms. But his martial skill was not solely displayed in the parade and ostentation of these domestic combats. In 1542, he marched into Scotland, as a chief commander in his father's army: and was conspicuous for his conduct and bravery at the memorable battle of Flodden-field, where James the Fourth of Scotland was killed*. The next year, we find the career of his victories impeded by an obstacle which no valour could resist. The censures of the church have humiliated the greatest heroes: and he was imprisoned in Windsor-castle for eating flesh in Lent. The prohibition had been renewed or strengthened by a recent proclamation of the king. I mention this circumstance, not only as it marks his character, impatient of any controul, and careless of very serious consequences which often arise from a contempt of petty formalities, but as it gave occasion to one of his most sentimental and pathetic sonnets^k. In 1544, he was field-marshal of the English army in the expedition to Bologne, which he took. In that age, love and arms constantly went together: and it was amid the fatigues of this protracted campaign, that he composed his last sonnet called the *FANSIE* of a *wearied Lover*^l.

But as Surrey's popularity increased, his interest declined with the king; whose caprices and jealousies grew more violent with his years and infirmities. The brilliancy of Surrey's character, his celebrity in the military science, his general abilities, his wit, learning, and affability, were viewed by Henry with

* [The battle of Flodden-field was fought in 1513.—*Edir.*]

^k Fol. 6. 7.

^l Fol. 18. See *Dugd. BARONAG.* ii. p. 275.

disgust and suspicion. It was in vain that he possessed every advantageous qualification, which could adorn the scholar, the courtier, and the soldier. In proportion as he was amiable in the eyes of the people, he became formidable to the king. His rising reputation was misconstrued into a dangerous ambition, and gave birth to accusations equally groundless and frivolous. He was suspected of a design to marry the princess Mary; and, by that alliance, of approaching to a possibility of wearing the crown. It was insinuated, that he conversed with foreigners, and held a correspondence with cardinal Pole.

The addition of the escocheon of Edward the Confessor to his own, although used by the family of Norfolk for many years, and justified by the authority of the heralds, was a sufficient foundation for an impeachment of high treason. These motives were privately aggravated by those prejudices, with which Henry remembered the misbehaviour of Catharine Howard, and which were extended to all that lady's relations. At length, the earl of Surrey fell a sacrifice to the peevish injustice of a merciless and ungrateful master. Notwithstanding his eloquent and masculine defence, which even in the cause of guilt itself would have proved a powerful persuasive, he was condemned by the prepared suffrage of a servile and obsequious jury, and beheaded on Tower-hill in the year 1547^m. In the mean time we should remember, that Surrey's public conduct was not on all occasions quite unexceptionable. In the affair of Bologne he had made a false step. This had offended the king. But Henry, when once offended, could never forgive. And when Hertford was sent into France to take the command, he could not refrain from dropping some reproachful expressions against a measure which seemed to impeach his personal courage. Conscious of his high birth and capacity, he was above the little attentions of caution and reserve; and he too frequently neglected to consult his own situation, and the king's temper. It was his

^m See Stowe, CHRON. p. 592. Chal-
lener, de REPUBL. ANGL. INSTAURAND.
lib. ii. p. 45.

[The earl's body was conveyed to

Framlingham in Suffolk, and a Latin
epitaph placed on his tomb, which dates
his immature decease in 1546. See Hist.
Anecd. of the Howards, p. 28.—PARK.]

misfortune to serve a monarch, whose resentments, which were easily provoked, could only be satisfied by the most severe revenge. Henry brought those men to the block, which other monarchs would have only disgraced.

Among these anecdotes of Surrey's life, I had almost forgot to mention what became of his amour with the fair Geraldine. We lament to find, that Surrey's devotion to this lady did not end in a wedding, and that all his gallantries and verses availed so little! No memoirs of that incurious age have informed us, whether her beauty was equalled by her cruelty; or whether her ambition prevailed so far over her gratitude, as to tempt her to prefer the solid glories of a more splendid title and ample fortune, to the challenges and the compliments of so magnanimous, so faithful, and so eloquent a lover. She appears, however, to have been afterwards the third wife of Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln. Such also is the power of time and accident over amorous vows, that even Surrey himself outlived the violence of his passion. He married Frances, daughter of John earl of Oxford, by whom he left several children. One of his daughters, Jane countess of Westmoreland, was among the learned ladies of that age, and became famous for her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages^a.

Surrey's poems were in high reputation with his cotemporaries, and for many years afterwards. He is thus characterised by the author of the old ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, whose opinion remained long as a rule of criticism. "In the latter end of the same kinges [Henry] raigne, spronge up a new company of courtly makers, of whom sir Thomas Wyat the elder and Henry earle of Surrey were the two CHIEFTAINES, who having travailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian poesie, as novices newly crept out of the schooles of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie from that it had bene before, and for that cause may justly be sayd the first reformers of our English meeter and

^a Dugd. BARON. i. 533. ii. 275.

stile^o." And again, towards the close of the same chapter: "Henry earle of Surrey, and sir Thomas Wyat, between whom I finde very little difference, I repute them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that have since employed their pennes upon English poesie: their conceits were loftie, their stiles stately, their conveyance cleanly, their termes proper, their meetre sweete and well-proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their maister Francis Petrarcha^p." I forbear to recite the testimonies of Leland, Sydney, Tuberville, Churchyard, and Drayton*. Nor have these pieces, although scarcely known at present, been without the panegyric of more recent times. Surrey is praised by Waller and Fenton; and he seems to have been a favorite with Pope. Pope, in WINDSOR-FOREST, having compared his patron lord Granville with Surrey, he was immediately reprinted, but without attracting many readers^q. It was vainly imagined, that all the world would eagerly wish to purchase the works of a neglected antient English poet, whom Pope had called *the GRANVILLE of a former age*. So rapid are the revolutions of our language, and such the uncertainty of literary fame, that Philips, Milton's nephew, who wrote about the year 1674, has remarked, that in his time Surrey's poetry was antiquated and totally forgotten^r.

Our author's SONGES AND SONNETTES, as they have been stiled, were first collected and printed at London by Tottell, in 1557^s. As it happens in collections of this kind, they are

^o Lib. i. ch. xxxi. p. 48. edit. 1589.

^p Ibid. p. 50.

^q [Other early testimonies were offered by Tusser, Harvey, Whitney, Googe, Peacham and R. Fletcher. I cite the first and last of these on account of the rarity of the books in which they occur.

Had your (P. Henry's) praise been
limn'd with learned pen

Of princely SURREY, once a poet sweet,
Sir Thomas Wyat, or like gentlemen,
They on this theame discoursers had
benee meet.

R. Fletcher's Nine English Worthies,
1606. 4to. p. 51.—PARK.]

What lookest thou here for to have?

Trim verses, thy fansie to please?

Of SURREY, so famous, that crave;

Looke nothing but rudeness in these.

Preface to A hundreth good Pointes
of Husbandry, edit. 1570.

^r By Sewell 1717. Reprinted by
Curl, ib.

^s THEATR. POETAR. p. 67. edit. 1674.
12mo.

^t In quarto. It is extraordinary, that
A. Wood should not have known this

of various merit. Surrey is said, by the ingenious author [editor] of the *MUSES LIBRARY*, to have been the first who broke through the fashion of stanzas, and wrote in the heroic couplet. But all Surrey's poems are in the alternate rhyme; nor, had this been true, is the other position to be granted. Chaucer's Prologues and most of the *Canterbury Tales* are written in long verse: nor was the use of the couplet resumed, till late in the reign of Elisabeth*.

In the sonnets of Surrey, we are surprised to find nothing of that metaphysical cast which marks the Italian poets, his supposed masters, especially Petrarch. Surrey's sentiments are for the most part natural and unaffected; arising from his own feelings, and dictated by the present circumstances†. His poetry is alike unembarrassed by learned allusions, or elaborate conceits. If our author copies Petrarch, it is Petrarch's better manner: when he descends from his Platonic abstractions, his refinements of passion, his exaggerated compliments, and his play upon opposite sentiments, into a track of tenderness, simplicity, and nature. Petrarch would have been a better poet had he been a worse scholar. Our author's mind was not too much overlaid by learning.

The following is the poem above mentioned, in which he

edition. Another edition appeared in 1565. Others, in 1574.—1585.—1587.—Others appeared afterwards.

[Dr. Nott has ascertained that there were two editions in 1557. Others not included by Mr. Warton appeared in 1567 and 1569. The reprint by Meares, published with Sewell's biography of Surrey, is one of the most slovenly and defective books that has appeared.—PARK.]

* [A passing tribute both to Chaucer and Surrey may here be noticed from a very rare miscellany published in 1578, and entitled "A Gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inventions."

If CHAUCER yet did lyve
Whose English tongue did passe
Who sucked dry Parnassus spring
And dranke the juice there was :

If Surrey had not scalde
The height of Jove his throne
Unto whose head a pillow soft
Became Mount Helicon
They with their Muses could
Not have pronounc the fame
Of D. faire dame, &c.—PARK.]

† [Dr. Henry observes that English poetry, till refined by Surrey, degenerated into metrical chronicles or tasteless allegories. *Hist. of Eng.* xii. 292. Dr. Anderson deems his love verses equal to the best in our language; while in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology, they approach so near the productions of the present age, as hardly to be believed they could have been produced in the reign of Henry VIII. *Brit. Poets.* i. 593.—PARK.]

laments his imprisonment in Windsor Castle. But it is rather an elegy than a sonnet.

So cruell prison, how could betyde, alas,
As proude Windsor^t! where I, in lust and joy^u,
Wyth a kynges sonne^w my childyshe years did passe,
In greater feastes than Priam's sonnes of Troye.

Where eche swete place returnes a taste full sower:
The large grene courtes where we were wont to hove^x,
Wyth eyes cast up into the mayden's tower^y,
And easy sighes, such as folke drawe in love:

The stately seates, the ladies bright of hewe,
The daunces shorte, long tales of great delight,
With wordes and lookes that tygers could but rewe^z;
Where ech of us dyd pleade the others right.

The palme-play^a, where, dispoyled for the game^b,
With dazed eyes^c oft we by gleames of love,

^t How could the stately castle of Windsor become so miserable a prison? [Rather: what prison could be so miserable as the stately castle of Windsor, &c.—EDRR.]

^w In unrestrained gaiety and pleasure.

^x With the young duke of Richmond.

^y To hover, to loiter in expectation. So Chaucer, *TROIL. CRESS.* B. 5. ver. 33.

But at the yate there she should outride
With certain folk he *hovid* her t' abide.

^y Swift's joke about the Maids of honour being lodged at Windsor in the round tower, in queen Anne's time, is too well known and too indelicate to be repeated here. But in the present instance, Surrey speaks loosely and poetically in making the MAIDEN-TOWER, the true reading, the residence of the women. The maiden-tower was common in other castles, and means the principal tower, of the greatest strength and defence. MAIDEN is a corruption of the old French *Magne*, or *Mayne*, great. Thus Maidenhead (properly *Maydenhithe*) in

Berkshire, signifies the *great* port or wharf on the river Thames. So also, *Mayden-Bradley* in Wiltshire is the *great Bradley*. The old Roman camp near Dorchester in Dorsetshire, a noble work, is called *Maiden castle*, the capital fortress in those parts. We have Maiden-down in Somersetshire with the same signification. A thousand other instances might be given. Hearne, not attending to this etymology, absurdly supposes, in one of his Prefaces, that a strong bastion in the old walls of the city of Oxford, called the MAIDEN-TOWER, was a prison for confining the prostitutes of the town. [*Mai Dun* are two ancient British words signifying a *great hill*. Thus the Maiden Castle (Edinburgh) is not *Castra Puellarum*, but a castle upon a high hill. Bradley (though Saxon) is comparatively a modern adjunct. See Baxter's Glossary, 109—163.—EDRRON.]

^z pity.

^a at ball.

^b rendered unfit, or unable, to play.

[Despoiled, is the *spogliato* of the Italian: stripped for the game.—NORR.]

^c dazzled eyes.

Have myst the ball, and got sight of our dame,
To bayte^d her eyes whych kept the leads above^e.

The gravell grounde^f, wyth sleeves tied on the helme^g,
On fomyng horse, with swordes and frendly hartes;
Wyth chere^h as though one should another whelmeⁱ,
Where we have fought and chased oft with dartes.—

The secret groves, which ofte we made resounde
Of pleasaunt playnt, and of our ladies prayse,
Recordingy ofte what grace^k eche one had found,
What hope of speede^l, what dreade of long delays.

The wylde forest, the clothed holtes with grene^m,
With raynes awayledⁿ, and swift ybreathed horse,
With crye of houndes, and merry blastes betwene
Where we did chase the fearful harte of force.

^d to tempt, to catch.

^e The ladies were ranged on the leads, or battlements, of the castle to see the play.

^f The ground, or area, was strown with gravel, where they were trained in chivalry.

^g At tournaments they fixed the sleeves of their mistresses on some part of their armour.

^h looks.

ⁱ destroy.

^k favour with his mistress.

^l or, success.

^m the holtes, or thick woods, clothed in green. So in another place he says, fol. 3.

My specked checks with Cupid's hue.

That is, "Cheeks speckled with," &c.

ⁿ With loosened reins. So, in his fourth Aeneid, the fleet is "ready to *avale*." That is, to *loosen* from shore. So again, in Spenser's FEBRUARIE:

They wont in the wind wagge their wriggle tayles

Pearke as a peacocke, but now it *AVAYLES*.

"*Avayle* their tayles," to drop or lower. So also in his DECEMBER:

By that the welked Phebus gan *AVAYLE*
His wearie waine.—

And in the Faerie Queene, with the true spelling, i. l. 21. Of Nilus.

But when his latter ebbe gins to *AVALE*.

To *VALE*, or *avale*, the *bonnet*, was a phrase for lowering the bonnet, or pulling off the hat. The word occurs in Chaucer, Tr. CRESS. iii. 627.

That such a raine from heaven gan
AVAYLE.

And in the fourth book of his *BOETHIUS*, "The light fire ariset into height, and the hevie yerthes *AVAYLEN* by their weightes." pag. 394. col. 2. edit. Urr. From the French verb *AVALER*, which is from their adverb *AVAL*, *downward*. See also Hearne's *GLOSS. ROB. BL.* p. 524. Drayton uses this word, where perhaps it is not properly understood. *ECL.* iv. p. 1404. edit. 1753.

With that, she gan to *VALE* her head,
Her cheeks were like the roses red,
But not a word she said, &c.

That is, she did not *veil*, or cover, but *valcd*, held down her head for shame.

The void vales^a eke, that harbourd us ech nyght,
 Wherewith, alas, reviveth in my brest
 The sweete accord! Such slepes as yet deliyght:
 The pleasant dreames, the quiet bed of rest.

The secret thoughtes imparted with such trust;
 The wanton talke, the dyvers change of playe;
 The friendship sworne, eche promise kept so just,
 Wherewith we past the winter nightes away.

And wyth this thought the bloud forsakes the face;
 The teares beraine my chekes of deadly hewe,
 The whych as soone as sobbyng sighes, alas,
 Upsupped* have, thus I my plaint renewe!

"O place of blisse, renewer of my woes!
 Give me accompt, where is my noble fere^o,
 Whom in thy walles thou doest^p eche night enclose,
 To other leefe^q, but unto me most dere!"

Eccho, alas, that doth my sorrow rewe^r,
 Returns therto a hollow sounde of playnt.
 Thus I alone, where all my freedom grewe,
 In pryson pine, with bondage and restraint.
 And with remembrance of the greater greefe
 To banish th' lesse, I finde my chief releefe.^s

In the poet's situation, nothing can be more natural and striking than the reflection with which he opens his complaint.

^a Probably the true reading is *wales* or *walls*. That is, lodgings, apartments, &c. These poems were very corruptly printed by Tottel. [The printed copy reads "wide vales." Dr. Nott has obtained the reading of the text from the Harrington MS., and illustrates it by observing: In Surrey's time, not only in noblemen's houses, but in royal palaces when the court was not resident, it was usual to take down all the tapestry and hangings. But why is *wales* suffered to stand when the same poem supplies us with the genuine orthography of Surrey?

"Whom in thy *walles* thou doest eche night enclose."—EDR.]

* [How can sighs sup up tears? Tears, which are sometimes represented as scalding hot, might dry, though not sup up.—AASHV.]

^o companion.
^p we should read, *didst*. [The edition of 1574 reads "eche stone alas!" which Dr. Nott, with great probability, conceives to be the genuine text.—EDR.]

^q dear to others, to all.

^r pity.

^s Fol. 6. 7.



There is also much beauty in the abruptness of his exordial exclamation. The superb palace, where he had passed the most pleasing days of his youth with the son of a king, was now converted into a tedious and solitary prison! This unexpected vicissitude of fortune awakens a new and interesting train of thought. The comparison of his past and present circumstances recalls their juvenile sports and amusements; which were more to be regretted, as young Richmond was now dead. Having described some of these with great elegance, he recurs to his first idea by a beautiful apostrophe. He appeals to the place of his confinement, once the source of his highest pleasures: "O place of bliss, renewer of my woes! And where is now my noble friend, my companion in these delights, who was once your inhabitant! Echo alone either pities or answers my question, and returns a plaintive hollow sound!" He closes his complaint with an affecting and pathetic sentiment, much in the style of Retrarch. "To banish the miseries of my present distress, I am forced on the wretched expedient of remembering a greater!" This is the consolation of a warm fancy. It is the philosophy of poetry.

Some of the following stanzas, on a lover who presumed to compare his lady with the divine Geraldine, have almost the ease and gallantry of Waller. The leading compliment, which has been used by later writers, is in the spirit of an Italian fiction. It is very ingenious, and handled with a high degree of elegance.

Give place, ye Lovers, here before
 That spent your bostes and bragges in vaine:
 My Ladie's beauty passeth more
 The best of yours, I dare wel sayne,
 Than doth the sunne the candle lyght,
 Or bryghtest day the darkest nyght.
 And therto hath a troth as just
 As had Penelope the faire:
 For what she sayth, ye may it trust,
 As it by wryting sealed were:

And vertues hath she many moe
Than I with pen have skill to shoue.

I could rehearse, if that I would,
The whole effect of NATURE's plaint,
When she had lost the perfite mould,
The lyke to whom she could not paint.
With wringyng handes how she did cry!
And what she said, I know it, I.

I knowe, she swore with raging mynde,
Her kingdome only set apart,
There was no losse, by law of kynde,
That could have gone so nere her hart:
And this was chiefly all her payne
She could not make the like agayne.[†]—

The versification of these stanzas is correct, the language polished, and the modulation musical. The following stanza, of another ode, will hardly be believed to have been produced in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Spite drave me into Boreas' raigne[‡],
Where hory frostes the frutes do bite;
When hilles were spred and every plaine
With stormy winter's mantle white.[¶]

In an Elegy on the elder sir Thomas Wyat's death, his character is delineated in the following nervous and manly quatraines.

A visage, sterne and milde; where both did growe,
Vice to contemne, in vertue to rejoyce;
Amid great stormes, whom grace assured so,
To live upright, and smile at fortune's choyce.—
A tounge that serv'd in forein realmes his king,
Whose courteous talke to vertue did enflame
Eche noble harte; a worthy guide to bring
Our English youth by travail unto fame:

† Fol. 10.

‡ Her anger drove me into a colder climate.

¶ Fol. 13.

An eye, whose judgment none affect^x could blind,
 Friendes to allure, and foes to reconcytle:
 Whose persing^y looke-did represent a mynde
 With vertue fraught, reposed, voyde of gile.
 A hart, where dreade was never so imprest
 To hide the thought that might the troth avance;
 In neither fortune lost, nor yet represt,
 To swell in welth, or yeld unto mischance.^z——

The following lines on the same subject are remarkable.

Divers thy death do diversly bemone:
 Some that in presence of thy livelyhede
 Lurked, whose brestes envy with hate had swolne,
 Yeld Cesar's teares upon Pompeius' head.^a

There is great dignity and propriety in the following Sonnet on Wyatt's PSALMS.

The great Macedon, that out of Persie chased
 Darius, of whose huge power all Asia rong,
 In the riche ark^b Dan Homer's rimes he placed,
 Who fained gestes of heathen princes song.
 What holy grave, what worthy sepulchre^c,
 To Wiattes Psalmes should Christians then purchàse?
 Where he doth paint the lyvely faith and pure;
 The stedfast hope, the sweete returne to grace
 Of just David by perfite penitence.
 Where rulers may see in a mirrour clere
 The bitter frute of false concupiscence:
 How Jewry bought Uria's deth ful dere.
 In princes hartes God's scourge imprinted depe
 Ought them awake out of their sinful slepe.^d

Probably the last lines may contain an oblique allusion to some of the king's amours.

Some passages in his *Description of the restlesse state of a Lover*, are pictures of the heart, and touched with delicacy.

^x passion.
^a Fol. 17:

^y piercing.
^b Fol. 16.

^b chest.
^d Fol. 16.

^c repository.

I wish for night, more covertly to plaine,
And me withdraw from every haunted place;
Lest by my chere^c my chaunce appeare too plaine.

And in my minde I measure, pace by pace,
To seke the place where I myself had lost,
That day, when I was tangled in the lace,
In seming slack that knitteth ever most.——

Lo, if I seke, how I do finde my sore!
And if I flee, I carry with me still
The venom'd shaft, which doth its force restore
By haste of flight. And I may plaine my fill
Unto myself, unlesse this carefull song
Print in your hart some parcel of my tene^f.
For I, alas, in silence all too long,
Of mine old hurt yet fele the wound but grene.^g

Surrey's talents, which are commonly supposed to have been confined to sentiment and amorous lamentation, were adapted to descriptive poetry and the representations of rural imagery. A writer only that viewed the beauties of nature with poetic eyes, could have selected the vernal objects which compose the following exquisite ode.^h

The soote season, that bud and blome forth brings,
With grene hath clad the hill, and eke the vale;
The nightingale with fethers new she sings;
The turtle to her mate hath tolde her tale:
Somer is come, for every spray now springs.
The hart hath hong his old hed on the pale*:
The buck in brake his winter coate he flings:
The fishes flete with new repayred scale;
The adder all her slough away she slings:

^c behaviour, looks.

^e Fol. 2.

^f sorrow.

^h Fol. 2.

* [The following lines from Turberville's poems, 1567, denote a close attention to Surrey.

Since snakes do cast their shrivelled
skinnes

And bucks bange up their heads on pale;

Since friking fishes lose their finnes
And glide with new repaired scale;
Then I of ferce, with greedie eie
Must hope to finde to ease my smart,
Since eche annoy in spring doth die,
And cares to comfort doe convart.

f. 110.—PARR.]



The swift swallow pursueth the flies smale:
 The busy bee her hony now she mings.
 Winter is worne that was the flowers bale^l.

I do not recollect a more faithful and finished version of Martial's HAPPY LIFE than the following.

MARTIAL, the things that do attain
 The happy life, be these I finde.
 The richesse left, not got with pain,
 The frutefull ground, the quiet minde.
 The eqall frend, no grudge, no strife,
 No charge of rule, nor governance;
 Without disease, the healthful life:
 The houshold of continuance.
 The meane diet^k, no delicate fare,
 Trewe wisdom joynde with simplenesse:
 The night discharged of all care,
 Where wine the wit may not oppresse.
 The faithful wife without debate,
 Such slepes as may begile the night:
 Contented with thine own estate,
 Ne wish for death, ne feare his might.^l

But Surrey was not merely the poet of idleness and gallantry. He was fitted, both from nature and study, for the more solid and laborious parts of literature. He translated the second and fourth books of Virgil into blank verse^m: and it seems probable, that his active situations of life prevented him from completing a design of translating the whole Eneid.

This is the first composition in blank verse, extant in the English language. Nor has it merely the relative and accidental merit of being a curiosity. It is executed with great fidelity, yet not with a prosaic servility. The diction is often poetical, and the versification varied with proper pauses. This is the description of Dido and Eneas going to the field, in the fourth book.

^l destruction.

^l Fol. 16.

^k moderate.

^m They were first printed [by Tottel] in 1557. 4to.

— At the threshold of her chamber-dore,
 The Carthage lords did on the Queene attend:
 The trampling steede, with gold and purple trapt,
 Chawing the fume bit there fiercely stood.
 Then issued she, awayted with great train,
 Clad in a cloke of Tyre embradred riche.
 Her quyver hung behinde her back, her tresse
 Knotted in gold, her purple vesture eke
 Butned with gold. The Troyans of her train
 Before her go, with gladsom Iulus.
 Aeneas eke, the goodliest of the route,
 Makes one of them, and joyneth close the throng.
 Like when Apollo leaveth Lycia,
 His wintring place, and Xanthus' flood likewise,
 To viset Delos, his mother's mansion,
 Repairing eft and furnishing her quire:
 The Candians, and folkes of Driopes,
 With painted Agathysies, shoute and crye,
 Environing the altars round about;
 When that he walks upon mount Cynthus' top,
 His sparkled tresse repress with garlandes soft
 Of tender leaves, and trussed up in gold:
 His quivering^a dartes clattering behind his back.
 So fresh and lustie did Aeneas seme.—
 But to the hils and wilde holtes when they came,
 From the rocks top the driven savage rose.
 Loe from the hill above, on thother side,
 Through the wyde lawnds they gan to take their course.
 The harts likewise, in troupes taking their flight,
 Raising the dust, the mountain-fast forsake.
 The childe Iulus, blithe of his swift steede^p
 Amids the plain, now pricks by them, now these;
 And to encounter, wisheth oft in minde,
 The foming bore, in steede of ferefull beasts,
 Or lion brown, might from the hill descend.

^a Perhaps the true reading is, instead
 of *quivering*, "quiver and darts."

^p So Milton in *Comus*, v. 59.
 —Frolick of his full-grown age.

The first stages of Dido's passion, with its effects on the rising city, are thus rendered.

— And when they were all gone,
 And the dimme moone doth eft withold the light;
 And sliding^a starres provoked unto sleepe:
 Alone she mournes within her palace voide,
 And sits her down on her forsaken bed:
 And absent him she heares, when he is gone,
 And seeth eke. Oft in her lappe she holdes
 Ascanius, trapt by his father's forme.
 So to begile the love cannot be told^r!
 The turrettes now arise not, erst begonne:
 Neither the youth weldes armes, nor they avauce
 The portes, nor other mete defence for warr.
 Broken there hang the workes, and mighty frames
 Of walles high raised, threatening the skie.

The introduction of the wooden horse into Troy, in the same book, is thus described.

We cleft the walles, and closures of the towne,
 Whereto all helpe: and underset the feet
 With sliding rolles, and bound his neck with ropes.
 This fatall gin thus overclambe our walles,
 Stuft with armd men: about the which there ran
 Children and maides^s, that holy carolles sang.
 And well were they whoes hands might touch the cordes!
 With thretning chere, thus slided through our town
 The subtil tree, to Pallas temple-ward.
 O native land, Ilion, and of the goddes
 The mansion place! O warlik walles of Troy!
 Fowr times it stopt in thentrie of our gate,
 Fowr times the harnesse^t clattred in the womb.

^a falling.

^r which cannot, &c.

^s That is, Boys and girls, *pueri innuptaque puella*. Antiently *Child* (or *Children*) was restrained to the young of the male sex. Thus, above, we have, "the *Child Iuhus*," in the original *Puer Ascanius*. So the *Children* of the chapel, signifies the *Boys* of the king's chapel.

And in the royal kitchen, the *Children*, i. e. the *Boys* of the Scullery. In the western counties, to this day, *Maid* simply and distinctly means *Girl*: as, "I have got a *Boy* and a *Maid*."—"My wife is brought to bed of a *Maid*," &c. &c.

^t arms, armour.

The shade of Hector, in the same book, thus appears.

Ah me! What one? That Hector how unlike,
 Which erst returnd, clad with Achilles spoiles!
 Or when he threw into the Grekish shippes
 The Trojan flame! So was his beard defiled,
 His crisped lockes al clusted with his blood:
 With all such wounds as many he received,
 About the walls of that his native town!
 Whome franckly thus, methought, I spake unto,
 With bitter teres, and dolefull deadly voice.
 "O Troyan light! O only hope of thine!
 What lettes so long thee staid? Or from what costes,
 Our most desired Hector, doest thou come?
 Whom, after slaughter of thy many friends,
 And travail of the people, and thy towne,
 Alweried, (lord!) how gladly we behold!
 What sory chaunce hath staind thy lively face?
 Or why see I these woundes, alas so wide!"
 He answerd nought, nor in my vain demaundes
 Abode: but from the bottom of his brest
 Sighing he sayd: "Flee, flee, O goddesse son!
 "And save thee from the furie of this flame!"

This was a noble attempt to break the bondage of rhyme. But blank verse was now growing fashionable in the Italian poetry, the school of Surrey. Felice Figlinei, a Sanese*, and Surrey's cotemporary, in his admirable Italian commentary on the ETHICS of Aristotle, entitled *FILOSOFIA MORALE SOPRA IL LIBRI D'ETHICA D'ARISTOTILE*, declaims against the barbarity of rhyme, and strongly recommends a total rejection of this Gothic ornament to his countrymen. He enforces his precept by his own example; and translates all Aristotle's quotations from Homer and Euripides into verse without rhyme. Gonsalvo Perez, the learned secretary to Philip of Spain, had also recently translated Homer's *Odyssey* into Spanish blank-verse.

* [Or Sianese; a native of Sienna in Tuscany.—ASHBY.]

How much the excellent Roger Ascham approved of Surrey's disuse of rhyme in this translation from Virgil, appears from the following passage in his *SCHOLEMASTER*, written about the year 1564^u. "The noble lord Thomas earle of Surrey, FIRST OF ALL ENGLISHMEN, in translating the fourth [and second] booke of Virgill: and Gonsalvo Perez, that excellent learned man, and secretarie to king Philip of Spayne^w, in translating the *ULYSSES* of Homer out of Greeke into Spanish, have both by good judgement avoyded the *FAULT OF RYMING*.—The spying of this fault now is not the curiositie of English eyes, but even the good judgement also of the best that write in these dayes in Italie.—And you, that be able to understand no more than ye find in the Italian tong: and never went further than the schoole of *PETRARCH* and *ARIOSTO* abroad, or else of *CHAUCER* at home, though you have pleasure to wander blindlie still in your foule wronge way, envie not others, that seeke, as wise men have done before them, the *FAYREST* and *RYGHEST* way.—And therefore, even as Virgill and Horace deserve most worthie prayse, that they, spying the unperfitnes in Ennius and Plautus, by trewe imitation of Homer and Euripides, brought poetrie to the same perfectnes in Latin as it was in Greeke, even so those, that by the same way would *BENEFIT THEIR TONG* and country, deserve rather thankes than dispraise^x."

The revival of the Greek and Roman poets in Italy, excited all the learned men of that country to copy the Roman versifi-

^u I know of no English critic besides, who has mentioned Surrey's Virgil, except Bolton, a great reader of old English books. *HYPERCRIT*, p. 237. Oxon. 1772.

[Meres had spoken of it with commendation before Bolton; but his words are nearly a repetition of those uttered by Ascham. See *Wits Treasury*, 1598. An anonymous writer, in 1644, thus introduced Surrey with several of his successors in vindication of the English as a poetic language. "There is no sort of verse, either ancient or modern, which we are not able to equal by imitation. We have our *English Virgil*, Ovid, Se-

neca, Lucan, Juvenal, Martial and Catullus; in the *Earl of Surry*, Daniel, Jonson, Spencer, Don, Shakespear, and the glory of the rest, Sandys and Sydney." *Vindex Anglicus*.—*PARK*.]

^w Among Ascham's *Epistles*, there is one to Perez, inscribed *Clarissimo viro D. Gonsalvo Perisio Regis Catholici Secretario primario et Consiliario intimo, Amico meo carissimo*. In which Ascham recommends the ambassador sir William Cecil to his acquaintance and friendship. *EPISTOL. LIB. UN.* p. 228. b. edit. Lond. 1581.

^x B. ii. p. 54. b. 55. a. edit. 1589. 4to.

cation, and consequently banished the old Leonine Latin verse. The same classical idea operated in some degree on the vernacular poetry of Italy. In the year 1528*, Trissino published his *ITALIA LIBERATA DI GOTI*, or *ITALY DELIVERED FROM THE GOTHS*, an heroic poem, professedly written in imitation of the *Iliad*, without either rhyme, or the usual machineries of the Gothic romance. Trissino's design was to destroy the *TERZA RIMA* of Dante. We do not, however, find, whether it be from the facility with which the Italian tongue falls into rhyme, or that the best and established Italian poets wrote in the stanza, that these efforts to restore blank-verse produced any lasting effects in the progress of the Italian poetry. It is very probable, that this specimen of the *Eneid* in blank-verse by Surrey, led the way to Abraham Fleming's blank-verse translation of Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, although done in Alexandrines, published in the year 1589^v.

Lord Surrey wrote many other English poems which were never published, and are now perhaps entirely lost. He translated the *ECCLESIASTES* of Solomon into English verse. This piece is cited in the Preface to the Translation of the *Psalms* †, printed at London in [about] 1567. He also translated a few of the *Psalms* into metre. These versions of Scripture shew that he was a friend to the reformation. Among his works are also recited, a Poem on his friend the young duke of Richmond, an Exhortation to the citizens of London, a Translation of Boccace's Epistle to Pinus, and a sett of Latin epistles ‡. Aubrey has preserved a poetical Epitaph, written by Surrey on sir Thomas Clere, his faithful retainer and constant attendant, which was once in Lambeth-church^z; and which, for its affection and elegance, deserves to be printed among the earl's poems. I will quote a few lines.

* [Dr. Nott conceives Surrey could not have seen this poem, as it was not printed till after his death.—EDR.]

^v London, 4to.

† [Ascribed hereafter to archbishop Parker.—PARK.]

‡ [The book of Epistles and the translation of Boccace's Epistle to Pinus have not hitherto been discovered.—DR. NOTT.]

^z See Aubrey's *SURREY*, V. 247.

Shelton for love, Surrey for lord thee chase^a :
 (Aye me, while life did last that league was tender !)
 Tracing whose steps, thou sawest Kelsall blase,
 Laundersey burnt, and batterd Bulleyn's render^a :
 At Mortrell gates^b, hopeless of all recure,
 Thine earle halfe dead gave in thy hand his Will ;
 Which cause did thee this pining death procure,
 Ere summers foure tymes seven thou couldst fulfill.
 Ah, Clerc ! if love had booted care or cost,
 Heaven had not wonne, nor earth so timely lost^c !

John Clerc, who travelled into Italy with Pace, an eminent linguist of those times, and secretary to Thomas duke of Norfolk father of lord Surrey, in a dedication to the latter, prefixed to his *TRETISE OF NOBILITIE* printed at London in 1543^d, has mentioned, with the highest commendations, many translations done by Surrey, from the Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages. But these it is probable were nothing more than juvenile exercises.

Surrey, for his justness of thought, correctness of style, and purity of expression, may justly be pronounced the first English classical poet. He unquestionably is the first polite writer of love-verses in our language. It must, however, be allowed, that there is a striking native beauty in some of our love-verses written much earlier than Surrey's. But in the most savage ages and countries, rude nature has taught elegance to the lover.

^a chose.

^a surrender.

^c He died in 1545. See Stowe's

^b Towns taken by lord Surrey in the Bologne expedition, [except Kelsal, which was burnt during the incursion into Scotland.—Norr.]

СЯРОН. p. 586. 588. edit. 1615.

^d Lond. 12mo. A translation from the French.

SECTION XXXVIII.

WITH Surrey's Poems, Tottel has joined, in his editions of 1557 and 1565, the SONGES and SONNETTES of sir Thomas Wyat the elder^a, and of Uncertain Auctours.

Wyat was of Allington-castle in Kent, which he magnificently repaired, and educated in both our universities. But his chief and most splendid accomplishments were derived from his travels into various parts of Europe, which he frequently visited in the quality of an envoy. He was endeared to king Henry the Eighth, who did not always act from caprice, for his fidelity and success in the execution of public business, his skill in arms, literature, familiarity with languages, and lively conversation. Wood, who degrades every thing by poverty of style and improper representation, says, that "the king was in a high manner delighted with his *witty jests*^b." It is not perhaps improbable, that Henry was as much pleased with his repartees as his politics. He is reported to have occasioned the reformation by a joke, and to have planned the fall of cardinal Wolsey by a seasonable story^c. But he had almost lost his popularity, either from an intimacy with queen Anne Boleyn, which was called a connection, or the gloomy cabals of bishop Bonner, who could not bear his political superiority. Yet his prudence and integrity, no less than the powers of his oratory, justified his innocence. He laments his severe and unjust imprison-

^a Wyat's begin at fol. 19.

^b ATH. OXON. i. 51.

[In Sloane MS. 1523, some maxims and sayings of sir T. Wyat are preserved. A letter occurs in the Harleian MSS. Ascham in his "discourse of the state of Germanie," has the following tributary remark. "A knight of England

of worthy memorie for wit, learning and experience, old syr Thomas Wiat, wrote to his sonne that the greatest mischief amongst men, and least punished, is unkyndnes."—PARK.]

^c See MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES. Numb. ii. pag. 16. Printed at Strawberry-hill, 1772. 4to.

ment on that trying occasion, in a sonnet addressed to sir Francis Bryan: insinuating his sollicitude, that although the wound would be healed, the scar would remain, and that to be acquitted of the accusation would avail but little, while the thoughts of having been accused were still fresh in remembrance^d. It is a common mistake, that he died abroad of the plague in an embassy to Charles the Fifth. Being sent to conduct that emperor's ambassador from Falmouth to London, from too eager and a needless desire of executing his commission with dispatch and punctuality, he caught a fever by riding in a hot day, and in his return died on the road at Shirburn, where he was buried in the great conventual church, in the year 1541. The next year, Leland published a book of Latin verses on his death, with a wooden print of his head prefixed, probably done by Holbein^e. It will be superfluous to transcribe the panegyrics of his cotemporaries, after the encomium of lord Surrey, in which his amiable character owes more to truth, than to the graces of poetry, or to the flattery of friendship*.

We must agree with a critic above quoted, that Wyatt cooperated with Surrey, in having corrected the roughness of our poetic style. But Wyatt, although sufficiently distinguished from the common versifiers of his age, is confessedly inferior to Surrey in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology†. Nor is he equal to Surrey in elegance of sentiment, in nature and sensibility. His feelings are disguised by affectation, and obscured by conceit. His declarations of passion are embarrassed by wit and fancy; and his style is not intelligible, in proportion as it is careless and unadorned. His compliments, like the modes of behaviour in

^d Fol. 44.

^e *NEMINE in mortem T. Viati*, Lond. 1542. 4to. See also Leland's *ENCOM.* p. 358.

* [The following epitaph from Leland, as it is short and the book very scarce, may here be appended:

Urna tenet cineres ter magni parva Viati;
Fama per immensas sed volat alta
plagas. PARK.]

† [Mr. Headley, a very able critic, was of opinion that Sir T. Wyatt deserves equally of posterity with Surrey, for the diligence with which he cultivated polite letters, although in his verses he seems to have wanted the judgement of his friend, who in imitating Petrarch resisted the contagion of his sweets.—PARK.]

that age, are ceremonious and strained. He has too much art as a lover, and too little as a poet. His gallantries are laboured, and his versification negligent. The truth is, his genius was of the moral and didactic species: and his poems abound more in good sense, satire, and observations on life, than in pathos or imagination. Yet there is a degree of lyric sweetness in the following lines to his lute*, in which, *The lover complaineth the unkindness of his love.*

My Lute awake, performe the last
Labour, that thou and I shall wast;
And end that I have now begonne:
And when this song is sung and past,
My lute be still, for I have done.

As to be heard where care is none,
As leade to grave in marble stone;
My song, may pearse her hart as sone.
Should we then sigh, or sing, or mone?
No, no, my lute, for I have done.

The rockes do not so cruelly
Repulse the waves continually,
As she my sute and affection:
So that I am past remedy.
Wherby^f my lute and I have done.

Proude of the spoile that thou has gotte
Of simple hartes, through Loves shot,
By whom unkind! thou hast them wonne;
Thinke not he hath his bow forgot,
Although my lute and I have done.

Vengeance shall fall on thy disdaine,
That makest but game on earnest paine:

* [This harmonious and elegant poem, in one of the Harrington MSS. dated 1564, is ascribed to viscount Rochford, for an account of whom, see the following section. Mr. Ashby remarks that it is almost a translation from Horace.

Dr. Nott conceives it does not belong to Lord Rochford, but to Sir Thomas Wyatt. See his edition of Surrey, &c. —PARK.]

^f wherefore.

Thinke not alone under the sunne
Unquit^e to cause thy lovers plaine:
Although my lute and I have done.

May chauce thee^h lie withered and olde
In winter nightes that are so colde,
Plaining in vaine unto the mone^l:
Thy wishes then dare not be tolde:
Care then who list, for I have done.

And then may chauce thee to repent
The time that thou hast lost and spent,
To cause thy lovers sigh and swowne;
Then shalt thou know beautie but lent,
And wish and want as I have done.

Now cease my lute, this is the last
Labour, that thou and I shall wast;
And ended is that that we begonne.
Now is this song both sung and past,
My lute be still, for I have done.^k

Our author has more imitations, and even translations, from the Italian poets than Surrey: and he seems to have been more fond of their conceits*. Petrarch has described the perplexities of a lover's mind, and his struggles betwixt hope and despair, a subject most fertile of sentimental complaint, by a combination of contrarieties, a species of wit highly relished by the Italians. I am, says he, neither at peace nor war. I burn, and I freeze. I soar to heaven, and yet grovel on the earth. I can hold nothing, and yet grasp every thing. My prison is neither shut, nor is it opened. I see without eyes, and I complain without a voice. I laugh, and I weep. I live, and am dead. Laura, to what a condition am I reduced, by your cruelty!

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra;

E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son en un ghiaccio:

^e unacquitted, free.

^h It may chance you may, &c.
^l moon.

^k Fol. 93.

* [These conceits found a later imitator in Cowley.—Asper.]

E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra :
 E nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abraiccio.
 Tal m'ha in prigion, che non m'apre nè serra¹ ;
 Nè per suo mi rittien, ne scioglie il laccio ;
 E non m'uccide Amor, e non mi sferra ;
 Nì mi vuol vivo, nì mi trae d'impaccio.
 Veggio senz' occhi, e non ho lingua, e grido ;
 E bramo di perir, e cheggio aita ;
 Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui :
 Pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido.
 Egualmente mi spiace morte, e vita :
 In questo stato son, Donna, per vui.^m

Wyat has thus copied this sonnet of epigrams.

I finde no peace, and all my warre is done :
 I feare and hope, I burne and frese likewise :
 I flye aloft, yet can I not aryse ;
 And nought I have, yet all the world I season ;

¹ This passage is taken from Messen Jordi, a Provençal poet of Valencia.

[Mossen, not Messen, Jorge de Sant Jorde (not a Provençal but a Limosin poet, whether of Valencia or Catalonia does not appear), was posterior to Petrarch by almost a couple of centuries. See Sarmiento, § 365. 508. RITSON. MS. note. I am pretty well satisfied, he adds, that no such person as Messen Jordi ever existed, Obs. p. 30. By the late masterly poet and elegant scholar, Thomas Russell, fellow of New Coll. Oxon. the self-satisfaction here expressed by Ritson was left on a shallow basis. That Mossen (*Anglicè* m?) Jordi had more than a poetical existence, is fully ascertained by Velasquez in his "Orígenes de la Poesía Castellana," 1754: the German translator of which work, in 1769, tells us, that "Jordi signifies George, his family name not being known:" but Gaspar Escolano in Historia de Valencia identifies him by saying, "that he composed sonnets &c. in the Valencian Lemosine language with great applause, and that Petrarch has taken much from him." Mr. Russell

further observed, that Beuter in his Chronicle was the first who asserted that Jordi lived as early as the year 1250, and that he was imitated by Petrarch in the passage cited in the text: "while the marquis de Santillana, who died in 1458, countenanced a different hypothesis, by making Jorden contemporary with himself, according to Sarmiento in his "Memorias para la Poesía;" and if this authority be allowed, Jordi must have imitated Petrarch instead of being copied by him. But in either case the existence of Mossen Jordi is equally proved; as also the resemblance of the passages, whichever of the two we suppose to have been the original. Camoens also took the hint of a similar epigrammatic sonnet, which is appended to Mr. Russell's able vindication of our poetical historian in the Gent. Mag. for Dec. 1782.—PARK.]

^m Sonn. ciii. There is a Sonnet in imitation of this, among those of the UNCERTAIN AUCTIONEER at the end of Surrey's Poems, fol. 107. And in Davison's POEMS, B. ii. CANZON. viii. p. 108. 4th edit. Lond. 1621. 12mo.

That lockes^a nor loeeth, [nor] holdeth me in prison.
 And holdes me not, yet can I scape no wise;
 Nor lettes me live, nor dye, at my devise,
 And yet of death it giveth me occasion.
 Without eye I se, without tong I playne:
 I wish to perish, yet I aske for helth;
 I love another, and I hate myselfe;
 I fede me in sorow, and laugh in all my paine.
 Lo thus displeaseth me both death and life,
 And my delight is causer of this strife.^o

It was from the capricious and over-strained invention of the Italian poets, that Wyat was taught to torture the passion of love by prolix and intricate comparisons, and unnatural allusions. At one time his love is a galley steered by cruelty through stormy seas and dangerous rocks; the sails torn by the blast of tempestuous sighs, and the cordage consumed by incessant showers of tears: a cloud of grief envelops the stars, reason is drowned, and the haven is at a distance^p. At another^q, it is a spring trickling from the summit of the Alps, which gathering force in its fall, at length overflows all the plain beneath^r. Sometimes it is a gun, which being overcharged, expands the flame within itself, and bursts in pieces^s. Some-

^a That which locks, i. e. a key.

^o Fol. 21, 22.

{This Sonnet will be found with some variations in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. edit. 1769. Davison at a little later period thus turned the same sonnet in his *Poetical Rhapsody*, first printed in 1602. edit. 1621. p. 108.

I joy not peace, where yet no war is
 found,
 I fear and hope, I burn yet freeze with-
 all,
 I mount to heaven, yet lye I stil on the
 ground,
 I nothing hold, yet I compasse all.
 I live her bond, which neither is my
 foe,
 Nor friend, nor holds me fast, nor lets
 me goe.

Love will not let me live, nor let me dye,
 Nor locks me fast, nor suffers me to
 scape,

I want both eyes and tongue, yet ere I cry,
 I wish for death, yet after helpe I gape.
 I hate myself, yet love another wight,
 And feed on greefe, in lieu of sweete
 delight.

At the selfe time I both lament and joy,
 I stil am pleas'd and yet displeas'd still;

Love sometimes seemes a god, some-
 times a boy,

Sometimes I sinke, sometimes I swim
 at will;

Twixt death and life small difference I
 make,

All this (deere dame) endure I for your
 sake.

^p Fol. 22.

^r Fol. 25.

^q Fol. 25.

^s Fol. 29.

times it is like a prodigious mountain, which is perpetually weeping in copious fountains, and sending forth sighs from its forests: which bears more leaves than fruits: which breeds wild-beasts, the proper emblems of rage, and harbours birds that are always singing¹. In another of his sonnets, he says, that all nature sympathises with his passion. The woods resound his elegies, the rivers stop their course to hear him complain, and the grass weeps in dew. These thoughts are common and fantastic. But he adds an image which is new, and has much nature and sentiment, although not well expressed.

The hugy okes have rored in the winde,
Eche thing, methought, complayning in theyr kinde.

This is a touch of the pensive. And the apostrophe which follows is natural and simple.

O stony hart, who hath thus framed thee
So cruel, that art cloked with beauty!²

And there is much strength in these lines of the lover to his bed.

The place of slepe, wherein I do but wake,
Besprent with teares, my bed, I thee forsake!³

But such passages as these are not the general characteristics of Wyatt's poetry. They strike us but seldom, amidst an impracticable mass of forced reflections, hyperbolic metaphors, and complaints that move no compassion.

But Wyatt appears a much more pleasing writer, when he moralises on the felicities of retirement, and attacks the vanities and vices of a court, with the honest indignation of an independent philosopher, and the freedom and pleasantry of Horace. Three of his poetical epistles are professedly written in this strain, two to John Poines⁴, and the other to sir Francis Bryan: and we must regret, that he has not left more pieces in a style of composition for which he seems to have been eminently qua-

¹ Fol. 36. ² Fol. 24. ³ Fol. 25. about the court. See LIFE of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 46.
⁴ He seems to have been a person

lified. In one of the epistles to Poincs on the life of a courtier, are these spirited and manly reflections.

Myne owne John Poincs, since ye delite to know
 The causes why that homeward I me draw,
 And flee the prease^w of courtes, where so they go^x;
 Rather than to live thrall under the awe
 Of lordly lokes, wrapped within my cloke;
 To will and lust learning to set a law:
 It is not that, because I scorne or mocke
 The power of them, whom Fortune here hath lent
 Charge over us, of Right^y to strike the stroke:
 But true it is, that I have always ment
 Lesse to esteme them, (than the common sort)
 Of outward thinges that judge, in their entent,
 Without regarde what inward doth resort.
 I graunt sometime of glory that the fire
 Doth touch my heart. Me list not to report^z
 Blame by honour, nor honour to desire.
 But how may I this honour now attaine,
 That cannot dye the colour blacke a liar?
 My Poincs, I cannot frame my tune^a to fain,
 To cloke the truth, &c.

In pursuit of this argument, he declares his indisposition and inability to disguise the truth, and to flatter, by a variety of instances. Among others, he protests he cannot prefer Chaucer's TALE OF SIR THOPAS to his PALAMON AND ARCITE.

Praise SIR TOPAS for a noble tale,
 And scorne the STORY that the KNIGHT tolde;
 Praise him for counsell that is dronke of ale:
 Grinne when he laughes, that beareth all the sway;
 Frowne when he frownes, and grone when he is pale:
 On others lust to hang both night and day, &c.

^w press, crowd.

^x The court was perpetually moving from one palace to another.

^y justice.

^z to speak favourably of what is bad.
^a perhaps the reading is tongue.

I mention this circumstance about Chaucer, to shew the esteem in which the KNIGHT'S TALE, that noble epic poem of the dark ages, was held in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by men of taste.

The poet's execration of flatterers and courtiers is contrasted with the following entertaining picture of his own private life and rural enjoyments at Allingham-castle in Kent.

This is the cause that I could never yet
 Hang on their sleeves, that weigh, as thou maist se,
 A chippe of chance more than a pounce of wit:
 This maketh me at home to hunt and hawke,
 And in foule wether at my booke to sit;
 In frost and snow then with my bow to stalke;
 No man doth marke whereso I ride or go:
 In lusty leas^b at libertie I walke:
 And of these newes I fele nor weale nor woe:
 Save that a clogge doth hang yet at my heele^c;
 No force for that, for it is ordred so,
 That I may leape both hedge and dyke ful wele.
 I am not now in Fraunce, to judge the wyne, &c.
 But I am here in Kent and Christendome,
 Among the Muses, where I reade and ryme;
 Where if thou list, mine owne John Poines, to come,
 Thou shalt be judge how do I spende my time.^d

In another epistle to John Poines, on the security and happiness of a moderate fortune, he versifies the fable of the City and Country Mouse with much humour.

My mother's maides, when they do sowe and spinne,
 They sing a song made of the feldishe mouse, &c.

^b In large fields, over fruitful grounds. [Rather "in pleasant meads," says Ritson. But this emendation is disputed by a writer in the *Gent. Mag.* for Dec. 1782, p. 574, who cites the following passage from Shakspeare, to evince that leas and meads were distinct.

Thy rich leas
 Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats and
 pease;

Thy turfy mountains, where live nib-
 bling sheep,
 And flat meads thatched with stover, &c.
Tempest, Act 4.—PARK.]

^c Probably he alludes to some office which he still held at court; and which sometimes recalled him, but not too frequently, from the country.

^d Fol. 47.

This fable appositely suggests a train of sensible and pointed observations on the weakness of human conduct, and the delusive plans of life.

Alas, my Pains, how men do seke the best,
 And finde the worse by error as they stray:
 And no marvell, when sight is so opprest,
 And blindes the guyde: anone out of the way
 Goeth guyde and all, in seking quiet lyfe.
 O wretched mindes! There is no golde that may
 Graunt that you seke: no warre, no peace, no strife:
 No, no, although thy head were hoopt with golde:
 Sergeaunt with mace^a, with hawbart^c, sword, nor knife,
 Cannot repulse the care that folow should.
 Ech kinde of lyfe hath with him his disease:
 Live in delites, even as thy lust would,
 And thou shalt finde, when lust doth most thee please,
 It irketh straght, and by itselſe doth fade.
 A small thing is it, that may thy minde appease?
 None of you al there is that is so madde,
 To seke for grapes on brambles or on breeres^d;
 Nor none, I trow, that hath a witte so badde,
 To set his haye for coneyes over rivères.
 Nor ye set not a dragge net for a hare:
 And yet the thing that most is your desire
 You do misseke, with more travell and care.
 Make plaine thine hart, that it be not knotted
 With hope or dreade: and see thy will be bare^b
 From all affectes^l, whom vyce hath never spotted.
 Thyselfe content with that is thee assinde^k;
 And use it wel that is to the alotted.
 Then seke no more out of thyself to fynde[†],
 The thing that thou hast sought so long before,
 For thou shalt feele it sticking in thy mynde.—

^a [From Horace; *Submovet lictor.*—
 АСНУУ.]

^c halbert. A parade of guards, &c.
 The classical allusion is obvious.

^d So read, instead of *bryars.*

^b free. ^l passions.

^k assigned.

[†] [*Nec te quassiveris extra.*—АСНУУ.]

These Platonic doctrines are closed with a beautiful application of Virtue personified, and introduced in her irresistible charms of visible beauty. For those who deviate into vain and vicious pursuits,

None other payne pray I for them to be,
But when the rage doth leade them from the right,
That, loking backward, VERTUE they may se*
Even as she is, so goodly fayre and bright!¹

With these disinterested strains we may join the following single stanza, called THE COURTIER'S LIFE.

In court to serve, decked with freshe aray,
Of sugred^m meates feeling the swete repaste;
The life in bankets, and sundry kinde of play,
Amid the presse of worldly lookes to waste:
Hath with it joynde oft times such bitter taste,
That whoso joyes such kind of life to hold,
In prison joyes, fettered with chaines of gold.ⁿ

Wyat may justly be deemed the first polished English satirist. I am of opinion, that he mistook his talents when, in compliance with the mode, he became a sonneteer; and, if we may judge from a few instances, that he was likely to have treated any other subject with more success than that of love. His abilities were seduced and misapplied in fabricating fine speeches to an obdurate mistress. In the following little ode, or rather epigram, on a very different occasion, there is great simplicity and propriety, together with a strain of poetic allusion. It is on his return from Spain into England.

Tagus farewell, that westward with thy stremes
Turnes up the graines of gold already triede^o!
For I with spurre and sayle go seke the Temes^p,
Gaineward the sunne that shewes her welthy pride:

* [Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta, Pers. Sat. 3. If Surry copies but little, Wyatt doth plentifully.—ASSAY.]

¹ Fol. 45, 46.

^m delicious.

ⁿ Fol. 44.

^o pure gold.

^p the Thames.

And to the town that Brutus sought by dreames^q,
 Like bended moone^r that leanes her lusty^s side;
 My king, my countrey I seke, for whom I live:
 O mighty Jove, the wyndes for this me give!^t

Among Wyat's poems is an unfinished translation, in Alexandrine verse, of the Song of Iopas in the first book of Virgil's Eneid^u. Wyat's and Surrey's versions from Virgil are the first regular translations in English of an antient classic poet: and they are symptoms of the restoration of the study of the Roman writers, and of the revival of elegant literature. A version of David's Psalms by Wyat is highly extolled by lord Surrey and Leland. But Wyat's version of the PENITENTIAL PSALMS seems to be a separate work from his translation of the whole Psalter, and probably that which is praised by Surrey, in an ode above quoted, and entitled, *Praise of certain Psalmes of David, translated by Sir T. Wyat the elder.*^v They were printed with this title, in 1549. "Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David commonly called the vij penytentiall Psalmes, drawen into Englyshe meter by sir Thomas Wyat knyght, whereunto is added a prologe of the auctore before every Psalme very pleasant and profettable to the godly reader. Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde at the sygne of thee starre by Thomas Raynald and John Harryngton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum; MDXLIX." Leland seems to speak of the larger version.

Transtulit in nostram Davidis carmina linguam,

Et numeros magna reddidit arte pares.

Non morietur OPUS tersum, SPECTABILE, sacrum.^x

^q a tradition in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

^r The old city from the river appeared in the shape of a crescent.

^s strong, flourishing, populous, &c.

^t Fol. 44. ^u Fol. 49.

^v Fol. 16. (See *supr.* p. 304.) [These Psalms were reprinted by Bishop Percy with his ill-fated impression of Lord Surrey's poems, which perished in the warehouse of Mr. John Nicholls, 1808. To William Marquis of Northampton,

&c. &c. they were inscribed by John Harrington (the father probably of Sir John H.), who determined to print them, "that the noble fame of so worthy a knight as was the author hereof, Sir Thomas Wyat, should not perish, but remayne." Before each psalm is inserted an explanatory "Prologe of the Auctor," in eight-line stanzas: the translation is throughout in alternate verse. —PARK.]

^x NÆM. ut *supr.*

But this version, with that of Surrey mentioned above, is now lost: and the pious Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins are the only immortal translators of David's Psalms.

A similarity, or rather sameness of studies, as it is a proof, so perhaps it was the chief cement, of that inviolable friendship which is said to have subsisted between Wyatt and Surrey. The principal subject of their poetry was the same: and they both treated the passion of love in the spirit of the Italian poets, and as professed disciples of Petrarch. They were alike devoted to the melioration of their native tongue, and an attainment of the elegancies of composition. They were both engaged in translating Virgil*, and in rendering select portions of Scripture into English metre.

^y See Hollinsh. *CHRON.* iii. p. 978. with Dr. Nott, that Warton intended col. 2. [Dr. Nott is of opinion that by this expression a larger portion of Wyatt translated no more of the Psalter than the Penitential Psalms.—*EDIT.*] Virgil than the Song of Iopas mentioned above.—*EDIT.*]

* [There seems no reason for inferring

SECTION XXXIX.

TO the poems of Surrey and Wyatt are annexed, as I have before hinted, in Tottell's editions, those of "Uncertain Authors^a." This latter collection forms the first printed poetical miscellany in the English language; although very early manuscript miscellanies of that kind are not uncommon. Many of these pieces are much in the manner of Surrey and Wyatt, which was the fashion of the times. They are all anonymous; but probably, sir Francis Bryan, George Boleyn earl of Rochford, and lord Vaulx, all professed rhymers and sonnet-writers, were large contributors^{*}.

Drayton, in his elegy [epistle] *To his dearly loved friend HENRY REYNOLDS OF POETS AND POESIE*, seems to have blended all the several collections of which Tottell's volume consists. After Chaucer he says,

They with the Muses who conversed, were
That princely SURREY, early in the time
Of the eighth Henry, who was then the prime
Of England's noble youth. With him there came
WYAT, with reverence whom we still do name
Amongst our poets: BRYAN had a share
With the two former, which accounted are
That time's best Makers, and the authors were
Of those small poems which the title bear
Of *Songes* and *Sonnetts*, wherein oft they hit
On many dainty passages of wit^b.

^a They begin at fol. 50.

^{*} [CHURCHYARD must also be added to this list of contributors on the following averment: "Many things in the booke of *Songes and Sonets* printed then (in queen Mary's time) were of my making." See notices of his works prefixed to his "Challenge" 1593. Heywood

and Harrington likewise have dormant claims to the honourable distinction of coadjutorship. Vid. *infra*, p. 332. and *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 95. and ii. 256. ed. 1775.—PARK.]

^b *WORKS*, vol. iv. p. 1255. edit. Lond. 1759. 8vo.

Sir Francis Bryan was the friend of Wyatt, as we have seen; and served as a commander under Thomas earl of Surrey in an expedition into Brittany, by whom he was knighted for his bravery^c. Hence he probably became connected with lord Surrey the poet. But Bryan was one of the brilliant ornaments of the court of king Henry the Eighth, which at least affected to be polite: and from his popular accomplishments as a wit and a poet, he was made a gentleman of the privy-chamber to that monarch, who loved to be entertained by his domestics^d. Yet he enjoyed much more important appointments in that reign, and in the first year of Edward the Sixth; and died chief justiciary of Ireland, at Waterford, in the year 1548^e. On the principle of an unbiassed attachment to the king, he wrote epistles on Henry's divorce, never published; and translated into English from the French, Antonio de Guevara's Spanish Dissertation on the life of a courtier, printed at London in the year last mentioned^f. He was nephew to John Bouchier, lord Berners, the translator of Froissart; who, at his desire, translated at Calais from French into English, the GOLDEN BOKE, or Life of Marcus Aurelius, about 1533^g. Which are Bryan's pieces I cannot ascertain.

George Boleyn, viscount Rochford, was son of sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; and at Oxford discovered an early propensity to polite letters and poetry. He was appointed to several dignities and offices by king Henry the Eighth, and subscribed the famous declaration sent to Pope Clement the Seventh. He was brother to queen Anne Boleyn, with whom he was suspected of a criminal familiarity. The chief accusation against him seems to have been, that he was seen to whisper with the queen one morning while she was in bed. As he had been raised by the exaltation, he was involved

^c Dugd. BAR. ii. 273. a.

^d Rymer, FœD. xiv. 380.

^e Hollinsh. CHRON. i. 61. And Ibid. Hooker's CONTIN. tom. ii. P. ii. pag. 110. See also FOX, MARTYR. p. 991.

^f Cod. Impress. A. Wood, Mus. Ash-

mol. Oxon. [Printed again in 1575, small 8vo.—PARK.]

^g See the COLOPHON. It was printed by Thomas Berthelett, in 1536, quarto. Often afterwards. Lord Berners was deputy-general of Calais, and its Marches.

in the misfortunes of that injured princess, who had no other fault but an unguarded and indiscrete frankness of nature; and whose character has been blackened by the bigoted historians of the catholic cause, merely because she was the mother of queen Elizabeth. To gratify the ostensible jealousy of the king, who had conceived a violent passion for a new object, this amiable nobleman was beheaded on the first of May, in 1536^h. His elegance of person, and spritely conversation, captivated all the ladies of Henry's court. Wood says, that at the "royal court he was much *adored*, especially by the *female sex*, for his *admirable* discourse, and *symmetry* of bodyⁱ." From these irresistible allurements his enemies endeavoured to give a plausibility to their infamous charge of an incestuous connection. After his commitment to the Tower, his sister the queen, on being sent to the same place, asked the lieutenant, with a degree of eagerness, "Oh! where is my sweet brother^k?" Here was a specious confirmation of his imagined guilt: this stroke of natural tenderness was too readily interpreted into a licentious attachment. Bale mentions his RHYTHMI ELEGANTISSIMI^l, which Wood calls "Songs and Sonnets, with other things of the like nature^m." These are now lost, unless some, as I have insinuated, are contained in the present collection; a garland, in which it appears to have been the fashion for every FLOWERY COURTIER to leave some of his blossoms. But Boleyn's poems cannot now be distinguished*.

The lord Vaulx, whom I have supposed, and on surer proof, to be another contributor to this miscellany, could not be the Nicholas lord Vaux, whose gown of purple velvet, plated with gold, eclipsed all the company present at the marriage of prince

^h See Dugd. BARON. iii. p. 306. a.

ⁱ Ath. Oxon. i. 44.

^k Strype, MEM. i. p. 280.

^l ii. 103. ^m Ubi supr.

* [One of these has been pointed out at p. 315. and his name was thus united with other known contributors in 1575.

Chaucer by writing purchast fame,
And Gower got a woorthie name:

Sweet Surrey suckt Parnassus springs,
And Wiat wrote of wondrous things:
Old ROCHFORD clombe the statelie
throne

Which Muses hold in Helicone.
Then thither let good Gascoigne go,
For sure his verse deserveth so.

See Richard Smith's verses in commendation of Gascoigne's Poiesia.—PARK.]

Arthur; who shines as a statesman and a soldier with uncommon lustre in the history of Henry the Seventh, and continued to adorn the earlier annals of his successor, and who died in the year 1529. Lord Vaux the poet was probably Thomas lord Vaux, the son of Nicholas, and who was summoned to parliament in 1531, and seems to have lived till the latter end of the reign of queen Maryⁿ. All our old writers mention the poetical lord Vaux, as rather posterior to Wyat and Surrey; neither of whom was known as a writer till many years after the death of lord Nicholas. George Gascoyne [Thomas Churchyard], who wrote in 1575 [1568], in his panegyric on the ENGLISH POETS, places Vaux after Surrey.

Piers Plowman was full plaine,
 And Chauser's spreet was great;
 Earle Surrey had a goodly vayne,
 LORD VAUX the marke did beat*.

Puttenham, author of the ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, having spoken of Surrey and Wyat, immediately adds, "In the SAME TIME, OR NOT LONG AFTER, was the lord Nicholas^o VAUX, a man of much facilitie in vulgar makings^p." Webbe, in his DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE, published in 1586, has a similar arrangement. Great numbers of Vaux's poems are extant in the PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES; and, instead of the rudeness of Skelton, they have a smoothness and facility of manner, which does not belong to poetry written before the year 1523, in which lord Nicholas Vaux died an old man^q. The PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES was published in 1576, and he is there simply styled *Lord Vaulx the elder*: this was to distinguish him from his son lord William, then living. If lord Nicholas was a writer of poetry, I will venture to assert,

ⁿ See what I have said of his son lord William, in the LIFE OF SIR THOMAS POPE, p. 221. In 1558, sir Thomas Pope leaves him a legacy of one hundred pounds, by the name of lord Vaulx. [Warton's conjecture is now generally admitted to be correct.—EDIT.]

^o [Prefixed to Skelton's Poems, printed by Marsh, 1568.—PARK.]

^p The christian name is a mistake, into which it was easy to fall.

^q Fol. 48. ["vulgar makings" seem to imply vernacular poems.—PARK.]

^r See Percy's BALL. ii. 49. edit. 1775.

that none of his performances now remain; notwithstanding the testimony of Wood, who says that Nicholas "in his juvenile years was sent to Oxon, where by reading humane and romantic, rather than philosophical authors, he advanced his genius very much in poetry and history^r." This may be true of his son Thomas, whom I suppose to be the poet. But such was the celebrity of lord Nicholas's public and political character, that he has been made to monopolise every merit which was the property of his successors. All these difficulties, however, are at once adjusted by a manuscript in the British Museum: in which we have a copy of Vaux's poem, beginning *I lothe that I did love*, with this title: "A dyttye or sonet made by the lord Vaus, in the time of the noble quene Marye, representing the image of death^t." This sonnet, or rather ode, entitled, *The aged lover renounceth love*, which was more remembered for its morality than its poetry, and which is idly conjectured* to have been written on his death-bed^t, makes a part of the collection which I am now examining^u. From this ditty are taken three of the stanzas, yet greatly disguised and corrupted, of the Grave-digger's Song in Shakespeare's HAMLET^w. Another of lord Vaux's poems in the volume before us, is the ASSAULT OF CUPIDE UPON THE FORT IN WHICH THE LOVER'S HEART LAY WOUNDED^x. These two are the only pieces in our collection, of which there is undoubted evidence, although no name is prefixed to either, that they were written by lord Vaux. From palpable coincidences of style, subject, and other circumstances, a slender share of critical sagacity is sufficient to point out many others.

These three writers were cotemporaries with Surrey and Wyatt: but the subjects of some of the pieces will go far in ascertaining the date of the collection in general. There is one on the death of sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, who died, as I

^r ATH. OXON. i. 19.

^s MSS. HARL. 1708. [fol. 100.]

* [Yet Mr. Warton does not regard a similar supposition as idle when applied to the Soul-knell of Edwards. Vid. postea, Sect. iii.—PARK.]

^t G. Gascoyne says, "The L. Vaux his ditty, beginning thus *I loath*, was thought by some to be made upon his death-bed," &c. EPISTLE TO THE YOUNG GENTLEMEN, prefixed to his Poems.

^u Fol. 72.

^w Act V.

^x Fol. 71.

have remarked, in 1541^y. Another on the death of lord chancellor Audley, who died in 1544^z. Another on the death of *master* Devereux, a son of lord Ferrers, who is said to have been a *Cato for his counsel*^a; and who is probably Richard Devereux, buried in Berkyng church^b, the son of Walter lord Ferrers, a distinguished statesman and general under Henry the Eighth^c. Another on the death of a lady Wentworth^d. Another on the death of sir Antony Denny, the only person of the court who dared to inform king Henry the Eighth of his approaching dissolution, and who died in 1551^e. Another on the death of Phillips, an eminent musician, and without his rival on the lute^f. Another on the death of a countess of Pembroke, who is celebrated for her learning, *and her perfect virtues linked as in a chaine*^g: probably Anne, who was buried magnificently at saint Paul's, in 1551, the first lady of sir William Herbert the first earl of Pembroke, and sister to Catharine Parr, the sixth queen of Henry the Eighth^h. Another on *master* Henry Williams, son of sir John Williams, afterwards lord Thame, and a great favorite of Henry the Eighthⁱ. On the death of sir James Wilford, an officer in Henry's wars, we have here an elegy^k, with some verses on his picture^l. Here is also a poem on a treasonable conspiracy, which is compared to the stratagem of Sinon, and which threatened im-

^y Fol. 89.

^z Fol. 69.

^a Fol. 51.

^b Stowe, SURVEY OF LONDON, p. 131. fol. ed.

^c Who died in 1558. See Dugd. BAR. ii. 177.

^d Fol. 73. Margaret. See Dugd. BAR. ii. 910.

^e Fol. 78. There is sir John Cheek's EPITAPHIUM in *Anton. Deneicum*. Lond. 1551. 4to.

^f Fol. 71. One Philips is mentioned among the famous English musicians, in Meres's *Wits Treasury*, 1598. fol. 288. I cannot ascertain who this Phillips a musician was. But one Robert Phillips, or Phelipp, occurs among the gentlemen of the royal chapel under Edward the Sixth and queen Mary. He was also one of the singing-men of saint George's chapel at Windsor: and Fox says, "he

was so notable a singing-man, wherein he gloried, that wheresoever he came, the longest song with most counterverses in it should be set up against him." Fox adds, that while he was singing on one side of the choir of Windsor chapel, *O Redemptrix et Salvatrix*, he was answered by one Testwood a singer on the other side, *Non Redemptrix nec Salvatrix*. For this irreverence, and a few other slight heresies, Testwood was burnt at Windsor. ACTS and MONUM. vol. ii. p. 543, 544. I must add, that sir Thomas Phelyppis, or Philips, is mentioned as a musician before the reformation. Hawkins, HIST. MUS. ii. 533.

^g Fol. 85.

^h Strype, MEM. ii. p. 317.

ⁱ Fol. 99. See LIFE OF SIR THOMAS POPE, p. 232.

^k Fol. 36.

^l Fol. 62.

mediate extermination to the British constitution, but was speedily discovered^m. I have not the courage to explore the formidable columns of the circumstantial Hollinshed for this occult piece of history, which I leave to the curiosity and conjectures of some more laborious investigator. It is certain that none of these pieces are later than the year 1557, as they were published in that year by Richard Tottell the printer. We may venture to say, that almost all of them were written between the years 1530 and 1550ⁿ. Most of them perhaps within the first part of that period.

The following nameless stanzas* have that elegance which results from simplicity. The compliments are such as would not disgrace the gallantry or the poetry of a polished age. The thoughts support themselves, without the aid of expression and the affectations of language. This is a negligence, but it is a negligence produced by art. Here is an effect obtained, which it would be vain to seek from the studied ornaments of style.

Give place, ye ladies, and be gone,
Boast not yourselves at all:
For here at hand approacheth one
Whose face will staine you all.
The vertue of her lively lokes
Excels the precious stone:
I wish to have none other bokes
To reade or loke upon.
In eche of her two christall eyes
Smyleth a naked boye:
It would you all in hart suffise
To see that lampe of joye.

^m Fol. 94, 95.

ⁿ There is an epitaph by W. G. made on himself, with an answer, fol. 98, 99. I cannot explain those initials. At fol. 111. a lady, called Arundel, is highly celebrated for her incomparable beauty and accomplishments: perhaps of lord Arundel's family.

Thus ARUNDELL sits throned still with
Fame, &c.

* [These stanzas may now be assigned to John Heywood, the epigrammatist, on the potent authority of Harl. MS. 1703. where the writer's own name is introduced with some additional stanzas. See Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 83. ed. 1806.—
PARK.]

I thinke Nature hath lost the moule^o
 Where she her shape did take;
 Or els I doubt if Nature could
 So faire a creature make.—

In life she is Diana chaste,
 In truth Penelopey;
 In word and eke in dede stedfast.
 What will you more we sey?

If all the world were sought so farre,
 Who could finde such a wight?
 Her beuty twinkleth like a starre
 Within the frosty night.

Her rosial colour comes and goes
 With such a comly grace,
 (More redier too than is the rose)
 Within her lively face.

At Bacchus feaste none shall her mete,
 Ne at no wanton play,
 Nor gasing in an open strete,
 Nor gadding as a stray.

The modest mirth that she doth use
 Is mixt with shamefastnesse;
 All vice she doth wholly refuse,
 And hateth ydlenesse.

O Lord, it is a world to see
 How vertue can repaire
 And decke in her such honestie,
 Whom nature made so faire!—

How might I do to get a graffe
 Of this unspotted tree?
 For all the rest are plaine but chaffe,
 Which seme good corn to be.^p—

Of the same sort is the following stanza on Beauty.

Then BEAUTY stept before the barre,
 Whose brest and neck was bare;

^o See this thought in Surrey, *supr. citat.* p. 303.

^p Fol. 67.

With haire trust up, and on her head
A caule of golde she ware.^q

We are to recollect, that these compliments were penned at a time when the graces of conversation between the sexes were unknown, and the dialogue of courtship was indelicate; when the monarch of England, in a style which the meanest gentleman would now be ashamed to use, pleaded the warmth of his affection, by drawing a coarse allusion from a present of venison, which he calls flesh, in a love-letter to his future queen Anne Boleyn, a lady of distinguished breeding, beauty, and modesty^r.

In lord VAUX'S ASSAULT OF CUPIDE, above mentioned, these are the most remarkable stanzas.

When Cupide scaled first the fort,
Wherin my hart lay wounded sore;
The battry was of such a sort,
That I must yelde, or die therfore.

There sawe I Love upon the wall
How he his baner did display;
Alarme, Alarme, he gan to call,
And bad his souldiours kepe aray.

The armes the which that Cupid bare,
Were pearced hartes, with teares besprent.—

And even with the trumpettes sowne
The scaling ladders were up set;
And BEAUTY walked up and downe,
With bow in hand, and arrowes whet.

Then first DESIRE began to scale,
And shrouded him under his targe, &c.^s

Puttenham speaks more highly of the contrivance of the allegory of this piece, than I can allow. "In this figure [counterfait action] the lord Nicholas^t Vaux, a noble gentleman, and much delighted in vulgar making^u, and a man otherwise of

^q Fol. 84.

^r See Hearne's AVESBURY, APPEND.
p. 354.

^s Fol. 71, 72.

^t for Thomas.

^u English poetry.

no great learning, but having herein a marvelous facilitie, made a dittie representing the Battayle and Assault of Cupide so excellently well, as for the gallant and propre aplication of his fiction in every part, I cannot choise but set downe the greatest part of his ditty, for in truth it cannot be amended; *When Cupid scaled, &c.*” And in another part of the same book. “The lord Vaux his commendation lyeth chiefly in the facilitie of his meetre, and the aptnesse of his descriptions, such as he taketh upon him to make, namely in sundry of his songes, wherein he sheweth the COUNTERFAIT ACTION very lively and pleasantly.” By *counterfait action* the critic means fictitious action, the action of imaginary beings expressive of fact and reality. There is more poetry in some of the old pageants described by Hollinshed, than in this allegory of Cupid. Vaux seems to have had his eye on Dunbar’s GOLDEN TERGE.

In the following little ode, much pretty description and imagination is built on the circumstance of a lady being named Bayes. So much good poetry could hardly be expected from a pun.

In Bayes I boast, whose braunch I beare:
Such joye therin I finde,
That to the death I shall it weare,
To ease my carefull minde.

In heat, in cold, both night and day,
Her vertue may be sene;
When other frutes and flowers decay,
The Bay yet growes full grene.

Her berries feede the birdes ful oft,
Her leves swete water make;
Her bowes be set in every loft,
For their swete savour’s sake.

The birdes do shrowd them from the cold
In her we dayly see:
And men make arbers as they wold,
Under the pleasant tree.*—

* Pag. 200.

† Pag. 51.

‡ See supr. p. 101.

§ Fol. 109.

From the same collection, the following is perhaps the first example in our language now remaining, of the pure and unmixed pastoral: and in the erotic species, for ease of numbers, elegance of rural allusion, and simplicity of imagery, excels every thing of the kind in Spenser, who is erroneously ranked as our earliest English bucolic. I therefore hope to be pardoned for the length of the quotation.

Phyllida was a faire mayde,
As fresh as any flowre;
Whom Harpalus the herdman prayde
To be her paramour.

Harpalus and eke Corin
Were herdmen both yfere^a:
And Phyllida could twist and spinne,
And therto sing full clere.

But Phyllida was all too coy
For Harpalus to winne;
For Corin was her onely joy
Who forst her not a pinne^b.

How often wold she flowres twine?
How often garlandes make
Of couslips and of columbine?
And all for Corin's sake.

But Corin he had haukes to lure,
And forced more the fielde^c;
Of lovers lawe he toke no cure,
For once he was begilde^d.

Harpalus prevayled nought,
His labour all was lost;
For he was fardest from her thought,
And yet he loved her most.

Therefore waxt he both pale and leane,
And drye as clot^e of clay;
His flesh it was consumed cleane,
His colour gone away.

^a together.

^b loved her not in the least.

^c more engaged in field-sports.

^d deceived, had once been in love.

^e clod.

His beard it had not long be shave,
 His heare hong all unkempt^f ;
 A man fit even for the grave,
 Whom spitefull love had spent.

His eyes were red, and all forewatched[‡],
 His face besprent with teares ;
 It semed Unhap had him long hatched
 In mids of his dispaire.

His clothes were blacke and also bare,
 As one forlorne was he :
 Upon his head alwayes he ware
 A wreath of wyllow tree.

His beastes he kept upon the hyll
 And he sate in the dale ;
 And thus with sighes and sorowes shryll
 He gan to tell his tale*.

“ O Harpalus, thus would he say,
 Unhappiest under sunne !
 The cause of thine unhappy day
 By love was first begunne.

For thou wentst first by sute to seke
 A tigre to make tame,
 That settes not by thy love a leeke,
 But makes thy grief her game.

As easy it were to convert
 The frost into the flame,
 As for to turne a froward hert
 Whom thou so faine wouldst frame.

Corin he liveth carèlesse,
 He leapes among the leaves ;
 He eates the frutes of thy redresse^h,
 Thou reapes, he takes the sheaves.

^f uncombed.

[‡] over-watched, that is, his eyes were
 always awake, never closed by sleep.

* [In the scarce poems of David
 Murray, printed at London in 1611, we
 find “the Complaint of the shepherd
 Harpalus” written much on this model.

It begins :

Poore Harpalus opprest with love
 Sate by a christale brooke ;
 Thinking his sorrows to remove,
 Oft times therein did looke.—[PARK.]

^h labour, pains.

My beastes, awhile your foode refraine,
 And harke your herdmans sounde;
 Whom spitefull love, alas! hath slaine
 Through-girt^l with many a wounde.

O happy be ye, beastes wilde,
 That here your pasture takes!
 I se that ye be not begilde
 Of these your faithfull makes^k.

The hart he fedeth by the hinde,
 The buck harde by the do:
 The turtle dove is not unkinde
 To him that loves her so.—

But, welaway, that nature wrought
 Thee, Phyllida, so faire;
 For I may say, that I have bought
 Thy beauty all too deare!" &c.^l

The illustrations, in the two following stanzas, of the restlessness of a lover's mind, deserve to be cited for their simple beauty, and native force of expression.

The owle with feble sight
 Lyes lurking in the leaves;
 The sparrow in the frosty night
 May shroud her in the eaves.

But wo to me, alas!
 In sunne, nor yet in shade,
 I cannot finde a resting place
 My burden to unlade.^m

Nor can I omit to notice the sentimental and expressive metaphor contained in a single line.

Walking the path of pensive thought.ⁿ

Perhaps there is more pathos and feeling in the Ode, in

^l pierced through. So fol. 113. infr.
 His entrails with a lance *through-girded*
 quite.

^k mates.

^l Fol. 55.

^m Fol. 71. [The turn and texture of these stanzas would appear to be derived from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, viii. 20. and ix. 58.—PARK.]

ⁿ Fol. 87.

which *The Lover in despaire lamenteth his Case*, than in any other piece of the whole collection.

Adieu desert, how art thou spent !
 Ah dropping tears, how do ye waste !
 Ah scalding sighes, how ye be spent,
 To pricke Them forth that will not haste !
 Ah ! pained hart, thou gapst for grace^o,
 Even there, where pitie hath no place.

As easy it is the stony rocke
 From place to place for to remove,
 As by thy plaint for to provoke
 A frosen hart from hate to love.
 What should I say ? Such is thy lot
 To fawne on them that force^p thee not !

Thus mayst thou safely say and sweare,
 That rigour raigneth and ruth^a doth faile,
 In thanklesse thoughts thy thoughts do weare :
 Thy truth, thy faith, may nought availe
 For thy good will : why should thou so
 Still graft, where grace it will not grow ?

Alas ! pore hart, thus hast thou spent
 Thy flowryng time, thy pleasant yeres ?
 With sighing voice wepe and lament,
 For of thy hope no frute apperes !
 Thy true meanyng is paide with scorne,
 That ever soweth and repeth no corne.

And where thou sekesh a quiet port,
 Thou dost but weigh against the winde :
 For where thou gladdest woldst resort,
 There is no place for thee assinde^r.
 The desteny hath set it so,
 That thy true hart should cause thy wo.^s

These reflections, resulting from a retrospect of the vigorous and active part of life, destined for nobler pursuits, and un-

^o favour.

^p love.

^a pity.

^r assigned.

^s Fol. 109.

worthily wasted in the tedious and fruitless anxieties of unsuccessful love, are highly natural, and are painted from the heart: but their force is weakened by the poet's allusions.

This miscellany affords the first pointed English epigram that I remember; and which deserves to be admitted into the modern collections of that popular species of poetry. Sir Thomas More was one of the best jokers of that age: and there is some probability, that this might have fallen from his pen. It is on a scholar, who was pursuing his studies successfully, but in the midst of his literary career, married unfortunately.

A student, at his boke so plast',
That welth he might have wonne,
From boke to wife did flete in hast,
From wealth to wo to run.

Now, who hath plaid a feater cast,
Since jugling first begonne?
In *knitting* of himself so *fast*,
Himselſe he hath *undonne*.^u

But the humour does not arise from the circumstances of the character. It is a general joke on an unhappy match.

These two lines are said to have been written by Mary queen of Scots with a diamond on a window in Fotheringay castle, during her imprisonment there, and to have been of her composition.

From the toppe of all my trust
Mishap hath throwen me in the dust^w.

But they belong to an elegant little ode of ten stanzas in the collection before us, in which a lover complains that he is caught by the snare which he once defied.^x The unfortunate queen only quoted a distich applicable to her situation, which she remembered in a fashionable set of poems, perhaps the amusement of her youth.

^t so pursuing his studies. *Plast*, so spelled for the rhyme, is *placed*.

^u Fol. 64.

^w See Ballard's *LEARN. LAD.* p. 161.

^x Fol. 53.

The ode, which is the comparison of the author's *faithful and painful* passion with that of Troilus^y, is founded on Chaucer's poem, or Boccace's, on the same subject. This was the most favorite love-story of our old poetry, and from its popularity was wrought into a drama by Shakespeare. Troilus's sufferings for Cressida were a common topic for a lover's fidelity and assiduity. Shakespeare, in his *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, compares a night favorable to the stratagems or the meditation of a lover, to such a night as Troilus might have chosen, for stealing a view of the Grecian camp from the ramparts of Troy.

And sigh'd his soul towards the Grecian tents
Where Cressid lay that night^z.—

Among these poems is a short fragment of a translation into Alexandrines of Ovid's epistle from Penelope to Ulysses^a. This is the first attempt at a metrical translation of any part of Ovid into English, for Caxton's Ovid is a loose paraphrase in prose. Nor were the heroic epistles of Ovid translated into verse till the year 1582*, by George Turberville. It is a proof that the classics were studied, when they began to be translated.

It would be tedious and intricate to trace the particular imitations of the Italian poets, with which these anonymous poems abound. Two of the sonnets^b are panegyrics on Petrarch and Laura, names at that time familiar to every polite reader, and the patterns of poetry and beauty. The sonnet on *The diverse and contrarie passions of the lover*^c, is formed on one of Petrarch's sonnets, and which, as I have remarked before, was translated by sir Thomas Wyatt^d. So many of the nobility, and principal persons about the court, writing sonnets in the Italian style, is a circumstance which must have greatly contributed to circulate this mode of composition, and to encourage the study of the Italian poets. Beside lord Surrey, sir Thomas Wyatt, lord Boleyn, lord Vaux, and sir Francis Bryan, already men-

^y Fol. 81.

^z Act V. Sc. i.

Turberville's Ovid in the year 1567, (see Sect. xi.) and it was then printed by Henry Denham in 12mo.—PARK.]

^a Fol. 89.

* [This is an oversight; since Mr. Warton has recorded the appearance of

^b Fol. 74. ^c Fol. 107. ^d Supr. p. 316.

tioned, Edmund lord Sheffield, created a baron by king Edward the Sixth, and killed by a butcher in the Norfolk insurrection, is said by Bale to have written sonnets in the Italian manner^e.

I have been informed, that Henry lord Berners translated some of Petrarch's sonnets^f. But this nobleman otherwise deserved notice here, for his prose works, which co-operated with the romantic genius and the gallantry of the age. He translated, and by the king's command, Froissart's chronicle, which was printed by Pinson in 1523. Some of his other translations are professed romances. He translated from the Spanish, by desire of the lady of sir Nicholas Carew, *THE CASTLE OF LOVE*. From the French he translated, at the request of the earl of Huntingdon, *SIR HUGH OF BOURDEAUX*, which became exceedingly popular. And from the same language, *THE HISTORY OF ARTHUR* an Armorican knight. Bale says^g, that he wrote a comedy called *Ite in vineam*, or the *PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD*, which was frequently acted at Calais, where lord Berners resided, after vespers^h. He died in 1532.

I have also been told, that the late lord Eglintoun had a genuine book of manuscript sonnets, written by king Henry the Eighth. There is an old madrigal, set to music by William Bird, supposed to be written by Henry, when he first fell in love with Anne Boleynⁱ. It begins,

The eagles force subdues eche byrde that flies,
 What metal can resyste the flamyng fyre?
 Doth not the sunne dazle the clearest eyes,
 And melt the yce, and make the froste retyre?

It appears in Bird's *PSALMES, SONGS, AND SONNETS*, printed

^e See Tanner *BIBL.* p. 668. Dugd. *BAR.* iii. 386. [And Noble Authors, i. 277. edit. 1806. also Nevill's Letters of Lord Sheffield, p. 61. 1582.—PARK.]

^f MSS. Oldys.

^g Cent. ix. p. 706.

^h *ATH. OXON.* i. 88. It is not known, whether it was in Latin or English. Stowe says, that in 1528, at Greenwich, after a grand tournament and banquet,

there was the "most goodliest Disguising or Interlude in Latine," &c. *CHRON.* p. 539. edit. fol. 1615. But possibly this may be Stowe's way of naming and describing a comedy of Plautus. See *supr.* p. 188.

ⁱ I must not forget, that a song is ascribed to Anne Boleyn, but with little probability, called her *COMPLAINT*. See Hawkins, *HIST. MUS.* iii. 32. v. 480.

with musical notes, in 1611 ^k. Poetry and music are congenial; and it is certain, that Henry was skilled in musical composition. Erasmus attests, that he composed some church services ^l: and one of his anthems still continues to be performed in the choir of Christ-church at Oxford, of his foundation. It is in an admirable style, and is for four voices. Henry, although a scholar, had little taste for the classical elegancies which now began to be known in England. His education seems to have been altogether theological: and, whether it best suited his taste or his interest, polemical divinity seems to have been his favorite science. He was a patron of learned men, when they humoured his vanities; and were wise enough, not to interrupt his pleasures, his convenience, or his ambition.

^k. See also *NUOÆ ANTIQ.* ii. 248. [And yard's legend of Jane Shore.—*PARK.*] ^l See *HAWKINS, HIST. MUS.* ii. 533.

SECTION XL.

TO these SONGES and SONNETTES of UNCERTAIN AUCTOURS, in Tottell's edition are annexed SONGES WRITTEN BY N. G.^a By the initials N. G. we are to understand Nicholas Grimoald*, a name which never appeared yet in the poetical biography of England. But I have before mentioned him incidentally^b. He was a native of Huntingdonshire, and received the first part of his academical institution at Christ's college in Cambridge. Removing to Oxford in the year 1542, he was elected fellow of Merton College: but, about 1547, having opened a rhetorical lecture in the refectory of Christ-church, then newly founded, he was transplanted to that society,† which gave the greatest encouragement to such students as were distinguished for their proficiency in criticism and philology. The same year, he wrote a Latin tragedy, which probably was acted in the college, entitled, ARCHIPROPHETA, sive JOHANNES BAPTISTA, TRAGŒDIA, that is, *The Arch-prophet*, or *Saint John Baptist*, a tragedy, and dedicated to the dean Richard Cox^c. In the year 1548^d, he explained all the four books of Virgil's Georgics‡ in a regular prose Latin paraphrase, in the public hall of his college^e. He wrote also explanatory commentaries or lectures on the Andria of Terence, the Epistles of Horace, and many pieces of Cicero,

^a They begin with fol. 113.

* [or Grimoald, according to Barnaby Googe; but Nicolas Grimalde is the poet's own orthography.—PARK.]

^b See supr. p. 167. [At this place the initials E. G. not N. G. are incidentally mentioned: an error which, with many of our laureat's minor hallucinations, escaped the Argus eyes of Ritson.—PARK.]

† [And yet in 1551, Turner's Preservative or Triacle against the Poyson of

Pelagius, had a copy of verses prefixed by Nicholas Grimoald of Merton college. They might perhaps be written earlier.—PARK.]

^c Printed, Colon. 1548. 8vo. (See supr. p. 207.) [A MS. copy occurs in the British Museum, Bibl. Reg. 12. A. xlvi.—PARK.]

^d 2 Edw. vi.

‡ [And the Bucolics also, added Herbert in a MS. note.—PARK.]

^e Printed at London in 1591. 8vo.

perhaps for the same auditory. He translated Tully's Offices into English. This translation, which is dedicated to the learned Thirlby bishop of Ely, was printed at London, 1553^f. He also familiarised some of the purest Greek classics by English versions, which I believe were never printed. Among others was the CYROPÆDIA. Bale the biographer, and bishop of Ossory, says, that he turned Chaucer's TROILUS into a play: but whether this piece was in Latin or English, we are still to seek: and the word *Comedia*, which Bale uses on this occasion, is without precision or distinction. The same may be said of what Bale calls his FAME, *a comedy*. Bale also recites his System of Rhetoric for the use of Englishmen^g, which seems to be the course of the rhetorical lectures I have mentioned. It is to be wished, that Bale, who appears to have been his friend^h, and therefore possessed the opportunities of information, had given us a more exact and full detail, at least of such of Grimoald's works as are now lost, or, if remaining, are unprintedⁱ. Undoubtedly this is the same person, called by Strype *one Grimbald*, who was chaplain to bishop Ridley, and who was employed by that prelate, while in prison, to translate into English, Laurentio Valla's book against the fiction of Constantine's DONATION, with some other popular Latin pieces against the papists^k. In the ecclesiastical history of Mary's reign, he appears to have been imprisoned for heresy, and to have saved his life, if not his credit, by a recantation. But theology does not seem to have been his talent, nor the glories of martyrdom to have made any part of his ambition. One of his plans, but which never took effect, was to print a new edition of Josephus Iscanus's poem on the TROJAN WAR, with emendations from the most correct manuscripts^l. *

^f In octavo. Again, 1556.—1558.—1574.—1583.—1596.

^g *Rhetorica in usum Britannorum*.

^h Bale cites his comment, or paraphrase on the first Eclogue of Virgil, addressed *ad Amicum Joannem Balcum*, viii. 99.

ⁱ Titles of many others of his pieces may be seen in Bale, *ubi supr*.

^k See Strype's CRANMER, B. iii. c. 11. p. 343. And GRIMALD, 8. FOX, edit. i. 1047. And WOOD, ATH. OXON. i. 178.

^l Bale, *ubi supr*.

* [An epitaph on the death of Nicolas Grimaold appeared in the very scarce poems of Barn. Googe, 1563, and has been reprinted by Mr. Stevens in his Account of Ancient Translations from

I have taken more pains to introduce this Nicholas Grimoald to the reader's acquaintance, because he is the second English poet after lord Surrey, who wrote in blank-verse. Nor is it his only praise, that he was the first who followed in this new path of versification. To the style of blank-verse exhibited by Surrey, he added new strength, elegance, and modulation. In the disposition and conduct of his cadencies, he often approaches to the legitimate structure of the improved blank-verse: but we cannot suppose, that he is entirely free from those dissonancies and asperities, which still adhered to the general character and state of our diction*.

In his poem on the DEATH OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO are these lines. The assassins of Cicero are said to relent,

——— When

They his bare neck beheld, and his hore heyres,
 Scant could they hold the teares that forth gan burst,
 And almost fell from bloody handes the swords.
 Only the stern Herennius, with grym looke,
 Dastards, why stand you still? he sayth: and straight
 Swaps off the head with his presumptuous yron.
 Ne with that slaughter yet is he not filld:
 Fowl shame on shame to hepe, is his delite.

Classic Authors. (Reed's Shaksp. ii. 114.) The following extract relates more particularly to the person commemorated.

"Yf that wyt or worthy eloquens
 Or learnyng deape could move him
 [Death] to forbear; "

O GRIMAOLD, then thou hadste not yet
 gon hence,

But here hadst sene full many an aged
 yeare.

Ne had the muses loste so fyne a floure,
 Nor had Minerva wept to leave thee so:
 If wysdome myght have fled the fatal
 howre,

Thou hadste not yet ben suffred for
 to go.

A thousande dolysh geese we myght
 have sparde,

A thousande wytes heads death might
 have found,

And taken them for whom no man had
 carde,

And layde them lowe in deepe obli-
 vious grounde.

But Fortune favours fooles, as old men
 saye,

And lets them lyve, and takes the wyse
 awaye."—PARK.

* [It would seem from the following lines in Barnabe Googe's poems, that Grimoald had, after Lord Surrey, translated a portion of Virgil; which the bishop of Dunkeld afterwards completed.

"The noble H[enry] Hawarde once,
 That raught eternall fame,
 With mighty style did bryng a pece
 Of Virgil's worke in frame.

And GRIMAOLD gave the lyke attempt,
 And Douglas won the ball,
 Whose famous wyt in Scottyish ryme
 Had made an ende of all."—PARK.]

Wherefore the handes also doth he off-smyte,
 Which durst Antonius' life so lifely paint.
 Him, yelding strayned ghost^m, from welkin hye
 With lothly chere lord Phebus gan behold;
 And in black clowde, they say, long hid his hed.
 The Latine Muses, and the Grayesⁿ, they wept,
 And for his fall eternally shall wepe.
 And lo! hart-persing ΠΙΘΟ^o, strange to tell,
 Who had to him suffisde both sense and wordes,
 When so he spake, and drest with nectar soote
 That flowyng tounge, when his windpipe disclosde,
 Fled with her fleeyng friend; and, out, alas!
 Hath left the earth, ne will no more returne.^p

Nor is this passage unsupported by a warmth of imagination, and the spirit of pathetic poetry. The general cast of the whole poem shows, that our author was not ill qualified for dramatic composition.

Another of Grimoald's blank-verse poems is on the death of Zoroas an Egyptian astronomer, who was killed in Alexander's first battle with the Persians*. It is opened with this nervous and animated exordium.

Now clattering armes, now raging broyls of warre,
 Gan passe the noyes of dredfull trompetts clang^q;
 Shrowded with shafts the heaven, with cloud of darts
 Covered the ayre. Against full-fatted bulles
 As forceth kindled yre the lyons keen,
 Whose greedy gutts the gnawing honger pricks,
 So Macedons against the Persians fare.^r

In the midst of the tumult and hurry of the battle, appears

^m His constrained spirit.

ⁿ *Graie*. Greek.

^o Peitho, the goddess of persuasion.

^p Fol. 117.

^q And is a translation from part of the Latin *Alexandreis* of Philip Gualtier de Chatillon, bishop of Megala, who flourished in the thirteenth century. See

Steevens's Shakspeare. vii. 337. ed. 1803.

PARK.]

^r The reader must recollect Shakespeare's

Loud larums, neighing steeds, and
 TRUMPETS CLANG.

^r Fol. 115.

the sage philosopher Zoroas: a classical and elegant description of whose skill in natural science, forms a pleasing contrast amidst images of death and destruction; and is inserted with great propriety, as it is necessary to introduce the history of his catastrophe.

Shakyng her bloody hands Bellone, among
 The Perses, soweth all kynde of cruel death.—
 Him smites the club; him wounds far-striking bow;
 And him the sling, and him the shinyng sword.—
 Right over stood, in snow-white armour brave^s,
 The Memphite Zoroas, a cunning clarke,
 To whom the heaven lay open as his boke:
 And in celestial bodies he could tell
 The movyng, metyng, light, aspect, eclips,
 And influence, and constellacions all.
 What earthly chances would betide: what yere
 Of plenty^t stord: what signe forwarned derth:
 How winter gendreth snow: what temperature
 In the prime tide^u doth season well the soyl.
 Why sommer burns: why autumnne hath ripe grapes:
 Whether the circle quadrate may become:
 Whether our tunes heavens harmony can yeld^w:—
 What starre doth let^x the hurtfull sire^y to rage,
 Or him more milde what opposition makes:
 What fire doth qualify Mavorses^z fire, &c.^a

Our astronomer, finding by the stars that he is destined to die speedily, chooses to be killed by the hand of Alexander, whom he endeavours to irritate to an attack, first by throwing darts, and then by reproachful speeches.

— — — Shameful stain

Of mothers bed! Why locest thou thy strokes
 Cowards among? Turne thee to me, in case

^s brave, is richly decked.

^t with plenty. ^u spring, *printemps*.

^w Whether any music made by man
 can resemble that of the Spheres.

^x hinder.

^y Saturn. [Sirius.—RITSON.]

^z of Mavors, or the planet Mars.

^a Fol. 115.

Manhode there be so much left in thy hart:
 Come, fight with me, that on my helmet weare
 Apolloes laurel, both for learnings laude,
 And eke for martial praise: that in my shielde
 The sevenfold sophie of Minerve contain.
 A match more meet, sir king, than any here.

Alexander is for a while unwilling to revenge this insult on
 a man eminent for wisdom.

The noble prince amoved, takes ruthe upon
 The wilful wight; and with soft wordes, ayen:
 O monstrous man, quod he, What so thou art!
 I pray thee live, ne do not with thy death
 This lodge of lore^b, the Muses mansion marr,
 That treasure-house this hand shall never spoyle.
 My sword shall never bruse that skilfull braine,
 Long-gathered heapes of Science sone to spill.
 O how faire frutes may you to mortal men
 From WISDOMES garden geve! How many may,
 By you, the wiser and the better prove!
 What error, what mad moode, what frenzy, thee
 Perswades, to be downe sent to depe Averno,
 Where no arts florish, nor no knowledge 'vailles
 For all these sawes^c? When thus the soverain sayd,
 Alighted Zoroas, &c.^d ——— ———

I have a suspicion, that these two pieces in blank-verse, if not fragments of larger works, were finished in their present state, as prolusions, or illustrative practical specimens, for our author's course of lectures in rhetoric. In that case, they were written so early as the year 1547. There is positive proof, that they appeared not later than 1557, when they were first printed by Tottell.

I have already mentioned lord Surrey's Virgil: and for the sake of juxtaposition, will here produce a third specimen* of

^b his head. ^c lessons of wisdom. in Gascoigne's Steele Glass, 1576, and
^d Fol. 115. 116. Aske's Elizabetha Triumphans, 1588.

* [The intervening specimens appeared — PARK.]

early blank-verse, little known. In the year 1590, William Vallans published a blank-verse poem, entitled, *A TALE OF TWO SWANNES*, which, under a poetic fiction, describes the situation and antiquities of several towns in Hertfordshire. The author, a native or inhabitant of Hertfordshire, seems to have been connected with Camden and other ingenious antiquaries of his age. I cite the exordium.

When Nature, nurse of every living thing,
 Had clad her charge in brave and new aray;
 The hills rejoyst to see themselves so fine:
 The fields and woods grew proud therof also:
 The medowes with their partie-colour'd coates,
 Like to the rainebow in the azurd skie,
 Gave just occasion to the cheerfull birdes
 With sweetest note to singe their nurse's praise.
 Among the which, the merrie nightingale
 With swete and swete, her breast again a thorne,
 Ringes out all night, &c.^c

Vallans is probably the author of a piece much better known, a history, by many held to be a romance, but which proves the writer a diligent searcher into antient records, entitled, "*THE HONOURABLE PRENTICE, Shewed in the Life and Death of Sir JOHN HAWKEWOOD sometime Prentice of London, interlaced with the famous History of the noble FITZWALTER Lord of Woodham in Essex^f, and of the poisoning of his faire daughter. Also of the merry Customes of DUNMOWE, &c. Whereunto is annexed the most lamentable murder of Robert Hall at the High Altar in Westminster Abbey.*"

The reader will observe, that what has been here said about early specimens of blank-verse, is to be restrained to poems not

^c London, Printed by Roger Ward for John Sheldrake, m^ox. 4to. 3 sheets. He mentions most of the Seats in Hertfordshire then existing, belonging to the queen and the nobility. See Hearne's *L. L. IRIN. V. Pr. p. iv. seq. ed. 2.*

^f The founder of Dunmowe Priory,

afterwards mentioned, in the reign of Henry the Third.

^g There are two old editions, at London, in 1615, and 1616, both for Henry Gosson, in 5 sh. 4to. They have only the author's initials W. V. See Hearne, *ut modo supr. iii. p. v. ii. p. xvi.*

written for the stage. Long before Vallans's *TWO SWANNES*, many theatrical pieces in blank-verse had appeared; the first of which is, *THE TRAGEDY OF GORBODUC*, written in 1561. The second is George Gascoigne's *JOCASTA*, a tragedy, acted at Grays-inn, in 1566. George Peele had also published his tragedy in blank-verse of *DAVID AND BETHSABE*, about the year 1579^b. *HIERONYMO*, a tragedy also without rhyme, was acted before 1590. But this point, which is here only transiently mentioned, will be more fully considered hereafter, in its proper place. We will now return to our author Grimoald.

Grimoald, as a writer of verses in rhyme, yields to none of his cotemporaries, for a masterly choice of chaste expression, and the concise elegancies of didactic versification. Some of the couplets, in his poem *IN PRAISE OF MODERATION*, have all the smartness which marks the modern style of sententious poetry, and would have done honour to Pope's ethic epistles.

The auncient Time commended not for nought
 The Mean. What better thyng can there be sought?
 In meane is vertue placed: on either side,
 Both right and left, amisse a man shall slide.
 Icar, with sireⁱ hadst thou the midway flown,
 Icarian beck^k by name no man [had] known.
 If middle path kept had proud Phaeton,
 No burning brand this earth had fallne upon.
 Ne cruel power, ne none so soft can raigin:
 That kepes^l a mean, the same shal stil remain.
 Thee, Julie^m, once did too much mercy spill:
 Thee, Nero stern, rigor extreem did kill.
 How could Augustⁿ so many yeres well passe?
 Nor overmeek, nor overferse, he was.
 Worship not Jove with curious fansies vain,
 Nor him despise: hold right atween these twain.

^b Shakespeare did not begin writing for the stage till 1591. Jonson, about 1598.

ⁱ Icarus, with thy father.

^k strait, sea.

^l that which.

^m Julius Cesar. ⁿ Augustus Cesar.

No wastefull wight, no greedy goom is prayzd:
 Stands Largesse just in egall ballance payzd^o;
 So Catoes meat surmountes Antonius chere,
 And better fame his sober fare hath here.
 Too slender building bad, as bad too grosse^p;
 One an eye sore, the other falls to losse.
 As medcines help in measure, so, god wot,
 By overmuch the sick their bane have got.
 Unmete, meesemes, to utter this mo wayes;
 Measure forbids unmeasurable prayse.^q

The maxim is enforced with great quickness and variety of illustration: nor is the collision of opposite thoughts, which the subject so naturally affords, extravagantly pursued, or indulged beyond the bounds of good sense and propriety. The following stanzas on the NINE MUSES are more poetical, and not less correct.^r

Imps^s of king JOVE and quene REMEMBRANCE, lo,
 The sisters nyne, the poets pleasant feres^t,
 Calliope doth stately stile bestow,
 And worthy praises paintes of princely peres.

Clio in solem songes reneweth all day,
 With present yeres conjoyning age bypast.
 Delighteful talke loves comicall Thaley;
 In fresh grene youth who doth like laurell last.

With voyces tragicall sowndes Melpomen,
 And, as with cheins, thallured eare she bindes.
 Her stringes when Terpsichor doth touche, even then
 She toucheth hartes, and raigneth in mens mindes.

Fine Erato, whose looke a lively chere
 Presents, in dancing keepes a comely grace.
 With semely gesture doth Polymnie stere,
 Whose wordes whole routes of rankes do rule in place.

^o poised.

^p thick, massy.

^q Fol. 113.

^r daughters.

^s Fol. 113.

^t companions.

Uranie, her globes to view all bent,
 The ninefold heaven observes with fixed face.
 The blastes Euterpe tunes of instrument,
 With solace sweete, hence my heavie dumps to chase.

Lord Phebus in the mids (whose heauenly sprite
 These ladies doth enspire) embraceth all.
 The Graces in the Muses weed, delite
 To lead them forth, that men in maze they fall.

It would be unpardonable to dismiss this valuable miscellany, without acknowledging our obligations to its original editor Richard Tottell: who deserves highly of English literature, for having collected at a critical period, and preserved in a printed volume, so many admirable specimens of antient genius, which would have mouldered in manuscript, or perhaps from their detached and fugitive state of existence, their want of length, the capriciousness of taste, the general depredations of time, inattention, and other accidents, would never have reached the present age. It seems to have given birth to two favorite and celebrated collections* of the same kind, THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES, and ENGLAND'S HELICON, which appeared in the reign of queen Elisabeth^u.

* [Quere whether these collections were not more immediately derived from "A gorgeous gallery of gallant Inventions," &c. and the "Phoenix Nest," both reprinted in Heliconia, vol. 1. PARK.]

^u The reader will observe, that I have followed the paging and arrangement of Tottell's second edition in 1565. 12mo. In his edition of 1557, there is much confusion. A poem is there given to Grimoald, on the death of lady Margaret Lee, in 1555. Also among Grimoald's is a poem on Sir James Wilford, mentioned above, who appears to

have fought under Henry the Eighth in the wars of France and Scotland. This edition of 1557, is not in quarto, as I have called it by an oversight, but in small duodecimo, and only with signatures. It is not mentioned by Ames, and I have seen it only among Tanner's printed books at Oxford. It has this colophon. "Imprinted at London in Flete Strete within Temple barre, at the sygne of the hand and starre by Richard Tottel, the fiftē day of June. An. 1557. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*"

SECTION XLI.

IT will not be supposed, that all the poets of the reign of Henry the Eighth were educated in the school of Petrarch. The graces of the Italian muse, which had been taught by Surrey and Wyatt, were confined to a few. Nor were the beauties of the classics yet become general objects of imitation. There are many writers of this period who still rhymed on, in the old prosaic track of their immediate predecessors, and never ventured to deviate into the modern improvements. The strain of romantic fiction was lost; in the place of which, they did not substitute the elegancies newly introduced.

I shall consider together, yet without an exact observation of chronological order, the poets of the reign of Henry the Eighth who form this subordinate class, and who do not bear any mark of the character of the poetry which distinguishes this period. Yet some of these have their degree of merit; and, if they had not necessarily claimed a place in our series, deserve examination.

Andrew Borde, who writes himself *ANDREAS PERFORATUS*, with about as much propriety and as little pedantry as Buchanan calls one *Wisehart SOPHOCARDIUS*, was educated at Winchester and Oxford^a; and is said, I believe on very slender proof, to have been physician to king Henry the Eighth. His *BREVIARY OF HEALTH*, first printed in 1547^b, is dedicated to

^a See his *INTRODUCTION TO KNOWLEDGE*, ut *infra*. cap. xxxv.

^b "Compyled by Andrewe Boorde of Physicke Doctoure an Englysshe man." It was reprinted by William Powell in 1552, and again in 1557. There was an impression by T. East, 1587, 4to. Others also in 1548, and 1575, which I have never seen. The latest is by East in 1598, 4to. [This seems to have been printed, says Herbert, before 1547, by

William Mydilton, in 12mo, because therein he mentions his "Introduction to Knowledge," as at that time printing at old Rob. Copland's. But the dedication of that to the Princess Mary is dated 3 May 1542, and may be supposed to have been printed soon after, though indeed it has no date of printing. It was printed by Wm. Copland. See *Bibl. West. No. 1643.—PARK.*]

the college of physicians, into which he had been incorporated. The first book of this treatise is said to have been examined and approved by the University of Oxford in 1546^c. He chiefly practised in Hampshire; and being popishly affected, was censured by Poyuet, a Calvinistic bishop of Winchester, for keeping three prostitutes in his house, which he proved to be his patients^d. He appears to have been a man of great superstition, and of a weak and whimsical head: and having been once a Carthusian, continued ever afterwards to profess celibacy, to drink water, and to wear a shirt of hair. His thirst of knowledge, dislike of the reformation, or rather his unsettled disposition, led him abroad into various parts of Europe, which he visited in the medical character*. Wood says, that he was "esteemed a noted poet, a witty and ingenious person, and an excellent physician." Hearne, who has plainly discovered the origin of Tom Thumb, is of opinion, that this facetious practitioner in physic gave rise to the name of MERRY ANDREW, the Fool on the mountebank's stage. The reader will not perhaps be displeased to see that antiquary's reasons for this conjecture: which are at the same time a vindication of Borde's character, afford some new anecdotes of his life, and show that a Merry Andrew may be a scholar and an ingenious man. "It is observable, that the author [Borde] was as fond of the word DOLENTYD, as of many other hard and uncooth words, as *any Quack can be*. He begins his BREVIARY OF HEALTH, *Egreious doctours and Maysters of the eximious and archane science of Physicke, of your urbanite exasperate not your selve, &c.* But notwithstanding this, will any one from hence infer or assert, that the author was either a *pedant* or a *superficial* scholar? I think, *upon due consideration*, he will judge the contrary. Dr. Borde was an *ingenious* man, and knew how to humour and please his patients, readers, and auditors. In his travells and visits, he often appeared and spoke in public: and would

^c At the end of which is this Note.
"Here endeth the first booke Examined
in Oxforde in the yere of our Lorde
mccccxvi," &c.

^d See *Against Martin*, &c. p. 48.
* ["I have gone round Christendome
and overthwart Christendome," says
Borde in his *Dietarie of Health*.—PARR.]

often frequent markets and fairs where a conflux of people used to get together, to whom he prescribed; and to induce them to flock thither the more readily, he would make *humorous* speeches, couched in such language as *caused mirth*, and *wonderfully* propagated his fame: and 'twas for the same end that he made use of such expressions in his Books, as would otherwise (the *circumstances* not considered) be very justly pronounced *bombast*. As he was *versed in antiquity*, he had words at command from old writers with which to amuse his hearers, which could not fail of *pleasing*, provided he added at the same time some *remarkable explication*. For instance, if he told them that *Δικιάδης* was an old brass medal among the Greeks, the *oddness* of the word, would, *without doubt*, gain *attention*; tho' nothing *near so much*, as if *withall* he *signified*, that 'twas a brass medal a *little bigger* than an Obolus, that used to be put in the mouths of persons that were dead.—And withall, 'twould *affect them the more*, if when he spoke of such a brass medal, he signified to them, that brass was in old time looked upon as *more honourable than other metals*, which he might *safely enough do*, from *Homer* and his *scholiast*. *Homer's words* are &c. A passage, which *without doubt* HIERONYMUS MARIUS would have taken notice of in the fourteenth chapter of his Book DE TINTINNABULIS, had it occurred to his memory when in prison he was writing, without the help of books before him, that *curious Discourse*. 'Twas from the Doctor's method of using such speeches at markets and fairs, that in *aftertimes*, those that imitated the like *humorous, jocular* language, were styled MERRY ANDREWS, a term *much in vogue* on our stages^e."

He is supposed to have compiled or composed the MERRY TALES of the mad men of Gotham, which, as we are told by Wood, "in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and after, was accounted a book full of wit and mirth by scholars and gentlemen^f." This piece, which probably was not without its temporary ri-

^e Hearne's BENEDICT. ABB. Tom. i. PREFAT. p. 50. edit. OXON. 1735.

^f ATH. OXON. i. 74. There is an edition in duodecimo by Henry Wikes, with-

outdate, but about 1568, entitled, MERRY TALES of the madmen of Gotham, gathered together by A. B. of physicks doctor. The oldest I have seen, is London, 1630, 12mo.

dicule, and which yet maintains a popularity in the nursery, was, I think, first printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Hearne was of opinion, that these idle pranks of the men of Gotham, a town in Lincolnshire, bore a reference to some customary law-tenures belonging to that place or its neighbourhood, now grown obsolete; and that Blount might have enriched his book on ANTIEN TENURES with these ludicrous stories. He is speaking of the political design of REYNARD THE FOX, printed by Caxton. "It was an *admirable Thing*. And the design, being political, and to represent a wise government, was equally good. So little reason is there to look upon this as a *poor despicable* book. Nor is there more reason to esteem THE MERRY TALES OF THE MAD MEN OF GOTHAM (which was much *valued* and *cried up* in Henry the eighth's time tho now sold at ballad-singers stalls) as *altogether a romance*: a certain *skillfull* person having told me more than once, that he was *assured by one of Gotham*, that they formerly held lands there, by such Sports and Customs as are touched upon in this book. For which reason, I think particular notice should have been taken of it in Blount's TENURES, as I do not doubt but there would, had that *otherwise curious* author been apprised of the *matter*. But 'tis *strange* to see the changes that have been made in the book of REYNARD THE FOX, from the original editions *!"

Borde's chief poetical work is entitled, "The first Boke of the INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE, the which doth teach a man to speake parte of al maner of languages, and to knowe the usage and fashion of al maner of countryes: and for to knowe the most parte of al maner of coynes of money, the whych is currant in every region. Made by Andrew Borde of phisyk doctor." It was printed by the Coplands, and is dedicated to the king's daughter the princess Mary. The dedication is dated from Montpelier, in the year 1542. The book, containing thirty-nine chapters, is partly in verse and partly in prose; with wooden cuts prefixed to each chapter. The first is a satire, as

* Hearne's NOT. ET SPICILEG. ad Gul. Neubrig. vol. iii. p. 744. See also BRÆDICT. ABB. ut supr. p. 54.

it appears, on the fickle nature of an Englishman: the symbolical print prefixed to this chapter, exhibiting a naked man, with a pair of sheers in one hand and a roll of cloth in the other, not determined what sort of a coat he shall order to be made, has more humour, than any of the verses which follow ^b. Nor is the poetry destitute of humour only; but of every embellishment, both of metrical arrangement and of expression. Borde has all the baldness of allusion, and barbarity of versification, belonging to Skelton, without his strokes of satire and severity. The following lines, part of the Englishman's speech, will not prejudice the reader in his favour.

What do I care, if all the world me faile?
 I will have a garment reach to my taile.
 Then am I a minion *, for I weare the new guise,
 The next yeare after I hope to be wise,
 Not only in wearing my gorgeous aray,
 For I will go to learning a whole summers day.

In the seventh chapter, he gives a fantastic account of his travels¹, and owns, that his metre deserves no higher appellation than *ryme dogrell*. But this delineation of the fickle Englishman is perhaps to be restricted to the circumstances of the author's age, without a respect to the national character: and, as Borde was a rigid catholic, there is a probability, notwithstanding in other places he treats of natural dispositions, that a satire is designed on the laxity of principle, and revolutions of opinion, which prevailed at the reformation, and the easy compliance of many of his changeable countrymen with a new religion for lucrative purposes.

^b Harrison, in his DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND, having mentioned this work by Borde, adds, "Suche is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none [equal] to the Spanish guise, to morrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer [ere] long no such apparel as that which is after the *Almaine* fashion: by and by the Turkish maner otherwise the *Morisco* gowns, the *Barbarian* sleeves, the mandilion worne to Collie Weston ward,

and the shorte *French breeches*," &c. B. ii. ch. 9. p. 172.

* [A young fashionable courtier. See a print of French *mignons* in Montfaucon's Antiquities.—ASHEV.]

¹ Prefixed to which, is a wooden cut of the author Borde, standing in a sort of pew or stall, under a canopy, habited in an academical gown, a laurel-crown on his head, with a book before him on a desk.

I transcribe the character of the Welshman, chiefly because he speaks of his harp.

I am a Welshman, and do dwel in Wales,
 I have loved to serche budgets, and looke in males:
 I love not to labour, to delve, nor to dyg,
 My fyngers be lymed lyke a lyme-twyg.
 And wherby ryches I do not greatly set,
 Syth all hys [is] fysshe that cometh to the net.
 I am a gentylman, and come of Brutes blood,
 My name is ap Ryce, ap Davy, ap Flood:
 I love our Lady, for I am of hyr kynne,
 He that doth not love her, I beshrewe his chynne.
 My kyndred is ap Hoby, ap Jenkin, ap Goffe.
 Bycause I go barelegged, I do catch the coffe.
 Bycause I do go barelegged it is not for pryde.
 I have a gray cote, my body for to hyde.
 I do love *carwe boby*^k, good rosted cheese,
 And swysshe metheglyn I loke for my fees.
 And yf I have my HARPE, I care for no more,
 It is my treasure, I kepe it in store.
 For my harpe is made of a good mare's skyn,
 The strynges be of horse heare, it maketh a good dyn.
 My songe, and my voyce, and my harpe doth agree,
 Much lyke the bussing of an homble bee:
 Yet in my country I do make pastyme
 In tellyng of prophyces which be not in ryme.^l

I have beforementioned "A ryght pleasant and merry History of the MYLNER OF ABINGTON^m, with his wife and his faire daughter, and of two poor scholars of Cambridge," a meagre

^k That is, *toasted cheese*, next mentioned.

^l Ch. ii. In the prose description of Wales he says, there are many beautiful and strong castles standing yet. "The castels and the countre of Wales, and the people of Wales, be much lyke to the castels and the country of the people of Castyle and Biscayn." In describing Gascony, he says, that at Bordeaux, "in

the cathedrall church of Saint Andrews, is the fairest and the greatest payre of orgyns [organs] in al Chrystendome, in the which orgyns be many instrumentes and vyces [devices] as gians [giants] heads and starres, the which doth move and wagge with their jawes and eis [eyes] as fast as the player playeth." ch. xxiii.

^m A village near Cambridge.

epitome of Chaucer's MILLER'S TALE. In a blank leaf of the Bodleian copy, this tale is said by Thomas Newton of Cheshire, an elegant Latin epigrammatist of the reign of queen Elisabeth, to have been written by Borde^a. He is also supposed to have published a collection of silly stories called SCOGIN'S JESTS, sixty in number. Perhaps Shakespeare took his idea from this jest-book, that Scogan was a mere buffoon, where he says that Falstaffe, as a juvenile exploit, "broke Scogan's head at the court-gate^b." Nor have we any better authority, than this publication by Borde, that Scogan was a graduate in the university, and a jester to a king^c. Hearne, at the end of Benedictus Abbas, has printed Borde's ITINERARY, as it may be called; which is little more than a string of names, but is quoted by Norden in his SPECULUM BRITANNIÆ^d. Borde's circulatory peregrinations, in the quality of a quack-doctor, might have furnished more ample materials for an English topography. Beside the BREVIARY OF HEALTH, mentioned above, and which was approved by the university of Oxford, Borde has left the DIETARIE OF HEALTH, reprinted in 1576, the PROMPTUARIE OF MEDICINE, the DOCTRINE OF URINES, and the PRINCIPLES OF ASTRONOMICAL PROGNOSTICATIONS^e: which are proofs of attention to his profession, and shew that he could sometimes be serious^f. But Borde's name would not have been now re-

^a See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 267.

^b Sec. P. Hen. iv. Act iii. Sc. ii.

^c It is hard to say whence Jonson got his account of Scogan, MASQUE OF THE FORTUNATE ISLES, vol. iv. p. 192.

Merefool. Skogan? What was he?

Johphiel. O, a fine gentleman, and a Master of Arts

Of Henry the Fourth's time, that made disguises

For the king's sonnes, and writ in balad-royal

Daintily well.

Merefool. But wrote he like a gentleman?

Johphiel. In rhyme, fine tinkling rhyme, and flowand verse,

With now and then some sense; and he was paid for't,

Regarded and rewarded, which few poets Are now adaya.—

See Tyrwhitt's CHAUCER, vol. v. AN ACCOUNT, &c. p. xx. And compare what I have said of Scogan, *supr.* vol. ii. p. 446. [where Mr. Ritson's correction of this passage is given.] Drayton, in the Preface to his ECLOGUES, says, "the COLIN CLOUT OF SKOGGAN under Henry the seventh is pretty." He must mean Skelton.

^d Pag. 13. MIDDLESEX. i. P.

^e *The Principles of Astronamyse the whiche diligently perscrutyd is in a maner a prognosticacyon to the worldes ende.* In thirteen chapters. For R. Copland, without date, 12mo. It is among bishop More's collection at Cambridge, with some other of Borde's books.

^f See Ames, HIST. PRINT. p. 152. Pits. p. 735.

membered, had he wrote only profound systems in medicine and astronomy. He is known to posterity as a buffoon, not as a philosopher. Yet, I think, some of his astronomical tracts have been epitomised and bound up with Erra Pater's Almanacs.

Of Borde's numerous books, the only one that can afford any degree of entertainment to the modern reader, is the *DIE-TARIE OF HELTHE*: where, giving directions as a physician, concerning the choice of houses, diet, and apparel, and not suspecting how little he should instruct, and how much he might amuse, a curious posterity, he has preserved many anecdotes of the private life, customs, and arts, of our ancestors^t. This work is dedicated to Thomas duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer under Henry the Eighth. In the dedication, he speaks of his being called in as a physician to sir John Drury, the year when cardinal Wolsey was promoted to York; but that he did not chuse to prescribe without consulting doctor Buttes, the king's physician. He apologises to the duke, for not writing in the *ornate* phraseology now generally affected. He also hopes to be excused, for using in his writings so many *wordes of mirth*: but this, he says, was only to make *your grace merrie*, and because mirth has ever been esteemed the best medicine. Borde must have had no small share of vanity, who could think thus highly of his own pleasantry. And to what a degree of taste and refinement must our antient dukes and lords treasurers have arrived, who could be exhilarated by the witticisms and the lively language of this facetious philosopher?

^t In his rules for building or planning a House, he supposes a quadrangle. The Gate-house, or Tower, to be exactly opposite to the Portico of the Hall. The Privy Chamber to be annexed to the Chamber of State. A Parlour joining to the Buttery and Pantry at the lower end of the Hall. The Pastry-house and Larder annexed to the Kitchen. Many of the chambers to have a view into the Chapel. In the outer quadrangle to be a stable, but only for *horses of pleasure*. The stables, dairy, and slaughter-house, to be a quarter of a mile from the house. The Moat to have a spring falling into

it, and to be often scowred. An Orchard of *sundry fruits* is convenient: but he rather recommends a Garden filled with aromatic herbs. In the Garden a Pool or two, for fish. A Park filled with deer and conies. "A Dove-house also is a necessary thyng about a mansyon-place. And, among other thynges, a *Payre of Buttes* is a decent thyng about a mansyon. And otherwhyle, for a great man necessary it is for to passe his tyme with bowles in an aly, when al this is finished, and the mansyon replenished with implements." Ch. iv. Sign. C. ii. Dedication dated 1542[7].

John Bale, a tolerable Latin classic, and an eminent biographer, before his conversion from popery, and his advancement to the bishoprick of Ossory by king Edward the Sixth, composed many scriptural interludes, chiefly from incidents of the New Testament. They are, the Life of Saint John the Baptist, written in 1538*. Christ in his twelfth year. Baptism and Temptation. The Resurrection of Lazarus. The Council of the High-priests. Simon the Leper. Our Lord's Supper, and the Washing of the feet of his Disciples. Christ's Burial and Resurrection. The Passion of Christ. The *Comedie* of the three Laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomites, Pharisees, and Papists, printed by Nicholas Bamburg in 1538: and so popular, that it was reprinted by Colwell in 1562^u. God's Promises to Man^v. Our author, in his *Vocacyon to the Bishoprick of Ossory*, informs us, that his COMEDY of John the Baptist, and his TRAGEDY of God's Promises, were acted by the youths upon a Sunday, at the market cross of Kilkenny^x. What shall we think of the state, I will not say of the stage, but of common sense, when these deplorable dramas could be endured? of an age, when the Bible was profaned and ridiculed from a principle of piety? But the fashion of acting mysteries appears to have expired with this writer. He is said, by himself, to have written a book of Hymns, and another of jests and tales: and to have translated the tragedy of PAMMACHIUS^y; the same perhaps which was acted at Christ's college in Cambridge in 1544, and afterwards laid before the privy council as a libel on the reformation^z. A low vein of abusive burlesque, which had more virulence than humour, seems to have been one of Bale's talents: two of his pamphlets against the papists, all whom he considered as monks, are entitled the *MASS OF THE GLUTTONS*,

* [See Harleian Miscell. vol. i.—**PARK.**]

^u Both in quarto. At the end is *A Song of Benedictus*, compiled by Johan Bale.

^v This was written in 1538. And first printed under the name of a TRAGEDY OF INTERLUDE, by Charlewood, 1577. 4to.

^x Fol. 24. [Still acted at the market-cross of Bury, but not on a Sunday.—**ASHEY.**]

^y **CRNT.** viii. 100. p. 702. And Verheiden, p. 149.

^z See *supr.* p. 205. Bale says, "Pammachii tragedias transtuli."

and the **ALCORAN OF THE PRELATES**^a. Next to exposing the impostures of popery, literary history was his favorite pursuit: and his most celebrated performance is his account of the British writers. But this work, perhaps originally undertaken by Bale as a vehicle of his sentiments in religion, is not only full of misrepresentations and partialities, arising from his religious prejudices, but of general inaccuracies, proceeding from negligence or misinformation. Even those more antient Lives which he transcribes from Leland's commentary on the same subject, are often interpolated with false facts, and impertinently marked with a misapplied zeal for reformation. He is angry with many authors, who flourished before the thirteenth century, for being catholics. He tells us, that lord Cromwell frequently screened him from the fury of the more bigotted bishops, on account of the comedies he had published^b. But whether plays in particular, or other compositions, are here to be understood by comedies, is uncertain.

Brian Anslay, or Annesley, yeoman of the wine cellar to Henry the Eighth about the year 1520, translated a popular French poem into English rhymes, at the exhortation of the *gentle earl of Kent*, called the **CITIE OF DAMES** [*Ladyes**], in three books. It was printed in 1521, by Henry Pepwell, whose prologue prefixed begins with these unpromising lines,

So now of late came into my custode
This forseyde book, by Brian Anslay,
Yeoman of the seller with the eight king Henry.

Another translator of French into English, much about the same time, is Andrew Chertsey. In the year 1520, Wynkyn de Worde printed a book with this title, partly in prose and partly in verse, *Here foloweth the passyon of our lord Jesu Crist translated out of French into Englysch by Andrew Chertsey gentleman the yere of our lord MDXX*.^c I will give two stanzas

^a *Ibid.*

^b "Ob editas COMEDIAS." Ubi supr.

^c [Mr. Ellis conjectures this to be a translation of the "Tresor de la Cité

des Dames," by Christian of Pise. Hist. Sketch, ii. 20.—PARK.]

^c in quarto.

of Robert Copland's prologue, as it records the diligence, and some other performances, of this very obscure writer.

The godly use of prudent-wytted men
 Cannot absteyn theyr auntyent exercise.
 Recorde of late how besiley with his pen
 The translator of the sayd treatyse
 Hath him indevered, in most godly wyse,
 Bokes to translate, in volumes large and fayre,
 From French in prose, of goostly exemplaire.

As is, the *floure of Gods commaundements*,
 A treatyse also called *Lucydarye*,
 With two other of the *sevyn sacraments*,
 One of *cristen men the ordinary*,
 The seconde *the craft to lyve well and to dye*.
 With dyvers other to mannes lyfe profytable,
 A vertuose use and ryght commendable.

The *Floure of God's Commaundements* was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in folio, in 1521. A print of the author's arms, with the name **CHERTSEY**, is added. The *Lucydarye* is translated from a favorite old French poem called *Li Lusidaire*. This is a translation of the **ELUCIDIARIUM**, a large work in dialogue, containing the sum of christian theology, by some attributed to Anselm archbishop of Canterbury in the twelfth century^d. Chertsey's other versions, mentioned in Copland's prologue, are from old French manuals of devotion, now equally forgotten. Such has been the fate of volumes *fayre and large*! Some of these versions have been given to George Ashby, clerk of the signet to Margaret queen of Henry the Sixth, who wrote a moral poem for the use of their son prince Edward, on the *Active policy of a prince*, finished in the author's eightieth year. The prologue begins with a compliment to "Maisters Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate," a proof of the estimation which that celebrated triumvirate still continued to maintain. I believe

^d Wynkyn de Worde printed, *Here darye*. With wooden cuts. No date. *begynneth a lytell treatyse called the Lycy-* In quarto.

it was never printed. But a copy, with a small mutilation at the end, remains among bishop More's manuscripts at Cambridge^c.

In the dispersed library of the late Mr. William Collins, I saw a thin folio of two sheets in black letter, containing a poem in the octave stanza, entitled, *FABYL'S GHOSTE*, printed by John Rastell in the year 1533. The piece is of no merit; and I should not perhaps have mentioned it, but as the subject serves to throw light on our early drama. Peter Fabell, whose apparition speaks in this poem, was called *The Merrie Devil of Edmonton*, near London. He lived in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and was buried in the church of Edmonton. Weever, in his *ANTIEN T FUNERAL MONUMENTS*, published in 1631, says under Edmonton, that in the church "lieth interred under a seemlie tombe without inscription, the body of Peter Fabell, as the report goes, upon whom this fable was fathered, that he by his wittie devises beguiled the devill. Belike he was some ingenious-conceited gentleman, who did use some sleighte trickes for his own disportes. He lived and died in the raigne of Henry the Seventh, saith the booke of his merry Pranks^f." The book of Fabell's *Merry Pranks* I have never seen. But there is an old anonymous comedy, written in the reign of James the First, which took its rise from this merry magician. It was printed in 1617, and is called the *MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON*, as it hath been sundry times acted by his majesties servants at the Globe on the Banke-side^g. In the Prologue, Fabell is introduced, reciting his own history.

Tis Peter Fabell a renowned scholler,
Whose fame hath still beene hitherto forgot
By all the writers of this latter age.
In Middle-sex his birth, and his aboade,
Not full seauen mile from this great famous citty:
That, for his fame in slights and magicke won,
Was cald the Merry Fiend of Edmonton.

^c MSS. MORE, 492. It begins,
"Right [high] and myghty prince and
my ryght good lorde."

^f Pag. 534.

^g in quarto, Lond.

If any heere make doubt of such a name,
 In Edmonton yet fresh vnto this day,
 Fixt in the wall of that old ancient church
 His monument remaineth to be seene :
 His memory yet in the mouths of men,
 That whilst he liu'd he could deceiue the deuill.
 Imagine now, that whilst he is retirde,
 From Cambridge backe vnto his natiue home,
 Suppose the silent sable visage night,
 Casts her blacke curtaine ouer all the world,
 And whilst he sleepes within his silent bed,
 Toyl'd with the studies of the passed day :
 The very time and howre wherein that spirite
 That many yeares attended his command ;
 And oftentimes 'twixt Cambridge and that towne,
 Had in a minute borne him through the ayre,
 By composition 'twixt the fiend and him,
 Comes now to claime the scholler for his due.
 Behold him here laid on his restlesse couch,
 His fatall chime prepared at his head,
 His chamber guarded with these sable slights,
 And by him stands that necromantick chaire,
 In which he makes his direfull inuocations,
 And binds the fiends that shall obey his will.
 Sit with a pleased eye vntill you know
 The commicke end of our sad tragique show.

The play is without absurdities, and the author was evidently an attentive reader of Shakespeare. It has nothing, except the machine of the chime, in common with *FABYLL'S GHOSTE*. Fabell is mentioned in our chronicle-histories, and, from his dealings with the devil, was commonly supposed to be a friar^b.

In the year 1537, Wilfrid Holme, a gentleman of Huntington in Yorkshire, wrote a poem called *The Fall and evil Success*

^b See also Norden's *SPECULUM BRI-* p. 18. And Fuller's *WORTHIES, MID-*
TANNIE, written in 1596. *MIDDLESEX, DLESEX*, p. 186. edit. fol. 1662.

of Rebellion. It is a dialogue between England and the author, on the commotions raised in the northern counties on account of the reformation in 1537, under Cromwell's administration. It was printed at London in 1573. Alliteration is here carried to the most ridiculous excess: and from the constraint of adhering inviolably to an identity of initials, from an affectation of coining prolix words from the Latin, and from a total ignorance of prosodical harmony, the author has produced one of the most obscure, rough, and unpleasing pieces of versification in our language. He seems to have been a disciple of Skelton. The poem, probably from its political reference, is mentioned by Hollinshed¹. Bale, who overlooks the author's poetry in his piety, thinks that he has learnedly and perspicuously discussed the absurdities of popery².

One Charles Bansley, about the year 1540, wrote a rhyming satire on the pride and vices of women *now a days*. I know not if the first line will tempt the reader to see more.

“Bo peep, what have we spied!”

It was printed in quarto by Thomas Rainolde; but I do not find it among Ames's books of that printer, whose last piece is dated 1555. Of equal reputation is Christopher Goodwin, who wrote the *MAYDEN'S DREME*, a vision without imagination, printed in 1542¹, and *THE CHANCE OF THE DOLORUS LOVER*, a lamentable story without pathos, printed in 1520^m. With these two may be ranked, Richard [Thomas] Feylde, or Field, author of a poem printed in quarto by Wynkyn de Worde, called *A CONTRAVERSIE BETWENE A LOVER AND A JAYE*. The prologue begins

Thoughe laureate poetes in olde antyquyte.

I must not forget to observe here, that Edward Haliwell, admitted a fellow of King's college Cambridge in 1532, wrote the Tragedy of *DIDO*, which was acted at saint Paul's school

¹ Chron. iii. p. 978.

² ix. 22.

^m In 4to. Pr. “Upon a certain tyme

¹ In 4to. Pr. “Behold you young ladies of high parentage.”

in London, under the conduct of the very learned master John Rightwise, before cardinal Wolseyⁿ. But it may be doubted, whether this drama was in English. Wood says, that it was written by Rightwise^o. One John Hooker, fellow of Magdalene college Oxford in 1535, wrote a comedy called by Wood PISCATOR, or *The Fisher caught*^p. But as latinity seems to have been his object, I suspect this comedy to have been in Latin, and to have been acted by the youth of his college.

The fanaticisms of chemistry seem to have remained at least till the dissolution of the monasteries. William * Blomefield, otherwise Rattlesden, born at Bury in Suffolk, bachelor in physic, and a monk of Bury-abbey, was an adventurer in quest of the philosopher's stone. While a monk of Bury, as I presume, he wrote a metrical chemical tract, entitled, **BLOMEFIELD'S BLOSSOMS, OR THE CAMPE OF PHILOSOPHY**. It is a vision, and in the octave stanza. It was originally written in the year 1530, according to a manuscript that I have seen: but in the copy printed by Ashmole^q, which has some few improvements and additional stanzas, our author says he began to dream in 1557^r. He is admitted into the camp of philosophy by TIME, through a superb gate which has twelve locks. Just within the entrance were assembled all the true philosophers from Hermes and Aristotle, down to Roger Bacon, and the canon of Bridlington. Detached at some distance, appear those unskilful but specious pretenders to the transmutation of metals, lame, blind, and emaciated, by their own pernicious drugs and injudicious experiments, who defrauded king Henry the Fourth of immense treasures by a counterfeit elixir. Among other wonders of this mysterious region, he sees the tree of philosophy, which has fifteen different buds, bearing fifteen different fruits. Afterwards Blomefield turning protestant, did

ⁿ See supr. p. 269.

^o Compare Tanner, BIBL. pag. 632. 372. ATH. OXON. i. 17.

^p ATH. OXON. i. 60.

[* From Ashmole's notes on *Theatrum Chemicum* 1652, p. 478, it seems doubt-

ful whether his name was not MYLES.—
PARK.]

^q See Stanz. 5.

^r See Ashmole's *TREATUM CHemicum*, p. 305. 478.

not renounce his chemistry with his religion, for he appears to have dedicated to queen Elisabeth another system of occult science, entitled, *THE RULE OF LIFE, OR THE FIFTH ESSENCE*, with which her majesty must have been highly edified¹.

Although lord Surrey and some others so far deviated from the dullness of the times, as to copy the Italian poets, the same taste does not seem to have uniformly influenced all the nobility of the court of king Henry the Eighth who were fond of writing verses. Henry Parker, lord Morley, who died an old man in the latter end of that reign, was educated in the best literature which our universities afforded. Bale mentions his *TRAGEDIES AND COMEDIES*, which I suspect to be nothing more than grave mysteries and moralities, and which probably would not now have been lost, had they deserved to live. He mentions also his *RHYMES*, which I will not suppose to have been imitations of Petrarch². Wood says, that "his younger years were adorned with all kinds of *superficial* learning, especially with dramatic poetry, and his elder with that which was divine³." It is a stronger proof of his piety than his taste, that he sent, as a new year's gift to the princess Mary, *HAMPOLE'S COMMENTARY UPON SEVEN OF THE FIRST PENITENTIAL PSALMS*. The manuscript, with his epistle prefixed, is in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum⁴. Many of Morley's translations, being dedicated either to king Henry the Eighth, or to the princess Mary, are preserved in manuscript in the same royal repository⁵. They are chiefly from Solomon, Seneca, Erasmus, Athanasius, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Paulus Jovius. The authors he translated show his track of reading. But we should not forget his attention to the classics, and that he translated also Tully's *DREAM OF SCIPIO*, and three or four lives of Plutarch, although not immediately from the Greek⁶. He seems to have been a rigid catholic, retired and studious.

¹ MSS. MORE, autograph. 430. Pr.

"Although he, most redoubted, suffran lady." See FOX, *MARTYR*. edit. i. p. 479.

² *SCRIPT. BRIT.* par. p. st. 103.

³ *ATH. OXON.* i. 52.

⁴ MSS. 18. B. xxi.

⁵ But see MSS. GRESHAM. 8.

⁶ See MSS. (Bibl. Bodl.) LAUD. H. 17. MSS. Bibl. REG. 17 D. 2.—17 D. xi.—18 A. lx. And Walpole, *ROY.* and

His declaration, or paraphrase, on the ninety-fourth Psalm, was printed by Berthelette in 1539. A theological commentary by a lord, was too curious and important a production to be neglected by our first printers.

NOV. AUTH. I. p. 92. seq. [p. 313. of Ath. Oxon. by Mr. Bliss, vol. i. col. Mr. Park's edition, where a specimen of 117. and the Brit. Bibliographer, vol. 4. his poetry is given. See also Wood's p. 107.]

SECTION XLII.

JOHN HEYWOOD, commonly called the epigrammatist, was beloved and rewarded by Henry the Eighth for his buffooneries*. At leaving the university, he commenced author, and was countenanced by sir Thomas More for his facetious disposition. To his talents of jocularly in conversation, he joined a skill in music, both vocal and instrumental. His merriments were so irresistible, that they moved even the rigid muscles of queen Mary †; and her sullen solemnity was not proof against

* [From having been termed *civis Londinensis* by Bale, he has been considered as a native of London by Pitts, Fuller, Wood, Tanner, and by the editors of the New Biog. Dict. in 1798. Langbaine, and after him Gildon, conveyed the information that he had lived at North Mims, Herts; and Mr. Reed has followed up this report in Biog. Dram. by saying he was *born* there. That North Mims had been the place of his residence, if not of his nativity, may be deduced from the following lines in *Thalias Banquet* 1620, by Hen. Peacham.

I thinke the place¹ that gave me first my
birth,
The genius had of epigram and mirth;
There famous *More* did his *Utopia*
write,
And there came *Heywoods* Epigrams to
light. PARK.]

† [Heywood evinced his attachment to this princess long before her ascent to the throne, as appears from a copy of verses preserved in Harl. MS. 1708, entitled, "A Description of a most noble Ladye, adwewed by John Heywoode presently; who advertising her yeares

as face, saith of her thus in much eloquent phrase.

Give place ye ladyes all, bee gone,
Shewe not your selves att all,
For why? behoulde there cometh one
Whose face yours all blanke shall.

The eulogist then proceeds to describe the virtuous attraction of her looks, the blushing beauty of her lively countenance, the wit and gravity, the mirth and modesty, with the firmness of word and deed which mingled in her character. This picture was taken when the princess was eighteen; and consequently in the year 1534. Part of the above poem was printed among the songs and sonnets of Uncertain Authors in Tottell's early miscellany, and has been inserted by Mr. Warton at p. 332, with high commendation of the unsuspected writer. Two ballads by Heywood printed in 1554 and 1557 are preserved in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries. The former was written on the marriage of Philip and Mary; the latter, on the traitorous taking of Scarborough castle. Both have been reprinted in vol. ii. of a Supplement to the Harleian Miscellany.—PARK.]

¹ "North Mimmes in Herts, neere to Saint Albans." Sir Thomas More must have had a seat in that neighbourhood, says Dr. Berkenhout. His admiration of Heywood's repartees is noticed in Dod's Church History, vol. i. p. 369.

his songs, his rhymes, and his jests*. He is said to have been often invited to exercise his arts of entertainment and pleasantry in her presence, and to have had the honour to be constantly admitted into her privy-chamber for this purpose¹.

Notwithstanding his professional dissipation, Heywood appears to have lived comfortably under the smiles of royal patronage. What the FAIRY QUEEN could not procure for Spenser from the penurious Elisabeth and her precise ministers, Heywood gained by puns and conceits.

His comedies, most of which appeared before the year 1534, are destitute of plot, humour, or character, and give us no very high opinion of the festivity of this agreeable companion. They consist of low incident, and the language of ribaldry. But perfection must not be expected before its time. He is called our first writer of comedies. But those who say this, speak without determinate ideas, and confound comedies with moralities and interludes. We will allow, that he is among the first of our dramatists who drove the Bible from the stage, and introduced representations of familiar life and popular manners. These are the titles of his plays. *The PLAY called the four P's, being a new and a very merry ENTERLUDE OF A PALMER, A PARADONER, A POTYCARY, AND A PEDLAR*, printed at London in

[* One of these is preserved in Cotton MS. Jul. F. x. "When Queene Mary tolde Heywoode that the priestes must forego their wives, he merrily answered: Then your grace must allow them *lemmans*, for the clergie cannot live without *sauce*." Another is recorded by Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589. "At the Duke of Northumberland's board, merry *John Heywood* was allowed to sit at the table's end. The duke had a very noble and honorable mynde alwayes to pay his debts well, and when he lacked money, would not stick to sell the greatest part of his plate: so had he done few dayes before. *Heywood* being loth to call for his drinke so oft as he was dry, turned his eye toward the cupbord and sayd, 'I finde great misse of your grace's standing cups:' the duke thinking he had spoken it of some knowledge that

his plate was lately sold, said somewhat sharply, 'Why, sir, will not these cups serve as good a man as your selfe?' *Heywood* readily replied, 'Yes, if it please your grace: but I would have one of them stand still at myne elbow full of drinke, that I might not be driven to trouble your men so often to call for it.' This pleasant and speedy turn of the former wordes holpe all the matter againe, whereupon the duke became very pleasaunt and dranke a bolle of wine to *Heywood*, and bid a cuppe should alwayes be standing by him." p. 231. Pitts has related an extraordinary instance of his death-bed waggery, which seems to vie in merriment with the scaffold jests of Sir Thomas More in *articulo mortis*.—PARK.]

¹ Wood, *ATH. OXON.* i. 150.

quarto*, without date or name of the printer, but probably from the press of Berthelette or Rastell. *The PLAY of LOVE. The PLAY of the WEATHER, or a new and a very mery ENTERLUDE of all maner of WEATHERS*, printed in quarto by William Rastell, 1533, and again by Robert Wyer^b. *A mery PLAY betweene the PARDONER and the FRERE, the CURATE, and neybour PRATTE*, in quarto, by William Rastell, dated the fifth day of April, 1533. *The PLAY of Genteelnes and Nobilitie*, in two parts, at London, without date. *The PINNER of Wakefeld, a COMEDIE. Philotas Scotch†, a COMEDIE. A mery PLAY betweene JOHAN the husband, TYB the wife, and syr JOHAN the preeste*, by William Rastell, in quarto, 1533.

His EPIGRAMS, six hundred in number^c, are probably some of his jokes versified‡; and perhaps were often extemporaneous sallies, made and repeated in company. Wit and humour are ever found in proportion to the progress of politeness. The miserable drolleries and the contemptible quibbles, with which these little pieces are pointed, indicate the great want of refinement§; not only in the composition but in the conversation of

[* Reprinted in Dodsley's collection of Old Plays, from an edition sine anno vel loco. Herbert says it was printed by J. Alde in 1569, and by W. Middleton without date. Typog. Ant. p. 576.—PARK.]

^b In duodecimo. No date. Pr. "Jupiter ryght far so far longe as now were to recyte."

† [Langhaine expressed a confident belief that Philotas and the Pindar of Wakefield were not Heywood's compositions, and Mr. Reed fully coincided in the same belief.—PARK.]

^c See three hundred Epigrammes on three hundred Proverbs. Pr. "If every man mend one," London, without date, but certainly before 1553. Again, 1577.—1587.—1598. The first hundred Epigrammes. Pr. "Ryme without reason." Lond. 1566.—1577.—1587. 4to. The fourth hundred of Epigrammes, Lond. without date. Again, 1577.—1587.—1597. 4to. Pr. Prol. "Ryme without reason, and reason." The fifth and sixth hundredth of Epigrammes. Pr. "Were

it as perillous to deal cards as play."

Lond. 1566.—1577.—1587.—1597. 4to.

See JOHN HEYWOOD'S WOORRES, Anno domini 1576. Imprinted at London in Fleete-streate, etc. by Thomas Marabe.

In quarto. The colophon has 1577. This edition is not mentioned by Ames. [The earliest edition I have seen was dated 1562, and this included the six centuries of Epigrammes, and both parts of the dialogue on proverbs.—PARK.]

‡ [Gabriel Harvey in a note on Speght's Chaucer, (penes Bp. Percy) says that some of Heywood's epigrams are supposed to be conceits and devices of pleasant Sir Thomas More.—PARK.]

§ [Heath well observed in his first Century of Epigrams, 1610, that

Heywood the old English Epigrammatist
Had wit at will, and art was all he mist:
But now adaeis we of the modern frie
Have art and labour with wits penurie.

Puttenham had some time before remarked with critical discrimination, that "Heywood came to be well benefited for

our ancestors. This is a specimen, on a piece of humour of Wolsey's Fool, *A saying of PATCH my lord Cardinal's FOOLE* *.

Maister Sexton^d, a person of unknowen witte,
As he at my lord Cardinal's boord did sitte,
Greedily raught^e at a goblet of wine :
Drinke none, sayd my lord, for that sore leg of thyne :
I warrant your Grace, quoth Sexton, I provide
For my leg : for I drinke on the tother side. ^f

The following is rather a humorous tale than an epigram, yet with an epigrammatic turn.

Although that Foxes have been seene there seelde^g,
Yet was there lately in Finsbery Feelde^h
A Foxe sate in sight of certaine people,
Nodding, and blissingⁱ, staring on Poules steeple.
A Maide toward market with hens in a band
Came by, and with the Foxe she fell in hand^k.
“What thing is it, Rainard, in your braine plodding,
That bringeth this busy blissing, and nodding ?
I nother^l nod for sleepe sweete hart, the Foxe saide,
Nor blisse for spirites^m, except the divell be a maide :
My nodding and blissing breedth of wonderⁿ
Of the witte^o of Poules Weathercoke yonder.
There is more witte in that cocks onely head
Than hath bene in all mens heds that be dead.
As thus—by common report we finde,
All that be dead, did die for *lacke of winde* :

the myrth and quiknesse of his conceits, more than for any good learning which was in him.” Art of Eng. Poesie.—
PARK.]

* [When Sir Thomas More had resigned the Chancellorship, he gave his fool Paterson to the Lord Mayor of London upon this condition, that he should every year wait on him who succeeded to the office. See More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 108. PARK.]

^d The real name of PATCH, Wolsey's Fool.

^e reached.

^f FIRST HUNDRED. Epigr. 44.

^g seldom. ^h Finsbury field.

ⁱ bowing and blessing.

^k joined company.

^l neither.

^m to drive away evil spirits.

ⁿ proceeds from wonder.

^o wisdom.

But the Weathercocks wit is not so weake
 To *lacke winde*—the *winde is ever in his beake*.
 So that, while any winde blowth in the skie,
 For *lacke of winde* that Weathercocks will not die.^p
 She cast downe hir hennes, and now did she blis^p,
 “Jesu,” quod she, “*in nomine patris!*
 Who hath ever heard, at any season,
 Of a Foxes forgeing so feat a reason?”
 And while she preysed the Foxes wit so,
 He gat her hennes on his necke, and to go^q.
 “Whither away with my hennes, Foxe?” quoth she.
 “To Poules pig^r as fast as I can,” quoth he.
 Betweene these Hennes and yonder Weathercocke,
 I will assaie to have chickens a flocke;
 Which if I may get, this tale is made goode,
 In all christendome not so *Wise a broode!*”^s—

Another is on the phrase, *wagging beards*.

It is mery in hall, when beardes wagge all.
 Husband, for this these woordes to mynd I call;
 This is ment by men in their merie eating,
 Not to wag their beardes in brauling or threating:
 Wyfe, the meaning hereof differth not two pinnes,
 Between wagginge of mens beardes and womens chins.^t

On the fashion of wearing *Verdingales*, or farthingales.

Alas! poore verdingales must lie in the street,
 To house them no dore in the citee made meete.
 Synce at our narrow doores they in cannot win^u,
 Sende them to Oxforde, at brodegates to get in.^w

Our author was educated at Broadgate-hall in Oxford, so called from an uncommonly wide gate or entrance, and since

^p cross herself.

^q began to steal off.

^r pike, i.e. spire, or steeples.

^s THE FIRST HUNDRED. Epigr. 10.
 There are six more lines, which are superfluous.

^t EPIGRAMMES ON PROVERBS. Epigram 2.

^u enter in. WIN is probably a contraction for go in. But see Tyrwhitt's GLOSS. CH. [See vol. i. p. 168. note q.]

^w FIFTE HUNDRED. Epigr. 55.

converted into Pembroke college. These EPIGRAMS are mentioned in Wilson's RHETORIKE, published in 1553*.

Another of Heywood's works, is a poem in long verse, entitled, *A DIALOGUE containyng in effect the number of al the PROVERBES in the English tongue compact in a matter concerning two marriages*†. The first edition I have seen, is dated 1547^r. All the proverbs of the English language are here interwoven into a very silly comic tale.

The lady of the story, an old widow now going to be married again, is thus described, with some degree of drollery, on the bridal day.

In this late olde widow, and then olde newe wife,
Age and Appetite fell at a strong strife.
 Her lust was as yong, as her lims were olde.
 The day of her wedding, like one to be solde,

*["The English proverbes gathered by Ihon Heiwoode helpe well in this behaulfe (allegory), the whiche commonlie are nothyng els but allegories and darke devised sentences," fol. 90. a. Again, "for furnishing similitudes the proverbes of Heiwoode helpe wonderfull wele for thys purpose," fol. 96. b.—PARK.]

† [The following anecdote relating to this work has been transmitted among some "witty aunsweres and saiengs of Englishmen" in Cotton MS. Jul. F. x. "William Paulett, Marques of Wynchester and highe treasurer of Engelande, being presented by John Heywoode with a booke, asked him what yt contayned? and when Heywoode told him 'All the proverbes in Englishe'—'What, all?' quoth my Lorde; 'No, Bate me an ace, 'quoth Bolton,' is that in youre booke?' 'No, by my faith, my Lorde, I thinke not,' aunswered Heywoode." But the neatest replication of this professed court-wit seems to be recorded in Camden's Remaines, 1605, p. 234. Heywood being asked by Queen Mary "What wind blew him to the court?" He answered, "Two specially: the one to see your Majestie." "We thank you for that," said the Queen; "but, I pray you, what is the other?"

"That your Grace," said he, "might see me." Sir John Harrington has an Epigram on a witty speech of Heywood to the Queene, another on young Heywood's answer to Lord Warwick, and a third on old Heywood's sons.—PARK.]

^r In quarto. Others followed, 1549.—1562.—1566.—1576.—1587.—1598. 4to.

[Davies, of Hereford, in his "Scourge of Folly," about 1611, printed a *Descant upon Englishe proverbes*, and exhibited with a retrograde taste, not only the manner, but the dull rhythm (?) of his precursor, in the following metrical address

To old JOHN Heywood the Epigrammatist.

Olde Heywood have with thee in *his od vaine*

That yet with booksellers as new doth remaine.

New poets sing riming, but thy rymes advance

Themselves in light measures: for thus they doe dance.

Ile gather some proverbes thou gatherdst before,

To descant upon them as thou didst of yore, &c.—PARK.]

She set out herself in fyne apparell :
 She was made like a beere-pot, or a barrell.
 A crooked hooked nose, beetle browde, blere eyde,
 Many men wisht for beautifying that bryde.
 Her waste to be gyrde in, and for a boone grace,
 Some well favoured visor on her ill favoured face ;
 But with visorlike visage, such as it was,
 She smirkt and she smilde, but so lispd this las,
 That folke might have thought it done onely alone
 Of wantonnesse, had not her teeth been gone.
 Upright as a candel standeth in a socket,
 Stoode she that day, *so simpre de cocket* ^y.
 Of auncient fathers she tooke no cure nor care,
 She was to them *as koy as a Crokers mare*.
 She tooke the'ntertainment of the yong men,
 All in daliaunce, *as nice as a nuns hen* ^z.
 I suppose, That day her *eares* might well *glow*,
 For all the town talkt of her hie and low.
 One sayd a wel favoured olde woman shee is :
 The devill shee is, saide another : and to this
 In came the third *with his five egges*, and sayd,
 Fifty yere agoe I knew her a trim mayde.
 Whatever she were then, sayde one, she is nowe,
 To become a bryde, *as meete as a sowe*,
To beare a saddle. She is in this mariage,
As comely as a cowe in a cage.
Gup with a gald back, Gill, come up to supper,
 What *mine old mare would have a newe crupper*,
 And now mine olde hat must have a new band, &c. ^a

The work has its value and curiosity as a repertory of proverbs made at so early a period. Nor was the plan totally void

^y I do not understand this, which is marked for a proverb. [The phrase occurs in Skelton's Punnyng of Elynour Rummyn :

And gray russet rocket
 With symper the cocket.—PARK.]

^a An admirable proverbial simile. It

is used in Wilson's ARTE OF RHETORIKE, "I knewe a priest that was *as nice as a Nunnes Hen*, when he would say masse he would never saie *DOMINUS VOBISCUM*, but *Dominus Vobicum*." fol. 112. a. edit. 1567. 4to.

^z SECOND PART. ch. i.

of ingenuity, to exhibit these maxims in the course of a narrative, enlivened by facts and circumstances. It certainly was susceptible of humour and invention:

Heywood's largest and most laboured performance is the *SPIDER AND THE FLIE*, with wooden cuts, printed at London by Thomas Powell, in 1556^b. It is a very long poem in the octave stanza, containing ninety-eight chapters. Perhaps there never was so dull, so tedious, and trifling an apologue: without fancy, meaning, or moral*. A long tale of fictitious manners will always be tiresome, unless the design be burlesque: and then the ridiculous, arising from the contrast between the solemn and the light, must be ingeniously supported. Our author seems to have intended a fable on the burlesque construction †: but we know not when he would be serious and when witty, whether he means to make the reader laugh, or to give him advice. We must indeed acknowledge, that the age was not yet sufficiently refined, either to relish or to produce burlesque poetry^c. Harrison, the author of the *DESCRIPTION OF*

^b In quarto.

* [Mr. Ellis, in his *Historical Sketch of English Poetry*, &c. chap. xvi. has pronounced this parabolic tale "utterly contemptible:" but he has extracted two specimens from the First Century of Heywood's Epigrams, which certainly possess more true epigrammatic point than those selected by Mr. Warton. The following lines afford the most favorable instance of his versification.

ON MEASURE.

Measure is a merry meane,
Which filde with noppie drinke
When merry drinkers drinke off cleane,
Then merrily they winke.

Measure is a merry meane,
But I meane measures gret,
Where lippes to litle pitchers leane,
Those lippes they scantily wet.

Measure is a merry meane,
And measure is this mate;
To be a Deacon or a Dean
Thou wouldst not change the state.

Measure is a merry meane

In volewmes full or flat,

There is no chapter nor no sceane

That thou appliest like that.

Epig. upon Proverbes, Cent. iii. Ep. 28.
PARK.]

† [Herbert says—"We are to consider the author here, as he really was, a catholic; partial in vindicating the catholic cause and the administration by queen Mary, whom he characterises by the maid, with her broom (the civil sword), executing the commands of her master (Christ) and her mistress (holy church). By the *flies* are to be understood the catholics; and by the *spiders*, the protestants. How justly the characters are supported I have neither leisure nor inclination to examine." MS. note.—PARK.]

^c But I must not forget Chaucer's *Ses THOMAS*: and that among the Cotton manuscripts, there is an anonymous poem, perhaps coeval with Chaucer, in the style of allegorical burlesque, which describes the power of money, with great

BRITAIN, prefixed to Hollinshed's Chronicle, has left a sensible criticism on this poem. "One hath made a booke of the SPIDER AND THE FLEE, wherein he dealeth so profoundlie, and

humour, and in no common vein of satire. The hero of the piece is SIR PENNY. MSS. Cott. Galba E. 9.

INCIPT NARRATIO DE DNO DENARIO.

In erth it es a littill thing,
And regnes als¹ a riche king,
Whare he es lent in land;
SIR PENNY es his name calde,
He makes both yong and alde²
Bow untill³ his hand:

Papes, kinges, and emperoures,
Bisschoppes, abbottes, and priowres,
Person, prest, and knyght,
Dukes, erles, and ilk barowne,
To serue him er⁴ thai ful boune⁵,
Both biday and nyght.

SIR PENNY chaunges man's mode,
And gets⁶ them oft to doun thaire hode
And to rise him agayne⁷.
Men honors him with grete reuerence,
Makes ful mekell obedience
Vnto that littill swaine.

In kinges court es it no bote⁸,
Ogaines SIR PENNY for to mote⁹,
So mekill es he of myght,
He es so witty and so strang,
That be it neuer so mekill wrang,
He will mak it right.

With PENNY may men wemen till¹⁰
Be thai neuer so strange of will,
So oft may it be sene,
Lang with him will thai nocht chide,
For he may gar thaim trayl syde¹¹.
In gude skarlet and grene.

He may by¹² both heuyn and hell,
And ilka thing that es to sell.
In erth has he swilk grace,

He may lese¹³ and he may bind.
The pouer er ay put bihind,
Whare he comes in place.

When he bigines him to mell¹⁴,
He makes meke that are was fell,
And waik¹⁵ that bald has bene.
All ye nedes ful sone er sped¹⁶,
Bath withouten borch and wed¹⁷,
Whare PENNY gase bitwene¹⁸.

The domes men¹⁹ he mase²⁰ so blind
That he may nocht the right find
Ne the suth²¹ to se.
For to gif dome²² thaim es ful lath²³,
Tharwith to mak SIR PENNY wrath,
Ful dere with thaim es he.

Thare²⁴ strif was PENNY makes pese²⁵,
Of all angers he may relese,
In land whare he will lende,
Of fase²⁶ may he mak frendes sad,
Of counsail thar thaim neuer be rad²⁷,
That may haue him to frende.

That SIR PENNY es set on high dese²⁸,
And serued with mani riche mese²⁹
At the high burde³⁰.

The more he es to men plente,
The more zernid³¹ alway es he:
And halden dere in horde.

He makes mani be forsworne,
And sum life and saul forlorne³²,
Him to get and wyn.
Other god will thai none haue,
Bot that litil round knaue,
Thaire bales³³ for to blin³⁴.

On him halely³⁵ thaire hertes sett,
Him for to luf³⁶ will thai nocht let³⁷,
Nowther for gude ne ill.
All that he will in erth haue done,
Ilka man grantes it ful sone,
Right at his awin will.

¹ es. ² old. ³ unto. ⁴ are. ⁵ ready. ⁶ makes, causes, compels.
⁷ against, before. ⁸ use. ⁹ dispute. ¹⁰ approach, gain. ¹¹ make them
walk. [He may enable them to wear long sweeping dresses. A "trayl-syde gown,"
says Dr. Jamieson, "is so long as to trail upon the ground."]
¹² loose. ¹³ meddle. ¹⁴ weak. ¹⁵ all you want is soon done. ¹⁶ borrowing
or pledging. [surety and pledge.] ¹⁷ goes between. ¹⁸ judges. ¹⁹ makes.
²⁰ truth. ²¹ judgement. ²² loth. ²³ where. ²⁴ peace. ²⁵ foes. ²⁶ void.
²⁷ sect. [the dais.] ²⁸ mess. ²⁹ high-table. ³⁰ coveted. ³¹ despise, quiz. [loss.]
³² eyes. [miseries.] ³³ blind. [stop.] ³⁴ wholly. ³⁵ love. ³⁶ never cease.

beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himself that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach unto the meaning thereof^d." It is a proof of the unpopularity* of this poem, that it never was reprinted. Our author's EPIGRAMS, and the poem of PROVERBS, were in high vogue, and had numerous editions before the year 1598†. The most lively part of the

He may both lene^m and gyf;
He may ger both als and lifⁿ,
Both by frith and fell^o.

PENY es a gude felaw,
Men welcums him in dede and saw^u.
Cum he neuer so oft,
He es nocht welkumd als a gest,
But euermore serued with the best,
And made at^v sit ful soft.

Who so es sted in any nede^w,
With sIR PENY may thair spede,
How so euer they betyde^x.
He that sIR PENY es with all,
Sal haue his will in stede and stall,
When other er set byside^y.

SIR PENY gers, in riche wede,
Ful mani go and ride on stede^z,
In this werldes wide.
In ilka^{aa} gamin and ilka play,
The maystri es gifen ay
To PENY, for his pride.

SIR PENY over all gettes the gre^{ab},
Both in burgh and in cete^{ac},
In castell and in towre.
Withowten othwer spere or schelde^{ad},
Es he the best in frith or felde,
And stalwortheist in stowre^{ae}.

In ilka place, the suth es sene^{af},
SIR PENY es ouer-al bidene,
Malster most in mode.
And all es als he will cumand:
Ogains his stevyn^{ag} dar no man stand,
Nowther by land ne flode.

SIR PENY mai ful mekill availe^{ah}
To thaim that has nede of cownsaill,
Als sene es in assize^{ai}:

He lenkithes^{aj} life and saues fro ded^{ak}.
Bot luf it nocht ouer wele I rede^{al},
For sin of couaityse^{am}.

If thou haue happ tresore to win,
Delite the nocht to mekill tharin^{an}.
Ne nything^{ao} thareof be,
But spend it als wele als thou can,
So that thou luf both god and man
In perfite charite.

God grante vs grace with hert and will,
The gudes that he has gifen vs till^{ap},
Wele and wisely to spend.
And so oure liues here for to lede,
That we may haue his blis to mede^{aq},
Euer wishowten end. Amen.

An old Scotch poem called sIR PENY has been formed from this, printed in ANTIENY SCOTTISH POEMS, p. 153. Edinb. 1770. [See supr. vol. i. 9.]

^d DESCRIBT. BRIT. p. 226. Hollinsh. CHRON. tom. i.

* [Or rather, says Herbert, because popery has not since been re-established. MS. note.—PARK.]

† [In that year, or perhaps in 1596, the Epigrams of Sir John Davis were printed, and the following lines therein addressed *In Haywoodum*.

Haywood that did in Epigrams excell
In non put downe since my light
Muse arose,
As buckets are put down into a well,
Or as a schooleboy pulleth down his
hose. Ep. 29.

The lightness of Davis's witticisms led to their inhibition in 1599. Bastard in

^m lend. ⁿ kill and save. ^o sea and land. [wood and hill.] ^u doing and speaking. ^w to sit. ^x under any difficulty. ^y whatever happens. ^z despised. ^{aa} causes many to ride, &c. ^{ab} every. ^{ac} degree, pre-eminence. ^{ad} town and city. ^{ae} either. ^{af} stoutest in battle. ^{ag} truth is seen. ^{ah} voice, sound. ^{ai} be of much power. ^{aj} as appears in the place of judicature, or, in passing sentence. ^{ak} lengthens. ^{al} death. ^{am} love money not too much, I advise. ^{an} covetousness. ^{ao} too much therein. ^{ap} nyding. Be not too careless [niggardly] of it. ^{aq} to us. ^{ar} our reward.

SPIDER AND FLIE is perhaps the mock-fight between the spiders and flies, an awkward imitation of HÖMER'S *BATRACHOMUOMACHY*. The preparations for this bloody and eventful engagement, on the part of the spiders, in their cobweb-castle, are thus described.

Behold! the battilments in every loope:
 How th' ordinance lieth, flies far and nere to fach:
 Behold how everie peace, that lieth there in groope^e;
 Hath a spider gonner, with redy-fired match.
 Behold on the wals, spiders making ware wach:
 The wach-spider in the towre a larum to strike,
 At aproch of any number shewing warlike.

Se th' enprenabill^f fort, in every border,
 How everie spider with his wepon doth stand,
 So thorowlie harnest^g, in so good order:
 The capital^h spider, with wepon in hand,
 For that sort of sowdiers so manfully mand,
 With copwebs like casting nets all flies to quell:
 My hart shaketh at the sight: behold it is hell!ⁱ

The beginning of all this confusion is owing to a fly entering the poet's window, not through a broken pane, as might be presumed, but through the lattice, where it is suddenly entangled in a cobweb.^k The cobweb, however, will be allowed to be sufficiently descriptive of the poet's apartment. But I mention this circumstance as a probable proof, that windows of lattice, and not of glass, were now the common fashion.^l

his *Christoloros* 1598, has two allusions to Heywood; and in some satirical poems published about 1616, I believe by Anton, it is said,

Heywood was held for Epigrams the best
 What time old *Churchyard* dealt in
 verse and prose:

But fashions since are grown out of
 request
 As bombast, doublets, bases and round
 hose;

Or as your lady may it now be saide,
 That looks lesse lovely than her cham-
 bermaide.—*PARK.*]

^e in rows. ^f impregnable.

^g clad in armour.

^h perhaps capitayne.

ⁱ Cap. 57. Signat. B b. ^k Cap. i.

^l See his *EPIGRAMMES*. Epig. 82.
FIRST HUNDRED. And *Puttenham's*
ARTS OF ENGLISH POESIE, Lib. i. c. 31.
 p. 49. One of Heywood's Epigrams is

John Heywood died at Mechlin in Brabant about the year 1565*. He was inflexibly attached to the catholic cause, and on the death of queen Mary quitted the kingdom. Antony Wood remarks^m, with his usual acrimony, that it was a matter of wonder with many, that, considering the great and usual want of principle in the profession, a poet should become a voluntary exile for the sake of religion.

descriptive of his life and character.
FIFTE HUNDRED. Epigr. 100.

OF HEYWOOD.

Art thou Heywood with the mad mery
wit?

Yea forsooth, mayster, that same is even
hit.

Art thou Heywood that applyeth mirth
more than thrift?

Yes, sir, I take mery mirth a golden gift.

Art thou Heywood that hath made
many mad Playes?

Yea many playes, few good woorkes in
all my dayes.

Art thou Heywood that hath made men
mery long?

Yea and will, if I be made mery
among.

Art thou Heywood that would be made
mery now?

Yea, sir, helpe me to it now I beseech
yow.

In the CONCLUSION to the SPRINGER AND
FLIE, Heywood mentions queen Mary
and king Philip¹. But as most of his
pieces seem to have been written some
time before, I have placed him under
Henry the Eighth.

[The following doubtless was com-
posed on the spousals of Philip and
Mary: "A balade speciſſenge partly the
maner, partly the matter, in the most
excellēt meetyng and lyke marriage be-
twene our soveraigne Lord and our so-
veraigne Lady, the kynges and queenes
highnes. Pende by John Heywood."]
Herb. p. 800. Oldys says he had seen

"A briefe balet touching the trayterous
takeyng of Scarborough castle," subscrib-
ed J. Heywood, and printed in b. l.
Mention is made of these at p. 371.
note. The first of them is allegorically
figurative, and begins:

The Egles byrde hath spred his wings
And from far of bathe taken flyght,
In whiche meane way by no lourings

On bough or branch this birde wold
light;

Till on the Rose, both red and
whight,

He lighteth now most lovinglie
And therto moste behovinglie.

Fuller speaks of a book written by Hey-
wood entitled "Monumenta Literaria,"
which are said to be *non tam labore con-
dita, quam lepore condita*. Worthies of
London, p. 221. Lord Hales pointed
out a few lines in The Evergreen as the
composition of Heywood, but they prove
to be one of his Epigrams Scotified.
See Cent. i. p. 25.—PARK.]

* [An epilogue or conclusion to the
works of Heywood in 1587, by Thomas
Newton the Cheshire poet, thus notices
his decease:

This author *Haywood* dead and gone,
and shrinde in tombe of clay,

Bifore his death by penned workes did
carefully assay

To builde himselfe a lasting tombe, not
made of stone and lyme,

But better farre and richer too triumph-
ing over Tyme.—PARK.]

^m ATH. OXON. i. 150.

¹ [Mr. Warton must have read the Conclusion of Heywood very cursorily, says
Herbert, or he would not have been at such a loss for the intention of his poems of
the Spider and the Flie.—PARK.]

SECTION XLIII.

I KNOW not if sir Thomas More may properly be considered as an English poet. He has, however, left a few obsolete poems, which although without any striking merit, yet, as productions of the restorer of literature in England, seem to claim some notice here. One of these is, *A MERY JEST how a SERGEANT would learne to play the FREERE. Written by Maister Thomas More in hys youth*^a. The story is too dull and too long to be told here. But I will cite two or three of the prefatory stanzas.

He that hath laste^b the Hosier's crafte,
 And falleth to making shone^c ;
 The smythe that shall to payntyng fall,
 His thrift is well nigh done.
 A blacke draper with whyte paper,
 To goe to wrytyng scole,
 An olde butler becum a cutler,
 I wene shall prove a fole.
 And an olde trot, that can, got wot,
 Nothyng but kysse the cup,
 With her phisick will kepe one sicke,
 Till she have soused hym up.
 A man of lawe that never sawe
 The wayes to bye and sell,
 Wenying to ryse by marchaundyse,
 I praye God spede hym well !
 A marchaunt eke, that wyll goo seke
 By all the meanes he may,
 To fall in sute tyll he dispute
 His money cleane away ;

^a WORKES, Lond. 1557. in folio. Sign. C i.

^b left.

^c shoes.

Pletyng the lawe for every strawe,
 Shall prove a thrifty man,
 With bate^d and strife, but by my life,
 I cannot tell you whan.
 Whan an hatter wyll go smatter
 In philosophy;
 Or a pedlar waxe a medlar
 In theology.

In these lines, which are intended to illustrate, by familiar examples, the absurdity of a serjeant at law assuming the business of a friar, perhaps the reader perceives but little of that festivity, which is supposed to have marked the character and the conversation of sir Thomas More. The last two stanzas deserve to be transcribed, as they prove, that this tale was designed to be sung to music by a minstrel, for the entertainment of company.

Now Masters all, here now I shall
 Ende there as I began;
 In any wyse, I would avyse,
 And counsayle every man,
 His own craft use, all newe refuse,
 And lyghtly let them gone:
 Play not the FRERE, Now make good cheere,
 And welcome everych one.

This piece is mentioned, among other popular story-books in 1575, by Laneham, in his ENTERTAINMENT AT KILLINGWORTH CASTLE in the reign of queen Elisabeth^e.

In CERTAIN METERS, written also in his youth, as a prologue for his BOKE OF FORTUNE, and forming a poem of considerable length, are these stanzas, which are an attempt at personification and imagery. FORTUNE is represented sitting on a lofty throne, smiling on all mankind, who are gathered around her eagerly expecting a distribution of her favours.

^d debate.

^e Fol. 44. seq.

Then, as a bayte, she bryngeth forth her ware,
 Silver and gold, riche perle and precious stone;
 On whiche the mased people gase and stare,
 And gape therefore, as dogges doe for the bone.
 FORTUNE at them laugheth: and in her trone
 Amyd her treasure and waveryng rychesse
 Prowdly she hoveth as lady and empressse.

Fast by her syde doth wery Labour stand,
 Pale Fere also, and Sorow all bewept;
 Disdayn and Hatred, on that other hand,
 Eke restles Watche fro slepe with travayle kept:
 Before her standeth Daunger and Envy,
 Flattery, Dysceyt, Mischiefe, and Tiranny.^f

Another of sir Thomas More's juvenile poems is, A RUFUL LAMENTACION on the death of queen Elisabeth, wife of Henry the Seventh, and mother of Henry the Eighth, who died in childbed, in 1503. It is evidently formed on the tragical soliloquies, which compose Lydgate's paraphrase of Boccace's book DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM, and which gave birth to the MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES, the origin of our historic dramas. These stanzas are part of the queen's complaint at the approach of death.

Where are our castels now, where are our towers?
 Goodly Rychemonde^g, sone art thou gone from me!
 At Westmynster that costly worke of yours
 Myne owne dere lorde, now shall I never see!
 Almighty God vouchesafe to graunt that ye
 For you and your children well may edify,
 My palyce byldyd is, and lo now here I ly.^h——
 Farewell my doughter, lady Margarete!ⁱ
 God wotte, full oft it greved hath my mynde
 That ye should go where we should seldome mete,

^f Ibid. Sign. C vi.

^g the palace of Richmond.

fore the queen died.

ⁱ Married in 1503 to James the

^h King Henry the Seventh's chapel, begun in the year 1502. The year be-

Fourth, king of Scotland.

Now I am gone and have left you behynde.
 O mortall folke, that we be very blynde !
 That we last feere, full oft it is most nye :
 From you depart I must, and lo now here I lye.

Farewell, madame, my lordes worthy mother^k !
 Comfort your son, and be ye of good chere.
 Take all a worth, for it will be no nother.
 Farewell my doughter Katharine, late the fere
 To prince Arthur myne owne chyld so dere^l.
 It booteth not for me to wepe or cry,
 Pray for my soule, for lo now here I ly.

Adew lord Henry, my lovyng sonne adew^m,
 Our lorde encrease your honour and estate.
 Adew my doughter Mary, bright of hewⁿ,
 God make you vertuous, wyse, and fortunate.
 Adew swete hart, my litle doughter Kate^o,
 Thou shalt, sweete babe, suche is thy desteny,
 Thy mother never know, for lo now here I ly.^p

In the fourth stanza, she reproaches the astrologers for their falsity in having predicted, that this should be the happiest and most fortunate year of her whole life. This, while it is a natural reflection in the speaker, is a proof of More's contempt of a futile and frivolous science, then so much in esteem. I have been prolix in my citation from this forgotten poem: but I am of opinion, that some of the stanzas have strokes of nature and pathos, and deserved to be rescued from total oblivion.

More, when a young man, contrived in an apartment of his father's house a *goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe*, exhibiting nine pageants, or allegoric representations, of the stages of man's life, together with the figures of Death, Fame, Time,

^k Margaret countess of Richmond.

^l Catharine of Spain, wife of her son prince Arthur, now dead.

^m Afterwards king Henry the Eighth.

ⁿ Afterwards queen of France. Remarried to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

^o The queen died within a few days after she was delivered of this infant, the princess Catharine, who did not long survive her mother's death.

^p WORKES, ut supr.

and Eternity. Under each picture he wrote a stanza. The first is under **CHILDHODE**, expressed by a boy whipping a top.

I am called **CHYLDHOD**, in play is all my mynde,
 To cast a coyte^q, a cockstele^r, and a ball;
 A toppe can I set, and dryve in its kynde;
 But would to God, these hatefull bookes all
 Were in a fyre brent to powder small!
 Than myght I lede my lyfe alwayes in play,
 Which lyfe God sende me to myne endyng day.

Next was pictured **MANHOD**, a comely young man mounted on a fleet horse, with a hawk on his fist, and followed by two greyhounds, with this stanza affixed.

MANHOD I am, therefore I me delyght
 To hunt and hawke, to nourishe up and fede
 The grayhounde to the course, the hawke to th' flyght,
 And to bestryde a good and lusty stede:
 These thynges become a very man in dede.
 Yet thynketh this boy his pevishe game sweter,
 But what, no force, his reason is no better.

The personification of **FAME**, like **RUMOUR** in the Chorus to Shakespeare's **HENRY THE FIFTH**, is surrounded with tongues^s.

Tapestry, with metrical legends illustrating the subject, was common in this age: and the public pageants^r in the streets were often exhibited with explanatory verses. I am of opinion, that the **COMEDIOLÆ**, or little interludes, which More is said to have written and acted in his father's house, were only these nine pageants^t.

Another juvenile exercise of More in the English stanza, is annexed to his prose translation of the **LIFE** of John Picus Mirandula, and entitled, **TWELVE RULES OF JOHN PICUS EARLE OF MIRANDULA**, *partely exciting, partely directing a man*

^q a quoit.

^r **WORKES**, Sign. C. iii.

^r a stick for throwing at a cock. **STEL**
 is handle, *See*.

^t See *supr.* p. 214, note ^r.

in SPIRITUAL BATAILE ^u. The old collector of his ENGLISH WORKES has also preserved two *shorte ballettes* ^w, or stanzas, which he wrote for his *pastyme*, while a prisoner in the Tower ^x.

It is not my design, by these specimens, to add to the fame of sir Thomas More; who is revered by posterity, as the scholar who taught that erudition which civilised his country, and as the philosopher who met the horrors of the block with that fortitude which was equally free from ostentation and enthusiasm: as the man, whose genius overthrew the fabric of false learning, and whose amiable tranquillity of temper triumphed over the malice and injustice of tyranny.

To some part of the reign of Henry the Eighth I assign the TOURNAMENT OF TOTTENHAM, or *The wooeing, winning, and wedding of TIBBE the Reeves Daughter there*. I presume it will not be supposed to be later than that reign: and the substance of its phraseology, which I divest of its obvious innovations, is not altogether obsolete enough for a higher period. I am aware, that in a manuscript of the British Museum it is referred to the time of Henry the Sixth. But that manuscript affords no positive indication of that date ^y. It was published from an antient manuscript in the year 1631, and reduced to a more modern style, by William Bedwell, rector of Tottenham, and one of the translators of the Bible. He says it was written by Gilbert Pilkington, supposed to have been rector of the same

^u These pieces were written in the reign of Henry the Seventh. But as More flourished in the succeeding reign, I have placed them accordingly.

^w WORKES, b. iii.

^x Ut supr. fol. 1432. [These ballettes are here given:]

LEWYS THE LOST LOVER.

Eye, flattering Fortune, loke thou never so fayre,

Or never so plesantly begin to smile,
As though thou wouldst my ruine all repayre,

During my life thou shalt me not begile,
Trust shall I God, to entre in a while
His haven of heaven sure & uniforme,
Ever after thy calme loke I for a storme.

DAVV THE DYCKER.

Long was I, lady Luck, your serving man,

and now have lost agayne all that I gat;
wherefore, when I thinke on you nowe & than,

and in my minde remember this & that,
ye may not blame me, though I beshrew your cat:

but, in fayth, I blesse you agayne a thousand times,
for lending me now some laysure to make rymes.—PARK.]

^y MSS. HARL. 5396. [One of the entries in this MS. is dated the 34th year of Henry VI. or 1456. There can

parish, and author of an unknown tract, called *PASSIO DOMINI JESU*. But Bedwell, without the least comprehension of the scope and spirit of the piece, imagines it to be a serious narrative of a real event; and, with as little sagacity, believes it to have been written before the year 1330. Allowing that it might originate from a real event, and that there might be some private and local abuse at the bottom, it is impossible that the poet could be serious. Undoubtedly the chief merit of this poem, although not destitute of humour, consists in the design rather than the execution. As Chaucer, in the *RIME OF SIR THOPAS*², travestied the romances of chivalry, the *TOURNA-*

be no doubt that the poem is of equal antiquity.—*Err.*]

[The Rev. Wilhelm Bedwell, who published the *Tournament of Tottenham*, from an ancient MS. in 1631, 4to, says, in his Epistle to the reader, "It is now seven or eight years since I came to the sight of the copy, and that by the means of the worthy and my much honoured good friend, M. George Withers: of whom also, now at length, I have obtained the use of the same. And because the verse was then by him (a man of so exquisite judgement in this kinde of learning) much commended, as also for the thing it selfe, I thought it worth while to transcribe it and to make it public," &c.—*PARK.*]

² I take this opportunity of observing, that the stanza of one of Laurence Minot's poems on the wars of Edward the Third, is the same as Chaucer's *SIR THOPAS*. Minot was Chaucer's cotemporary. *MSS. Cott. GALB. E. ix.*

Edward oure cumly king
In Braband has his woning,
With mani cumly knight,
And in that land, trewly to tell,
Ordains he still for to dwell,
To time he thiak to fight.

Now God that es of mightes maste,
Grant him grace of the Haly Gaste,
His heritage to win;
And Mari moder of mercy fre,
Save oure king, and his menze,
Fro sorow, schame, and syn.

Thus in Braband has he bene,
Whare he bifore was seldom sene,
For to prove thaire japes;
Now no langer wil he spare,
Bot unto Fraunce fast will he fare,
To confort him with grapes.

Furth he ferd into France,
God save him fro mischance,
And all his cumpany;
The nobill duc of Braband
With him went into that land,
Redy to lif or dy.

Than the riche floure de lice
Wan thare ful litill prise,
Fast he fled for ferde;
The right aire¹ of that cuntre
Es cumen with all his knightes fre
To schac² him by the berd.

Sir Philip the Valayse,
Wit his men in tho dayes,
To bataille had he thought;
He bad his men tham purvay
Withowten lenger delay,
Bot he ne held it noight.

He broght folk ful grete wone,
Ay sevyu ogains one,
That ful wele wapind³ were;
Bot sone when he herd ascry,
That king Edward was nere tharby,
Than durst he noight cum nere.

In that morning fell a myst;
And when oure Ingliss men it wist,
It changed all thaire chere:
Oure king unto God made his bone,
And God sent him gude confort sone,
The weder wex ful clere.

¹ heir.² shake.³ weaponed, armed.

MENT OF TOTTENHAM is a burlesque on the parade and fopperies of chivalry itself. In this light, it may be considered as a curiosity; and does honour to the good sense and discernment of the writer, who seeing through the folly of these fashionable exercises, was sensible at the same time, that they were too popular to be attacked by the more solid weapons of reason and argument. Even on a supposition that here is an allusion to real facts and characters, and that it was intended to expose some popular story of the amours of the daughter of the Reve of Tottenham, we must acknowledge that the satire is conveyed in an ingenious mode. He has introduced a parcel of clowns and rustics, the inhabitants of Tottenham, Islington, Highgate, and Hackney, places then not quite so polished as at present*,

Oure king and his men held the felde,
Stalworthly with spere and schelde,
And thoght to win his right;
With lordes and with knightes kene,
And other doghty men bydene,
That war ful frek to fight.

When sir Philip of France herd tell,
That king Edward in feld walld dwell,
Than gayned him no gle;
He traisted of no better bote,
Bot both on hors and on fote,
He hasted him to fle.

It semid he was ferd for strokes,
When he did fell his grete okes
About his pavilyoune.
Abated was than all his pride,
For langer thare durst he noight bide,
His bost was broght all doune.

The king of Beme had cares colde,
That was ful hardy, and bolde,
A stede to umstride:
[He and] The king als of Naverne
War faire ferd in the ferne
Thaire heviddes for to hie.

And leves wale, it is no lye,
The felde hat Flemangrye
That king Edward was in;
With princes that war stif ande bolde,
And dukes that war doghty tolde,
In batayle to begin.

The princes that war riche on raw,
Gert nakers strikes and trumpes blaw⁴;
And made mirth at thaire might;
Both ablast and many a bow
War redy railed upon a row,
And ful frek for to fight.

Gladly thai gaf mete and drink,
So that thai suld the better swink,
The wight men that thar ware:
Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,
And hied him harse with all his rout,
Coward, God gif him care.

For thare than had the lely flowre
Lorn all halely his honowre,
That so gat fied for ferd;
Bot oure king Edward come ful still,
When that he trowed no harm him till,
And keped him in the berde.

[This and the following specimens from Minot have been corrected by Mr. Ritson's editions of his poems.—*ENR.*]

* [Here Dr. Ashby remarks that Tottenham, &c. were always as near the capital, and consequently as much so then as now, comparatively. But what is more to the point, and as true as strange, the lower classes are little better than those of the same rank at a greater distance.—*PARK.*]

⁴ In glittering ranks, made the drums beat and trumpets blow.

who imitate all the solemnities of the barriers. The whole is a mock-parody on the challenge, the various events of the encounter, the exhibition of the prize, the devices and escocheons, the display of arms, the triumphant procession of the conqueror, the oath before the combat, and the splendid feast which followed, with every other ceremony and circumstance which constituted the regular tournament. The reader will form an idea of the work from a short extract ^a.

He that bear'th him best in the tournament,
 Shal be graunted the gree^b by the common assent,
 For to winne my daughter with doughtinesse of dent^c,
 And Copple my broode hen that was brought out of Kent,
 And my dunned cow :
 For no spence^d will I spare,
 For no cattell will I care.
 He shall have my gray mare, and my spotted sow.

There was many a bold lad their bodyes to bede^e ;
 Then they toke their leave, and hamward they hede^f ;
 And all the weke after they gayed her wede^g,
 Till it come to the day that they should do their dede^h :
 They armed them in mattes ;
 They sett on their nowlsⁱ
 Good blacke bowls^k,
 To keep their powls^l from battering of battes^m.

They sewed hem in sheepskinnes for they should not brestⁿ,
 And every ilk^o of them had a blacke hatte instead of a crest;
 A baskett or panyer before on their brest,
 And a flayle in her hande, for to fight prest^p,

^a V. 42.^c strength of blows.^e bid, offer.^g made their cloaths gay.^h fight for the lady.ⁱ heads.^b prize.^d expence.^f hied.^k instead of helmets.^l poles.ⁿ They sewed themselves up in sheep skins, by way of armour, to avoid being hurt.^o each.^m cudgels.^p ready.

Forthe con thei fare^a.

There was kid^r mickle force.

Who should best fend^s his corse,

He that had no good horse, borrowed him a mare, &c.^t

It appears to me, that the author, to give dignity to his narrative, and to heighten the ridicule by stiffening the familiarity of his incidents and characters, has affected an antiquity of style. This I could prove from the cast of its fundamental diction and idiom, with which many of the old words do not agree. Perhaps another of the author's affectations is the alliterative manner. For although other specimens of alliteration, in smaller pieces, are now to be found, yet it was a singularity. To those which I have mentioned, of this reign, I take this opportunity of adding an alliterative poem, which may be called the **FALCON AND THE PIE**, who support a **DYALOGUE DEFENSIVE FOR WOMEN AGAYNST MALICIOUS DETRACTOURS**, printed in 1542^u. The author's name Robert Vaghane, or Vaughan,

^a on they went.

^r kithed, i. e. shewn.

^s defend.

^t I have before observed, that it was a disgrace to chivalry to ride a mare.

The poems of this manuscript do not seem to be all precisely of the same hand, and might probably once have been separate papers, here stitched together. At the end of one of them, viz. fol. 46. *The lysom ledys the Blynde*, mention is inserted of an accompt settled ann. 34 Hen. vi. And this is in the hand and ink of that poem, and of some others. The **TOURNAMENT OF TOTTENHAM**, which might once have been detached from the present collection, comes at some distance afterwards, and cannot perhaps for a certainty be pronounced to be of the same writing.

^u Coloph. "Thus endeth the faucon and pie anno dni 1542. Imprinted by me Rob. Wyer for Richarde Bankes."

I have an antient manuscript alliterative poem, in which a despairing lover bids farewell to his mistress. At the end is written, "Explicit Amör p. Du cem Ebör nup. fact." I will here cite a few of the stanzas of this unknown prince. [Qu. Edward Duke of York,

eldest son of Edmond of Langley? See Noble Authors, i. 183. ed. 1806.—**PARK.**]

Farewell Lady of grete pris,

Farewell wys, both fair and free,

Farewell freefull flourdelys,

Farewell buril, bright of ble!—

Farewell mirthe that y do mysse,

Farewell Prowesse in purpull pall!

Farewell creatur comely to kisse,

Farewell Faucon, fare you befall!

Farewell amerouse and amyable,

Farewell worthy, witty, and wys,

Farewell pured pris prisable,

Farewell ryal rose in the rys.—

Farewell derworth of dignite,

Farewell grace of gouernaunce,

However y fare, farewell ye,

Farewell prymerose my plesaunce!

For the use of those who collect specimens of alliteration, I will add an instance in the reign of Edward the Third from the **BANOCBURN** of Laurence Minot, all whose pieces, in some degree, are tingured with it. MSS. Cott. GALB. E. ix. ut supr.

is prefixed to some sonnets which form a sort of epilogue to the performance.

Skottes out of Berwik and of Abirdene,
At the Bannokburn war ze to keue;
Thare slogh ze many sakles¹, als it was
sene.

And now has king Edward wroken it I
wene;

It es wroken I wene wele wurth the
while,
War zit with the Skottes for thai er ful
of gile.

Whare er ze Skottes of saint Johnes
toun?

The boste of sowre baner es betin all
doune;

When ze bosting will² bede, sir Edward
es boune,
For to kindel zow care and crak zowre
croune:

He has crakked zowre croune wele worth
the while,
Schame bityde the Skottes for thai er
full of gile.

Skottes of Strifin war steren³ and stout,
Of God ne of gude men had thai no
dout;

Now have thai the pelers priked about,
Bot at the last sir Edward rifild thaire
rout;

He has rifild thaire rout wele wurth the
while,
Bot euer er thai under bot gaudes and
gile.

Rughfute riueling now kindels thi care,
Bere-bag with thi boste thi biging⁴ es
bare;

Fals wretche and forsworn, whider wil-
toun fare?

Busk the unto Brig and abide thare.
Thare wretche saltou won, and wery the
while,

Thi dwelling in Donde es done for thi
gile.

The Skottes gase⁵ in burghes and betes
the stretes,

All thise Inglis men harmes he hetes;

Fast makes he his mone to men that he
metes,

Bot some frendes he finds that his bale
betes;

Sune betes his bale wele wurth the while,
He uses all threting with gaudes and gile.

Bot many man thretes and spekes full
ill,

That sumtyme war better to be stane
still;

The Skot in his wordes has wind for to
spill,

For at the last Edward sall haue al his
will:

He had his will at Berwick wele wurth
the while,

Skottes brocht him the kayes, bot get
for thaire gile.

A VISION on vellum, perhaps of the
same age, is alliterative. MSS. Cott.
Nero, A. x. These are specimens.

Ryzt as the mayfnul mone con rys⁶,
Er thenne the day glem dryve aldoun⁷,
So sodenly, on a wonder wyse,
I was war of a prossyoun⁸:

This noble cite of ryche enpresse
Was sodanly full, withouten somoun⁹,
Of such vergynes in the same gyse
That was my blisful an under croun,
And coronde wern alle¹⁰ of the same
fasoun,

Depaynt in perles and wedes qwhyte¹¹.

Again,

On golden gates that glent¹² as glas.

Again,

But mylde as mayden sene at mas.

The poem begins,

Perle pleasant to princes raye,
So clantly clos in golde so cler¹³.

In the same manuscript is an allitera-
tive poem without rhyme, exactly in the
versification of PIERCE PLOWMAN, of
equal or higher antiquity, viz.

¹ naked, [guiltless.—RITSON.]

² allow it, [offer.—R.]

³ stern.

⁴ clothing, [dwelling.—R.]

⁵ go.

⁶ as the moon began to rise.

⁷ the even drove down the day-light.

⁸ procession.

⁹ summons, notice.

¹⁰ all wore a crown.

¹¹ white robes.

¹² glanced, shone.

¹³ cleanly, a pearl beautifully inclosed or set in gold.

For the purpose of ascertaining or illustrating the age of pieces which have been lately or will be soon produced, I here stop to recall the reader's attention to the poetry and language of the last century, by exhibiting some extracts from the manuscript romance of *YWAIN AND GAWAIN*, which has some great outlines of Gothic painting, and appears to have been written in the reign of king Henry the Sixth^w. I premise, that but few circumstances happened, which contributed to the improvement of our language, within that and the present period.

The following is the adventure of the enchanted forest attempted by sir Colgrevice, which he relates to the knights of the round table at Cardiff in Wales^x.

Olde Abraham in erde¹⁴ over he syttes,
Even byfor his house doore under an
oke grene,
Bryst blikked the beam¹⁵ of the brod he-
ven

In the hyze hete¹⁶ therof Abraham bides.

The hand-writing of these two last-mentioned pieces cannot be later than Edward the Third. [See *supr.* vol. ii. p. 148.]

^w MSS. Cotton. Galb. E. ix. [Ritson considers this MS. to be at least as old as the time of king Richard II. *Obs.* p. 34. The language, he adds, of all the poems in the same MS. is a strong northern dialect, from which it may be inferred that they are the composition of persons, most likely monks, resident in that part of England, where in former times were several flourishing monasteries. *Notes to Met. Romances*, iii. 229. —PARK.]

^x [The present text has been corrected by Mr. Ritson's edition of this romance. —EDIT.]

————— King Arthur,
He made a feste, the sothe to say,
Upon the Witsononday,
At Kerdyf, that es in Wales,
And efter mete thar in the hales¹⁷,
Ful grete and gay was the assemble
Of lordes and ladies of that cuntre.
And als of knightes, war and wyse,
And damisels of mykel pryse,

Ilkane with other made grete gamin,
And grete solace, als thai war samin,
Fast thai carped, and curtayali,
Of dedes of armes, and of veneri,
And of gude knightes, &c.

It is a piece of considerable length, and contains a variety of *Gzsts*. Sir YWAIN is sir EWAIN, or OWEN, in *MORTE ARTHUR*. None of these adventures belong to that romance. But see B. iv. c. 17. 27. etc. The story of the lion and the dragon in this romance, is told of a Christian champion in the Holy War, by Berchorius, *REDUCTOR*. p. 661. See *supr.* vol. i. *Diss.* on the *Gzst. ROMANOR.* ch. civ. The lion being delivered from the dragon by sir YWAIN, ever afterwards accompanies and defends him in the greatest dangers. Hence Spenser's *Una* attended by a lion. *F. QU.* i. iii. 7. See sir Percival's lion in *MORTE ARTHUR*, B. xiv. c. 6. The dark ages had many stories and traditions of the lion's gratitude and generosity to man. Hence in Shakespeare, *Troilus* says, *TR. AND CRESS.* Act V. Sc. iii.

Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you
Which better fits a lion than a man.

[The darker ages had many stories of the gratitude and generosity of lions towards man.—ASHBY.]

¹⁴ earth.

¹⁵ Bright shone the beam.

¹⁶ high heat.

¹⁷ halls.

A faire forest sone I fand^y,
 Me thocht mi hap^z thare fel ful hard
 For thar was mani a wilde lebard^z,
 Lions, beres, bath bul and bare,
 That rewfully gan rope^b and rare^c.
 Oway I drogh^d me, and with that,
 I saw sone whar a man sat
 On a lawnd, the fowlest wight,
 That ever yit^e man saw in syght:
 He was a lathly^f creatur,
 For fowl he was out of mesur;
 A wonder mace^g in hand he hade,
 And sone mi way to him I made;
 His hevyd^h, me thocht, was als grete
 Als of a rowncy or a neteⁱ.
 Unto his belt hang^k his hare^l;
 And efter that byheld I mare^m,
 To his forhede byheld I than
 Was bradderⁿ than twa large span;
 He had eres^o als^p ane olyfant,
 And was wele more^q than geant,
 His face was ful brade and flat,
 His nese^r was cutted as a cat,
 His browes war like litel buskes^s,
 And his tethe like bare tuskes;
 A ful grete hulge^t open his bak,
 Thar was nocht made withowten lac^u;
 His chin was fast until^w his brest,
 On his mace he gan him rest.
 Also it was a wonder wede^x
 That the cherle^y yn yede^z,

^y found.^z chance, fortune.^l hair.^m more.^a leopard.ⁿ broader.^o ears.^b ramp, [cry aloud, bellow.—RITSON.]^p as.^q bigger.^c roar.^d drew.^r nose.^s bushes.^t bunch.^e yet.^f loathly.^u lack.^w to.^g club.^h head.^x wondrous dress.ⁱ horse, or ox.^k hung.^y churl.^z want in.

Nowther^a of wol^b ne of line^c,
 Was the wede that he went yn.
 When he me sagh, he stode up right,
 I frayned^d him if he wolde fight,
 For tharto was I in gude will,
 Bot als^e a beste than stode he still:
 I hopid^f that he no wittes kowth^g,
 Ne reson for to speke with mowth.
 To him I spak ful hardily,
 And said, What ertow^h, belamyⁱ?
 He said ogain, I am a man.
 I said, Swilk^k saw I never nane^l.
 What ertow^m? al soneⁿ said he.
 I said, Swilk als^o thou her may se.
 I said, What dose^p thou here allane^q?
 He said, I kepe thir^r bestes ilkane^s.
 I said, That es mervaile, think me,
 For I herd never of man bot the,
 In wildernes, ne in forestes,
 That kepeing had of wilde bestes,
 Bot^t thai war bunden fast in halde^u.
 He said, Of thir es^w none so balde,
 Nowther by day ne by night,
 Anes^x to pas out of mi sight.
 I said, How so? tel me thi scill.
 Per fay, he said, gladly I will.
 He said, In al this fair foreste
 Es thar non so wilde beste,
 That renin^y dar^z, bot stil stand^a
 Whan I am to him cumand^b;
 And ay when that I will him fang^c
 With my fingers that er strang^d,

^a neither.	^b wool.	^c linen.	^p do.	^q alone.	^r these.
^d asked.	^e as.	^f supposed, apprehended.	^s every one.	^t except.	^u hold.
^h art thou.	ⁱ none.	^j my friend.	^w these.	^x once.	
^k such.	^l none.	^m art thou.	^y runs, [running.]	ⁿ there, [dare.]	^a stand still.
ⁿ also, [very soon.]	^o as.		^b coming.	^t take.	^d are strong.

I ger^c him cri on swilk manere,
 That al the bestes when thai him here,
 About me than cum thai all,
 And to mi fete fast thai fall
 On thair maner, merci to cry.
 Bot understand now redyli,
 Olyve^f es^g thar lifand^h no maⁱ,
 Bot I, that durst omang them ga^k,
 That he ne sold sone be al torent^l;
 Bot thai er at my comandment,
 To me thai cum whan I tham call,
 And I am maister of tham all.
 Than he asked onone right,
 What man I was? I said, A knyght,
 That soght aventurs in that lande,
 My body to asai^m and fandeⁿ;
 And I the pray of thi kownsayle
 Thou teche me to sum mervayle^o.
 He said, I can no wonders tell,
 Bot her bisyde es a Well;
 Wend theder^p, and do als I say,
 Thou passes noght al quite oway,
 Folow forth this ilk strete^q,
 And sone sum mervayles sal thou mete:
 The well es under the fairest Tre
 That ever was in this cuntre;
 By that Well hinges^r a Bacyne^s
 That es of golde gude and fyne,
 With a cheyne, trewly to tell,
 That wil reche in to the Well.

^c cause.^f alive.^g is.

Any merveilles by this wayes,

^h living.ⁱ man.^k go.

That y myste do in story,

^l all rent to pieces.

That men han in memorie.

^m exercise.ⁿ fend, defend, [try.]

^o tell me of some wonder. So Alexander in the deserts of India, meets two *old cheortis*, or churls, from whom he desires to learn,

They tell him, that a little farther he will see the Trees of the Sun and Moon, &c. *GESTE OF ALEXANDER, MS.* p. 231.

^p go thither.^q way, road.^r hangs.^s a helmet, or bason.

Thare es a Chapel ner thar by,
 That nobil es and ful lufely^t:
 By the well standes a Stane^u,
 Tak the bacyn sone onane^w;
 And cast on water with thi hand,
 And sone thou sal se new tithand^x:
 A storme sal rise and a tempest,
 Al about, by est and west,
 Thou sal here^y mani thonor^z blast
 Al about the^a te blawand^b fast,
 And there sal cum sek^c slete and rayne
 That unnese^d sal you stand ogayne:
 Of lightnes^e sal you se a lowe,
 Unnethes you sal thi selven^f knowe;
 And if thou pas withowten grevance,
 Than has thou the fairest chance
 That ever yit had any knyght,
 That theder come to kyth^g his myght.
 Than toke I leve, and went my way,
 And rade unto the midday;
 By than I com whare I sold be,
 I saw the Chapel and the Tre:
 Thare I fand the fayrest thorne
 That ever groued sen God^h was born:
 So thik it was with leves grene
 Might no rayn cum thar bytweneⁱ;
 And that grenes^k lastes ay,
 For no winter dere^l yt may.
 I fand the Bacyn, als he talde,
 And the Well with water kalde^m.
 An amerawdⁿ was the Stane^o,
 Richer saw I never nane,

^t lovely.^u stone.^w lightening.^x self.^w perhaps, in hand, [anon.—ERRSON.]^x know, prove.^h Christ.^x tidings, wonders.^y hear.ⁱ there between.^k verdure.^z thunder.^a thee.^b blowing.^l hurt.^m cold.^c such.^d scarcely.ⁿ emerald.^o stone.

On fowr rubyes on heght standand^p,
 Thair light lasted over al the land.
 And whan I saw that semely syght,
 It made me bath joyful and lyght.
 I toke the Bacyn sone onane
 And helt water opon the Stane:
 The weder^q wex than wonder blak,
 And the thoner^r fast gan crak;
 Thar come slike^t stormes of hayl and rayn,
 Unnethes^s I might stand thareogayn:
 The store^u windes blew ful lowd,
 So kene come never are^w of clowd.
 I was drevyn with snaw and slete,
 Unnethes I might stand on my fete.
 In my face the levening^x smate^y,
 I wend have brent^z, so was it hate^a:
 That weder made me so will of rede,
 I hopid^b sone to have my dede^c;
 And sertes^d, if it lang had last,
 I hope I had never thethin^e past.
 Bot thorgh his might that tholed^f wownd
 The storme sesed within a stownde^g:
 Then wex the weder fayr ogayne,
 And tharof was I wonder fayne;
 For best comforth of al thing
 Es solace after mislykeing.
 Than saw I sone a mery syght,
 Of al the fowles that er in flyght,
 Lighted so thik opon that tre,
 That bogh ne lefe none might I se;

^p standing high.^q weather.^r thunder.^s such.^t hardly.^u strong.^w air, [before.—RITSON.]^x lightning.^y smote.^z I thought I should be burpt.^a it was so hot.^b feared. See Johns. Steev. SHAKESPEARE, vol. v. p. 273. edit. 1779.^c death.^d surely.^e thence.^f suffered.^g ceased on a sudden, (after a time.)

So merily than gon thai sing,
 That al the wode bigan to ring;
 Ful mery was the melody
 Of thaire sang and of thaire cry;
 Thar herd never man none swilk,
 Bot^h if ani had herd that ilk.
 And when that mery dyn was done,
 Another noyse than herd I sone,
 Als it war of horsmen,
 Mo than owtherⁱ nyen^k or ten.
 Sone than saw I cum a knyght,
 In riche armurs was he dight;
 And sone when I gan on him loke,
 Mi shelde and sper to me I toke.
 That knight to me hied ful fast,
 And kene wordes out gan he cast:
 He bad that I sold tell him tite^l
 Whi I did him swilk despite,
 With weders^m wakend him of rest,
 And done him wrang in his Forest;
 Thar fore, he sayd, Thou sal abyⁿ:
 And with that come he egerly,
 And said, I had ogayn resowne^o
 Done him grete destrucciowne,
 And might it nevermore amend;
 Tharfor he bad, I sold me fend:
 And sone I smate him on the shelde,
 Mi schaft brac out in the felde;
 And then he bar me sone bi strenkith
 Out of my sadel my speres lenkith:
 I wate that he was largely
 By the shuldres mare^p than I;
 And by the ded^q that I sal thole^r,
 Mi stede by his was bot a fole.

^h unless.ⁱ either.^k nine.^o against reason or law.^l soon.^m the storm.^p greater.^q death.ⁿ abide, stay, [suffer.—RITSON.]^r suffer.

For mate^s I lay down on the grownde,
 So was I stonayd^t in that stownde:
 A worde to me wald he noght say,
 Bot toke my stede, and went his way.
 Ffull sarily^u than thare I sat,
 For wa^w I wist noght what was what:
 With mi stede he went in hy,
 The same way that he come by;
 And I durst folow him no ferr
 For dout me solde bite werr,
 And also yit by Goddes dome^x,
 I ne wist whar he bycome.
 Than I thocht how I had hight^y,
 Unto myne oste the hende knyght,
 And also til his lady bryght,
 To come ogayn if that I myght.
 Mine armurs left I thare ylkane,
 For els myght I noght have gane^z;
 Unto myne in^a I come by day:
 The hende knyght and the fayre may,
 Of my come war thai ful glade,
 And nobil semblant thai me made;
 In al thinges thai have tham born
 Als thai did the night biforn.
 Sone thai wist whar I had bene,
 And said, that thai had never sene
 Knyght that ever theder come
 Take the way ogayn home.—

I add Sir Ywain's achievement of the same Adventure, with its consequences.

When Ywayn was withowten town,
 Of his palfray lighted he down,

^s sleep. [He lay as if he had been dead.—RITSON.]

^t astonished, stunned.

^u sorrily.

^w woe.

^x God's sentence, the crucifixion.

^y hette, promised. ^z gone. ^a lodging.

And dight him right wele in his wede,
 And lepe up on his gude stede.
 Furth he rade on one right,
 Until it neghed nere^b the nyght:
 He passed many high mowntayne
 In wildernes, and mony a playne,
 Til he come to that lethir^c sty^d
 That him byhoved pass by:
 Than was he seker for to se
 The Wel, and the fayre Tre;
 The Chapel saw he at the last,
 And theder^e hyed he ful fast.
 More curtaysli and more honowr
 Fand^f he with tham in that towr^g,
 And mar conforth by mony falde^h,
 Than Colgrevice had him of talde.
 That night was he herberdⁱ thar,
 So wel was he never are^k.
 At morn he went forth by the strete,
 And with the chere^l some gan he mete
 That sold tel to him the way;
 He sayned^m him, the sothe to say,
 Twenty sithⁿ, or ever he blan^o,
 Swilk mervayle had he of that man,
 For he had wonder^p, that nature
 Myght mak so foul a creature.
 Than to the Wel he rade gude pase,
 And down he lighted in that place;

^b drew near.

^c wicked, bad. [dangerous.—RITSON.]

^d that is, the forest. [place.—RITSON.]

But I do not precisely know the meaning of sty. It is thus used in the LAY OF EMARE. [where it means a road or way from the Saxon *stig*.—RITSON.] MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 59.

Messengers forth he sent
 Aftyr the mayde fayre and gent
 That was bryght as someres day:
 Messengers dyghte hem in hie,

With myche myrthe and melodye
 Forth gon they fare
 Both by *stretes* and by *styz*
 Aftyr that fayr lady.

And again in the same romance.

^e that way. ^f found.

^g i. e. the castle. ^h manifold.

ⁱ lodged. ^k ever. [before.—RITSON.]

^l churl, i. e. the wild-man.

^m viewed. [crossed himself.—RITSON.]

ⁿ times. ^o ceased.

^p he wondered.

And sone the bacyn has he tane,
 And kest^a water upon the Stane;
 And sone thar wex, withowten fayle,
 Wind and thonor, and rayn and haile:
 When it was sesed, than saw he
 The fowles light upon the tre,
 Thai sang ful fayre upon that thorn
 Right als thai had done byforn.
 And sone he saw cumand^r a knight,
 Als fast so the fowl in flyght,
 With rude sembland^s, and sterne chere,
 And hastily he neghed nere;
 To speke of luf* na time was thar,
 For aither hated uther ful sar^t.
 Togeder smertly gan thai drive,
 Thair sheldes sone bigan to ryve,
 Thair shaftes cheverd^u to thair hand
 Bot thai war bath ful wele syttand^w.
 Out thai drogh^x thair swerdes kene,
 And delt strakes tham bytwene;
 Al to pieces thai hewed thair sheldes,
 The culpons^y flegh^z out in the feldes.
 On helmes strake thay so with yre,
 At ilka strake out-brast the fyr;
 Aither of tham gude buffettes bede^a,
 And nowther wald styr of the stede.
 Ful kenely thai kyd^b thair myght,
 And feyned tham nocht for to fyght:
 Thair hauberkes that men myght ken
 The blode out of thair bodyes ren.
 Aither on other laid so fast,
 The batayl might nocht lang last:
 Hauberkes er^c broken, and helmes reven,
 Stif strakes war thar gyfen;

^a cast. ^r comings. ^s countenance. ^w seated. ^x drew. ^y pieces. ^z flew.
^a friendly offices. ^t sore. ^u shivered. ^v abided. [offered.] ^b shewed. ^c are.

Thai fought on hors stifly always,
 The batel was wele mor to prays ;
 Bot at the last syr Ywayne
 On his felow kyd his mayne,
 So egerly he smate him than,
 He clefe the helme and the hern pan^d :
 The knyght wist he was nere ded,
 To fle than was his best rede^e ;
 And fast he fled with al his mayne,
 And fast folow syr Ywayne,
 Bot he ne might him overtake,
 Tharfore grete murning gan he make :
 He folowd him ful stowtlyk^f ,
 And wald have tane him ded or quik ;
 He folowd him to the cetè^g ,
 Na man lyfand^h met he.
 When thai come to the kastel yate,
 In he folowd fast tharate :
 At aither entre was, I wys,
 Straytly wrought a port culis,
 Shod wele with yren and stele,
 And also grundenⁱ wonder wele :
 Under that then was a swyke^k
 That made syr Ywain to myslike,

^d So in Minot's Poems. MSS. Cott. GALB. E. ix. ut supr.

And sum lay knocked out their hernes.

^e counsel.

^f stoutly.

^g city.

^h no man living.

ⁱ ground, sharpened.

^k switch, twig. ["Mr. Ritson, who explains 'swyke' a hole, a ditch, has confounded it with 'sike' from the Anglo-Saxon *sich*, fossa. In the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, we have the same expression applied to a piece of machinery, constructed for a similar purpose, though apparently not of equal ingenuity.

Under the brygge ther is a *swyke*,
 Corven clos, joynard queyntlyke.—

Though thou and thy folke were in ye mydde

And the pyns mete out were,
 Down ye scholde fallen there,
 In a pyt sixty fadome deep.

Therefore beware and take good keep,
 At the passyng ovyr the *trappe*,
 Many on has had ful evyl happe.

V. 4081.

The only words to be found in Lye's Saxon Dictionary, to which 'swyke' might be referred, are *swican*, decipere; *swica*, proditor; and *beswica*, fraus. But in Alfred's translation of Orosius we have 'ealle the cyningas mid his *swicor* of shoh:' which Mr. Barrington renders, 'slew all the kings by his deceitful arts.' — ANON.]

His hors fote toched thare on ;
 Than fel the port culis onone¹,
 Bytwyx him and his hinder arsown,
 Thorgh sadel and stede it smate al down,
 His spores^m of his heles it schareⁿ :
 Than had Ywayne murnyng^o mare^p,
 But so he wend have passed quite^q,
 That fel the tother^r bifor al yte.
 A faire grace yit fel him swa^s,
 Al if it smate his hors in twa^t,
 And his spors of aither hele,
 That himself passed so wele.

While sir Ywayne remains in this perilous confinement, a lady looks out of a wicket which opened in the wall of the gateway, and releases him. She gives him her ring,

I sal lene the her mi Ring^u,
 Bot yelde it me at myne askyng :
 When thou ert broght of al thi payn
 Yelde^w it than to me ogayne :
 Als the bark hilles^x the tre,
 Right so sal my Ring do the ;
 When thou in hand has the stane^y,
 Der^z sal thai do the nane,

¹ Traps of this kind are not uncommon in romance. Thus sir Lancelot, walking round the chambers of a strange castle, treads on a board which throws him into a cave twelve fathoms deep. *MOÏT. ARTI. B. xix. ch. vii.*

^m spurs. ⁿ cut.

^o mourning. ^p more.

^q but even so he thought to have passed forward, through.

^r the other portcullis.

^s so. ^t twain.

^u This ring is used in another adventure. ^w yield.

^x covers. [Mr. Ritson, who disdained to follow Warton even when correct, has misinterpreted this word in his Glossary. The same anonymous writer quoted above has observed, "Partially

regarding the context rather than the etymon, Ritson explains *hilles* 'protects, preserves;' although an attentive perusal of the whole passage might have suggested that the virtue of this magic stone consisted in covering or concealing its wearer from the sight, as the bark covers or conceals the tree. *Lye* gives us *hilan*, to *hill*, *tegere*. From the same root is to be deduced the word 'hyllinges' occurring in the *Squyr of Lowe Degre* (left unexplained by Ritson), and which must mean an upper covering for a bed, something similar to a counterpane."

Your *hyllinges* with fures of armyne
 Powdred with golde of hev full fyne
 Your blankettes, &c.—V. 839. *EDR.*]

^y stone.

^z harm.

For the stane es of swilk might,
 Of the sal men have na syght^a.
 Wit ye^b wel that sir Ywayne
 Of thir wordes was ful fayne^c ;
 In at the dore sho hem led,
 And did him sit opon hir bed,
 A quylt ful nobil lay tharon,
 Richer saw he never none, &c.

Here he is secreted. In the mean time, the Lord of the castle dies of his wounds, and is magnificently buried. But before the interment, the people of the castle search for sir Ywayne.

Half his stede thar fand thai^d
 That within the yates^e lay ;
 Bot the knight thar fand thai nocht :
 Than was thar mekil sorow unsoght,
 Dore ne window was thar nane,
 Whar he myght oway gane.
 Thai said he sold thare be laft^f,
 Or els he cowth of weche craft^g,
 Or he cowth of nygromancy,
 Or he had wenges for to fly.
 Hastily than went thai all
 And soght him in the maydens hall,
 In chambers high es nocht at hide,
 And in solers^h on ilka side.
 Sir Ywaine saw ful wele al that,
 And still opon the bed he sat :
 Thar was nane that anes mynt
 Unto the bed at smyteⁱ a dynt^k :
 Al about thai smate so fast,
 That mani of thair wapins brast ;

^a no man will see you. ^b know ye.
^c glad. ^d they found.
^e gates. ^f he still was there.
^g understood witchcraft.

^h high chambers.
ⁱ i. e. on account of the ring.
^k never once minded, or thought, to strike at the bed, not seeing him there.

Mekyl sorow thai made ilkane,
 For thai ne myght wreke thair lord bane.
 Thai went oway with dreri chere,
 And sone tharefter come the Ber¹;
 A lady folowd white so mylk,
 In al that lond was none swilk:
 Sho wrang her fingers, outbrast the blode,
 For mekyl wa^m sho was nere wodeⁿ;
 Hir fayr har scho alto drogh^o,
 And ful oft fel sho down in swogh^p;
 Sho wepe with a ful dreri voice.
 The hali water, and the croyce,
 Was born bifore the procession;
 Thar folowd mani a moder son.
 Bifore the cors rade a knyght
 On his stede that was ful wight^q;
 In his armurs wele arayd,
 With sper and target gudely grayd.
 Than sir Ywayn herd the cry
 And the dole of that fayr lady, &c.

Sir Ywayne desires the damsel's permission to look at the lady of the deceased knight through a window. He falls in love with her. She passes her time in praying for his soul.

Unto his saul was sho ful hulde^r:
 Opon a sawter al of gulde^s,
 To say the sal-mas^t fast sho bigan.

The damsel^u, whose name is Lunet, promises sir Ywayne an interview with the Lady. She uses many arguments to the Lady, and with much art, to shew the necessity of her marrying again, for the defence of her castle.

¹ bier. ^m great grief. ⁿ mad.
^o drew. So in the *LAY OF THE ERLE*
 OF THELOUSE, MSS. Mus. Ashmol. 45.
 The erle hymselfe an axe drogh,
 A hundred men that day he sleugh.
^p swoon. ^q swift.

^r bound, obligated. [faithful.]
^s psalter, a harp, of gold. [Psalter.—
 RITSON.]
^t soul mass, the mass of requiem.
^u There is a damsel of this name in
 MORTE ARTHUR, B. vii. ch. xvi.

The maiden redies hyr ful rath^w,
 Bilive sho gert syr Ywayne bath^x,
 And cled hym sethin in gude scarlet,
 Forord^y wele, and with gold fret^z;
 A girdel ful riche for the nanes,
 Of perry and of precious stanes.
 Sho talde him al how he sold do
 Whan that he come the lady to.

He is conducted to her chamber.

^w early, soon.

^x made him bathe immediately.

^y furred, furred.

^z In another part of this romance, a knight is dressed by a lady.

A damisel come unto me.....
 Lufsumer lifed¹ never in land;
 Hendly scho² toke me by the hand,
 And sone that gentyl creature
 Al unlaced myne armure;
 Into a chamber sho me led,
 And with a mantil scho me cled,
 It was of purpur fair and fine,
 And the pane³ of riche ermine:
 Al the folk war went us fra⁴,
 And there was none than bot we twa⁵;
 Scho served me hendely to hend,
 Her maners might no man amend,
 Of tong scho was trew and renable⁶,
 And of her semblant⁷ soft and stabile;
 Fal fain I wald⁸, if that I might,
 Have woned⁹ with that swete wight.

In *MORTE ARTHUR*, Sir Launcelot going into a nunnery is unarmed in the abbess's chamber. B. xiii. ch. i. In *MORTE ARTHUR*, sir Galahad is disarmed, and cloathed "in a cote of red sendall and a mantell *furred* with fyne *ermynes*," &c. B. xiii. ch. i. In the *British LAY*, or romance, of *LAUNVAL* (MSS. Cott. VESPAS. B. 14. L.) we have,

Un cher mantel de *BLANCHE ERMINE*,
 Couvert de purple Alexandrine.

There is a statute, made in 1337, prohibiting any under 100l. per annum to

wear fur. I suppose the richest fur was Ermine; which, before the manufactures of gold and silver, was the greatest article of finery in dress. But it continued in use long afterwards, as appears by antient portraits. In the Statutes of Cardinal Wolsey's College at Oxford, given in the year 1525, the students are enjoined, "Ne magis pretiosis aut sumptuosius utantur *FELLIBUS*." De *VESTITU*, &c. fol. 49. MSS. Cott. Tr. F. iii. This injunction is a proof that rich furs were at that time a luxury of the secular life. In an old poem written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, about 1486, entitled the *ENGLISH POLICIE*, *eschorting all England to keepe the sea*, a curious and valuable record of the state of our traffick and mercantile navigation at that period, it appears that our trade with Ireland, for furs only, was then very considerable. Speaking of Ireland, the writer says,

—Martens goode been her marchandie,
 Hertes hides, and other of venerie,
 Skinnes of otter, squirrell, and Irish
 hare;

Of sheepe, lambe, and foxe, is her chaf-
 fare.

See Hacklvyt's *VOIAGES*, vol. i. p. 199. edit. 1598.

At the sacking of a town in Normandy, Froissart says, "There was founde so moche rychesse, that the boyes and vyllaynes of the hooste sette no-
 thyng by goode *FURRED* gownes." Berners's Transl. tom. i. fol. lx. a.

¹ lovelier lived.

² courteously she.

³ border.

⁴ from.

⁵ two.

⁶ reasonable.

⁷ look.

⁸ would.

⁹ lodged.

Bot yit sir Ywayne had grete drede,
 When he unto chamber yede;
 The chamber, flore, and als the bed,
 With klothes of gold was al over spred.²

After this interview, she is reconciled to him, as he only in

¹ In the manners of romance, it was not any indelicacy for a lady to pay amorous courtship to a knight. Thus in Davie's *GESTE OF ALEXANDER*, written in 1312, queen Candace openly endeavours to win Alexander to her love. MS. penes me, p. 271. [Cod. Hospit. Linc. 150.] She shews Alexander, not only her palace, but her bed-chamber.

Quoth the quene,
 Go we now myn esteris to seone¹:
 Oure mete schol, thar bytweone²,
 Ygraithed³ and redy beone⁴.
 Scheo⁵ ladde him to an halle of nobleys,
 Then he dude of his barneys⁶:
 Of Troye was ther men⁷ the storye⁸
 How Gregoys⁹ had the victorie:
 Theo bemes ther weore¹⁰ of bras.
 Theo wyndowes weoren of riche glas¹¹:
 Theo pinnes¹² weore of ivorie.
 The king went with the ladye,
 Himself alone, from bour to bour,
 And syze¹³ much riche tresour,
 Gold and seolver, and preclouse stones,
 Baudekyns¹⁴ made for the nones¹⁵,
 Mantellis, robes, and pavelounes¹⁶,
 Of golde and seolver riche foysonnes¹⁷:
 And heo¹⁸ him asked, par amour,
 Zef he syze ever suche a tresour.
 And he said, in his contray.
 Tresour he wiste¹⁹ of grete noblay.

Heo²⁰ thoste more that heo saide.
 To anothir stude²¹ sheo he gan him lede,
 That hir owne chambre was,
 In al this world richer none nas.
 Theo atyr²² was therein so riche
 In al thys world nys him non lyche²³.
 Heo ladde him to a stage,
 And him schewed one ymage,
 And saide, Alexander leif thou me²⁴,
 This ymage is made after the²⁵;
 Y dude hit in ymagoure²⁶,
 And caste hit after thy vigoure²⁷;
 This othir zeir, tho thou nolde²⁸
 To me some for love ne for golde,
 Het is the ylyche²⁹, leove brother³⁰,
 So any faucon³¹ is anothir.
 O Alisaunder, of grete renoun,
 Thou taken art in my prisoun!
 Al thy streynthe helpethe the nowzt,
 For womman the haveth bycowzt³²,
 For womman the heweth in hire las³³.
 O, quoth Alisaunder, alas,
 That I were yarmed³⁴ wel,
 And hed my sweord of browne stel,
 Many an heid wolde y cleove,
 Ar y wolde yn prison bileve³⁵.
 Alysaunder, heo saide, thou saist soth,
 Beo noither adrad no wroth³⁶;
 For here, undir this covertour,
 Y wil have the to myn amour, &c.

¹ to see my apartments.

² prepared.

³ be.

⁴ she.

⁵ our dinner shall, meanwhile.

⁶ put off his armour.

⁷ for

ther men, read *therein*, as MS. LAUD. I. 74. Bibl. Bodl.

⁸ the story of

Troy was in the tapestry, or painted on the walls of the hall.

⁹ Greeks.

¹⁰ The rafters were.

¹¹ painted glass.

¹² of the windows.

¹³ saw.

¹⁴ rich clothes.

¹⁵ that is, for the occasion: so the painting or tapestry, before mentioned, representing the Greeks victorious, was in compliment to Alexander.

¹⁶ pavilions.

¹⁷ stores.

¹⁸ she.

¹⁹ knew.

²⁰ she.

²¹ stede. lodging.

²² the furniture.

²³ none like it.

²⁴ believe.

²⁵ thee.

²⁶ imagery.

²⁷ figure.

²⁸ wouldst not.

²⁹ like.

³⁰ dear brother, or friend.

³¹ as one

faulcon. In MSS. LAUD. I. 174. ut supr. it is peny, for faulcon.

³² caught.

³³ her lace.

³⁴ Here, y is the Saxon i. See Hearne's *GL. ROM. GLOUC.* p. 738.

³⁵ be left, stay, even.

³⁶ neither affrighted nor angry.

self-defence had slain her husband, and she promises him marriage.

Than hastily she went to Hall,
 Thar abade hir barons all,
 For to hald thair parlement^b,
 And mari^c hir by thair asent.

They agree to the marriage.

Than the lady went ogayne
 Unto chameber to sir Ywayne;
 Sir, sho said, so God me save,
 Other lorde wil I nane have:
 If I the left^d I did nocht right,
 A king son, and a noble knyght.
 Now has the maiden done hir thocht^e,
 Syr Ywayne out of anger broght.
 The Lady led him unto Hall,
 Ogains^f him rase the barons all,
 And al thai said ful sekerly,
 This Knight sal wed the Lady:
 And ilkane said thamsel^gs bitwene,
 So fair a man had thai nocht sene,
 For his bewte in hal and bowr:
 Him semes to be an emperowr.
 We wald that thai war trowth plight,
 And weded sone this ilk nyght.
 The lady set hir on the dese^h,
 And cumand al to hald thaire peseⁱ;
 And bad hir steward sumwhat say,
 Or^k men went fra cowrt away.
 The steward said, Sirs, understandes,
 Wer^l is waxen^m in thir landes;

^b assembly, consultation.

^c marry. ^d was I not to marry you.

^e intention. ^f against, before.

^g among themselves.

^h deis, the high-table. In the GESTE
 OF ALEXANDER we have the phrase of

holding the deis, MS. ut supr. p. 45.

There was gynning a new feste,

And of gleomen many a geste,

King Philip was in mal ese,

Alisaundre held the dese.

ⁱ peace. ^k ere. ^l war. ^m grown.

The king Arthur es redy dight
 To be her byn this fowre-tenyght:
 He and his menye^a ha thocht
 To win this land if thai mought:
 Thai wate^o ful wele, that he es ded
 That was lord here in this stede^p:
 None es so wight wapins^q to welde,
 Ne that so boldly mai us belde,
 And wemen may maintene no stowr^r,
 Thai most nedes have a governour:
 Tharfor mi lady most nede
 Be weded hastily for drede^s,
 And to na lord wil sho take tent^t,
 Bot if it be by yowr assent.
 Than the lordes al on raw^u
 Held them wele payd of this saw^w.
 Al assented hyr untill^x
 To tak a lord at hyr owyn wyll.
 Than said the lady onone right,
 How hald ye yow payd of this knight?
 He profers hym on al wyse
 To myne honor and my servyse,
 And sertes, sirs, the soth to say,
 I saw him never, or this day;
 Bot talde unto me has it bene
 He es the kyng son Uriene:
 He es cumen of hegh parage^y,
 And wonder doghty of vasselage^z,

^a knights.^o know.^p mansion, castle.^q active to wield weapons.^r fight.^s fear.^t attention.^u on a row.^w opinion, word. It is of extensive signification, EMARE, MS. ut supr.

I have herd minstrelles syng in saw.

^x unto. So Rob. Brunne, of Stonehenge, edit. Hearne, p. cxci.In Afrik were thai compast and wrought,
 Geantz TILLK Ireland from thithen tham
 brought.That is, "Giants brought them from
 Africa into Ireland."^y kindred. So in the *GENE OF ALEX-
 ANDER*, MS. p. 258.They wer men of gret parage,
 And haden fowty wynter in age.^z courage.

War and wise, and ful curtayse,
 He yernes^a me to wife alwayse;
 And nere the lese, I wate, he might
 Have wele better, and so war right.
 With a voice halely^b thai sayd,
 Madame, ful wele we hald us payd:
 Bot hastes fast al that ye may,
 That ye war wedded this ilk day:
 And grete prayer gan thai make
 On alwise, that sho suld hym take.
 Sone unto the kirk thai went,
 And war wedded in thair present;
 Thar wedded Ywaine in plevyne^c
 The riche lady ALUNDYNE,
 The dukes doghter of Landuit,
 Els had hyr lande bene destruyt.
 Thus thai made the maryage
 Omang al the riche barnage^d:
 Thai made ful mekyl mirth that day,
 Ful grete festes on gude aray;
 Grete mirthes made thai in that stede,
 And al forgetyn es now the dede^e
 Of him that was thair lord fre;
 Thai say that this es worth swilk thre.
 And that thai lufed him mekil mor
 Than him that lord was thare byfor.
 The bridal^f sat, for soth to tell,
 Til king Arthur come to the well

^a eagerly wishes.^b wholly.

At every BRIDALE he would sing and hop.

^c Fr. Plevine. See Du Fresne. PLE-

VINA.

^d baronage.^e death.

Spenser, FAERIE QU. B. v. C. ii. st. 3.

^f Bridal is Saxon for the nuptial feast.
 So in Davie's GESTE OF ALEXANDER.
 MS. fol. 41. penes me.

—Where and when the BRIDALE cheare Should be solemnised.—

And, vi. x. 13.

He wist nouzt of this BRIDALE,
 Ne no man tolde him the tale.

—Theseus her unto his BRIDALE bore.

See also Spenser's PROTHALAMION.

In GAMELYN, or the COKE'S Tale,
 v. 1267.

The word has been applied adjectively,
 for CONNURIAL. Perhaps Milton re-

With al his knyghtes everilkane,
 Behind leved thar noght ane^s.—
 The king kest water on the stane,
 The storme rase ful sone onane

membered or retained its original use in the following passage of SAMSON AGONISTES, ver. 1196.

And in your city held my nuptial feast:
 But your ill-meaning politician lords,
 Under pretence of BRIDAL friends and
 guests,
 Appointed to await me thirty spies.

"Under pretence of friends and guests invited to the BRIDAL." But in PARADISE LOST, he speaks of the evening star hastening to light the BRIDAL LAMP, which in another part of the same poem he calls the NUPTIAL TORCH. viii. 520. xi. 590. I presume this Saxon BRIDALE is Bride-Ale, the FEAST in honour of the bride or marriage. ALE, simply put, is the feast or the merry-making, as in PIERCE PLOWMAN, fol. xxxii. b. edit. 1550. 4to.

And then satten some and songe at the
 ALE [nale.]

Again, fol. xxvi. b.

I am occupied everie daye, holye daye
 and other,
 With idle tales at the ALE, and other-
 while in churches.

So Chaucer of his FREERE, Urr. p. 87.
 v. 85.

And they were only glad to fill his purse,
 And maden him grete festis at the NALE.

Nale is ALE. "They feasted him, or entertained him, with particular respect, at the parish-feast," &c. Again PLOWMAN'S TALE, p. 125. v. 2110.

At the *Wrestling*, and at the *Wake*,
 And the chief chaunters at the NALE.

See more instances *supr.* vol. i. 63. That ALE is *festival*, appears from its sense in composition; as, among others, in the words Leet-ale, Lamb-ale, Whitson-ale, Clerk-ale, and Church-ale. LEET-ALE, in some parts of England, signifies the Dinner at a court-leet of a manor for the jury and customary tenants. LAMB-ALE is still used at the

village of Kirtlington in Oxfordshire, for an annual feast or celebrity at lamb-shearing. WHITSON-ALE is the common name in the midland counties, for the rural sports and feasting at Whitson-tide. CLERK-ALE occurs in Aubrey's manuscript History of WILTSHIRE. "In the Easter holidays was the CLARKES-ALE, for his private benefit and the solace of the neighbourhood." MSS. Mus. ASHM. OXON. CHURCH-ALE was a feast established for the repair of the church, or in honour of the church-saint, &c. In Dodsworth's Manuscripts, there is an old indenture, made before the Reformation, which not only shews the design of the Church-ale, but explains this particular use and application of the word ALE. The parishioners of Elveston and Okebrook, in Derbyshire, agree jointly, "to brew four ALES, and every ALE of one quarter of malt, betwixt this and the feast of saint John Baptist next coming. And that every inhabitant of the said town of Okebrook shall be at the several ALES. And every husband and his wife shall pay two pence, every cottager one penny, and all the inhabitants of Elveston shall have and receive all the profits and advantages coming of the said ALES, to the use and behoof of the said church of Elveston. And the inhabitants of Elveston shall brew eight ALES betwixt this and the feast of saint John Baptist, at the which ALES the inhabitants of Okebrook shall come and pay as before rehearsed. And if he be away at one ALE, to pay at the toder ALE for both," &c. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. vol. 148. f. 97. See also our CHURCH-CANONS, given in 1603. CAN. 88. The application of what is here collected to the word BRIDALE, is obvious. But Mr. Astle has a curious record, about 1575, which proves the BRIDE-ALE synonymous with the WEDDYN-ALE. During the course of queen Elisabeth's entertainments at Kenilworth-castle, in 1575, a BRYDE-ALE was celebrated with a great variety of shews and sports. Lane-

With wikked^h weders, kene and calde,
 Als it was byfore-hand talde.
 The king and his men ilkane
 Wend tharwith to have bene slane,
 So blew it storⁱ with slete and rayne:
 And hastily than syr Ywayne^k,
 Dight him graythly^l in his gere,
 With nobil shelde, and strong spere:
 When he was dight in seker wede,
 Than he umstrade^m a nobil stede:
 Him thocht that he was als lyght
 Als a fowl es to the flyght.
 Unto the Well fast wendes he,
 And sone when thui myght him se,
 Syr Kay, for he wald nocht fayle,
 Smertly askes the batayle.
 And alsone than said the kyng,
 Sir Kay, I grante the thine askyng.

Sir Ywaine is victorious. who discovers himself to king Arthur after the battle.

And sone sir Ywaine gan him tell
 Of al his far how it byfell,

ham's LETTER, dated the same year. fol. xxvi. seq. What was the nature of the merriment of the CHURCH-ALE, we learn from the WITCHES-SONG in JONSON'S MASQUE OF QUEENS at Whitehall in 1609, where one of the Witches boasts to have killed and stole the fat of an infant, begotten by a piper at a CHURCH-ALE. S. 6.

Among bishop Tanner's manuscript additions to Cowell's Law-Glossary in the Bodleian library, is the following Note, from his own Collections. [Lit. V.] "A. D. 1468. Prior Cant. et Commissarii visitationem fecerunt (diocesi Cant. vacante per mortem archiepiscopi) et ibi publicatum erat, quod Potationes factæ in ecclesiis, vulgariter dictæ YE-VRALYS^l, vel BREDKALYS^q, non essent

ulterius in usu sub poena excommunicationis majoris."

Had the learned author of the Dissertation on BARLEY WINE been as well acquainted with the British as the Grecian literature, this long note would perhaps have been unnecessary.

^r one.

^h wicked is here; *accursed*. In which sense it is used by Shakespeare's Caliban, TEMP. Act i. Sc. ii.

As WICKED dew as e'er my mother brush'd

With raven's feather, &c.

^l strong.

^k to defend the fountain, the office of the lord of this castle.

^l readily. ^m bestrode.

ⁱ give-ales, or gift-ales.

^q bride-ales.

With the knight how that he sped,
 And how he had the Lady wed;
 And how the Mayden him helpid wele:
 Thus tald he to him ilka dele.
 Sir kyng, he sayd, I yow byseke,
 And al yowr menye milde and meke,
 That ye wald grante to me that grace,
 At^a wend with me to my purchace,
 And se my Kastel and my Towre,
 Than myght ye do me grete honowre.
 The kyng granted him ful right
 To dwel with him a fowretenyght.
 Sir Ywayne thanked him oft sith^b,
 The knyghtes war al glad and blyth,
 With sir Ywaine for to wend:
 And sone a squier has he send
 Unto the kastel, the way he nome,
 And warned the Lady of thair come,
 And that his Lord come with the kyng.
 And when the Lady herd this thing,
 It es no lifand man with mowth
 That half hir cumforth tel kowth.
 Hastily that Lady hende
 Cumand al hir men to wende,
 And dight tham in thair best aray,
 To kepe the king that ilk day:
 Thai keped^c him in riche wede
 Rydeand on many a nobil stede;
 Thai hailed^d him ful curtaysly,
 And also al his company:
 Thai said he was worthy to dowt^e,
 That so fele folk led obowt^f:
 Thar was grete joy, I yow bihete^g,
 With clothes spred^h in ilka strete,

^a to.^b oft-times.^c waited on. See *Tytwh. Gz. Ch.*^d saluted.^e to fear.^f so large a train of knights.^g promise you.^h tapestry spread on the walls.

And damysels danceand ful wele,
 With trompes, pipes, and with fristele :
 The Castel and the Cetee rang
 With mynstralsi and nobil sang.
 Thai ordand tham ilkane in fer
 To kepe the king on faire maner.
 The Lady went withowten towne,
 And with her many balde barowne,
 Cled in purpure and ermyne,
 With girdels al of gold ful fyne.
 The Lady made ful meri chere,
 Sho was al dight with drewries^u dere ;
 Abowt hir was ful mekyl thrang,
 The puple cried and sayd omang,
 Welkum ertou, kyng Arthoure,
 Of al this werld thou beres the floure !
 Lord kyng of all kynges,
 And blessed be he that the brynges !
 When the Lady the Kyng saw,
 Unto him fast gan sho draw,
 To hald his sterap whils he lyght ;
 Bot sone when he of hir had syght,
 With mekyl myrth thai samen^v met,
 With hende wordes sho him gret ;
 A thousand sithes welkum sho says,
 And so es syr Gawayne the curtayse.
 The king said, Lady white so flowr,
 God gif the joy and mekil honowr,
 For thou ert fayr with body gent :
 With that he hir in armes hent,
 And ful faire he gan hir falde^w,
 Thar was many to bihalde :
 It es no man with tong may tell
 The mirth that was tham omell ;

^u gallantries, jewels. Davie says, that in one of Alexander's battles, many a lady lost her drewery. *GESTE ALEX-*

ANDER, MS. p. 86. Athens is called the *Drywery* of the world. *ibid.*
 together. ^v fold.

Of maidens was thar so gude wane^z,
That ilka knight myght take ane.

The king stais here eight days, entertained with various sports.

And ilk day thai had solace sere
Of huntyng, and als of revere^y :
For thar was a ful fayre cuntre,
With wodes and parkes grete plente ;
And castels wroght with lyme and stane,
That Ywayne with his wife had tane.^z

^z assembly, [a great many.]

^y hawking, [for herons, ducks, &c.—
PARK.]

^z There are three old poems on the exploits of Gawain, one of the heroes of this romance. There is a fourth in the Scotch dialect, by Clerke of Tranent, an old Scotch poet. See LAMENT FOR THE DEATH OF THE MARRIARIS, st. xvii.

Clerke of Tranent eke has [death] tane That made the *Aventers* of GAWAINE.

ANC. SCOT. P. 1576.

The two heroes of this romance, YWAIN and GAWAIN, are mentioned jointly in a very old French version of the British or Armorican LAY OF LAUNVAL, of which there is a beautiful vellum manuscript. MSS. Cott. VESPAS. B. xiv. [supr. modo citat.]

Ensemble od eus GAWAYNS,
E sis cosins li beus YWAYNS.

This LAY, or SONG, like the romance in the text, is opened with a feast celebrated at Whitsontide by king Arthur at Kardoyl, a French corruption from Carliol, by which is meant Cairleon in Wales, sometimes in romances confounded with Cardiff. [See Geoffr. Monm. ix. 12.]

“Jci commence le Lay de LAUNVAL.”

Laventure de un Lay,
Cum ele avint vus cunteray,
Fait fu dun gentil vassal,
En Bretagne lapelent LAUNVAL :
A Kardoyl suiornont li reys
Arthur, li prouz, e li curteys,

Pur les Escot, e pur les Pis,
Ki destrueient les pays ;
En la terre de Logres¹ le trououent,
Mult souent le damagouent :
A la Pentecuste en estè,
I aveit li reys sojournè,
A les i dona riches duns,
E al cuntres^z, e al baruns,
A ceus de la Table Runde, &c.

That is, “HERE BEGINS THE LAY OF LAUNVAL.—[I will relate to you.] The Adventure of a certain LAY, made of a *gentle* vassal, whom in Breitaine they called LAUNVAL. The brave and courteous king Arthur sojourned at Kardoyl, for making war against the Scots and Picts, who destroyed the country. He found them in the land of Logres, where they committed frequent outrages. The king was there at the feast of Pentecost, where he gave rich gifts to the counts and barons, and the knights of the round table,” &c.

The writing of this manuscript of LAUNVAL seems about 1300. The composition is undoubtedly much earlier. There is another, MSS. HARL. 978. § 112. This I have cited in the FIRST DISSERTATION. From this French LAUNVAL is translated, but with great additions, the English LAUNFALL, of which I have given several extracts in the third DISSERTATION prefixed to the first volume. [See also supr. vol. ii. p. 430, NOTE A.]

I presume this romance of YWAIN and

¹ Logres, or Loegria, from Loctrine, was the middle part of Britain.

^z counts. So in SIR ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER, we have CONTASS for *countess*. On which word his editor Hearne observes, that king James the First used to call a *Countess* a *cuntys*. And he quotes one of James's letters, “Come and bring the three Cuntys [for *countesses*] with you.” Gloss. p. 635.

GAWAYNE is translated from a French one of the same title, and in the reign of Henry the Sixth; but not by Thomas Chestre, who translated, or rather paraphrased, LAUNVAL, or Sir LAUNFALL, and who seems to have been master of a more copious and poetic style. It is not however unlikely, that Chestre translated from a more modern French copy of LAUNVAL, heightened and improved from the old simple Armorican tale of which I have here produced a short extract. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 409.] [The original of [Ywaine and Gawin] is *Le chevalier au Lion*, by Chrestien or Christian de Troyes, an eminent French poet who died in 1191; [and] the only ancient copy of the [English version] is contained in the Cotton MS. Galba. E. ix. which seems to have been written in the time of Richard II., or towards the close of the fourteenth century.—RITSON.] The same perhaps may be said of the English metrical romance EMARE, who marries the king of Galys, or Wales, originally an Armorican tale, before quoted. MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. 2. fol. 69. [See Diss. III. prefixed to the first volume.] [and Mr. Ritson's Metrical Romances, vol. ii. where it is printed.—EDIT.] The last stanza confirms what has been advanced in the FIRST DISSERTATION, concerning the connection be-

tween Cornwall and Bretagne, or Armorica. fol. ult.

A grette feste thar was holde
Of erles and barons bolde,
As testimonyeth thys story:
Thys is on of BRYTAYNE LAYES,
That was used in olde dayes,
Men callys playn the GARYE.

I believe the last line means, "Made for an entertainment,"—"Which men call playing the GARYE." The reader may perhaps recollect, that the old Cornish Miracle interlude was called the *Guary Mirakil*, that is, the *Miracle Play*. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 70.] In Cornish, *Plán an guare* is the level place, the plain of sport and pastime, the theatre of games, &c. *Guare* is a Cornish verb, to sport, to play. In affinity with which, is probably *Garish*, gay, splendid. MERTON, IL PENS. v. 141. Day's *garish* eye. Shakespeare, ROM. JUL. iii. 4. The *garish* sun. KING RICHARD THE THIRD. A *garish* flag. Compare Lye, Sax. Dict. V. *geaprian*. To dress fine.

Who was the translator of EMARE, it is not known. I presume it was translated in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and very probably by Thomas Chestre, the translator of LAUNVAL.

SECTION XLIV.

I FEAR I shall be pronounced a heretic to modern criticism, in retracting what I have said in a preceding page, and in placing the NOT-BROWNE MAYDE under some part of this reign*. Prior, who, about the year 1718, paraphrased this poem, without improving its native beauties, supposes it to have been three hundred years old. It appears from two letters preserved in the British Museum, written by Prior to Wanley, lord Oxford's librarian, that Prior consulted Wanley about this antient ballad^a. It is, however, certain, that Wanley, an antiquarian of unquestionable skill and judgement in these niceties, whatever directions and information he might have imparted to Prior on this subject, could never have communicated such a decision. He certainly in these letters gives no such opinion^b. This is therefore the hasty conjecture of Prior; who thought that the curiosity which he was presenting to the world, would derive proportionable value from its antiquity, who was better employed than in the petty labour of ascertaining dates, and who knew much more of modern than antient poetry.

The NOT-BROWNE MAYDE first appeared in Arnolde's CHRONICLE, or CUSTOMS OF LONDON, which was first printed about the year 1521. This is perhaps the most heterogeneous and multifarious miscellany that ever existed. The collector

* [i. e. the reign of Henry VIII., but Herbert says he possessed an edition which was printed about 1502, i. e. the 18th year of Henry VII.—PARK.]

^a MSS. HARL. 3777.

^b These letters are printed in the ADDITIONS TO POPE'S WORKS, in two volumes, published about two years ago.

[Namely in 1776. This publication has been attributed to the late George Stevens, Esq.; but I heard from Mr. Isaac Reed that it was culled by Baldwin from the communications of Mr. Stevens in the St. James's Chronicle, and put forth with a preface by William Cooke, Esq.—PARK.]

sets out with a catalogue of the mayors and sheriffs, the customs and charters, of the city of London. Soon afterwards we have receipts to pickle sturgeon, to make vinegar, ink, and gunpowder; how to raise parsley in an hour; the arts of brewery and soap-making; an estimate of the livings in London; an account of the last visitation of saint Magnus's church; the weight of Essex cheese, and a letter to cardinal Wolsey. The NOT-BROWNE MAYDE is introduced, between an estimate of some subsidies paid into the exchequer, and directions for buying goods in Flanders. In a word, it seems to have been this compiler's plan, by way of making up a volume, to print together all the notices and papers, whether antient or modern, which he could amass, of every sort and subject. It is supposed, that he intended an antiquarian repertory: but as many recent materials were admitted, that idea was not at least uniformly observed; nor can any argument be drawn from that supposition, that this poem existed long before, and was inserted as a piece of antiquity.

The editor of the PROLUSIONS infers^c, from an identity of rhythmus and orthography, and an affinity of words and phrases, that this poem appeared after sir Thomas More's JEST OF THE SERJEANT AND FREER, which, as I have observed, was written about the year 1500. This reasoning, were not other arguments obvious, would be inconclusive, and might be turned to the opposite side of the question. But it is evident from the language of the NOTBROWNE MAYDE, that it was not written earlier than the beginning, at least, of the sixteenth century*. There is hardly an obsolete word, or that requires a glossary, in the whole piece: and many parts of Surry and Wyat are much more difficult to be understood. Reduce any two stanzas to modern orthography, and they shall hardly wear the appearance of antient poetry. The reader shall try the experiment on the two following, which occur accidentally^d.

^c PROLUSIONS, or *select pieces of antient Poetry*, Lond. 1760. 8vo. Pref. p. vii., [edited by E. Capell.—PARK.] the style of 1500, in the edition of 1521? Herbert MS. Note.—PARK.]

* [But might it not be modernized to

^d V. 168.

HE.

Yet take good hede, for ever I drede
 That ye could nat sustayne,
 The thornie wayes, the depe valèis,
 The snowe, the frost, the rayne,
 The colde, the hete : for, dry or wete,
 We must lodge on the playne;
 And us abof^e none other rofe
 But a brake bush, or twayne.
 Which sone sholde greve you, I believe;
 And ye wolde gladly than,
 That I had to the grene wode go
 Alone a banyshed man.——

SHE.

Among the wylde dere, such an archère,
 As men say that ye be,
 May ye not fayle of good vitayle
 Where is so grete plentè :
 And water clere of the ryvère
 Shall be full swete to me ;
 With which in hele, I shall ryght wele
 Endure, as ye shall see :
 And, or we go, a bedde or two
 I can provyde anone.
 For, in my mynde, of all mankynde
 I love but you alone.

The simplicity of which passage Prior has thus decorated and dilated.

HENRY.

Those limbs, in lawn and softest silk array'd,
 From sun-beams guarded, and of winds afraid ;
 Can they bear angry Jove? can they resist
 The parching dog-star, and the bleak north-east?

* i. e. above.

When, chill'd by adverse snows and beating rain,
 We tread with weary steps the longsome plain;
 When with hard toil we seek our evening food,
 Berries and acorns from the neighbouring wood;
 And find among the cliffs no other house,
 But the thin covert of some gather'd boughs;
 Wilt thou not then reluctant send thine eye
 Around the dreary waste; and weeping try
 (Though then, alas! that trial be too late)
 To find thy father's hospitable gate,
 And seats, where ease and plenty brooding sate?
 Those seats, whence long excluded thou must mourn;
 That gate, for ever barr'd to thy return:
 Wilt thou not then bewail ill-fated love,
 And hate a banish'd man, condemn'd in woods to rove?

EMMA.

Thy rise of fortune did I only wed,
 From it's decline determin'd to recede;
 Did I but purpose to embark with thee
 On the smooth surface of a summer's sea:
 While gentle Zephyrs play in prosperous gales,
 And Fortune's favour fills the swelling sails;
 But would forsake the ship, and make the shore,
 When the winds whistle, and the tempests roar?
 No, Henry, no: one sacred oath has tied
 Our loves; one destiny our life shall guide;
 Nor wild nor deep our common way divide.
 When from the cave thou risest with the day,
 To beat the woods, and rouse the bounding prey,
 The cave with moss and branches I'll adorn,
 And cheerful sit, to wait my lord's return:
 And, when thou frequent bring'st the smitten deer
 (For seldom, archers say, thy arrows err,)
 I'll fetch quick fuel from the neighbouring wood,
 And strike the sparkling flint, and dress the food;

With humble duty and officious haste,
 I'll cull the farthest mead for thy repast ;
 The choicest herbs I to thy board will bring,
 And draw thy water from the freshest spring :
 And, when at night with weary toil opprest,
 Soft slumbers thou enjoy'st, and wholesome rest ;
 Watchful I'll guard thee, and with midnight prayer
 Weary the Gods to keep thee in their care ;
 And joyous ask, at morn's returning ray,
 If thou hast health, and I may bless the day.
 My thoughts shall fix, my latest wish depend,
 On thee, guide, guardian, kinsman, father, friend :
 By all these sacred names be Henry known
 To Emma's heart ; and grateful let him own,
 That she, of all mankind, could love but him alone ! }

What degree of credit this poem maintained among our earlier ancestors, I cannot determine. I suspect the sentiment was too refined for the general taste. Yet it is enumerated among the popular tales and ballads by Laneham, in his narrative of queen Elisabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth-castle in 1575^f. I have never seen it in manuscript. I believe it was never reprinted from Arnolde's Chronicle, where it first appeared in 1521, till so late as the year 1707. It was that year revived in a collection called the MONTHLY MISCELLANY*, or MEMOIRS FOR THE CURIOUS, and prefaced with a little essay on our antient poets and poetry, in which it is said to have been three hundred years old. Fortunately for modern poetry, this republication suggested it to the notice of Prior, who perhaps from the same source might have adopted or confirmed his hypothesis, that it was coeval with the commencement of the fifteenth century.

Whoever was the original inventor of this little dramatic dialogue, he has shewn no common skill in contriving a plan,

^f Fol. 54.

* [Read the MUSES MERCURY for June 1707, according to Dr. Percy.

See Reliques of Engl. Poetry, ii. 37.—
PAR.]

which powerfully detains our attention, and interests the passions, by a constant succession of suspense and pleasure, of anxiety and satisfaction. Betwixt hopes perpetually disappointed, and solicitude perpetually relieved, we know not how to determine the event of a debate, in which new difficulties still continue to be raised, and are almost as soon removed. In the midst of this vicissitude of feelings, a striking contrast of character is artfully formed, and uniformly supported, between the seeming unkindness and ingratitude of the man, and the unconquerable attachment and fidelity of the woman, whose amiable compliance unexpectedly defeats every objection, and continually furnishes new matter for our love and compassion. At length, our fears subside in the triumph of suffering innocence and patient sincerity. The Man, whose hard speeches had given us so much pain, suddenly surprises us with a change of sentiment, and becomes equally an object of our admiration and esteem. In the disentanglement of this distressful tale, we are happy to find, that all his cruelty was tenderness, and his inconstancy the most invariable truth; his levity an ingenious artifice, and his perversity the friendly disguise of the firmest affection. He is no longer an unfortunate exile, the profligate companion of the thieves and ruffians of the forest, but an opulent earl of Westmoreland; and promises, that the lady, who is a baron's daughter, and whose constancy he had proved by such a series of embarrassing proposals, shall instantly be made the partner of his riches and honours. Nor should we forget to commend the invention of the poet, in imagining the modes of trying the lady's patience, and in feigning so many new situations: which, at the same time, open a way to description, and to a variety of new scenes and images.

I cannot help observing here, by the way, that Prior has misconceived and essentially marred his poet's design, by softening the sternness of the Man, which could not be intended to admit of any degree of relaxation. Henry's hypocrisy is not characteristically nor consistently sustained. He frequently talks in too respectful and complaisant a style. Sometimes he

calls Emma my *tender maid*, and my *beauteous Emma*; he fondly dwells on the ambrosial plenty of her flowing ringlets gracefully wreathed with variegated ribbands, and expatiates with rapture on the charms of her snowy bosom, her slender waist, and harmony of shape. In the antient poem, the concealed lover never abates his affectation of rigour and reserve, nor ever drops an expression which may tend to betray any traces of tenderness. He retains his severity to the last, in order to give force to the conclusion of the piece, and to heighten the effect of the final declaration of his love. Thus, by diminishing the opposition of interests, and by giving too great a degree of uniformity to both characters, the distress is in some measure destroyed by Prior. For this reason, Henry, during the course of the dialogue, is less an object of our aversion, and Emma of our pity. But these are the unavoidable consequences of Prior's plan, who presupposes a long connection between the lovers, which is attended with the warmest professions of a reciprocal passion. Yet this very plan suggested another reason, why Prior should have more closely copied the cast of his original. After so many mutual promises and protestations, to have made Henry more obdurate, would have enhanced the sufferings and the sincerity of the amiable Emma.

It is highly probable, that the metrical romances of RICHARD CUER DE LYON, GUY EARL OF WARWICK, and SYR BEVVS OF SOUTHAMPTON, were modernised in this reign from more antient and simple narrations*. The first was printed by

* [These three romances were pronounced by Ritson to be extant in MSS. above 300 years old; and one of them, at least, (*Sir Bevis*) excepting the typographical incorrectness of the old printed copy, differs no otherwise from it than in its orthography and the slight variations inseparable from repeated transcription. The ancient MS. copy of *Richard Cuér de Lion* is as long at least as the old editions. But some MS. copies are so totally different from each other, as not to have two lines in common; being translations from the French

by different hands. This is the case with respect to *Sir Guy*: there are two distinct translations, both very old, one of which is line for line the same with the printed copy: but it will not be found that the phraseology or stile is more polished, or the story more amplified or intricate, in the editions than they are in the MS. Simplicity, indeed, is a fault of which few people will have reason to complain in the perusal of an old metrical romance, let its antiquity be what it may. Ritson's Obs. p. 35.—
PARK.]

Wynkyn de Worde, in 1529^h. The second without date, but about the same time, by William Copland. I mean that which begins thus,

[S]ithen the tyme that God was borne,
And crystendome was set and sworne.

With this colophon. "Here endeth the booke of the most victorious prynce Guy earle of Warwyk. Imprinted at London in Lothbury, over against saynt Margaret's church by Wyllyam Copland¹." Richard Pinson printed SIR BEVYS without date. Many quarto prose romances were printed between the years 1510 and 1540^k. Of these, KYNGE APPOLYN OF THYRE is not one of the worst.

In the year 1542, as it seems, Robert Wyer printed, "Here begynneth a lytell boke named the SCOLE HOWSE, wherein every man may rede a goodly Prayer of the condycyons of women*." Within the leaf is a border of naked women. This is a satire against the female sex. The writer was wise enough to suppress his name, as we may judge from the following passage.

Trewly some men there be,
That lyve alwaye in greate horroure:
And say, it goeth by destenye
To hange or wed, bothe hath one houre:
And whether it be, I am well sure,
Hangynge is better of the twayne,
Sooner done, and shorter payne.

In the year 1521, Wynkyn de Worde printed a sett of Christmas Carols^l. I have seen a fragment of this scarce book, and it preserves this colophon. "Thus endeth the Christmasse

^h In quarto. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 162. seq.

^l In 4to.

^k See *supr.* p. 342.

* [Thomas Petyt printed another edition in 1541 or 1561, for the title and colophon bear different dates: and a third was printed by John Kyng in 1560.

—PARR.] [It has also been reprinted among the *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*.—*ERR.*]

¹ For many small miscellaneous pieces under the reign of Henry VIII., the more inquisitive reader is referred to *MSS. Cott. Vesp. A. 25.*

carolles newly imprinted at London in the Flete-strete at the sygna of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of our Lorde, M.D. XXI.^m These were festal chansons for enlivening the merriments of the Christmas celebrity: and not such religious songs as are current at this day with the common people under the same title, and which were substituted by those enemies of innocent and useful mirth the puritans. The boar's head soused, was antiently the first dish on Christmas day, and was carried up to the principal table in the Hall with great state and solemnity. Hollinshed says, that in the year 1170, upon the day of the young prince's coronation, king Henry the First "served his sonne at the table as sewer, bringing up the BORES HEAD with trumpets before it according to the mannerⁿ." For this indispensable ceremony, as also for others of that season, there was a Carol, which Wynkyn de Worde has given us in the miscellany just mentioned, as it was sung in his time, with the title, "A CAROLL bringyng in the Bores heed."

*Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.*

The Bore's head in hand bringe I,
With garlans gay and rosemary.
I pray you all synge merely,
Qui estis in convivio.

The Bore's head, I understande,
Is the chefe servyce^a in this lande:
Loke whereöever it be fande^p
Servite cum cantico.

Be gladde lordes, bothe more and lasse^q,
For this hath ordeyned our stewarde
To chere you all this Christmasse,
The Bore's head with mustarde.

^m In quarto. [See Ritson's Ancient Songs, p. 126.—PARK.]

ⁿ CHRON. iii. 76. See also Polyd. Virg. Hist. p. 212. 10. ed. 1534.

^a that is, the chief dish served at a feast.

^p found.

^q great and small.

This carol, yet with many innovations, is retained at Queen's college in Oxford. Other antient Christmas carols occur with Latin Burthens or Latin intermixtures. As thus,

Puer nobis natus est de Virgine Maria.

Be glad lordynges, be the more or lesse,
I brynge you tydynges of gladnesse.^r

The Latin scraps were banished from these jocund hymns, when the Reformation had established an English liturgy. At length appeared, "Certaine of David's Psalmes intended for Christmas Carolls fitted to the most common but solempne tunes every where familiarly used, by William Slatyr, printed by Robert Young 1630^s."

It was impossible that the Reformation of religion could escape without its rhyming libels. Accordingly, among others, we have, "An Answer to a papystical exhortation, pretending to avoyd false doctrine, under that colour to mayntayne the same," printed in 1548, and beginning,

Every pilde^r pedlar
Will be a medlar.

In the year 1533, a proclamation was promulged, prohibiting evil-disposed persons to preach, either in public or private, "after their *own braine*, and by playing of enterludes, and printing of false fond bookes, ballades, rhymes, and other lewd treatyses in the English tongue, concerning doctrines in matters now in question and controversie," &c.^u But this popular mode of attack, which all understood, and in which the idle and unlearned could join, appears to have been more powerful than royal interdictions and parliamentary censures.

In the year 1540, Thomas lord Cromwell, during the short interval which Henry's hasty passion for Catharine Howard permitted between his commitment and execution, was insulted in a ballad written by a defender of the declining cause of popery, who certainly shewed more zeal than courage, in reproach-

^r MSS. HARL. 5996. fol. 4. fol. 18. ^u Fox, MARTYROLOG. f. 1339. edit.
^r In octavo. ^r pilled, i. e. bald. 1576.

ing a disgraced minister and a dying man. This satire, however unseemly, gave rise to a religious controversy in verse, which is preserved in the archives of the Antiquarian Society.

I find a poem of thirty octave stanzas, printed in 1546, called the DOWNFAL OF ANTICHRISTES MAS, or MASS, in which the nameless satirist is unjustly severe on the distresses of that ingenious class of mechanics who got their living by writing and ornamenting service-books for the old papistic worship, now growing into decay and disuse; insinuating at the same time, in a strain of triumph, the great blow their *craft* had received, by the diminution of the number of churches in the dissolution of the monasteries^w. It is, however, certain, that this busy and lucrative occupation was otherwise much injured by the invention and propagation of typography, as several catholic rituals were printed in England: yet still they continued to employ writers and illuminators for this purpose. The finest and the latest specimen of this sort I have seen, is Cardinal Wolsey's LECTONARY, now preserved at Christchurch in Oxford, a prodigious folio on vellum, written and embellished with great splendor and beauty by the most elegant artists, either for the use of his own private chapel, or for the magnificent chapel

^w In a roll of John Morys, warden of Winchester college, an. xx Ric. ii. A. D. 1397, are large articles of disbursement for grails, legends, and other service-books for the choir of the chapel, then just founded. It appears that they bought the parchment; and hired persons to do the business of writing, illuminating, noting, and binding, within the walls of the college. As thus. "*Item in xi doseyn iiij pellibus emptis pro i legenda integra, que incipit folio secundo Quia diserunt, continente xxxiiij quaterniones, (pret. doseyn iiij s. vid. pret. pellis iiij d. ob.) lis. Item in scriptura ejusdem Legende, lxxi s. Et in illuminatione et ligacione ejusdem, xxx s. Item in vj doseyn de velym emptis pro factura vj Processionalium, quorum quilibet continet xv quaterniones, (pret. doseyn iiij s. vid.) xxv s. Et in scriptura, notacione, illuminatione, et ligacione eorundem, xxxiij s.*" The highest

cost of one of these books is, 7l. 13s. Vellum, for this purpose, made an article of *staurum* or *store*. As, "*Item in vj doseyn de velym emptis in staurum pro aliis libris inde faciendis, xxxiiij s. xj d.*" The books were covered with deer-skin. As, "*Item in vj pellibus cervinis emptis pro libris predictis cooperiendis, xij s. iiij d.*" In another roll (xix Ric. ii. A. D. 1396.) of warden John Morys above mentioned, disbursements of diet for *SCRIPTORES* enter into the quarterly account of that article. "*EXPENSE extraneorum superveniencium, iij SCRIPTORUM, viij serviencium, et x choristarum, ix l. iiij s. xd.*" The whole diet expences this year, for strangers, writers, servants, and choristers, amount to 20l. 19s. 10d. In another roll of 1399, (Rot. Comp. Burs. 22 Ric. ii.) writers are in commons weekly with the regular members of the society.

which he had projected for his college, and peculiarly characteristic of that prelate's predominant ideas of ecclesiastic pomp.

Wynkyn de Worde printed a *TRETISE OF MERLYN*, or his prophesies in verse, in 1529. Another appeared by John Hawkyns, in 1533. Metrical and prosaic prophesies attributed to the magician Merlin, all originating from Geoffrey of Monmouth's historical romance, and of oriental growth, are numerous and various. Merlin's predictions were successively accommodated by the minstrel-poets to the politics of their own times. There are many among the Cotton manuscripts, both in French and English, and in other libraries^x. Laurence Minot above cited, who wrote about 1360, and in the northern dialect, has applied some of them to the numerous victories of Edward the Third^y. As thus.

Men may rede in Romance^z right,
 Of a grete clerk that MERLIN hight:
 Ful many bokes er of him wreten,
 Als thir clerkes wele may witten^a;
 And zit^b in many preve nokes^c
 May men find of Merlin bokes.
 Merlin said thus with his mouth,
 Out of the North into the Sowth,
 Suld cum a Bare^d over the se,
 That suld mak many men to fle;
 And in the se, he said, ful right,
 Suld he schew^e ful mekill myght:
 And in France he suld bigin^f
 To make tham wrath that ere thare in :

^x See Geoffr. Monm. vii. 3. And Rob. Glouc. p. 132. 133. seq. 254. 256. Of the authority of Merlin's Prophesies in England in 1216, see Wykes's CHRON. sub ann. Merlin's Prophesies were printed in French at Paris, in 1498. And MERLINI VITÆ ET PROPHETIÆ, at Venice, 1554.

^y MS. GALB. E. ix. ut supr.

^z In another place Minot calls the

book on which his narrative is founded the ROMANCE.

How Edward, als the Romance saies,
 Held his sege before Calais.

^a as scholars well know.

^b and yet. ^c privy nooks.

^d Should come a Boar. This Boar is king Arthur in Merlin's Prophesies.

^e Should he shew. ^f begin.

Untill the se his taile reche sale^s,
 All folk of France to mekill bale^h.
 Thus have I mater for to make
 For a nobill Prince¹ sake.

Help me, God, my wit is thin^k,
 Now LAURENCE MINOT will bigin.

A Bore es broght on bankes bare,
 With ful batail bifor his brest,
 For John^m of France will he nocht spare
 In Normondy to tak his rest.—
 At Cressy when thai brak the brig^a,
 That saw Edward with both his ine^o;
 Than liked him no langer to lig^p,
 Ilk Inglis man on others rig^q;
 Over that water er thai went^r,
 To batail er thai baldly big,
 With brade ax^s, and with bowes bent,
 With bent bowes thai war ful bolde,
 For to fell of^t the Frankisch men.
 Thai gert^u tham lig with cares colde.
 Ful sari^w was sir Philip^x then :
 He saw the toun o ferrum^y bren^z,
 And folk for ferd war fast fleand^a :
 The teres he lete ful rathly^b ren
 Out of his eghen^c, I understand.
 Than cum Philip, ful redy dight,
 Toward the toun with all his rowt ;
 With him come mani a kumly knight,
 And all umset^d the Bare about :

^s his tail shall reach to the sea.

^h to the great destruction of the French.

¹ that is, king Edward the Third.

^k weak, tennis.

^m King John. [John Duke of Normandy, son to king Philip, whom he succeeded August 23, 1350.—RITSON.]

^o bridge. ^e eyne, eyes. ^p lie idle.

^q The English ran over one another, pressed forward.

^r Froissart calls this the passage or ford of Blanch taque, B. i. ch. cxxvii. Berners's Transl. fol. lxiii. a.

^s broad-ax, battle-ax. ^t fall upon.

^u caused. ^w sorry.

^x Philip of Valois, son of John, king of France.

^y perhaps Vernon. [afar off.—RITSON.]

^z burn. ^a flying for fear.

^b quickly, fast, run. ^c eyes. ^d beset.

The Bare made tham ful law to lout,
 And delt tham knobbes to thaire mede^d,
 He gert tham stumbill that war stout.
 Thare helpid nowther staf ne stede^e.
 Stedes strong bilevid still^f
 Biside Cressy opon the grene^g.
 Sir Philip wanted all his will
 That was wele on his sembland^h sene,
 With spere and schelde, and helmis scheneⁱ,
 The Bare than durst thai nocht habide^j.
 The king of Beme^k was cant^m and kene,
 Bot thare he left both play and pride.
 Pride in prese ne prais I nochtⁿ.
 Omong thir princes prowde in pall,
 Princes suld be wele bithoght^o
 When kinges suld tham tyll^p counsail call.

The same boar, that is, Edward the Third, is introduced by Minot as resisting the Scottish invasion in 1347, at Nevil's cross near Durham^q.

^d reward. ^e lances and horses
 were now of no service.
^f stood still. Blev. Sax. Chauc. TR.
 CR. iv. 1357.

^g a plain. So in Minot's Siege of
 Tournay, MSS. *ibid*.

A Bore with brenis bright
 Es broght opon zowre grene,
 That as a semely sizht,
 With schilterouns faire and schene.

^h countenance. [semblance.—RITSON.]
ⁱ bright helmets.

^k They could no longer withstand the
 Boar.

^l John king of Bohemia. By Froissart
 he is called inaccurately the king of Be-
 haigne, or Charles of Luxemburgh. See
 Froissart, ut *supr.* fol. lxiv. b. The lord
 Charles of Bohemia, his son, was also in
 the battle and killed, being lately elected
 emperor. Hollinsh. iii. 372.

^m gay, alert.

ⁿ I cannot praise the mere pomp of
 royalty.

^o advised, prepared. ^p to.

^q The reader will recollect that this
 versification is in the structure of that
 of the LIVES OF THE SAINTS, where two
 lines are thrown into one. viz. VNDER-
 CIM MILLIA VIRGINUM. MSS. Coll. Trin.
 Oxon. 57.

Ellevene thousand virgines, that fair
 companye was,
 Imartird wer for godis sone, ich wille
 telle that cas.

A kyng ther was in Bretaygne, Maur
 was his name,

A douster he hadde that het Vrse, a
 mayde of guod fame.

So fair woman me nyste non, ne so guod
 in none poynte,

Cristene was al hire ken, swithe noble
 and queynte :

Of hire fairhede and guodnesse me told
 in eche sonde side,

That the word com into Engelonde, and
 selle wher wide.

Sir David the Bruse^a
 Was at distance,
 When Edward the Baliolfe^r,
 Rade^s with his lance:
 The north end of England,
 Teched him to daunce,
 When he was met on the more,
 With mekill mischance.
 Sir Philip the Valayse,
 May him nocht avance^t,
 The flowres that faire war,
 Er^u fallen in Fraunce!
 The flowres er now fallen,
 That fers^x war and fell,
 A Bare^v with his bataille,
 Has done tham to dwell.

A kyng ther was in Engelonde, man of
 gret powèr,
 Of this maide he herde telle gret nobleize
 far and ner.

The minstrel, who used the perpetual
 return of a kind of plain chant, made his
 pause or close at every hemistic. In the
 same manner, the verses of the following
 poem were divided by the minstrel.
 MSS. Cott. Jul. V. fol. 175. Perga-
 men. [The transcript is not later than
 the year 1300.]

Als ý yod on ay Monday, by twene
 Wiltindon and Walle,
 Me ane after brade way, ay litel man ý
 mette withalle,

The leste that ever ý sathe, to say oither
 in boure oither in halle,
 His robe was noither grene na gray, bot
 alle yt was of riche palle.

On me he cald and bad me bide, wel
 stille ý stode ay litel space;

Fro Lanchester the Parke syde, ýeen he
 come wel faire his pace: &c.

I biheld that litel man, bi the strete als
 we gon gae¹,

His berde was syde ay large span, and
 glided als the fether of pae².

His heved³ was wyte as any swan, his
 higeheh⁴ were gret and grai, &c.

His robe was al golde biganne, well
 cristlik maked i understande,
 Botones asurd everilke ane, from his el-
 bouthe on til his hande⁵.

They enter a castle.

The bankers on the binkes lay⁶, and
 faire lordes sette ý fonde,

In ilk ay hirn ý herd ay lay, and levedya
 southe me loud sange⁷.

^a David Bruce, king of Scotland. See
 P. LANGROFT, p. 116.

^r warlike. [Edward de Baliol. Ed-
 ward the Third was not in England
 when the affair at Nevill's Cross happen-
 ed.—RITSON.]

^s rode. ^t could do him no service.
^u are. ^x fierce. ^v boar.

¹ went on. ² His beard was a span broad, and shone like a peacock's plumage.

³ head. ⁴ eyes. ⁵ buttons, every one of them azure, from his elbow to his

hand. ⁶ cushions, or tapestry, on the benches laid. ⁷ In every corner I
 heard a Lay, and ladies, &c.

Sir David the Bruse,
 Said he sulde fonde ^x
 To ride thurgh all Ingland,
 Wuld he nocht wonde ^y :
 At the Westminster Hall,
 Suld his stedes stonde,
 Whils oure king Edward
 War out of the londe. ^z

Also in Edward's victory over the Spaniards in a sea-fight, in 1350, a part of Minot's general subject.

I wald nocht spare for to speke,
 Wist I to spede,
 Of wight men with wapin ^a,
 And worthy in wede.
 That now er driven to dale ^b,
 And ded all thaire dede,
 Thai sail in the see-gronde ^c,
 Fissches to fede !
 Fele ^d Fissches thai fede,
 For all thaire grete fare ^e,
 It was in the waniand ^f
 That thai come thare.
 Thai sailed furth in the Swin
 In a somers tyde,
 With trompès and taburns ^g,
 And mikell other pryde ^h.

I have seen one of Merlin's PROPHECIES, probably translated from the French, which begins thus.

Listeneth now to Merlin's saw,
 And I woll tell to aw ⁱ,

^x should attempt.
^y wander in going. [stop, stay. — RIT-
 SON.] ^z MSS. ut supr. GALE. E. ix.
^a active with weapons. ^b sorrow.
^c sea-bottom. ^d many. ^e feasting.

^f Q. Waning of the Moon?
^g tambourins, tabours or drums. In
 Chaucer we have TABOURS, Fr. to drum.
^h MSS. ut supr.
ⁱ all.

What he wrat for men to come,
Nother by greffe ne by plume.*

The public pageantries of this reign are proofs of the growing familiarity and national diffusion of classical learning. I

* I know not when this piece was written. But the word *greffe* is old French for *Graphium*, or *Stylus*. It is generally supposed, and it has been positively asserted by an able French antiquary, that the antient Roman practice of writing with a style on waxen tablets, lasted not longer than the fifth century. Hearne also supposes that the pen had succeeded to the style long before the age of Alfred. *Lel. ITIN. Vol. vii. PARF. p. xxi.* I will produce an instance of this practice in England so late as the year 1395. In an account-roll of Winchester college, of that year, is the following disbursement. "Et in i tabula ceranda cum viridi cera pro intulacione capellanorum et clericorum Capelle ad missas et alia psallenda, viijd."† This very curious and remarkable article signifies, that a tablet covered with green wax was kept in the chapel, for noting down with a style, the respective courses of daily or weekly portions of duty, alternately assigned to the officers of the choir. So far, indeed, from having ceased in the fifth century, it appears that this mode of writing continued throughout all the dark ages. Among many express proofs that might be produced of the centuries after that period, Du Cange cites these verses from a French metrical romance, written about the year 1376. *Lat. Gloss. V. GRAPHIUM*‡.

Les uns se prennent a écrire,
Des greffes[§] en tables de cire;
Les autres suivent la coustume
De fournir lettres a la plume.

Many ample and authentic records of the royal household of France, of the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, written on waxen tablets, are still preserved. Waxen tablets were constantly kept in the French religious houses, for the same purpose at at Winchester college. Thus in the Ordinary of the Priour of saint Lo at Rouen, printed at Rouen, written about the year 1250. "Qui, ad missam, lectiones aut tractus dicturi sunt, in tabula cerea primitus recitentur." pag. 261. Even to this day, several of the collegiate bodies in France, more especially the chapter of the cathedral of Rouen, retain this usage of marking the successive rotation of the ministers of the choir. See the *Sieur le Brun's VOYAGE LITURGIQUE*, 1718. p. 275. The same mode of writing was used for registering the capitular acts of the monasteries in France. Du Cange, in citing from an antient manuscript the *Signa* enjoined to the monks of the order of saint Victor at Paris, where the rule of silence was rigorously observed, gives us, among others, the tacit signals by which they called for the style and tablet. "*Pro Signo Graffi.*—Signo metalli præmisso, extenso pollice cum indice simila [simula] scribentem. *Pro Signo Tabularum.*—Manus ambas complica, et ita disjunge quasi aperiens Tabulas." *Gloss. ut supr. V. SIGNA. tom. iii. p. 866. col. 2. edit. vet.* Among the implements of writing allowed to the Carthusians, *Tabulae* and *Graphium* are enumerated. *Statut. Antiq. CARTUSIAN. 2 part. cap. xvi. § 8.* This, however, at Winchester college, is the only express specification which I have found of the practice, in the religious houses of England. Yet in many of our old colle-

† *Viz. "COMPUTUS magistri Johis Morys Custodis a die Sabbati proxime post festum Annunciationis beate Marie anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum xvij^{mo}, usque diem Veneris proxime ante festum sancti Michaelis extunc proxime sequens anno regis predicti xvij^o, vid^l per xxvj septimanas."* It is indorsed, "Computus primus post ingressum in Collegium. Anno octavo post inceptionem Operis."

‡ See *ibid. SYLLIQUUS.*

§ *Styles. Lat. Graphium.*

§ But see Wanley's account of the text of S. Chad. *CATAL. Codd. Anglo-Sax. p. 289. seq.*

will select an instance, among others, from the shews exhibited with great magnificence at the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn, in the year 1533. The procession to Westminster abbey began from the Tower; and the queen, in passing through Grace-

giate establishments it seems to be pointed out by implication: and the article here extracted from the roll at Winchester college, explains the manner of keeping the following injunction in the Statutes of saint Elisabeth's college at Winchester, now destroyed, which is a direction of the same kind, and cannot be well understood without supposing a waxen tablet. These statutes were given in 1301. "Habeat itaque idem præcentor unam Tabulam semper in capella appensam, in qua scribat quolibet die sabbati post prandium, et ordinet, qualem Missam quis eorum capellanorum in sequenti septimana debeat celebrare; quis qualem lectionem in crastino legere debeat; Et sic de cæteris divinis officiis in prædicta capella faciendis. Et sic cotidie post prandium ordinet idem præcentor de servicio diei sequentis: hoc diligentius observando, quod capellani Missam, ad quam die sabbati, ut præmittitur, intitulatur, per integram celebrent septimanam." Dugd. MONAST. tom. iii. ECCLES. COLL. i. 10. Nothing could have been a more convenient method of temporary notation, especially at a time when parchment and paper were neither cheap nor common commodities, and of carrying on an account, which was perpetually to be obliterated and renewed: for the written surface of the wax being easily smoothed by the round or blunt end of the style, was soon again prepared for the admission of new characters. And among the Romans, the chief use of the style was for fugitive and occasional entries. In the same light, we must view the following parallel passage of the Ordination of bishop Wykeham's sepulchral chantry, founded in Winchester cathedral, in the year 1404. "Die sabbati cujuslibet septimane futuræ, monachi prioratus nostri in ordine sacerdotali constituti, valentes et dispositi ad ce-

lebrandum, ordinentur et intitulentur in Tabula seriatim ad celebrandum Missas prædictas cotidie per septimanam tunc sequentem," &c. B. Lowth's WYKEHAM. Append. p. xxxi. edit. 1777. Without multiplying superfluous citations⁵, I think we may fairly conclude, that whenever a *Tabula pro Clericis intitulantibus* occurs in the more antient rituals of our ecclesiastical fraternities, a PUGILLARE or waxen tablet, and not a schedule of parchment or paper, is intended. The inquisitive reader, who wishes to see more foreign evidences of this mode of writing during the course of the middle ages, is referred to a Memoir drawn up with great diligence and research by M. l'Abbé Lebeuf. MÆM. LITT. tom. xx. p. 267. edit. 4to.

The reasonings and conjectures of Wise and others, who have treated of the Saxon AXSTEL, more particularly of those who contend that king Alfred's STYLE is still in being at Oxford, may perhaps receive elucidation or correction from what is here casually collected on a subject, which needs and deserves a full investigation.

To a Note already labouring with its length I have only to add, that without supposing an allusion to this way of writing, it will be hard to explain the following lines in Shakespeare's TIMON OF ATHENS, Act i. Sc. i.

——— My free drift
Halts not particularly, but moves itself
"In a wide sea of wax." ———

Why Shakespeare should here allude to this peculiar and obsolete fashion of writing, to express a poet's design of describing general life, will appear, if we consider the freedom and facility with which it is executed. It is not yet, I think, discovered, on what original Shakespeare formed this drama.

⁵ See Statut. Eccles. Cath. Lichf. Dugd. MON. iii. p. 244. col. 2. 10. p. 247. col. 2. 20. Statut. Eccles. Collegiat. de Tonge, ibid. ECCLES. COLL. p. 152. col. 2. 40.

church street, was entertained with a representation of mount Parnassus. The fountain of Helicon, by a bold fiction unknown to the bards of antiquity, ran in four streams of Rhenish wine from a basin of white marble. On the summit of the mountain sate Apollo, and at his feet Calliope. On either side of the declivity were arranged four of the Muses, playing on their respective musical instruments. Under them were written epigrams and poesies in golden letters, in which every Muse praised the queen, according to her character and office. At the Conduit in Cornhill appeared the three Graces; before whom, with no great propriety, was the spring of *Grace* perpetually running wine. But when a conduit came in the way, a religious allusion was too tempting and obvious to be omitted. Before the spring, however, sate a poet, describing in metre the properties or functions of every Grace: and then each of these four Graces allotted in a short speech to the queen, the virtue or accomplishment over which she severally presided. At the Conduit in Cheapside, as my chronicler says, she was saluted with "a rich pageaunt full of melodie and song." In this pageant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus: before them stood Mercury, who presented to her majesty, in the name of the three goddesses, a golden ball or globe divided into three parts, signifying wisdom, riches, and felicity. At entering saint Paul's *gate*, an antient portal leading into the church-yard on the east, and long since destroyed, three ladies richly attired showered on her head wafers, in which were contained Latin distichs. At the eastern side of saint Paul's Church-yard, two hundred scholars of saint Paul's school addressed her in chosen and apposite passages from the Roman poets, translated into English rhymes. On the leads of saint Martin's church stood a choir of boys and men, who sung, not spiritual hymns, but *new balads* in praise of her majesty. On the conduit without Ludgate, where the arms and angels had been *refreshed*, was erected a tower with four turrets, within each of which was placed a Cardinal Virtue, symbolically habited. Each of these personages in turn uttered an oration, promising to protect and accompany the queen on

all occasions¹. Here we see the pagan history and mythology predominating in those spectacles, which were once furnished from the Golden Legend. Instead of saints, prophets, apostles, and confessors, we have Apollo, Mercury, and the Muses. Instead of religious canticles, and texts of scripture, which were usually introduced in the course of these ceremonies, we are entertained with profane poetry, translations from the classics, and occasional verses; with exhortations, not delivered by personified doctors of the church, but by the heathen divinities.

It may not be foreign to our purpose, to give the reader some distinct idea of the polite amusements of this reign, among which, the Masque, already mentioned in general terms, seems to have held the first place. It chiefly consisted of music, dancing, gaming, a banquet, and a display of grotesque personages and fantastic dresses. The performers, as I have hinted, were often the king, and the chief of the nobility of both sexes, who under proper disguises executed some preconcerted stratagem, which ended in mirth and good humour. With one of these shews, in 1530, the king formed a scheme to surprise cardinal Wolsey, while he was celebrating a splendid banquet at his palace of Whitehall^m. At night his majesty in a masque, with twelve more masquers all richly but strangely dressed, privately landed from Westminster at Whitehall stairs. At landing, several small pieces of cannon were fired, which the king had before ordered to be placed on the shore near the house. The cardinal, who was separately seated at the banquet in the presence-chamber under the cloth of state, a great number of ladies and lords being seated at the side-tables, was alarmed at this sudden and unusual noise: and immediately ordered lord Sandys, the king's chamberlain, who was one of the guests, and in the secret, to enquire the reason. Lord

¹ Hall's CHRONICLE, fol. ccxli. Among the Orations spoken to the Queen, is one too curious to be omitted. At Leadenhall sate saint Anne with her numerous progeny, and Mary Cleophas with her four children. One of the children made

“ a goodlie oration to the queene, of the fruitfulness of saint Anne, and of her generation; trusting the like fruit should come of hir.”

^m It then belonged to Wolsey.

Sandys brought answer, that thirteen foreign noblemen of distinction were just arrived, and were then waiting in the great hall below; having been drawn thither by the report of the cardinal's magnificent banquet, and of the beautiful ladies which were present at it. The cardinal ordered them immediately into the banquetting-room, to which they were conducted from the hall with twenty new torches and a concert of drums and fifes. After a proper refreshment, they requested in the French language to dance with the ladies, whom they kissed, and to play with them at *mum-chance*^a: producing at the same time a great golden cup filled with many hundred crowns. Having played for some time with the ladies, they designedly lost all that remained in the cup to the cardinal; whose sagacity was not easily to be deceived, and who now began, from some circumstances, to suspect one of them to be the king. On finding their plot in danger, they answered, "If your grace can point him out, he will readily discover himself." The cardinal pointed to a masque with a black beard, but he was mistaken, for it was sir Edward Nevil. At this, the king could not forbear laughing aloud; and pulling off his own and sir Edward Nevil's masque, convinced the cardinal, with much arch complaisance, that he had for once guessed wrong. The king and the masquers then retired into another apartment to change their apparel: and in the meantime the banquet was removed, and the table covered afresh with perfumed clothes. Soon afterwards the king, with his company, returned, and took his seat under the cardinal's canopy of state. Immediately two hundred dishes* of the most costly cookery and confectionary were served up; the contrivance and success of the royal joke afforded much pleasant conversation, and the night was spent in dancing, dice-playing, *banketting* and *other triumphs*^o. The old chronicler Edward Hall, a cotemporary and

^a A game of hazard with dice.

* [Can we imagine that though the Cardinal was giving such a magnificent entertainment, he would have had 200 costly dishes in reserve, ready to set on,

if he had not been in the secret about the king's masqued visit? As to the mistake about his person, this might be real or pretended.—ASHBY.]

^o Hollinsh. CHRON. iii. 921. seq.

a curious observer, acquaints us, that at Greenwich, in 1512, "on the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the king with eleven others was disguised after the maner of Italie, called a Maske, a thing not seene before in England; they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold. And after the banquet doone, these maskers came in, with six gentlemen disguised in silke, bearing staffe-torches, and desired the ladies to danse; some were content, and some refused; and after they had danded and communed together, as the fashion of the maske is, they tooke their leave and departed, and so did the queene and all the ladies^p."

I do not find that it was a part of their diversion in these entertainments to display humour and character†. Their chief aim seems to have been, to surprise, by the ridiculous and exaggerated oddity of the visors, and by the singularity and splendor of the dresses. Every thing was out of nature and propriety. Frequently the Masque was attended with an exhibition of some gorgeous machinery, resembling the wonders of a modern pantomime. For instance, in the great hall of the palace, the usual place of performance, a vast mountain covered with tall trees arose suddenly, from whose opening caverns issued hermits, pilgrims, shepherds, knights, damsels, and gypsies, who being regaled with spices and wine danced a morisco, or morris-dance. They were then again received into the mountain, which with a symphony of rebecs and recorders closed its caverns; and tumbling to pieces, was replaced by a ship in full sail, or a castle besieged. To be more particular. The following device was shewn in the hall of the palace at Greenwich. A castle was reared, with numerous towers, gates, and battlements; and furnished with every military preparation for sustaining a long siege. On the front was inscribed *Le fortressse dangereux*. From the windows looked out six ladies,

^p CHRON. fol. xv. [See supr. Vol. ii. p. 72.]

† [Of these there was probably about as much, as would be found in a mo-

dern masquerade, consisting of the king and his court, lords of the bed-chamber and maids of honour.—ASHBY.]

cloathed in the richest russet sattin, "laid all over with leaves of gold, and every one knit with laces of blew silk and gold, on their heads coifs and caps all of golde." This castle was moved about the hall; and when the queen had viewed it for a time, the king entered the hall with five knights, in embroidered vestments, spangled and plated with gold, of the most curious and costly workmanship. They assaulted the castle; and the six ladies, finding them to be champions of redoubted prowess, after a parley, yielded their perilous fortress, descended, and danced with their assailants. The ladies then led the knights into the castle, which immediately vanished, and the company retired^q. Here we see the representation of an action. But all these magnificent mummeries, which were their evening-amusements on festivals, (notwithstanding a parley*, which my historian calls a *communication*, is here mentioned,) were yet in dumb shew^r, and without dialogue.

But towards the latter part of Henry's reign, much of the old cumbersome state began to be laid aside. This I collect from a set of new regulations given to the royal household about the year 1526, by cardinal Wolsey. In the Chapter *For keeping the Hall and ordering of the Chapel*, it is recited, that by the frequent intermission and disuse of the solemnities of dining and supping in the great hall of the palace, the proper officers had almost forgot their duty, and the manner of conducting that very long and intricate ceremonial. It is therefore ordered, that when his majesty is not at Westminster, and with regard to his palaces in the country, the formalities of the Hall, which

^q Hollinsh. iii. 812.

* [About the terms on which to surrender the fortress that six fine ladies had defended.—ASHBY.]

^r But at a most sumptuous Disguising in 1519, in the hall at Greenwich, the figure of FAME is introduced, who, "in French, declared the meaning of the trees, the rocke, and turneie." But as this shew was a political compliment, and many foreigners present, an explanation was necessary. See Hall, CHRON. fol. lxvi. This was in 1512. But in

the year 1509, a more rational evening-amusement took place in the Hall of the old Westminster-palace, several foreign ambassadors being present. "After supper, his grace [the king] with the queene, lords, and ladies, came into the White Hall, which was hanged richlie; the hall was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an ENTERLUDE of the gentlemen of his chapell before his grace, and diverse "freshe songes." Hall, CHRON. fol. xi. xii. [See supra, p. 39.]

ought not entirely to fall into desuetude, shall be at least observed when he is at Windsor, Beaulieu, or Newhall^a in Essex, Richmond, Hampton-court, Greenwich, Eltham, and Woodstock. And that at these places only, the whole choir of the chapel shall attend. This attempt to revive that which had begun to cease from the nature of things, and from the growth of new manners, perhaps had but little or no lasting effect. And with respect to the Chapel, my record adds, that when the king is on journies or progresses, only six singing boys and six gentlemen of the choir shall make a part of the royal retinue; who "daylie in absence of *the residue* of the chapel shall have a Masse of our Ladie bifore noon, and on Sondaies and holidais, masse of the day besides our Lady-masse, and an anthempne in the afternoone: for which purpose, no *great carriage* of either vestiments or bookes shall require^b." Henry never seems to have been so truly happy, as when he was engaged in one of these progresses: in other words, moving from one seat to another, and enjoying his ease and amusements in a state of royal relaxation. This we may collect from a curious passage in Hollinshed; who had pleased and perhaps informed us less, had he never deserted the dignity of the historian. "From thence the whole court remooved to Windsor, then beginning his progresse, and exercising himselfe dailie in shooting, singing, dansing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plaicing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songes, and making of ballades.—And when he came to Oking^c, there were kept both justes turneies^d." I make no apology for these seeming digressions. The manners and the poetry of a country are so nearly connected, that they mutually throw light on each other.

The same connection subsists between the state of poetry and

^a A new house built by Henry the Eighth. Hollinsh. Chron. iii. 852.

^b "ORDENAUNCES made for the kinges household and chambres." Bibl. Bodl. MSS. LAUD. K. 48. fol. It is the original on vellum. In it, Sir Thomas

More is mentioned as Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancaster.

^c Woking in Surrey, near Guildford, a royal seat.

^d Chron. iii. 806.

of the arts; to which we may now recall the reader's attention with as little violation of our general subject.

We are taught in the mythology of the antients, that the three Graces were produced at a birth. The meaning of the fable is, that the three most beautiful imitative arts were born and grew up together. Our poetry now beginning to be divested of its monastic barbarism, and to advance towards elegance, was accompanied by proportionable improvements in Painting and Music. Henry employed many capital painters, and endeavoured to invite Raphael and Titian into England. Instead of allegorical tapestry, many of the royal apartments were adorned with historical pictures. Our familiarity with the manners of Italy, and affectation of Italian accomplishments, influenced the tones and enriched the modulation of our musical composition. Those who could read the sonnets of Petrarch must have relished the airs of Palestrina. At the same time, Architecture, like Milton's lion *pawing to get free*, made frequent efforts to disentangle itself from the massy incumbrances of the Gothic manner; and began to catch the correct graces, and to copy the true magnificence, of the Grecian and Roman models. Henry was himself a great builder; and his numerous edifices, although constructed altogether on the antient system, are sometimes interspersed with chaste ornaments and graceful mouldings, and often marked with a legitimacy of proportion, and a purity of design, before unattempted. It was among the literary plans of Leland, one of the most classical scholars of this age, to write an account of Henry's palaces, in imitation of Procopius, who is said to have described the palaces of the emperor Justinian. Frequent symptoms appeared, that perfection in every work of taste was at no great distance. Those clouds of ignorance which yet remained, began now to be illuminated by the approach of the dawn of truth.

SECTION XLV.

THE reformation of our church produced an alteration for a time in the general system of study, and changed the character and subjects of our poetry. Every mind, both learned and unlearned, was busied in religious speculation; and every pen was employed in recommending, illustrating, and familiarising the Bible, which was now laid open to the people.

The poetical annals of king Edward the Sixth, who removed those chains of bigotry which his father Henry had only loosened, are marked with metrical translations of various parts of the sacred scripture. Of these the chief is the versification of the Psalter by Sternhold and Hopkins: a performance, which has acquired an importance, and consequently claims a place in our series, not so much from any merit of its own, as from the circumstances with which it is connected.

It is extraordinary, that the protestant churches should be indebted to a country in which the reformation had never begun to make any progress, and even to the indulgence of a society which remains to this day the grand bulwark of the catholic theology, for a very distinguishing and essential part of their ritual.

About the year 1540, Clement Marot, a valet of the bed-chamber to king Francis the First, was the favorite poet of France. This writer, having attained an unusual elegance and facility of style, added many new embellishments to the rude state of the French poetry. It is not the least of his praises, that La Fontaine used to call him his master. He was the inventor of the rondeau, and the restorer of the madrigal: but he became chiefly eminent for his pastorals, ballads, fables, ele-

gies, epigrams, and translations from Ovid and Petrarch*. At length, being tired of the vanities of profane poetry, or rather privately tinctured with the principles of Lutheranism, he attempted, with the assistance of his friend Theodore Beza, and by the encouragement of the professor of Hebrew in the university of Paris, a version of David's Psalms into French rhymes. This translation, which did not aim at any innovation in the public worship, and which received the sanction of the Sorbonne as containing nothing contrary to sound doctrine, he dedicated to his master Francis the First, and to the Ladies of France. In the dedication to the Ladies or *les Dames de France*, whom he had often before addressed in the tenderest strains of passion or compliment, he seems anxious to deprecate the raillery which the new tone of his versification was likely to incur, and is embarrassed how to find an apology for turning saint. Conscious of his apostasy from the levities of life, in a spirit of religious gallantry he declares that his design is to add to the happiness of his fair readers, by substituting divine hymns in the place of *chansons d'amour*, to inspire their susceptible hearts with a passion in which there is no torment, to banish that fickle and fantastic deity CUPID from the world, and to fill their apartments with the praises, not of the *little god*, but of the true Jehovah.

E voz doigts sur les espinettes
Pour dire SAINCTES CHANSONNETTES.

He adds, that the golden age would now be restored, when we should see the peasant at his plough, the carman in the streets, and the mechanic in his shop, solacing their toils with psalms and canticles: and the shepherd and shepherdess, reposing in the shade, and teaching the rocks to echo the name of the Creator.

* [Hence was it observed in a poem before quoted, at p. 44.

In Fraunce did Marot rayne,
And neighbour thearunto

Was Petrark murthing full with
Dante,

Who erst did wonders do.

PARK.]

Le Laboureur a sa charruë,
 Le Charretier parmy le ruë,
 Et l'Artisan en sa boutique,
 Avecques un PSEAUME OU CANTIQUE,
 En son labour se soulager.
 Heureux qui orra le Berger
 Et la Bergere au bois estans,
 Fair que rochers et estangs,
 Apres eux chantant la hauteur
 Du saint nom de Createur^a.

Marot's Psalms soon eclipsed the brilliancy of his madrigals and sonnets. Not suspecting how prejudicial the predominant rage of psalm-singing might prove to the ancient religion of Europe, the catholics themselves adopted these sacred songs as serious ballads, and as a more rational species of domestic merriment. They were the common accompaniments of the fiddle. They were sold so rapidly, that the printers could not supply the public with copies. In the festive and splendid court of Francis the First, of a sudden nothing was heard but the psalms of Clement Marot. By each of the royal family and the principal nobility of the court a psalm was chosen, and fitted to the ballad-tune which each liked best*. The dauphin prince Henry, who delighted in hunting, was fond of *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire*, or, *Like as the Hart desireth the water-brooks*, which he constantly sung in going out to the chase. Madame de Valentinois, between whom and the young prince there was an attachment, took *Du fond de ma pensée*, or, *From the depth of my heart, O Lord*. The queen's favorite was, *Ne vueilles pas, O Sire*, that is, *O Lord, rebuke me not in thine indignation*, which she sung to a fashionable jig†. Antony king of Navarre sung, *Revenge moy, pren le querelle*, or, *Stand up, O Lord, to revenge*

* Les OEUVRES de Clement Marot de Cahors, valet de chambre du roy, &c. A Lyon, 1551. 12mo. See ad calc. TRANSLATIONS, &c. p. 192.

* [This mode of adaptation may be

seen in the Godly and Spiritual Songs, &c. printed at Edinburgh in 1597, and reprinted there in 1801.—PARK.]

† [Jig does not here signify a dance, but a tune.—PARK.]

my quarrel, to the air of a dance of Poitou^b. It was on very different principles that psalmody flourished in the gloomy court of Cromwell. This fashion does not seem in the least to have diminished the gaiety and good humour of the court of Francis.

At this period John Calvin, in opposition to the discipline and doctrines of Rome, was framing his novel church at Geneva: in which the whole substance and form of divine worship was reduced to praying, preaching, and singing. In the last of these three, he chose to depart widely from the catholic usage: and, either because he thought that novelty was sure to succeed, that the practice of antiphonal chanting was superstitious, or that the people were excluded from bearing a part in the more solemn and elaborate performance of ecclesiastical music, or that the old papistic hymns were unedifying, or that verse was better remembered than prose, he projected, with the advice of Luther, a species of religious song, consisting of portions of the psalms intelligibly translated into the vernacular language, and adapted to plain and easy melodies, which all might learn, and in which all might join. This scheme, either by design or accident, was luckily seconded by the publication of Marot's metrical psalms at Paris, which Calvin immediately introduced into his congregation at Geneva*. Being set to simple and almost monotonous notes by Guillaume de Franc, they were soon established as the principal branch in that reformer's new devotion, and became a characteristic mark or badge of the Calvinistic worship and profession. Nor were

^b See Bayle's Dict. V. MAROT.

* [Marot's French translation of the Psalms, said the late Mr. Mason, became popular in the court where it had its origin; not, as it seems, because it was a version of the Psalms, but as being a version in rhyme, and what the taste of the time deemed good poetry. Devotion it must be believed had little to do in this matter, the version was fashionable! Calvin conceived it might be turned to a pious purpose. The verses were easy and prosaic enough to be intelligible to the meanest capacity. The melodies to which they were set

rivalled the words in plainness and simplicity. They who could read the one would find little difficulty in learning to sing the other. As therefore it was the protestant father's aim to open the Scriptures entirely which had been so long shut up in a dead language, nothing would come more opportune than this version of the psalter; which, united with prayer in their own tongue, would enable his congregation to understand and join in the one, and become choristers of the other. Essays &c. on English Church Music.—PARK.]

they sung only in his churches. They exhilarated the convivial assemblies of the Calvinists, were commonly heard in the streets, and accompanied the labours of the artificer. The weavers and woollen manufacturers of Flanders, many of whom left the loom and entered into the ministry, are said to have been the capital performers in this science. At length Marot's psalms formed an appendix to the catechism of Geneva, and were interdicted to the catholics under the most severe penalties. In the language of the orthodox, psalm-singing and heresy were synonymous terms.

It was Calvin's system of reformation, not only to strip religion of its superstitious and ostensible pageantries, of crucifixes, images, tapers, superb vestments, and splendid processions, but of all that was estimable in the sight of the people, and even of every simple ornament, every significant symbol, and decent ceremony; in a word, to banish every thing from his church which attracted or employed the senses, or which might tend to mar the purity of an abstracted adoration, and of a mental intercourse with the deity. It is hard to determine, how Calvin could reconcile the use of singing, even when purged from the corruptions and abuses of popery, to so philosophical a plan of worship. On a parallel principle, and if any artificial aids to devotion were to be allowed, he might at least have retained the use of pictures in the church. But a new sect always draws its converts from the multitude and the meanest of the people, who can have no relish for the more elegant externals. Calvin well knew that the manufacturers of Germany were no judges of pictures. At the same time it was necessary that his congregation should be kept in good humour by some kind of pleasurable gratification and allurements, which might qualify and enliven the attendance on the more rigid duties of praying and preaching. Calvin therefore, intent as he was to form a new church on a severe model, had yet too much sagacity to exclude every auxiliary to devotion. Under this idea, he permitted an exercise, which might engage the affections, without violating the simplicity of his worship; and sensible that his

chief resources were in the rabble of a republic, and availing himself of that natural propensity which prompts even vulgar minds to express their more animated feelings in rhyme and music, he conceived a mode of universal psalmody, not too refined for common capacities, and fitted to please the populace. The rapid propagation of Calvin's religion, and his numerous proselytes, are a strong proof of his address in planning such a sort of service. France and Germany were instantly infatuated with a love of psalm-singing: which being admirably calculated to kindle and diffuse the flame of fanaticism, was peculiarly serviceable to the purposes of faction, and frequently served as the trumpet to rebellion. These energetic hymns of Geneva, under the conduct of the Calvinistic preachers, excited and supported a variety of popular insurrections; they filled the most flourishing cities of the Low-countries with sedition and tumult, and fomented the fury which defaced many of the most beautiful and venerable churches of Flanders.

This infectious frenzy of sacred song soon reached England, at the very critical point of time, when it had just embraced the reformation: and the new psalmody was obtruded on the new English liturgy by some few officious zealots, who favoured the discipline of Geneva, and who wished to abolish, not only the choral mode of worship in general, but more particularly to suppress the *TE DEUM*, *BENEDICTUS*, *MAGNIFICAT*, *JUBILATE*, *NUNC DIMITTIS*, and the rest of the liturgic hymns, which were supposed to be contaminated by their long and antient connection with the Roman missal, or, at least in their prosaic form, to be unsuitable to the new system of worship.

Although Wyat and Surrey had before made translations of the Psalms into metre, Thomas Sternhold was the first whose metrical version of the Psalms was used in the church of England. Sternhold was a native of Hampshire, and probably educated at Winchester college. Having passed some time at Oxford, he became groom of the robes to king Henry the Eighth. In this department, either his diligent services or his knack at rhyming so pleased the king, that his majesty be-

queathed him a legacy of one hundred marks. He continued in the same office under Edward the Sixth, and is said to have acquired some degree of reputation about the court for his poetry. Being of a serious disposition, and an enthusiast to reformation, he was much offended at the lascivious ballads which prevailed among the courtiers: and, with a laudable design to check these indecencies, undertook a metrical version of the Psalter, "thinking thereby, says Antony Wood, that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, *but did not*, only some few excepted^c." Here was the zeal, if not the success, of his fellow labourer Clement Marot. A singular coincidence of circumstances is, notwithstanding, to be remarked on this occasion. Vernacular versions for general use of the Psalter were first published both in France and England, by laymen, by court-poets, and by servants of the court. Nor were the respective translations entirely completed by themselves: and yet they translated nearly an equal number of psalms, Marot having versified fifty*, and Sternhold fifty-one†. Sternhold died in the year 1549. His fifty-one psalms were printed the same year by Edward Whitchurch, under the following title. "All such Psalms of David as Thomas Sternholde late grome of the kinges Maiestyes robes did in his lyfe tyme drawe into Englysshe metre‡." They are without the

* *ATH. OXON.* i. 76.

• ["Marot first published thirtypsalmes, and afterward translated twenty more, which he published at Geneva in 1543, with the other thirty, together with a preface written by Calvin." The Rev. Charles Dunster's Considerations on Psalmody.—*PARK.*]

† [Mr. Haslewood has pointed out an edition printed by G. Whitchurch in 1551, which contains 37 psalms by Sternhold, and to these seven more were adjoined. See *Censura Liter.* x. 4.—*PARK.*]

‡ ["Henry the Eighth," says Brathwaite, "for a few psalmes of David translated and turned into English meetre by Sternhold, made him groom of his privie chamber." *English Gentleman*, p. 191, 1630. Against George Wither of Lin-

coln's Inn, who had published "Hymnes and Songs of the Church" by royal license in 1623, it was alleged that he had "indecently obtruded upon the divine calling;" to which he indignantly replied, "I wonder what *divine calling* Hopkins and Sternhold had, more than I have, that *their* metricall Psalmes may be allowed of rather than my *Hymnes*. Surely, yf to have been *groomes of the privie-chamber* were sufficient to qualify them, that profession [the law] which I am of, may as well fit me for what I have undertaken." *Scholiers Purgatory*, p. 40. Wither proceeds to say:—"Excuse me, if I seeme a little too playne in discovering the faultiness of *that* whereof so many are overweening: for I do it not to disparage the pious endeavours of those who tooke paynes in

musical notes, as is the second [third] edition in 1552. He probably lived to prepare the first edition for the press, as it is dedicated by himself to king Edward the Sixth.

Cotemporary with Sternhold, and his coadjutor, was John Hopkins: of whose life nothing more is known, than that he was a clergyman and a schoolmaster of Suffolk, and perhaps a graduate at Oxford about the year 1544. Of his abilities as a teacher of the classics, he has left a specimen in some Latin stanzas prefixed to Fox's MARTYROLOGY. He is rather a better English poet than Sternhold; and translated fifty-eight of the psalms, distinguished by the initials of his name.

Of the rest of the contributors to this undertaking, the chief, at least in point of rank and learning, was William Whyttingham, promoted by Robert earl of Leicester to the deanery of Durham, yet not without a strong reluctance to comply with the use of the canonical habiliments. Among our religious exiles in the reign of Mary, he was Calvin's principal favorite, from whom he received ordination. So pure was his faith, that he was thought worthy to succeed to the congregation of Geneva, superintended by Knox, the Scotch reformer; who, from a detestation of idols, proceeded to demolish the churches in which they were contained. It was one of the natural consequences of Whyttingham's translation from Knox's pastorship at Geneva to an English deanery, that he destroyed or removed many beautiful and harmless monuments of antient art in his cathedral. To a man, who had so highly spiritualised his religious conceptions, as to be convinced that a field, a street, or a barn, were fully sufficient for all the operations of christian

that translation; but rather, commending their laborious and christian intention, do acknowledge that (considering the tymes they lived in, and of what quality they were) they made so worthy an attempt, as may justly shame us who came after, to see it no better seconded, during all the flourishing tymes which have followed their troublesome age: especially seeing, howe curiously our language and expressions are refined in our triviall discourses." Yet Wither,

like his predecessors, professes to have used that "simplicity of speech which best becometh the subject," and to have as naturally and as plainly expressed the sense of Scripture, as most prose translation have done. Few things perhaps are more difficult in metrical composition, than to unite simplicity with gracefulness. Some of our most distinguished modern poets have failed to produce such union.—PARK.]

worship, the venerable structures raised by the magnificent piety of our ancestors could convey no ideas of solemnity, and had no other charms than their ample endowments. Beside the psalms he translated^d, all which bear his initials, by way of innovating still further on our established formulary, he versified the Decalogue, the Nicene, Apostolic, and Athanasian Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, the TE DEUM, the Song of the three Children, with other hymns which follow the book of psalmody. How the Ten Commandments and the Athanasian Creed, to say nothing of some of the rest, should become more edifying and better suited to common use, or how they could receive improvement in any respect or degree, by being reduced into rhyme, it is not easy to perceive. But the real design was, to render that more tolerable which could not be entirely removed, to accommodate every part of the service to the psalmodic tone, and to clothe our whole liturgy in the garb of Geneva. All these, for he was a lover of music, were sung in Whyttingham's church of Durham under his own directions. Heylin says, that from vicinity of situation, he was enabled to lend considerable assistance to his friend Knox in the introduction of the presbyterian hierarchy into Scotland. I must indulge the reader with a stanza or two of this dignified fanatic's divine poetry from his Creeds and the Decalogue. From the Athanasian Creed.

The Father God is, God the Son,
 God Holy Ghost *also*,
 Yet are there not three Gods *in all*,
 But one God and *no mo*.

From the Apostolic Creed.

From thence shall he come for to judge,
 All men both dead and quick;
 I in the holy ghost believe,
 And church that's catholic.

^d Among them is the hundredth, and the hundred and nineteenth.

The Ten Commandments are thus closed.

Nor his man-servant, nor his maid,
 Nor oxe, nor asse *of his* ;
 Nor any other thing that *to*
 Thy neighbour *proper is*.

These were also versified by Clement Marot.

Twenty-seven of the psalms were turned into metre by Thomas Norton^c, who perhaps was better employed, at least as a poet, in writing the tragedy of GORBODUC in conjunction with lord Buckhurst. It is certain that in Norton's psalms we see none of those sublime strokes which sir Philip Sydney discovered in that venerable drama. He was of Sharpshoe in Bedfordshire, a barrister, and in the opinion and phraseology of the Oxford biographer, a bold and busy Calvinist about the beginning of the reign of queen Elisabeth. He was patronised by the Protector Somerset; at whose desire he translated an epistle addressed by Peter Martyr to Somerset, into English, in 1550. Under the same patronage he probably translated also Calvin's Institutes.

Robert Wisdome, a protestant fugitive in the calamitous reign of queen Mary, afterwards archdeacon of Ely*, and who had been nominated to an Irish bishoprick by king Edward the Sixth, rendered the twenty-fifth psalm of this version^f. But

^c Marked N. [Mr. Haslewood, who took great pains to examine the distinct claims of the several contributors to this collective version of the psalms, has apportioned 28 to Norton, 25 to Kethe, 16 to Whyttingham, 43 to Sternhold, and 56 to Hopkins. John Pullain contributed 2, Robert Wisdom 1, and T. C. [Thomas Churchyard?] a different version of the 136th; D. Cox supplied a version of the Lord's prayer, and likewise a grace before and after meat, in sixteen lines each of alternate rhyme, in a *Manuel of Christian Prayers* by Abr. Flemming, 1594. Initials occur before other specimens, which with their conjectural appropriations may be seen in *Cens. Lit.* vol. x. 7.—PARK.]

* [After holding the rectory of Settrington in Yorkshire, he was presented to this archdeaconry by queen Elisabeth in 1559-60. In bishop Cox's *Certificatorium* (MS. Benet Coll. Lib.) he was returned as a priest and B.D. usually residing upon his living at Wilberton appropriated to the archdeaconry of Ely, as qualified for preaching, and licensed thereunto by the Queen's Majesty. See Mr. Gilchrist's complete edition of Corbet's poems, p. 228.—PARK.]

^f See Strype's *CRANMER*, p. 274, 276, 277. PSALMS 70, 104, 112, 122, 125, and 134, are marked with W. K. PSALM 136, with T. C. It is not known to whom these initials belong. [Those of W. K. have been assigned to William

he is chiefly memorable for his metrical prayer, intended to be sung in the church, against the Pope and the Turk, of whom he seems to have conceived the most alarming apprehensions. It is probable, that he thought popery and mahometanism were equally dangerous to christianity, at least the most powerful and the sole enemies of our religion. This is the first stanza.

Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word,
From POPE and TURK defend us, Lord*!
Which both would thrust out of thy throne
Our Lord Jesus Christ, thy dear son!

Happily we have hitherto survived these two formidable evils! Among other orthodox wits, the facetious bishop Corbet has ridiculed these lines. He supposes himself seized with a sudden impulse to hear or to pen a puritatical hymn, and invokes the ghost of Robert Wisdome, as the most skilful poet in this mode of composition, to come and assist. But he advises Wisdome to steal back again to his tomb, which was in Carfax church at Oxford, silent and unperceived, for fear of being detected and intercepted by the Pope or the Turk. But I will produce Corbet's epigram, more especially as it contains a criticism written in the reign of Charles the First, on the style of this sort of poetry.

TO THE GHOST OF ROBERT WISDOME.

Thou once a body, now but ayre,
Arch-botcher of a psalm or prayer,
From Carfax come!
And patch us up a zealous lay,
With an old *ever* and for *ay*†,
Or *all* and *some*.

Kethe, an exile at Frankfurt: and whose name occurs again in Sect. lviii.—PARK.]

* [Wither, in a tract quoted above, thus glances at this church solecism. "My books of hymnes being allowed by authority, are as fitt, I trust, to keepe company with David's Psalmes as Robert Wisdomes TURKE and POPE and

those other apocryphal songs and praises which the Stationers add to the *Psalme booke* for their more advantage." Schol. Purg. p. 35. "From Turke and Pope" is used by Wither to designate a certain psalm tune. See Table to his *Lyric Versions*, p. 300.—PARK.]

† [This patching or eking out of

Or such a spirit lend me,
 As may a hymne down sende me
 To purge my braine:
 But, Robert, looke behind thee,
 Lest TURK or POPE doe find thee,
 And goe to bed againe.^s

The entire version of the psalter was at length published by John Day, in 1562, attached for the first time to the common prayer, and entitled, "The whole Booke of Psalmes collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall." Calvin's music was intended to correspond with the general parsimonious spirit of his worship: not to captivate the passions, and seduce the mind, by a levity, a variety, or a richness of modulation, but to infuse the more sober and unravishing ecstasies. The music he permitted, although sometimes it had wonderful effects, was to be without grace, elegance, or elevation. These apt notes were about forty tunes, of one part only, and in one unisonous key; remarkable for a certain uniform strain of sombrous gravity, and applicable to all the psalms in their turns, as the stanza and sense might allow. They also appear in the subsequent impressions, particularly of 1564 and 1577. They are believed to contain some of the original melodies, composed by French and German musicians. Many of them, particularly the celebrated one of the hundredth psalm, are the tunes of Goudimel and Le Jeune, who are among the first composers of Marot's French psalms^b. Not a few were probably imported by the protestant manufacturers of cloth, of Flanders, and the Low Countries, who fled into England from

Wisdomes psalmody is thus glanced at in Jordan's "Piety and Poesy contrasted," under "A Fancy upon Words."

If long he to that idol pray
 His sight by Love's inflamming ray
 Is lost for ever and for ay.

Rob. Wisdom.

Overbury, in his Characters, makes a precisian declare—He "had rather heare one of Robert Wisdomes psalmes than

the best hymne a cherubim can sing:" and Sir J. Birkenhead sarcastically observes in his "Assembly-man"—"When Rous stood forth for his trial, Robin Wisdom was found the better poet."—**PARK.]**

^s POEMS, Lond. 1647. duod. p. 49.

^b See this matter traced with great skill and accuracy by Hawkins, Hist. Mus. iii. 518.

the persecution of the Duke de Alva, and settled in those countries where their art now chiefly flourishes. It is not however unlikely, that some of our own musicians, who lived about the year 1562, and who could always tune their harps to the religion of the times, such as Marbeck, Tallis, Tye, Parsons, and Munday, were employed on this occasion; yet under the restriction of conforming to the jejune and unadorned movements of the foreign composers. I presume much of the primitive harmony of all these antient tunes is now lost, by additions, variations, and transpositions.

This version is said to be *conferred with the Ebrue*. But I am inclined to think, that the translation was altogether made from the vulgate text, either in Latin or English.

It is evident that the prose psalms of our liturgy were chiefly consulted and copied, by the perpetual assumption of their words and combinations: many of the stanzas are literally nothing more than the prose-verses put into rhyme, as,

Thus were they stained with the workes
Of their owne filthie way;
And with their owne inventions did
A whoring go astray.¹

Whyttingham however, who had travelled to acquire the literature then taught in the foreign universities, and who joined in the translation of Coverdale's Bible, was undoubtedly a scholar, and an adept in the Hebrew language.

It is certain that every attempt to clothe the sacred Scripture in verse, will have the effect of misrepresenting and debasing the dignity of the original*. But this general inconvenience,

¹ PSALM cvl. 38.

* [Dr. Johnson in his life of Waller opined, that "poetical devotions cannot often please," and assigned strong reasons for such opinion: but these (as Mr. Dunster observed) are not irrefragable. The observer's own feelings, indeed, furnished a strong confutation, when with the hymns of Addison before him he declared that "such devotional poetry

must always please." And in truth the dogma of Dr. Johnson, that "contemplative piety cannot be poetical," is completely refuted by the Task of Cowper, inasmuch as contemplative piety forms one of the most powerful charms by which that devout and christian poet accomplishes his poetical enchantment. See Hayley's Life.—PARK.]

arising from the nature of things, was not the only difficulty which our versifiers of the psalter had to encounter, in common with all other writers employed in a similar task. Allowing for the state of our language in the middle of the sixteenth century, they appear to have been but little qualified either by genius or accomplishments for poetical composition. It is for this reason that they have produced a translation entirely destitute of elegance, spirit, and propriety*. The truth is, that they undertook this work, not so much from an ambition of literary fame, or a consciousness of abilities, as from motives of piety, and in compliance with the cast of the times. I presume I am communicating no very new criticism when I observe, that in every part of this translation we are disgusted with a languor of versification, and a want of common prosody. The most exalted effusions of thanksgiving, and the most sublime imageries of the divine majesty, are lowered by a coldness of conception, weakened by frigid interpolations, and disfigured by a poverty of phraseology. John Hopkins expostulates with the deity in these ludicrous, at least trivial, expressions.

Why doost withdrawe thy hand aback,
 And hide it in thy lappe?
 O plucke it out, and be not slack
 To give thy foes a rappe!^k

What writer who wished to diminish the might of the su-

* ["But had they been better poets," said Mr. Warton in his MS. memoranda, "their performances had been less popular."—PARK.]

^k Ps. lxxiv. 12. Perhaps this verse is not much improved in the translation of king James the First, who seems to have rested entirely on the image of *why withdrawest thou not thine hand?* which he has expressed in Hopkins's manner,

Why dost thou thus withdraw thy hand,
 Even thy right hand restraine?
 Out of thy bosom, for our good,
 Drawe backe the same againe!

In another stanza he has preserved Hopkins's rhymes and expletives, and, if pos-

sible, lowered his language and cadences. Ps. lxxiv. 1.

Oh why, our God, for evermore
 Hast thou neglected us?
 Why *smoaks* thy wrath against the sheep
 Of thine own pasture *thus*?

Here he has chiefly displayed the *smoking* of God's wrath, which *kindles* in Hopkins. The particle *thus* was never so distinguished and dignified. And it is hard to say, why his majesty should chuse to make the divine indignation *smoke*, rather than *burn*, which is suggested by the original.

[George Wither, who printed in the Netherlands, 1632, a lyric version of the

preme Being, and to expose the style and sentiments of Scripture, could have done it more skilfully, than by making David call upon God, not to *consume his enemies* by an irresistible blow, but to give them a rap? Although some shadow of an apology may be suggested for the word *rap*, that it had not then acquired its present burlesque acceptation, or the idea of a petty stroke, the vulgarity of the following phrase, in which the practice or profession of religion, or more particularly God's covenant with the Jews, is degraded to a *trade*, cannot easily be vindicated on any consideration of the fluctuating sense of words*.

For why, their hearts were nothing bent,
To him nor to his *trade*.¹

Nor is there greater delicacy or consistency in the following stanza.

Confound them that apply
And seeke to worke my shame;
And at my harme do laugh, and cry,
So, So, *there goeth the game*.^m

The psalmist says, that God has placed the sun in the heavens, "which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his cham-

ber," says he was commanded to perfect that translation by king James, and finished the same about the time of that monarch's translation to a better kingdom, viz. about March 1625. This version is an entirely different work from his "Hymnes and Songs of the Church," published in 1623. It was designed, he tells us, to be brief, plain, and significant; and to combine the fullness of the sense with the relish of the Scripture phrase. In some of his efforts he assuredly has been successful. I will cite two verses from the first psalm.

Blest is he who neither straieth
Where the godless man misguideth,
Neither stands in sinners waies,
Nor in scorners chair abideth;
But in God's pure laws delights,
Thereon musing daies and nights.

Like a tree, sett near the springs,

He doth alway freshlie flourish;

Still his fruits he timely brings,

And his leaf shall never perish:

Ev'rie thing shall prosper too,

Which he undertakes to do, &c.

PARK.]

*["In the whole book of Psalms," says Dr. Brown, "as they are verified by Sternhold and his companions, there are few stanzas which do not present expressions to excite the ridicule of some part of every congregation. This might well be abolished, as it exposeth one of the noblest parts of divine service to contempt." Diss. on Poetry and Music, p. 213.—PARK.]

¹ Ps. lxxviii. 37.

^m Ps. lxx. 3. [This seems to have been a technical expression.—PARK.]

ber." Here is a comparison of the sun rising, to a bridegroom; who, according to the Jewish custom, was ushered from his chamber at midnight, with great state, preceded by torches and music. Sternhold has thus metrifed the passage^a.

In them the Lord made for the sun,
A place of great renown,
Who like a bridegroom ready trimm'd
Doth from his chamber come.

The translator had better have spared his epithet to the bridegroom; which, even in the sense of *ready-dressed*, is derogatory to the idea of the comparison. But *ready-trimm'd*, in the language of that time, was nothing more than *fresh-shaved*. Sternhold as often impairs a splendid description by an impotent redundancy, as by an omission or contraction of the most important circumstances.

The miraculous march of Jehovah before the Israelites through the wilderness in their departure from Egypt, with other marks of his omnipotence, is thus imaged by the inspired psalmist. "O God, when thou wentest forth before the people, when thou wentest through the wilderness: the earth shook, and the heavens dropped at the presence of God; even as Sinai also was moved at the presence of God, who is the God of Israel. Thou, O God, sentedst a gracious rain upon thine inheritance, and refreshedst it when it was weary.—The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels; and the Lord is among them, as in the holy place of Sinai." Sternhold has thus represented these great ideas.

When thou didst march before thy folk
The Egyptians from among,
And brought them from the wildernes,
Which was both wide and long :

^a Ps. xix. 4.

The earth did quake, the raine *pourde downe*,
Heard were great claps of thunder ;
 The mount Sinai shooke in such sorte,
As it would cleave in sunder.

Thy heritage with drops of rain
 Abundantly was *washt*,
 And *if so be* it barren was,
 By thee it was *refresh't*.

God's army is *two millions*,
 Of warriours *good and strong*,
 The Lord also in Sinai
 Is present them among.^o

If there be here any merit, it arises solely from preserving the expressions of the prose version. And the translator would have done better had he preserved more, and had given us no feeble or foreign enlargements of his own. He has shewn no independent skill or energy. When once he attempts to add or dilate, his weakness appears. It is this circumstance alone, which supports the two following well-known stanzas,^p

The Lord descended from above,
 And bowde the heavens high ;
 And underneath his feet he cast
 The darknesse of the skie.
 On Cherubs and on Cherubims
 Full roiallie he rode ;
 And on the winges of all the windes *
 Came flying all abrode.

Almost the entire contexture of the prose is here literally transferred, unbroken and without transposition, allowing for

^o Ps. lxxviii. 7. seq.

^p Ps. xviii. 9, 10.

* [Dryden honoured these verses with high commendation, and conferred ad-

ditional honour by an imitation of them in his *Annus Mirabilis* :

On wings of all the winds to combat flies.
 St. 55.—PARK.]

the small deviations necessarily occasioned by the metre and rhyme. It may be said, that the translator has testified his judgment in retaining so much of the original, and proved he was sensible the passage needed not any adventitious ornament. But what may seem here to be judgment or even taste, I fear, was want of expression in himself. He only adopted what was almost ready done to his hand.

To the disgrace of sacred music, sacred poetry, and our established worship, these psalms still continue to be sung in the church of England. It is certain, had they been more poetically translated, they would not have been acceptable to the common people. Yet however they may be allowed to serve the purposes of private edification, in administering spiritual consolation to the manufacturer and mechanic, as they are extrinsic to the frame of our liturgy, and incompatible with the genius of our service, there is perhaps no impropriety in wishing, that they were remitted and restrained to that church in which they sprung, and with whose character and constitution they seem so aptly to correspond. Whatever estimation in point of composition they might have attracted at their first appearance in a ruder age, and however instrumental they might have been at the infancy of the reformation in weaning the minds of men from the papistic ritual, all these considerations can now no longer support even a specious argument for their being retained. From the circumstances of the times, and the growing refinements of literature, of course they become obsolete and contemptible. A work grave, serious, and even respectable for its poetry, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, at length in a cultivated age, has contracted the air of an absolute travestie. Voltaire observes, that in proportion as good taste improved, the psalms of Clement Marot inspired only disgust: and that although they charmed the court of Francis the First, they seemed only to be calculated for the populace in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth.

* HIST. MOD. ch. ccvii.

To obviate these objections, attempts have been made from time to time to modernise this antient metrical version, and to render it more tolerable and intelligible by the substitution of more familiar modes of diction. But, to say nothing of the unskilfulness with which these arbitrary corrections have been conducted, by changing obsolete for known words, the texture and integrity of the original style, such as it was, has been destroyed: and many stanzas, before too naked and weak, like a plain old Gothic edifice stripped of its few signatures of antiquity, have lost that little and almost only strength and support which they derived from antient phrases. Such alterations, even if executed with prudence and judgment, only corrupt what they endeavour to explain; and exhibit a motley performance, belonging to no character of writing, and which contains more improprieties than those which it professes to remove. Hearne is highly offended at these unwarrantable and incongruous emendations, which he pronounces to be *abominable* in any book, "much more in a sacred work;" and is confident, that were Sternhold and Hopkins "now living, they would be so far from owning what is ascribed to them, that they would proceed against the innovators as CHEATS*." It is certain, that this translation in its genuine and unsophisticated state, by ascertaining the signification of many radical words now perhaps undeservedly disused, and by displaying original modes of the English language, may justly be deemed no inconsiderable monument of our antient literature, if not of our antient poetry*. In condemning the practice of adulterating this primitive version, I would not be understood to recommend another in its place, entirely new. I reprobate any version at all, more especially if intended for the use of the church †.

* GLOSS. ROX. GL. p. 699. [Hearne complains also that these innovators have in several places changed the very initial letters that were to represent the several parts of the Psalms that every one turned into metre.—PARK.]

* [Sir John Hawkins observes, that the early translation of the psalms into metre "was the work of men as well qualified

for the undertaking as any that the times they lived in could furnish; and he deemed Fuller had not greatly erred in saying that 'match these verses for their ages, they shall go abreast with the best poems of those times.'" Hist. of Music, iii. 512.—PARK.]

† [Dr. Huntingford, bishop of Gloucester, represented Mr. Warton as

In the mean time, not to insist any longer on the incompatibility of these metrical psalms with the spirit of our liturgy, and the barbarism of their style, it should be remembered, that they were never admitted into our church by lawful authority. They were first introduced by the puritans, and afterwards continued by connivance. But they never received any royal approbation or parliamentary sanction *, notwithstanding it is said in their title page, that they are "set forth and ALLOWED to be sung in all churches of all the people together before and after evening prayer, and also before and after sermons: and moreover in private houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend only to the nourishing of vice and the corrupting of youth." At the beginning of the reign of queen Elisabeth, when our ecclesiastical reformation began to be placed on a solid and durable establishment, those English divines who had fled from the superstitions of queen Mary to Franckfort and Geneva, where they had learned to embrace the opposite extreme, and where, from an abhorrence of catholic ceremonies, they had contracted a dislike to the decent appendages of divine worship, endeavoured, in conjunction with some of the principal courtiers, to effect an abrogation of our solemn church service, which they pronounced to be antichristian and unevangelical. They contended that the metrical psalms of David, set to plain and po-

strongly attached to the church of England in all the offices of her liturgy. "This attachment," says Mr. Mant, "mixed with a decided antipathy to Calvinistic doctrine and discipline, may have disposed our historian not only to regard choral service with fondness, but to have reprobated somewhat too severely the practice of popular psalmody in our churches." *Life of Warton*, p. cvi.—PARK.]

* [This is humorously attested by Sir John Birkenhead in his witty character of an Assembly-man or Independant, who is made to tear the liturgy, and burn the book of common prayer: yet he has mercy (he adds) on Hopkins and Sternhold, because their metes are sung

without authority (no statute, canon, or injunction at all)—only like himself, first crept into private houses, and then into churches. Wither gravely confirms the same in the following paragraph from his Scholler's Purgatory, before quoted: "By what publicke example did we sing David's Psalms in English meeter before the raigue of king Edward the Sixth? or by what *command* of the church do we sing them as they are now in use? Verily by none. But tyme and Christian devotion having first brought forth that practice, and custome ripening it, long toleration hath in a manner fully authorized the same."—PARK.]

pular music, were more suitable to the simplicity of the gospel, and abundantly adequate to all the purposes of edification : and this proposal they rested on the authority and practice of Calvin, between whom and the church of England the breach was not then so wide as at present. But the queen and those bishops to whom she had delegated the business of supervising the liturgy, among which was the learned and liberal archbishop Parker, objected, that too much attention had already been paid to the German theology. She declared, that the foreign reformers had before interposed, on similar deliberations, with unbecoming forwardness : and that the Common Prayer of her brother Edward had been once altered, to quiet the scruples, and to gratify the cavils, of Calvin, Bucer, and Fagius. She was therefore invariably determined to make no more concessions to the importunate partisans of Geneva, and peremptorily decreed that the choral formalities should still be continued in the celebration of the sacred offices †.

† See *CANONS and INJUNCTIONS, A. D. 1559. NUM. xlix.*

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TAKEN FROM

MR. PARK'S COPY

OF

THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

P. 1. note a.—Bishop Grosthead, a worthy and exalted character, is the person here meant.—ASHBY.

P. 7. note y.—Of the CATO PARVUS, says Mr. Dibdin, there was but one edition printed in the fifteenth century. Lydgate was the translator both of Cato Magnus and Parvus. Typ. Antiq. vol. i. p. 201.—PARK.

P. 7. note a.—The sentences of the *Wys Cato* may be in doggrel, but *Æsop's Fables* are in prose; both, however, of affected orthography. Ritson MS. note.—PARK.

P. 8. l. 10.—I can, however, hardly understand how she could get the technical English terms: as I can hardly believe one in her situation followed the chase, and conversed with huntsmen enough for the purpose. I think that these Religious translated the French or Latin books on hunting, war, &c. to please their friends, who were professed sportsmen and warriors, and that they furnished the terms of art.—ASHBY.

P. 8. note e.—From Wynkyn de Worde's curious edition of 1496, a *fac simile* has recently been printed, which displays an admirable specimen of modern art in rivalling ancient typography; while under the editorial superintendance of Mr. Haslewood, it is illustrated and embellished with biographical notices, &c. that could scarcely perhaps have been supplied by any of his contemporaries. 150 copies only were taken off.—PARK.

P. 13. note w.—Bradshaw seems rather to say, that as his book was compiled for unlearned readers, it ought to

submit itself with deference to the judgement of learned poets. But as the passage is interesting, I will present it, with the context. It occurs in a brief conclusion to the work by the translator.

Go forth, litell boke, Jesu be thy spede,
And save the alway from mysreport-
yng,

Whiche art compiled for no clerke indede,

But for marchaunt men havynge litell lernynge,

And that rude people therby may have knowynge,

Of this holy virgin and redolent rose,
Which hath ben kept full longe tyme in close.

To all aunccient poetes, litell boke, submytte thee,

Whilom flouryng in eloquence facundious,

And to all other whiche present now be,
Fyrst to Maister Chaucer and Ludgate sentencious,

Also to preignaunt Barkley nowe beynge religious,

To inventive Skelton and poet laureate,
Pray them all of pardon both erly and late.—PARK.

P. 15. note c.—This salutation is still carefully preserved in the puppet show, where Punch says "Hazy weather, master Noah," &c.—ASHBY.

P. 16. note e.—Mr. Malone has added the following information: "Polydore Virgil mentions in his book *De rerum inventoribus*, lib. v. c. ii. that the MYSTERIES were in his time in English. 'Solemus vel more priscorum spectacula

edere populo, ut ludos, venationes,—recitare comedias, item in templis vitas divorum ac martyria representare, in quibus, ut cunctis par sit voluptas, qui recitant vernaculam linguam tantum usurpant.' The first three books of Polydore's work were published in 1499: in 1517, at which time he was in England, he added five more." Hist. Ant. of the Eng. Stage. Mr. Ashby (MS. note) doubted whether the Latin mysteries were to be presented in public, as they had been confined to churches, which makes a difference.—PARK.

[These interesting remains of early English literature appear at length to have excited some share of attention. Mr. Sharp of Coventry is said to have printed some specimens of the Coventry Mysteries, and Mr. Hone's amusing volume is likely to be generally known. Specimens of the Chester Mysteries have also been printed for the use of the Roxburgh Club. It may not be strictly decorous, perhaps, to notice works of this private nature, and which are obviously intended to be kept from the public eye; but the extensive acquaintance with the subject displayed in one of these pamphlets, demands a protest against reserving it for the exclusive information of a few black-letter dilettanti.—EDIT.]

P. 23. note b.—This is ascertained by one of the laudatory balades affixed, which speaks of Bradshaw

"—nowe departed from this temporall lyght

The present yere of this Translacion
M. D. xiii. of Christis incarnation."
Sig. S ii. b.—PARK.

P. 27. l. 6.—Lord Orford, in his Catalogue of Royal Authors, indulged his talent for sarcasm about King Edward's imputed poem, and said; "I should believe that this melody of a dying monarch is about as authentic as that of the old poetic warbler, the swan, and no better founded than the title of *Gloriosi*." Now the title, as Mr. Gough observed, may probably have been added by the transcriber of the MS., and the production itself is sufficiently ascertained to have had the belief of being written by Edward the Second, in the "tyme of hys emprysonment," being cited as such by Fabian. See his Chron. edit. 1559. vol. ii. p. 185.—PARK.

P. 27. l. 15.—Mr. Dibdin states that this remark is not quite correct; these verses having been in part omitted and in part altered in Reyner's and Kingston's editions, but inserted entire in Rastall's. See specimen of an English De Bure, p. 28.—PARK.

P. 30. l. 17.—Caxton could only be deemed a *foreigner*, from having passed some time in foreign countries; since he was born a Man of Kent. See Dibdin's Ames.—PARK.

P. 31. l. 21.—Mr. Ashby asks, how can a black and a pale horse be one and the same? Groseley and Comines both make the same mistake, owing to the likeness of *blanc* and *black*. MS. note.—PARK.

P. 32. l. 21.—Herbert remarks here, that W. de Worde's edition being but a small quarto, could not admit of the more elegant drawings to the folio edition in 1503, and which were exactly copied in 1656. MS. note.—PARK.

P. 41. note w.—See some notices in the preliminary matter to a collection of poems by Mr. S. Whyte, printed in 1752, and many more in the *Collectanea* of my studious friend Mr. Douce.—PARK.

P. 46. note h.—Or rather, says Herbert, as in the collection of poems by Chaucer and Lydgate in the public library, Cambridge.

P. 47. note h.—The following argument, says Mr. George Mason, since occurring, may strengthen the strong claim of Lydgate to be regarded as the author. In one of the Paston letters, published by Sir John Fenn, vol. 2. p. 90. and dated 1471, the *Temple of Glass* is mentioned as if it had then been written some years. This circumstance must ill accord with its being attributed to Hawes; besides that the language is older in many particulars than that which Hawes used. MS. note in W. de Worde's edit. of the book which does not give the poem to Hawes; as Mr. Warton had been led to believe, from the misrepresentation of Ames.—PARK.

P. 50. note u.—It is evident (says Mr. Waldron) from the conclusion of the passage above cited, that more of the *Squire's Tale* had been written than has been preserved. MS. note.—PARK.

P. 53. note i.—This curious allusion

Mr. Heber has enabled me to produce from Feylde's scarce poem.

Yonge *Steven Hawse*, whose soule God pardon,

Treated of love so clerkeley and well,
To rede his workes is myne affeccyon
Which he compyled of *La bell Pusell*.—
PARK.

P. 72. note *b*.—It was printed in prose by R. Pinson, 4to, without date, says Herbert, MS. note.—PARK.

P. 73. note *c*.—Wood, who designates him Alexander de Barklay, surmises him to have been born at or near a town so called in Somersetshire: but Ritson owns that there is no such town in that county. Bale, the oldest authority, tells us that some contend he was a Scot, others an Englishman. Pitts admits, that with some he appeared to have been a Scot, but was verily an Englishman, and probably a Devonshire man. Dr. Bulleyn, his cotemporary, says he was born beyond the cold river of Tweed; and Holinshed positively calls him a Scot. He is likewise claimed as his countryman by Dempster, who informs us, he lived in England, being expelled (from his native country) for the sake of religion. This report, however, is considered as the invention of Dempster, since no religious dissentions had taken place in Scotland so early as 1506. After all this diversity of allegation, Ritson's conclusion is, that Barclay's name of baptism and the orthography of his surname seem to prove that he was of Scottish extraction. See Bibliogr. Poetica, p. 46.—PARK.

P. 81. note *f*.—Powell's early and rare edition contained the first three eclogues only, and had the following title: "Here begynneth the Egloges of Alexander Barclay, priest, whereof the first thre conteineth the miseries of courtiers and courtes, of all princes in general. The matter whereof was translated into Englyshe by the said Alexander in forme of dialoges, out of a boke named in Latin, *Miserie Curialium*, compiled by Eneas Silvius, poete and oratour, which after was pope of Rome, and named Pius. In the whiche the interlocutors be Cornix and Coridon."—PARK.

P. 83. l. 1.—The chapel is defaced, but not miserably. The allusion is to

the chapel, not to its defacing, which had not then taken place.—ASHBY.

P. 88. note *i*.—The old black letter translation of Mantuan mentioned above, was by Turberville, and appeared in 1567; a copy is in the King's library. See Cens. Literaria.—PARK.

P. 109. note *x*.—This task, though thus persuasively recommended, the late Lord Hailes of Sessaion (Sir David Dalrymple) was not prevailed upon to undertake. Mr. Ashby conceived that the allusion above was not to the fowl *Ptarmigan*, of the grouse kind, which makes no noise or disturbance, but to termagants, scolds. See Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, i. 76-7. edit. 1794.—PARK.

P. 124. note *m*.—This was reprinted at Edinbro' in 1571, 1707, and 1751. The two latter editions were superintended by Ruddiman and Wislart. The work was translated into English verse by Robert Blair, the classical author of that deservedly popular poem "The Grave."—PARK.

P. 124. note *n*.—That bishop Douglas wrote a small Latin history of Scotland seems to be a mistake. He wrote a letter on the subject to Polydore Virgil.—RITSON.

P. 152. l. 5.—*Muffler* appears to have been the term used in England, for the same half-masked article of dress, which was a thin piece of linen that covered the lips and chin. See a note by Mr. Stevens in the Merry Wives of Windsor. Act iv. Sc. 2.—PARK. [See also Mr. Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare.

P. 161. l. 3.—In the year 1798, an Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland was published by Mr. Alexander Campbell, which contains much interesting matter in a miscellaneous form. Mr. C. professed himself only to be a diligent pioneer, willingly relinquishing the field to any one who might be inclined to follow his track. Should Mr. George Chalmers be induced to take the field with his strong forces, no living writer could be named who possesses the means of executing such a work with equal comprehension.—PARK.

P. 161. l. 20.—Dr. David Irving, in 1804, published the Lives of the Scottish Poets in two volumes, with great research and critical ingenuity. The

lives were those of Thomas Lermont, John Barbour, Andrew Winton, King James the First, Henry the Minstrel, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lindsay, John Bellenden, Sir Richard Maitland, Alexander Scot, Alexander Arbuthnot, Alexander Montgomery, King James the Sixth, Allan Ramsay, Alexander Ross, Alexander Geddes, Robert Fergusson, Robert Burns; with many minor names. A dissertation is prefixed on the early SCOTISH DRAMA.—PARK.

P. 163. l. 4.—The following entry occurs among the Acts and Orders of the Court of Requests: "An. xvii. Hen. VII. (1501) 10 Julij, apud Westminster Jo. Skelton commissus carceribus janitoris domini regis."—PARK.

P. 163. note f.—In Caxton's preface to his prose version of the *Æneid* (1490), he prays "Mayster John Skelton, late created poet laureate in the unyversite of Oxenforde, to oversee and correcte thys sayd booke:—for hym I knowe for suffycient to expowne and Englysshe every dyfficulte that is therein." This, however, does not seem to have flattered Skelton into the service of becoming Caxton's critical overseer, as the book had no re-impression.—PARK.

P. 168. l. 8.—I reckon the interval of time when Skelton began to write, and when Putterham published, to be infinite as to the refinement of manners. Yet even in this last period, and later, the commentators of Shakspeare are glad to shelter his ribaldry and puns under the manners of his age.—ASHBY.

P. 168. note e.—Bishop Hall characterized both the temper and metre of this lampooner with forcible brevity, when he spoke of "*angry SKELTON's* breathlesse rhymes." *Virgidemiarum*, lib. iv.—PARK.

P. 168. l. 31.—Caxton speaks of Skelton's translations from the Greek and Latin, as not rendered in rude and old language, but in polished and ornate terms craftily. He adds, "And also he hath redde the ix muses, and under-stande their musicalle scyences, and to whom of them eche scyence is approped. I suppose he hath dronken of Elycon's well." Preface to *Æneid*. Vide *supr.* p. 337.—PARK.

P. 168. l. 31.—That Churchyard indulged the same strange notion appears

from the following curious encomium, in which he tells us that the conversation of Skelton resembled the taunting personality of his writings.

— divers men of late
Have helpt our Englishe tounge,
That first was baes and brute:
Oh! shall I leave out SKELTON's name?
The blossome of my frute:
The tree wheron in deed
My branches all might gro:
Nay, Skelton wore the laurell wreath,
And past in schools, ye knoe,
A poet for his arte,
Whose judgment suer was hie,
And had great practics of the pen,
His works they will not lie.
His termes to taunts did lean,
His talke was as he wrate,
Full quick of witte, right sharp of words,
And skilful of the state.
Of reason ripe and good,
And to the hatefull mynd,
That did disdain his doings still,
A skorne of his kynd.
Most pleasant every way,
As poets ought to be;
And seldom out of princes grace,
And greate with eche degre.

On the English Poets, Muses,
lib. p. 137.

P. 173. note d.—Dr. Lort suggested to Mr. Ashby, that the above lowness was the reason why the Cardinal is always represented in profile, to hide his blemish. But how comes it, says Mr. Ashby, that we have no pictures of him prior to the accident, i. e. before he was a cardinal, for as such he is always dressed; yet he was as great a man before?—PARK.

P. 183. note l.—It is much that Warton did not know Friar Tuck was Robin Hood's confessor or chaplain, and perhaps the original of all the persons that are brought on the stage to be laughed at. But how comes Matilda, the chaste daughter of Lord Fitzwater, to be the fair Maid Marian?—ASHBY.

P. 184. l. 19.—Mr. Ashby expresses his surprise that such a man should be chosen; and he adds, with appearance of probability, that Skelton's having conceived his disappointment of preferment to be owing to Wolsey, may have been the cause of his extreme irritation against that prelate.—PARK.

P. 185. note x.—In the same ancient MS. are contained the following mysteries.

“Saulus, or Saint Paul.” Super-scribed *Myles Blomefylde* y^e Possessor.

Pr. “Rex glorio [sus] kyng omnipotent,
Redeemer of y^e world by the pouer
divine,
And Maria, y^t pure vrygyn quene
most excellent,
Wyche bare y^t blyssyd babe Jhu
y^t for us sufferd payne,” &c.

At the end, “Finis * * * * Sancti Pauli.”

“Candlemas-day and The Kylling of the Children of Israell,” (by John Parfre), 1512.

Pr. This solemne fest to be had in remembrance
Of blisshed Seynt Anne, moder to
our Lady,
Whos right discent was hys kyns
alyaunce
Of Davyd and Salamon—witnesseth
the story, &c.

End. Also ye menstralles, doth yo^r diligens,
A fore our departyng gees be a
daunce.

Finis.

“Wisdom, spirit, wille, wit, minde and understanding, and Lucifer. *Imppf.* 12 leaves. 4to.

Pr. Fyrst entreth *Wysdom* in a ryche purpyll cloth of gold, with a mantyll of the same ermyned within, havyng a bought his nek a ryall hood furred with ermyn. Upon his hed a cheveler with browes, a berd of gold of sypres curled, a ryche imperiall gowne therupon, set with riche stonys and perlys. In his left hand a ball of gold with a crosse therupon; and in his right hand a regall sceptre, thus seyng:—

If ye wyll wote the propyrte,
And the resoun of my name imperiall,
I am clepyd of him that in erthe be,
Everlastyng *Wysdom* to my nobley
egall.” PARK.

P. 187. note b.—Another direction is, “With this word vii dyvyls sall de wyode from the woman, and the bad

angyll enter into hell with thondyr.”—PARK.

P. 195. l. 6.—“The reign of Charles the Fifth (says Anderson, from Pasquier and Brantome) gave rise to the French drama and theatre. The actors being erected into a company by letters patent, represented the MYSTERIES OF CHRIST'S PASSION; which, with some additional pieces called Moralities, continued to be the theatrical entertainment for more than 130 years. Though in the time of Lewis the Twelfth some farces or comedies were wrote, the French drama received no sort of improvement, but continued in the reign of Francis the First under the direction of the *fraternity of the passion*, who only added some burlesque pieces to their Moralities. Under Henry the Second, Francis the Second, and Charles the Ninth, Jodella was the dramatic poet, and produced two tragedies and two comedies. His ‘Cleopatra,’ together with a comedy, being acted at Paris, he is said to have been rewarded for this new entertainment, by his monarch, with 500 crowns. But the genius and the relish for such compositions remained suspended for a considerable time after this exhibition of them.” *Hist. of France*, temp. Francis I. and Charles IX. vol. ii. p. 427.—PARK.

P. 196. l. 11.—Such an imitation Mr. Ashby thinks as probable as Otway and Dryden's imitations of Shakspeare.—PARK.

P. 196. note i.—Bergerette was the title also of a species of pastoral poetry. See vol. ii. p. 301.—PARK.

P. 207. note r.—The song quoted by Hamlet was pointed out by Ritson as printed in Percy's *Reliques*. A more complete copy is presented in the late edition of Evans's *Old Ballads* from the Roxburge Collection.—PARK.

P. 210. l. 3.—Mr. Ashby conceived that the antichapel must be here meant; though the whole, he adds, is one plain room, of uniform dimensions, and no separation of any kind except the organ: but the antichapel is more superbly fitted up than the chapel, i. e. with roses and shields of arms in alto-relievo.—PARK.

P. 211. l. 7.—Here is certainly an

attempt to represent objects to the eyes, which may be called Scenery; and one may wonder, after this, that even in Shakspeare's time the introduction of scenes should be questioned.—ASHM.

P. 219. l. 20.—Cynthia and Diana appear to have been the poetical titles under which this queen was habitually adulated. The Countess of Pembroke

employed the former pastorally to Elizabeth, in Davison's poetical Rapsodie, first printed in 1602. This most estimable of our early metrical miscellanies has been re-produced by Sir Egerton Brydges, with a splendour and typographical elegance peculiar to the Lee Press. A critical appreciation of the work is prefixed.—PARK.